



Assessment of Foreign Languages Department of Ethiopian Television with Respect to Promoting Pan-Africanism: The Case of English Language Desk.

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This is to certify that this thesis is prepared by Asgedom Atnafu entitled “Assessment of the Foreign Languages Department of Ethiopian Television with Respect to Promoting Pan-Africanism: The Case of English Language Desk” and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulation of the university and accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Assessment of the Foreign Language Department of Ethiopian Television With Respect to Promoting Pan-Africanism and Projecting Positive Imagery of Africa; The case of English desk

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This study is conducted to make assessment of Foreign Language Department at ETV as regard to giving coverage to Pan-Africanism core themes and promoting the Africa rising narrative to international community residing in Addis Ababa. The study particularly focused on framing - PanAfricanism ideals. Qualitative research method was solely applied. Selected programs' content was analyzed as to how they framed Pan-African aspirations. In-depth Interviews were held with individuals pertinent to the study area.

Major finding of the study are various Pan-African themes remain uncovered. Economic emancipation and integration are the predominant Pan-African themes discussed to a moderate degree within the programs analyzed. ETV's Foreign Language Department's Accomplishments towards promoting Africa and pan-Africanism were insufficient. The content selection, story framing and time allocation were found to be limited in living up to better and fairly portraying the continent and thereby in achieving the intended change of long held negative perception towards Africa.

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May God Bless You All!!

### **List of Appendixes**

Appendix 1: Questions for In–depth Interview

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Appendix 4: Questionnaire (Amharic Version)

### **List of Acronyms**

AU- African Union

BBC- British Broadcasting Corporation

CAP- Common African Position

CIAAS- Conference of Independent African States

CFTA- Continental Free Trade Area

CNN- Cable News Network

EAC- Eastern Africa Community

EBC- Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation

ECOWAS- Economic Community of Western Africa

ETV- Ethiopian Television

OAU- Organization of African Unity

REC- Regional Economic Communities

U.S- United States

UNECA- United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

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## CHAPTER ONE

### I. INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background to the study

The independence and patriotic history of Ethiopia contributed a great deal to the struggle of other African countries and African descents all over the world in their pursuit of psychological and territorial freedom. “Ethiopia has held a profound cultural significance for the black diaspora as one of the world’s—and, to say the least, Africa’s—oldest independent republics, which provided an (admittedly idealized) inspiration for the dream of black independence throughout the world” ( Adejumboi, 2007, p. 222).

The oppressed black world embraced Ethiopianism as an ideological philosophy and embodiment of patriotism and defiance towards colonial powers. “ Ethiopianism has three broad strands-African American diasporic experience, western African and south African expressions. These provided the energy which stimulated African Nationalism. Ethiopia became a symbol of African redemption political and religious ideology that continued to inspire through generations” (Kalu, 2008, p.496).

The name Ethiopia resonated with people of dark skin in all different parts of the world.

“The Ethiopian movement arose at a time when black people were developing a strong sense of self-worth (black consciousness) and self-reliance sourced in mission education (a Christian stimulus), where the spirit of pan-nationalism was fostered by young people from the African continent coming together to be educated. This produced a solidarity which provided a basis for Ethiopianism and a critical spirit” ( ibid..497).

Due to Ethiopia’s historical standing and its symbolisms attached to freedom and independence, nations in the continent chose its capital for the seat of OAU. On top of that number of countries in the continent adopted the colors of Ethiopia’s national flag and used its battlefield triumphs as inspiration and encouragement in their stride towards independence and struggle against Europeans aggressors. Africa’s stories haven’t always been that of war, famine, epidemics and

backwardness. It seems so because that's what's predominantly reported about the continent in mainstream western media.

There is very little known about the pre-colonial history of Africa. The continent had enjoyed different civilizations in different parts of it. The Pharaonic, the Axumite civilizations are prime examples of the assertion (Heinemann, 1981). The African continent's bleak representation of the western media mainly focuses on African's political chaos, war, famine and migration, which gave rise to distorted and partial representation of the continent's overall image. It has been asserted that Americans understand Africa less than any other region in the world. American generalizations of African images and ideas tend to be predominantly negative, condescending, and stereotypical. This may be due in large part to poor coverage by the U.S. news media (Fair, 1993).

Africa's colonial history and the ramifications of it is what is for the most part known about the continent. Africa hasn't been able to frame and tell its own story, to counter the negative narratives perpetuated by the aforementioned information sources, owing to lack of inadequate utilization media outlets and insufficient concern bestowed up on journalistic mindset in the continent. The presence of African media concerned with African stories and African solidarity is increasingly of paramount significance if at all the continent is to assert itself positively and help Africans regain their pride in all that they are and make sure Africa does not keep inferior standing in the international arena as it was the case since the colonialism era. Alternative African media as critical media foster cooperation instead of competition and aim to 'produce potential for the dissolution of exploitation and oppression'. Critical alternative media are, therefore, needed to help deal with domination, express standpoints of the oppressed and dominated groups and argue for the advancement of a fairer society (Fuchs, 2010).

The aftermath of the colonial period and its residual effect is something Africans still struggle to do away with. The subsequent political structure of African born dictators perpetuated the suffering of the people by ill will, sectarian divisive political rule adding insult to an injury giving credence to the widely held racist Western belief that Africans are an inferior race with very little appreciation of the values of democracy and progress (Abegurin, 2009).

The quest for the restored Africa took a lot of forms and yet remains elusive. The people of the

continent attained their territorial independence, after a lot of bloodshed and martyrdom, which once seemed beyond the realm of attainment, however regaining its original values, psychological equilibrium and establishing politically and economically stable as well as independent Africa is not yet realized. Other pertinent elements being in place having an African media, developing and maintaining African discourse can help Africans travel greater distance in preserving what's culturally, psychologically and politically their own which all incidentally is enclosed in the ideals of Pan Africanism.

Pan Africanism is an ideological philosophy whose legitimacy emanates from the continent's obliterated stature, anguish of its people and indignant, forward thinking individuals of African descents like Marcus Garvey, Du Bois, and Williams and so on (Nkrumah, 1963). It is also the background consciousness that has brought African Union the former OAU into existence, an organization with primary goal of helping mentally decolonize Africans and realize Africa's full emancipation.

When the idea of unifying Africa emerged, at least at organizational level, selecting Ethiopia as a country where the organization is to be located, followed a logical rationale of Ethiopia's pioneer ship of independence and symbolism of freedom in the black side of the world.

In 1958 organization for African Union held its first ever summit in Addis Ababa. Its signatories were heads of states of the then independent nations of Africa. When the organization went operational so did simultaneously Ethiopian Television foreign language services by giving a live coverage of the establishment of OAU. The foreign language service of Ethiopian Television gave a live coverage of the event, whereby it echoed its mission of advocating Pan Africanism.

Given historical positioning of the country within the boundaries of Africa's struggle for freedom and independence, none other than Ethiopia deserves more of the chance and bear the responsibility to advocate Pan-Africanism ideals. Ethiopian Television Foreign Languages Desk pioneered broadcasting African causes up on the establishment of the continent's biggest organization. The study therefore tries to assess the manner and the extent to which African stories and Pan-Africanism ideals are being covered at Ethiopian Television English language transmissions.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

When considering the international media scenery, it goes without saying that every part of the world gets their coverage on these media outlets so do Africa and Africans. The stories about Africa and Africans is usually framed in a way that tarnishes the continent's image to the extent of making the rest of the world believe that Africa is one big jungle where there are nomadic people jumping from trees to trees and brutally killing one another as part of their daily routine. Studies have shown that U.S. media coverage of foreign countries, particularly of African nations, is severely insufficient, is often stereotyped or over simplified and primarily focuses on crises events (Hultman, 1992).

The availability of numerous diplomatic communities residing in Addis Ababa gives Ethiopia and Africa the chance to tell Africa's real and positive stories and be able to offset bleak representations of Africa by main stream western media. Some coverage has also been racially stereotyped, indirectly or subtly depicting Africans as dependent on and in some ways inferior to westerners, that is, white people ( Ibelema, 1992). Africa on the whole is presented as helpless, inferior, and backwards (Fair, 1992).

It is only reasonable to use African media resources for African causes and it is unacceptable by all measurements to predominantly entertain Western realities up on African media platforms as is the case in many media outlets of the nations of the continent today. Cultural hegemony induced by the momentum of globalization is one other challenge Africa has to contend with. One of the effective ways of dealing with such pressures is to have a well designed African media strategy and African journalistic practices. The researcher believes that to be the position African nations need to take as it comes to the management of African media houses.

It has been now over half a century since Ethiopian Television (ETV) started airing programs. Since its establishment governmental structures have changed, so did its management and program content and format. The country is now a federal state therefore the station produces and transmits television programs in various regional as well as international languages. The local languages primarily concern themselves with regional matters for their accountability is to the regional government and people. The international language programs are primarily to do with playing public relations roles and make contributions to building positive image of the country.

The Foreign Language Department constitutes three international languages – English, French, and Arabic. The foreign language programs mainly target international residents in the country. Programs in these three languages focus on local and continental matters. The local contents are crafted in a way they can promote the country's cultural, natural and religious attractions to tourism market and the continental matters dwell on continental development and political affairs. The TV station is in Addis Ababa city which is a seat for numerous continental and global organizations like AU, ECA and more than hundreds of embassies and consulate offices. One can hardly think of a better opportunity than this to appropriately communicate Africa's realities to the rest of the world. As a country therefore where there are all these international offices which come along with numerous foreign staff, putting in place a media outlet up to the task is a very wise and responsible move on the side of Ethiopian Television.

This particular study therefore tries to make assessments on the foreign languages desk of Ethiopian Television as regard to treating African stories towards advocating Pan Africanism ideals whereby it can be made possible for the nation and the continent at large to defend African values, custom and tradition as well as be able to withstand any western cultural and political invasions and ultimately re-portray Africa's and Africans images in the minds of the rest of the world.

As an employee of the Ethiopian Television Foreign Languages Desk, the researcher happened to realize how powerful media contents are in terms of creating mindsets, identities, and attitudes. The researcher has also understood that society stands no or little chance of behaving outside of the ways of how it's dictated by the media outlets to which it has access. Working at the station also gave the researcher the opportunity to realize the initial purpose behind having foreign languages desk established at Ethiopian Television the purpose being to promote African values and unity which are also basic foundational principles of Pan Africanism as well as informing, educating and entertaining its supposed audiences. The researcher attempts to check if the presumed mission of the foreign language desk is duly met. Furthermore, the researcher decided to conduct the study for the following reasons.

The first reason is that the researcher thoroughly subscribes to the idea that Ethiopia is an ideal country where African unity, liberty, development and Africa's positive aspect related issues

need to be discussed, communicated and promoted for no other country in the continent has access to such amount of diplomatic community presence as Ethiopia. That is not because of any bias for the researcher is Ethiopian, rather it is because of the independence precedence and African patriotism set by the country. On top of which the country is the seat of AU where heads of government and state gather to discuss African matters at least twice a year which presents chances to engage in conversations with prominent political figures of the continent.

The other reason is that, prior to any other nation in the continent the country committed itself to promoting Pan-Africanism thoughts and ideals by establishing a media desk that would serve African causes and project Africa's positive image as part of its primary engagements.

The third reason is that the researcher actually works for the station which gives him an extra opportunity to assess the Foreign Languages Department on the basis of insider perspective. It's also understood that working at the station and conducting this study raises bias related concerns. The researcher tries to maintain a neutral ground by making random selection of programs for content analysis and basing his conclusions upon generated data with influencing it in any way towards the researcher's presumptions.

The last reason is that this research's finding could be a valuable addition to the station's renewal engagements it has been carrying out for the last couple of years now. Understandably, it is very important for the station to know its foreign languages desk's missions are being accomplished as per the station's intentions.

Therefore in this the undertakings of the Foreign Language Department of Ethiopian Television with respect to its objective of promoting Pan-Africanism ideals, promoting positive aspects of the continent to its audiences will be assessed. It is also hoped that this study could serve as a document of reference for Ethiopian Television up on its attempt to further capacitate the Foreign Language Department so that it can effectively discharge its responsibilities and live up to its half a century old mission of voicing Africa's concerns.

### **1.3 General and specific objectives**

#### **1.3.1 General objective**

The major purpose of this study is to investigate the extent to which the Foreign Language

services of Ethiopian Television promotes African unity, African liberty And African development and Africa's positive image, which are essential elements of pan Africanism , to its presumed audience. Therefore the goals of this study are to;

### **1.3.2 Specific objectives**

- To locate contents of Ethiopian Television English language productions that have, one way or another, anything to do with promoting Africa and Pan Africanism.
- To see the extent to which Ethiopian Television English programs entertain ideals of Pan-Africanism, the station claims to advocate.
- To explore stated purposes of the Foreign Languages Department to promote Africa and Pan-Africanism ideals to the international community present in the country.
- To review how effectively African matters are treated in the programs of the Foreign Language Department.
- More specifically this study examines framing of Pan-Africanism ideals at Foreign Language Desk of ETV.

### **1.4 Research questions**

The study attempts to find out answers to the following questions.

1. How much of pan Africanism-related content can one find in productions of the English service of Ethiopian Television?
2. How and how often are African stories covered in productions?
3. Do English programs at ETV correspond with the desks stated purpose to serve?
4. Does ETV's Foreign Language Department have a means to acquire feedback from its supposed audience?
5. How often do the programs at the desk aspire to produce counter narratives of African realities contrary to what's told of the continent by Western media?
6. To what extent do journalists of the foreign language desk at ETV feel the responsibility to communicate African countries' positive aspects of Africa?

### **1.5 Significance of the problem**

Any media outlet needs to have clear objectives behind designing any Television Program production desk. Programs are designed in a way they can result in some kind of effect on the

receiving end. The success of a given program would then be based on effective communication of its agenda and the attainment of the intended effect “Whether it is a dramatic series or news show, a sitcom or sports special, each genre spins around telling a story that is compelling and engages the viewer” (Stephen, 1998, p. 27). Presumably the Ethiopian Television has purposes behind setting up a foreign languages desk. This study is significant in that it attempts to serve the station as a mirror on which the undertakings of the foreign language desk, its strength and lacking areas according to its formulated mission is reflected. In other words the study will present findings whether or not the objectives of the foreign language desk, as pioneering TV station at addressing African causes, are effectively met. If not, it will try to show why the desk failed to measure up to its obligations and the study also will provide guidelines as to how the desk will be able to live up to its missions. Unlike the times before Ethiopian Television is no longer the only media alternative in the country. There are today several media outlets which the public has access to. Ethiopian Television enjoyed monopoly over entertainment, information, news and ads for nearly five decades. People do not have to wait a week to watch TV dramas and music programs today they can do that every day and all is a flick away. This isn’t time for complacency rather to buckle up and compete with alternative information and entertainment sources. That in turn brings a lot of pressure on Ethiopian Television’s management to cope with the ever changing media scenery of the country.

