

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES, LANGUAGE STUDIES, JOURNALISM AND
COMMUNICATION



THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE ETHIOPIAN MEDIA AND ITS IMPACT ON
MEDIA'S REPRESENTATION OF MULTICULTURALISM: SELECTED MAINSTREAM
TELEVISION CHANNELS IN FOCUS

By
GIZACHEW NEMOMSA ERANFENO

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENTS OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION STUDIES

ADVISORS:
AGAREDECH JEMANEH (PhD)
ABDISSA ZERAI (PhD)

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA
JUNE, 2024

The Political Economy of the Ethiopian Media and Its Impact on Media's
Representation of Multiculturalism: Selected Mainstream Television Channels in
Focus

By

Gizachew Nemomsa Eranfeno

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillments of the Requirements for the Doctor of
Philosophy in Media and Communication Studies

Addis Ababa University


Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

June, 2024

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES, LANGUAGE STUDIES,
JOURNALISM, AND COMMUNICATION DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM AND
COMMUNICATION

This is to certify that this dissertation, a work of Gizachew Nemomsa Eranfeno, entitled “**The Political Economy of the Ethiopian Media and Its Impact on Media’s Representation of Multiculturalism: Selected Mainstream Television Channels in Focus**” is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Media and Communication Studies complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality. We, the board of examiners, approve that this dissertation has passed through the defense and review processes.

APPROVED BY BOARD OF EXAMINERS:

_____ Advisor	_____ Signature	_____ Date
_____ Co-advisor	_____ Signature	_____ Date
_____ Melisew Dejene (PhD)	_____ 	_____ Date
_____ Examiner	_____ Signature	_____ Date
_____ Examiner	_____ Signature	_____ Date

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this dissertation is my original work and 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.

Name: Gizachew Nemomsa Eranfeno, Signature: _____ Date: _____

Place: College of Humanities, Language Studies, Journalism and Communication Department of Journalism and Communication, Addis Ababa University.

Date of submission: April, 2024

Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I extend my gratitude to the Almighty God, whose omnipresence sustained me throughout the arduous journey of crafting this dissertation. Next, I am deeply indebted to my esteemed advisors, Dr. Agaredech Jemaneh and Dr. Abdissa Zerai, whose invaluable comments and meticulous guidance have profoundly shaped the evolution of this work. I also owe my special thanks to Ambo University for generously granting me the scholarship opportunity that facilitated this academic pursuit. Furthermore, I extend my heartfelt thanks to the dedicated educators at the School of Journalism and Communication, Addis Ababa University, who have imparted their knowledge and nurtured my academic growth from my undergraduate years to the doctoral level.

My gratitude also due to the managing directors of Ethiopian Media Authority, Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation, Fana Broadcasting Corporation, and Walta Media Corporations for graciously granting me access to the essential data utilized in this work. I am deeply appreciative of the journalists who participated in the filling of the questionnaires and interviews, demonstrating their commitment to the realization of this project.

I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to my family and relatives, my siblings, whose support has been a source of strength throughout this journey. To my father, Nemomsa Eranfeno whose encouragement sustained me through challenging times, and to my mother Deme Belayi, whose boundless love and sacrifice have been an immeasurable source of inspiration, I owe an immense debt of gratitude. My brother Abera Abebe, your constant encouragement and support have been instrumental in keeping me focused on my academic endeavour. Special appreciation is reserved for my friends Tesema Amente, Negassa Abdissa, and Alemu Merga whose steadfast friendship and support during the process of data collection and transcription have been invaluable.

Finally, I am profoundly grateful to my wife, Abeba Diriba whose solid support and understanding have been the cornerstone of my academic journey. Your remarkable patience and resilience in caring for our children, Firomsis Gizachew and Dhuga Gizachew, during my absences, have been invaluable. Without your devotion, this piece of work would have been impossible. I extend my apologies to Firomsis and Dhuga for my absence in any parental duties during this intense period.

Abstract

This study explores the intersection of the political economy of the media and multiculturalism in Ethiopia. Employing Transformative Mixed Methods design, and utilizing theoretical frameworks of Critical Political Economy, Critical Multiculturalism, Pragmatist Theory of Cultural Pluralism, Representation Theory, and the Theory of Public Sphere under the umbrella of Critical Theory, this research draws upon a diverse array of data sources, encompassing 1,167 news stories, eighteen television talk shows, and interviews. It used systematic and availability sampling techniques to select television contents. Fifty journalists working in the three televisions' newsrooms are also selected based on their interests and experiences of multicultural news production. Snowball sampling was used to select 200 audience members to examine their multicultural TV viewing. In-depth interviews were conducted with thirty-five informants, including journalists, media monitoring experts, and journalism educators. Document analyses were further employed to scrutinize the political-economic dynamics inherent within the television channels. The findings indicate close interconnections between media ownership and political power in Ethiopia. The blurred line between commercial and government media ownership and parallel regulations are leading to limited competition and slow TV infrastructure development. Disparity in representing peripheral communities due to economic constraints, editorial decisions, and language barriers confine news gathering to specific regions. Limited journalists' autonomy and newsroom culture prioritize government affairs, hampering diversity of voices. Recent political polarization and conflicts have threatened the impartiality of news reporting, the use of inclusive language to represent diversity. Newsrooms adopt antagonistic narratives undermining the fostering of tolerance and respect among diverse society. This hostile discourse poses risk to multiculturalism. Talk Shows predominantly focused on personalities and political behaviors of leaders, rather than engaging with multiculturalism. Exploratory Factor Analysis with KMO and Bartlett's Test yielding values of 0.911 for ETV viewers, 0.896 for Fana TV viewers, and 0.888 for Walta TV viewers. Five factors, including Tolerance of Diversity, Audiences' Choice, Fair Representation, and Quality of Multicultural Programs, and Views on Ethnic Identities were identified as factors of multicultural TV viewing. Mainstream TV channels focused on government ideology, lacking diverse viewpoints. The study suggests that collaboration of news stakeholders and policy adjustments are crucial for diverse media. Future policies should balance the needs of multicultural groups to foster national unity. The study proposes Plurinationalfelfare media model to ensure diverse ownership, content, and fair resource allocation in Ethiopian media.

Key Words: Political Economy of the Media, Multiculturalism, Mainstream TV Channels, Critical Theory, Transformative Mixed Method, Plurinationalfelfare Media Model

Table of Contents

Declaration.....	ii
Acknowledgement	iii
Abstract.....	iv
List of Figures	ix
List of Tables	x
List of Abbreviations	xi
List of Appendices	xii
Glossary of Terms.....	xiii
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 Study area and Rationale	6
1.3 Statement of the Problem.....	6
1.4. Objectives of the study.....	11
1.4.1 General Objective	11
1.4.2 Specific Objectives	11
1.5 Research Questions.....	11
1.6 Significance of the Study	12
1.8 Limitation of the Study	13
1.9 Organization of the Study	14
CHAPTER TWO	15
REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	15
2.1 The field of Political Economy	15
2.1.1 Political Economy of the Media	16
2.1.2 Critical Political Economy of the Media	21
2.2 Media and the Study of Audiences	25
2.3 Bridging the Literature Gap on the Political Economy of the Media in Ethiopia	27

2.4.2 Media and Legal Landscape	33
2.4.3 Media, Politics and Freedom of Expressions in Ethiopia.....	35
2.5 Critical Media Literacy Skills.....	40
2.6 Ethnicity and Journalists Intercultural Competence in Ethiopia.....	42
2.7 Conceptualizing Culture	45
2.8 Television and Culture	48
2.9 Multiculturalism.....	50
2.9.1 Critical Multiculturalism	53
2.9.2 The nature of Ethiopian Multiculturalism	56
2.9.3 Media and Multiculturalism in Ethiopia.....	60
2.10 Conceptual Framework: Political Economy of Multiculturalism in Media.....	61
2.11 Theoretical Frameworks	66
2.11.1 Critical Media Theory	66
2.11.2 The Theory of Critical Political Economy of the Media	67
2.11.3 Pragmatic Theory of Cultural Pluralism.....	69
2.11.4 The Theory of Public Sphere.....	71
2.11.5 Theories of Representation.....	76
2.11.6 The Synergetic Potential of Integrating Theories.....	78
CHAPTER THREE	81
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	81
3.1 Research Design.....	81
3.2 Rationale for Using Mixed Methods Design.....	82
3.3 Characteristics of Mixed Method.....	83
3.4 Paradigmatic Assumptions in a Mixed Methods Design	84
3.5 Pragmatism	85
3.6 Transformative Mixed Method.....	87
3.6.1 Concurrent Transformative Strategy	90
3.6.2 Integration in Transformative Mixed Methods Design	91
3.7 Content Analysis.....	92
3.7.1 Integrating the ‘Quan’ and ‘Qual’ in Content Analysis	93

3.7.2 Interviews	95
3.8 Documents	95
3.9 Unit of Analysis and Sampling Frames	96
3.10 Sampling of TV Contents and Coding Unit.....	96
3.11 Data Collection and Coding Methods on the Codebook	98
3.12 Q Methodology	100
3.13 The Process of Q Methodology	100
3.14 Data Analysis	102
3.14.1 Factor Loadings and Interpretations	104
3.14.2 The Discourse Historical Approach	104
3.14.3 Integrating Content Analysis and Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)	105
3.14.4 Steps and Analytical Procedures in Discourse Historical Approach.....	108
3. 14.5 ATLAS.ti	110
3.15 Reliability and Validity.....	111
3.16 Ethical Consideration.....	113
CHAPTER FOUR.....	115
PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF RESULTS	115
4.1 The Political Economy of Mainstream Television Channels in Ethiopia.....	115
4.1.1 Television Landscape in Ethiopia: Power, Ownership and Business	115
4.1.2 The condition of Media Infrastructure in the post-reform Ethiopia	118
4.1.3 Media Regulations and the present condition of Press Freedom in Ethiopia.....	120
4.1.5 Ethiopian Media Authority and Diversity in the TV Channels	125
4.1.6 Access to Information.....	128
4.1.7 Media Policy in Ethiopia and Its role in a National Consensus	129
4.2 Representation of ‘Multiculturalism’ in TV Channels	129
4.2.1 Diversifying News Sources as Multicultural News Production	130
4.2.2 News sourcing Across Institutions	135
4.2.3 Factors affecting Diversity of News Sourcing in TV newsrooms	137
4.2.4 Issue Diversity	143
4.2.5 Diversity of Subjects in the News	145

4.2.6 Gender Representation and Diversity in News and Talk Shows	146
4.2.7 The relationship between Variables of TV contents	148
4.2.8 Framing of the News Stories	152
4.3. Blending Negative and Positive Discourses: A Complex Narrative Landscape	157
4.3.1 Discourses Threatening Multiculturalism	164
4.3.2 News Discourses on Conflicts	164
4.3.3 Discourses of Counterterrorism on armed groups	167
4.4 Multicultural Discourses in TV Talk Shows	169
4.4.1 National Issues on ETV's Yenga Guday Show	171
4.4.2 The Fana Kelelat Show.....	178
4.5 Multicultural News Production: study on Newsroom Journalists	209
4.6 Multicultural Television Viewing.....	222
4.6.2 Naming of the Factors	231
4.6.3 Post-Sorting Interviews	235
4.7 Ideologies Governing Cultural Diversity in the TV Channels.....	236
CHAPTER FIVE	242
DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	242
5.1 Discussion	242
5.2 Conclusion	268
5.3 Implications.....	279
5.4 Recommendations	281
References.....	281
Appendices	i

List of Figures

Figure 1: Concurrent transformative mixed method research design	90
Figure 2: The principles and exemplar stages of a Q study	103
Figure 3: Networks of Discourses among media monitors in EMA	126
Figure 4: Age groups portrayed in TV channels' news stories	130
Figure 5: Percentage shares of Ethiopian regions used as sources of news and their geographical locations ..	133
Figure 6: TV news anchors' representations in TV channels	145
Figure 7: Word Cruncher on Atlas ti.7	148
Figure 8: Discourses of inter-regional Solidarity	172
Figure 9: Discourses exploring the potential for engaging in national dialogue	173
Figure 10: Discourses of possible ways for effective national dialogue.....	174

List of Tables

Table 1. Concurrent Transformative Design and data Integration	92
Table 2: TV Contents Sample Structure	98
Table 3: Coding Template for Television News	99
Table 4: Number of media outlets in the pre and post Ethiopian Reform	119
Table 5: Number of News Stories Studied in Each TV Channel.....	131
Table 6: Percentage shares of Regional and Institutional Sources	133
Table 7. Summary of the factors affecting diversity of news sources	138
Table 8: Percentage distribution of News stories by ‘Issues’	143
Table 9. Percentage Distribution of subjects of news stories	145
Table 10: Percentage of Female Sources in Three TV Channels	146
Table 11: Relationships within and between the variables	148
Table 12. Frames of the contents of News Stories.....	152
Table 13. A blend of conflicting languages and discourses threatening multiculturalism	158
Table 14. Summary of the areas of focus in TV channels’ shows.....	170
Table 15: Examples of Selected Discourse Topics and Argumentations	190
Table 16: Demographic distribution of informant journalists	210
Table 17: Measure of Sampling Adequacy and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	210
Table 18: Total Variance Explained for Journalistic Practices in newsrooms	211
Table 19: Rotated Component Matrix for Journalists' View	212
Table 20: Demographic distribution of respondents by ethnic group, language and religion	223
Table 21: Distribution of Respondents by Region, Education, and Gender	224
Table 22: Measure of Sampling Adequacy in the three TV channels	224
Table 23: Total Variance Explained for ETV Viewers	225
Table 24: Total Variance Explained for Fana TV Viewers	226
Table 25: Total Variance Explained for Walta TV Viewers	226
Table 26: Comparison of Eigen Values with Criterion Value.....	227
Table 27: Rotated Component Matrix for ETV channel viewers	228

List of Abbreviations

AMC-Amhara Media Corporation
ANDM-Amhara National Democratic Movement
CPE-Critical Political Economy
DHA- Discourse- Historical Approach
DWA- Deutsche Welle Akademie
EBC-Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation
EHDI- Ethiopian Human Development Index
EMA-Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority
EPP/PP- Ethiopian Prosperity Party/ Prosperity Party
EPRDF- Ethiopian Peoples’ Revolutionary Democratic Front
ETV-Ethiopian Television
FBC-Fana Broadcasting Corporation
HDI- Human Development Index
IMS- International Media Support
MDGs- Millenium Development Goals
NaMA- National Movement of Amhara
OBN-Oromia Broadcasting Network
OLA-Oromo Liberation Army
OLF-Oromo Liberation Front
OPDO- Oromo Peoples’ Democratic Organization
PEC- Political Economy of Communication
RWB-Reporter without Border
SEPDM-Southern Ethiopian People Democratic Movement
SRTV-Somali Regional Television
TDF-Tigray Defense Force
TPLF-Tigray People Liberation Front
UNDP-United Nations Development Program
UNESCO- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

List of Appendices

Appendix A: Rotated Component Matrix for Fana TV Viewers.....	i
Appendix B: Rotated Component Matrix for Walta TV.....	iv
Appendix C: Word Cruncher’s Word counts relevant to the study on Atlas ti.7.....	vii
Appendix D: Media outlets Licensed by Ethiopian Media Authority.....	viii
Appendix E: Media Outlets Licensed before and after 2018.....	ix
Appendix F: Privately owned TV Stations.....	ix
Appendix H: Links for Walta TV and ETV Shows analyzed.....	xii
Appendix I: TV news Contents Selected for Analysis and their dates of transmission.....	xii
Appendix J: Interview Guide for Experts in Ethiopian Media Authority.....	xiii
Appendix K: Questions for key informant Interviewees outside media organizations.....	xiii
Appendix L: Questions Prepared to Journalists selected for an Interview.....	xiii
Appendix M: Leading questions for an interview conducted with Journalism educators.....	xiv
Appendix N: Sample License Agreement documents for government and private media.....	xiv
Appendix O: Newsroom Journalists Interviewed in the three TV channels.....	xx
Appendix Q: Educators interviewed from universities.....	xxi
Appendix R: Questions Sorted out by TV viewers.....	xxii
Appendix S: Questions Sorted by Journalists.....	xxix

Glossary of Terms

Mainstream TV Channels: refers collectively to the various large TV channels that influence many people and both reflect and shape prevailing currents of thought.

Political Economy: is one of the fields of the social science that focuses on the relationships between the state, society, individuals, and its markets.

Political Economy of media: an approach to studying media whose focus is attenuated towards the ways in which media is produced, distributed, and consumed, rather than on analyzing the interpretations of the signs and symbols found within texts.

Critical Political Economy of the media is an approach in a political economy of the media that analyzes the production of media content that sustains imbalanced power relations and biased representations of reality.

Multiculturalism: could be a political theory or an ideology of governance that emphasizes on the view that cultures, races, and ethnicities, particularly those of minority groups, deserve special recognition of their differences within a dominant political culture.

Critical Multiculturalism: is a multicultural viewpoint that examines power structures by challenging the subjugation of marginalized cultures, questioning power and privilege, and conceding knowledge as a process.

Representation Theory: is concerned with understanding how symbolic representations are constructed and negotiated within the public sphere to recognize and redistribute resources among different groups and individuals' and seeks to promote inclusivity, equity, and justice in society.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Ethiopia, located in the Horn of Africa, is considered one of the prominent states in the region. According to the Central Statistical Authority's population projection in 2020 (Milkessa, 2021), the country's population is estimated to be over 110 million, making it the second most populous country in Africa after Nigeria (Ficquet and Dereje, 2015; Mendisu and Johannessen, 2016; Lie and Mesfin, 2018; Tigre, 2018; Marshet, 2018). It has been projected to 130 million in 2024. Geographically, Ethiopia exhibits significant diversity. It encompasses vast geographical features, including live volcanoes, snowcapped peaks, and torrid deserts (Milkias, 2011). Gillespie and Gritzner (2003) describe it as a land of contrasts. The country covers an area of 1,104,300 square kilometers, with approximately 1 million square kilometers of plain land and the remaining 104,300 square kilometers covered by water (Agaredech, 2013; Ambaye, 2015). In terms of urbanization, Ethiopia is one of the least urbanized countries globally, with only 19% of the population residing in urban areas, while the majority, 81%, live in rural areas, as indicated by the Central Statistical Authority's population projection (Milkessa, 2021). Agriculture serves as the backbone of Ethiopia's national economy (Gillespie and Gritzner, 2003). Following the downfall of the Derg regime and the rise of the EPRDF government, Ethiopia embarked on trade liberalization (Milkias, 2011, p. 148) and the industrialization of the agricultural sector (Lefort, 2012).

Ethiopia was known for its economic and political ideologies, particularly in revolutionary democracy and the model of developmental state. These ideologies are believed to have contributed to impressive economic outcomes (Lie and Mesfin, 2018, p. xi). Ethiopia is often portrayed as a country experiencing rapid economic development (Ambaye, 2015). Aaron (2017) argues that Ethiopia is undergoing a significant economic transformation, although it has faced challenges in implementing it. Despite being described as the fastest-growing economy in Africa, Ethiopia remains one of the poorest nations in the world, grappling with mass poverty, food insecurity, and susceptibility to famine, resulting in a paradoxical situation (Hagmann and

Abbink, 2011; Zahorik, 2017; Lie and Mesfin, 2018). The country continues to receive increasing amounts of aid from international partners, partly due to its role in stabilizing the Horn of Africa (Skjerdal, 2012). While physical infrastructure is crucial for development, "soft" infrastructures such as the legal system, property rights, and financial regulations play a pivotal role (Aaron, 2017, p. 4). Despite initial projections of Ethiopia's economic growth exceeding 7.0 percent in both 2020 and 2021, the nation experienced a notable deceleration, with growth rates of 5.6% and 6.1%, respectively. This deceleration stemmed primarily from internal civil conflict and the widespread repercussions of the COVID-19 pandemic. Presently, Ethiopia's GDP reflects a growth rate of 5.9%, with projections indicating a modest increase to 6.1% by 2025, as reported in the World Economic Situations and Prospects of 2024.

Ethiopia made significant progress in improving its human development indicators over the past 15 years (Garcia and Rajkumar, 2008). Human development, as defined by the UNDP (2019), is an approach to development that aims to expand people's freedoms and is considered a key factor for sustainable development. In 2018, Ethiopia had a Human Development Index (HDI) value of 0.470, placing the country in the low human development category and ranking it 173rd out of 189 countries. This HDI value is below the average of 0.507 for countries in the low human development group and below the average of 0.541 for countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. One aspect of human development, which is influenced by modernization and democracy, is a cultural shift towards an increased emphasis on self-expression values (Abraham & Amanuel, 2020). Recently, freedom of expression and press freedom have been directly linked to human development.

Ethiopia has experienced significant regime changes in the past century (Robichaux, 2005). Throughout its history, it has been governed by the Solomonic dynasty for over two millennia, with imperial governments often suppressing political freedom by downplaying the country's ethnic diversity (Ofcansky and Berry, 1991). However, under the rule of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), there have been efforts to respect diversity by allowing ethnic groups to celebrate their cultural identities during public events and holidays. Nonetheless, the Ethiopian political system has unique characteristics (Abbink, 2017). During the EPRDF's rule, a formal multi-party system has been established (Abbink, 2017), but opposition parties outside the EPRDF have never been part of the government (Abbink, 2017, p.

3). The 2015 election is an example of an unexpected political landscape, where 47 political parties participated, but the ruling party, EPRDF, won 100% of the parliamentary seats (NEBE, 2017). Some scholars have a positive view of Ethiopia's experiment with ethnic federalism, suggesting that it has contributed to peace and security for a significant portion of the population (Aaron, 2017, p. 3). These scholars contend that federalism in Ethiopia ought to be taken within the framework of challenging the dominance of ethnic group. However, ethnic federalism has been criticized for essentializing ethnic identities and exacerbating ethnic tensions and conflicts (Aaron, 2017, p. 40). Similarly, John Abbink (2011) highlights the role of ethnic federations in empowering specific ethno-linguistic groups but criticizes the exclusivist ethnic discourses underlying the system. Studies have shown that Ethiopian politics under the EPRDF's revolutionary democracy was characterized by strong contestation and polarized attitudes (Hagmann and Abbink, 2011, p. 590).

Critics have raised concerns on the nature of Ethiopia's ethnic federalism and its impact on various ethnic parties. These parties included the Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO), the Southern Ethiopia People's Democratic Movement (SPDM), and the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF)-constituting the defunct EPRDF, as well as their affiliated regional parties (Aaron, 2017, pp. 40-41). The Oromos, Amharas, Tigrayans, and Somalis, which collectively make up more than three-fourth of the country's population (Milkias, 2011), have been the focus of this critique. Milkias (2011) argues that the Somali population, despite its significant size, was not adequately represented within the power structure, implying that their affiliation did not ensure access to the resources they deserved.

In Ethiopia, large segments of the population have limited or no access to independent sources of information, leading to a heavy reliance on government-controlled propaganda (Zahorik, 2017). This lack of access to diverse media can be seen as a reflection of the overall political economy of media industries in the country. To understand the role of the media under the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front's (EPRDF) government, it is necessary to closely examine how the EPRDF has shaped communications (Stremlau, 2011). Unlike in Western democratic countries, there is a lack of normative frameworks guiding media institutions to

prioritize the people's right to information. This can be attributed to the revolutionary democratic approach followed in Ethiopia (Stremlau, 2011).

According to Aaron (2017), the current role of mass media in Ethiopia should be understood based on its historical development. Aaron describes the contributions of mass media in Ethiopia as a "mixed blessing." He acknowledges both the positive and adverse impacts of the media and hesitates to conclude whether the positive contributions outweigh the negative consequences or vice versa. The media landscape in Ethiopia is characterized by limited access to independent information sources, leading to a heavy reliance on government propaganda. The role of the media under the EPRDF government is shaped by the absence of normative frameworks and should be understood within the unique historical and political context of the country. As highlighted by Aaron (2017), the impact of mass media in Ethiopia is a multifaceted and intricate phenomenon, encompassing both positive and negative aspects.

Ethiopian cultural diversity, on the other hand, is rooted in the country's social and political history (Abebaw, 2013). Theoretically, ethnic federalism endorses the accommodation of diverse people (Frank, 2009). Federalism is conceptualized as a theory that aims to balance political autonomy and the unification of multiethnic states, serving as a means of managing diversity (Meareg, 2017). However, ethnic federalism has led to conflicts among different ethnic groups (Abebaw, 2013). Any effort to establish sustainable and holistic development in such a multilingual nation requires the proper recognition and management of its socio-cultural diversity (Mendis and Johannessen, 2016, p. 1). According to these authors, language is the primary indicator of individuals' ethnic identity, and it is likely to shape resource distribution, thereby constraining the socio-cultural diversity of the nation as well.

The political and economic history of Ethiopia has significantly influenced the development of its media industry, resulting in limited media and communication resources (Birhanu, 2014). Gagliardon (2005) assesses the media policy of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) during three distinct phases between 1991 and 2012. The first phase, spanning from 1991 to 2000, was characterized by an opening of space for debate by the new leaders who came to power. However, they refused to actively engage in these debates. The second phase, known as the "Internet or Intranet year" (2000–2005), witnessed the emergence of new media

platforms that played a central role in the government's strategy for transformation and capacity building.

Nevertheless, the government drew a lesson from the 2005 elections and entered the third phase, marked by suppression. During this period, dissenting voices were suppressed for the government to achieve success in its hegemonic project. Under the EPRDF, the media also played a central role in implementing the constitution's key project of ethnic federalism (Stremlau, 2014), but it has not effectively fostered harmonious integration among ethnic groups. Since 2018, Prime minister Abiy's political worldview which he named as 'Medemer', Amharic term indicating synergy, merger of alliance parties to Ethiopia Prosperity Party (EPP) was another political shift impacting media and communication industries. The synergy or 'Medemer' worldview however, invited criticisms from potential elites. One of the main causes for the censures was that Ethiopian Prosperity Party (EPP) is neither vision nor a strategy (Solomon, 2020). Solomon clearly noted that the merger of EPRDF into PP means inching away from ethnic federalism toward a federal system based on territory but not ethnic divisions. The shift from ethnic-based federalism, which focuses on ethnic identities to national identities through the Prosperity Party aimed to integrate divided nations. However, this integration has not been substantially successful and remains a work in progress. Three of the four ethnic parties within the coalition, OPDO, ANDM, and SEPDM voted overwhelmingly to join the prosperity party, while the TPLF, which created these parties and the EPRDF coalition rejected it (Solomon, 2020, Tewodros, 2020). Solomon (2020) makes notes of the reasons such as lack of due consideration for sovereignty of nations, nationalities, and peoples of Ethiopia, against multinational federation undermining nations' collective bargaining competence, centralizing power, isolations and marginalizing the peripheries. The situation has resulted in a more polarization of politics despite uniting multinational groups.

The issues surrounding communication and media regulations, hate speech, disinformation, and the shutting down of media outlets can be seen as instances of repressive acts by the government. These actions could potentially polarize and incite ethnic conflicts in various parts of the country. It is crucial to examine the political changes, the absence of a firm media policy, the prevailing political-economic situation during the reform period, and the claims made by thinkers and politicians regarding the hijacking of these reforms. Additionally, the present time

of political instability and the need for multicultural representations should be explored within the conceptual framework that integrates the field of political economy of the media and multicultural media productions.

1.2 Study area and Rationale

This study focused on the three mainstream television channels: Ethiopian Television (ETV), Fana TV, and Walta TV. ETV operates as a state-owned entity, functioning as a subsidiary of the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC). Conversely, Fana TV, established in 2017, operates as a commercial satellite television channel under Fana Broadcasting Corporate (FBC). The ownership model of FBC bears semblance to a quasi-commercial structure, as highlighted by Abdissa and Fitih (2018). Initially endowed by the four political parties constituting the ruling coalition, Fana TV broadcasts a diverse range of programming in multiple languages while maintaining a partisan alignment. Similarly, Walta TV, also inaugurated in April 2017, functions as a commercial television channel. Officially licensed by the Ethiopian Media Authority (EMA), Walta TV primarily focuses on news coverage related to political and societal matters within Ethiopia, adopting a format akin to EBC. Notably, Walta TV shares similarities with Fana TV in terms of both ownership and operational frameworks.

The reasons for selecting television channels from various media outlets were twofold. First, studying multicultural media production in relation to critical political economy (CPE) makes sense due to the high cost of TV production. The second reason for choosing TV channels was the nature of the research. Studying multicultural representation in television is part of the research area of cultural studies. Representation provides a framework to examine how media is used to symbolize the way things work and how human beings make sense of the world.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The management of diversity is closely linked to multiculturalism. Multiculturalism aims to effectively manage the differences or diverse ethnic, social, and cultural backgrounds to foster peaceful coexistence (Yonatan, 2010). According to Yonatan, the EPRDF embraced ethnic federalism as a political ideology to tackle the issue of diversity within Ethiopia. However, Ethiopian ethnic federalism has been a subject of controversy and skepticism, primarily due to Article 39 of the Ethiopian constitution, which grants the right to secession (Teshome & Záhořík,

2008). Critics have suggested that the Ethiopian constitutional approach to ethnic identity exacerbates ethnic loyalty and animosity rather than healing the wounds caused by historical injustices (Yonatan, 2010). Yonathan asserts that ethnic diversity is a fundamental institutional principle for a multi-ethnic state that aims to create a nation that belongs to all its inhabitants. However, a recent study by Mukundu (2018) reveals that Ethiopian society remains divided regarding the sustainability and quality of the ongoing political changes. The author emphasizes that concerns about the persistent influence of ethnicity in Ethiopian politics became evident in mid-September 2018 when Ethiopia witnessed uprisings driven by ethnic politics

The current discourse surrounding ethnic extremism in Ethiopia has predominantly centered on the difficulties associated with ethnic federalism, thus neglecting a thorough examination of the systemic factors that could effectively prevent such extremism (Yonas, 2019, pp. 14-31). Yonas identifies several key factors contributing to the problem, including the shortcomings of ethnic federalism, the fragmentation of the ruling party, high unemployment rates, propaganda and social inequality, and porous borders. Yonas (2019) suggests that the government should implement institutional reforms and bridge the gap between academia and activism. To achieve these goals, Yonas argues for a policy that grants media independence, enabling impartial negotiation among diverse groups while recognizing and respecting their diversity. By advocating for institutional reforms, fostering collaboration between academia and activism, encouraging public resistance against extremism, and implementing policies that promote diversity and pluralism in the media, Ethiopia can work towards preventing ethnic extremism and creating a more inclusive society.

This study aims to investigate the organizational structures and institutional principles of television channels in Ethiopia. It specifically focuses on the role of television channels in promoting diversity in a culturally diverse country like Ethiopia. Media plays a crucial role as a public space where diverse societies can come together and foster harmonious relations, thus enabling peaceful coexistence. This research aims to explore the current state of television channels in Ethiopia in these aspects. According to Mukundu (2018), Ethiopia is a country with diverse languages, political views, and cultures that should be represented in the mainstream media. However, there is a growing trend of ethnic media emerging in different regions of Ethiopia, likely because local communities feel underrepresented in the mainstream media.

Consequently, these ethnic media outlets predominantly reflect the culture of the ethnic groups they serve. On the other hand, national television stations, which have a larger potential audience, should overcome the barriers created by regional media and promote cultural pluralism and diversity in their programming to foster integration among Ethiopian societies. Therefore, it is crucial to consider issues of ethnic pluralism and cultural diversity in the representation of multiculturalism in Ethiopia (Mukundu, 2018).

The study focused on the journalistic practices of news media in representing society inclusively. While media organizations have a responsibility to embrace diverse voices, these ideals are influenced by political and economic factors. In other words, understanding multicultural representations in the news media requires examining the political economy that shapes media content production. Similarly, Douglas Kellner (2011) argued that cultural production is often overlooked in cultural studies. Solely relying on political economy is also insufficient. As a result, Kellner suggests a multiperspectival approach that examines production of content within the conception of political economy, audience reception studies, and cultural texts. Building on this perspective, the current study aimed to bridge the gap by systematically examining the interplay between the political economy of the media and the representation of multiculturalism.

In addition, there is a lack of extensive literature in the areas of political economy and multiculturalism. Skjerdal (2013) and Gagliardone (2014) have established a direct link between the Ethiopian media and the developmental model. However, some master's and doctoral works, as well as articles, have attempted to examine the Ethiopian media system from various perspectives. For instance, Nutman (2013) utilized Hallin and Mancini's (2004) comparative media systems as a primary theoretical framework to analyze the Ethiopian media industry. The observable political dynamics in Ethiopia align more closely with Hallini and Mancinis' polarized pluralist model. However, the sustainability of this model within Ethiopian politics and society remains uncertain, as there is a lack of concrete evidence to support its long-term viability. Menychele (2017), who explored the applicability of Hallin and Mancini's media system in Africa, observed limited instances where the Ethiopian media could be evaluated within the three models. While media systems and political economy are distinct fields, this study acknowledges adoption of media system could potentially influence the political economy

of its media. Therefore, it can be concluded that the comparative media systems proposed by Hallin and Mancini (2004) may not be entirely applicable to the African media system.

The propaganda model developed by Herman and Chomsky (1998) cannot also be directly applied to the study of media's political economy in Ethiopia, or else where in Africa. This is because the model primarily focuses on liberal democracies, which differ significantly from Ethiopia's political landscape. Furthermore, the propaganda model has faced criticism for assuming audience effects without thorough examination. However, Nutman (2013) and Menychel (2017) have attempted to develop theoretical frameworks for analyzing the Ethiopian media, considering factors such as ownership, media market dynamics, and government interventions or regulations. The Nordic media and welfare state model, as highlighted by Ala-Fossi (2020), shows promise but requires modification to suit the multiethnic groups in Ethiopia.

On the other hand, some studies in the field of culture and communication, particularly in the context of multiculturalism, have been conducted rarely considering the role of media. For example, Anteneh (2012) researched the level of intercultural communication among university students from different ethnic groups in Ethiopia. While Bezabih (2019) argued that broadcasting diverse cultural and linguistic programs through the country's mass media could contribute to multicultural education, they did not provide detailed explanations on how media could be effectively utilized or how media policy should be designed to fulfill this role. Another article by Robsan (2015), titled "The Representation of Ethiopian Multicultural Society in Secondary Teacher Curricula," highlighted a growing interest in addressing multicultural education in the curriculum framework for teacher education. However, it pointed out that the specific curricula for teacher education lack elements of multi-ethnic and multicultural education. Furthermore, Stremlau (2014) conducted a study on media, participation, and constitution making in Ethiopia and found that the press did not serve as a space for opposing voices to express grievances or provide a forum for negotiation and debate. The main reason for this, as argued by Stremlau, was that the press had been polarized from the beginning. Nonetheless, there are some studies that indirectly shed light on the subject, although they do not directly address issues of multiculturalism and the media. For example, Mulatu (2017) focused on the reporting of internal ethnic conflicts in Ethiopian local newspapers and revealed limitations in reporting such conflicts, highlighting problems related to ownership, fear, self-censorship, and external pressures that affect journalists' professional integrity. Birhanu and O'Donnell (2012) contend

that Ethiopian journalists have struggled to take advantage of professional opportunities in a more open media system due to the government's manipulative use of media to maintain political control.

More recently, there have been indications that the situation regarding press freedom would be changing. It was hoped that there would be room for media pluralism and diversity as new media outlets emerged, paving the way for freedom of expression following the coming to power of Abiy Ahmed in 2018. There are indicators of positive changes, such as new investments in the media, including the establishment of a new newspaper and TV channels (Mukundu, 2018). Accordingly, while the safety and security of journalists and media houses have improved significantly, residual threats remain due to the polarized state of politics in Ethiopia (Mukundu, 2018). This reform has been followed by the introduction of a regulation aimed at preventing hate speech and disinformation, which some feared could suppress journalists, similar to the anti-terrorism proclamation that preceded it. Furthermore, Mukundu states that although there is growing access to TV and online media platforms, the diversity of content remains a challenge, as most of Ethiopia's TV channels lack resource capacity and are predominantly based in cities.

In general, the aforementioned studies provide insights into the nature of the media in Ethiopia. It is important to note that the current study identifies two key issues regarding the status of media and communication studies in Ethiopia. First, there is a focus on the social aspect of media studies, particularly its role in socio-economic and political development, democracy, and good governance. However, there has been a lack of exploration of the material aspects of media, such as its position as an industry, its role in the market, and its influence as a key player in a capitalist economy. The political economy of the media in Ethiopia has remained uninvestigated due to the emphasis on specific problems in prior studies. By combining the political economy of the media with multiculturalism, this study seeks to bridge the gap between social aspects and material (economic) aspects of the media.

Second, Ethiopia is currently in a state of political instability and constant flux, partly due to policy failures in accommodating diversity and the absence of political will to foster solidarity among multi-ethnic and cultural groups. However, the media could serve as an instrument for entertaining, debating, and negotiating diversity and plurality. The problems that have arisen may have stemmed from misrepresentations of "multiculturalism," and addressing these issues

requires examining the political economy of the media. Therefore, the present study aims at critically investigating the role of the media in representing multiculturalism, as well as the political-economic factors associated with these processes. There is a clear research gap in both the political economy of the media and the media's representation of multiculturalism that this seeks to fill by investigating the political economy of the Ethiopian media and its influence on media representation of multiculturalism in mainstream Ethiopian television channels.

1.4. Objectives of the study

1.4.1 General Objective

The primary objective of this study was to investigate the political economy of the Ethiopian media and its influence on the representation of multiculturalism in selected mainstream TV channels in Ethiopia.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives that are drawn from the general objective of the study are the following:

1. To examine the political economy of mainstream TV channels in Ethiopia.
2. To analyze how multiculturalism is represented in the TV channels' news stories and talk shows.
3. To assess the journalists' multicultural media literacy, intercultural competence, and organizational constraints for producing multicultural TV content.
4. To analyze political economy factors associated with audiences' multicultural TV viewing.
5. To ascertain if selected television channels include ideologies promoting cultural diversity in their contents.

1.5 Research Questions

To achieve the stated objectives, the study formulated the following research questions:

1. How does the political economy environment influence multicultural representations in Ethiopian mainstream TV channels?

2. How effectively do prime time news programs and talk shows on television channels achieve equitable representation of diverse geographical and ethnic groups?
3. How proficient are journalists in terms of multicultural media literacy and intercultural competence?
4. What are the political economy factors shaping viewers' understanding of multicultural content and equality of representations?
5. To what extent do the selected television channels incorporate ideologies that actively promote and foster cultural diversity in their transmitted contents?

1.6 Significance of the Study

This research project aimed at enhancing the philosophical understanding of the intersection between the political economy of media and multiculturalism. By bridging the gap between separate studies on media representation of multiculturalism and the political economy of the media, the project provided a comprehensive understanding of the factors that influence the fair representation of a multicultural society. Additionally, the project drew on critical media theory, particularly the ideas of scholars from the Frankfurt School, to explore issues of equality, justice, and emancipation in media production and consumption. It also had practical implications for media practice and policy in Ethiopia, influencing policymakers to promote diversity, equity, and tolerance through media policies. Overall, the study's novelty lies in its comprehensive approach to linking the political economy of media with multiculturalism, contributing to both theoretical and practical understandings in the field. Furthermore, the study indicated that Ethiopia should strive for a media environment where media outlets are publicly owned and operate in a manner that prioritizes the collective welfare rather than aligning with specific identities. This approach would ensure a balanced and equitable representation of various ethnic groups, fostering an environment of fairness and inclusivity.

1.7 Delimitation of the Study

Conducting comprehensive research is crucial, but limited resources often require researchers to narrow down their study. In Ethiopia, there is a diverse media landscape encompassing print, broadcast, online, and offline media. With the emergence of numerous TV and radio channels, there is a growing interest in studying this media market. However, this particular study focused on three prominent television channels—ETV, Fana TV, and Walta TV—under the assumption

that they have a wide-reaching audiences. Television channels are chosen for their power to visually portray images that can provide insights into how people are represented, despite their differences. Additionally, the researcher intended to explore different ownership forms (private/commercial and government) and mainstream accessibility and geographical distribution. Mainstream TV channels, which cater to a majority of the audience, are generally expected to responsibly represent multiculturalism, making them a focal point for this research. Consequently, the study concentrated on primetime news stories and weekly talk shows broadcast by ETV, Walta TV, and Fana TV, while acknowledging the existence of other media outlets in the country.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

Every research has its own limitations, and this particular study is no exception. One constraint is associated with the methodology utilized, particularly the reliance on non-uniform sampling due to the absence of available data on television content in archive. TV newsrooms typically do not consistently maintain archives for a long period of time, which made it challenging to access certain contents based on systematic sampling. As a result, the researcher had to rely on availability sampling to select some of the news contents that were easily accessible within the timeframe of the study. This limitation arose during the conduct of the study on Fana TV news contents. The accessibility concern also prompted the researcher to utilize the social media profiles of the television organizations, which in turn had an influence on the sampling methods employed. Another methodological constraint pertains to the utilization of SPSS for Q methodology, resulting in the inability to access and utilize suitable software specifically designed for this method.

With regard to the results, it is essential to acknowledge the significant relationship between news diversity and core principles such as freedom of expression, information accessibility, and equality. Although the concepts have been partially addressed within the critical political economy framework, there is a need to establish a comprehensive theoretical foundation that explicitly explores the direct relationship between these factors. The analysis of news media coverage in the study was based on a corpus of news stories spanning from 2019 to 2021, encompassing the period of civil war in Ethiopia. It is important to acknowledge that the inclusion of emotionally charged news stories related to the war could have potentially impacted

the findings and results of the analysis. Lastly, future research employing mixed methods may prioritize integrating quantitative and qualitative data at specific stages, addressing the challenges encountered in their integration.

1.9 Organization of the Study

This dissertation is structured into five chapters, each serving a specific purpose. The first Chapter serves as an introduction, providing background information on the research area and rationale for the study. Chapter Two focuses on reviewing and synthesizing relevant literature and theories. Chapter Three discusses the methodology employed, along the philosophical assumptions that underpin the research design. Chapter Four presents and discusses the data collected, offering a critical analysis of the study. Finally, Chapter Five provides discussion and implications and conclusion on research findings.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter provides an overview of relevant literature. It starts by discussing the field of political economy and then explores the political economy of the media. The chapter also includes a concise history of television in Ethiopia. It critically examines the potential of theories of political economy of the media for explaining the Ethiopian media landscape. Furthermore, it explores the role of media in multiculturalism and analyzes the political economy factors that influence it. What is more, it offers a conceptual and theoretical lens on which the study was based.

2.1 The field of Political Economy

The study of political economy is heavily influenced by the ideas of the 18th century Scottish enlightenment and its subsequent critique in the 19th century (Wasko, 2005). Due to the constantly changing socio-political landscape of the world, it is challenging to provide a clear and concise definition of political economy. Factors such as evolving global political situations, varying systems of governance in different nations, and administrative behaviors further contribute to the ambiguity surrounding the definition of political economy. However, political economy is considered a crucial perspective in the field of media and communication. Before delving into its application to the media/communication context, it is important to establish some general definitions that help us understand its nature as a social science (Wasko, 2005).

According to various scholars, the general definition of political economy is the study of the interaction between politics and economics. Paul Adler (2009) defines political economy as the combined effects of economic and political structures or processes, and the scholarly study of this domain. Streeck (2010) argues that political economy examines the interrelations between collective action, collective rulemaking, economic interests, policy, politics, and social life. Browning and Kilmster (2006) view political economy as a theoretical approach that situates the economy within a broader context to develop a more comprehensive social theory. According to Apuke (2017), political economy studies the relationships between individuals, society, markets, and the state using tools and methods from economics, political science, and sociology. Barker (2012) defines political economy as concerned with the power and distribution of economic and

social resources. These definitions emphasize the interaction between the economy, social structure, power dynamics, and their influence on policy and politics. The media, as an institution, is influenced by the socio-political structure in which it operates, and therefore, understanding the political economy of the media can be built upon the foundation of the broader field of political economy.

As one of the foundations, Streeck (2018) presents an institutionalist viewpoint within the field of political economy, placing emphasis on the significance of power dynamics and perceiving capitalism as a network of interrelated social institutions and structural systems. This approach considers the media within the broader context of capitalist institutions and their influence on society. On the other hand, Gandy (1992) highlights the relevance of contemporary or modern Marxist schools in analyzing the political economy of the media. These Marxist perspectives focus on the coercive social relations between classes and capital, providing a foundation for understanding the general political economy of the media. According to Streeck (2018), while the institutionalist approach is more substantively rich and closer to the real world, it doesn't discount the significance of the classical Marxist approach in studying the political economy of the media. At this point, both the institutionalist and modern Marxist approaches are valuable in examining the political economy of the media, with the institutionalist perspective offering a nuanced understanding of capitalism as a system of interconnected social institutions, and the Marxist approach providing a foundation for analyzing the broader dynamics of class and capital. In this study, the main emphasis was placed on examining the organization and functioning of media systems within larger political and economic frameworks. The research explored how these systems and their dynamics influence the creation, dissemination, and reception of media content. The primary area of study that encompasses these concerns is known as the political economy of the media.

2.1.1 Political Economy of the Media

The concept of the political economy of the media explores the interconnectedness of media, politics, and economics. Meyer (2012) argues that television, within the realm of critical studies, is commonly understood as comprising three interrelated components: the text, the audience, and the production process. These elements are crucial to understanding the political economy of the media. While scholars have attempted to define this field, they have often used terms such as

"political economy of the media" and "political economy of communication" interchangeably. Regardless of the specific phrasing, the concept focuses on the ownership and control of television production and distribution mechanisms, and the economic implications of different patterns of ownership and control. These issues play a significant role in various economic aspects. Previous definitions of political economy generally examine the interaction between economics and politics within a broader context, as well as the resulting effects on social and cultural dynamics (Meyer, 2012).

Later, the field of the political economy of communication has experienced significant growth and diversification in the past fifty years (Graham, 2007, p. 2). Marxist-inspired scholars and critical schools of thought have been particularly interested in studying the political economy of communication within the broader context of general political economy. The political economy of communication examines the creation, allocation, transaction, and utilization of values and the generation, allocation, transaction, and application of power, as well as the interconnections between these elements in a specific historical context. It focuses on understanding how communication functions within broader political and economic systems. Defining the political economy of the media is challenging due to its complex relationship with the economy, government, society, and political structures. However, most definitions share similar characteristics, and scholarly work in media and communication studies tends to focus on the political economy of the media due to the intricate socio-economic issues involved.

Vincent Mosco (2009) defines the political economy of communication as the examination of power relations that shape the production and distribution of communication resources. While some authors highlight Mosco's focus on the commodification of mass media, he clarifies that this alone does not sufficiently explain social relations. Mosco (2009) views the political economy of communication as the study of how agency and structure interact to generate various social relations, including class, gender, race, and other social formations. Christian Fuchs (2014) argues that political economy encompasses a broad domain, drawing upon diverse intellectual traditions such as classical liberal economic thought and influential thinkers like Smith, Ricardo and Mill. Fuchs (2014) emphasizes the comprehensive nature of political economy, incorporating various theoretical foundations and historical perspectives. According to Wasko (2005), economists such as Adam Smith and David Ricardo considered the study of

economic issues as political economy, rooted in social theory. Therefore, scholars interested in Marxist social theories are often attracted to the field of media/communications political economy.

Towards the end of the 20th century, the field of political economy of the media gained significant attention, largely due to the influential work of Herman and Chomsky. Their book "Manufacturing Consent" introduced the Propaganda Model, a political economic framework that focused on analyzing the media in Western countries, particularly North America and Northeastern Europe. This work sparked extensive scholarly debates among researchers interested in studying the political economy of media. The propaganda model, proposed by Herman and Chomsky (1988) and discussed by Siapera (2010), examines the impact of wealth and power inequality on mass media. It consists of five "news filters" that include media ownership concentration and financial profitability ("size"), reliance on "advertising" as a primary revenue source, dependence on information from government, business and experts ("source"), use of criticism and negative feedback to control the media ("*flak*"), and the utilization of anti-communism as a tool for social control.

The model suggests that news undergoes filters that lead to only a small portion of the original information being considered suitable for publication. The propaganda model, which explains the media system through various influencing structures that generate ideology, has been extensively studied and developed empirically. Critiques from postmodern scholars have examined the model's news filters. These critiques could be taken as foundations for the present study. The propaganda model shares similarities with Marxism in its materialist criticism of dominance and the power structures that affect the media, as well as its adoption of a historical perspective (Carañana, Broudy, and Klaehn, 2018). According to these authors, the propaganda model particularly highlights the contradictions within the media and the potential for journalism to contribute to social justice. It seeks to understand how ideological and communicative power intersect with economic, political, and social power (Klaehn, 2009). Klaehn (2009) emphasizes on professionalism in journalism as an ideology that holds significance for journalists and the sources associated with news organizations. This study aims to examine how journalists' ideology influences their capacity to assess and choose news sources, evaluate information,

discern between news and non-news, and how these processes are affected by the news "filters" proposed by the propaganda model.

The propaganda model, despite facing debates and criticisms, remains significant in analyzing the political economy of the media. These debates have contributed to a broader understanding of the model's application in different contexts and the influence of news filters over time and across locations. However, the fact that there is no study that has completely disproven the importance of news filters within the propaganda model reaffirms its relevance. One specific critique of the model was its failure to consider the sociology of journalists and their routine practices influenced by professional ideologies. This gap was underscored by this study. This critique emphasizes the need to understand organizational aspects of newsroom work and the role of "professional ideology" in shaping media portrayals (Hearns-Branaman, 2018; Klahn, 2009). In addition, Hearns-Branaman emphasizes that the significance and influence of journalistic routines, newsroom hierarchies, and editorial influence outweigh active subversion or journalists' inherent subjectivity. Comeforo (2010) argues that journalists are often referred to as subjective and passive, when they can be active and have a significant degree of control. Hearns-Branaman (2018) further suggests that journalists can be active in seeking alternative sources of information or passively relay the same old elite perspectives. On the other hand, Robinson (2018) argued that the PM and similar elite-driven paradigms provide only a partial understanding, overlooking the substantial influence of governments and corporations in manipulating information. This focus on blaming journalists and editors deflects attention from these influential bodies responsible for information distortion.

An important aspect that has been overlooked by the propaganda model was a study on the journalists' competency as a point of debate regarding news filters. By studying journalists' professional and intercultural competencies alongside the propaganda model's claims about manipulation and distortion by governments and corporations, we can take a more critical approach to analyze news filters. In this regard, this study would help identify unstudied news filters, improve the propaganda model, and enable a more critical examination of the political economy of TV channels concerning journalistic practices in representing diverse ethnic and cultural groups in Ethiopia. Comprehending viewers' choices within the propaganda model requires an understanding of the role of cultural diversity. Noam Chomsky, in a 2018 interview

with an Al Jazeera journalist, referred to the phrase "manufacturing consent," which he and his co-author Herman borrowed from Walter Lippmann's book "Public Opinion" published in 1922. Lippmann described how individuals struggle to interpret the world in a complex environment. The idea behind "manufacturing consent" suggests that the media creates a consensus among audiences who may lack the cognitive capacity to interpret the world independently. However, in a postmodern context, this idea may not accurately describe the nature of audiences. Stuart Hall's encoding and decoding model, for example, recognizes the audience's ability to make choices. According to this model, a message needs to be perceived as meaningful and decoded to have an impact, serve a purpose, or fulfill a need.

Hall (1997) argues that audiences have three choices when exposed to media texts, which challenges Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model. According to Hall (1997), audiences can either be completely influenced by the media messages they are interested in, partially influenced with some resistance, or completely disregard the messages. For example, in politics, citizens who ignore news that is biased against the government cannot be influenced by it. Gehlbach and Sonin (2014) support this point by suggesting that when viewers turn away from insufficiently informative broadcasts, their news consumption becomes more selective. This suggests that Herman and Chomsky misunderstood the nature of audiences in their propaganda model, as they solely focused on media performance without considering factors such as audience preferences, class differences, and media literacy, which are important elements in understanding political economy of the media (Sparks, 2007).

Therefore, it is important to recognize that the concept of "critical" in the study of the political economy of the media, as mentioned by Cristian Fuchs (2014), is not focused on the past, but rather on envisioning and advocating for what could and should be. This perspective prompts us to consider different ideals within the critical political economy of the media, which can be incorporated into the propaganda model. A relevant article by Gehlbach and Sonin (2014) addresses government control of the media and helps bridge this gap. Their theoretical framework emphasizes the limitations faced by governments in influencing media content. They identify two biases: reporting bias, which diminishes the informational value of news, and bias in reducing advertising revenue. It can be inferred that the political economy of the media may be at risk if these two biases are not balanced symmetrically.

2.1.2 Critical Political Economy of the Media

The critical political economy of the media examines how public cultures are produced and diversified equitably (Golding & Murdock, 2016). It focuses on the power relations that shape the production, circulation, and consumption of communication resources, including new and digital media (Mosco, 2009; Fuchs, 2014). Additionally, it explores how the media are influenced by and influence capitalism and power structures (Hardy, 2014). The moral philosophy of economic systems and policy issues are also considered in this field (Wasko, 2005). These perspectives are similar and contribute to the main objective of the study.

According to Mosco (2009), Marxist and Hegelian inspired social theorists have traditionally embraced critical theory or critical schools of thought. However, it is important to note that a critical approach can be based on various theoretical and practical perspectives. This is also applicable to the works of Herman and Chomsky on manufacturing consent, as they draw from a range of influences. It is true that many scholars in critical schools of thought have been primarily influenced by Marxist ideas. In the field of political economy of media, the Propaganda Model (PM) and related approaches stem from the critical political-economy tradition. These approaches have shed light on how economic inequalities within society contribute to biases in media representations (Zollmann, 2018). Nonetheless, there is still a need to address the gaps in critical theories of the media, such as the propaganda model, and assess their compatibility with the concept of critical political economy in the media.

Critical Political Economy, a component of the European political economy literature of the Left (Favell, 2014a; Parker, 2017), represents a departure from focusing solely on the state's socio-economic activities. Instead, it emphasizes social means of coordination and the regulation of resource distribution (Buzgalin and Kolganov, 2016). This distinction highlights the difference between political economy, which describes the socio-economic activities of states, institutions, and organizations influenced by regulatory systems, and critical political economy, which critically examines these activities and questions the reasons behind them. It does so within the framework of moral values such as equity and equality, particularly in resource allocation.

For Christian Fuchs (2014), critical political economy in the field of communication did not emerge randomly but can be traced back to its roots in Marxist critical social theory. He

highlights that the "Critical Political Economy of Communications" is considered critical in a broad sense within Marxist principles. He argues that the Anglo-American version of the political economy of communication can be categorized as critical political economy. Fuchs (2014) suggests that critical political economy should involve a systematic application of critical theory to analyze capitalism, with empirical studies based on dialectical philosophy as its foundational framework. The inclusion of empirical case studies enhances the credibility and plausibility of critical political economy (Murdock & Golding, 2005, as cited in Fuchs, 2014).

Critical political economy, influenced by classical Marxist views, incorporates elements from classical political economy and cultural studies. By integrating these social theories, we can better understand the essence of critical political economy. Natalie Fenton is one scholar who aims to bridge the gap between these two disciplines. Fenton (2007) argues that critical political economy focuses on structural inequalities in production and their impact on representation and access to consumption, while cultural studies analyze popular cultural practices. Cultural studies also emphasize the agency of individuals and their ability to resist social determinants and dominant cultural agendas. This study draws from both fields to examine how mainstream TV channels in Ethiopia represent multiculturalism, considering the constraints of time, space, and the political-economic environment.

According to Janet Wasko (2005), Vincent Mosco's work is referenced to understand critical political economy in relation to moral philosophy. From this perspective, critical political economy focuses on classical theories of moral philosophy, which not only analyze the economic system but also address policy problems and associated moral issues. Wasko also highlights the similarity between Mosco's (2009) critical political economy and the perspectives of Golding and Murdock. In her article published in the *Journal of Communication and Society*, Wasko summarizes her point by stating that critical political economists examine contradictions and propose strategies for resistance and intervention. This approach encompasses economic and political analysis, utilizing methods derived from history, economics, sociology, and political science (Wasko, 2005, p. 27).

Murdock and Golding (2016) assert that the critical political economy of communication addresses two fundamental sets of questions. The first set involves understanding how public culture is produced and to what extent specific modes of production are equitable, exploitative,

and ecologically sustainable rather than destructive. The second set of questions examines the extent to which the produced content delivers a diverse range of information, analysis, debate, and insights into the lives of others. These questions are crucial in the current study for three reasons. Firstly, they are inherently critical and align with the dialectic or critical realist epistemology adopted in the study. Secondly, these questions reflect important values such as equity, equality, diversity, debate, participatory citizenship, and respect, which are central to research employing critical realism as an epistemological position. Lastly, considering the moral values mentioned earlier is crucial when examining the representation of diversity in Ethiopian TV channels through the lens of critical political economy (Murdock & Golding, 2016).

To support my argument, the third reason for utilizing critical political economy is considered significant as it can help bridge the gap in Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model when studying communication and culture. Although the propaganda model is situated within critical social theories, its filters lack in-depth analysis, particularly concerning the actors within media organizations and social classes. For example, Zollmann (2018) argues that the propaganda model tends to be marginalized in communication and cultural studies, and questions whether the same applies to the study of gender, race, and structural inequalities, which are the focus of the current research. There are studies that suggest examining gender, race, and ethnic inequalities in media ownership. Therefore, further research is needed to focus on these aspects. Klaehn (2009) argues that gender, race, and ethnic inequalities should be considered as important areas of focus within the ownership, advertising and sourcing. These are partly filters of the propaganda model. In this respect, Klaehn (2018) raises the question of whether the existing filters of the propaganda model account for gender, race, and ethnicity or if new filters need to be developed. Evaluating the political economy of the media in relation to gender, race, and ethnicity can be seen as an important expansion of the critical approach to the political economy of the media. The propaganda model has limitations in addressing specificities, as it treats the filters as general factors influencing news stories. Klaehn's critique sets the agenda for the current study, which seeks to bridge gaps by integrating the political economy of the media with the representation of multiculturalism to understand social dynamics better.

Moreover, Klaehn and Zollmann (2016) argue that while the propaganda model (PM) recognizes the influence of elites and their ideologies on the public sphere, it lacks specificity in identifying

these elites and ideologies. They advocate for an intersectional approach to PM that incorporates class, gender, race, and ethnicity. Recognizing the importance of class, gender, race, and ethnicity is crucial in positioning the propaganda model as a theory of political economy within cultural diversity and multiculturalism. If these intersections are addressed, PM can better examine the political economy of the media and its impact on marginalized communities.

Hence, it is essential to adopt a critical political economy approach to analyze the representation of multiculturalism. This approach allows us to comprehend the ideologies and power dynamics that influence media operations, ownership, and funding (Chiumbu, 2016). Media institutions should prioritize cultural diversity as a moral imperative and strive to respect and accommodate diverse perspectives. Under a capitalist system, the media tends to marginalize dissenting voices, prompting activists to advocate for a participatory democracy that replaces the current ownership structures. Consequently, there is a need for alternative media that challenges the influence exerted by existing ownership structures. Fuchs and Sandoval (2015) have provided subjective and objective definitions of alternative media. Subjective approaches emphasize active involvement in creating and disseminating media content, while objective approaches focus more on the content itself. According to them, alternative media disseminate content and perspectives that question prevailing realities, provide critical information, and amplify critical viewpoints (Fuchs & Sandoval, 2015).

In addition, Cristian Fuchs and Mariso Sandalova refer to Mosco (2009) who defines critical political economy of the media and communication as an “approach that studies the production, circulation and consumption of information in the context of capitalism, power structures, domination and inequalities”. In this sense, critical political economy becomes a normative approach. It relates the created knowledge to the ideal of the society and tends to evaluate the extent to which the society is in a progressive movement or in a transformational motion.

Jonathan Hardy's (2014) concept of critical political economy combines media production, meaning making, and consumption, and examines how media and communication systems relate to broader societal forces and processes. According to Browning and Kilmister (2006), Hardy's approach critically evaluates knowledge and social practices based on normative values, such as fairness in wealth and resource distribution. In Ethiopia, where media ownership and content

diversity have declined (Mukundu, 2018), this study aims to explore its impact on fair representations of cultural diversity in television news productions.

Lastly, Hegel's perspective on the problem of filters in the propaganda model highlights the importance of considering specific subjects and actors separately. According to Kilmister (2006), Hegel values the sphere of modern political economy because it allows individuals to express their individuality and particularity. In this context, political economy encompasses the activities through which individuals exercise their freedom, utilize their unique abilities, and fulfill their individual needs. Hegel emphasizes that human nature is not fixed and that individuals possess infinite capacities. So, it is crucial for us to actively engage in a back-and-forth movement to adopt a reflexive approach when examining the issues of media production at a micro-level alongside producers. To comprehend critical political economy effectively, we must recognize it as a reflexive process (Jansen, 2013) deeply rooted in historical context and the examination of the past to gain insights into the present and anticipate the future. Thus, it involves a dialectical method and employs discourse historical analysis.

2.2 Media and the Study of Audiences

There are some scholarly literatures that argue for the importance of linking audience studies to television studies that the current study rejoices. I would like to refer to the argument made by James Hay & Nick Couldry (2011) in their article entitled “Rethinking Convergence/Culture”. They pointed out that the link between audience studies and television studies is worth recalling for some reasons. Among the reasons they provide was that the “linkage between them enacted historical contradiction”. They have referred to many of the early works on television that according to them, “sought to make visible and knowable, a medium that was so taken for granted, so embedded in daily life, as to require critical strategies for seeing the medium as medium, paradigm and language” (Hay & Couldry, 2011, p. 478). For them, television studies require critical study of power, social relations and popular culture.

On the other hand, the origin of audience studies can be traced back to the 1930s, into the mid-war birth of propaganda research (Sedgman, 2017). He notes that research on audiences has been caught in between binary distinctions whereby some studies sought to prove the existence of powerful media influence while others worked to capture that evidence. Similarly, Meyer

(2012) contends that methodologically separating the analysis of text, audience, and production leads to an excessive proliferation of fragmented depictions, hindering our comprehension of intricate cultural dynamics. In addition, Meyer notes that the future of critical television studies lies in its ability to speak across the multiple methods and boundaries, and this is the main advantage that this study intends to seize through incorporating the study of audience into the field of political economy, with the aim of transforming the field into a more critical pattern. In addition, referring to Richard Butsch, who argues that discourse about audiences ‘most often’ considered them problematic, Sedgman (2017, p. 7) notes it is because the studies have largely been confined to television and cinema, with the earliest systematic audience research of the ‘effects’ traditions. Then Das suggests cultural explorations of audiences, informed questions of identity, communality, resistance and essentially politics, thereby offering an inquiry into real audiences instead of reading off dominant messages in media discourses (Das, 2017).

In a similar way, Turner (2019) contends that significant challenges have been posed by the necessity to understand the transformations within the production and distribution industries. However, he also notes the bulk of research in television has focused on technologies, structure of the industries and systems of delivery or the textual strategies employed to address new and more diverse modes of audience engagement. Combining audience and production studies in media industries is essential. Vicki Mayer (2016) argues that the origins of audience and production studies seek to study those populations who had been formally excluded in industrial hierarchies of cultural and economic value, activities and interpretative practices of media production. Lastly, Mayer noted that deep ethnographic and historical work on media production and consumption in India illuminated a field of power relations in economic, cultural, and social divisions. These assertions highlight the significance of audience research in media and communication studies.

However, there are potential literatures that focused on audiences within the critical media studies. For instance, Behrenshausen (2013) demonstrates how player-centered discourses in video game are related to ‘active audience’ research in media and cultural studies. Hermes, et al, (2013) propose to embed critical literacy in cultural studies’; and argues that current levels of literacy are inadequate. Das (2017) contends that the years between 2004 and 2014 have been a

transformative and argued audience analysis has reached a newer, more unknown, but very significant phase.

Recent literature in critical media studies covers a range of topics, including research on audience engagement (Sedgman, 2017; Turner, 2019), concerns about the future of audience study in the age of big data (Athique, 2018), and transformations within audience studies (Das, 2017). Some scholars explore how human subjects in audience and production studies can shed light on power dynamics in mass media production (Mayer, 2016), while others delve into the social, cultural, political, and economic implications of video gaming (Behrenshausen, 2013). Audience studies within critical literacy frameworks (Hermes et al., 2013), methodological approaches (Meyer, 2012), and the meaning-making process for audiences consuming terrorism-related content on television (Pears, 2016) are also examined. Additionally, analyses of the culture of media use (Turner, 2019) and various models for understanding audiences (Webster, 2014) contribute to our understanding of the media industry. However, despite the importance of these studies, there appears to be a gap in connecting them to broader issues such as political economy and multiculturalism, which are of interest to the current study.

2.3 Bridging the Literature Gap on the Political Economy of the Media in Ethiopia

Despite extensive body of research on Ethiopian media, a noticeable dearth exists in literature specifically dedicated to examining the political economy of the media. Existing literatures predominantly revolve around the general nature of the media industry, journalism and freedom of expression. The scarcity of studies delving into the intricate dynamics of media ownership, media business practices, legal frameworks, and the intricate interplay between the media and ethnic politics further compounds this gap. Consequently, a comprehensive exploration of work on these issues becomes imperative, as it could potentially furnish a foundational comprehension of the political economy of media in Ethiopia.