Despite all this challenges at hand Ethiopian Television still remains the only media outlet that still runs TV programs in foreign languages, therefore it only has to compete with its last accomplishments, mission and its audience demand. Thus, any study upon the betterment of Ethiopian Television programs would definitely come in handy and it’s timely if the corporation is to remain relevant and maintain its position- a leading media outlet in the country. Therefore this study would be important in that it aims to assess the degree to which programs in English language at the station’s foreign desk live up to their intended goals and the study will over all serve as a document whereby the assessment of English language program productions as related to advocating African causes will thoroughly assessed. It can then serve a reference both for Ethiopian Television or for anyone who would like to further conduct additional study pertain to similar domain.

### **1.6 Scope of the study**

This study was conducted within the boundaries of data elicited from written documents at Ethiopian Television and oral information of relevant individuals. Concerning content analysis the researcher plans to go so far back as 6 months before this study is started to be conducted. This study limits itself to assessing Television English language programs towards advocating African Causes. The station has English language transmissions on radio that has been airing programs intermittently for over decades. However the domain of this study is limited to English language services of Ethiopian Television. There are also other international language services at the station they are not to be covered within this study as well. The rationale behind selecting the English programs is that the English desk is what primarily feeds stories to other foreign language transmissions of the station. Predominantly, programs in Arabic and French languages of the foreign desk are the translated versions of the English programs. This study also goes so far as evaluating how African stories as well as Pan Africanism are portrayed within English programs and give guidelines and ways as to how the Ethiopian Television Foreign Language Desk would be able to effectively discharge its responsibilities of better communicating Africa to the rest of the world since it has direct access to numerous embassies, consulate offices and international organizations existing in Addis Ababa which has nowadays come to be known as the diplomatic hub of Africa.

### **1.7 Limitation of the study**

The major limitation of this study is absence of organized data at Ethiopian Television and accessing international community residing in Addis Ababa and obtaining their cooperation as well as physically finding founding journalists and managers of Ethiopian Foreign Language Department since the average work experience of journalists at the desk is maximum 10 years. Other limitations that could slightly affect the study is transparency from people in charge at the station as it comes to disclosing short comings of management and resource allocation.

### **1.8 Organization of the study**

This thesis is comprised of five chapters. Chapter one establishes background, states problem, and presents the significance of the study. It also deals with objective, scope and limitation of the study. Chapter two is all about conceptual framework and review of related literature. Chapter three presents the research methodology. Data presentation and analysis is what chapter four presents. The final chapter is where conclusion and recommendation of the thesis are.



## II. CHAPTER TWO

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter of this research work tries to review different literature works that can serve as theoretical and content background on which the research is based itself. This part touches up on different perspectives pertaining to Pan-Africanism and application of a broadcast medium to instill certain ideals on the supposed spectators. As this study attempts to assess Ethiopian Television's foreign desk accomplishments towards echoing Pan-Africanism fundamental principles and creating the necessary width and depth of the awareness of the concept-unification of the black Africans across the world for better socio-economic and political positioning. In this literature review section of the research work, it would only be just to unpack the broader concept of Pan-Africanism. Discuss its genesis and its prominent personalities and present an over view of Ethiopia's connection to African unity and Pan-Africanism as a whole.

### 2.2 Pan-Africanism

It is difficult if not impossible to provide a clear cut and precise definition to Pan-Africanism. Nevertheless, for general understanding, it is important to consider the definitions given by some scholars. C. Legum, a journalist, defined Pan-Africanism as an expression of a sense of unity and solidarity among the up-rooted Africans in the Diaspora since they felt homeless and were subjected to alien cultures (Legum, 1962). According to G. Padmore (1956), Pan-Africanism was a reaction against the oppression of the black people and the racial doctrines since the period of slavery and the slave trade. For him it began from a movement for self-assertion and resistance to enslavement. His definition in fact refers to the origin of the ideas and the earliest movement beyond the year 1900 which is often referred to as a turning point for the beginning of an organized Pan-African movement.

Another writer, P.O. Eserdebe strongly criticized scholars who defined Pan-Africanism as an irrational concept, emotional and depicted it as a racial movement. He remarked that there has not been universally accepted definition of Pan-Africanism. He also underscored that the term Pan-Africanism was not coined when the movement began. It was rather named after it had established itself like a child that is named after birth. Consequently, he defined Pan-Africanism

as a political and cultural phenomenon that regard Africans and African descendants abroad as a unit. He asserted that the movement glorified the African past and indicated pride in African values. He argued that the desire for unity and African pride did not change from the beginning (Esedebe, 1982).

According to Tesema Ta'a. (2014). "Pan-Africanism will assist the fulfillment of the mission and vision of African Unity and will remain a cornerstone of African peoples' pride for generations to come in a sustainable manner" (p.63).

According to Michael Janis, (2008) another Africanist writer of the recent period,

Pan-Africanism acts as an umbrella term for a range of intellectual and political practices that seek to address the cultural issues of – and to unify politically—Africa and the diasporas, including African Personality, Negritude, the Pan-African Congresses, Afro/Africenterism, and Africana cultural/ theory” Africa as a homeland of Africans and persons of African origin, solidarity among men of African descent, belief in a distinct African culture, African personality, rehabilitation of Africa’s past, pride in African culture, Africa for Africans in church and state, the hope for a united and glorious future Africa (p. 33).

### **2.3 The Establishment of the Pan-Africanism Ideology**

The argument as to the origin and vision of the ideology still remains contentious among scholars. However the overarching essence of the movement is widely understood and does not generate too much of contention as it is all about Africa’s restoration and reunification of African descent all across the world. Numerous studies were produced on Pan-Africanism since the birth of the movement in the nineteenth century. According to these works, long standing intellectual debates and arguments around the origins and visions of the concept as an ideology as well as its attachment to the African continent and the Organization of African Unity have been undertaken. Defining exactly Pan-Africanism and setting its ultimate objectives and visions were among the major concerns of the scholars.

Pan Africanism as an ideology brings people of African origin together. It’s set of ideals that are essentially about assisting the people of the continent to transcend over their socio-political and economic hurdles. As Tessema notes “Pan-Africanism as an ideology and movement tends to

encourage the solidarity of Africans worldwide even to this day” (Page 14)

#### **2.4 Literature on Pan-Africanism**

Several books, articles and monographs on Pan-Africanism were the works of Pan-African leaders, nationalists, political scientists, anthropologists, sociologists, journalists and historians. Many of these writers interpreted the Pan- African Movement from their perspectives and field of interest instead of analyzing the issue historically. Some of the scholars attempted to find the roots of Pan-Africanism and still others were preoccupied with its growth, development, effects and protagonist role.

One of the earliest works is the Rise of Pan-Africanism, an article written by C. Drake, 1958 a sociologist. He interpreted Pan-Africanism in terms of a racial movement and underscored social causes of the movement. His article provides little information on the origin of the movement and it describes the contributions of George Padmore, one of the early Pan-Africanists (Drake, 1958). In the year 1960, G. Shepperson described the influence of African-Americans on the emergence of African nationalism with invaluable information on the beginning of Black Nationalism in America and its long-term impact on African nationalism (Shepperson, 1960). Though he put emphasis on the significant contributions of black nationalists, he did not, however, define the concept of Pan-Africanism in his otherwise well documented work.

Another writer, K. Madhu Panikkar, who published his book in 1961, indicated that Pan-Africanism came into existence in 1900 by the blacks of African descent in the West Indies and the United States. He portrayed Pan-Africanism as African-American movement for social equality and the need to look for the land of their forefathers. Panikkar provided detailed information on the origin of Pan-African movement and had also compared and contrasted Pan-Africanism with the Jewish Zionism (Panikkar, 1961).

Legum, a prominent journalist who has already been mentioned earlier, wrote a book on Pan-Africanism in 1962. He provided a fairly complete description on the origin, development, and the long-term consequences of the movement on Africa. He traced the roots of Pan-Africanism to the black settlers in the New World, and like Panikkar (1961) he compared it with Zionism based on their formation in the Diaspora (Legum, 1962).

In the same year, *Pan-Africanism Reconsidered*, a book edited by the American Society of African Culture, contributed a detailed historical account on the subject. The work dealt with the

roots of the movement and its growth in the United States, Europe and later in Africa. Moreover, it underlined that W.S. Williams of the West Indies and W.E.B. Du Bois of the USA were the pioneers of the Pan-African movement (American Society of Culture, 1962). In 1963, Kwame Nkrumah published a book titled, *Africa Must Unite*, which mainly dealt with OAU under the umbrella of Pan-Africanism putting more emphasis on its political aspect of meaningful unity than on its historic roots. He had, however, properly acknowledged both Williams and Du Bois as the founding fathers of Pan-Africanism (Nkrumah, 1963). Two years later, Joseph S. Nye wrote a book on Pan-Africanism and East African integration in which he studied the similarities and differences between Pan-Africanism and Nationalism. He compared it with Pan-Slavism (Nye, 1965). But he paid little or no attention to the origin and definition of Pan-Africanism in contrast to the others.

Bernard Magubane, who wrote his PhD dissertation in Sociology in 1967, critically dealt with the definition and the origin of Pan-Africanism. He considered the year 1900 as the genesis of Pan Africanism and Williams as its initiator ( Magubane, 1967). A year later, E.M. Rudwick produced an in-depth study and a scholarly work on the origin of Pan-Africanism. Although Rudwick demonstrated the inauguration of Pan-Africanism by Williams in 1900, he argued that Du Bois had already conceived the notion of Pan-Africanism as far back as the 1890s. He also explained that Du Bois endeavored to organize Negroes before 1900 (Rudwick, 1968). Adekunle Ajala and Ayodele Langley published their works in 1973.

Ajala, an African nationalist discussed the Pan- African movement from an insider point of view. His description of the origin of Pan-Africanism was comprehensive and coherent. Ajala considered 1900 as the beginning of Pan-Africanism and Williams as its founder. According to him, the participants of the first Conference were only African descendants from the United States and the West Indies. Unlike Rudwick before him, however, Ajala did not mention Du Bois' involvement at the beginning of the movement (Ajala, 1973).

Langley is also another African scholar whose book is an important source on the history of Pan-Africanism. Contrary to Ajala's assertion, Lngley traced the origin of Pan-Africanism back to the period of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, which in turn led to the great African Diaspora.

According to him, members of the Black Diaspora in the New World endeavored to form informal organizations between 1500-1900 A.D. He therefore concluded that Pan-Africanism informally existed before 1900. Like many other writers, however, he considered that the first Pan-African conference was organized by Williams (Langley, 1973). In 1975, Rodney Carlisle published his book: *The Roots of Black Nationalism*, which discussed the root of Pan-Africanism as well. He declared that the achievement of Pan-African Conference of 1900 was more social than political. Moreover, Carlisle praised the work of Du Bois and ignored the role of Williams concerning the origin of Pan-Africanism (Carlisle, 1975), which is quite controversial. One year later, Stephen Adebajji Akintoye, a Nigerian historian at the University of Ife, published an interesting book on African history. He provided a fairly complete and detailed description on the origin of Pan-Africanism. He underscored that Pan-Africanism was a movement organized by black African descendants in the New World and in Africa itself by African nationalist concurrently; he also gave credit to the latter. Akintoye further indicated 1900 as both the beginning of Pan-African Conference in London and as the commencement of a Pan-African movement in Africa (Akintoye, 1976).

Robert W. Adams, a historian, and Ken C. Kotecha, a lawyer, published a book on African history in 1981. These writers explained the origin and development of Pan-Africanism from a political perspective. They claimed that European colonization and the African resistance to colonial rule led to the rise of Pan-African awareness among African nationalist scholars without acknowledging the contributions of educated African descendants in the West Indies and the USA to the rise and development of Pan-Africanism (Adams & Kotecha, 1981). But these writers should have acknowledged the works of the early contributors to the movement. In the same year, Sylvia M. Jacobs argued that Pan-africanism lay on the conviction that the entire peoples of African descent shared a common cultural origin and therefore had to cooperate to enjoy their freedom.

According to this writer, Williams convened some preliminary Pan- Africanism meetings that enabled him to rally African-American intellectuals behind him at the Pan-African Conference of 1900. The Conference was also aimed at rallying African descendants to launch a movement to get their rights (Jacobs, 1981). This notion, however, limited the horizon of Pan-Africanism to the United States and the West Indies which should not have been the case. In 1982, Elenga

M'buyinga, a socialist oriented African nationalist produced his valuable work on: Pan-Africanism or Neocolonialism. The Bankruptcy of the OAU, He showed a special interest to analyze Pan-Africanism from the contemporary perspective. In his description, he defined Pan-Africanism as a unity of Africans and African descendants. But he considered this definition obsolete owing to political change. Consequently, he defined Pan-Africanism as a collection of political beliefs claiming that Africa is an integrated continent that has to be united. M'buyinga regarded the 1900 Pan-African Conference as the brainchild of Sylvester Williams to fight against the British imperialists and argued that the movement came into being to struggle against imperialism all over the world in general and against the western powers in particular. Furthermore, he discredited those writers who compared Zionism with Pan-Africanism for their misinterpretation and misunderstanding (M'buyinga, 1982).

Other scholars including Ajala, Esedebe and M.R. Ofoegbu wrote articles on different aspects of Pan-African movement. Ajala assessed the contributions of students in Europe ( Ajala, 1982). Esedebe critically analyzed the writings on Pan-African movement and published an article focusing on the origin and meanings of Pan-Africanism in detail (Esedebe, 1982). Ofoegbu defined and discussed the Pan-African concepts like African personality, African socialism and others (Ofoegbu, 1982). Another writer, Richard Olaniyan edited an interesting work: *African History and Culture*. Like Langley, Olaniyan traced the origin of Pan-Africanism back to Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. He argued that Pan-Africanism was the result of the combination of Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, colonization and the concomitant color consciousness that influenced the black race both in Africa and abroad to organize themselves to get their freedom and independence. With regard to the place of origin, Olaniyan indicated that Pan-Africanism started outside Africa by socially segregated and politically forgotten black African descendants. Although he recognized the existence of growing Pan-African trends in the forms of poems and songs before the dawn of the twentieth century, Olaniyan identified 1900 as a watershed in the history of Pan-Africanism (Olaniyan, 1982). Who formulated the ideology and where According to many scholars that have devoted time and effort in to studying pan Africanism agree that the 1900 is the year in which the first pan Africanism congress was put together in Europe and a man called William initiated and organized the first conference in London.

According to Legum, the conference announced the ill-treatment of Africans in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (today's Zimbabwe) to Queen Victoria of Britain. Moreover, he asserted that

Du Bois was able to show the problem of racial discrimination as the chronic problem of the 20th century (Legum, 1962).

The American Society of African Culture argued that the conference demanded Queen Victoria to consider the policy of racial segregation in South Africa among others (America Society of African Culture, 1962).

Ajala stressed establishing solidarity among African descendants, combating colonial powers, and working for the equality of Africans throughout the world as major objectives of the conference. Ajala also claimed that the Pan-African movement began to decline soon after the first conference owing to the outbreak of the First W.W.(1914-1918) and the death of Williams (Ajala, 1973).