Existing studies on Ethiopian media have primarily focused on specific aspects such as ownership (Nutman, 2013), media and development, media and political parallelism, press freedom (Mukundu, 2018), media and gender (Agaredech, 2013), conflict reporting (Mulatu, 2017), and media, democracy, and elections (Dagim, 2013). While these studies contribute valuable insights, they individually fail to provide a comprehensive understanding of the political

economy of the media or the overall media environment. However, by critically examining these separate bodies of literature, a holistic understanding of the political economy of the media can be attained as these studies shed light on pertinent issues within the broader context. Multiculturalism promotes mutual relationships in diverse societies. However, multiple media outlets fail to address the problem of segmented pluralism in particularist federalism, where the constitution is robust but ethnocentric elites foster separatism. To advance the study of the political economy of the media in Ethiopia, it is essential to shift the focus from merely describing ownership, business practices, government policies, and legal landscapes to exploring their implications on the equitable representation of multiethnic societies in Ethiopia. Furthermore, transforming the study of the political economy of the media necessitates an exploration beyond macro-level considerations of media ownership and regulation. Instead, it should encompass an examination of micro-level factors such as gender, education, media literacy, access to media, and journalists' expertise, which have distinct impacts on media production and consumption at an individual level. To embark on this transformative path, it is crucial to begin existing literature that describes the nature of the media in Ethiopia. This will help identify research gaps pertaining to the micro-level variables that can better characterize the nature of the political economy of the media.

2.4 Brief History of Television in Ethiopia

According to John Gartley's article on the history of electronic media in Ethiopia, the news in Ethiopia was initially announced from the tower in Addis Ababa, the capital city involving the use of drums and the cry of "awaj," which resonated throughout the empire. Gartley refers to the individual in the tower as the "awajnegari" or "herald," making them the first means of mass communication in Ethiopia (Gartley, 1980, pp. 163-170). Nevertheless, the history of electronic communication in Ethiopia can be traced back to the 1930s. Radio broadcasting was initiated by the Italian government during their occupation (Nutman, 2013). TV broadcasting began approximately 28 years later after the establishment of radio broadcasting. Ethiopian Television (ETV) was initially set up with support from the British firm Thomson during Haile Selassie's reign. Permanent broadcasting by ETV commenced on November 2, 1964, coinciding with Haile Selassie's 33rd coronation (Skjerdal, 2012). However, the first television signals in Ethiopia were transmitted on a closed circuit in Africa Hall in Addis Ababa in May 1963, during the inaugural

meeting of the Organization of African Unity (Skjerdal, 2012). Color television broadcasting started in 1984 to commemorate the founding of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia. During the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie, I (1930-1974) and the subsequent dictatorship, the press largely functioned as a mouthpiece for the ruling authorities.

Research indicated that the introduction of color television in 1984 was the only notable advancement in Ethiopian media during the Derg regime (Skjerdal 2007, p. 32). During first years of the Derg regime, Ethiopian Television aired programs in black and white, reaching around 25,000 television sets across the country (Abdissa & Getachew, 2024). Linguistically, the dominance of the Amharic language in the media sector has remained consistent since its inception. This also holds true for television broadcasting, despite the changes brought about by the advent of digital satellite transmission, which facilitated the launch of various channels. One such channel is Languages TV, which is part of the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC). Ethiopia's population has surpassed 110 million, yet there is a low TV ownership rate of 4-6 TV sets per 1,000 people (Bonde, 2018). The country currently has seven state-owned TV stations and ten commercial TV stations. Initially, Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) operated three channels: EBC 1, EBC 2, and EBC 3. While EBC is the national broadcaster, it allots airtime to regional TV stations, which now operate independently (Salawu, 2016). Besides analog terrestrial TV, Arabsat provides a free-to-air digital satellite TV service with an estimated one million viewers (ITU, 2012). Private participation in television broadcasting is limited, with only government-run channels such as ETV 1 and ETV 2 available on local networks. However, Ethiopia has recently launched its own satellite called Ethiosat, facilitating the transmission of domestically produced programs. Some view this development as a response to political pressures and an attempt to minimize foreign media channels' involvement in Ethiopian political affairs (Skjerdal, 2012).

Skjerdal points out that the Ethiopian government has been hesitant to grant licenses to private TV channels due to lack of preparation for competition, resulting in uncertain television penetration (Skjerdal, 2012). As a result, he argues, Television remains a state monopoly. However, after the reform initiated by Abiy Ahmed's administration in 2018, new media outlets emerged, and restrictions were relaxed, allowing private news outlets to thrive and offer alternative sources of news alongside state-run media (Bratt, 2019/2020). Presently, there is a

significant increase in the number of licensed broadcasting channels in Ethiopia, and there is a notable proliferation of satellite dishes and their users. The frustration among Ethiopian citizens towards state-owned television and the subsequent launch of more than four new television channels in 2016, as reported by The Economist online, could indicate a promising growth trajectory for the television industry in the coming years.

Nevertheless, the transformation failed to manifest as enduringly sustainable. During the formative years of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's leadership, the media landscape, deemed significant by many analysts (Abdissa, 2023). Subsequently, there emerged suspicions that the media took sides in the conflicts and wars, prompting a shift towards monitoring and regulating journalistic practices. Hate speech regulation was endorsed as part of actions against mis and disinformation (Gizachew, 2022). This was exemplified by the government's measures, including the sanctioning of diaspora-based media outlets such as the Oromo Media Network (OMN) just prior to the outbreak of war. As the conflict between Ethiopia and the Tigray regional state escalated, there were evident signs of a decline in media freedom, characterized by arbitrary detentions and prolonged pre-trial incarcerations of journalists, along with a lack of transparency regarding the whereabouts of those detained (Abdissa, 2023, pp. 8-10). The government's stance appeared to be critical of media behaviour during the war. Abbink (2021) stated that there have been media biases, dis and misinformation by both national and international. As a result, government actions had adverse effects on the development of media infrastructure and free flow of information.

2.4.1 Media Ownership and Diversity in Ethiopia

One of the most important elements of political economy of the media is ownership. The Ethiopian media environment is characterized by polarization between private and state-owned enterprises (Skjerdal, 2011). Most television stations are either owned by the government or indirectly have association with ruling political parties in Ethiopia. This nature of ownership can be traced back to their establishment as a propaganda machine for rebel groups that have been fighting against monarchies in Ethiopia. For instance, the origin of Fana Radio dates to the period of the armed struggle against the military regime. Under the management of rebel wing group known as Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO) at the time, it had been used as a voice of insurgence and agitation against the existing system (Abdissa & Fitih, 2018, p.

293). This association of ownership has influenced Fana TV channel which is working under Fana Broadcasting Corporate (FBC). Abdissa and Fitih (2018) noted that the current government aligns with the development journalism model, exerting control and indirectly influencing private media to adopt similar approaches.

However, this mode of media ownership with party alliance has been extended to the regional governments under the four coalition parties and other parties in emerging regions of the EPRDF. Now they are running broadcasting stations which are owned and controlled by the regional governments. Amhara Media Corporation and Oromia Broadcasting Network are exemplary of such forms of media ownership. As a result, most TV stations in Ethiopia are directly or indirectly run under the control of the ruling government and are committed to ethnic ideologies to which they assume responsibility. The idea that this nature of ownership would have impacted cultural diversity as political ideology, and cultural representations are missing in most of the TV channels as the regional channels focus on the topical issues of their respective regions.

Additionally, as most of the TV channels are owned or allied with a ruling party, it could be difficult for private media companies to compete with TV channels which are subsidized by the government. The structures of ownership, we refer here to the financial and legal status of media companies (Guyot, 2009). As forms of ownership determine the nature of media markets, Guyot notes that market forces lead to fierce competition, thus weakening the independence of journalists and their working conditions as well. This happens in the weak media market where journalists might not be able to survive by the money they could generate from productions. This condition exacerbates the economic problems of private and small media houses that are no more supported by the governments.

In the recent years, Ethiopia has been under reform which said to have positively affected the media landscape. However, skeptics point out that the media outlets continue to operate under very difficult policy and economic conditions (Mukundu, 2018). Therefore, the professional integrity of journalists would be challenged as government aims to control what is produced in media organization. Press freedom and legal policies significantly shape journalists' storytelling approaches. According to Guyot (2009), journalists grapple with a wider array of sensitive topics that extend beyond political interference. These challenges include self-censorship due to

conflicts of interest with economic factors such as private media owners engaged in other industries, advertisers, or shareholders (p. 2). In this context, economic factors are evident in recent developments in the organizations of print media, radio networks and television channels. Also, official censorship and self-censorship have significant impact on human development index (Abraham & Amanuel, 2020). At macroeconomic level, the media environment can generally be influenced by policy and legal controls that the government takes on various forms of media ownership and markets.

Media ownership and the protection of press freedom play a pivotal role in shaping journalists' commitment to producing diverse content that reflects the ethnic diversity within a country. However, the Ethiopian government's efforts in this regard have been insignificant, primarily due to the prevalence of polarized politics that causes the disparity between content produced by public/government media and private media. The ongoing political polarization and conflicts, particularly in the northern part of the country, exemplify the persistence of political parallelism, wherein ethno-national commitments override ownership structures (Skjerdal & Mulatu, 2020). Consequently, despite the growth of media businesses and increased private ownership, the nature of political parallelism in Ethiopia remains unchanged.

Ownership in Ethiopian media can be categorized into government media, community media, and commercial media. There might have been the understanding that Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC), which incorporates ETV is perceived as a public broadcasting entity. However, scholars like Skjerdal argue that there is no genuine public broadcasting in Ethiopia since EBC operates under direct state control. On the other hand, Walta media corporation and FBC possess private licenses but maintain strong ties with the ruling party, compromising their independence. The study emphasizes the examination of TV channels' commitment to representing diverse cultures. Ranaivoson (2007), citing scholars such as Stirling, Moreau, and Peltier, elaborates on the three-dimensional definitions of cultural diversity. The first dimension encompasses variety, balance, and disparity. Variety refers to the presence of categories based on titles, geography, or ethnicity. Balance pertains to the representation of each category within TV channels, while disparity denotes the differences between existing categories.

The second dimension of diversity pertains to the supply and consumption of diverse content. Supplied diversity refers to the range of available news and narrative stories presented by the

channels, while consumed diversity depends on both consumer preferences and the diversity of supplied content. Accessibility to consumable products can influence audience differences in consumption patterns. The third dimension encompasses product, producer, and consumer diversity. Product diversity refers to the varied characteristics of the supplied content. Producer diversity relates to the diversity of individuals involved in the production and distribution process, such as the diversity of journalists in the newsroom. Consumer diversity focuses on the diversity of individuals who obtain and consume/buy products. Television channels operating in diverse societies should consider these dimensions of diversity to cater to their audiences.

2.4.2 Media and Legal Landscape

The legal landscape of the media could also be one of the reflections of the nature of political economic environment. The government of Ethiopia used a 1992 Press proclamation as a means of restricting those rights of private media (Ross, 2010). Consequently, this had a direct effect on the restraining the plurality and diversity of media content that the citizens of Ethiopia could access. EPRDF government has endorsed media proclamations making changes on the prior proclamation in some ways. For instance, in 2008 after years of controversy on draft media law, the House of people's representatives passed the mass media and freedom of information proclamation (Human Rights Watch, 2015). Freedom of the mass media and access to information proclamation No. 590/2008 deals with protection of information sources, right of reply, prior restraint, and moral damage caused by defamation.

Article 29 of the 1995 Ethiopian constitution provides strong protections for freedom of opinion and expression and underscores the importance of the independence of the media. The constitution also includes a prohibition on censorship and affirms the need for access to information of public interest (Ross, 2010, Human Rights Watch, 2015, Mulatu, 2017). However, article 29 also contains some qualifications to media freedom that are contrary to international law (Henok, 2016). In 2019 the restrictions seemed to be leveled down, and journalists were freed from jail. However, following an increase in the polarization of politics Ethiopia, government has endorsed a new proclamation, "Hate Speech and Disinformation protection proclamation No. 1185/2020 that targeted the social media landscape.

In Ethiopia, various laws are endorsed to protect the rights of journalists. However, journalists could not be able to enjoy their full freedom in their journalistic practices. As a result, journalists have been suffering detentions and suppressions, particularly in a private or commercial media outlets. In response to these, there have been reactions from various institutions, academicians and associations that critique the legal and political environment of the media in Ethiopia. To begin with, human rights organizations such as Amnesty International, it criticized the anti-terrorism proclamation of Ethiopia for the terms used to define terrorism and terrorist activities in the proclamation are imprecise, and vague (Henok, 2016). This author noted that Ethiopia is infamous for using its anti-terrorism legislation to silence political dissents, critical voices and journalists who express innocent concerns against national policies, laws, and their implementations. Center for international Human rights law and advocacy in the University of Wyong College of Law (2018, p. 117) reported that the proclamation enacted in 2008 require publishers to register with the Government Communications Affairs Office that gives public prosecutors and courts vague powers to block publication of books and periodicals. It also notes that Lawsuits have been brought against many independent newspapers under proclamation. Clearly put, mass media proclamation recognizes a qualified right of citizens to access information. However, in practice, according to the report, the government makes information difficult if not impossible to obtain.

As one of the laws regulating the media, the Broadcasting Service Proclamation of 2007 empowers the Ethiopian Media Authority to regulate radio broadcasters, state-run, commercial (private), and community-based media. However, concerns persist about the independence of the EMA, with its accountability to the ministry of information as of 2008. In its essence, the broadcasting service proclamation states that public broadcasting service shall enhance the participation of the public through presentation of government policies and strategies relevant to development democracy and governance.

According to Human Rights Watch report of 2015, the Ethiopian government has charged at least 38 journalists with various crimes under the anti-terrorism proclamation or the Criminal Code since the 2010 elections, and the crackdown escalated in 2014, with the arrest of members of the prominent bloggers, Zone 9. The report concluded that the government of Ethiopia uses its regulation of the media to stifle new private publications. Critics from conservative circles

attempt to discredit this fact by asserting that bloggers are merely activists rather than professional journalists. This misperception stems from failing to understand bloggers' contributions to democracy and their ability to access and share information responsibly, even if they possess media literacy skills, and their content poses no societal harm. Scholars such as Flanagan (2005); Durity (2006), and Shepard (2009) contended that such challenges may arise due to the narrow definition of journalism that academics, journalists, and lawmakers have faced challenges in establishing a legal definition of journalism that would ensure legal protection for bloggers. Individuals need not be employed by traditional journalism institutions to fulfill the role of a journalist; rather, anyone who is professionally capable of conducting journalistic work can assume this role.

The limitations of the laws are more related to the ambiguity of terms (for instance in anti-terrorism and hate speech proclamations and arbitrary restrictions on journalistic practices that could and the right to establish media, and to cross ownership of media and ownership by other nationals. What is more, the Computer Crime Proclamation, which was adopted in 2016, enables surveillance by security forces and broadens the definition of criminal defamation. Generally, in Ethiopia, there have been periods of short-lived media liberalization. The laws were more general and ambiguous, making difficult for independent journalistic practice and private ownerships under defunct EPRDF government. The 2018 reform has failed to enact significant amendments to the laws, leading to the continued occurrence of abuses and acts of violence against journalists, as indicated by Gezahegn (2023) and Teklie (2020).

2.4.3 Media, Politics and Freedom of Expressions in Ethiopia

The proliferation of broadcasting channels alone will not pave the way for democracy in Ethiopia. Genuine press freedom is indispensable. Across the globe, the nexus of politics, media, and freedom of expression is undeniable. Media serves as a crucial tool for citizens to scrutinize incumbent actions and make informed voting choices (Besley, Burgess, & Prat, 2002, p. 1). It is imperative to recognize that media professionalism thrives only in an atmosphere of press freedom (Mukundu, 2018). In countries where democracy is nascent and authoritarian tendencies prevail, media's role is severely restricted. In such contexts, where freedom of

information and the press is under constant threat, the relationship between media and politics becomes antagonistic.

It is imperative to acknowledge that professionalism flourishes within a free media landscape. While there's debate over whether journalism constitutes a profession (Davis, 2016), the pivotal concern lies in how the political climate, particularly declining press freedom, impacts journalistic integrity and independence. Media serves as a conduit for citizens' right to information, a cornerstone of multicultural democracy. Contrary to the notion that free speech contradicts inclusion and equality, Salovey argues for their harmonious coexistence (Ferdman, 2017, p. 235), crucial elements in multicultural politics. However, Ethiopia's political culture stifles dissent and public criticism (Gedion, 2010), placing it among states where press freedom is suppressed, despite constitutional guarantees. This underscores a systemic leaning towards authoritarianism, despite nominal adherence to democratic principles and legal rights to information and communication.

Ethiopia's media democratization has seen minimal progress, largely hampered by polarized politics. The nation's modern political history is marked by narratives of oppression, inequality, and restricted freedoms (Abdissa & Fitih, 2018, p. 292). While the post-1991 era under the EPRDF witnessed notable institutional development and a burgeoning democratic ethos (Abbink, 2006), tensions between the government and media persisted, rooted in the EPRDF's inconsistent commitment to freedom of expression (Gagliardone, 2014). The government's struggle to balance public demands for expression with its political agenda led to fluctuating media openness, exemplified by period of vibrant private media and increased opposition access in the pre-2005 election (Menyechele, 2017; Levine, 2013). However, this freedom was short-lived as the government swiftly reverted to using the media for its own interests, particularly evident during the 2005 elections (Levine, 2013).

Around the 2005 election, there was a notable improvement in public access to information and press freedom, attributed to laws established within the Ethiopian constitution of 1995 (Ross, 2010). This period marked a significant shift in Ethiopia's political and social landscape, with 26 opposition parties engaging in televised debates and widespread campaigning (Ross, 2010). Political parties utilized available media platforms to advocate their agendas, influencing voter perspectives and challenging power dynamics. Despite controversy and flaws, the 2005 elections

yielded gains for the opposition while exposing cracks in the democratization process, leading to a decline in press freedom (Aalen & Tronvoll, 2009; Zewge, 2010; Skjerdal, 2012; Dagim, 2013; Nutman, 2013; Levine, 2013; Menyechele, 2017; Abdissa & Fitih, 2018). Private newspapers faced heightened scrutiny and closure, reflecting deteriorating relations between the government and independent press (Stremlau, 2012). Although broadcast media initially enjoyed relative freedom, the situation shifted by 2007, with online bloggers facing imprisonment (Abdissa & Fitih, 2018).

To bolster suppression, the government enacted laws that institutionalized restrictive policies. The 'Mass Media and Freedom of Information Proclamation' ratified on July 1, 2008 (Aalen & Tronvoll, 2009) was a response to the diversity of political opinion observed during the 2005 election. Additionally, the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation of 2009, which broadly defines terrorism in Articles 3 and 6 (Bonde, 2018), was part of a strategy to curb freedom of expression endorsed in Article 29 of Proclamation No. 1/1995 of the Ethiopian constitution. These measures directly hindered content diversification. Recently, the hate speech and disinformation proclamation, akin to the anti-terrorism law of 2009, has faced criticism for its ambiguous definitions (Gizachew, 2022); and the proclamations reflecting the government's agenda to control the media for its own interests, thereby diminishing content diversity for Ethiopians (Bonde, 2018). The Millennium Development Indicators (MDIs) offer a framework through which the media can enhance and benefit from good governance and democratic progress. According to Mukundu (2018), the MDIs encompass various aspects of the media environment, structured around categories such as regulation conducive to freedom of expression, media pluralism and diversity, economic fairness, transparency of ownership, professional capacity building, and support for institutions promoting freedom of expression and pluralism (Mukundu, 2018, p.12). These capacities include infrastructural elements that facilitate professionals in respecting diversities.

Regarding the development of media infrastructures and the level of media pluralism in Ethiopia, there are things that the government needs to carry out in opening ways in which they could act freely. To start with, Skjerdal has noted that the Ethiopian government has failed to create an open forum for debate in the public media. The privately-owned media are left ill-resourced and are affected by a culture of fear of harmful reactions from the authorities and other vested parties

(Skjerdal, 2015, pp. 50-51). Skjerdal's critique emphasizes the persistent media control by the government despite liberalized legislations and reforms. In addition, press subsidies for minority media and the allocation of public television and radio airtime for multicultural programming are among the policies with which the state can promote cultural diversity in the media (Awad-Cherit, 2008, pp. 1-2). This could be related to supporting the economy of private media outlets to protect the diversity of ideas that would be used as an input for the development of democracy.

The latest political and media reforms have encountered significant implementation challenges, leading to a notable regression in their effectiveness. This setback is primarily linked to the prevailing instability stemming from ethno-national tensions and civil conflicts. Abdissa (2021) observes a recurring pattern of political reforms in Ethiopia resembling past regimes, resulting in ongoing violations of fundamental human rights, civil unrest, disputes on the governance of Addis Ababa, and continued deaths and arrests. Similarly, Jusić and Gilberds (2022) argue that political openings tend to be brief, often followed by the reassertion of authoritarian rule, albeit with diminished legitimacy. Muyiwa (2024) posits that fragile states are influenced by political interests and divisions rooted in factionalism, sectarianism, religion, language, and ethnicity. This sentiment is echoed by Binyam (2021), who notes the prevalence of hostile interests among individuals and groups in multicultural nations like Ethiopia. Hence, these concepts underscore the significance of a diverse media landscape that maintain equilibrium. Within Ethiopia, media diversity entails each cultural and ethnic group having representation through their own media outlets, ensuring their right to information and communication. Achieving national unity in Ethiopia necessitates treating ethnic groups equally, embracing the ethos of "unity in diversity," and initiating comprehensive transformations in economic activities and lifestyles (Ficquet and Dereje, 2015, p. 55). Embracing media diversity is integral to fostering fruitful multicultural governance.

2.4.4 The Status of Press Freedom since 2018

The post April 2018 was the turning point for the relaxation of strict repressions on the press compared to the prior periods. However, it seems plausible to investigate at least four years of protests by Ethiopian people before the year of 2018 as it characterized the condition of press freedom in the country. When the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF)

came to power in 1991, it has tried to liberalize the press allowing for unprecedented levels of freedom of expression (Stremlau, 2011, p. 716). Stremlau had conducted a study on newspapers and found that most publications have been critical of the government particularly with respect to the road taken to consolidate power by restructuring the political administration through ethnic federalism. However, it was soon followed by the government's strict control of the press through arresting the journalists. This fact approves what Gagliardone (2014) once described "*opening without engaging*" the fact that when the new leaders came to power, they opened the space for debate but refused to engage with the very debates they allowed. Further, Ethiopia is known to be one of the world's best records in arresting the journalists (Skjerdal, 2012) referring to the Ethiopian free Press journalist association.

After the violence that was erupted following the 2005 Ethiopian election, most of the newspapers that opposed to the governments were closed (Stremlau, 2011). In the most recent years of time known as Oromo protest, the control of media and communication systems has worsened as the government feared the journalists who sought to report the brutal actions by the federal police over the protesters. The Oromo Protest broadly refers to a series of rallies and other forms of defiance against EPRDF's rule by Oromos between 2014 and 2018 (Tewodros, 2020, p. 5). Habtamu and Eisen (2016) assert that there are concealed acts of killings, maiming, detentions, rape, and other crimes against unarmed Oromo civilians committed by federal police, local police units named Agazi, and the military (p. 345).

This shows the extent to which the journalists and communication institutions were not allowed to report the crimes against humanity as the EPRDF's repressive actions become unalterable. These authors have cited the Human Rights Watch's report which describes the governments' tense repression of information as "Ethiopia's pervasive restrictions on independent civil society and media mean that very little information is coming from affected areas although social media are filled with photos and videos of the protests". Participation opportunities created by social media platforms also brought nervousness including the rise of outrage communication as manifested by inflammatory expressions, hate speech, and political extremism (Workneh, 2020, pp. 11-16). This has its own chilling effect on the mainstream televisions' role as a voice to diversified political views, thereby deteriorating the representations of different political views.

While the law enforcements are delayed for the alleged crimes on humanities as political polarization continues, it has been criticized for deeply inhibiting freedom of expression. As a result, concerns of freedom of expression and information have increasingly worsened the quandary to have a public debate allowed in 2020 election (Bratt, 2019/2020). However, the 2020 election left a dream, as a government postponed¹ it to the year of 2021 exclusively by its own decision and has continued its internet black out in the western and northern regions of the country. As part of the laws regulating the media after the reform, hate speech and disinformation proclamation of 2020 can be referred to as one of the vague laws that the government used to limit freedom of speech on social media. The time after the endorsement of the bill has had a reflexive effect on the journalists working in TV channels also.

These incidents have contributed to the pessimistic views that have developed among citizens with respect to the changing environment for press freedom, despite its positive outcome. Journalists must be vigilant since they currently rely only on the “good will” of Abiy and his government (CPJ, 2019), as they are not fully protected. With respect to the social media that necessitated the proclamation, it would have been very important to give attention to the education of media literacy before providing restrictions to it. Media literacy has an equal importance for both the journalists in the mainstream and audiences at different levels. It could also be regarded as one of the factors that affect the media environment, hence worth examining in the current study.

2.5 Critical Media Literacy Skills

Media literacy refers to the knowledge, skills, and mindset necessary for active participation in today's media-driven society. It encompasses the ability to analyze media trends, access and evaluate media content, and engage with media in a socio-economic context (Hobbs, 2021; Martinsson, 2009). Digital literacy, which is closely related to media literacy, involves the safe and effective use of digital technologies to access, manage, understand, communicate, and create information (Gizealew & Sisay, 2019). UNESCO expands on the definition of media literacy to include ethics and emphasizes the competencies needed to access, evaluate, and ethically utilize media and information (UNESCO, 2013). Media literacy education, as outlined by Hobbs

¹ The 2020 Election was postponed to unknown time due to Covid-19 pandemic, and later it was made clear that it was rescheduled to take place on the 5th of June 2021.

(2021), involves accessing, analyzing, creating, reflecting, and acting, and encompasses critical thinking, problem-solving, autonomy, and social and communicative abilities. It plays a vital role in promoting good governance, democracy, and independent media systems (Martinsson, 2009).

On the other hand, Silverblatt et al. (2014) identifies seven key elements of media literacy skills that apply to both media production and consumption. These elements include critical thinking, understanding the mass communication process, awareness of media's impact, strategies to analyze media messages, recognition of media content as a cultural text, enhanced enjoyment and understanding of media content, and responsible media message creation. In Ethiopia, like other sub-Saharan African regions, media literacy levels may affect journalists' critical thinking, professional integrity, and multicultural representation (Peter Cunliffe-Jones et al., 2021). Limited access to urban-targeted media, challenges in selecting reliable information, and reliance on social media without critical evaluation contribute to political polarization and ethnic conflicts (Atnafu, 2021). Therefore, evaluating intercultural media literacy among both producers and consumers is crucial for bridging this knowledge gap.

Critical media literacy, within a critical theory framework, challenges conventional approaches, aims for social change, and critically examines popular culture, the media industry, and their impact on society from multiple perspectives (Thevenin, 2012). It promotes the creation of alternative media that challenges dominant ideologies and emphasizes active citizenship (Kellner & Share, 2007b). Critical media literacy is rooted in the works of Gramsci, Freire, Giroux, and McLaren, emphasizing education's emancipatory potential (Thevenin, 2012). Media literacy, as defined by Kellner and Share (2005), involves acquiring skills, knowledge, and intellectual tools for understanding and producing various types of texts and artifacts. It plays a significant role in shaping perceptions and understanding of the world. Media literacy education is essential in a multicultural society to address inequalities and injustices based on gender, race, and class. It can contribute to the development of a healthy multiculturalism and empower marginalized groups (Kellner & Share, 2005). What is more, Luke (1994) associates critical media literacy with feminist pedagogy, highlighting its role in addressing media misrepresentation and stereotyping. Analyzing and exposing structures of oppression is crucial, as marginalized groups strive to have their voices heard (Kellner & Share, 2005). Integrating multicultural representations with critical media literacy helps to understand the interplay between limited media literacy, politics of

representation, and the broader political and economic context impacting the media and journalists (Kellner & Share, 2005).

2.6 Ethnicity and Journalists Intercultural Competence in Ethiopia

Ethnic politics is a growing concern among politicians and academics in Ethiopia. This has led to political parallelism and polarization within the media industry. In response, the EPRDF government has taken steps to promote diversity by granting licenses for regional community, as well as establishing community radios in various cities. While these efforts are commendable, there is a need for stronger policy frameworks to govern the operations of these stations to mitigate the problems of political parallelism and polarization. Some argue that this polarization has grown with the development of ethnic media. According to Skjerdal and Mulatu (2020), the term ethnic media refers to the newly established channels with ethnic affiliations such as OMN and Asrat media. However, they noted that the term is misleading in relation to global literature on the term that refers to media outlets targeting immigrant communities projecting on the cultural cohesion of minorities with mainstream ethnic groups. Particularly, Skjerdal notes that ethnicity has become mainspring of media in Ethiopia (Skjerdal and Mulatu, 2020, p. 9). However, their work failed in its categorization of the regional media outlets as ethnic media. It is well known fact that although the regional TV channels echo the voices of common ethnic groups, but some of them (for instance, OBN), also tries to transmit programs in languages of different ethnic groups.

Similarly, Daniel (2020) holds the argument that no one is out of ethnicity since as human being everyone is belonging to certain ethnic groups that express his/her identities. Ethnicity has an unending crisis especially when there are multi-ethnic groups (Daniel, 2012). In multiethnic national states, there are ethnic cultures and national cultures as well (Anteneh, 2012, p 113). This implies that it could be difficult for journalists in Ethiopia to work by negotiating ethnic cultures and national cultures taking aside their own ethnic affiliation. As a result, working as a journalist in multi-ethnic society can be challenging.

There are two main perspectives on the study of ethnicity: the Primordialists and instrumentalist (constructionist) approaches. Primordialists argue that ethnic and other ascriptive identities are inherent and "given," representing natural divisions among humans (Toffolo, 2003, p. 3). On the

other hand, instrumentalists believe that attachment to ascriptive identities, such as ethnicity, tribe, race, religion, or language, is a product of invention rather than being inherent. They view these identities as superficial and strategically employed (Spencer, 2005, p. 779). In contrast to the Primordialists perspective, instrumentalists argue that journalists working in media organizations should foster respect for ethnic differences while recognizing that these identities are constructed.

Media plays significant role in the construction of ethnic identity. It could be argued that constructing one's ethnic identity is part of the routine activity of journalists working in media organizations. The eternal routines of media flows put daily flesh on ethnic identifications of oneself and one's visualized community (Downing and Husband, 2005). Demand for recognition of one's identity is a master concept that unifies much of what is going on in world politics today (Fukuyama, 2018, p. 9). According to Teun A. van Dijk, a professor of discourse studies, it is through discourse, such as children's stories, TV programs, textbooks, classroom talk and conversations with parents, and peers that children acquire their first knowledge, opinion and attitudes about their own ethnic groups and others (Van Dijk, 2011, p. 5). Accordingly, if journalists produce TV stories with discourses of tolerance in a society of diverse, ethnic, culture and social groups, the conflicts that go along ethnic lines would significantly be reduced. However, this needs a broader understanding of the journalists' level of cultural/intercultural competence and their readiness in producing accommodative stories which is of course the result of their competence.

The main concern in current study is to examine whether ethnic identity of journalists and their intercultural competence influence their practices in the construction of others identity. Intercultural communication competence (ICC) can be conceptualized as an individual's ability to achieve their communication goal (Portalla & Chen, 2010). For Anteneh (2012, p. 101) communicative competence includes grammatical, pragmatic, sociolinguistic and strategic competencies individuals need to communicate in a second/foreign language, culture, place of birth (region), tribe and name are among the few factors of ethnic identification in Ethiopian university students. Anteneh notes that Ethnic identification is a very difficult concept in Ethiopian context. The reason he offers was that people identify themselves on various factors. Language, culture, place of birth (region), tribe and name are among the few (Anteneh, 2012, p.

230). However, it is not clear whether he is claiming that the factors could lead to further incongruity, or its difficulty from scientific understanding of ethnic identity perspective.

In addition, he states intercultural competency is a key element of intercultural communication competence that is made up of four major components: knowledge, attitude, skills and awareness (Anteneh, 2012, p. 319). Vukić, Zelenik, Welzer (2016) highlight the Council of Europe's definition of intercultural communication competency (ICC) which derived from the complex 'concepts of identity, culture, intercultural encounter and competence', as attitudes, knowledge, understanding and skills, combined in action. Likewise, Downing and Husband refer to the work of Kim that Intercultural communicative/ media competence skills enable us all to be flexible and open in adapting to the challenge of intercultural interactions regardless of the specific cultures involved in the exchange (Downing and Husband, 2005, p. 185). For Kim, unfamiliarity with the culture and behavior of other people creates ambiguity about the real content and meaning of the information, and therefore, it would generate anxiety.