There are some scholars who have mixed feelings about the Pan-African conference. For instance Olaniyan criticized the conference for its failure to demand self- determination for the black Africans. Carlisle on his part blamed the conference for its weakness to raise the issue of African independence (Carlisle, 1975). But M. Crowder stated that the conference was able to demand the involvement of Africans in social, political and economic affairs of the colonial administration. He had also underlined the contribution of the conference to the Pan-African congresses that followed. Crowder's description of the 1900 conference on the issues of Africa was comprehensive and critical (Crowder, 1968). Although many writers revealed the significance of the conference, they had also underlined the inactivity and passiveness of pan-African movement between 1900 and 1919. Perhaps, this inactivity could be attributed to the First World War which took place from 1914 to 1918. Contrary to such views, Langley provided a comprehensive description of the Pan-African movement between 1900 and 1919; He underscored a gradual dissemination of Pan-African feelings inside and outside Africa during this period. Moreover, he emphasized the influence of African-American nationalists on the educated Africans.

Langley explained that Casely Hayford and Edward Blyden were distinguished African nationalists who wrote many books and articles on African nationalism (Langley, 1973). Similarly, Rudwick claimed that another Pan-African conference was held in 1906 by T. Thomas Fortune and Booker T.Washington (Rudwick, 1968). Not much has been said about this conference since the author was silent about the background of Fortune and Washington, the

objective of the conference and its contribution to the Pan-African movement.

Ajala also argued that African descendants in the United States organized the Niagara Movement in 1905. He indicated the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of colored people in 1910. He then remarked that both organizations were intended to fight for the rights of African descendants (Ajala, 1973). As the reviewer has tried to point out, there were only a few writers who provided scanty information on the situation of Pan-African movement between 1900 and 1919.

Nevertheless, many writers put primary emphasis and strength on the Pan-African Congresses which have taken place, then, since 1919. Nkrumah was one of these scholars. He paid much attention to the 1919 Pan-African Congress. He was a dedicated socialist oriented African nationalist (Nkrumah, 1963). Concerning the achievements of the 1919 Pan-African Congress, scholars have divergent opinions. M'buying argued that the congress demanded the right to possess land, abolition of exploitation, and the transfer of former German colonies in Africa to the League of Nations (Mbuyinga, 1982). Langley agreed with M'buyinga and discussed the significance of the resolutions of the Congress (Langley, 1973). Similarly, Rudwick and Carlisle gave much attention to the achievements of the congress (Rudwick, 1968; Carlisle, 1975,). Magubane opposed the views of these authors and claimed that the congress had not a clear-cut program and there were marked differences between its members. In agreement with Magubane, Ajala understated the achievements of the congress (Magubane, 1967; Ajala, 1973). Legum, on the other hand, considered the 1919 congress as the Second Pan-African Congress and acknowledged its achievements (Legum, 1962).

Nevertheless, the 1919 conference was one of the four series of conferences organized by Du Bois, who was often called the Father of Pan-Africanism. This conference coincided with Paris Peace Conference and the Treaty of Versailles that ended the First World War, which might had overshadowed its achievements. In 1921, a second Pan- African congress was held by Du Bois in two sessions, one in London and the other in Brussels and in 1923 the third was held in two sessions: in London and Lisbon. The fourth Congress was held in New York in 1927. The second session of this conference was to be held in Tunis for the first time on African soil, but it was obstructed by the French colonial authorities. For Nkrumah, the objectives of these congresses were similar in that they were demanding African participation in policy making and political administration of the continent (Nkrumah, 1963). Langley, however, interpreted the second

Congress organized by Du Bois as the most fundamental of all the congresses. He argued that it condemned colonial policy and therefore paid greater attention to the significance of the second congress (Panikkar, 1961; M'buyinga, 1982,).

## **2.5 Ideological Differences of Prominent Figures of the Pan-Africanism Movement**

The conflict of ideas between Du Bois and Marcus Garvey, which was one of the causes for the discontinuity of Pan-African congresses, was another contentious issue of Pan-Africanism. Legum attributed the sources of their conflict to racial prejudice and ideological differences. Garvey was a black Jamaican who used militant speeches to rally the support of the masses behind him. On the contrary, Du Bois belonged to a mixed race and he strongly condemned militancy (Legum, 1962). Similarly, T.G.Vincent and Olalekan Oyedemi provided detailed information about the ideological differences between the two personalities (Vincent, 1972; Oyedemi, 1974). Oyedemi further argued that among the three Pan-African ideologies, Du Bois adopted the intellectual ideology while Garvey applied the demographic and economic ideologies.

The intellectual ideology contradicts with the demographic and economic ideologies. According to Oyedemi, Garvey reached a decision to resettle the people of African descent in Africa (Oyedemi, 1974). In agreement with this view, Langley asserted that Garvey's Back to Africa Movement faced stiff opposition from his rival Du Bois who held Marxist ideology and favored democratic socialism while Garvey tended towards Utopianism. Langley blamed Garvey for his romantic and Afro-centric views (Langley, 1973, pp. 69-70). Janis acknowledges that Du Bois in his work, *The World and Africa: An Inquiry into the Part which Africa has played in World history*, demonstrates the need to recognize African history and culture at a time when Africa is not even considered in the realm of historical concerns, in a Euro- American social climate that thinks only in terms of West and East (Janis, 2008).

Concerning the contributions of Du Bois and Garvey to Pan-Africanism, scholars held different views. For instance, Langley, Vincent and some others appreciated that both Du Bois and Garvey had contributed enormously to Pan-Africanism. Vincent underscored that African nationalists were much influenced by the ideas and philosophies of Du Bois and Garvey. With regard to the Caribbean and the United States of America, however, Garvey's philosophy became prevalent. On the other hand, for Vincent, both Du Bois and Garvey were unsuccessful

to promulgate their beliefs among the masses (Vincent, 1972). The American Society of Culture, Crowder, Rudwick, Ajala, and others gave more credit to Garvey's contribution to Pan-Africanism than to that of Du Bois.

The American Society of African Culture in particular underlined Garvey's significant influence on African intellectuals like Nkrumah and others (American Society of African Culture, 1962). Similarly, Crowder clearly described Garvey's influence on African and African-American nationalists. He concluded that Garvey had greater influence on African nationalists more than Pan-African congresses (Crowder, 1968). Rudwick had also argued that Garvey was more successful than his rival Du Bois in winning mass support. According to him, Garvey was the one who formed the United Negro Improvement Association, the Black Star Shipping Line and, the Negro Factories Corporation.

Garvey also proclaimed himself the Provisional President of a Racial Empire in Africa, to achieve his lifelong dream of the success of his Back to Africa Movement and to expel the whites from Africa (Rudwick, 1968). Ajala also claimed that Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.) was formed in 1917 to mitigate the sufferings of African descendants in the United States and the West Indies (Ajala, 1973). Ajala, however, had overemphasized Garvey's political career. Nonetheless, by and large, Olaniyan and the majority of scholars have been discussed in this article followed this line of argument (Olaniyan, 1982,). There are, however, a few writers who do not accept the above line of argument. M'buyinga is a typical example of such scholars. He regarded out rightly Garvey as a racist and Du Bois as a liberal founder of Pan-Africanism.

In fact he attributed the cause of Garvey's failure to his own racist theory. On the other hand, he argued that Du Bois endeavored to bring national self-determination, individual liberty, and democratic socialism, encouraging African descendants to fight for their rights wherever they were instead of going back to Africa. He also indicated Du Bois' opposition to Garvey's philosophy of Utopianism and Africa for Africans (M'buyinga, 1982). Here, it is clear that M'buyinga used Marxist perspectives in undermining Garvey's views and exaggerating Du Bois' views. Another contentious issue of Pan-Africanism was the Pan-African Federation. Nkrumah claimed that the Pan-African Federation was formed in 1937 to unite the peoples of African descent and Africa (Nkrumah, 1963). Langley, however, traced the origin of Pan-African Federation back to 1936 when the Pan-African movement in the United States, in West Africa,

and in Paris began to decline as the result of the rise of fascism and Nazism in Europe. He also indicated that George Padmore, C.I.R. James, Jomo Kenyatta, Emperor Haile Sellassie, and others organized the International Service Bureau which was merged with the Pan-African Federation in 1944 (Langley, 1973). The International Africa Service Bureau was formed in 1937 by the leaders of International Friends of Abyssinia Society and other new nationalists. Ajala had rightly interpreted this as a reaction to the fascist Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 (Ajala, 1973).

Many writers put emphasis on the role of the Pan-African Federation and the West African Students' Union for the revival of the Pan-African Congress. Ajala, M'buyinga and Legum stressed the Pan-African Federation and the West African Students' Union for the consolidation of Pan-Africanism (Legum, 1962 ; Ajala,1973; M'buyinga, 1982). According to Langley, the activities of the Pan-African Federation and the West African Students' Union, apart from the rise of Nkrumah as a Pan-African radical and revolutionary nationalist leader, paved the way for the Fifth Pan-African Congress which was to be held after the First World War (Langley, 1973). Ajala, Panikkar and others argued that the fifth Pan-African Congress, which was convened in October 1945 in Manchester, after its interruption for about 18 years, was chaired by Du Bois and Peter Milliard of Guayana. They had clearly indicated that about 200 delegates including Nkrumah of Ghana, Peter Abrahams of South Africa, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and George Padmore of Trinidad actively participated (Ajala, 1973; Panikkar, 1961). S. Tauval argued that the Manchester Congress gave priority to the problems of Africa and it was the first congress to demand for independence (Tauval, 1972). Langley also asserted that the congress strongly demanded for independence and stressed the role of Nkrumah and Padmore than that of Du Bois (Langley, 1973). On the other hand, M. Sherwood, Nkrumah, and M'buyinga underscored that it was the first congress in which workers and trade unionists had participated (Nkrumah, 1973; M'buyinga, 1982; Sherwood, 1996). Particularly, Nkrumah asserted that students had participated for the first time and most of the delegates had represented the continent of Africa (Nkrumah, 1973).

Furthermore, M'buyinga argued that the Manchester Congress succeeded in confirming African nationalism and approving Marxist Socialism as its ideology. Blaming Garvey for his racist ideology of Black Nationalism, he indicated the Fifth Pan-African Congress as the beginning of

African nationalism (M'buyinga, 1982). Panikkar quite clearly described that Pan-Africanism was transformed into a full political entity at the Manchester Congress. Unlike M'buyinga, he interpreted the Fifth Congress as a Pan-Negro Congress because of the absence of the Arab countries of Africa (Panikkar, 1961). Akintoye more or less agreed with Panikkar but adamantly opposed M'buyinga for overemphasizing the Fifth Pan-African Congress. Akintoye claimed that between 1900 and 1945, Pan-Africanism was able to unite the intellectuals of Africa and African descent (Akintoye, 1976). The American Society of African Culture succinctly explained that although the Fifth African Congress passed some new resolutions, the contributions of the other four congresses to the African political awareness were also enormous (American Society of African Culture, 1962). According to Ajala, 1945 was the first time when Pan-Africanism and African Nationalism with the same intention called for national liberation struggle, and Pan-Africanism became a movement of Africans for Africa following the Manchester Congress (Ajala, 1982).

Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore also confirmed this opinion. As they put it: African nationalism is like a great forest tree; its trunk is the Pan-African movement, which gives a sense of solidarity to all the different peoples of the continent. Its branches are the independent states of Africa. As the roots of a tree reach deep into the soil, so the origins of African nationalism spread in many directions back into history (Oliver and Atmore, 1972).

Generally speaking, many scholars considered the Fifth Pan-African Congress as a land mark in the history of Pan-Africanism; after that Africa became its rightful place. Furthermore, Pan-Africanism paved the way for a closer cooperation among African peoples. In fact it was the Manchester's Congress that inspired decolonization in Africa with hopes and visions for a united continent after independence.

## **2.6 Pan-Africanism in Africa**

After the Fifth Pan-African Congress, no serious organizational development on the international level took place. Apparently, Pan-Africanists did not hold meetings since they were busy mobilizing their people to struggle for independence. The Conference of Independent African States (CIAS), which was held in Accra, Ghana, a year after its independence in 1958, was the first Pan-African Conference on African soil. This was attributed to the successful efforts of Nkrumah and the independence of Ghana (Ajala, 1973). The notions of Pan-Africanism,

therefore, moved into the realm of practical policies where African states began to work for closer links, solidarity and cooperation.

Akintoye revealed the waning of the influence of African-Americans and West Indians with the concurrent rising power of young African politicians. According to him, the aim of the Pan-African Movement itself was changed from racism to African nationalism (Akintoye, 1976). Like Akintoye, Panikkar asserted that since the Fifth Pan-African Congress, Padmore, Nkrumah, and Jomo Kenyatta appeared as leading figures of Pan-African Movement (Panikkar, 1961). Nkrumah also explained that the 1958 Accra Conference, which was actually held in Africa, was attended by Africans, and it discussed African affairs. He strongly emphasized the issue of African independence and unity (Nkrumah, 1963). Concerning the resolutions of the Accra Conference, Legum argued that strong emphasis was placed on the emancipation of Africa and the struggle against colonialism. He also mentioned that the conference adopted a non-alignment policy regarding the Cold War (Legum, 1962). Oliver and Atmore, however, tended to regard the conference as a fruitless attempt (Oliver & Atmore, 1972). But M'buyinga claimed the significance of the Accra Conference for passing a resolution to support the Algerian nationalist armed struggle against French colonialism (M'buyinga, 1982).

In December 1958, all African Peoples Conference (A.A.P.C.) was held in Accra. As it was more inclusive, it created a wider forum for those nationalists in the non-independent countries that declared liberation struggle against the colonialists. According to Nkrumah, it contributed a lot to the final liberation and the unity of Africa (Nkrumah, 1963). The conference passed a strong resolution in support of the unity of African states (Legum, 1962). Also, Nye asserted that the conference agreed to achieve African Unity through the formation of regional unities (Nye, 1965). Nkrumah and others, however, did not mention regional unity as an agenda of All African People's Conference. Nkrumah rather showed the formation of regional union between Ghana and Guinea (later joined by Mali) in the same year as a corner stone of his vision for the United States of Africa (U.S.A) (Nkrumah, 1963). Similarly, a year later, Legum indicated the formalization of the union which was called Conakry Declaration. He also explained that W.Tubman, Nkrumah, and Sekou Toure met at Sanniquelle, Liberia, in July 1959, and they agreed to collaborate in achieving the community of African Independent states (Legum, 1962). Panikkar, however, considered the cooperation as an anti-French coalition (Panikkar, 1961). The second Conference of Independent African States (C.I.A.S.) was held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia,

in 1960.

Ajala's description of the war in Algeria, Apartheid and the issue of African Unity were the major topics of the conference. According to him, although the delegates accepted the union unanimously, there were marked differences with regard to the time-limit for unification. While Ghana and Guinea favored immediate political union, Nigeria and others opposed it trying to buy time (Ajala, 1973). Legum attributed the source of this division to the Sanniquelle Declaration proposed by Ghana and Guinea (Legum, 1962). As Ajala stated, the enthusiasm for Pan-Africanism caused independent African states to form regional unities.

The Brazzaville Conference of December 1960 was a typical example (Ajala, 1973). The Brazzaville or the Neutral group included Congo Brazzaville, Ivory Coast, Mauritania, Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Niger, Dahomey, Chad, Gabon, the Central African Republic, Cameroon, Madagascar, and all French ex-colonies (Legum, 1962). N.J. Padelford and R. Emerson rightly commented that this group was more regional than continental (Padelford & Emerson, 1963).

On the other hand, Nye considered the Brazzaville group as a precursor to the Casablanca or the Radical and Monrovia or the Moderate groups (Nye, 1965). In January 1961, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Libya, Egypt, and Morocco held a conference at Casablanca (Nkrumah, 1963). Ajala asserted that the Casablanca group was formed as a response to the Brazzaville group. As opposed to Ajala's assertion, A. Mazrui claimed that Nkrumah's enthusiastic support for the Algerian National Liberation Front detached him from the French speaking African states, and therefore the latter formed the Brazzaville group (Mazrui, 1967). The formation of the Casablanca group was followed by the formation of the Monrovia group in the same year. Members of the group included Liberia, Nigeria, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Togo, Ethiopia, and the Brazzaville group. Apparently, the formation of the Brazzaville, the Monrovia, and the Casablanca groups posed a great problem for the Pan-African movement (Legum, 1962). J. Hatch claimed that the Casablanca group aspired for immediate political union of African states whereas the Monrovia group favored deliberate and time-consuming union (Hatch, 1967).

However, Legum did not mention the differences between the Monrovia and Casablanca groups. Many writers stressed the divisive factors between the Monrovia and the Casablanca groups. Nkrumah himself admitted this ideological division without revealing the causes of the division (Nkrumah, 1963). Padelford and Emerson, however, argued that some leaders of the Monrovia

group interpreted the immediate political union as the surrender of their power to a potential leader of the union (Padelford & Emerson, 1963).

Oliver and Atmore also stated that African political leaders who were under colonial rule had accepted Nkrumah's call for political union. However, when they became leaders of independent states, mainly for fear of losing their sovereignty, they preferred strengthening their power and ignoring Nkrumah's demand for unity (Oliver & Atmore, 1972). Even today, this fear is one of the significant factors that militate against the strength and full consolidation of African Unity. D. Pellow and Naomi Chazan considered the goals of Pan-Africanism as a means to promote the dignity of Africa, to consolidate its influence on world politics, and to establish a strong African personality.

They underlined the success of the Pan-African movement in that it brought together the Monrovia and the Casablanca groups (Pellow & Naomi, 1986). Furthermore, after having settled the problem of regional division, Hatch claimed that African leaders succeeded in forming O.A.U. in 1963 in Addis Ababa. He regarded the establishment of the O.A.U., which provided an institutional forum that facilitated mutual understanding among the African member states, as the zenith of Pan-Africanism (Hatch, 1967). By and large, the Pan-African movement, which was conceived and initiated by African-Americans outside Africa to bring together Africa and African descendants, succeeded in uniting Africans in the continent (Akintoye, 1976). These states are still holding together for the betterment of Africa and Africans in this era of rapid globalization.

## **2.7 Ethiopia, Africa and Pan-Africanism**

Ethiopia reserves a historically critical place in African struggle towards emancipating itself from western colonial rule and territorial occupation. During the period when the continent and descendants fell under the agonizing grip of colonization and slavery, when there was almost no hope of coming out of it and reestablish former way of life, Ethiopia served as a symbolic black land, which withstood similar pressure and came out victorious, black people's pride and a pulling factor towards freedom and independence. As the Journal of African studies quotes TABO MBEKI at the celebration of the victory of Adwa

Accordingly our presence here today gives us a renewed opportunity to pay tribute to the heroic African army led by Emperor Menelik II, Empress Taitu, Ras

Alula, Ras Makonnen and other eminent Ethiopians, which, by defeating the invading Italian forces, gave all Africa the powerful message that our continent's struggles for liberation from imperialism and colonialism would emerge victorious (vol.10, no.2 April 2017).

Ethiopia and Africa enjoyed such a strong bond that one was used in place of the other without affecting the meaning of the words, in other words there is a historical account that the words were used synonymously among Africans slaves beyond the Atlantic ocean, who were struggling their way into freedom.

It's also worth noting Ethiopia's symbolic role for freedom struggles during the slavery period in America as well as all Africans in similar situations elsewhere in the world. A manifesto issued in defense of the black men's rights in the scale of universal freedom was called Ethiopian manifesto. This manifesto was a strong appeal for the liberation of African slaves in the United States and all across the world, published by Robert Alexander Young in New York in 1829. Robert Young named it "The Ethiopian Manifesto" for two reasons.

One of these was that it described all Africans, including those in the Diaspora, as Ethiopians. The other was that he associated the African aspirations for freedom and justice with Ethiopia. And further he wrote:

Ethiopians! open your minds to reason...Know, then, in your present state or standing, in your sphere of government in any nation within which you reside, we hold and contend you enjoy but few of your rights of government within them. We here speak of the whole of the Ethiopian people..." (The Journal of Pan African Studies, vol.10, no.2, April 2017)

Accordingly, Robert Young began "The Ethiopian Manifesto", which was addressed first of all to the African slaves in the United States, with these words:

We do, therefore, to the accomplishment of our purpose, issue this...grand manifesto, here from requiring the attention towards us of every native, or those proceeding in descent from the Ethiopian or African people; a regard to your welfare being the great and inspiring motive which leads us to this our undertaking."

And further he wrote:

Ethiopians! open your minds to reason...Know, then, in your present state or

standing, in your sphere of government in any nation within which you reside, we hold and contend you enjoy but few of your rights of government within them.

We here speak of the whole of the Ethiopian people... (ibid,)

There is also a great deal of reasoning as to how the victory of Adwa is considered not only as the victory of Ethiopia but also the victory of the continent and its descendants all across the world. Since the conquest of the black world by its white counterpart was more of a racial superiority matter than an invasion of one nation on another. Therefore the same principle applied to the victory of Ethiopians over Italians as it was so much bigger than a simple battle field incidence of two nations. It rather had an overreaching implication, thus it is embraced as a victory of all black people. Tabo Mbeki further noted

Our presence here today once more serves as confirmation of the truth our Continent has known for over a century that the great victory of Ethiopia in 1896 at the Battle of Adwa was indeed both an Ethiopian and an African victory. The victory also confirmed the high esteem in which Africans across our Continent and in the African Diaspora held Ethiopia, as well as the inspiration they drew from the existence of this sovereign African State which had existed for millennia (vol.10, no.2 April 2017).

In the African liberation movement and consciousness Ethiopia reserves irreplaceable position for victory of the battle of Adwa served as an epitome of Africa's success with regards to regaining its freedom. Ethiopia's unity, solidarity and determination and extraordinary heroism to defend its independence and sovereignty became a solid foundation on which pan Africanism ideals blossom. The aforementioned account also states,

It was also in the context of the universal African recognition of the place of Ethiopia in the African liberation consciousness and the vital importance of the victory during the Battle at Adwa that Menelik II was admitted among the ranks of the African fighters for liberation as an Honorary President of the Pan-African Association.

Pan-Africanism and the African nationalism which later guided the struggles of all Africans, including those in the Diaspora, as they fought for our emancipation during the 19th and 20thcenturies and indeed this African nationalism itself was first of all known as Ethiopianism (ibid).

Ethiopia's successful resistance of the invasion of Italy and maintenance of its independence justified all Africans to call themselves Ethiopians and their struggle against their conquerors Ethiopianism because Ethiopia represented exactly all that occupied Africans aspired in terms of their future, including those in the African Diaspora, who were proud to describe themselves as Ethiopians, given the essence of their struggle and aspirations they shared, were the same.

In the end the victory at Adwa told all Africans that they were indeed right to call themselves Ethiopians because as such they had demonstrated practically that the claimed invincibility of the European powers was false, and that united Africa and Africans would win! (ibid.).

This historical victory earned Ethiopia an invitation at the first Pan-Africanism conference. "Because of its historical position among all Africans, including and especially the victory at Adwa, Ethiopia was accepted as a participant at the very first and momentous 1900 Pan African Conference at which the outstanding Pan-Africanist, W.E.B. du Bois, made the indelible and prescient statement – the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line!" (The Journal of Pan African Studies, vol.10, no.2, April 2017)

## **2.8 Theoretical Framework of the Study**

This research work aims at assessing Ethiopian Television Foreign Language Department's overall achievement at advocating pan Africanism and promoting the Africa Rising narrative to the rest of the world via international community present in Ethiopia. Therefore, the most suitable communication theory to employ to conduct such a type of research is Framing Theory. The concept of framing is related to the agenda-setting tradition but expands the research by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand rather than on a particular topic. The basis of framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning.

In essence, framing theory suggests that how something is presented to the audience (called "the frame") influences the choices people make about how to process that information. Frames are abstractions that work to organize or structure message meaning. The most common use of frames is in terms of the frame the news or media place on the information they convey. They are thought to influence the perception of the news by the audience, in this way it could be

construed as a form of second level agenda-setting – they not only tell the audience what to think about (agenda-setting theory), but also how to think about that issue (second level agenda setting, framing theory).

Communication scholars and political scientists generally use the term “frame” in two ways (Druckman, 2001; Scheufele, 1999). First, a frame in communication or a media frame refers to the words, images, phrases, and presentation styles that a speaker (e.g., a politician, a media outlet) uses when relaying information about an issue or event to an audience (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, 1989). The chosen frame reveals what the speaker sees as relevant to the topic at hand

The theory was first put forth by Goffman, under the title of Frame Analysis. He put forth that people interpret what is going on around their world through their primary framework. This framework is regarded as primary as it is taken for granted by the user. Its usefulness as a framework does not depend on other frameworks (Goffman, 1974).

Goffman states that there are two distinctions within primary frameworks; natural and social. Both play the role of helping individuals interpret data so that their experiences can be understood in a wider social context. The difference between the two is functional. Natural frameworks identify events as physical occurrences taking natural quote literally and not attributing any social forces to the causation of events. Social frameworks view events as socially driven occurrences, due to the whims, goals, and manipulation on the natural frameworks. These frameworks and the frames that they create in our communication greatly influence how data is interpreted, processed, and communicated. Goffman’s underlying assumption is that individuals are capable users of these frameworks on a day to day basis whether they are aware of them or not.

Scheufele (1999) synthesizes a quarter-century of framing research by identifying four processes: (a) “frame building,” which focuses on the dynamics of how speakers, such as media outlets, choose specific frames in communication; (b) “frame setting,” which concerns the influence of frames in communication on frames in thought, and the precise psychological processes at work; (c) “individual-level effects of frames,” which refers to the impact of frames

in thought on subsequent behaviors or attitudes; and (d) “journalists as audiences,” which looks at how citizens’ actions affect the initial frame-building process.

Framing techniques per Fairhurst and Sarr (1996):

- Metaphor: To frame a conceptual idea through comparison to something else.
- Stories (myths, legends): To frame a topic via narrative in a vivid and memorable way.
- Tradition (rituals, ceremonies): Cultural mores that imbue significance in the mundane, closely tied to artifacts.
- Slogan, jargon, and catchphrase: To frame an object with a catchy phrase to make it more memorable and relate-able.
- Artifact: Objects with intrinsic symbolic value – a visual/cultural phenomenon that holds more meaning than the object itself.
- Contrast: To describe an object in terms of what it is not.
- Spin: to present a concept in such a ways as to convey a value judgement (positive or negative) that might not be immediately apparent; to create an inherent bias by definition.

Framing is in many ways tied very closely to Agenda Setting Theory. Both focus on how media draws the public’s eye to specific topics-in this way they set the agenda. But framing takes a step further in the way in which the news is presented creates a frame for that information. This is usually a conscious choice by journalists – in this case a frame refers to the way media as gatekeepers organize and present ideas, events and topics they cover.

Framing is the way a communication source defines and constructs any piece of communicated information. Framing is an unavoidable part of human communication – we all bring our own frames to our communications.

Framing of the concept of Pan-Africanism is pretty much what this study is all about. Pan-African movement is concerned with rebranding Africa or possibly reconnecting it to its lost

custom, culture, sense of self awareness, pride and confidence. It's about unity, economic and political independence. All of these elements of Pan-Africanism can be communicated through the power of media by accurately and adequately framing the concepts in program segments.

### **III. CHAPTER THREE**

#### **3. Research Design**

##### **Methodology of the study**

##### **3.1 Introduction**

The study employed qualitative research method instruments. Any research method falls into either of the quantitative or qualitative categories. These, especially in social studies have their own merits and demerits (Bryman, 1988). One of the differences between the research methods is their method of data gathering. Describing this Bryman (1988) states that “‘quantitative research’ and ‘qualitative research’ came to signify much more than ways of gathering data; they came to denote divergent assumptions about the nature and purposes of research in the social sciences” (p. 3).

In qualitative research, one interviews people to understand their perspectives on a scene, to retrieve experiences from the past, to gain expert insight or information, to obtain descriptions of events or scenes that are normally unavailable for observation, to foster trust, to understand a sensitive or intimate relationship, to analyze certain kinds of discourse (Lindlof, 1995, p. 5).

##### **3.2. Justification for Employing Qualitative Method**

The justification behind as to why qualitative method was believed to be the right method for this particular study is that the study was to be conducted in its natural setting. “Qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. ). The researcher conducts the research by physically presenting himself at the site where the assessments over the accomplishments of Ethiopian Television Foreign Language Desk interms of promoting Africa and Pan Africanism is to be done without influencing the desk’s usual ways of executing its engagements.

Natural setting-Qualitative researchers tend to collect data in the field at the site

where participants' experience the issue or problem under study. They do not bring individuals into a lab (a contrived situation), nor do they typically send out instruments for individuals to complete. This up close information gathered by actually talking directly to people and seeing them behave and act within their context is a major characteristic of qualitative research. In the "natural setting, the researchers have face-to-face interaction over time (Cresswell, 2007, p.37).

In addition, this study is to produce descriptions, explanations of a natural phenomenon which will be elaborated and presented. "As qualitative research method generally generate explanations and descriptions in words rather than numbers on a given set of issues" (Quinn & Cochran, 2002, p.3). The research tries to appraise and understand perspectives of the audience and stake holders on the proposed research topic. None other than qualitative research is suitable to do just that as the method is also used to understand people's belief system, perspectives and experiences. It seeks to understand a given research problem or topic from the perspectives of the local population it involves. (ibid. p 6)

Other natures of the qualitative research method that justify the rightness of it to this study are mentioned in Denzin and others (1998), to distinguish it from the quantitative. With qualitative research,

- research is conducted in the natural setting of social actors
- The actor's perspective (the "insider" or "emic" view) is emphasized.
- The primary aim is in-depth ("thick") descriptions and understanding of actions and events.
- The main concern is to understand social actions in terms of its specific context (idiographic motive) rather than attempting to generalize to some theoretical population (p. 270).