The main important reason why ICC was defined here is to set ground for examining how journalists' intercultural communication competence would affect their professional integrity in the roles they play in representations of cultures (diversity) in the current study. In support of this view, Mark Deuze (2004, p. 281) notes that issues regarding media and multiculturalism relevant to journalism can be framed by three central issues: (1) journalists' knowledge of different cultures and ethnicities, (2) issues of representation such as pluriformity and diversity, and (3) the perceived responsibilities of journalists in a democratic and multicultural society. Therefore, it is imperative to examine the journalists' understanding of different cultures their practices in the representations of diversity. Generally, according to Downing and Husband (2005, p. 191), intercultural communicative competence and cultural communicative competence are highly interactive skills that are essential to the media professional operating in the contemporary multi-ethnic world. Thus, they recommend a core element of training in intercultural media competence lies in developing a critical reflexivity to bring about development of a critical intercultural media. Some authors point out ethnocentrism as a problem for intercultural communication sensitivity. For instance, intercultural communication sensitivity is a prerequisite for intercultural communication competence (Dong, et .al, 2008). According to Dong and colleagues, ethnocentrism tends to be negatively correlated with

intercultural communication sensitivity and cultural diversity. By implication, ethnocentrism would affect journalists' intercultural communication competence and hamper their motives for multicultural representations.

2.7 Conceptualizing Culture

Conceptualizing culture is not an easy task, and it has never been so. It will take us to the peoples' daily interaction, workplace activities, community engagements or simply to their ways of life that differ, since demographic differences such as geography, ethnic/racial background, gender and literacy level, political and religious differences matter. The definition of the term 'culture' originally stems from "cultivation" as in "agriculture", although Cicero already used *cultura-mentis* figuratively to refer to philosophy (Jahoda, 2012). According to Jahoda, it was only in 18th century France that the single term culture began to be used and to acquire the sense of training or refinement of the mind or taste. Commonsense definitions are also very crucial for they provide us peoples' experiences (Blumenthal, 1940). The reason behind this, according to Blumenthal, is that we don't know much about the things out of our culture, and that is why studying culture from different perspectives becomes imperative. In the current study, the concept of culture would help us to lead the readers to the notion of multiculturalism or critical multiculturalism. DiBianca & Raeff (2021) refer to Kroeber and Kluckhohn, who analyzed the concept of culture going back to biblical times, to Homer, Hippocrates, and Herodotus, as well as to Chinese scholars from the Han dynasty (DiBianca & Raeff, 2021). There are more than 150 definitions of culture across varied academic fields including anthropology (Anteneh, 2012). This shows an increasing of the conceptual definitions of the term across fields. In this work, I would like to focus only on some conceptions that are very crucial particularly in the conception of media culture.

In their work, Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov (2010, p. 4) provide a definition of culture that extends beyond a simple description of learned patterns of thinking, feeling, and potential acting. They conceptualize culture as a form of mental programming that becomes ingrained within everyone, encompassing a comprehensive set of cognitive, emotional, and behavioral patterns that are acquired and developed over the course of a person's lifetime. This definition emphasizes that culture shapes not only individuals' thoughts and actions but also their emotional responses, capturing the multifaceted nature of cultural influence on human behavior. They have defined the

acts of thinking and feeling as ‘mental programs’ or ‘software of mind. Borrowing from their concept, we can conceptualize “media culture” as software of media industry that is shaped by the organizational culture as well as journalists’ mental programming. On the other hand, the conceptual understanding of national culture through the lens of Geert Hofstede’s six dimensions in his original work, the dimension of power distance, individualism vs. collectivism, masculinity vs. femininity, the dimension of uncertainty avoidance, long term and short-term orientations, and indulgence vs. restraint could be useful for more understanding of culture at a global level, but interculturally. Anteneh (2012) has gone through further explanation of the Hofstede’s six dimensions and other various empirical literatures on cultural variability to discuss cultural differences in intercultural communication. However, Hofstede’s dimensions may only serve to identify cultural differences at different levels of social interactions. Only some of the dimensions may work well in the context of this study.

What is more, Tony Bennett (2015) restated the conceptual definition and identified three distinctive aspects of culture. The first aspect interprets culture as ‘the whole pattern or configuration of values and meanings in a society’; the second aspect includes all forms of culture, whether ‘high’, ‘popular’ or ‘low’; and third aspect views these expressive forms as an integral part of social life (Bennett, 2015, p. 1). High and low cultures are forms of cultures, the former referring to elite groups whose views can shape the political power, while the later, low culture is associated with the mass, specifically lower classes. The third aspect simplifies the definition of culture as parts of life whether it is national or local culture. McFadden has tried to define culture in more sensible way as “shared values, attitudes, beliefs, and practices that characterize a social group, organization, or institution. He also argues that just as it is difficult to pin down an exact definition of culture, cultures themselves can be hard to draw boundaries around, as they are fluid, diverse, and often overlapping (McFadden, 2016, p. 5).

Hofstede didn’t identify cultural values and practices as he focused on theorizing collectivism and individualism. Cultural practices are shared perceptions of how people routinely behave in a culture, and act accordingly (Frese, 2011), whereas values are shared ideals of a culture. Cultural practices refer to the discrete, observable, objective and behavioral aspects of human activities in which people engage in the matters related to their culture (Matsumoto, 2015). In this sense, cultural practices (the way we behave and act) could be taken as an actual product of the ways

we value cultures. Matsumoto's exploration of cultural worldviews holds significant relevance in comprehending culture within a pluralist society. Cultural worldviews, as Matsumoto delineates them, represent belief systems concerning one's culture. Similarly, Parekh defines culture as a "set of beliefs and practices that is historically constructed and that serves to organize and attribute meaning to the common life and the experiences of members of a given group" (Siapera, 2010, p. 49). Expanding upon this notion, Siapera elaborates on culture as both shaping and being shaped by individuals, with individuals deriving identity and significance through their affiliation with specific groups.

Culture is an interdisciplinary term. However, it is exploitatively studied in anthropology, sociology, psychology and media and cultural studies among most common once. The psychological dimension of understanding culture could directly take us to the concept of self and culture. Since the concept of self is vital in construction of identity, the psychological dimension is significant in the current discussion. According to Markus and Kitayama (2010), the study of culture and self has two highly significant consequences for the field of psychology.

The first is that the study of culture and self has renewed and extended psychological understanding of the self, identity, or agency and casts it as central to the analysis and interpretation of behavior. Second, the study of culture and self has led to the realization that people and their sociocultural worlds are not separate from one another (Markus and Kitayama, 2010, p, 221). The authors noted that cultures and selves define and build upon each other in an ongoing cycle of mutual constitution. This cycle of mutual constitution goes onto forming the concept of self and cultural identity. In cultural psychology, life narratives, excerpts of statements and the written literature within a culture are used as evidence in arguing for the cultural construction of reality, selves and identities (Matsumoto, 2015, p. 34). These narratives come into media in the form of representations giving the media a power of reconstruction of the narratives.

Nevertheless, Terence Turner examined culture as anthropological theory vs identity politics. Here, multiculturalism tends to become a form of identity politics where culture is merged to it (Turner, 1993). For multiculturalists therefore, culture is not complete, it is something that could be defined and refined in different ways. Though Turner's analysis could not give us a neutral anthropological definition of culture, the way he made understanding of culture and

anthropology in relation to multiculturalism is a central thesis in the present study. Furthermore, Azzopardi and McNeill, published an article on cultural competence and consciousness in social work. The authors have tried to define “culture” from the perspectives they call critical approach. Accordingly, culture is perceived as “the shared identity or identities of a group of people based on common traits, customs, values, norms, and patterns of behavior that are socially transmitted and highly influential in shaping beliefs, experiences, and worldviews (Azzopardi and McNeill, 2016, p. 2). In the sense of their view, diverse groups are not homogeneous in nature despite sharing some common history, attributes, or practices. Accordingly, individuals are understood as intersecting and fluid identities with different variations between and within groups. This nature of fluidity of identities makes multiculturalism a difficult project of the management of cultural diversity.

2.8 Television and Culture

Television is central to the study of media and culture. For Horace Newcomb and Paul M. Hirsch (1983), a cultural basis for the analysis and criticism of television was the centrality of this medium to contemporaries. Their model was grounded in the cultural role of entertainment and close analysis of television’s program content in its various textual levels and contexts. Their new model which they called “television as a cultural forum”, recognizes the range of interpretation of television content that is now admitted television’s presentation and maintenance of dominant ideological messages and meanings.

Likewise, Sarita Malik has been concerned with how public service television responds to various social identities, including race and ethnicity. Accordingly, television tells us how social identities are culturally organized, produced, and communicated to the nation and beyond (Malik, 2013). Whereas ensuring access to television’s content could be taken as a responsibility of public service television, constructing social identities is an inevitable part of its daily activities. This makes Television an important place of public sphere, and efforts of producing diversified views are the ways through which they do justice to moral economy. Further Russel, Schau and Crockett (2013, pp. 119-120) suggest that television is uniquely important for understanding how cultural diversity is appropriated through media. They also argue that television instantiates reigning cultural logics; viewers observe and adopt the cultural logics it depicts. Thus, television is a prime site for acculturation and enculturation.

The current study appreciates the above arguments and seeks to make further analysis in context. James Zborowski (2016) argued that scholars informed by the disciplines of media and cultural studies seek to demonstrate aesthetic analyses of TV. He also notes that such analyses are not the defensible species of discourse their authors think, and they depart from the political and social progressiveness of other work within TV studies that demands moral censure (Zborowski, 2016: 2017, p. 8). What is more, Hesmondhalgh (2017) also noted that insufficient attention has been paid to normative and conceptual issues concerning capitalism, media and culture, and he recommends that moral economy approaches might help fill the gap by providing critical ethics-based approach, drawing on political economy, cultural studies and social theory.

According to Hesmondhalgh (2017), critical theory tradition tends to shun explicit engagement with normative debate about economic concepts. In this sense, there may be much supplication of the concept of the commodity, or commodification, but not much clarification of what the problem is in the study of media and culture in a capitalist society. Approaching the role of television in transmitting cultural texts that would underwrite to the national economy and examining the role of multicultural representation in contributing to such developments is left for the critical examination. He notes again, we need a conception of comfort that can be distinguished from mistaken conceptions that would undermine critiques of social injustice, and we need to draw attention to possibilities of media and cultural goods for the flourishing of individuals, communities and societies (Hesmondhalgh, 2017). It is in this sense that the current study seeks to contemplate possibilities through examining the ways cultures could flourish in television channels that operate in the diversified societies.

Further, it is also important to understand the role of television in public sphere and deliberation of democracy. This is possible through taking television as a social space in which conversation takes place from which we could deal with as a space of cultural public sphere. According to Gripsrud, who had published an article on 'television and the European public sphere', public sphere theorists tend to concentrate on the press, and it seems focus on the medium of television, its institutional arrangements, as well as its contents is pertinent to European Union public sphere (Gripsrud, 2007). He makes not of television's importance in the construction of national identities. The current study borrows this idea to explore the roles and constraints of television for construction of multicultural identities. Here, it is also crucial to embrace Hesmondhalgh's

idea that views cultural and media products as vital ways in which people deliberate and are exposed to deliberation.

2.9 Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism could mean different things for different people. It has been passionately defended, criticized, defined, and redefined (Prato, 2009). Some of the difficulties to define multiculturalism stem from proliferation of meanings (Pakulski, 2014). Other confusions might have been created because multiculturalism is presented as being merely outdated or as a positive means of managing diversity, and as a guiding principle for integration strategies (McGhee, 2008). Some consider multiculturalism as an ‘ideology’ that promotes social and cultural diversity, and advocates of tolerance of cultural differences (Pakulski, 2014). Multiculturalism is a project that is supported by those who advocate for equality² and civil rights. They emphasize its positive impact in promoting a tolerant society and fostering social harmony. Rosado's definition, as elaborated in the work of Hyman and colleagues, describes multiculturalism as a system of beliefs and behaviors. It recognizes and respects the presence of diverse groups within an organization or society, values their socio-cultural differences, and encourages their continued contribution. The goal is to create an inclusive cultural context that empowers all individuals involved (Hyman, Meinhard & Shields, 2011, p. 2).

Multiculturalism, as defined by Bryson (2005), involves recognizing and respecting cultural diversity, where multiple cultures coexist. Wise and Velayutham (2009) further conceptualize multiculturalism as an approach that examines the everyday experiences of diversity in specific contexts, exploring how individuals navigate cultural differences and shape their social relations and identities as a result. However, there are different interpretations of multiculturalism. Kymlicka (1995) views it as a liberal political theory focused on minority rights, while Levy (2000) sees it as a liberal response to the fear of conflict and cruelty, emphasizing the prevention of violence and humiliation. Levy identifies four dangers associated with cultural pluralism:

² The Ethiopian constitution of 1995 includes provisions that indirectly endorse multiculturalism. Article 25 stresses the equal treatment of all individuals under the law, while article 35 advocates for gender equality and the rights of women. Furthermore, article 37 guarantees the right to seek justice, and article 41 ensures the right to development. These constitutional elements are in line with the principles of critical multiculturalism, which prioritize equality and inclusivity.

forced inclusion/exclusion, internal cruelty, assimilation/hybridization, and the status of those leaving their ancestral communities (Kymlicka, 1995, p. 10; Levy, 2000, pp. 40-50).

Liberal thinkers have framed multiculturalism as a government policy aimed at uniting people from different cultures. Multiculturalism, in this context, refers to institutional or legal measures implemented by governments to accommodate cultural differences. Kymlicka (1995) proposes three forms of group differentiation rights that states often prioritize: self-government rights, which involve political autonomy and territorial jurisdiction; polyethnic rights, which aim to prevent discrimination against minorities; and special representational rights in politics and legislature to address systematic disadvantages faced by certain groups (Kymlicka, 1995). These rights are typically observed in states with strong and effective multicultural policies, with Canada's normative citizenship being considered a notable example, albeit subject to ongoing debates (Wong, 2010). The events surrounding 9/11 have sparked further debates on multiculturalism in Canada. Paquet (1989) notes that a central aspect of multiculturalism policy is the allocation of symbolic and tangible resources to promote equality and recognition (Paquet, 1989). Despite the debates, multiculturalism is widely regarded as a significant social value in Canada.

Both conceptions are crucial in the studies like this as a political theory of multiculturalism would lead governments to design a multicultural policy that is viable to recognize and respect for diversities in public institutions. Therefore, it would be important to think as a policy or strategy through which nations manage cultural difference or diversity. We can refer to literatures in support of this view. To begin with, Hall (2000) distinguishes between 'Multiculture' and 'multiculturalism'. Multiculture describes the lived realities of society's cultural heterogeneity. From this perspective, defining multiculturalism leads us to what Benet-Martínez (2012) described as a fact of life for many people in their intercultural interactions at different levels. In relation to this, Benet-Martínez (2012) defines multiculturalism from psychological perspective as the experience of having been exposed to more than two cultures. This author tries to define multiculturalism at individual, intergroup and societal levels. Accordingly, multicultural individuals are those who display multicultural competence such as languages, value systems, media preferences, and generally those who self-label as multicultural (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2010; Benet-Martínez, 2012). In another way, multicultural

individuals are those who possess mixed-race and mixed-ethnic groups³, those who have lived in more than one country (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2010, p. 3).

Multiculturalism, at the intergroup and societal levels, involves including and valuing distinct cultural groups equally (Benet-Martínez, 2012). It encompasses strategies aimed at managing the challenges of diversity in multicultural societies (Hall, 2000). Multicultural policies implemented by governments, such as supporting minority language media outlets, aim to ensure equitable allocation of political and economic resources to all cultural groups (Benet-Martínez, 2012). However, both the policies and ideologies associated with multiculturalism may not fully deliver on their promise of effectively managing diversity. Multicultural ideology reflects the majority group's attitudes towards immigrants and cultural diversity, while also involving assumptions about public acceptance, recognition, and opportunities for multicultural interactions (Dong et al., 1995; Fowers & Richardson, 1996; Benet-Martínez, 2012). As an alternative, Benet-Martínez (2012) suggests the presence of policies implicitly or explicitly supportive of "monoculturalism," emphasizing normative cultural unity or homogeneity. This can lead to dichotomization between universalism and particularism, unity and fragmentation, and right and left (Hartman & Gerteis, 2005; Benet-Martínez, 2012, p. 6).

The realization of multicultural ideals through policy implementation is challenging due to the complexity of multiculturalism itself and the diverse interests of individuals involved (Fleras, 2009). This creates a paradox where multiculturalism may not fully convey its intended meaning (Fleras, 2009). Multiculturalists advocate for recognizing the cultural and ethnic diversity of contemporary society, while others argue that multinational states require a sense of allegiance to a larger political community (Turner, 1993; Kymlicka, 1995). However, this integration necessitates careful consideration of minority and polyethnic rights to avoid promoting an assimilationist agenda (Kymlicka, 1995). In the realm of journalism, multiculturalism is seen as a significant issue, as media professionals grapple with their responsibilities in a diverse society (Deuz, 2004). Journalists must maintain autonomy and independence to ensure that

10. The origin of mixed ethnicity in Ethiopia could not simply be attributed to the reasons that are forwarded by Nguyen and Benet-Martinez, 2012. Mixed ethnic groups in Ethiopia are formed out of marriages from different ethnic groups. The bond between ethnic groups could be much strong, and as a result would create multicultural cohesion.

multiculturalism lives up to its promises. Failure to do so may stem not only from journalists' failure to fulfill their professional duties but also from challenges associated with the use or misuse of multiculturalism as a political policy in a diverse society (Deuz, 2004).

2.9.1 Critical Multiculturalism

Critical Multiculturalism encompasses practical approaches to addressing the challenges posed by cultural diversity, signifying a departure from the conventional liberal perspective of Multiculturalism. While Multiculturalism is often linked to political stances held by liberals or left liberals, who aim to recognize, tolerate, and, in certain instances, celebrate marginalized cultures (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 1999), Critical Multiculturalism represents a transformation towards employing critical methodologies to identify effective resolutions to diversity-related issues. The concept of critical multiculturalism is used interchangeably with critical pedagogy, critical thinking, critical multicultural education, and a dialectical (multiperspectival) thought (Kanpol & McLaren, 1995; Leistyna, 2002, p. 9; Gorski, 2009; Rubin, 2017; Sloan et. al, 2018); and further, it has also been connected with the skepticism of liberalism's pledge to individual rights as a formula of social cohesion (Murphy, 2012), neo-Marxist critique of multiculturalism arguing that superficial culturalism left the life chances of the minorities and hegemony of the majorities unchallenged (May, 1999). Critical pedagogy in this sense, could be understood as a reflexive use of theory and practice to construct multicultural identities. Sloan et.al (2018) build their argument on various philosophers such as Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Marx and Weber. The main turning point was the philosophers' debates on causes and consequences of inequality within the framework of structural functional theories of social stratification that argues access to resource is controlled by elites whose cultures gets privilege in every social structure.

Leistyna proposes four models as alternative approaches to incorporating multiculturalism into the American school curriculum, which aim to accommodate and celebrate differences. These models include teaching about exceptional and diverse individuals, fostering positive relationships among different groups, conducting in-depth studies of specific groups, and implementing policies and practices that affirm cultural diversity across various dimensions such as gender, ethnicity, abilities, class, and sexuality (Leistyna, 2002). On the other hand, Gorski (2009) argues that the essence of multicultural education lies in social reconstruction. It seeks to identify and address inequalities and injustices within schools. In multinational states like

Ethiopia, critical multicultural education may persist as a discourse on ethnicity, even if it's not officially endorsed as state policy. Some consider this form of multiculturalism as an everyday multiculturalism (Wong and Guo 2015). However, proponents of critical multiculturalism express concerns about the inherent "fundamentalism" or "essentialism" found in a technicist view of culture (McLennan, 2001).

Critical multiculturalism acknowledges the contributions of marginalized groups and emphasizes their political participation in shaping social and cultural meaning. McLaren and Farahmandpur (1999) describe critical multiculturalism as a pedagogy of difference that aims to go beyond simply reversing hierarchies of domination. Instead, it seeks to transform the central categories and assumptions of western rationality to challenge their oppressive political consequences (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 1999). Regarding the relationship between cultural diversity and critical multiculturalism, Turner (1993) highlights that critical multiculturalism utilizes cultural diversity as a foundation for questioning, reexamining, and relativizing fundamental notions and principles shared by both dominant and minority cultures. This study aims to contribute to academic discussions on shaping the relationship between diverse ethnic cultures and media content within the current political-economic context. It addresses media ownership, which often promotes ethnically oriented media in ethnic-based federalism, and advocates for ethnic media that represents diverse cultural and political interests beyond ethnic boundaries.

Media are partly cultures. Cultures consist of negotiated, contested, and socially constructed spaces of meaning-making and structured silences (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 1999). By implication, media and culture are conflictual arenas where meanings produced within economic, political, and social relations are constantly struggled over. Critical multiculturalism also refuses the notion of orthodox multiculturalism that views culture as non-conflictual, harmonious, and consensual (Burton, 2002) by arguing that difference is a product of history, power, culture, and ideology. For Burton, it is in this way that critical theory seeks to interrogate the construction of difference and identity in pursuit of social justice.

Justice can be examined in terms of questions of what, when, how, and why (Sabbagh and Schmitt, 2016), and these questions could be related back to the questions that the journalists pose in their construction of news stories that are inevitably influenced by their own and the culture of the society. Within the context of political economy, what would become important in

media organizations is the concept of distributive justice that has been originated by Adams. Adams postulated that individuals compare their ratio of inputs and outcomes in social interactions with those of others (Sabbagh and Schmitt, 2016, p. 465). Regarding cultural representations, especially in the critical views of both political economy and multiculturalism, therefore, it is not only the question that who is represented (cultural or ethnic group) in the media what matters, but it is the question of how and by what means of production (the political economic question) that would be posed in the pursuit of justice in media production and distribution.

Hence, based on the arguments so far, media organizations should understand the inevitability of the problem and make sure of the participation of different groups, including minorities (if any), to challenge the oppressive political system. To substantiate my view, scholars in a political economy of the media such as Herman and Chomsky assume that oppositional messages inevitably are filtered out of the media by the systems and structures they describe. However, they provide very little detailed analysis of media content to demonstrate the operation of such ideological bias in practice (Hodkinson, 2011). It is through the conception of such gap that this study seeks to integrate critical multiculturalism with critical political economy of the media. This endeavor, the researcher hopes, will provide a framework of media representations of multiculturalism through examining the political economy of televisions channels.

Starting from the end of the 20th century, there has been a tendency of disregarding the utopian view of tolerance and integration by the academics. For instance, Chicago cultural studies group make note of three requirements for 'multiculturalism' to be critical. The first one is a more international model of cultural studies than the dominant Anglo-American versions; second, a renewed attention to the institutional environments of cultural studies; and third one is questioning of the relation between multiculturalism and identity politics. One of the central contentions of Chicago cultural studies group was that critical multiculturalism cannot be brought about by good will or by theory, but requires institutions, genres, and media that do not yet exist (Chicago Cultural Studies Group , 1992), and here media serves to facilitate "rational" discourse of critical multiculturalism.

In this way, critical multiculturalism could fix a problem of identity politics through posing the question of how media should operate to make justice to diversified ethnic groups. It is very

crucial to note the view of Terence Turner (1993) in this respect. She stated that critical multiculturalism refuses a ghettoizing discourse that would consider groups (cultures) in isolation. Its emphasis on relationality discerns it from liberal pluralism. It substitutes discourse of tolerance with discourses of deforming effects of social power; it rejects a unified concept of identity and sees self as polycentric, multiple, unstable, and historically situated (Turner, 1993, pp, 411-429). Similarly, the notion of critical multiculturalism defines culture in structural and relational terms (Awad, 2011); that is by underscoring the superficiality with which multiculturalism has been deployed in Western societies. Here, making use of critical multiculturalism as an approach to examine the Ethiopian's nature of cultural diversity and its problems in managing ethnic politics helps us to explore the role of media in the promotion of equality and proliferation of multiethnic identities.

Identities are only necessary in that such “necessity” is constituted by what is peripheral or marginal to it (Giroux, 1995). Since Ethiopia is a multiethnic state where the problems of ethnic groups require its media outlets to bring it to light for ‘discourses of tangible solutions’, it is imperative to think about a critical multiculturalism, as a critical pedagogy in which, according to Giroux the theory and practice is used to construct different voices at the same time which would possibly be studied through examinations of media representations. The current study, therefore, evaluates how far the television channels are working to spread the voices of Ethiopians regardless of ethnic, and cultural differences.

2.9.2 The nature of Ethiopian Multiculturalism

Ethiopia could be different from other multicultural states in that its focus could be on management of ethnic diversity than dealing with immigrant groups as many of the western states. The politics of ethnicity in Ethiopia makes multiculturalism inevitable. The fluidity of ethnic identities that is on an increase even at a global level (Giroux, 1995) could make multiculturalism very imperative. However, it could also be debatable whether multicultural policy at a state level has been neglected in Ethiopia. Other nations such as Canada, Australia, Netherlands and other European countries multicultural policy is related to the accommodation of immigrants from other countries (Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2010). Canada's multicultural policy starting from 1971 relied on the normative framework of integrating immigrants to build a society (Winter, 2015). In the same decade Australian multiculturalism has been initiated for the

same cause of integrating immigrants (Pakulski, 2014). The exercise of political and cultural power through media control, however, remains one of the key blind spots of public policy in Australia (Turner, 1993).

On the other hand, Ethiopian multiculturalism focuses on how to integrate internal diversity mostly associated with ethnic identity and cultural differences. However, it could be difficult to suggest a multicultural theory that could easily fit into the nature of Ethiopian diversity. For instance, the idea of Will Kymlicka, that is ‘minority rights’ allegiance to larger political community they cohabit’ to make an integration a reality would have its own problem to implement in Ethiopia. Unless nation states reach up on consensus on their political history, no policy could bring them to the arena of ideal integration. The main problem for this could be the ways the governments have followed to unite the nations since long time in the past.

Before the Derg regime, authoritarian governments in Ethiopia implemented nation-building policies aimed at uniting Ethiopians by creating a centralized state. Historically, these efforts focused on promoting specific languages and Orthodox Christianity, which played significant roles in fostering national unity based on a unitary nation state (Abdissa, 2019, p. 3). Thus, the ignorance of Ethiopia’s cultural diversity provoked resistance against the ruling elites (Frank, 2009). Australian multiculturalism is an integrative policy strategy aiming at managing cultural diversity which was embedded in classical sociological theory, integrative, reciprocal, egalitarian and respectful of the majority (Pakulski, 2014). However, it has been confused with ethnic pluralism and assimilationists’ ‘melting pot’ approaches. The same sort of confusion also exists in Ethiopia especially in a present political situation, as there are political actors who propose the significance of the two different models. However, this “Melting Pot” model does not anticipate the diverse cultural activities and lifestyles of different ethnic and religious groups (Alkın, 2017). Scholars who reject the melting pot model in Canada proposed a more liberal theory of multiculturalism, the ‘Salad Bowl’ theory. The theory describes a heterogeneous society in which people coexist but retain at least some of the unique characteristics of their traditional culture. This theory argues that it is not necessary for people to give up their cultural heritage to be considered members of the dominant society.

Under authoritarian governments, Ethiopian multiculturalism could be described within the melting pot type. This was implemented through the suppression of ethnic identities to create

homogeneous nation states as an old strategy used by rulers (Mekuria, 1997). The EPRDF attempted to foster the expression of different cultural identities in public spaces. However, the essential need for recognition and respect through ensuring equality remained uncertain. After 1991, with EPRDF, there was a huge sense of hope to end ethnic exploitation. Though not explicitly written in the policy documents, what EPRDF followed could be related to the Salad Bowl theory. The establishment of national “Ethnic Day”, November 29 in Ethiopian calendar, the day on which diversified ethnic groups come together and express their own ethnic culture, is the occasion that one could understand relatively positive changes in keeping the ethnic groups unity while they are also respecting the diversity. Politically, this was implemented through changing political structure by organizing political party coalitions comprised of four major political parties which formed EPRDF (Bashir, 2020). These are the Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front (TPLF), the Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), the Oromo Peoples’ Democratic Organization (OPDO) and the Southern Ethiopian People’s Democratic Movement (SEPDM).

The paradigm shift to developmental state has brought radical political and economic measures and had impact on functioning of the federal system, economic development, however contradicted with widely accepted view of the existence of democratic ideals and values as important tool for economic development (Semahagn, 2018, pp. 123-139). Moreover, the author mentioned the negative impacts that developmental state policy had on centralizing power weakening intergovernmental relations and regional government which is also vital for the development of healthy multicultural accommodation, monopoly of economic and political systems and resources including media.

In addition, it has been formally committed to stable multi-party democratic system; nevertheless, no opposition part was allowed to operate freely. This led to the shrunk in a political space especially after 2005 election (Semahagn, 2018) causing disruption of civil society organizations and media which are powerful in the process of opening an accommodative political space. The function of media and the power they wield in the exercise of democracy has been deteriorated under the developmental state policy of EPRDF. This suppression has had huge impacts on freedom of expression, the development of free private newspapers and broadcasting organizations. Essentially, these categories of political economic problems not only

affect the development of democracies, but also the development of multicultural democracies that are vital for political stability in our country.

Ethiopia after the coming of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, the confusion has turned into a fear of inviting forceful integration or disintegration among multi-ethnic groups in Ethiopia. This confusion lies within the two groups interested in ‘a melting pot approach’ to multicultural integration and those who try to make ‘truth’, the respect for diversity and ethnic plurality a formal policy which would one refer to as ‘mosaic’ model. Prime Minister Abiy’s moves to dismantle the old order have weakened the Ethiopian state (International Crisis Group, 2019). They have given new energy to the ethno-nationalism that was already resurgent during the mass unrest that brought him to power. International Crisis Group’s report was concerned about tensions as salient debate between supporters and opponents of the country’s ethnic federalist system that had increasingly become a main political battleground.

The recognition of cultural diversity is one of the normative values that underpin multicultural policy in any nation. However, PM Abiy’s move for integration has been problematic for advocates of tolerance and equality especially from the Oromo and other ethnic groups who promote ethnic federalism as a constitutional means to end conflicts or bring about national consensus. Kymlicka (1995, pp, 26-28) suggests that in many countries, some forms of cultural differences can only be accommodated through especial legal or constitutional means in the forms of self-government rights (‘e.g., Federalism), polyethnic rights (avoiding discrimination against minorities) and through special representation rights (political parties, legislatures), though by nature, collective rights are so broad, creating false dichotomy with individual rights. Bridging the gap between integrative approaches based on the melting pot concept and the desire for ethno-national identity-based equal representation can only be achieved through constitutional mandates and accommodative policy frameworks. This necessitates the institutionalization of unifying efforts from various bodies. As institution, Ethiopian media have a normative responsibility to take initiatives of advocating tolerance among multi-ethnic groups and culturally diversified society where such ethnic and cultural conflicts arise through fair representations of the ethnic groups. The study, therefore, poses critical questions of representations of diversified cultural groups in Ethiopian Television channels.

Apparently, Ethiopia could become a volatile country in Africa since some ethnic groups desire to dominate, whilst marginalizing other communities. There are several cultural and identity-related issues unsettled, for instance, between Amhara, Tigray and Oromo communities (Bashir, 2020). Historically, these ethnic groups have become the political dynasty in Ethiopia. The why these ethnic groups are eligible to engage in the top decision-making positions while others are disregarded would become one of the most challenging political issues for the country. Now a days, where the right-wing political ideologies are opting for a unified Ethiopia, most of the left-wing opposition parties demand the proliferation of multiethnic identities through the political ideology of ethnic federalism, the concept that could be evaluated within the notion of critical multiculturalism in recognizing cultural diversity and cultural interlocation.

2.9.3 Media and Multiculturalism in Ethiopia

It is obvious that Ethiopia is a multicultural state of more than 80 ethnic groups. Diversity-related issues have been historic and prevalent questions of the Ethiopian society (Abebaw, 2013). However, it has been observed that EPRDF's decision for replacing journalists at the Ministry of Information and in government agencies indicated that it favored certain groups over others (Stremlau, 2014). In her own words, Stremlau indicated that "what for decades had been characterized as Amhara domination was simply being replaced by a preference for Tigrayans and other aligned minority groups" (Stremlau, 2014, p. 241). This facilitated conditions for which we have experienced exposure to dominant views of certain privileged ethnic groups mainly from the ruling elites in the political history of the state. This has seriously affected the plurality and diversity of information in the media.

Currently, most of the media organizations developed as alternative media to different ethnic groups as a form of regional or community ownership. If these ethnic media would like to first serve their own ethnic group, it seems that there is no room for inter-representation of diversified cultures in these media organizations. The recent reform did bring any change on the systems by which these community media are governed and hold responsibility for diversified societies in the regions. As a result, ethnic based glacial cultural ideologies are often reflected by certain media outlets especially through the talk shows of the television channels.

To make sure the representation of diversified culture in Ethiopian television channels, what is crucial is developing a journalism curriculum that educates journalists in this way. Mark Deuze

has investigated three different dimensions of journalism education in this regard. These are the professional knowledge of journalists regarding cultural and ethnic diversity, their representations of diversity, and the responsibilities of journalists covering diversity (Deuze, 2001). The current study seeks to examine the professional knowledge of journalists or level of their intercultural competence. According to Mark Deuze, Knowledge in the context of journalism education could be seen as an inventory and discussion of one's frames of reference, one's resources of information and life experiences in multicultural issues. He makes note of Murdock who argues that this area of knowledge in the context of media resources of information and experience, interpretations, explanations, and social responsibilities of journalists are all questions of media representations.

Representation in this context can be understood as the way journalists reflect ethnic and cultural diversities in terms of the way they need to be recognized as a society. The social responsibilities of the news media have been well recognized and established as a 'doctrine' in modern journalism (Deuze, 2001). In his study, Mark Deuze has finally suggested that an increase of international exchange of approaches, ideas and awareness regarding multiculturalism and journalism education is called for as most countries in the world can be seen as multicultural societies. The absence of strong media policy that guides media institutions with respect to how their practice should respond to the questions of multiculturalism has a lion share of the problem.

2.10 Conceptual Framework: Political Economy of Multiculturalism in Media

This section was dedicated to articulate the conceptual framework searching for the ways to integrate political economy of the media and multiculturalism from the perspectives of media production and consumption. The study aimed at finding the ways through which we can conceptually provide a definition to the political economy of multiculturalism in media based on empirical study. To make the integration plausible, it is decisively imperative to borrow concepts from political economy of media, multiculturalism and critical media theories. This study is informed by critical studies with respect to both political economy of the media and multiculturalism. Its critical stance could be reflected in the use of methodologies that bring the study of political economy of the media and representation of multicultural societies under one umbrella.

Earlier, it was described by Browning & Kilmister (2006) under conceptual definition of the political economy that this field situates the economy within a broader context in the pursuit for a wide-ranging social theory. In this sense, the economy of the media is dealt with broader context of the social system. The authors have tried to distinguish political economy both from economics, as narrowly conceived, and from conceptions of social theory which focuses on cultural or ideological issues to the exclusion of economic questions. Making this distinction takes us to the notion of critical political economy, a second element in a conceptual frame. However, one could not think of multicultural media productions separated from the political economic environments. Posing questions of how cultural diversity is represented in television channels and what political economic factors would shape the representations conceptualizes the political economy of multiculturalism with respect to media industries.

On the other hand, critical political economy rests on a central claim of different ways of organizing and financing communications (Hardy, 2014). It highlights approaches that place emphasis on the unequal distribution of power (leading to unequal distribution of resources, one of the concerns of multiculturalism- a politics of recognition and redistribution (Taylor, 1994; Bradley, 2013), both involve power relations); and are critical of arrangements whereby such inequalities are sustained and reproduced (Hardy, 2014). In this sense, critical political economy could be regarded as one of the concepts in critical media research though critical media research is not limited to the study of political economy of the media.

Studies on cultural political economy propose to put culture in its place in political economy. According to Ngai-Ling Sum and Bob Jessop (2013), strategic relational approaches to institutions such dichotomies of peripheral constraints and free willed lead to dialectical duality of structurally inscribed strategic selectivity, and this results in a 'recursive reproduction of structured coherence' (Sum & Jessop, 2013, p. 50). Building on this idea, we can define what a political economy of multiculturalism in media is. The mainstream definition for multiculturalism is states capacity to deal with cultural plurality effectively and efficiently. In media industries, cultural plurality dictates multicultural news media production. There is always external constraint for multicultural media production which could be perceived as the media atmosphere-the political economy of the media.

From the point of view of William Bradley, the field of multiculturalism can easily be linked to the political economy of the media. He defines multiculturalism as a politics of redistribution based on recognition of identities (Bradley, 2013, pp. 2-3). In this sense, multiculturalism deals with political and economic policies endorsed to enhance and facilitate justice. While political economy examines the interplay between political systems and economic structure, multiculturalism can be viewed as a governmental policy for overseeing the allocation of economic resources within the political sphere, particularly when the politics of recognition leads to the politics of redistribution.

By an extension, this study pursues the conceptual understanding of political economy of multiculturalism that can be referred to as “*politics of the redistribution of media resources (cost of media organization, operation, production cost, distribution and conditions of media access)*”-given the will of the people coincided with the systems of production and distribution of media resources including the economic benefits that are shared among culturally diversified viewers. To substantiate this view, it is imperative to refer to Vertovec (2010) who has been cited by Bradley (2013). Vertovec explicated the idea as a restructuring of public institutions towards pluralistic public service provisions. Borrowing from Vertovec, media industries require critical analysis of multicultural representations as public service institutions responsible for promotion of equality and respect among diverse society. From the political economy of multiculturalism in media, the ‘*media*’ is an entity that produces diversified views, cultures, and ideologies, by the means of public resources (in the form of direct government budget, or grants, taxes and revenues from subscriptions) that ought to be distributed as equitably as possible.

In addition, critical political economy requires the transformation of the economic (Browning & Kilmister, 2006). This transformation from political economy to critical political economy is understood as a cultural turn. Sum and Jessop (2013) draw up on Antonio Gramsci’s critical engagements in the semiosis of developing critical political economy. They provide typologies of cultural turns in which cultural practices and products provide a new theme of enquiry. This new enquiry, as they argue, methodologically generates new insights into a social world; ontologically uses semiosis as a base for meaning making in a society; and reflexively interesting and insightful if fruitfully applied (Sum & Jessop, 2013, p. 73). From the perspective of Browning and Kilmister, goods produced by the media industries are both ‘*economic*’ and

‘cultural’, and the attention is on the interplay between the symbolic and economic dimensions of the production of meaning.

Therefore, we can understand that production of meaning involves representation, misrepresentation or under representations of certain groups. Beyond this, multiculturalism involves identity politics, the politics of difference and recognition symbolized in patterns of representation and communication that marginalize certain groups (Gutmann, 2003; Song, 2010). Representation and communication within media practice are influenced by political economy. Further, it centralizes different forms of social, cultural, and political power and inequity (McAllister, 2015, p. 534). Indeed, the central tenet of multiculturalism focuses on the policing of social, cultural and political inequalities. In this sense, the political economy of multiculturalism in media would, therefore, be defined as *a branch of the field of political economy that studies how media industries (especially journalistic practices) comprehend state policies of multiculturalism as an ideal public space where diversified societies are represented, or diverse voices are entertained.*

This would also take us back to the theory of multiculturalism-the politics of recognition. Politics of recognition in the context of the current study would mean the recognition of groups’ cultural values. This can also be situated in the theory of social justice that is centered on redistribution, as an element of recognition (Fraser, 1998, p. 6). Recognition, equality, freedom from dominations and addressing historical injustice are all fundamentals of multiculturalism (Song, 2010). For, Sarah Song, justifications of these emanate from within liberalism, through critical engagement with communitarian critique of liberalism. From these rudiments, equality in the context of this study could be considered as equal participation in media production and consumption. For Song (2010) cultural membership plays an important role in people’s self-identity. In line with this, freedom from domination (independence of media professionals) facilitates equal participation, one of the key elements of equality, so that historical injustices in media representations could be intervened. In this sense, politics of recognition challenges the problem of representation, of which remedy is cultural and symbolic change, whereas politics of redistribution challenges the economic inequality and exploitation demanding for economic restructuring (Song, 2010). Therefore, recognition as a value of multiculturalism gives birth to

redistribution of means of production in media industries and that is political economy of media. The two concepts will make sense if they come together in supporting the conceptual definition we have tried to offer to the political economy of multiculturalism in media.

The normative views also provide us a comprehensive account of justice. Fraser (1998) poses three questions that she argues are central to this concept. The first was if recognition is really a matter of justice. Second, what constitute distributive justice and recognition, and third, whether recognition is a sufficient requirement. Charles Taylor (1994) draws up on Hegel's dialectic of Master and Slave and uses Honor as a traditional sense linked to inequalities which is after misrecognition and rendering a question of justice. Rousseau's concept of moral philosophy was mostly associated with authenticity-realizing a potentiality of self-identity (Taylor, 1994, pp. 26-30) as a remedy for self-realization requiring redistribution of resources. For Fraser, misrecognition is morally wrong for it denies individuals and groups the possibility of social interaction (Fraser, 1998, p. 3). Access to media infrastructure facilitates participation in the interaction. This relates to the conception of justice if interaction under conditions of value pluralism, and therefore, multiculturalism.

Therefore, we can approach to the more plausible conceptual understanding of political economy of multiculturalism in media as the broader critical media theory that seeks to expose underlying faults of media practices (McQuail, 2010, p. 11). Fields of political economy and multiculturalism are connected to and shaped by economic and political power. Yet again, they both deal with normative ideals that are pertinent to representational practices operating within the status quo that requires a critical lens, a Critical Political Economy. Normative position of political economy is associated with underlying problems of its own. For such problems and critical political economy has a perspective mission (McChesney, 1998). McChesney detects three areas of problems. In the first place, historical accounts of problems in the critical tradition are challenged regarding their salience for contemporary media. Second, much perspective work has addressed problems in specific media systems and must be reviewed to provide more internationalist comparative perspectives. Third, problems are not only perspectival but also unstable formulations in the language. For McChesney, critical political economy is mostly associated with critique of marketization such as forms of privatization and the sale of public

communication assets to private investors. In this way, critical political economy of the media is concerned with how communication resources are cultivated, organized, allocated and used (Hardy, 2014). As a result, it is concerned with a vision of a good society, on values of social justice, quality of life, mutual responsibilities which are more of normative values, but influenced by multicultural policies of the governments that the media itself ought to influence.

The current study, therefore, integrates the ideals of critical political economy of media and critical multiculturalism. Critical multiculturalism allows us to move beyond the goal of appreciating diversity. In the context of this study, it ensures this through engaging in exploration into multiple and complex power relations in a diverse society. Critical perspective in multiculturalism involves an analysis of the systems and structures that maintain and perpetuate inequality (Sloan, et. al, 2018). May (2005) argues a non-essentialist critical multiculturalism is to maintain a reflexive critique of specific cultural practices that avoids the vacuity of cultural relativism, and allows for criticism, transformation, and change.

2.11 Theoretical Frameworks

The study of media and multiculturalism encompasses a wide range of topics and requires an interdisciplinary approach. Critical theory, drawing on ontological and epistemological assumptions, critiques ideologies and organizational practices that impede autonomy and emancipation (Callaghan, 2016). Originating from the Frankfurt School, critical theory seeks human liberation from systemic oppression and domination (Richardson, 2015, p. 4). It focuses on exposing contradictions and interests within social institutions, without explicitly aligning with normative societal models. The theories of critical political economy, the public sphere, and representations are rooted in critical theory. This study adopts the pragmatist theory of cultural pluralism and examines the intersections of media representations and cultural diversity within the framework of critical media theory, critical political economy theory of media, the theory of the public sphere, and representation theory. The goal is to establish connections among these theories and provide insights into the relationship between media and cultural diversity.

2.11.1 Critical Media Theory

Critical media theory, rooted in Marxist-inspired social theory and explored by scholars like Horkheimer, Adorno, and Marcuse (Appelrouth & Edles, 2011; Richardson, 2015), examines the

role of mass culture in perpetuating domination (Siapera, 2010, p. 68). It adopts a dialectical approach to studying society, focusing on political economy, domination, exploitation, and ideologies (Fuchs, 2022, p. 17). Critical theorists view modern industrial society as a source of domination, attributing it to the distorting effects of culture, science, and technology on consciousness (Appelrouth & Edles, 2011, p. 76). Guided by principles of equity and justice, critical social scientists emphasize the production of enlightened individuals who can identify their genuine interests (Greene, 2012) and unveil how humans unintentionally participate in their own oppression (Kadlec, 2006, p. 522). Critical theory also adopts a reflective epistemological stance (Kadlec, 2006, p. 522). Fuchs identifies six essential dimensions of critical theory: dialectical reasoning, critique of political economy, critique of domination and exploitation, critique of ideology, normative dimension, and intellectual dimension of struggles (Fuchs, 2022, pp. 27-32). Dialectics reveal societal contradictions, including the contradictions between use value and exchange value in media products.

Critical theory aims to demonstrate the possibility of a society where a good life is accessible to all, contrasting with the effects of domination and exploitation. It also distinguishes between ideology as ideas and ideology critique, emphasizing the impact of human-created social relationships on society. It also has a normative dimension, offering logically grounded arguments about a good society (Fuchs, 2022, p. 31), and recognizes the intellectual dimensions of struggle, challenging interests and ideas that justify domination and exploitation. It serves as a framework for examining the political economy of media, representation theories, and analyzing multicultural representations and their impact on inclusive practices in media institutions.

2.11.2 The Theory of Critical Political Economy of the Media

The study of the political economy of the media requires a thorough examination of their internal and external factors that influence production, distribution, and consumption. It is essential to approach this field with careful analysis and understanding the nature of the media industries. Conceptualizing critical political economy within cultural studies or critical media industry studies is more suitable than traditional political economic studies. In the concept of political economy, the economic and political aspects are not seen as separate entities but as interconnected components. They are shaped by various socio-cultural factors, influencing how individuals and institutions operate within evolving political and economic environments.

The theoretical foundations of critical political economy of communication dates to the late 1970s. This approach views discourse as a crucial aspect of social construction, intricately connected to other processes that shape social reality (Mylonas, 2014). Discourse theory within critical political economy aims to understand how social reality is produced, particularly in terms of legitimizing political decisions and the hegemony of specific interests (Mylonas, 2014). Recent work by van Apeldoorn and Horn applies critical political economy perspectives to analyze the imbalances and power asymmetries within the European Project, revealing their manifestation in multiple crises (Apeldoorn and Horn, 2018). By employing a critical political economy approach, they uncover the deep connections between the dynamics of European integration and the global context of capitalism, emphasizing how global structures shape and condition the integration process.

Therefore, critical political economy seeks to investigate the structural power relations at macro levels (national, international) and micro levels (interethnic relations and power dynamics). In this study, examining these dynamic relationships enables an analysis of how media functions in shaping the power structure to align with the ideology of multiculturalism. Mylonas argues that analyzing and critiquing existing structures of social inequality implies putting the working social order into question rather than accepting it as a given, and raises issues of social justice, democracy, and legitimacy. Media can be utilized to foster social justice or, conversely, perpetuate inequitable power dynamics between dominant entities and marginalized minorities.

Furthermore, the application of critical political economy allows for a critical examination of media within the framework of moral economy. The concept of moral economy incorporates an interdisciplinary approach that draws upon political economy, cultural studies, and social theory (Hesmondhalgh, 2017). Moral economy serves two main purposes. Firstly, it acknowledges and respects cultural diversity by emphasizing the economic aspect of cultural representation. Secondly, it recognizes the economic significance of cultural production and thus caters to diversity/multiculturalism. By highlighting the economic value of cultural expressions, media institutions can contribute to the comprehension of the economic contributions made by culture, thereby influencing the development of new media policies. Hesmondhalgh emphasizes that this approach focuses on the impact of markets on media and culture's potential to enhance human well-being and quality of life.

Further, using neo- Marxist critical political economy for the study of media representations would help us to examine the structural problems that exist in the media leading to some forms of representations and misrepresentations. Most recently, Sarah Chiumbu has used the concepts of representation together in the analysis she makes in her article about representation of Miners' Strikes in South Africa. She used Marxist critical political economy of the media in dialogue to critique not only media representation of the Marikana miners' strike, but also the structural operations of the South African media (Chiumbu, 2016). In this sense, blending the theories of representation with critical political economy would not only give us the analyses of how multicultural is represented in the media. This is only the work centered on meaning making. But it gives us the idea of how structural operations (i.e., guided by media policy, regulations, systems of ownership and control) influence the work of representations. Combining the two theoretical analyses would, therefore, help us to transform the practice of media representations in television broadcasting.

Finally, it is better to look at Christian Fuchs's perspective. Fuchs's critical political economy approach places significant emphasis on the critical examination of society, media, and communication (Fuchs, 2022, p.32). He identifies several crucial topics within this framework, including media activism, media and social movements, commodification of media content and audiences, public spheres, media policies and state regulation, and the relationship between communication and social class, gender, race, hegemony, as well as media homogenization and diversification (Fuchs, 2022, p.33). These topics align closely with the focal areas of the current study.

2.11.3 Pragmatic Theory of Cultural Pluralism

Pluralism has been defined using various approaches across different fields of study. One of the Games Henry Powell's approaches, employed during the development of his doctoral dissertation, focused on pluralism as it pertains to analyzing the diversity of cultural groups within a population (Powell, 1971). Scholars have criticized the integrationist approach of the 'Melting Pot' theory of Multiculturalism, which aims to merge cultures together (Orosco, 2016; Siapera, 2019). This model emerged from a program aimed at creating a new culture through unity (Orosco, 2016). The primary goal of this approach, sought to promote a homogeneous culture by encouraging minorities to adopt mainstream cultural practices (Taylor-Gooby &

Waite, 2014). Integration, in this sense, overlooks cultural differences and focuses instead on eliminating obstacles to social cohesion. Different philosophical perspectives have been explored in the context of multiculturalism, with multicultural policies and politics often driven by practical considerations (Siapera, 2010; Taylor-Gooby & Waite, 2014). Normative beliefs about how a society should address cultural diversity influence these decisions (Siapera, 2010). The normative perspective contributes to achieving justice in the representation of multiculturalism in the media, and critical theory plays a significant role in this regard (Richardson, 2015). Pragmatism and critical theory are both important in promoting critical reflection on everyday experiences and embracing a practical, pluralistic orientation that is crucial for democratic struggles (Kadlec, 2006; Bohman, 2002).

Critiques of pragmatism, as analyzed by Kadlec, point out weaknesses in Gramsci's pragmatism, such as its failure to identify hegemonic structures that shape common sense and its tendency to evaluate immediate reality superficially (Kadlec, 2006). To address these limitations and account for cultural pluralism, a critical pragmatism is needed to analyze the hegemonic structures within media institutions and endorse more reasoned representations of cultural diversity. Dewey connected critical pragmatism with expanding critical inquiry and emphasizes growth, experiential individualism, and social intelligence as integral to meaningful democracy (Kadlec, 2006). Similarly, Bohman (2002) highlights the alignment between critical theory and pragmatism in their shared pursuit of human emancipation within a democratic framework.

Cultural pluralism should also be examined in relation to multiculturalism, although the two concepts are not clearly distinct (Levy, 2000). Multiculturalism implies a rigid separation of ethnic identities, while cultural pluralism is more flexible. However, they share common characteristics both descriptively and normatively. Siapera (2010) highlights three dilemmas underlying theories of multiculturalism: essentialism versus fluidity, universalism versus particularism, and recognition versus redistribution. Resolving these dilemmas is not straightforward but requires critical pragmatism to navigate the fluidity of identities and minimize the dilemmas inherent in multicultural politics. To address injustices, it is important to recognize and respect communities with stable core characteristics (Siapera, 2010). Critical pragmatism can assist in addressing the needs of cultural identities within media institutions and exploring reasons and ways in which these cultural groups should be represented. This

contributes to the development of the theory of pragmatic cultural pluralism. The universalism or particularism dilemma is also significant in multicultural politics, as highlighted by Siapera and the work of Habermas (Siapera, 2010; Habermas, 1994). Habermas seeks to establish a framework that acknowledges and accepts cultural differences within a context that upholds universal values. However, Siapera critiques Habermas for neglecting the relevance of culture and proposes the separation of the political realm from culture as a solution.

The recognition or redistribution dilemma raises questions about the desires of culturally diverse groups. To address these dilemmas, critical pragmatism is crucial in understanding fragmented pluralism, recognizing and preserving group cultures, and addressing conflicts through intelligent inquiry and critical examination of the politics of difference as represented in the media. Orosco (2016) argues that the three models of multiculturalism - Anglo-Saxon Conformity, Fusion, and Americanization - are assimilationist in nature, while the pragmatist approach has emerged as a response to them. Cultural pluralism, developed from the actual experiences of immigrant societies, is deeply democratic and offers a more refined version of multiculturalism (Orosco, 2016; Tremblay, 2019).

Kallen's critique of the "Melting Pot" model highlights its lack of a conceptual framework for a functional multicultural democracy (Orosco, 2016). Kallen proposes a theory of "cultural pluralism" using the metaphor of an orchestra to illustrate the harmonious organization of diverse cultural groups. However, Dewey raises concerns about Kallen's theory, questioning its ability to explain how different ethnic groups can collaborate and find common ground to support democratic institutions. Orosco presents three practical guidelines from Dewey that offer a more refined version of cultural pluralism: cultural group flourishing, cultural contribution, and harm prevention. While the pragmatic approach to cultural pluralism acknowledges the existence of multiple cultures and seeks to address the challenges and dilemmas of multicultural politics, it also emphasizes the importance of promoting democratic values, social intelligence, and critical reflection to foster a more inclusive and just society.

2.11.4 The Theory of Public Sphere

The public sphere is a social space where people engage in discussions on shared concerns. Scholars have approached this concept in different ways. In diverse societies, multicultural policies can lead to crises if public governance fails to promote social cohesion, often influenced

by the media (Triandafyllidou, Wodak, & Krzyzanowski, 2009). Habermas's theory of the public sphere is relevant for understanding the interaction between the media and multiculturalism in public discourse. Despite the media's flawed portrayal of ethnicity and the absence of a parallel effort to envision an ideal multi-ethnic media landscape, the concept of the public sphere remains significant in explaining the relationship between individuals, information, and the state (Downing & Husband, 2005). It represents a significant aspiration and an ideal model for understanding the interaction between people, information, and the state.

Normative critical theory, as advocated by Mouffe and Habermas, aims to develop frameworks that effectively express diverse emotions and translate them into systematic concepts (Karppinen, Moe & Svensson, 2008). These frameworks are instrumental in analyzing media practices. The theory of the public sphere, originating from Jurgen Habermas and influenced by Marxist-influenced critical school theorists, such as Max Horheimer, Theodor Adorno, and Herbert Marcuse, provides a valuable lens for understanding the emergence of discursive spaces beyond the control of postcolonial nation-states. It also facilitates the formation of shared ideas, sentiments, and moods among individuals from diverse cultural or ethnic backgrounds (Meyer & Moors, 2006). The conceptual definition of the public sphere is presented as follows:

The public sphere is a realm between civil society and the state, in which critical public discussion of matters of general interest was institutionally guaranteed. The liberal Public Sphere took shape in the specific historical context of a developing market economy (Habermas, 1989, p. xi).

Scholars have extensively studied the concept of the public sphere and its connection to communication in contemporary global communication studies (Wilkin, 2001, p. 83). It plays a significant role in the modern understanding of democracy (Enjolras & Steen-Johnsen, 2017). However, there is disagreement among political theorists regarding the nature of the public sphere and its functioning in complex societies. The public sphere relies on diverse and varied sources of information and communication for its vitality, enabling citizens to engage with public issues that impact their daily lives. Dahlgren (1995) identifies four essential dimensions of the media and the public sphere. The first dimension pertains to media institutions, encompassing their structure, funding, regulation, content, and the level of political focus directed towards the public sphere.

The second dimension of the public sphere focuses on media representation, which examines how the media portrays topics, the ways in which discussions and debates are conducted, and the modes of discourse used (Enjolras & Steen-Johnsen, 2017). According to Hjarvard (2013), cited by the authors, the media plays a role in negotiating consent through discursive processes in diverse societies. The dimension of representation raises important questions about what should be chosen for portrayal and how it should be presented. The third dimension, social structures, emphasizes the need for coherence and alignment between political entities and the size and boundaries of the public sphere to effectively accommodate the complexities of modern society. This dimension raises questions of whether a centralized or pluralistic model of the public sphere is preferable. The fourth dimension, social interaction, highlights the role of the media as the space where public discourse occurs. While the media primarily constitute this discursive and cultural space, it also includes social and cultural interactions, such as people's discussions, collective understanding, and cultural practices. This dimension is crucial for fostering inclusive discursive spaces that embrace diversity (Dahlgren, 1995, pp. 11-23).

The political economy of the media has a significant impact on the public sphere, as political and economic factors influence editorial decisions and media content selection. Within this framework, political economists advocate for a public sphere that promotes ideals such as providing diverse and comprehensive information to the public and ensuring fair representation of different societal groups. Verstraetem (1996) notes that Habermas emphasized that the public sphere in the 18th and 19th centuries was predominantly accessible to the bourgeois class. Verstraetem identifies three key elements that formed the basis for the concept of the public sphere: (1) the need for an accessible "forum" where a wide range of social expressions can be exchanged, (2) the requirement for rational discussions that engage with diverse arguments and perspectives, and (3) systematic evaluation of government policies.

Habermas's revised views on the early public sphere are discussed in his work "Transformation of Public Sphere" (Verstraetem, 1996, pp. 348-349). Firstly, he acknowledges a self-critique for focusing excessively on the negative aspects of the public sphere. Secondly, he emphasizes the importance of studying micro-level dynamics rather than solely examining top-down and bottom-up confrontations. Thirdly, he argues against perceiving the public sphere as a neutral space and advocates for a heterogeneous public sphere that embraces diverse perspectives.

Fourthly, he highlights the need to ensure that participation in rational discourse is accessible to a wide range of social groups. Lastly, he cautions against a narrow and overly rational interpretation of the public sphere. Englestad (2017) identifies five institutional fields that are significant subsets of the public sphere: media, research and higher education, religion, voluntary organizations, and arts and culture. These fields exhibit varying degrees of compatibility based on their relevance to citizens' lives. In certain societies, like the Nordic countries, these institutions are distinct yet integrated parts of society, adapting their operations to democratic norms in a pluralistic context. Englestad underscores the media as the most influential communication source, highlighting its selection and presentation methods that can have a contagious effect on other institutional fields.

Critical analysis of the public sphere should acknowledge its tendency to exclude certain groups based on factors such as gender, social class, and ethnicity (Englestad, 2017, p. 266). Habermas, influenced by the concerns of the Frankfurt School regarding capitalism's impact on democracy, sought ways within liberal capitalism to address these effects (Lunt and Livingstone, 2013, p. 89). Both scholars highlight the importance of a free press in supporting citizens' autonomy through deliberation, expression of public opinion, and political action in the public sphere, while cautioning against the conflation of the system and life world and emphasizing the need for persuasion rather than domination across institutions connecting the state, civil society, and the public in a diverse society. Recognition of ethnic diversity is intertwined with the recognition of other social markers, and it forms a prerequisite for any policy response to diversity (Downing and Husband, 2005). The concept of tolerance is critiqued for its potential to defend the majority while setting limits under unreasonable external pressures. Embracing ethnic pluralism fosters an environment where public discussions can take place and encompasses elements of multiculturalism as well as the growing emphasis on both material and ideological concerns (Downing and Husband, 2005). This understanding is crucial when examining television as a public space that facilitates public debates in a multicultural environment, prompting inquiries into the political economy of the medium.

Furthermore, Lunt and Livingstone (2013, p. 91) challenge the role of deliberation in modern liberal democracy, emphasizing the emergence of multiple public spheres rather than unified expressions of popular sovereignty. They argue that public autonomy lies in communicative

processes aimed at mutual understanding rather than political consciousness (Lunt and Livingstone, 2013, p. 92). This perspective prompts a shift from a unified conception of the public sphere to recognizing the plurality of public spheres necessary to account for diverse societies influenced by Habermas's ideas. Habermas himself shifted his focus from consensus and a sovereign public to acknowledging diverse identities and the legitimacy of multiple forms of deliberation. This raises questions about the accessibility and responsibility of television channels as platforms for deliberation among diverse identities. Engelstad (2017, p. 268) identifies five challenges to the public sphere. These include: (a) Media tech advances may boost commercialization and change state backing for journalism and public broadcasting ownership; (b) State funding for arts may favour popular expressions over avant-garde or 'elite' art; (c) globalization of research and higher education may weaken ties to national interests and practical applications; (d) religion's diversification may integrate it into core humanist social values to some extent, and (f) volunteer organizations are becoming more professionalized in advocacy roles, while grassroots members focus more on local initiatives.

Engelstad highlights the influence of state intervention on the discussed changes. He questions the restriction of news production to journalists and emphasizes the importance of trustworthy news, innovative art, critical research, transcendent religion, and socially integrative organizations. Habermas's work on procedural and deliberative democracy is seen as valuable for understanding integration as a necessary condition for culturalism. Siapera (2010, p. 57) notes that political integration, according to Habermas, requires citizens to accept the main political values and endorse the local way of life, practices, and customs. Cultural integration, however, is not a prerequisite for multicultural societies but for multiculturalism itself. This underscores the significance of accepting and adhering to the principles and systems established by political policies, referred to as constitutional patriotism by Habermas. Siapera recognizes the importance of Habermas's work in this debate. Habermas emphasizes that the preservation of cultures and traditions is the responsibility of communities, not the state. The role of media in the public sphere should be understood in terms of its facilitation of community dialogues, regardless of cultural differences. However, Siapera argues that the politicization of culture tends to favor the dominant culture, undermining multiculturalism in diverse societies. The politics of recognition and redistribution play a crucial role in engaging the public sphere and addressing cultural hierarchies (Siapera, 2010, p. 57).

2.11.5 Theories of Representation

Representation theory holds relevance in the field of media and communication studies. The study on representation is significant for examining the role of cultural texts in our diverse and widespread media environment (Kidd, 2016). For this author, study of representation holds importance in communication research due to the restricted resources available to create depictions of the world, individuals, events, and locations. Moreover, Kidd (2016) concerned with power, ownership, authenticity, and meaning. These issues have far-reaching implications, as they influence the establishment of commonly accepted beliefs and understanding about the world (p. 3). Representation theory has the power of meaningfully explaining the way meaning produced within the interlocution of different structure operating in media institutions. Stuart Hall has made significant contributions to this field by illustrating the connections between race, ethnicity, sexuality, and gender identity (Spencer, 2005, p. 1). Additionally, Han (2015) explains that representations in television employ visual semiotics to depict individuals, and such representations illuminate the interplay between everyday identity, discourse, semiotics, and signification. Furthermore, Han (2015, p. 2) emphasizes that visual communication strategies, such as viewer positioning within an image, generate diverse interpretations based on cultural contexts.

Representation plays a crucial role in the generation and exchange of meaning within a culture (Hall, 1997, p. 15). It involves the use of language, signs, and images to symbolize or depict things. Stuart Hall identifies three approaches to understanding how meaning is represented through language (Hall, 1997, Abdissa, 2010). The reflective approach suggests that meaning resides in the object, person, idea, or event in the real world, by means of using language as a mirror. The intentional approach posits that meaning is imposed by the speaker or author, but Hall finds this approach flawed. The third approach acknowledges the social nature of language, asserting that neither objects nor individual users of language can fix meaning. Instead, meaning is constructed through representational systems, known as the constructivist or constructionist approach to language (Abdissa, 2010, p. 21).

The social constructionist perspective is valuable in the study of cultural representations due to its recognition of diverse languages and their role in meaning-making. However, it is important to integrate this view with theories that specifically address "representation of what or whom?"

Regardless of the theoretical approach taken, representation is deeply intertwined with our understanding of the world and ourselves (Webb, 2009, p. 3). Studying media representation is crucial for comprehending cultural identities, particularly in analyzing diversity based on race, ethnicity, cultural practices, religion, gender, and political ideology within a multicultural society. It is essential to examine representation systems through the lens of representation theories. Cultural representation theory defines representation as the utilization of signs and language to convey significant aspects of objects, subjects, values, and worldviews (Aharoni & Lissitsa, 2020, p. 2). Media representation is seen as a fundamental aspect of meaningful cultural production. The use of signs and languages involves semiotic choices, as highlighted by Han (2015).

Social representation theory has emerged as a new perspective in media research, offering valuable insights, according to Hoijer (2011). Social representations involve collective processes of constructing shared meanings that foster social cohesion within societies, organizations, and groups (Hoijer, 2011, p. 3). It focuses on topics that generate debate, intense emotions, conflicts, and ideological struggles, thereby shaping collective thinking in society. The theory of the public sphere complements social representation theory by identifying the domain where public discussions take place, situated between societies and the state. Social representation theory examines the content of everyday thinking, which is socially constructed and shared as a way of understanding the world (Giraldi, Giraldi, & Scaduto, 2011, p. 8823). By drawing on Moscovici's concept of social representation, it explores how individuals acquire knowledge about behaviors and communications within the historical cultural context. Notably, social representations provide the discursive and semiotic tools for analyzing how groups are portrayed in social institutions like the media, aligning with the concerns of the public sphere regarding critical analysis of information sources and modes of representation (Giraldi, Giraldi, & Scaduto, 2011).