The study is not restricted to investigating tight cause and effect relationship. Within this research various variables were considered and complex contexts were reflected upon so that sound interpretation of the case can be made. While trying to explain relationships among variables, the researcher, along the way, exercised a measure of flexibility by applying non static strategies. "The research process for qualitative researchers is emergent. This means that the

initial plan for research cannot be tightly prescribed, and that all phases of the process may change or shift after the researchers enter the field and begin to collect data” (Creswell, 2007, p.38) There is also a possibility that the study could follow different paths by what could be dictated at different stages of the assessment. The researcher could always go back and forth and make adjustments accordingly.

Qualitative researchers build their patterns, categories, and themes from the "bottom-up," by organizing the data into increasingly more abstract units of information. This inductive process involves researchers working back and forth between the themes and the database until they establish a comprehensive set of themes. It may also involve collaborating with the participants interactively, so that they have a chance to shape the themes or abstractions that emerge from the process” (Creswell, 2007, p.47)

The researcher in this study reserves a critical position as he is directly involved in data collection, interviewing, document and production content analysis. “Qualitative Researchers, as key instrument of the research, collect data themselves through examining documents, observing behavior, and interviewing participants. They may use a protocol-an instrument for collecting data but the researchers are the ones who actually gather the information. They do not tend to use or rely on questionnaires or instruments developed by other researchers” (ibid.p.58)

The researcher employs multiple data sources to collect multiple forms of data as he also carries out organizing what’s available in raw data into categories and themes and finally engages in making sense of them.

### **3.3. Data Collection Technique**

#### **3.3.1 In-depth Interview**

The study attempted to assess the Ethiopian Television Foreign Languages Department accomplishments as regard to promoting Pan Africanism and project positive imagery of Africa to foreign communities residing in Ethiopia. The researcher found it important to engage in an in-depth interview with entities that are to be sampled based on their pertinence to the study. Subjects were sampled based on their ability to inform important facets and perspectives related to the phenomenon being studied. Interview is among the most familiar qualitative strategies for

collecting qualitative data and also helps elicit appropriate and relevant information before reaching any form of conclusion or suggest recommendations.

The researcher engaged in semi-structured in-depth interview with the interviewees in a context in which they know what it is they speak up on at a designated place and time and other relevant questions would be raised along the lines of the interview questions to enrich the data gathering. “Semi structured interview is generally organized around a set of predetermined open-ended questions, with other questions emerging from the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee” (Bloom & Crabtree, 2006, p.315). Questions were open ended so that the respondents feel free to approach the questions from any angle of their choosing. Bryman (2004) makes the following statement while discussing the advantage of semi-structured interview.

Semi-structured interview covers a wide range of types. It typically refers to a context in which the interviewer has a series of questions that are in the general form of interview guide but is able to vary the sequence of questions. The questions are frequently somewhat more general in their frame of reference from that typically found in a structured interview schedule (p.543).

Interviews were conducted with journalists who pioneered working at English Desk of Ethiopian Television since its establishment to gain insight as to what were the then productions and format arrangements attached to African stories like. Then there were another set of interviews with the current journalists working at the department to identify the extent to which African issues are treated in their productions and also how many of their productions are geared towards advocating Pan-Africanism and promote Africa. There will also be another in-depth interview with the management of Ethiopian Television to find out what it is they set forth as a foundational vision of the station’s Foreign Language Desk. Additional interviews were held with political science scholars to gain insight into what international political advantages it could bring to Ethiopia as well as Africa. In-depth interviews were also conducted with African diplomatic corps over the performance of Ethiopian Television Foreign Language Department with respect to entertaining African issues towards creating African solidarity and promoting the continents positive images to the rest of the world by capitalizing on the presence of numerous

diplomatic missions in the country. Finally there was another interview conducted with viewers to gain insight from the audience angle.

The sampling for the in-depth interview was primarily purposive sampling since it was not necessary to collect data from everyone in a community in order to get valid findings. In qualitative research, only a sample (that is, a subset) of a population is selected for any given study (Schensul, 1999).

The researcher therefore handpicked his samples based on the relevance of the subjects to the study at hand. To say one will engage in purposive sampling, signifies that one sees sampling as a serious of strategic method about with whom, where and how one does one's research. The statement implies that the way researcher sample needs to be tied to their objective (Palys, 2008). The other sampling used here was snowball sampling which is a sampling technique for finding research subjects where by one subject gives the name of another, who in turn provides the name of yet another and so on ( Vogt,1999). The researcher also used data inputs from people and documents suggested by initial samples to further strengthened data gathering. While discussing and analyzing data gathered the researcher used pseudo names to maintain confidentiality.

### **3.3.2 Qualitative Content Analysis**

The other method employed within here was content analysis of some purposely selected programs of the Foreign Language Department that are concerned with African stories. The purposive selection of the programs was made with the intent of maintaining objective grounds to make convincing assessments. The programs are particularly the ones that dealt with African matters. In analyzing topic selection and story framing of the productions the researcher obtained concrete insight as to how Pan-Africanism ideals are framed in African related programs and how much they helped project Africa's positive sides. Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text. (Entman, 1993).

Content analysis aids in making replicable and valid inferences from data to a context, with the purpose of providing knowledge, new insights, a representation of facts and a practical guide to action (Krippendorff, 1980). By assessing the purposely selected programs the researcher attempted to identify their focus areas, the frequent themes, manner of presentation against

which he evaluated how pan-Africanism ideals are framed and the degree to which Africa's better aspects are communicated. Lasswell, Lerner and Pool (1952) said: "...content analysis operates on the view that verbal behavior is a form of human behavior, that the flow of symbols is a part of the flow of events, thoughts as well as ideas and therefore content analysis is a technique which aims at describing, with optimum objectivity, precision, and generality, what is said on a given subject in a given place at a given time (p. 34).

According to Androutsopoulos (2011:47), Framing is defined as language-in-use. In this section of the study the researcher addresses the issues of who speaks what, to whom and how and when. In other words, how African issues are treated, who they target, and what is the purpose behind the productions. Lasswell's better known statement which succinctly encapsulates what media content analysis is about, published in 1948, (as cited in Shoemaker and Reese, 1996), and describes it as: Who says what, through which channel to whom with what effect (p.12).

In order to do just that analyzing the Foreign Language Department's story framing is a key element since without effective use of it promoting anything is impossible. Language is a form of action, a way of doing things with words (Austin, 1962).

### **3.3.3 Participant Observation**

The researcher also employed participant observation method since he has the opportunity as an employee of the Ethiopian Television to have first hand insights of the way how the Foreign Language Department at Ethiopian Television operates. Observations enabled the researcher to describe existing situations using the five senses, providing a "written photograph" of the situation under study (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, Allen, 1993). Observation method is useful to researchers in a variety of ways, it provides researchers with ways to check for nonverbal expression of feelings, determine who interacts with whom, grasp how participants communicate with each other, and checks for how much time is spent on various activities (Schmuck, 1997).

The fact that the researcher works at the station comes along with yet another benefit that if informants in the interview exaggerate or conceal valuable data, it would very much be easier for the researcher to cross check, design questions based on actual practices of the Foreign Language Desk as is observed by the researcher every day. "In Participant Observation the researcher is, to a greater or lesser extent, immersed in the day-to-day activities of the people being studied. The

objective is usually to record data and conduct the research under the widest range of possible settings'' (Norms, 1998, p.216).

Participant observation allows researchers to check definitions of terms that participants use in interviews, observe events that informants may be unable or unwilling to share when doing so would be impolitic, impolite, or insensitive, and observe situations informants have described in interviews, thereby making them aware of distortions or inaccuracies in description provided by those informants (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Dewalt and Dewalt (2002) believe that "the goal for design of research using participant observation as a method is to develop a holistic understanding of the phenomena under study that is as objective and accurate as possible given the limitations of the method" (p.92). They suggest that participant observation be used as a way to increase the validity of the study, as observations may help the researcher have a better understanding of the context and phenomenon under study. Another advantage of having the researcher working at the station and employ observation method is that it helps increase the validity of the research provided that the researcher maintains neutrality. Validity is stronger with the use of additional strategies used with observation, such as interviewing, document analysis, or surveys, or other qualitative methods. Participant observation can be used to help answer descriptive research questions, to build theory, or to generate or test hypotheses (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002).

Having the chance to observe the station's Foreign Language Desk on daily basis further more provided opportunity to design interview questions from an informed angle or from what gets to be observed in uninfluenced ambiance of the Foreign Language Department's daily operations. It also provided a chance as to who to talk to and what to talk about. When designing a research study and determining whether to use participant observation as a data collection method, one must consider the types of questions guiding the study, the site under study, what opportunities are available at the site for observation, the representativeness of the participants of the population at that site, and the strategies to be used to record and analyze the data (DeWALT& DeWALT,2002).

As to the ethical issues, the researcher maintained the level of confidentiality, his involvement in participant observation requires. Acquiring Informed consent is also another ethical standard the

researcher attempted to live up to. The research participants will formally and informally be made aware of the researcher's purpose of interactions while gathering data. DeWALT, DeWALT, and WAYLAND(1998) advise the researcher to take some of the field notes publicly to reinforce that what the researcher is doing is collecting data for research purposes.

#### **3.3.4. Data Processing and Presentation**

All the data collected were first compiled and went through a process of deconstruction whereby they were broken down into component parts then were into categories and themes. However, some of the data, which had no contribution to this study, were simply discarded. Then interpretation followed. All the theme specified information were analyzed and then their implications were presented and recommendations were made in the last chapter of this study.

## **IV. CHAPTER FOUR**

### **Data Presentation and Analysis,**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

As it is indicated in the third chapter of this research paper, the study aimed at assessing the accomplishment of Ethiopian Television's Foreign Language Department towards promoting Pan-Africanism ideals and project positive imagery of Africa to the massive international community found in the country.

This chapter of the study presents data gathered from interviews held with entities believed to be indispensable and complementary to the research work. Administrative body of Foreign Language Desk at Ethiopian Television, journalists working at the department, scholars from African studies, linguistics and political science, members of the diplomatic community and selected viewers of programs of the department are entities from which data was acquired. Data was mainly gathered from interview and there was a qualitative content analysis of documents and purposely selected productions of the desk that dealt with African issues. Individuals with whom interview was held are 20 informants, three from the foreign language desks administrative body, five journalists, four scholars, four from diplomatic community and four audiences. In content analysis, six purposely selected programs of "The New African" were chosen. "The New African" is the only program till this study is conducted that dwells on African matters at the department. The program is aired twice a month. The study analyzed six programs of 'The New Africa' from May 2017 to May 2018. The purposive selection of the programs is based on their correlation to the study at hand which is framing Pan Africanism ideals.

Hence, the presentation and analysis of the data in this section of the study is put one after the other. The first part of the section discusses interview findings as the second part deals with content analysis of the department's Africa related issues based programs and other documents about the Foreign Language Department in connection with its foundational purposes and format structures.

### **4.1.1 Qualitative Data Analysis**

#### **4.1.2 In-depth Interview with Pertinent Individuals**

As it is pointed out earlier in chapter three, data for this research was mainly obtained from in-depth interviews conducted with 20 informants. Hence, this section presents and discusses information contained in the data acquired from the interview. The analysis starts by looking at the purpose to which the Ethiopian Television Foreign Language Department is established for, how many programs the desk airs and out of which how many of them entertain and how often do they entertain African matters and who the presumed audiences of the department are.

Then the analysis moves on to looking at what type of means of receiving feedback is there from the supposed audience, after that the data presentation and analysis section looks at format arrangements to promote Pan-Africanism and project positive imagery of Africa using the foreign Language Department at ETV. The subsequent data presentation and analysis deals with perceptions of the journalists as to how job is done at the department, if they think the department is living up to what's expected of it and how they cover African stories. Then we look at what all informants feel about having an African media presenting African stories by Africans themselves as opposed to African stories being told by main stream western media. And what they think would be political, psychological and economical advantages of having such a media in Africa. Then African programs of the department will be seen from framing orientation, focus areas and story selection angles.

#### **4.1.3 The Media Mission Assigned to the Foreign Language Department at ETV.**

Informants at Ethiopian Television were asked the foundational mission of the Foreign Language Department of the station. All the informants seem to have similar understanding of the purpose to which the department is established for. According to Yehualashet Seifu, news and current affairs and head the purpose of the department is-

The Foreign Language Department is established to promote Ethiopia's social, economic, political affairs as well as promote tourist attractions of the country. That is the primary objective. Secondly it's to promote Africa's political, social and developmental activities to international community.

Head of the Foreign Language Department Ms. Almaz Gelaw when asked about the mission of

the department, she pointed out that-

The very purpose of the desk is to reach out to the international community residing in Ethiopia and abroad as well as the Ethiopian Diaspora with stories of what is happening politically and economically in Ethiopia and Africa. We here at the desk primarily focus on promoting business opportunities to potential investors. We target business people in the Middle East, Far East and possibly from the Ethiopian diaspora in the west an. We attempt to show the peace and security status of the country. We show them there's a relative peace here.

What seems to stand out in all the answers of informants at the station is that they all think primarily the department works to promote business opportunities of the country. The issue of promoting Africa is perceived as a second mission of the Foreign Language Department. Mr Tariku Abebe who is an editor at the department strengthens the assortment. This is what he said when he was asked the same question. "The department was established in 1963 with combined purposes of promoting Ethiopia's social, diplomatic and political progresses and investment opportunities with a bid to attract possible investors and project Africa's positive images."

Other informants also said the same thing in different words. Another point points raised by another informant worth noting is that of Mr. Kasa Daniel's, Editor at the department. He stated that-"The Foreign Language Department has the responsibility of informing political envoys visiting Ethiopia for political missions about Ethiopia's political and developmental activities and that of Africa's."

The second focus area of the in-depth interview was the format arrangement of the Foreign Language Department towards promoting socio-economic and political activities of Africa. This time the level of certainty seemed to have dropped because the question was whether or not the mission to promote Africa is clearly indicated in the format of the department. Mr.Yehualashet said a doubtful "yes there is" Ms Almaz said "I think so, somewhere I read"

Neither the administrating body nor the journalists were certain as to the existence of any mission, related to promoting Africa's socio-political and economic activities in the format. However, a lot of them seem to presume there is. In the document analysis of this research it was

found out that nothing in the format structures of the Foreign Language Department says anything about promoting African developmental or political activities or promoting Pan Africanism ideals. The format rather clearly states the Foreign Language Department is there to exclusively promote Ethiopia. There are also other points mentioned in the responsibility and mission section of the format which will be further discussed in the document analysis section of this study work. As the researcher observed while working at the desk, the department usually gets acclaimed as a media outlet that echoed Pan Africanism from the start and it's been doing so for the past fifty plus years. It is with this mind set the staff at the department covers AU summit programs every year. There is that background understanding that the department attempts to better communicate African realities to its presumed audience, however, this engagement does not have the departments' format back up.