Bourdieu's principle of structural homology provides a valuable framework for understanding social representation theory in the examination of cultural representation. According to Bourdieu, every form of social thought, such as ideology, representations, myths, values, and religion, is linked to an individual's structural position, which is influenced by the historical distribution of economic, cultural, symbolic, and gender-related capitals (Campos & Lima, 2017,

pp. 40-41). This perspective highlights how representational systems mirror the power dynamics that shape society. They build on the works of Doise (1992) that proposes a perspective in which the social field is seen as constantly changing due to shifts in labor, production, and cultural relationships. This viewpoint links these changes to the influence of social representations on identity adherence. Both concepts emphasize that an individual's position within the social structure influences their judgments toward a social object, which are integrated into organized belief systems (social representations) that may vary within a social group (Campos & Lima, 2017, p. 42). These concepts are pertinent for examining how diverse social groups are portrayed and how audiences engage with the visual and textual content produced by the media.

Lastly, it is crucial to make note of Nancy Fraser's participatory approach to representation. Nancy Fraser's approach to understanding representations emphasizes the necessity of challenging existing power structures to ensure equal participation in public discourse (Fraser, 2017). This perspective aligns with Habermas's concept of the public sphere, which he later redefined as a discursive public space. Fraser expands upon Habermas's ideas by highlighting the importance of addressing social inequalities and power dynamics related to gender, race, and class for a truly participatory approach to representation. In her work on gender, Fraser argues that representation goes beyond merely ensuring women have an equal political voice within pre-existing political communities. It also involves reframing disputes about justice that extend beyond established political boundaries (Fraser, 2006, p. 304). Additionally, Fraser's theory of justice encompasses the dimensions of redistribution, recognition, and representation, asserting that addressing economic inequality (redistribution), cultural or symbolic injustice (recognition), and political representation are all essential for achieving comprehensive social justice (Fraser, 2008).

2.11.6 The Synergetic Potential of Integrating Theories

This study establishes connections between various theories that fall under the broader concept of critical theories. Social representations, which are shaped by social practices such as dialogue, discourses, rituals, and art production (Giraldi, Giraldi, & Scaduto, 2011), can be easily linked to critical discourse analysis and critical semiotics for examining cultural representations in media texts. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a problem-oriented social research approach rooted in social history, semiotics, and linguistics. Key authors in the field, including Wodak,

Fairclough, Kress, van Leeuwen, and van Dijk, consider it to be a critical approach. The discourse historical approach proposed by Reisigl and Wodak (2008) is particularly emphasized due to its connection to multidisciplinary methods employed in media and cultural studies. While the methodological chapter that follows provides a more detailed explanation of the discourse historical approach, I will briefly clarify the concept of critical semiotics here. Theoretical concepts can be interconnected in multiple ways to establish the methodological foundation of the present study. Genosko (2016, pp. 153-177) draws on the philosophical ideas of Guatharis, Foucault, Lyotard, and Jameson in exploring postmodernism and late modernism. He argues that the concept of the floating signifier and signified, influenced by thinkers like Saussure, Lacan, and Levi-Strauss, brings attention to the critical role of zero as a semiotic tool. Genosko emphasizes Jameson's insights into the fractured nature of sign relations in postmodernity, which are crucial for critical semiotics. However, he suggests that Lyotard's ideas on intensity pose challenges and recommends further exploration and innovation in the realm of sign affirmation.

Integrating different theories and understanding their philosophical connections can greatly assist researchers in demonstrating how these theories are interconnected and relevant to the analysis of their study. In this light, social representations can be viewed as a semiotic endeavor. Another philosophical lens that can be employed to describe social representations in practice is pragmatics, which examines the symbolic representations used in social interactions. Gillespie (2008, p. 75) acknowledges the influence of Moscovici, who introduced the concept of social representations by highlighting the diverse nature of modern society. He also draws upon Durkheim's notion of collective representations, which were employed to study the dominant and uniform representations found in traditional societies such as those manifested in myths and religions. Moscovici built on these mixed conceptual positions in psychology and sociology to develop the concept of social representations.

The shift from "collective representations" to "social representations" reflects an evolving view of knowledge in late modernity, marked by greater diversity and fragmentation. Collective representation aligns with pre-modern thinking, while social representation, pioneered by Moscovici, bridges psychological and sociological perspectives, reflecting post-modern thought (Farr, 1988, p.285). Moreover, Gillespie (2008, p.76) emphasized the importance of alternative representations and the dialogical sub-parts within social representations. His main concern was

enabling these representations to adapt to pluralism. The process of representation involves the use of mediational artifacts like words, utterances, metaphors, social speech, or literary genres for social communication (Rosa & Pievi, 2013). These artifacts facilitate semiotic mediation. Pragmatics, in this context, is used to examine real social experiences and practices where semiotic mediations are employed. Francois Cooren's work supports the connection between semiotics and pragmatics, noting that they come from different theoretical traditions. Semiotics focuses on the functioning of signs, while pragmatics emphasizes the practical effects of language use.

Pragmatics, according to Ferdinand de Saussure, should not be restricted to language use alone but considered as one of the branches of semiosis, which explores the relationships between signs and their interpreters (Cooren, 2008, pp. 1-3). Social semiotics, on the other hand, views meaning as a social and discursive phenomenon, recognizing the role of language in use, or pragmatics, in social interactions (Jensen, 1991, p. 3; Nöth, 2011, p. 168). By integrating these theories, we can enhance our understanding of the intricate nature of media representation and the processes involved. The critical political economy of the media, pragmatic theory of pluralism, theory of the public sphere, and representation theory converge in their examination of power dynamics, discursive practices, and the social construction of meaning in media systems. The field of political economy aims to establish a viable public sphere (McChesney, 2008) that enables practical representations of plural cultures (Hall, 1997). Together, these perspectives analyze how economic, political, and socio-cultural factors shape media representations and their impact on diverse cultural groups. Moreover, they emphasize the crucial role of media in facilitating public discussions and fostering democratic participation.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

This chapter is committed to discussing the research design, approach, philosophical underpinnings and methods of data collections and analysis. The study employs mixed methods research design. Mixed methods research design is a comprehensive approach that combines qualitative (QUAL) and quantitative (QUAN) methods for various purposes, including program evaluation, primary research, and literature review. Mixed methods approach has emerged as an alternative to the dichotomy of qualitative and quantitative traditions (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). It is often considered as a third methodological movement and plays a crucial role in the social sciences' pursuit of an objective reality. In addition, it is a rapidly growing field of research methodology in the social sciences, emphasizing the integration of qualitative and quantitative research and data to enhance the understanding of the research problem (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2008; Bergman, 2008; Creswell, 2014; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007; Pluye & Hong, 2014; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Creamers, 2018).

According to Creswell and Clark (2011), the term "mixed methods research" refers to a particular approach to conducting research where the researcher combines and integrates both quantitative and qualitative data within a single study. In this research design, the researcher collects and analyzes data from both numerical and non-numerical sources to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the research topic. Different scholars have tried to define mixed methods research design in different terminologies as methodological triangulation, multimethodological research or combination method. The core concept underlying all the mentioned terms is the integration or combination of different research methods (Creswell et al., 2013). This implies that mixed methods design can be seen as a design that merges qualitative and quantitative research paradigms or as a novel paradigm that combines two existing paradigms (Ghiara, 2019). These paradigms involve distinct assumptions and premises concerning the purpose and nature of research (Almeida, 2018). Novice researchers may face difficulties in reconciling these paradigms.

However, due to their strength in providing complete data for research questions posed, mixing the two paradigm has become an ideal approach in these days. In spite of contrasting the strength and limitations in each method, researchers have increasingly shown an interest to mix them with the idea that the limitation of one of them could be supported by the other. The current study, therefore, seeks to make use of such opportunity in proposing mixed methods research design.

3.2 Rationale for Using Mixed Methods Design

There are some research questions that cannot be answered using qualitative or quantitative approach alone. Thus, mixed methods have appeared to offer a new approach (Almeida, 2018). In most cases, using this design is linked to taking the best from both methods. In this context, it is critically important to make sure that the research question is one that lends itself to a mixed methods design (Doyle, Brady, Byrne, 2016). In addition, mixed methods research draws on potential strengths of both qualitative and quantitative methods (Shorten and Smith, 2017), allowing researchers to explore diverse perspectives and uncover relationships that exist between the intricate layers of our multifaceted research questions.

In some literatures, the reasons behind using mixed methods research relates to minimizing biases, explaining the true nature of a phenomenon under investigation, or improving various forms of validity or quality (Bergman, 2008; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009). When used together, the two methods result in a better understanding of the problem being studied (Hesse-Biber, &Leavy, 2008). Beyond methodological reasons, there is an increase in funding agencies especially looking for mixed methods research designs (Hesse-Biber & Jonson, 2015). In addition, Hesse-Biber (2010) identified five different reasons that researchers should consider while working on mixed methods. The first reason is *triangulation*. For Doyle and Collogues (2016), triangulation is simply taken as using quantitative and qualitative methods so that findings may be mutually corroborated. The method of triangulation refers to the use of more than one method while studying the same research question to examine the same dimension of a research problem. Bergman (2008, p. 4) associates triangulation to enhancing of measurement validity that is achieved by comparing the two methods.

The second reason is *complementarity*. That is to use multiple perspectives that represent different but complementary views to gain a better, more complete understanding (Hesse-Biber, & Leavy, 2008, p. 365). Triangulation and complementarity are important for cross validation.

The third reason emphasized is *development*. Mixed methods often aid in the development of a research project by creating a synergistic effect. This happens when the results of one method leads to the development of the other method. For instance, a data collected through questionnaire in a quantitative method may shape interview questions. The fourth reason for using mixed methods design is *initiation*. This refers to where the study's findings may raise questions or contradictions initiating a new study. *Expansion* is the fifth reason. This is a time at which producing detailed findings enables future research endeavors and allows researchers to continuously employ mixed methods (Hesse-Biber, 2010, pp. 3-6). It is an instant in research when we get the first phase has findings that require explanation qualitatively (Doyle, Brady& Byrne, 2016). Qualitative oriented studies require mixing for this kind of reason. Generally, mixed method design is crucial when the research question requires a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches, as using either method alone would be inadequate (Doyle, Brady & Bryne, 2016). This study follows a concurrent transformative model and aims to achieve purposes such as triangulation, complementarity, and initiation, while other objectives may not be relevant. Consequently, the research project aims to integrate the examination of content production, audiences, journalistic roles, news media organizations, and individuals.

3.3 Characteristics of Mixed Method

Researchers who use mixed methods must understand what mixed method is and what it is not. Lynam et. al (2020, pp. 2-3) have identified six main points about what a mixed method is not. First, mixed method is not simply collection of both quantitative and qualitative data. Second, it is also not simply using that label in your study and has techniques associated with using the method. Third, mixed methods should not be confused with mixed model approaches to quantitative research. Fourth, mixed method is not an evaluation technique. Fifth, it is not simply an addition of qualitative data to a quantitative data. Finally, it not simply a collection of diverse qualitative data. As a result, Lynam et.al (2020) have summarized the characteristics of mixed method into four key points.

The first is that mixed method is a collection and anlysis of data in response to the research questions posed. Second, it is the use of regorous qualitative and quantitative methods. Third, it is an integration of qualitative and quantitative data using a specific mixed method design, and fourth, it is sometimes referred to as the framing of design within a philosophy or theory. In

explaining this characteristics, Lyman et.al (2020) argues that mixed method is not a taken for granted approach used to boost the available data. Rather, it has its own philosophical and theoretical underpinnings that lead the researcher to answering research questions posed. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2012) outline nine common characteristics of mixed methods research, and the current study specifically values three of these characteristics. The first is methodological eclecticism, which involves addressing complex issues related to the nature of reality, knowledge, and ethics (Yanchar & Williams, 2006). The second characteristic is paradigm pluralism, which entails integrating the paradigms of positivism and interpretivism, as advocated by critical realists (Asif, 2013). Finally, the study recognizes the importance of focusing on research questions that require robust mixed methods methodologies to obtain meaningful answers. These three characteristics align well with the goals and objectives of the current research project.

3.4 Paradigmatic Assumptions in a Mixed Methods Design

Explaining the philosophical underpinnings and paradigmatic assumptions of any study is imperative. This is mainly due to paradigm wars in between the two methods before 1980's that places qualitative and quantitative methods in a contrary setting. This has been mostly referred to as incompatibility theses starting from 1960's. It began to end in 1980's because of the researchers' adherence to the mixed methods design. Paradigms reflect implicit assumptions about the nature of knowledge and how it is constructed (Creamer, 2018, pp. 91-94). Creamers understands paradigms as set of philosophical assumptions that are inherently coherent about the nature of reality. There are four dimensions of philosophical assumptions identified so far: Ontology as the nature of truth and reality, epistemology as a relationship between the knower and reality, methodology and axiology as philosophical assumptions about the place of values in empirical research.

Ontology helps us to understand different ways of viewing the world. In a critical research, reality is constructed through power relations and shaped over history (Tracy, 2013). This study will be rooted in the critical realist ontology. Critical realist approach affords the integration of a realist political economy into the study of media and culture. It follows a social ontology which embodies critical realism. Critical realism was first identified by Bhakstar (2009) as to narrow the gap between positivists and interpretivists. Ontologically, critical realism contends that a real

social world exists, but that reality is ‘*stratified*’ (Corrigan, 2018). What can be observed is only one layer, but deeper, elusive structures and processes shape lived experiences (Sayer, 2000). The central point in this ontology is an account of agency-structure relationship, denoting agents to act and structure referring to the relational context within which agents operate. Hence, political economy of communication exposes elusive structural processes (Corrigan, 2018, p. 2753), and confront empirical data that demand interpretation.

Critical theory’s ontology is also linked to historical realism (Guba and Lincoln, 2005). In historical realism, Guba and Lincoln argue, reality is shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender values crystallized overtime. This is the main point at which the theoretical and philosophical assumptions are linked into methodological issues in relation to the nature of knowledge in critical research in general, and in the current study in particular. On the other hand, critical theory’s epistemological dimension views reality as transactional/subjectivist; value-mediated findings, and methodologically dialogical /dialectical (Guba and Lincoln, 2005), the characteristics that the current study values.

3.5 Pragmatism

Pragmatism is a major paradigmatic perspective that is commonly associated with mixed methods research design (Creswell, 2009; Creamer, 2018). According to Creamer (2018), this perspective acknowledges diversity and complexity and sets aside debates about philosophy in favor of what works for a particular research question. Pragmatism was originated as a philosophical movement in the 19th century by its founding fathers such as the philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce, psychologist William James, philosopher and mathematician Chauncey Wright, jurist Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr; and further developed by philosopher and lawyer Nicholas St. Johns Green, Philosopher, educationist and social reformer John Dewey; and psychologist George Herbert Mead; philosopher and political scientist Arthur F. Bentley (Kaushik & Walsh, 2019, p. 2). According to the two authors, pragmatist philosophy holds the argument that human actions can never be separated from their past experiences.

Pragmatism can be viewed as an umbrella for the other paradigms such as dialectical pluralism which reflects overarching logic of mixed methods; and critical realism which views entities as existing independently in which all knowledge is viewed as partial, incomplete and uncertain. As

cited in Fairfield (2011, p.65), William James expresses pragmatism as ideas which are parts of our experience and become true as they help us to get into satisfactory relations with other parts of our experience. Here, the researcher's power and experience become crucial to exercise his/her own potential of reflexivity in the research endeavor. The idea of dialectical pluralism must be conceived from the perspectives of Johnson (2012) as dialectically listening, carefully and thoughtfully to different paradigms, disciplines, theories, and citizen perspectives to combine ideas from competing paradigms into a new workable whole.

Critical realism holds that it is helpful to gain a profound understanding of the social world with an aim of emancipation (Bhaskar, 2009); it provides an open invitation for critical examination and meta critical investigations into the reasons and circumstances under which individuals produce inaccurate or insufficient explanations of their actions (Bahkstar, 2020). The main job of critical realism is to focus more on the understanding of the "real" level of the world, independent from our experience. Therefore, critical realism appears to depart from an unconditional form of generalization (Appleton & King, 2002). These authors argue that, instead of attempting to generalize results, seeks to formulate findings that are not static. This study integrates the paradigms. Pragmatists approach research with the purpose of producing something that would be practical and useful (Creamer, 2018). Therefore, dialectical pluralism, critical realism, and the transformative–emancipatory paradigms share many features with pragmatism. Using multiple methods is what makes the paradigms similar. In general, critical realism shares with pragmatism the utilization of abduction when applying theory to the data (Shannon-Baker, 2016). This utilization of abduction is the process of research that uses neither inductive methods nor deductive reasoning, for the sake of combining both, and that is abduction. Therefore, abduction refers to the process by which deductive and inductive reasonings are taken together through pragmatic perspectives. Referring to Kovács & Spens (2005), Mitchell (2018, p. 105) notes that the process of abduction starts with 'surprising facts' or 'puzzles' and seeks to choose the 'best' answer from many alternatives to explain the 'surprising facts' or 'puzzles' identified at the start of the research process. On the other hand, the process of dialectical pluralism has recently been described by Johnson in his article published in the journal of mixed methods research. Accordingly, dialectical pluralism is:

to carefully, systematically, and thoughtfully listen, understand, appreciate, and learn from multiple paradigms, disciplines, values, methodologies, standpoints, ethnicities, and perspectives; try to come together on projects that we care about, and practicing deliberative democracy focused on helping all stakeholders (Johnson, 2017, p. 156).

Borrowing from different paradigms makes dialectical pluralism rest on the foundation of inter-contextualism (Johnson, 2017), while for Ghiara (2019), it could be considered as the underlying assumption behind mixed methods research that can mix different ontological and epistemological stances. The two views could be helpful for researcher to be flexible, or in a pursuit of reflexive values, one of the significant ethical considerations in the transformative mixed method that the current study utilizes.

3.6 Transformative Mixed Method

There are different approaches to mixed methods design that researchers can choose based on the research questions they pose. Scholars such as Creswell (2013), Creamer (2018), Mertens (2019) and Lyman et. al, (2020) have highlighted different ways of integrating data in mixed methods design. This study employs transformative mixed methods model. Again, it is vital to discuss the rationale behind using transformative mixed methods design. Here, I would like to refer to Camacho (2019, p. 5), whose argument emphasize on the importance of transformative mixed design. She maintains that transformative worldview recognizes the sociopolitical power structures that perpetuate marginalization, discrimination, and abuse for historically marginalized populations. Since the problems of sociopolitical power structures are grave in a multi-ethnic society like Ethiopia, this method will discern the structural and historical inequalities and conscious and unconscious mis/under representations in the TV channels.

The transformative mixed methods have been explored as one avenue for contributing to an agenda for action based on systematically collected evidence and appropriate inclusion of a broad range of stakeholders in the research process (Mertens, 2019). On the other hand, Sweetman, Badiee and Creswell (2010) argue that knowledge reflects the power and social relationships within society, and the purpose of knowledge construction is to improve society. According to Creswell (2014), this design is popular in studying the marginalized groups

especially in the third world countries, indigenous populations and ethnic groups. Mertens (2019) has listed three different rationales for using transformative paradigm that could relate to the goal of the current study.

The first reason Mertens (2019) gives is that there are ongoing challenges in the world. Thus, one of the challenges of the world is peaceful cohabitation of diverse or multicultural societies. The second reason of Mertens was that we need to acknowledge addressing issues of power, discrimination, and oppression which would play a key role in redressing inequities; and third, there have been supportive evidence from studies for social change when researchers and evaluators operate within the assumptions of the transformative paradigm (Mertens, 2009, p. 3). The present study therefore links the first reason to the second with the assumption that the problem of multicultural society could be the imbalance of power structures that could be solved if only challenged. In another article that highlights Dona Mertens experiences in Transformative Mixed Methods training for next generations, she and her colleagues have explained that the issue of injustice and inequality manifest themselves in exploitation of groups based on indigeneity, gender, race/ethnicity, language, disability, deafness, religion, sexual orientation, and immigration or refugee status (Mertens et.al, 2018, p. 291) and these relates to the importance of transformative mixed design to investigate the problems in multicultural society. What is more, Mertens (2007) note that the use of transformative mixed method provides an opportunity to include both quantitative and qualitative data to enhance understandings of the complexity of these problems.

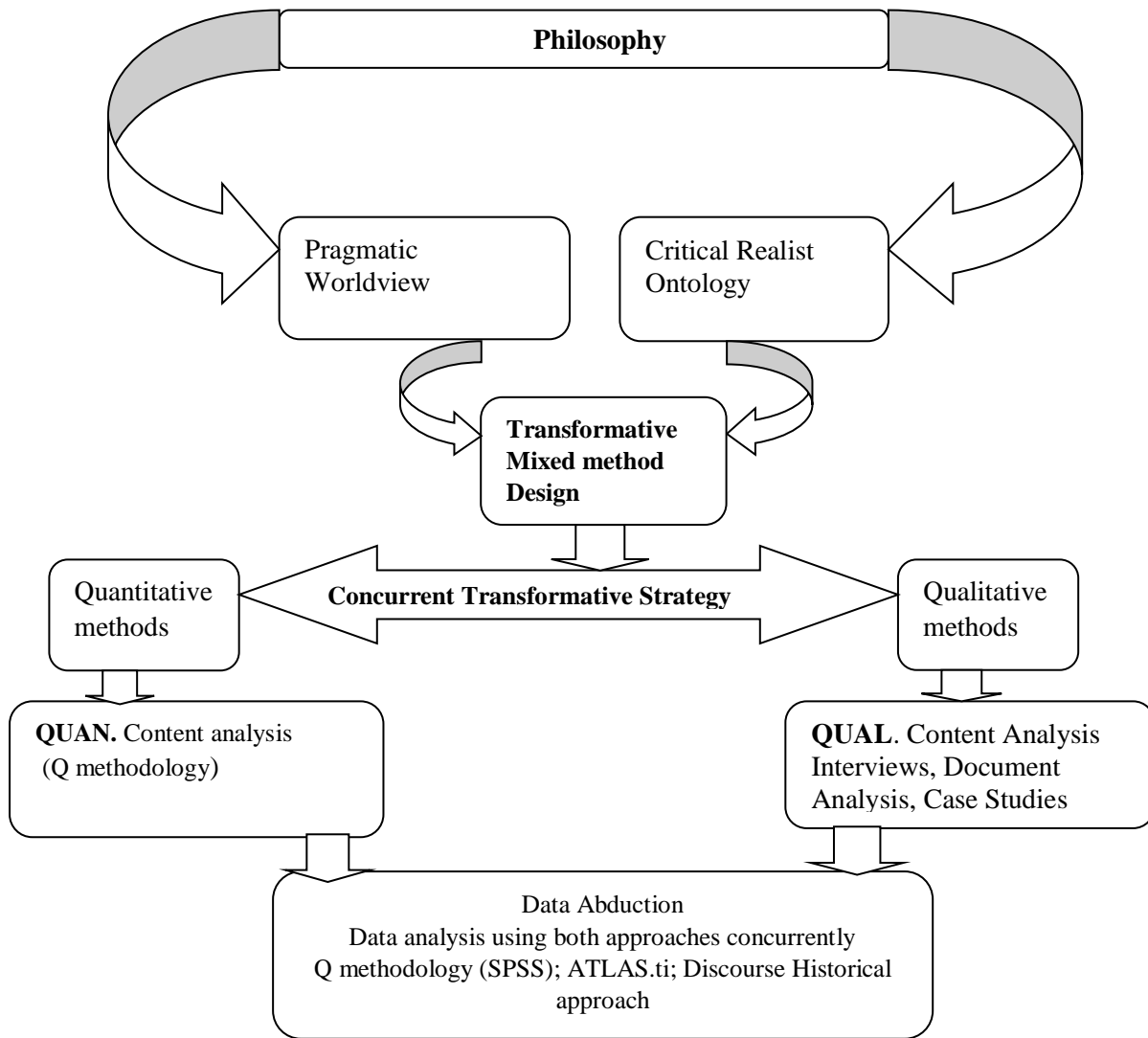
In the article developed on the study conducted on education and human development, Camacho (2019) highlighted practices to operationalize guiding principles of transformative mixed methods design. Through a study about workplace experiences of academic migrants, Camacho demonstrates how to actualize social justice with and for the studied population and utilizes explanatory-sequential mixed methods design. According to Camacho, transformative mixed method could be considered both as a paradigm and social justice research grounded in critical scholarship. This methodology and worldview recognize the sociopolitical inequities that historically marginalized populations' experience (Camacho, 2019, p. 1). Furthermore, transformative paradigm brings together many philosophical strands where social justice operates as a first principle in research (Hesse-Biber & Jonson, 2015). Transformative-

emancipatory paradigm is distinguished from other paradigms with its overt axiological commitment to address issues of social justice (Creamer, 2018). According to these authors, transformative axiological assumptions speak to the need for a research ethic that is cognizant of and responsive to history, culture, inequity, and the importance of relationships and reciprocity. Likewise, Mertens (2019) also argues transformative paradigm's axiological position as good for cultural respect, promoting social respect, environmental and economic justice; and recognizing the dimensions of diversity associated with power differences, building trusting relationships (Mertens, 2012, p. 802). Exploring these dimensions is goal of the current research.

Reflexivity: some authors associate the importance of transformative mixed method with opportunity for a researcher to be reflexive. Reflexivity is closely related to the concept of positionality, which refers to the way we as researchers view our position in the world in relation to others, especially those who are involved in or may read our research (Call-Cummings & Ross, 2019, p.3). These authors refer to Finlay and Gough (2008) who defined reflexivity as “thoughtful, self-aware analysis of the intersubjective dynamics between researcher and the researched which is challenging to apply in practice. The concept of positionality works more with a research ethics. The concept of reflexivity is discussed in the following section of this chapter.

The ontological assumptions recognize the multifaceted nature of reality (Hesse-Biber & Jonson, 2015), consequences of privilege historically situated (Mertens, 2019). In this way, the transformative epistemological assumptions recognize that knowledge is constructed within the context of power and privilege, relational, and relationships of trust are needed to conduct responsive research (Hesse-Biber & Jonson, 2015, p. 95). It is interactive, trust and coalition building (Mertens, 2019, p. xiii). Since it takes on culturally responsive interventions methodologically, transformative mixed method aims at policy change. Its axiological assumption includes the importance of respecting cultural histories and norms in interactions to conduct research leads to social justice (Mertens, 2012). Generally, it is argued that the transformative-emancipatory paradigm is unique in its demand for philosophical transparency and the foregrounding of the axiological (value) dimensions of the paradigm. It places issues of power, privilege, and inequity at the center of all inquiry.

Figure 1: Concurrent transformative mixed method research design (by the author, 2020).



In the above diagram, an attempt has been made to show the researcher’s general research design. The design demonstrates established links in between the research approach and details of data collection and data analysis methods that are used.

3.6.1 Concurrent Transformative Strategy

Concurrent Transformative method was used as a strategy to integrate the whole process of data collection and analysis. Concurrent transformative design is a design in methodological choices that is executed concurrently (Almeida, 2018). Priority may be given to either of the phase or equal priority can be given to both (Terrell, 2012; Creswell, 2009, 2014). The purpose here is to allow the researcher to employ methods that will best serve the theoretical perspectives. Both

Terrell and Creswell note that this strategy is guided by a specific theoretical perspective such as critical theory, advocacy, participatory research or theoretical framework. Creswell (2012) also points out that the design may have one method embedded in the other that participants are given a voice in the change process of an organization. Concurrent transformative design adopts a specific theoretical perspective, with quantitative and qualitative data collected concurrently (Santos, et al, 2017). That is a researcher can simultaneously collect and analyze the quantitative and qualitative data. However, one method can be incorporated into the other.

3.6.2 Integration in Transformative Mixed Methods Design

In mixed methods design, an integration of both quantitative and qualitative methods in all levels of the research process is deemed very essential. Most literatures refer to integration as a mixing of qualitative and quantitative data. However, Doyle, Brady and Byrne (2016) claim integration to be broader than mixing data. These authors advise the integration to be considered at design, methods, reporting, interpretation, and discussion levels (pp. 630-32). Fetters et.al (2013) also share this idea of integration at the whole research levels. Likewise, Greene (2012) recommends the implementations of integration in method, methodology, or paradigm/mental model. Therefore, we can confidently say integration in mixed method should not be considered only at data gathering or analysis. The basic designs for Doyle and colleagues are *exploratory sequential*, *explanatory sequential* and *convergent designs*. Integration at design level refers to setting of qualitative and quantitative questions within one study. This helps us to review whether a researcher has posed the questions that are answered through qualitative and quantitative methodologies.

On the other hand, integration at methods level is where researchers make sure that findings from the first phase may inform development of sampling frame for the second (Doyle, Brady and Byrne, 2016). For instance, findings from the quantitative data can inform the development of interview guide. On the other hand, integration at interpretation level is useful in convergent designs where qualitative and quantitative findings are interwoven. Lastly, integration at discussion level occurs when researchers need to develop meta-inferences, an integrated understanding of overall findings.

In the concurrent transformative strategy, a researcher may quantify the qualitative data (Creswell, 2009). This involves creating codes and themes qualitatively and then counting the number of times they occur. Alternatively, a researcher can also qualify quantitative data. Creswell provides an example of utilizing factor analysis to establish factors or themes that can be compared with qualitative data themes. In this study, the researcher utilizes factor analysis for the audience analysis component. In a concurrent study, it is possible to present quantitative and qualitative data collection separately. The subsequent analysis combines these two types of data to identify areas of convergence or similarities. However, the integration of data interpretation is typically discussed in the dedicated section for discussion (Chapter Four).

Table 1. Concurrent Transformative Design and data Integration (Creswell, et. al, 2003)

Design Type	Implementation	Priority	Stage of integration	Theoretical Perspective
Concurrent Transformative	Concurrent collection of quantitative and qualitative	Qualitative, quantitative or equal	Usually during analysis phase but can be during the interpretation phase	Definitely present (i.e. conceptual framework, advocacy, empowerment

3.7 Content Analysis

Content analysis is one of the best approaches to the study of media industries. Using content analysis to study what the television channels produce their contribution to the understanding of representation of multiculturalism assisted the researcher to reveal the broader structural relationship of media production, multiculturalism and political economy. Content analysis entails a systematic reading of a body of texts, images and symbolic matters not necessarily from an author’s or user’s perspectives (Krippendorff, 2004). Accordingly, content analyst views data as representations, not of physical events, but of texts, images and expressions that are created to be seen, read, interpreted and acted on for their meanings.

Contemporary content analysis has three distinguishing characteristics. First, content analysis is an empirically grounded method. Second, it transcends traditional notions of symbols, contents and intents. Third, it has been forced to develop methodology of its own that enables researchers

to plan, execute, communicate, reproduce and critically evaluate their analysis whatever their results (Krippendorff, 2004 p. xvii-xx). There are various ways of defining content analysis. After surveying definitions offered by different authors, Daniel Riffe and colleagues define quantitative content analysis as:

the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption (Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 2014, p. 20, Riffe et.al, 2019, p. 23).

Both works emphasize on some key terms. The first is '*systematic*', which refers to researcher's empirical evidence and assumptions subjected to a system of critical observation and verification. The second is '*replicable*'. This refers to issues of reliability, objectivity, and clarity in descriptions of research procedures. The replicability feature of content analysis could similarly be associated with reliability of the method (Krippendorff, 2004). The third is '*symbols of communication*', which vary from person to person and culture to culture by a matter of degree (Krippendorff, 2004 p. 22).

Another point that has been emphasized was the numeric *values, rules and statistical analysis*. Quantitative content analysis involves numeric values assigned to represent measured differences in symbols (Riffe, et. al, 2019). Similarly, Domas & Marsh (2006) understand content analysis as a 'research technique' for making replicable and valid inferences from texts. Description is important; however, it should go beyond describing to drawing inferences from communication in context. The current study uses both quantitative and qualitative content analysis to explore the level and the means in which multiculturalism is represented in the three TV channels.

3.7.1 Integrating the 'Quan' and 'Qual' in Content Analysis

Content analysis (CA) is a highly flexible method which can be applied in qualitative, quantitative and mixed modes of research frameworks (White and Marsh, 2006, p. 22). The difference between quantitative and qualitative CA could be equally related to the difference

between general quantitative and qualitative methodologies. A combination of the two methodologies is necessary to fully understand the meanings and impacts of media texts (Macnamara, 2005). In analyzing patterns of representations, subjective interpretation and objective quantification of contents is useful to draw some generalizations. The terms "qualitative" and "quantitative" analyses do not refer to radically different approaches (Kempf, 1994). Kempf claims for quantification of subjective issues to reach upon concrete objective reality using both methods.

In addition, understanding their difference is imperative to avoid confusions on using them together in the current study. For instance, Wesley (2009) argues that nature submits to the method in quantitative research, and the method is more likely to submit to nature in qualitative one. Quantitative content analysis uses data that is categorized based on predetermined assumptions that are generated from a source rather than the data to be analyzed (Di Pofi, 1999; Forman & Damschroder, 2015), whereas in qualitative content analysis, data are categorized using categories that are generated at least partially through inductive method. The qualitative approach more easily allows for the discovery of new ideas and unanticipated occurrences (Jacobs, et.al, 1999, p. 717). The central idea of qualitative content analysis is to start from the methodological basis of quantitative content analysis (Mayring, 2014). Hence, an integration of qualitative and quantitative methods captures a broader view of the research subjects (Di Pofi, 1999). Bringing the two methods together serves the goal of abduction in the transformative mixed method design.

What is more, integration serves the purpose of triangulation. Obono & Madu (2010, p. 77) have used 'triangulation' as a reason for using the two methods to examine the programming contents of three Nigerian television stations. They have argued that the combination of contents provided an in-depth information concerning media contents. Triangulation can also be taken as the use of multiple techniques, distinct methods to analyze data (Oleinik, 2010). This is to enrich the analysis with substantial data. In the current study, quantification is vital to examine the presence and absence of something, and subsequently vital studying representations in media. However, since critical theory focuses more on the meaning of events than their material characteristics (Richardson, 2015), qualitative analysis has significantly equal importance. As a result, quantitative and qualitative content analysis are integrated.

3.7.2 Interviews

Interviews are used to catch ideas left untouched. Interviews enable researchers to obtain information that the researchers cannot gain by observation alone (Berger, 2000). In the studies using mixed methods design, different interview settings can be used to bridge the gap in generating data for triangulation. In this study, a total of 35 semi-structured interviews were conducted with informants from reporters, producers of TV news and talk shows, directors and some key actors including higher education teachers and researchers. A well-designed semi-structured interview guide incorporates preset questions while remaining flexible to explore new topics as they arise based on the research question (Eppich, Gormley, and Teunissen, 2019; Osborne and Grant-Smith, 2021). The prepared questions were posed to news editors, anchors, reporters and producers of Talk shows such as Yenga Guday (in ETV), Netsa Hasab (in Walta TV, and Fana Kelemat (in Fana TV) TV show have also been interviewed. Media monitoring experts and directors from Ethiopian Media Authority have also interviewed. What is more, media and journalism educators from Ambo University, Haramaya University, Mekelle University, and Wollega University have also been interviewed.

3.8 Documents

During the research process, investigators often gather qualitative data from various documents (Creswell, 2014). Document analysis is a systematic approach used to review and evaluate these documents (Bowen, 2009, p. 27). Bowen explains that, like other qualitative research methods, document analysis involves examining and interpreting data to extract meaning and gain understanding. Most of the research in communication policy relies on utilizing various forms of documents as primary sources (Karppinen and Moe, 2012). Love (2013) pointed out that improvements in technologies related to recording, production, printing, and accessing information have led to the widespread influence of documents in our daily lives. Employing document analysis, researchers can access the language and words of participants at their convenience. In the current study, the constitution of Ethiopia, media regulatory frameworks, proclamations, and documents produced by the Ethiopian Media Authority are consulted for analysis. These documents were seen as valuable resources, providing a cost-effective method of analysis as noted by Karppinen & Moe (2019). They also facilitated reflexivity during the interpretation phase.

3.9 Unit of Analysis and Sampling Frames

Researchers make the distinction between a population, the universe of people, to which the study could be generalized, and a sample, the subset of people who will participate in the current study (Vanderstoep & Johnston, 2009). The sampling frame refers to the eligible members of the population as a researcher face difficulty to apply the study to all members of a population. Sampling units serve to identify the population and establish the basis for sampling (White and Marsh, 2006). They are also the basis for reporting the analysis. The sampling frame for the study is prime time news stories and weekly talk shows produced and transmitted via three television channels from 2019-2021. Media professionals (journalists) working on these programs, chief editors, audiences and journalism educators were also participated in the interviews.

3.10 Sampling of TV Contents and Coding Unit

Sampling in the social science research is relatively flexible. Riffe and colleagues argue that sampling would not be an issue for social scientists (Riffe, Lacy & Fico, 2000). Researchers can include all relevant content in their studies. However, content sampling follows the same procedural sequence as survey sampling. In the current study, both systematic and non-systematic sampling were used in different stages of data collection. Quantitative research typically relies on probability sampling in which every person (element) in the population has a known and nonzero chance of being selected (Leavy, 2017). Accordingly, systematic sampling method was used for the media contents to select sample population from a three years' time frame. However, it was difficult to find contents of Fana television channel within the time frame of consecutive three years in the archive. As a result, the researcher was forced to use different sampling mechanisms. In the case of Fana TV, the researcher used snowball sampling. This involved finding out and following through the news videos which are available on the respective channels' websites, premiered on YouTube and Facebook within the timeframe of the research and selected for coding.

The selected TV channel's content is a universe from which representative news packages were drawn. News package is a name representing the whole number of news stories that are transmitted at one prime time news hour. The three-year period from 2019 to 2021 was chosen

because it captures both the era of optimism for successful political reform and the period marked by numerous ethnonational conflicts, including the Tigray War, thus balancing the content of news amidst this evolving political landscape. One news package was selected representing a one-month news. This period was selected because it characterizes a period of political reform, civil conflicts and post-conflict and election period. In this way, 12 news packages were selected per year for one TV channel. Within three years, a total of 36 news packages were considered for one TV channel. This makes the sample size of 108 news packages selected as samples representing the three TV channels. This is done through systematic method of $(3*12*3=108)$. While number 3 represents number of television channels, number 12 stands for news stories selected in a year, and the last number 3 stands for a time span in which the news contents are reported (i.e., Three years). The total number of news packages accessed was 108, resulting in an equal distribution of approximately 36 news packages per channel. The analysis was conducted on a total of (N=1167) news stories; however, the distribution of stories across news packages was uneven, leading to variations in the number of stories per channel. The specific figures for the number of stories per channel are presented in the result section (Table 5). Snowball sampling is considered a highly effective approach for retrieving data from multiple sources during a search process (Marcus et al., 2017). This method is particularly useful in situations where obtaining samples that possess the desired characteristics is challenging (Naderifar & Ghaljaie, 2017). The utilization of virtual social networks has significantly increased the size of populations, as these platforms have become integral to the investigation of news stories, incorporating social networking sites (Baltar & Brunet, 2012).

However, for talk shows, purely purposive sampling has been used based on the nature of shows. Issues discussed by the talk shows and continuity of the shows for at least six months during the period of data collection were some of the reasons for selecting one weekly show for each TV channel. Since the shows are transmitted on a weekly basis, one week's talk show will represent one month's program from which 6 talk shows were accessed for one TV channel. In this way the total shows analyzed in the three channels were 18 weekly shows. The TV channels and their respective contents' sample structures are shown in the table below.

Table 2: TV Contents Sample Structure

	TV Channels	Scope	Audience Orientation	Political leaning	Ownership	Language	Sample Units
1	ETV news	National	General Audience	Pro-government	Government	Amharic	36 news packages 8:00PM; 6 Yenga Guday talk shows
2	Walta TV	National	General Audience	Pro-government	Quasi-Commercial	Amharic	36 news packages 1:00PM; 6 Nesta Hasab talk shows
3	Fana TV	National	General Audience	Pro-government	Quasi-Commercial	Amharic	36 news packages 1:00PM; 6 Fana Keleamat Talk shows

3.11 Data Collection and Coding Methods on the Codebook

Television news content was collected using a predetermined sampling procedure. Quantitative content analysis was conducted using a data coding sheet to represent the content in an objective and generalizable manner. Qualitative data were gathered through textual analysis, key informant interviews, and examination of official documents, media policies, and regulations. The coding sheet used for analyzing television news programs was adapted from a previous study on gender mainstreaming in media organizations, with the researcher participating in the review process to ensure reliability. Although originally designed for gender and media studies, the coding sheet was modified for the current study's context.

Table 3: Coding Template for Television News

TV channel Coded _____

News Name: _____

Date: _____

Coder ID: _____

News Items: word by word headlines in order of presentation

001. _____

002. _____

003. _____

S. N	Subject of the news					Topic of the News							Source of the news	Sex of the presenter		Music or ads within the news stories s	Issue, group /individuals emphasized	Attitude towards the subject	
	Organization/ public institution	Groups /parties	Individuals	Ethnic politics	Religious	Social issues	Economic issue	Foreign /diplomacy	Gender	Science/Education	Pure cultural issue	Minority/Disability		National issue	M			F	In support of the issues/positive
001																			
002																			
003																			

3.12 Q Methodology

Q methodology, developed by physicist-psychologist William Stephenson in the 1930s, has gained renewed attention in recent years for its ability to investigate human subjectivity, beliefs, and values in understanding the political economy of multicultural media production (Durning & Brown, 2006; Barker, 2008; Dariel, Wharrad & Windle, 2012; Hunter, Nelson, McNichol, & Holt, 2017; Cottona and Mahroos-Alsaiari, 2015; Linda, 2019). It is a transparent and rigorous approach that combines qualitative and quantitative techniques (Baker, Thompson, & Mannion, 2006, p. 38). Q methodology is particularly valuable for exploring audience perspectives and understanding complex problems involving human subjectivity, surpassing the limitations of conventional surveys (Durning & Brown, 2006, p. 538; Barker, 2008; Davis & Michelle, 2011; Zabala, 2014). It allows researchers to delve into subjective opinions, beliefs, and values, and it can be applied with small samples to capture diverse perspectives (Baker, Thompson, & Mannion, 2006, p. 39).

At its core, Q methodology is grounded in the concourse theory of communication, which acknowledges subjectivity and provides an empirical basis for measuring viewpoints (Dariel, Wharrad & Windle, 2012). This methodology respects participants' subjectivities, rather than imposing constructs on them, enabling the elicitation of their subjective opinions, beliefs, and values (Brown, 1993; Barker, 2008; Goldman et. al, 2023). Combining qualitative and quantitative dimensions, Q methodology allows researchers to conceptualize participants' viewpoints (Davis & Michelle, 2011; Ulug and Cohrs, 2017). Although Q methodology can be demanding in terms of time and effort, it provides researchers with a valuable opportunity to reveal commonly held perspectives that may not be easily captured through traditional questionnaires (Khoshgooyanfard, 2011). It functions as a hybrid approach that combines elements of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, enabling the assessment and comparison of subjective opinions, while also identifying the similarities and differences in viewpoints among respondents (Valenta & Wigger, 1997; Exel & Graaf, 2005).

3.13 The Process of Q Methodology

Q-methodology is a structured approach for research that encompasses several key steps. The process begins with defining the concourse, which involves capturing the range of opinions and

perspectives on the topic of interest (Baker et al., 2008; Brown, 1993). The concourse is typically developed through methods such as interviews, focus groups, or content analysis of relevant texts (Valenta & Wigger, 1997; Paige & Morin, 2016). Concourse could be developed from interpretive content analysis of media texts, interviews or any public discourses or theoretically be defined based on the review of academic literature (Stephenson, 1993). Similarly, the concourse represents thoughts and opinions about the subject being studied, and developed from the literature review (Dune, Perz, Mengesha, & Ayika, 2017, p. 3).

From the concourse, a subset of statements is selected for further investigation. The sample, known as the Q sample, consists of the statements that participants will rank order in the Q-sorting phase (Valenta & Wigger, 1997). The goal is to create a comprehensive representation of the topic using participants' own words (Valenta & Wigger, 1997). The selection of participants should be based on their likelihood of offering perspectives related to the research question (Dariel et al., 2013). The size of the Q sample varies across studies, with most ranging from 40 to 60 statements (Ulug & Cohrs, 2017). In the current study, 60 statements were used for both audiences and journalists.

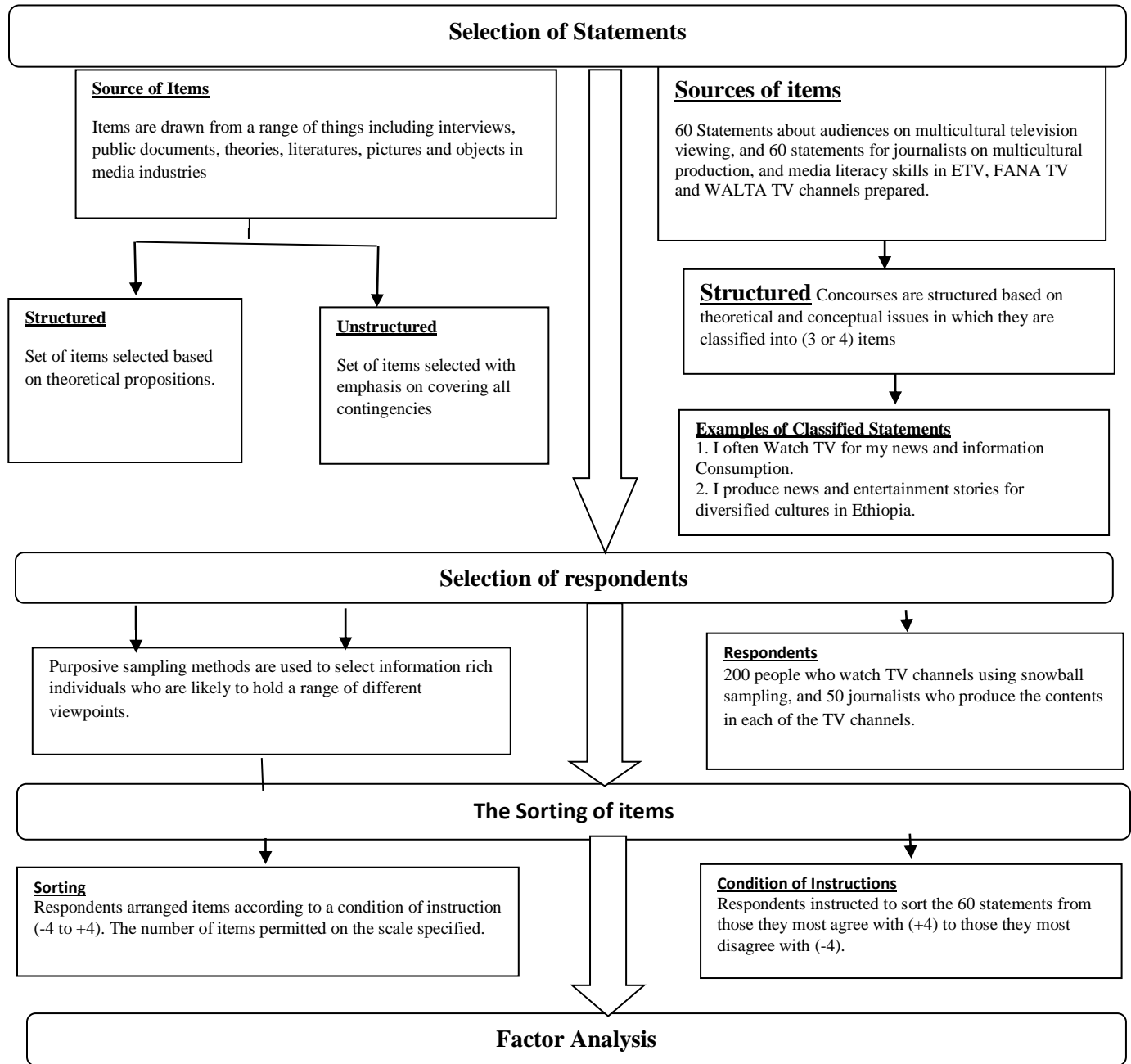
The Q-sorting phase involves participants ranking the statements according to their personal viewpoints (Baker, Thompson & Mannion, 2006). The sorted data are then subjected to factor analysis to identify underlying factors that represent coherent perspectives (Davis & Michelle, 2011). Factor scores are calculated for each participant's Q-sort, providing a measure of the relevance of each statement within a specific factor (Barker, 2008). In this study, a unique aspect was the use of IBM SPSS version 26 for factor analysis instead of the traditional PQ method commonly associated with Q-methodology (Baker, Thompson & Mannion, 2006). This was due to the relatively larger sample size which could be managed by SPSS. While some scholars advocate for factor scores in SPSS (Corr, 2001; Stenner, Watts & Worrell, 2008; Stenner & Benesch, 2015), others have combined PQ method and SPSS (Kim & Bates, 2011). The choice of software often hinges on researchers' familiarity and required analytical features (Brown, Durning & Selden, 1999). Q-methodology typically involves defining the concourse which refers to is communicability surrounding any topic (Brown, 1993); selecting the Q sample which is set of opinion statements that represent the discussion about a particular topic in the participants' own words and language (Valent and Wigger, 1997, p. 502); conducting p-sample, which in the

case of current study followed the method of snowball sampling (Parker, Scott, & Geddes, 2019) to recruit participants based on the likelihood that they would offer a perspective linked to the research question (Dariel, et. al., 2013) and conducting Q-sorting, and employing factor analysis to discern distinct perspectives (Baker et al., 2008), and all the processes were followed despite the change in software.

3.14 Data Analysis

In the data analysis process for Q methodology, three sequential procedures are typically followed: correlation, factor analysis, and computation of factor scores (Barker, 2008, p. 920). The first step involves calculating correlations and performing factor analysis on the sorted items provided by respondents (Baker, Thompson, & Mannion, 2006, p. 42). Factor analysis is a technique used to simplify a dataset by identifying clusters of subjectivities based on correlations between variables (McKenzie et al., 2011, p. 2135; Zabala, 2014, p. 163). It aims to capture functional descriptions of subjectivities rather than purely logical ones. After conducting factor analysis, factor rotation is often performed to obtain a final set of factors (McKenzie et al., 2011, p. 2135).

Figure 2: The principles and exemplar stages of a Q study, adopted from Baker and Collogues (2006).



3.14.1 Factor Loadings and Interpretations

In this study, factors are represented using a factor array, which is derived from weighted averages of individual sorts. The factor array provides insights into the meaning of the factors through calculated factor scores, or "rank scores," assigned to each item. The calculated rank scores in this study range from +4 to -4. Factor loadings indicate the level of agreement between an individual's sort and the factor, and a correlation is considered significant if it falls within the range of 2 to 2.5 times the standard error (SE). The standard error (SE) is determined using the formula $SE = 1/\sqrt{N}$, where N represents the number of statements in the concourse (Baker, Thompson and Mannion, 2006).

The objective of interpretive phase is to analyze and understand the distinct patterns of sorts among participants, focusing on both similarities and differences (Baker, Thompson and Mannion, 2006, p. 43). Similarly, the interpretation of each perspective depends on reconstructed sorts using factor scores, as well as the significance and uniqueness of the statements (Zabala, 2014), and respondents may align more closely with a specific perspective. The interpretation of factors coincides with decisions about which factors should be retained and subjected to rotation. Various sources of information are considered during factor interpretation, including the items placed at opposing ends of the spectrum (including neutral items), items that represent shared views between factors, any inconsistencies within the factor array, and apparent differences in item interpretation across factors (Baker, Thompson and Mannion, 2006, p. 43). Factors rotation, particularly using the Varimax rotation method, is employed to simplify the representation of each item and identify meaningful factors for the study.

3.14.2 The Discourse Historical Approach

The qualitative data was analyzed using Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA). The analysis followed transcription and translations of the textual data and thematic classifications using ATLAS.ti7. DHA has been identified (Reisigl and Wodak, 2008) as one of the approaches to the critical discourse studies. It adheres to the socio-philosophical orientation of critical theory (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, 2008). The DHA was first developed for a study that sought to trace the constitution of antisemitic stereotyped images (Wodak, 2009). It follows a concept of critique which integrates three related features: *discourse-immanent critique*, *socio-diagnostic critique*,

and *future-related prospective critique* to contribute to the improvement of communication. Due to their distinctive interest in politics and society, DHA scholars adopt a precise definition of social critique as a constitutive part of their research practice (Esposito, 2021, pp. 52-54). Under the umbrella of critical discourse theories of scholars such as Fairclough, Teun van Dijk and Foucault, the researcher benefitted from making use of Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), mainly due to its compatibility with methodological and philosophical assumptions of the current study.

In positioning DHA within the field of discourse studies, Reisigl makes no difference among different approaches especially in making practical claims of emancipation, critiquing constituted power abuse, injustice and social discrimination. However, despite their commonalities, there are some distinctive features of DHA (Reisigl, 2017, p. 49). First, DHA puts weight on historical subjects and changes; Second, it follows the principle of triangulation; Third, team research usually plays a greater role; Fourth, practical applications of analytical insights; Fifth, the concept of rhetoric is more comprehensive than the one suggested by the other protagonists; Sixth the argumentation analysis is more plausible than the other CDA approaches; Seventh; the semiotic perspective is clearly connected with wide ranging model of Charles Sanders pierce; Eighth, in contrast to mono-perspectival concept, DHA opts for multi-perspectival concept of discourse; Ninth, reference to functional pragmatics is a distinguishing features of DHA; and Tenth, the reference to poststructuralist theories is less pronounced than in other CDA approaches whereas Habermas and critical theory play a more significant role. The analytical constructs could be derived from existing theories or practices, experience and knowledge of experts, prior research and existing models of communication (White and March 2006, p. 27). Further, the integration of content analysis and DHA would bring a new and significant perspectives through which we achieve the goals of the current research.

3.14.3 Integrating Content Analysis and Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)

The technological advancements in the digital media age dictate researchers to use multiple methods. The proliferation of radicalism, distortion and deception, fake news, and media manipulation dictated a rethink of the limitations of long-standing social scientific techniques (Sengul, 2019, p. 1). Hence, there has been consistent interventionist goals of critical scholarship from which critical discourse studies have an incredible share. These problems are

seriously affecting Ethiopia where the interests of ethno-nationalists and unionist political discourse is increasingly producing various kinds of misinformation and disinformation. In line with this, the current study intends to critically analyze TV texts through employing multiple methods that require an integration of DHA and content analysis. In this context, in-depth analysis of the coded languages of extremism, discrimination, ethnicities and right-wing populism is crucial (Sengul, 2019, p. 5).

Discourse Historical Approach is critical discourse studies, and ones utilized, it gives researchers a rich store of analytical concepts (Forchtner, 2020). Forchtner's work on this area focuses on meaning making through revising Jurgen Habermas's critical theory. The author tries to draw upon Habermas's immanent critique in DHA, and empathetic of critique in narrative genre. Critique is referring to methods and norms that follows specific procedures and can be critical or at least used critically (Herzog, 2016, p. 279). Therefore, the notion of immanent critique, for Herzog is a normative position developed from existing society that not only reveals prospects for social change, but also contributes to it.

In addition, DHA follows the socio-philosophical orientation of critical theory (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009; Wodak, 2015); Critical social theorists like Theodor Adorno and Jurgen Habermas have influenced the Discourse Historical Approach (Forchtner, 2011). According to Wodak, DHA centers on critique, ideology and power and this relates the concept to the work of Habermas in critical theory. For Wodak, DHA is part of critical discourse analysis which is, for Van Dijk, analytical research that primarily focus on the study of social power, dominance, abuse, and how inequalities are enacted, reproduced and resisted. Furthermore, Reisigl (2017) and Datondji & Amousou (2019, p. 71) argue that DHA is one of the prominent approaches to critical discourse studies which focuses context and its dialectical relationship (Fairclough, 2013; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, 2009, 2016). It makes claims of emancipation and criticize discursively constituted power abuse, injustice and social discrimination. Scholars who are interested in the DHA have focused their research on the discourse of nationalism, racism, ethnicism, slamophobia and right-wing populism (Reisigl, 2017; Sengul, 2019).

Wodak's DHA claims what ought and ought not be, a critique based on the fundamental notion of emancipation (Forchtner, 2010). Similarly, one of the main goals of this approach is to connect and relate many genres and discourse on particular issues as well as their historical

dimensions (Alemi, Tajeddin, & Kondlaji, 2017, p. 3). A key concept in DHA is *topoi* (prular *topoi*) meaning related to logic and reasoning or explicit and implicit premises in argumentation theory. Intrinsic *topoi* are related to a dynamic fashion, pave the way for the use of extrinsic *topoi* which are employed in the argument (Alemi, Tajeddin, & Kondlaji, 2017, p. 3-4).

On the other hand, Reisigl and Wodak (2009) extended the idea into three important aspects that are crucial in the present study. The first is that text or *discourse-immanent critique* aims at discovering inconsistencies, contradictions, paradoxes, and dilemmas in the text internal structures; second, *psychodiagnostics' critique* is concerned with demystifying the manifest or latent persuasive or “manipulative” character of discursive practices; and third, *future-related prospective critique* seeks to contribute to the improvement of communication. The analyst must reflect on his own position and make his/her standpoint transparent, and hidden power structures should be revealed (Forchtner, 2010, pp. 18-19). What is more, Habermasian model of deliberative democracy, as a theory of rational argumentation and discursive conflict solving, focuses on the concepts of “deliberation” and “discourse” and critical function of the public (Wodak, 2015, p. 3). This shares conceptions of the original theory of public sphere.

What is more, referring to Reisigl & Wodak (2001, 2009, 2016), Nakkouzi (2017, p. 24) argues that the DHA is useful analytical tool through which representations of power, domination, and control are analyzed as manifested in language use. He also relates the concept of argumentation with dialectical norms stipulated by the ideal model of critical discussion Nakkouzi (2017, p. 56). Accordingly, arguers must pass through a discussion through dialectical obligations in the argumentative exchanges. In this way, dialectics and DHA share common views in both pragmatic and evaluative levels. The pragma-dialectic theory of argumentation enables the analyst to make a normative reconstruction of discourses that are pertinent to critical evaluation (Boukala, 2016, p. 251). Further, Nakkouzi (2017, p. 70) notes that epistemologically and normatively, DHA subscribes to the socio-philosophical orientation of the Frankfurt school and to the Habermas's conception of deliberative democracy.

As one of the approaches in critical discourse analysis, this section is devoted to integrating qualitative content analysis with discourse historical approach. To make it workable, it is important to bring the similarities and differences of critical discourse analysis and content analysis to the understanding of the scientific community. With respect to the question of

compatibility, the idea that how different methodological orientations are integrated, particularly in this project, content analysis could be regarded as a single method of data collection whereas DHA is a general methodological approach within which content analysis could be used. Ontologically, discourse analysis assumes reality as socially constructed whereas content analysis assumes that independent reality exists (Herrera & Braumoeller, 2004). This way, epistemologically meaning becomes fluid and reality is constructed using interpretive methods in discourse analysis whereas it is fixed and ascertained using scientific methods in content analysis. In integrating them together, this study systematically analyzes the contents interpreting how they are produced to represent diverse cultural and political groups.

3.14.4 Steps and Analytical Procedures in Discourse Historical Approach

Before describing the principles, steps and discursive strategies that are followed in DHA, it is crucial to discuss the new perspectives in DHA to make informed choices in the analysis. DHA adopted three-dimensional concept of critique (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2001; Forchtner, 2010, p. 21). The first dimension is *Immanent critique* which problematizes, in the text/discourse internal structure, contradictions that are perceivable by every competent language user. Second, *socio-diagnostic critique*, which aims to demystify propagandist, populist discursive practices taking a normative standpoint. Third, *Prognostic-retrospective critique*, which explicitly tries to transform the current situation through direct engagement by referring to guiding principles such as human rights or the rejection of suffering. Forchtner (2010) notes that this should not be based on text alone; it should refer to society and its reproduction.

Like other critical discourse studies, DHA follows the steps of (1) formulating the research questions based on literature and theories, (2) data collection and sampling procedures, (3) analysis using DHA, and (4) discussion and critique (Sengul, 2019, p. 7). As to Sengul, communication, particularly, political communication contains allusions, metaphors, presuppositions, ambivalent discursive strategies and diverse range of semiotic practices which are understood only through an in-depth qualitative analysis. Yet, there is no such difference between steps used in DHA and any qualitative discourse analysis. In this way, Ibrahim Efe (2013, p. 14) claims that following DHA, the qualitative discourse analysis follows three analytical steps; (1) The identification of specific contents or topics of a specific discourse, (2) the investigation of discursive strategies, (3) and the examination of linguistic means and their

realizations. In addition to the steps, Sengul (2019, p.9) refers to typology of five discursive strategies in DHA that are identified earlier researchers:

1. *Nomination*: how are social groups referred to?
2. *Predication*: the qualities and characteristics attributed to certain individuals and groups.
3. *Argumentation*: what implicit and explicit arguments are used to support these characteristics, or premises.
4. *Perspectivization*: the positioning of speaker's point of view.
5. *Intensification/ mitigation*: the illocutionary and thus epistemic or deontic status of utterances.

In addition, it is also crucial to consider the Teun van Dijk's (1997) discursive strategies that are crucial to the study of media representation of diversities. These are: (a) *strategies of positive self-presentation*, (b) *strategies of negative other presentation*, and (c) *strategies of disclaimer and denial of racism*. Therefore, it is imperative to take from alternative ranges of strategies and procedures available to the researcher to be flexible and enrich the analysis using various dimensions.

What is more, summary of the steps of analysis in DHA are illustrated in the works of Martin Reisigl (2017, pp. 54-55); Reisigl and Wodak (2016, pp. 34-56); Reisigl and Wodak (2009, pp.96-120), and Reisigl (2008, pp. 101-117). These are: (1) Activation and consultation of preceding theoretical knowledge; (2) systematic collection of data and context information with respect to discourses and discursive events; (3) selection and preparation of data for the specific analysis, i.e., selection and downsizing of data with transparent criteria; (4) specification of research questions and formulation of assumptions on the basis of literature review; (5) qualitative pilot analysis that allows testing categories and assumptions (linguistic, micro, macro, meso and context analysis; (6) detailed case studies of a whole range of data, primarily qualitative, but in part quantitative; (7) formulation of critique on the basis of the interpretation, and (8) application of analytical findings where it is possible. In this study, the strategies and steps were used after textual data are coded using Qualitative Data Analysis Software (QDAS), ATLAS.ti.7.

3. 14.5 ATLAS.ti

The name ATLAS.ti was inspired by the Greek hero, Atlas. The acronym ATLAS means Archive for Technology, the Life World and Everyday Language. The "ti" indicates the software and stands for '*text interpretation*'. A prototype ATLAS.ti was developed between 1989 at the Technical University of Berlin (Evers & Silver, 2014, pp. 1-2). Like other computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS), ATLAS.ti does not actually analyze data (Friese, 2012). It is simply a tool for supporting qualitative content analysis. The software only provides support for a thinking subject and it is the task of intellectual to work on (Konopásek, 2007, p. 277, Hwang, 2008, p. 524). It extends researchers mental capabilities to organize, to remember and be systematic.

Therefore, we can integrate the software with other qualitative methodologies. For instance, ATLAS.ti can be employed within different types of discourse analytical approaches (Friese, 2014). To understand how ATLAS.ti handles data, we need to think the entire project as an intelligent container that keeps track of all of our data (Friese, 2012). That container is known as Hermeneutic Unit (HU). ATLAS.ti hermeunitic unit can be understood as a container that holds everything you need for interpreting your data (Friese, 2012, p. 9). This includes objects such as the links to the primary documents, quotes, code words, memos, notes, stored query results and supercodes. Creating quotations and codings are basic activity of one engages in when using ATLAS.ti. It can support different file formats such as text, pdf, image, audio, video, geodata and survey data (Friese, 2012, p. 24).

In addition, ATLAS.ti is used to make preliminary reflections on ideas and knowledge construction in early process of research (Rambaree, 2014, p. 1). According to Rambaree, researchers can create free 'memos' which focuses on 'reflexivity' related to the setting up of the research process. Reflexivity is making reflections on, and accounting for how decisions are made. Reflexivity (critical judgment as researcher) is one of the methodological features in this endeavor. The current study benefited more from using ATLAS.ti as Qualitative Data Analysis Software (QDAS) since it assisted to achieve compatibility of the methodological and ethical issues.

Data coding and process of analysis in ATLAS.ti follows inductive based thematic analysis with constructivist epistemology (Friese, Soratto, & Pires, 2018, pp. 11-25). They list about seven(7)

steps in the implementation of the process of data analysis using the software: becoming familiar with data, generating initial codes and building a coding frame, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the report. Familiarity with data starts during data collection and continues to the time of data transcription. Phase 2 and 3, generating initial codes and building them are phases when ATLAS.ti assigns a number to each document. This is to validate coded segments to find meaningful headers to sort and organize codes to build the final code structure. In the fourth phase, a principal researcher searches for themes by reading and re-reading the data. In the fifth phase, the researcher begins to describe each individual theme and relate them to each other. In the sixth phase, a researcher defines and names themes describing the key elements and core messages. Finally, the seventh phase is a point at which the researcher analyzes codes and themes, weaves them to the analytical narratives.