#### **4.1.4 Amount and Types of Programs of Foreign Language Department at ETV**

There are seven weekly and biweekly aired programs at ETV's Foreign Language Department. Each of them has its own specific purpose to serve. As it was indicated in the interview the primary engagement of the Foreign Language Department is to do promotional advocacy of Ethiopia's socio- political and economic aspects. This can evidently be observed from the names of the programs, Ethiopia Insight, EBC Business, colorful Ethiopia, Explore Ethiopia, and EBC Documentary. These programs are predominantly concerned with local matters. Head of the Foreign Language Department agrees to the claim.

There is a paradox at the department when it comes to story coverage ratio the format arrangement of the department is 70 % Ethiopian story and 30 % African story coverage, however the practice suggests otherwise Ethiopian stories get covered more than 90% and that goes quite contrary to what is presumed to be one of the finding objectives of the department which is to promote Africa and be the voice of Pan Africanism.

Despite the department's head remark, the 70 to 30 story coverage ratio is not exactly what's in the format. The format states 30% international. It's not Africa specific; however the statement about Ethiopian stories consuming the line share of the air time is an accurate one. This can be explained as follows according to the researcher's observation.

The Foreign Language Department is chronically dependant on Amharic news and program productions. It rarely produces its own programs by its own producers, for the lack of attention bestowed on the department, except that of ‘The New Africa’ program. Most of foreign language programs are translated versions of the Amharic programs and the Amharic programs mostly dwell on local issues and that is directly copied onto the foreign language platforms. First the English desk copies from Amharic productions then Arabic and French productions of the foreign language copy from English programs as a result everything takes on local flavor. This view is shared by another producer at the department Mr. Wendossen Tamirat, when asked about challenges of the department.

I don’t think the Ethiopian Television’s top management value the Foreign Language Department’s contributions as much therefore; proper or adequate resource is not allocated to it. Without financial and equipment assignment and able producers hired for it, the Foreign Language Department is not going to be able to establish its own international flavor and production styles. Being dependent on the Amharic language productions is not a matter of choice for the department it’s rather a matter of survival. That needs to change.

#### **4.1.5 African Story Coverage of the Foreign Language Department**

The next focus area of the in-depth interview was how African Stories are covered in the department. From seven up and running programs five of them are assigned exclusively for local stories. African stories are not given as much focus as that of the local stories at the department. When asked About the Africa’s coverage at the department, Mr., Alemu Kassa at Editor Position explained-

Out of the seven programs the Foreign Language Department produces, there is only one program assigned to cover African stories called “The New Africa”. There used to be other programs from People TV like **Initiative Africa** and **Business Africa** both of which were not paid for by Ethiopian Television. People TV used to send them for free. The other one is Africa Journal of Reuters. These programs cover Africa’s various socio-political and economic endeavors. After these outsource programs aired for years, ETV wanted to produce its own African programs which gave rise to the creation of programs like ‘Africa in Focus’, a

program which later on, became 'The New Africa'.

"The New Africa" is a twenty minutes duration documentary program that airs twice a month. The program is designed to give coverage to African stories. The production of the program is message from the political elite to the deprived mass. "The New Africa" applies a measure of propaganda model. According to (Herman And Chomsky, 1988) "In countries where the levers of power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy, the monopolistic control over the media, often supplemented by official censorship, makes it clear that the media serve the ends of a dominant elite" (p.67).

A journalist who has worked at the station for over eight years who has been the only producer of 'The New Africa' for the past three years and half, Ms. Beza Alemu, When asked about story framing style of African stories she pointed out the following which affirms the above assertion of "The New Africa"

We basically cover stories from African Union and ECA events. African heads of States and governments hold conferences at least twice a year in Addis Ababa and that provides the access to learn political, economical and developmental agendas of the continent since that is what prominent political figures of the continent deliberate up on when they gather at the AU head quarter. Story lines are framed in a way they can depict all Africa's positive political and developmental activities. The reporting, however, is directly how it is presented at the events.

Trying to promote an entire continent from the continent's top political elite is what "The New Africa" seem have been doing in recent years of its productions. Investigative and analytical touches seem to be lacking from the program. When asked again if she thinks the coverage of African stories from only what's told at AU and ECA summits, is adequate enough, in her answers she agrees to what's said to be lacking.

I don't think the coverage of stories is adequately done for it requires a measure of journalistic analytical touch. some of the agendas we entertained in 'The New Africa' programs require further assessment and investigation by actually going to all different parts of the continent and give reporting to the reality on the ground

to keep the balance between what the politicians say at summits and what in fact happens to the people of Africa. The station does not have allocated resource or vested interest to do that.

#### **4.1.6 Means of Receiving Feedback**

There seems to be a common sentiment shared by all informants at the department one that of disappointment because there has never been any formal means of receiving feedback from the presumed audience. As it is expressed by a veteran journalist of the department Mr. Fitsum Yishak,

The department presumes the international diplomatic community residing in Addis Ababa to be its primary audience, local and international investors, tourists, Ethiopian Diaspora and educated elite to be the remaining audience base of the department. But we have no formal means of receiving feedback from them. We just assume the watch what we produce and it is sad.

Informants made it clear that the station does not have a formal research team that assesses audience feedback nor there is any platform one that is repeatedly announced to the viewers to react up on from which data can be gathered and analyzed. According to Biniam Alemayehu another veteran journalist at the station,

In former days 5544 postal service was the only feedback receiving means, in recent times phone numbers and text lines were put to use, however that was meant to receive feedback from anyone to any organ of the station. It wasn't meant for data gathering for assessment and analyzing purpose. They had no more use than communicating with producers of various programs. As for the Foreign Language Department, the only time it gets feedbacks is when journalists commit factual errors or misrepresent realities. The feedbacks are from government or diplomatic entities who thought were misrepresented in the programs of the department in which they have vested interest.

#### **4.1.7 Selected Audiences' Reflection**

The questions asked to the respondents were directly related to the frame elements used by Entman (1993) to define *Framing*. The elements contain, defining and diagnosing the problem,

providing quality judgment and finally suggesting a way out to the problem. Therefore, to understand with which dominant narrative their perception fall, the respondents or interviewees were asked what they would deem as a problem, the causal factors and made a quality judgment as well as suggested remedy.

#### **4.1.7.1 Human Interest Frame**

The first question that all interviewees were asked was their particular reasons as to why they watch the English programs. This question was important because one of the impacts of frames is to elicit interest out of viewers towards certain narration. To get viewers watching Foreign language department may have demonstrated such frames. As part of the integral part of the study a measure of audience reaction was assessed. The individuals with whom interviews were held have personal motives towards watching ETV Foreign Languages English programs. When asked as to why they watch foreign language programs Ms. Fikirte Tekalign said, “I started watching English programs basically for academic reasons to pick up some presentation skills and language tip.”

It appeared that it wasn't much for the framing of the foreign language programs that most of the informants were interested in watching. Personal reasons were the pushing factors. According to Ms. Ms. Hiwot Aragaw, she said “I watch ETV English programs because some of the journalists working at the department are people I went to school with. I like to see their work.”

When asked about their general overview of the English language programs. They pointed out lots of short comings and little strength. According to Mr. Biniam Walelign the fact that the station still transmits programs in various languages for over 50 years now is something worth considering as a positive aspect. He said, “I have always watched the English desk programs since I was little back when speaking English language was a big deal. I used to be an hour long transmission. No big changes over the years but the transmission are still on and that's something despite its lacking.”

#### **4.1.7.2 Professionalism at ETV' Foreign Language Department**

There seem to be a professional skill difference among presenters of the Foreign Language Department. When informants were asked about what they would view as lacking they touched up on the presentation skill differences of presenters. Mr. Biniam Tesfaye is another informant in

the category of audience and he said “What I would consider as one of the big problems of the English desk is the presenters’ difference. There is a veteran show host like Tefera Gedamu which has done a show for over twenty years and on the other hand there are journalists who barely pronounce words right and also are camera shy.”

One of the ways of narrowing presenters’ skill gap is by hiring best skills in the market or providing skill enhancement programs. This was reflected by Mr. Hailu Mideksa another audience who said, “The station should have a very good screening tool when it comes to new recruits of journalists. There should be ample time given to the new ones until they get used to the media environment and continuous training should also be provided for them.”

#### **4.1.7.3 Salience Frame**

The other question that informants were asked was about African stories whether they think Africa major issues are appropriately represented at the Foreign Language Department of ETV. This question is important in that it helps understand audiences’ reactions towards what’s made salient about African issues and manner of presenting them. Mr. Biniam Walelign said, “I don’t think African stories are properly covered at EBC both in depth and variety of issues. It’s predominantly event based. It is either the summit or agenda’s from the summit that African programs usually cover.”

“The new Africa” program producer also share this view of the audience and she said, “Of course the production of “The New Africa” could be made more appealing both in production and content quality. In order to do that traveling to different parts of the continent is must otherwise I will have no choice but to cover AU and ECA events only.”

Even if the coverage is narrow and the presentation may appear less engaging the fact that there is still an African program in the department is commendable. Meeting optimal media practice standards is what’s also needed to be met. Informant Audience Ms. Hiwot Aragaw shares this assertion and said the following

Ethiopian Television station dedicates a measure of resource and provides a media platform to cover African stories within the Foreign Language Department. That’s good and of course expected of the station given the political status of the city. But to an alternative African media voice, so much has to be done.

When asked if they think ETV Foreign Language Department is serving as African voice to the international community audience another audience Mr. Wendosen Alemayehu said “Being the voice of Africa to the international community residing in Addis Ababa is quiet an ambition and requires a great deal of professionalism and media infrastructure. EBC can get provided that proper infrastructure and man power are in place.”

#### **4.1.8 Diplomats’ Reflection**

##### **4.1.8.1 Balancing Stories Frame**

The International Community residing in Ethiopia is primarily perceived as the Foreign Language Department’s target audience. Questions were taken to fellow Africans on diplomatic mission capacity. When asked about activities of ETV in relation to covering events at AU and ECA, Ms. Aida Opoku-Mensah Special Advisor at UNECA said.

I have seen that journalists from EBC conducting frequent interviews with different diplomats over various issues. Trying to reach audience with African stories and presenting authorities and experts’ angles is really a commendable job the station is doing.

When asked about balancing narratives about the continent. She said

Of course the mainstream narrative of Africa is characterized with lots of negativity and gloom. Western mainstream media played its role in exaggerating facts and making the narrative as such for long. Africa is rising now. There are lots of positive changes happening in the continent. However these changes are not making headlines as that of the misery of the people of Africa. Changing the negative narrative of Africa is the responsibility of every African and particularly African media. All media in the continent including EBC should be committed to making the change happen. We have so much to do in that respect.

If not war, starvation and disease, it is Africa’s traditional music. If not, it’s coverage of small fashion enterprises that CNN or BBC cover within their Africa focused programs. Africa needs a viable media outlet that provides African perspective and promotes the Africa rising narrative.

How successful have African Medias been so far? Was another question forwarded to her and she said,

Various media initiatives have been embarked up on and their success yet remains to be assessed. However I wouldn't say Africa has been devoted to developing its media capacity towards producing counter positive stories of the continents. Attempts have been made unilaterally. It hasn't been a continental activity yet. Intermittently here and there in the continent initiatives have been taken, as to me, that is not enough. African states would have pay attention to exploiting media power to help the renaissance of the continent materialize.

When asked about what Ethiopia can do, given the fact that more than any other city in the continent Addis Ababa hosts international offices, embassies and consulate offices, Febe Potgieter-Gqibule Special Advisor to the chairperson of African Union Commission said,

Ethiopia has a little edge over other countries in the continent in that it is the seat of the continental organization AU and ECA and other international offices. To top it off leaders of the continent gather here to deliberate on continental matters two to three times here in Addis Ababa. Every top politician of the continent could be accessed for interviews. Continental strategies, be it political or economical are deliberated at the head quarter, various experts of the continent also make their cases to the political elite here in Addis Ababa and that it a very good opportunity for any media outlet operating in Ethiopia to cover Africa's political, economic and social activities. So the Ethiopian Television has a proximity advantage. So much is left to be done with African media to reinforce African causes. I hope someday empowering African media be one of the main agendas at the summits and African states subsidize efforts in that regard.

#### **4.1.9 Political Science, History, Linguistic Scholars' Perspective**

##### **4.1.9.1 Counter Narrative Frame**

As for political, psychological implication of African media concerned with African stories, interviews were held with scholars of linguistic, history and political science. Scholars were interviewed to gain insight as to what kinds of cascading effects of proper or improper utilization

of media may have on society. Citizens have been found to have low-quality opinions, if they have opinions at all. In the public opinion literature, high-quality opinions are usually defined as being stable, consistent, informed, and connected to abstract principles and values. The general conclusion among scholars is that such opinions are rare in the mass public (Converse 1964, Zaller 1992).

They all have been asked essentially similar questions but their answers came from different angles. First question was why they think western main stream media perpetuates bleak images of Africa, Lema Yimer, a linguistics professor at Addis Ababa University said,

Media is one of the public controlling devices of political elites advocating governments' political views and spreading their influence, you don't need to be surprised that Africa is portrayed as a deserted, gloomy continent, dependant on the white man's charitable acts. That's how the political systems of the countries in which the media are found would want Africa to be presented. How you see Africa being presented in western media is the reflection of how the western politics wants Africa to be regarded. There is also the maintaining the power dynamics element. The main stream western media operate in countries that are politically and economically powerful and dictating political and economic orders of the world. For them to be on top, there has to be some on the bottom and that should be asserted and reiterated in their media, that's why Africa and other parts of the second and third world peoples are represented in an inferior manner. Africa's backwardness is no more true than what's portrayed in these media , however the presentation are tuned in a way they don't show the west's responsibility for Africa to be the way it is today. Starting from slavery through colonization and through the current economic control the west is largely responsible for most of Africa's age old problems. One can't see this talked about on western mainstream media. These media still present the western world as Africa's care taker and redeemer. The people are continuously presented as unable and unwilling to resolve their own socio economic and political setbacks.

Africans seem to be inept to take on engagements that can counter the western media narrative of

Africa. Territorial independence has been ensured for decades in the continent. However frames of the continents' story are still set by former colonial masters. According to the linguistic scholar, this is due to western education philosophy dependence.

Africa's education system suffers from incompetence and hasn't helped Africa come out of backwardness and realize its development and psychological independence and that's mainly because it is an imported education system one that totally disregards existing knowledge in the continent and disconnected Africa's generations from the continents age old way of life, social structure, governance, local knowledge and wisdom. Unless the continent adopts all kinds of political, economic and education policies and strategies prescribed by the west, there is no way Africa could manage to pull itself out of the depth of its misery and suffering. They don't tell us that there is African social structure, education, local wisdom, understanding of life and the world which should have been and could be capitalized up on, instead of totally erasing it and trying to replace it with western mode of modernization. This is the reality in the continent and it's even rarely talked about on Africa's local channels leave alone western media.

When asked about the possibility and the implication of having an African media concerned about African stories in Ethiopia the professor said,

However unlikely it may sound to have African media dwelling on Africa's serious concerns is somewhat an ideal venture because Africa hasn't fully come out of slavery and colonization. Emancipation of Africa may have been realized to a certain degree territory wise but there are still numerous lingering effects of slavery and colonization periods and to this day both direct and indirect interests intervene in the continent and have strong meddling hands. Africa's universities, Africa's media need to address these issues. Ethiopia also shares that responsibility with the rest of the continent.

When asked similar questions, historian at Addis Ababa University Mr. Samuel Bekele pointed out that-

Ethiopia has both the responsibility and opportunity to project positive images of Africa. The responsibility emanates from the fact that the biggest continental organization has chosen the Addis Ababa for its headquarter seat. This should not be taken lightly. It is because of Ethiopia's history of independence and contribution to liberating other African countries during the time of colonial rule. That precedence needs to be sustained. As for the opportunity, Ethiopia has such a noble regard in the world of African descendants. A media representation of Africa from this country is not only an opportunity missed out on but also unfortunate. Having a foreign language department in place is one thing and working towards addressing the underpinning issues using media as a powerful tool is another thing.

On similar note another interview was held with a Political Science scholar Mr. Mesfin Ashine. On the nature of what African stories coverage should be like and what should be expected from ETV's Foreign Language Department he said,

Foreign Language Desk at ETV should be inclusive of all the major challenges the continent faces and should be part of solution seeking endeavors. Africa rising narrative should be echoed by African media. Particularly the Ethiopian Television should be at the forefront of this endeavor. However Pan Africanism is a complex ambition to materialize. It's getting even harder by the day because Africa's indigenous values, culture, custom and language irretrievably compromised. African indigenous languages do not represent Africa at international platforms. Africa is still represented by colonial languages. Language comes along with culture, ways of looking at and understanding the world. There are many issues that Africa needs to settle before it's able to defend itself and preserve what is its own. You can't call a media an African media while it operates in colonial masters' languages. As far as Ethiopia is concerned of course there are some indisputable historical facts that could serve as a source of pride not only for Ethiopian nationals but also for all African descents but Ethiopians are also largely disconnected from their forefathers psychology and self understanding. So before having a media institution in Ethiopia to do

advocacy job of Pan-Africanism and be a voice of African causes there are lots of things that need to be in place first, having an institution alone wouldn't suffice to execute such a noble undertaking.

The informants seem to fancy the idea of having an African media that is primarily concerned with African stories presented by the owners of the story Africans themselves. In addition they expressed their unhappiness about Africa's representation of western main stream media.

#### **4.2 Content Analysis of Selected Programs**

There are six selected programs of foreign language department's purposefully chosen for reflection in terms of how Pan African themes are framed. The programs were aired at different times between May of 2017 to May, 2018. Over decades a man called ago Sylvester William, a West Indian lawyer, convened in London a congress at which he first used the term 'Pan-African' to signify the underlying unity of the African continent and the vision of an independent, united Africa. Complete independence, union of African peoples in a common wealth, political and economic integration of all Africans. Therefore Pan-Africanism in its general sense, it is concerned about Africa's unity, political and territorial independence as well as emancipation from slave mentality. In this section of the study we examine if thematic essence of Pan-Africanism is reflected in the framing structure of "The New Africa" program of ETV's Foreign Language Department.

##### **4.2.1 Integration Frame**

Political and economic integration of Africa is one of the central themes of Pan-Africanism. **Slowly but Surely** is a program aired on June 20, 2017 on "The New Africa" program which touched up on this central element of Pan- Africanism. The program presents the idea of economic integration as an important element of the continent's development strategy, as a vision yet to be realized and a mission that Africa has been working on since the establishment of OAU. An excerpt from the script of the program reads,

-Intro-

-Montage-

-Transition-

African integration was a **dream** of many of the continent's leaders since the creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963.

-SBS-(Talk about the inception)

African countries have since then embraced regional integration as an important component of their development strategies primarily driven by the rationale of overcoming the constraint of small and fractioned economies.

The program frames agreements signed between countries in several of regions of the country as decisive ones

The Lagos Plan of Action was a **critical** agreement in the history of regional integration in Africa. Among the decisions was the establishment of an African Economic Community in the foreseeable future, the strengthening of existing regional economic communities.

According to Pan-Africanism, if independent African states are to achieve economic and political viability their leaders must cooperate to form organizations strong enough to mobilize and to implement common goals. This particular program of “The New Africa” speaks into the importance of forming regional economic organization to realize the continent’s economic ambitions. The script reads, “The Abuja treaty clearly puts that progress would be achieved by integration within regional economic communities (RECs) that would be realized, through closer economic and political ties, lead to a united economy.”

The program further indicates ways as to how economic integration of Africa could be realized.

In regards to economic integration, requirements including enhanced trade among African countries, more roads and other infrastructure, reform of regional institutions, greater accountability and popular involvement, and closer coordination of efforts by the public and private sectors among others have to take effect for the Africa’s integration ambition to be achieved.

Pan-Africanism does not encourage small and fragmented economies in the continent. It aspires

to dissolve territorial separations of African nations in a bid to create unified front and one strong economy of the continent. The program under examination regards regional economic integrations as propelling movies towards accelerating Africa's economic integration. The script further narrates,

The RECs have been the **driving force** for integration across the African continent, where small, fragmented, and isolated economies with a very unequal distribution of geographic characteristics make a compelling case for the cause on a regional basis by reducing the thickness of borders to exploit scale economies and reap efficiency gains.

Part of the economic integration essence of Pan-Africanism is creating intra-African nations trade route as opposed to Africa being a market destination to the outside world. The program uses complimentary words with respect to describing efforts geared towards establishing trade venues among African nations. This is how the narrations of the script describe similar endeavors.

Trade in the continent has traditionally been the engine of economic, social and political integration. The launch in June 2015 of the Tripartite Free Trade Agreement, followed by the official start of negotiations with a view to establishing a Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) by 2017, marks a **key milestone** in this process.

The program additionally critiques lack of political will to materialize vision of political and economical integrations in Africa. Generally the program has a sense of endorsing the idea of Africa's economic integration and highlight failings towards achieving the stated integration goal. The following excerpt adds to the assertion.

The idea of better integrating African countries and regions has long been promoted by political leaders even though only **limited results** have been seen on the ground.

SBs

-Transition-

-SBs-

-Transition-

The record of regional integration in Africa so far has been **modest** and characterized by **uncoordinated** initiatives in addition to low levels of intra-regional trade among other **setbacks** that pull the steps backward. Regional integration offers significant potential; particularly if it goes beyond cooperation on trade. It also promotes economic transformation by expanding regional coordination to other areas, including investment, trade facilitation and infrastructure.

Towards the end, the program presents its optimism for the realization of economic integration of the continent. It also states conditions needed to be in place before such a central theme of Pan- Africanism is put into effect. The script concludes,

African nations have put in place plenty and impressive instruments to help accelerate the continent's move towards an integrated and united Africa as encapsulated in the continent's 50 year development blue print, Agenda 2063.

All the **impressive** programs along with political will and determination from its leaders are expected to bring about a meaningful and visible change in the face of the continent; which is home to 70 percent of young population expecting to see Africa; being a determiner of its own destiny.//

#### **4.2.2 The Africa Rising Frame**

The realization of the Pan-Africanism objectives is believed to lead to power consolidation in Africa, which would compel making use of the continent's resources by its own people as well as unleashing a fiercer psychological energy to help African mindset transcend from one that's shackled to a freer and innovative one. Pan-Africanism pushes the agenda of African nations having the economic, political and social clout to act and compete on the world stage as do other large entities, such as the European Union and the United States (Minkah, 2011).

In order to realize this vision the African union has put forth a 50 years strategy named Agenda 2063. “The New Africa” did a program on Agenda 2063 which is all about realizing the restored Africa under the title of “The Africa We Want” and it was aired on August 17, 2017. This section examines how the Africa Rising Narrative is framed.

The transition of OAU to AU is framed with a sense of optimism towards transforming to continent from poverty and backwardness to richness. The script states,

Fifty years after the first thirty-three independent African states gathered in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia to form the Organization of African Unity (the OAU), the continent is still looking forward to the next fifty years.

In 2002, the OAU was transformed into the African Union, (the AU) with the hopes of propelling a united continent towards **peace** and **prosperity**. On the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the OAU/AU in May 2013, Africa’s political leadership acknowledged past achievements and challenges and rededicated itself to the Pan African vision of an integrated, **prosperous** and **peaceful** Africa, driven by its own citizens. -Transition-

The African Union’s 50-year development plan, Agenda 2063, aims to cap a century of the organization’s work with a thoroughly **transformed** continent. The AU supports political and economic integration among its 54 member nations, boost development, **eradicate poverty** and bring Africa into the global economy.

“The Africa We Want” program communicates the Africa rising concept with in Agenda 2063 by employing positive and optimism charged words and phrases like peace, prosperity, peaceful and prosperous Africa, transformed continent etc. the script further reads,

-Transition-

Significant **positive** and **sustained growth** trajectory of many African countries, notable reduction in violent conflict, increased peace and stability, among others are factors that spur optimism for further growth.

This new effort to envision Africa’s long-term development trajectory is timely

for several reasons.

-Transition-

Agenda 2063 is both a Vision and an Action Plan which calls all segments of African society to work together to build a **prosperous** and **united** Africa.

“The Africa We Want” program gives mental images of what the future Africa is going to look like. The program seemingly uses all the antonyms of dictions used so far to describe Africa on main stream platforms. The continent is said to be backward, forsaken, a place for wild animals and wild people. The narration in the script portrays a total opposite Africa using strong, positively descriptive words.

The aspirations reflect the desire of Africans for **prosperity, unity** and **integration**, for a continent free of conflict and free citizens and improved human security.

They also project an Africa of **strong identity**, culture and values, as well as a strong and influential partner at the global stage making equal, respected contribution to human progress and welfare. The aspirations foresee a better and **dynamic Africa** by 2063, where women and youth assume leading roles in growth and transformation of African societies. As Agenda 2063 aspires to achieve continental prosperity, **integration, good governance**, security, **people-driven development** and a strong cultural identity....

As was the case with “slowly but surely” program this one as well ends by harping on the Africa rising narrative by framing optimistic conclusion.

More action is still required on a number of fronts and Africa must do things very differently to achieve the vision of “An **Integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa**, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena”.

Sound Bites about how they picture the Africa of 2063

(People saying ‘Africa’ in a louder voice)

-END- //

### **4.2.3 Indignation Frame**

Pan-Africanism in a essence is an ideological philosophy born of indignation. Prominent figures of the movement, Silvester William, Du Bois and Marcus Garvey, expressed the same resentment of the way how Africa’s resource was looted by colonial Europe. Part of the aspiration of the movement they advanced was to make sure that Africans make ultimate use of their natural endowment (Oyedeki, 1974). “Sending the Hoe to the Museum” is another “The New Africa” program at ETV’s Foreign Language Department which set indignation tone with respect to underutilized Africa’s Agricultural potential, aired on October, 13, 2017. The script from the program read,

African agriculture remains substantially undercapitalized, with extremely low levels of mechanization contributing to agricultural productivity far below the level achieved in other parts of the developing world.

Despite being a crucial sector in many economies, agricultural productivity on the continent is very low. During the past 30 years, the competitiveness of many Sub-Saharan Africa export crops has declined and the region’s dependence on imported food crops has increased.

Africa’s agriculture is not mechanized yet which in turn affect production. The continent has ample arable land; however farming still depends on the back of oxen. Africa’s food security isn’t met yet. Africa receives tones of food aid annually while the land could feed Africans and beyond. The script adds to the assertion stating the following stat.

African agriculture still relies predominantly on human muscle power despite rising rural wages, in contrast to other developing regions that have experienced rapid increases in agricultural mechanization during the past few decades.

In Central Africa an estimated 80% of cultivated land is worked manually while in Eastern and Southern Africa, that figure is about 50%. On average, less than

20% of mechanization services are provided by engine power in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The indignation is further marked by describing the food security issue of Africa with strong terms. The script narrates,

African countries have in the past put in place structures to promote agricultural mechanization even if efforts have mostly failed for several reasons.

Africa **will not feed its people** if agricultural value chains do not modernize, enhancing food security and nutrition and creating opportunities for rural youths in agriculture.

Africa needs to capitalize on its agricultural potentials. Strategies put into effect needs to be sustained as well the script recommends and comes to an end by sparking indignation on the basis of what Africa could have done so far in agriculture sector. The program's conclusion reads,

The continent has made significant strides in the past decades in terms of increasing productivity which are impressive by any standard. Considerable investments in agricultural research and technology and in infrastructural development are required to modernize the sector and aspire the continents dream of not only feeding its people but also the rest of the world.//

#### **4.2.4 “Changing the Negative Description” Frame**

The negative narrative of Africa has been perpetuated because of the hardships its people have had to go through and the powerful elite of the world who didn't seem to care towards changing the realities of the continent. They have rather exacerbated it through their so called charitable acts and guidance along the path of development. Marcus Garvey, one of the prominent figures of Pan-Africanism anchored his campaign on returning to Africa from all parts of world where Africans were forcibly taken to build up Africa's inherent civilization and keep the white man's intervening hands at bay (Nye, 1965). “Altering the Trend” is another program, aired on January

6, 2018, selected for framing assessment which tries to set the narrative of Africa straight by narrating that Africa is no more what the mainstream narrative says it is. It reads,

The U.S. has been at the forefront in providing humanitarian assistance to Africa whether at times of natural and/or manmade disasters (calamities) and in various developmental programs that has supported African economies.

But the Africa of the 21st century is different from the one described above. Today, Africa is a land of opportunity both for Africans and the international community. Many refer to it as “emerging Africa” in recognition of the many changes that have taken place and that continue to take place across the continent. This new Africa calls for a change in the way that the international community engages with it.

Africa’s negative narratives such as poverty and dependency are the things of the past. Africa’s economy is not rendered at the mercy of the western helping hands. It has a prospect of standing on its own and can go shoulder to shoulder with other rising economies of the world. Statistics lend credence to the assertions according to the program’s narration.

According to data from the International Monetary Fund, Seven of the world’s 10 fastest growing economies are from sub-Saharan Africa, and a middle class of nearly 350 million individuals, rivaling that of China and India, has emerged across the continent.

The program’s narrative of Africa has changed or it is not the same anymore narrative is further exhibited by its description of US-Africa Relation. It describes the earlier relation mode as one that is characterized by dependant and provider and the new one as business partnership of the script further reads,

Africa and the United States have a long standing relation, though the engagement has for long been described as a donor-recipient relationship. The state of hopelessness in Africa during the post colonial era and the lingering conflict and low level of development following the new world order in 1991 helped shape the kind of relation between the US and Africa.

The U.S. has been at the forefront in providing humanitarian assistance to Africa whether at times of natural and/or manmade disasters (calamities) and in various developmental programs that has supported African economies.

Apart from the natural resource sector and some recent investments by major companies such as General Electric, Wal-Mart, Microsoft and Proctor & Gamble, only 1 percent of U.S. foreign direct investment worldwide is in Africa, and half of this is in extractive industries.

Now the US has recognized that Engagement with Africa is critical to its economic interests in the years ahead. Meeting Africa's growing demand with US goods and services will strengthen the economies, help businesses grow and create jobs in both sides.

Africa does not hope to receive aid anymore. It rather aspires for more business dealings with the developed world. Africa is new now and wants to change the narrative of its past by taking on new modes of relationships with the rest of the world. The narration of this particular "The New Africa" in its conclusion adds, "The hope is that the renewed commitment of the U.S. to bolster economic cooperation and market-driven approaches to trade will further complement Africa's plans to industrialize, facilitate growth through trade and forge a new path of cooperation between Africa and the U.S."

#### **4.2.5 Unity Frame**

**Pan-Africanism** is a worldwide intellectual movement that aims to encourage and strengthen bonds of solidarity between all people of Africans and African descents. Unity is its central peace. In-fact it's one of its criticisms that it over emphasizes unity as a result it overlooks differences among Africans within the continent and African descents beyond Atlantic Ocean. It is the unifying Africa, the background consciousness, which has brought the African Union into Existence (Nkrumah, 1963). "The New Commitment" is another selected program of "The New Africa" for unity frame assessment aired on March, 9 .2018. In Pan-Africanism philosophy Africa would be a force to reckon with in the global arena when it is united. As the famous saying of Nkrumah, proponent of Pan-Africanism, goes "united we stand, divided we fall". The program narrates how impactful African states unity was on climatic issues of the globe. The

narration goes to say,

After a series of participatory regional consultations starting, Africa benefited from its leadership at a very early stage. A high-level committee of heads of state and government produced the Common African Position (CAP) on the Post-2015 Development Agenda in Ndjamena, Chad. The CAP was subsequently adopted by member States of the African Union at the January, AU Summit. Then an African group of negotiators was set up to stand on the frontline of the last stage of the intergovernmental negotiations on the Development agenda conducted in New York.

**Sound Bites (Africa was the only continent to come with a common Position during the negotiations)**

By being proactive since the beginning of agenda, and by leveraging all available opportunities, Africans have considerably strengthened their voice and provided quality input to the negotiations.

In Pan-Africanism, it is intended for African to speak as one nation. Taking uncompromising unified stand over global issues is deemed to be an area where Africa's unity is hoped to have in impact. In this particular program segment the one voice of Africa and unified stand is loudly pronounced.

Thus, African countries, speaking with one voice, managed to incorporate their vision and programs into the United Nations' 2030 Agenda, the Sustainable Development Goals.

**Sound bites (many of Africa's interests are incorporated on SDGs if not all)**

Africans also championed the inclusion of the inextricable correlation that exists between peace and security on the one hand, and development on the other.

**Sound Bites (security issue hasn't been put directly as Africa wanted)**

The Common African Position has reaffirmed poverty eradication as an

overarching goal for the continent and has strongly emphasized the need for a structural transformation of Africa that is people-centered.

As a result, Africa's No. 1 priority figures prominently in the new agenda under the commitment to eradicate poverty by 2030.

Throughout the narration Africa is referred as one unified nation as opposed to 54 divided countries. All Africans share the same vision, stand and responsibility when it is concerned about global matters. The program presents Africa's unity in an implied approach. These are the lines how the narration comes to an end.

There is no doubt that the SDGs can be an excellent foundation for long-term sustainable solutions, should the continent maintain the coherence and alignment of the UN 2030 Agenda with the vision outlined in the AU Agenda 2063.

Now Africa is tasked with turning these grand plans into deeds and realizing the 'Africa We Want' by 2030, 2063 and beyond.//

#### **4.2.6 Alliance Frame**

From colonization, to the struggle for independence, the African continent has often been viewed both internally and externally as a milieu of fragmented states, lacking cohesion and most importantly: peace. Indeed, the colonial legacy of the continent, coupled with the history of Enslavement of the Black Diaspora has demonstrated a very real dilemma for the future of Blacks across the globe. However, the birth of Pan-Africanist thought provided a glimmer of hope for advancing and uniting Black peoples (Legum, 1962). Instead of competing against each other collaborating on economic ventures is one of the main dreams envisioned in Pan-Africanism. Another program from "The New Africa" segment, entitled "Making It Work" aired on April, 11, 2018 promotes collaboration of African people in the tourism sector. It narrates, "African countries have finally come to recognize that collaboration, rather than competition, would do much of the trick when it comes to tourism development."

Africa has regional economic cooperation groups in all corners of the continent. Constituting member states of the groups have an agreed commitment towards ensuring collective economic

benefits of the people they represent. “The New Africa” program frames such cooperation as positive moves on the part of the states which form the regional economic cooperation. The narration further adds,

Activities being undertaken by Regional Building Blocks, well known as RECs, are making progress despite the fact that some are doing more **impressive** jobs more than the others. The Eastern Africa Community (EAC) and the Economic Community of Western African Countries (ECOWAS) are at the forefront when it comes to opening up for tourism. Countries like Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda have launched an online portal in a bid to market the region as a single tourist destination.

Africa is endowed with numerous natural and manmade tourist attractions. If African states form a common tourist destination, it could result in various socio economic advantages. Therefore African states by collaborating on collective economic missions such as developing shared tourism destinations, they can manage to earn their fair share of income from the global tourism market. The excerpt from the narration reinforces the view by stating the following.

Though the figures look quite impressive, Africa is not getting its fair share from the sector when compared to its vast potential.

With their impressive landscapes and abundant natural resources, many destinations in Africa enjoy a distinct competitive advantage apart from providing numerous **opportunities** for employment, entrepreneurship and sustainable livelihoods.

## V. CHAPTER FIVE

## **Conclusion and Recommendations**

This research attempted to assess the Ethiopian Television Foreign Language Department with respect to promotion of Pan-Africanism and projection of positive imagery of Africa. The study to achieve its objective, has given particular attention to selected groups of people's opinion and Africa based programs of the department.

This chapter wraps the study up by presenting the gist of the findings and, based on what has been found recommendations are put forth.

### **5.1 Conclusion**

The study employed entirely a qualitative research method before it reached its conclusion end. Data was gathered through in-depth interviews, participant's observations, document and program content analysis, consequently the following conclusions are reached up on.

The Foreign Language Department at Ethiopian Television attempts to promote Africa to its presumed Audience by incorporating Pan-Africanism core themes in its productions. However the following limitations have been identified. The Foreign Language Department has assigned one program for African issues called "The New Africa". This particular program runs for 20 minutes every two weeks. The number of the programs assigned for African issues and the duration are found to be small, considering the variety of issues available in the continent and the size of international audience present in Addis Ababa. "The New Africa" program is largely dependent on events of political summits taking place in Addis Ababa. It approaches stories from elite point of view. Ordinary African citizens don't seem to be given adequate time to voice their concern on continental concerns.

Pan-Africanism in its general sense is an ideological philosophy which represents the complexities of black political and intellectual thought. It is a belief that African peoples, both on the African continent and in the Diaspora, share not merely a common history, but a common destiny. It encompasses various themes; nevertheless when addressing these themes, the Foreign Language Department at ETV mainly focuses on economic emancipation of the continent which is one of the core ideals of Pan-African movement. Intellectual and psychological emancipation, promoting African inherent tradition, art, philosophy and wisdom, ensuring the rise of African civilization and solidarity of Africans all over the world are all thematic areas of pan-Africanism

which are overlooked by the department's productions. Such issues are never dealt with on the department's Africa based programs over the one year period the study chose sample programs from. According to the finding, "The New Africa" area of focus and presentation style and story framing is one that promotes African stories from agendas of AU and ECA annual heads of states and governments summits and development visions. Apparently if these summits never touch up on other areas of Pan-African aspirations, neither does the Foreign Language Department at ETV. The productions at the department are not inclusive of African reality on the ground, they rather focus on politicians' and experts' rhetoric. On top of that Africa concerned program at the department does not carry out investigative media works to report on the extent to which plans formulated at the summits are realized. It is entirely based on events' agendas and participants' point of view rather than its own agenda items, ordinary Africans' view on continental issues and investigations.

Finally, overall assessment of the Ethiopian Television Foreign Language Department from the notion of promoting pan-Africanism and projecting positive imagery of Africa, there seems to be a lot remaining to be done. Promoting pan-Africanism and projecting positive imagery of Africa at Ethiopian Television Foreign Language Department still remains a promise undelivered a challenge to be taken on and a responsibility to live up to. Despite its challenges, having a Foreign Language Department and keep it on air for more than half a century is quite an achievement, however when one looks at its achievements towards being the voice of Pan Africanism there seems to be a lot to be done by Ethiopian Television before it is deemed as such.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

Taking the findings of the study into consideration the following recommendations are put forth

to optimize the success of the Foreign Language Department of Ethiopian Television in promoting Pan- Africanism and project positive imagery of Africa to international diplomatic community residing in Addis Ababa and to people from all over the world visiting the country's attractions.

1. There is a need to revise the mission statement of the Foreign Language Department at ETV in terms of serving Pan-African causes. The department would do better if it takes promoting Pan-Africanism as one of its primary missions. The presence of international community in Addis Ababa, presents great opportunity to project positive imagery of Africa one that is tainted by all kinds of negativity by perpetuated negative narratives of mainstream Western media.
2. It appears to be necessary for the Foreign Language Department to be endowed with the adequate level of attention by the top management of Ethiopian Television so that the department could get all the inputs needed put in place that can help it live up to its missions. The department should no more be considered as a subordinate department, one that's there just to say there is a foreign language department. Its significance needs to be duly understood. It would be better if the department stands as an independent channel having its own administrative structure instead of having it included under the administration of all regional languages.
3. In order to meet language proficiency standards of what a Foreign Languages Department requires, composing the staff with a mix of journalists of other African nations and other nationals would be of great asset to better communicate African stories at an acceptable standard.
4. Providing periodical professional trainings and workshops to the Foreign Language Department staff could help journalist remain up to date with regard to international media practices, continental and global political state of affairs.
5. Having number of African programs that approach continental matters from various perspectives, could help achieve inclusive coverage of Africa, and promote Pan-Africanism to the level needed, this could aid viewers understand the changing Africa. By doing this the department could manage to take on African flavor where by claiming to be Pan- Africanism advocate would be substantiated.

6. Training journalists to specialize at a certain continental matter and presentation skills could help the department's productions be appealing and meet standard media practices.

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## Appendix 1

### Interview Questions

#### **Interview questions to the Ethiopian Television Foreign Language Desk staffs and other pertinent individuals**

1. What is the purpose to which the desk is established for?
  - How many programs does the desk air?
  - How many of them entertain African issues and how often do they air?
  - Who are the target audience?
2. How does the desk assess if targets of the desk are met?
  - How do you receive feedback?
3. Is there any format or editorial arrangement to promote positive aspects of Africa at Ethiopian Television Foreign Language Desk?
4. When covering African Stories what's the framing orientation, focus areas and basis for story selection?
5. How would you describe the desk's achievement towards advocating Pan-africanism causes and positively promoting Africa?
6. What are the challenges the desk faces towards becoming a media outlet that voices African issues
7. Do you use Ethiopian television foreign language programs for information about African related issues?
8. How important is it for Africa to have its own stories told by its own people and its own media?
9. Do you think Ethiopia should pioneer at producing counter stories about Africa and broadcast them to the world as it pioneers in many other aspects in the continent?
10. How do you evaluate the Ethiopian Television's foreign language Desk particularly the English transmission, in terms of communicating African stories to the diplomatic

community residing in Addis Ababa - a diplomatic hub of Africa?

11. How would you feel when watching Africa's bleak stories being reiterated by western media as they continuously harp on the negative aspects of the continent?

12. Would you say it makes sense for Addis Ababa to be the head quarters of African News Network as it is the seat of the head quarters of African Union?

- What would be its political, psychological and economical advantages to the people of Africa to have such a media outlet?

## Appendix 2

### የቃስ መጠየቅ ጥያቄዎች

ስኪትዮጵያ ቴሌቪዥን ሠራተኞች እና ስኪትሮግፊዎች መናገር ስሙረጡ ምሁራን የቀረቡ የቃስ መጠየቅ ጥያቄዎች ስጋዜጠኞች

1. የሁጭ ቋንቋዎች ክፍል የሚያገለግልዎት ዓላማ ምንድን ነው?

- ስንት ነገሮችን በክፍሉ ይተሳስባሉ ?
- ስንት ስፍራዎችን ያቀናጥሳሉ በየምኑ ያህል ጊዜ ይተሳስባሉ?
- ነገሮችን የሚቀርቡበት ተመሳሳይነት ማን ነው?

2. የሁጭ ቋንቋዎች ክፍሉ ዓላማውን ማግኘትን በምን ይመዘናል ?

- ግብረ መሰረት እንዴት ይቀበላል ?

3. በሁጭ ቋንቋዎች መቋቋሚያ ይዘት ሳይ የስፍራዎች መሰሪያ ገጽታዎቻችን ስማቸውን የሚሰሩ ነገሮችን እንዲካተት ተደርጋል።

4. ስለ ስፍራዎች የሚሰሩ ነገሮችን ሳይ ተኮረት የሚሰጣቸው ጉዳዮች እነማን ናቸው ?

- ጉዳዮችን እንዴት ይተረካሉ ?
- እንዴት ጉዳዮች ይመረጣሉ ?

5. ስፍራዎችን እና የስፍራዎች መሰሪያ ገጽታዎች ከማቸው ስንዳር በሁጭ ቋንቋዎች ክፍል የተሰሩትን ስራ እንዴት ይመዘኑታል ?

6. ይህን ስራ ስሙረጡትን ስምጠው ያሉ ተግዳሮቶች ምንድን ናቸው ?

### ስምሁራን የቀረቡ ጥያቄዎች

1. በስፍራዎች የሚሰሩ እና ስፍራዎች ታሪኮችን ስፍራዎች ስራዎች በስፍራዎች የሚተርኩ የሚደረግ ተቋም ማግኘት ማለት ምን ማለት ነው

- ከስነልቦና
- ከግንባታ
- እና ከማስጠራዊ ጉዳዮች ስንዳር

2. ከንደ ስፍራ ከመዲና ስና ከንደ ብዙ የውጭ ሀገር ስና ዓለም ዓቀፍ ተቋማት መገኛነቷ ስዲስ ስበባ ውስጥ የሚገኘው የኢትዮጵያ ቴሌቪዥን ስፍራን በማስተዋወቅ ረገድ የሰራውን ስራ ከንደት ይመዝኑታል
3. የስፍራ ስብተዊ ገደታዎች ይህን ያህል በምሳሌባዊዎን ሚዲያዎች ስራ ሽፍን ሲሰጠው ስና ስበስህንቴቱ ስስነዚህ ሚዲያዎች በጉ ያሰሉኑ ነገሮች ብቻ መነገራቸው ከንደ ከንድ ስፍራዊ ምን ዓይነት ስሜት ይፎጥርብዎታል ?
4. ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ይህንን የተበሳሽ የስፍራ ገጽታ ስማስተካከል የሚሰራ ሚዲያ ቢጥር ፍደዳውን ከንደት መግለጽ ይቻላል ?

**Declaration**

I, hereby declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other University and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Asgedom Atnafu \_\_\_\_\_

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