3.15 Reliability and Validity

Researchers are obligated to ensure the reliability and validity of their data, especially when employing content analysis as a social scientific methodology (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999). In qualitative content analysis, there is a significant emphasis on ensuring "trustworthiness," which is often demonstrated through concepts such as credibility, dependability, conformability, transferability, and authenticity (Satu et al., 2014). While these terms were initially coined by Guba and Lincoln in the 1980s to address trustworthiness in qualitative research, researchers in North America have continued to utilize reliability and validity to incorporate diverse perspectives (Morse et al., 2002). In the current study, the codebook method was used. Codebook methods adopt the use of a structured codebook and share the conceptualization of themes as domain summaries (Byrne, 2021, p. 1393). The codebook's trustworthiness was inspected by a team of academic researchers who provided their judgments on whether the constructs could measure the level of multicultural news production. The news stories in this study were coded by marking their sources and describing the subject matter they covered. Subjects referred to organizations, political parties, and individuals discussed in the news. The topics were categorized into sub-variables such as general national issues, ethnic politics, religious, social, and economic issues, foreign or diplomatic news, gender, science or education, cultural issues, minority issues, and national issues. Sources were categorized based on geographical areas or types of organizations commonly used by journalists,

such as government, NGOs, and IGOs. The coding process involved marking the template and describing the names of sources and issues.

The reliability test was not conducted in this study, as it solely relied on manifest information that could be easily answered by three coders. These coders manually described the names of the sources and the issues discussed in the content of the news. To keep the reliability of their work, the coders however, received training and instructions from the researcher (s) on how to accurately name and categorize the sources of news stories used by the TV channels. The coding sheet can be associated with what Matthes and Kohring (2008) propose, manual holistic approach to media frame content analysis, where the reliability and validity of the analysis are dependent on the researchers' transparent completion of the coding sheet, which captures the manifest contents.

Manifest content is visible in the data and easy to grasp with limited interpretation (Erlingsson & Brysiewicz, 2017). The interview results were transcribed into English and thematically coded to identify factors influencing multicultural news production. Then, it was thematically coded by the researchers to identify sets of interrelated factors affecting multicultural news production based on the research questions posed. Therefore, this study lies in what Byrne (2021) calls a 'midpoint' between coding reliability approaches and the reflexive approach. The analysis was only based on the frequency of the sources and issues used in the news items and thematized the factors affecting the frequencies.

Once the code book was completed, the data was entered into SPSS version 26 for quantitative analysis. Descriptive statistical analysis was performed. Zuppa, Morton, and Mehta (2003) previously utilized SPSS to analyze TV food advertising, while Macnamara (2005) also recommended the use of SPSS for media content analysis. Additionally, Galt (2008) and Lai and To (2015) advocated for the use of SPSS in analyzing mainstream and social media content, respectively. The coding of the data in SPSS was carried out by the corresponding author, with close follow up and input from the research supervisors.

The qualitative portion of this work calls a researcher for a credibility (i.e., internal validity) extended engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, negative case analysis, referential adequacy, and member checks will be employed (Morse, 2015, pp. 1212-13); whereas the transferability (external validity) could be achieved through thick description in context. Furthermore, dependability is attained through credibility whereas objectivity maintained using

triangulation. Measurement reliability is a necessary but not sufficient condition for measurement validity (Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 2014). Similarly, reliability is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for content analysis data to be valid (Lacy, Watson, Riffe, & and Lovejoy, 2015). There are different types of validities. Authors such as Krippendorff (2004), Riffe and Collogues (2014) list four typology of measurement validity such as face validity, concurrent validity, predictive validity, and construct validity. Face validity is the minimum one required in content analysis. That is achieved through a researcher's persuasive argument that a particular measure of a concept makes sense on its face. This can be subjected to the nature of the study. In the quantitative content analysis, concurrent or convergent validity is assessed by the correlation among items which make up the scale or instrument measuring a construct (Garson, 2013).

Construct validity involves the relation of an abstract concept to the observable measures that presumably indicate the concept's existence and change (Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 2014). Accordingly, construct validity enables the researcher to be confident that when the measures vary, only the concept of interest is varying. It also involves whether measures "behave" as theory predicts. Simple factor structure is another test of internal consistency. This test is used in the Q methodology. The usual criterion is that simple factor structure exists to the extent that the proposed scales load most heavily on the same factor, and that they do not cross-load heavily on other factors. The common cut-offs are that intended scale items should load at the .70 level or higher on their factor, and that all cross-loadings should be below .30. As the simple factor structure criterion is rigorous, some researchers will accept that convergent validity has been established as long as 95% of loadings conform to simple factor structure cut-offs. In the usual version of this approach, all items for all scales are factored together.

3.16 Ethical Consideration

Ethical consideration is a pressing issue in social science research. Following of the critical approach in the current study gives a researcher an opportunity of self-assurance to be ethical. However, naming oneself 'critical' only implies specific ethical standards (van Leeuwen, 2006). The process of making one's position, interests and values explicit and as transparent as possible is a critical carriage in this kind of work. Likewise, ethical substructure of research contains dimensions on three levels: philosophical, praxis, and reflexivity (Leavy, 2017). The philosophical dimension is based on researchers' values and sense of morality they bring to the

research experience. In this case, the researcher must not appear swerve from his own personal life; however, need to show his power of reflexivity to be ethical, but critical. According to Leavy, specific social historical events have impacted the values system researchers bring to their work. Therefore, she recommends using non-offensive mutually understandable language when writing.

The dimension of praxis is related to what researchers do in research. It is directly connected to the research design used. The very important principle is doing no harm to research participants. The ethical dimension of reflexivity addresses the question of “how does power come to bear?” Being reflexive in research is paying attention to how power influences our attitudes and behaviors, and our own role in shaping the research experience.

Reflexivity is closely related to the concept of positionality. That is the way we as researchers view our position in the world in relation to others, especially those who are involved in or may read our research (Strunk and Locke, 2019, p. 4).

Reflexivity is related to how researcher can engage in a concept, he/she defines as purposeful, how we identify, and what we take for granted as true or right in a research process that is challenging. This kind of reflection in a social justice research maintains the researcher as an agent of changes. The transformative paradigm focuses on the tensions that arise when unequal power relationships surround the investigation of what seem to be persistent social problems and the strength found in communities when their rights are respected and honored (Mertens, 2009, p. 10). Therefore, the paradigm focuses on culturally appropriate strategies to facilitate understandings that will create sustainable social change. Generally, emphasis was given to the dimensions of power and privileges through self-reflexive strategies to be as worthy as possible.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

4.1 The Political Economy of Mainstream Television Channels in Ethiopia

Introduction

This chapter presents data and analyzes the results. The section on the political economy of the media focuses on regulatory frameworks and ownership, while the multicultural representation section examines the nature of content and audience consumption, organizational structure, media-government relations, and media freedom's role in representing diversity. The combined analysis highlights how the political economy influences multicultural representation. Various media regulations, constitutions, proclamations, and policies have been reviewed. Additionally, the content of news stories and talk shows has been analyzed regarding their roles in representing multiculturalism. Audience perspectives and journalists' views on multicultural media production practices have been incorporated to enhance the understanding of the political economy of TV channels and multicultural representation in Ethiopia.

4.1.1 Television Landscape in Ethiopia: Power, Ownership and Business

Television broadcasting began in 1957 in Ethiopia. Nowadays, television industry has seen dramatic increase in the number of TV stations and networks operating in the country. Remarkable developments in the TV landscape was observed in the years between 2016 and 2018. The rise in the number of private TV stations and networks, and religious TV channels is somewhat strange, when compared with government owned channels. At present, there are thirteen government TV stations with Ethiopian broadcasting corporation (EBC), the national broadcaster, having five different TV channels: ETV news; ETV languages which transmits news and entertainment with different languages of Ethiopian and three international languages; ETV entertainment transmitting dramas and lifestyles; ETV sport and ETV representative that transmits parliamentary news and livestreams (<https://ebc.et/>) and three radio stations such as Radio Ethiopia, FM 104.7 and FM 97.1 which are used to diversify the corporation's means of news and entertainment access and market opportunities as advertisers look for viable channels with target audiences from the available media outlets. The other thirteen stations are regional TV

organizations including Addis TV, the station focusing on topical issues of the capital Addis Ababa, the seat of the government, transmitting in Amharic and Afan Oromo; Oromia broadcasting network (OBN) which broadcasts topical issues of Oromia regional state including some issues from other regions in a language of Afan Oromo and other languages such as Sidama, Somali, English and Arabic, to mention a few of them; Amhara Media Corporation (AMC) transmitting in Amharic, Tigray TV in Tigrinya; Harari TV in Harari and Afan Oromo; SRTV in Somali, Debu TV in Amharic; Dire TV in Amharic, Afan Oromo and Somali languages; Gambella TV in Amharic; Afar TV in Afar; Wolaita TV in Amharic, English and Wolaita; Benishangul Media in Benishangul and Amharic (see appendix D). All the government TV stations are general news in category.

There are also about thirty four private television channels as of 2018. However, some of the channels are not currently operating in the country because of different factors associated to politics, viable media business environment and conditions of licensing agreements (see appendix G). There are also about forty six religious TV channels out of which 29 (63.1%) are Protestant TV channels while 13(28.2%) Muslim and 4(8.7) are Orthodox Christian religious TV channels. Plurality in language of transmission is observed among the channels owned by Muslim religious groups (See appendix G). However, the interview with monitoring directors in Ethiopian Media Authority (EMA) indicated that most of the religious TV channels were not registered by the authority, and as a result there is no licensing agreement that makes them responsible for what they are transmitting to their respective religious groups. While EMA is encouraging them to be registered, the content of their transmission goes without any regulation. This is partly attributable to their transmission method, which relies on satellite rather than terrestrial means, on which the government might have no direct control. Nonetheless, the constitution and other regulatory frameworks permit religious media to operate within the country.

The study primarily focused on ETV channel, a news channel under the ownership of the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC), a government-affiliated media outlet. Concurrently, Fana TV, a commercial entity operated by the Fana Broadcasting Corporation (FBC), was also a focal point of analysis. Established in 1995, Fana TV boosts transmission capabilities across four distinct languages: Amharic, Afan Oromo, Tigrinya, and Arabic. Notably, Walta TV which is

also commercial, is owned by Walta Media and Communication Corporation, engages in the dissemination of national, political, social, and economic discourse, offering multilingual programming in Amharic, Afan Oromo, Arabic, English, and Swahili. Both Fana TV and Walta TV are complemented by their respective radio counterparts, strategically positioned across key urban centers within Ethiopia. Fana Broadcasting Corporation's network includes 11 FM radio stations, strategically situated in locales such as Addis Ababa, Jimma, Nekemte, Haramaya, Shashemene, and Gambella, among others. This extensive network facilitates broad outreach, encompassing diverse linguistic demographics and facilitating the dissemination of multifaceted content, including social, economic, and cultural narratives, alongside advertising campaigns.

Similarly, Walta media and communication corporate has embarked on diversifying its outlets. Currently, it has launched an additional channel with an international coverage with three different languages including English, Arabic and Swahili. It has also launched an FM station known as Walta FM 105.1, and aims at launching various FMs in the regional areas including Harar and Jigjiga where transmissions already started in 2022. Both government and private corporations have their respective online presence in order to cope up with the stiffest competition it has faced from different social media outlets, as audiences seem to be attracted to such outlets as they provide timely news updates. The journalists' salary scales in both government and private TV channels are similar. However, there is a problem of turnover in media organizations as journalists face the rise of inflation pushing them to leave for other organization even for minor additional benefits. There is a tendency to leave government to private media institutions, if they would get additional benefits. This had its own effect on programs where suspension of transmission is not uncommon owing to such turnovers indicating a dire shortage of skilled and qualified manpower in the industry.

According to the salaryexplore.com's report of 2022⁴, the reporters salary ranges in between 4,480 ETB (lower), 9,740 ETB (average) and 15,500 ETB (higher), with average monthly salary of 9,740 ETB which is only 186.23 USD. This is only about 85.5 USD (lower) to 296.367 USD (higher), indicating very meager salary of journalists in Ethiopia, even less than Eritrean journalists who earn 133.33 USD (lower), 455.33(average) and 2,033.33(higher). Salary comparison by experience varies from 34% for beginners from two to five years of experience to

⁴The salary explorer is a salary comparison and career resources website for both employees and employers (<http://www.salaryexplorer.com/>).

8% for those who are more than 20 years of experience (salaryexplorer.com). The rate of salary increments decreases as journalists experience increases. The impoverishment of journalists across the newsrooms results in turnover for media houses as journalists increasingly prefer to join some high paying companies and NGOs to work as communication officers and PR practitioners as interview with journalists in Walta TV newsrooms indicates (DF5, News Editor, May 2022).

4.1.2 The condition of Media Infrastructure in the post-reform Ethiopia

The Ethiopian Media Authority (EMA) is an organization established as autonomous organization accountable to the House of people's representatives of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Part two (4) of the new Ethiopian media proclamation (Proclamation No. 1238/2021) grants the authority to the organization stating that "the Ethiopian Media Authority (hereinafter referred to as the "authority") is hereby established as an autonomous Federal Government Agency having its own legal personality". Therefore, the authority was established as an independent body to closely regulate media outlets and take initiative of diversifying media infrastructure, improving accessibility and accommodation of diversified societies (geographic, language and to lesser extent ethnicity). The authority claims that there have been positive changes in the development of media infrastructure since the Ethiopian political reform that started in 2018. However, there are no such significant changes in the number of mainstream media outlets for which the authority has granted licenses in the post-reform periods.

Table 4: Number of media outlets in the pre and post Ethiopian Reform (2018-, EMA, 2022).

S.N		Registration, recognition, and License issuing		
		Pre-Reform	Post Reform	Total
1	Public Radios	10	0	10
2	Public Terrestrial Television	9	0	9
3	Public Satellite Television	8	0	8
4	Commercial Radio	10	6	16
5	Commercial-Satellite TV	11	20	31
6	Subscription Television	2	0	2
7	Pay Television	1	3	4
8	Community Radio	50	4	54
9	Community Television	0	2	2
10	Private Newspapers & Magazines	398	80	478
11	Online media outlets	0	40	40
12	Foreign (abroad) media (Agent based License)	30 Media (110 Journalists)	3 Media and (15 Journalists)	33 Media and (125 Journalists)
	Total	529	158	687

As it was written in the article 4 of the proclamation, one of the main objectives of its establishment was to “issue broadcasting license; ensure diversity and plurality in the utilization, ownership, production or distribution of broadcasting services”. There are various services given by the authority to ensure diversity according to the interview conducted with directors of commercial (DT1, May 2022) and government media monitoring in the authority (YG2, May 2022). However, there was no such straightforward answers from directors or experts for some questions posed during interview for instance, ‘how the authority tries to ensure diversity of contents in TV channels?’ Since most of the routine activities in Ethiopian media authority is related to media monitoring, there is not a baseline by which it takes part in the production of contents to keep them diversified in different ways such as language of transmission, production of different cultures, keeping gender balance in the newsrooms, focusing on diversified issues of adjacent and remoter areas alike.

The Ethiopian Media Authority, in fulfilling its responsibility, aims to enhance media infrastructure to promote ownership diversity, particularly evident post-reform as indicated in Table 4. Despite the reform, no new mainstream media outlets were licensed by the Ethiopian Media Authority until 2022. Public radio, satellite television, terrestrial television, and online media showed no significant increase post-reform. However, commercial radio and public

satellite television experienced notable growth, reflecting ownership diversity in private and commercial media. There was also a slight rise in the number of pay television and community radio stations, as well as overseas media licensed through in-country agents. Notably, private newspapers and magazines demonstrated a significant increase from 390 to 478 post-reform, with an additional 80 print media outlets launched. The impact of stringent laws, broadcast proclamations, terrorism laws, and state of emergency proclamations has shown both negative and positive effects on media infrastructure development, press freedom, and journalistic professionalism.

4.1.3 Media Regulations and the present condition of Press Freedom in Ethiopia

The exploration into the political economy of television channels calls for studying media regulations and situations of press freedom through reviews of available documents. Media Laws, policies, regulations and reforms that have been carried out with respect to media infrastructure in Ethiopia need to be critically examined. While constitutional provisions support freedom of expression and press freedom, there remains a notable gap between these rights on paper and their practical implementation and adaptation. Moreover, heavy-handed government regulations would also impose pressures on editorial policy of the news organizations, leading to self-censorship, with chilling effects on press freedom. This could have serious repercussions on the representations of multicultural groups and ensuring diversity of voices entertained in the TV channels as well.

Ethiopia has undergone legislative changes that impact press freedom and representation in public institutions, with both positive and negative consequences. In the 1995 constitution, several articles uphold principles of equality, diversity, and democratic rights essential to societal freedom. Notably, Article 5, 25, 27, 29, 35, and 41 articulate conceptions of equality and democratic rights, addressing language equality, freedom of information, press freedom, inclusion, and diversity. Article 5(1) affirms equal recognition for all Ethiopian languages, while 5(2) designates Amharic as the working language of the federal government, influencing language diversity in Ethiopian TV channels. However, there have been slow changes towards language plurality in newsrooms. One might question the feasibility of making all languages in Ethiopia media languages. However, this is essential for accommodating diversity, particularly for marginalized communities. Nonetheless, this entails significant budgetary implications,

necessitating a renewed commitment to resource redistribution and recognition for marginalized languages.

Article 25 guarantees the right to equality, ensuring equal protection before the law without discrimination. Article 27(1) guarantees freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, encompassing the freedom to hold and adopt religion. Article 29(1,2) protects the right to hold opinions and express them without interference. Article 35 grants women the right to equality, while Article 41 ensures economic, social, and cultural rights for all Ethiopians. Specifically, Article 35(3) mandates equal access to publicly funded social services, including media institutions. These constitutional provisions lay the foundation for press freedom and equality in Ethiopia, although practical implementation may not be realized. Since 1991, Ethiopia has enacted several laws impacting press freedom, including Press Proclamation No. 34/1992, the 1995 Constitution, Broadcasting Proclamation No. 178/1999, the Criminal Code of Ethiopia 2004, Broadcasting Service Proclamation No. 533/2007, and Council of Ministers Regulation No. 158/2008 establishing government communication affairs. Additionally, laws such as Freedom of the Mass Media and Access to Information Proclamation No. 590/2008, Charities and Societies Proclamation 621/2009, Proclamation on Anti-Terrorism 652/2009, Advertisement Proclamation 759/2012, and Hate Speech and Disinformation Proclamation 1185/2020 have been passed (Gizachew, 2022). State of emergency proclamations numbers 1/2016 and 3/2020 were also issued.

During the reform period under Abiy Ahmed's leadership, significant measures were implemented to potentially liberalize both the political landscape and media environment. Political inclusivity was actively pursued through actions such as the release of political prisoners, the initiation of dialogues with various political factions, the expansion of civic participation arenas, and the enhancement of mechanisms for addressing human rights abuses (Muluken, 2023, p. 230). Simultaneously, efforts were made to open media spaces by unblocking previously restricted diaspora-oriented news websites, blogs, as well as satellite television and radio channels that had faced impediments during the EPRDF tenure (Abdissa, 2023, p. 2; Muluken, 2023). The legislations, including the recent Media Proclamation No. 1238/2021, uphold fundamental liberties such as freedom of expression, religion, and access to public institutions, its practical application, alongside potential misinterpretations by regulatory bodies,

appears to impose constraints on these rights. Consequently, the dissemination of diverse perspectives within media organizations is inhibited. Abdissa (2023) further contends, as highlighted in the International Media Support (IMS) report of 2023, that the new media law has relaxed regulations concerning media ownership, registration, and licensing, and recognizes the significance of self-regulatory mechanisms. However, challenges persist regarding the effective enforcement of these provisions (pp. 8-9).

Abiy Ahmed's government reached the decision of reforming ethnic based coalition party (EPRDF), through changing into to Prosperity Party (a merger party of the representatives of different ethnic groups into one), with the ideology of forming a balanced representations of respective ethnic groups and regional population of the country, there were various reforms undertaken by the government that had a significant effect on the present state of politics and freedom of the press. For instance, restructuring of ministers and empowerment of women, establishment of peace ministry, release of political prisoners and economic reforms (Abdissa, 2021, pp. 1-18) could be referred to as a promising change that would bring plurality and diversity within the power structure. From the perspectives of media environment, the media landscape under Abiy Ahmed, prime minister since 2018, remains very polarized and is characterized by opinion journalism to the detriment of reporting and fact-checking; however, with more open and pluralistic than under the previous government (Reporter Without Boarder, 2022, <https://rsf.org/en>)⁵.

Relatively, opening the rooms for freedom of information and press freedom that led to the foundation of various media outlets right after Abiy secured power could also be considered as one indicator of the reforms. However, the political reform situation was unstable and has not continued with the same tempo (Muluken, Mulatu, & Biset, 2021); and the decision of Abiy has given rise to another political rift or split between political elites who have aligned themselves with the prosperity party and those who have reservations about the measure, especially with respect to its ability to accommodate the political interest of different ethnic groups with diversified political interests. The proclaimed change from ethnic federalism to regional

⁵Reporters Without Borders (RWB) is an international non-profit organization governed by principles of democratic governance. It has more than 134 correspondents around the world; six international sections (Germany, Austria, Spain, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland); one head quarter (Paris), and 7 offices (London, Brussels, Tunis, Washington DC, Rio de Janeiro, Dakar and Taipei), as of September, 2022.

federalism was seen to promote Ethiopian unity by some, aiming to counter the ethnicization of politics. However, some party members opposed this reform for leading to mistrust. Consequently, the optimistic view of these reforms as a new opportunity for democratic transition and consolidation has faded (Endaylalu, 2022).

Following this, the political landscape has been heavily influenced by evolving media narratives, shifting from mainstream outlets to alternative, regional media, ethnic media, and social media. This led to the introduction of a new regulation specifically targeting social media: Proclamation No. 1185/2020 on hate speech and disinformation. While the regulation primarily targeted social media platforms, it also affected the broader media environment, as many mainstream outlets maintain a presence on social media for news dissemination. Some observers welcomed the regulation, noting the proliferation of hate speech on unregulated social media platforms (Muluken, Mulatu, & Biset, 2021). However, it's worth noting that this proclamation was one of several media regulations introduced under the auspices of the Prosperity Party, along with emergency regulations enacted in the same year. The first thing that the proclamation has overlooked was the idea of media pluralism, which proves the environment of competition for mainstream television channels, especially in their online presence, thereby limiting audiences' access to contents of their choice. This is synchronized with arguments advanced by scholars who believe that having multiple types of media and multiple units of each media (print, broadcast, satellite, and Internet content providers can represent pluralism (Walcke, Sukosd and Picard, 2015). As a result, the proclamation indirectly influenced the diversity of content within mainstream media organizations and was also utilized to suppress individual social media users.

Recently, the space for press freedom appears to have progressively narrowed down for private and government media as well as mainstream and digital alike, due to the ongoing conflicts and civil wars among various factions, which further ignited the surge in abuses against journalists since the onset of the war in Tigray in November 2020. The repression could also be expressed in terms of difficulty for journalists to access information from government officials. Moreover, Ethiopia's position in the global press freedom landscape declined from 114th out of 180 countries in the 2022 World Press Freedom Index (RWB, 2022) to 130th in the subsequent 2023

(IMS, 2023). As it has been pointed out in the Reporter Without Border's⁶ account, ethnic, regional and political considerations are a major concern at many Ethiopian media outlets to the detriment of independent, pluralistic and balanced journalism (RWB, 2022). As per the information provided on the data base of the RWB, one journalist was killed since January 1, 2022, while 12 journalists were reported to be in prison. As of January 1, 2024, this number has risen to 15 detained journalists. Tshuma et al.'s (2024) latest argument aligns with this fact that authoritarian regimes across Africa, in which Ethiopia was one of the case studies, consistently target journalists who criticize the government, exposing them to torture, abduction, surveillance, and imprisonment.

4.1.4 Conditions of License agreements in Ethiopian Media Authority

Unrestricted access to television programming plays a crucial role in fostering cultural democracy. Television serves as a platform for the portrayal and dissemination of cultural expressions that warrant open sharing and consumption within society. Consequently, the establishment and operation of television channels are justifiable within the framework of promoting cultural inclusivity and democratic principles. The struggle for more TV licenses could be considered as a struggle for autonomy (Leung, 2015, pp. 422-423). Ethiopian media authority has a document with binding guidelines on conditions that need to be satisfied by the media organizations to be granted with the license agreement to operate. Accordingly, the document showing points of agreements in between the licensor (media authority and the licensee (media organizations) for licensing government and commercial satellite televisions were reviewed. To begin with, government satellite television license document prepared with starts off with definition of terms like licensor, licensee, and expressions of the name of television channel, satellite renting organization and transmission frequencies. It has been indicated that government satellite television is transmitted with 18127.370Mhz encoding and 10727.370Mhz decoding frequencies. The geographic area coverage indicated in the document covers Ethiopia, eastern, north-eastern and middle east countries.

⁶ Reporters Without Borders (RWB) is an international non-profit organization governed by principles of democratic governance. It has more than 134 correspondents around the world; six international sections (Germany, Austria, Spain, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland); one head quarter (Paris), and 7 offices (London, Brussels, Tunis, Washington DC, Rio de Janeiro, Dakar and Taipei), as of September, 2022.

With respect to program transmission that has been indicated in article 9 of the document, the licensee shall devote at least 60% of its programs to Ethiopian national issues, 9(a). The programs shall be designed to make understanding of the constitution of Ethiopia to the people, 9(b). Women, elders, children, youths, disabilities and street dwellers shall be given special consideration in coverage by the programs, 9(c). Finally, it directs the licensee to transmit programs consonant with the broadcast proclamations endorsed by the country.

The licensing agreement between commercial television operators and the Ethiopian Media Authority aims to ensure compliance with constitutional and broadcast regulations. Both commercial and government satellite television channels are mandated to dedicate a significant portion of their programming to national political, social, and economic issues, as well as to promoting democratic values and cultural diversity. However, commercial television channels are subject to additional regulations regarding the representation of marginalized groups and the payment of fee, when compared to public or state TV broadcasting. There are some extra statements constituting substantial control for the commercial televisions (Appendix N). Advertisement content for both types of television must adhere to specified criteria. While the criteria for licensing both commercial and government satellite television channels are similar, commercial channels face stricter control measures. Renewal of broadcasting agreements is contingent upon meeting annual requirements set by the authority.

4.1.5 Ethiopian Media Authority and Diversity in the TV Channels

Article 6(5) of the Ethiopian media proclamation asserts that Ethiopian Media Authority regulates broadcasting media to ensure that they are operating in accordance with the constitution. Ethiopia's constitution provides for freedom of expression "without any interference" and see to the fact that freedom of the press and other mass media, including freedom of artistic expression, are covered in that provision (Article, 29). Despite such lofty provisions articulated in the constitution, the entity entrusted with the responsibility of enforcing such provisions is the EMA whose autonomy to shoulder such a responsibility is uncertain. The formation of the regulatory body's governing board, comprised of high-ranking government officials, some with party affiliations, has drawn criticism for allegedly contravening Article 9(2) of the new media proclamation No. 1238/2021. This article mandates that board members must be appointed through an open and transparent process that allows for public nominations. In a

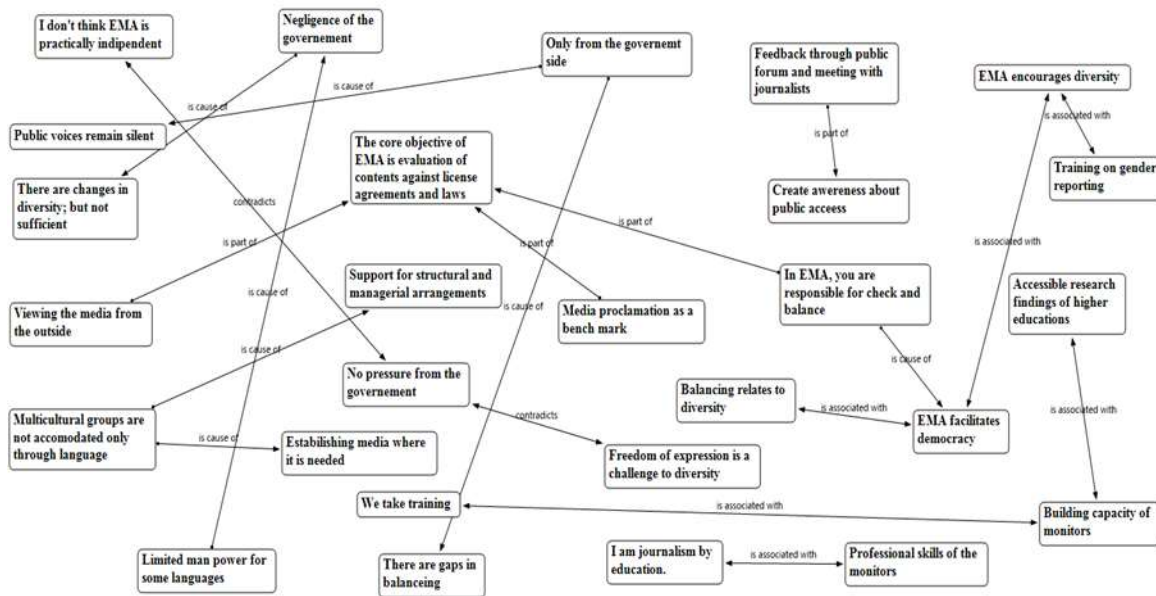
country where individuals in power are more powerful than institutions, it is difficult to expect the regulatory authority to fairly cater to media organizations working in a diverse society like Ethiopia. The UNESCO report in 2022 also suggested that EMA is unable to be perceived as free from both direct and indirect influence exerted by the government and the ruling party.

For instance, it was indicated in Article 6 (22) of proclamation No. 1238/2021 that the authority develops standards for broadcasting services and ensure that these standards are met. Likewise, it was also clear in the document that media institutions assume responsibility to satisfy the public as they use public airwaves. However, the interview with media monitors, including two directors in Ethiopian media authority indicates a rather musky understanding of the role of the authority in supporting the TV channels to accommodate diversified groups in their production.

The role of the authority is facilitating media institutions to operate in the country based on the license agreements, proposals submitted to the authority, and monitoring their productions as per the agreements and proclamations for issues related to language of transmission, representations of cultural groups and coverage of geographic areas (YG2, director of the media monitoring, April 2022).

The authority plays a facilitation role for media institutions and checks whether they are working within the systems of rules governing their operations. However, the interviewees also claim that the authority faces challenges in harmonizing the interests of the media institutions and the government that wants to control the media discourse for political gains, subjecting journalists to self-censorship. Such behaviors obviously contradict the notion that the regulatory authority is an autonomous authority that regulates media organizations in accordance with set standards and laws. The system in which the authority, the media institutions and the government are tied up can be illustrated as indicated in the following figure:

Figure 3: Networks of Discourses among media monitors in EMA



As it is shown in the Figure above, discursive explanations of media monitors in the nodes on Atlas ti.7 were related to each other indicating various forms of relations (contradictions, causes, associations). Accordingly, the media monitoring experts are certain about the core objectives of the media authority and the role it plays in regulating the media practices, facilitating public access to the media through supporting the communities establish the media that would represent them, giving a capacity building training for practitioners and monitors alike, and keeping the diversity of contents and languages so that they would represent multicultural groups. The media monitoring experts are observers who critically view the media productions from the outside and are impartial to the groups of interests.

Apparently, they also indicate that there are obstructions to their efforts mainly from the government side. This puts the rhetoric of the autonomy of the authority in question. For instance, it has been indicated that EMA’s responsibility is keeping check and balance; this ensures equal representations for various groups. Nevertheless, as balancing implies the balancing of voices, there are reproachful discourses by media monitors that blame the government for controlling the media as the work of balancing is skewed towards over representations of government voices while marginalizing public voices. As a result, the binding rules and standards indicated in the media proclamations are rarely implemented due to government interruptions and interest for exploitative use of the airtimes. What is more, there are

confusions and contradictions within the monitors viewpoints. While there are experts who argue that there is no pressure from the government, still there exists a viewpoint that believes lack of freedom of expression as challenge to diversity and plurality of contents in media institutions. Media monitors are asked to answer whether multicultural groups get equal representations in the contents of both private and government TV channels. However, they used to speak on the principles instead of giving straight forward answers as shown in the following interview excerpt:

We know diversity is not accommodated only through language of transmission, or giving coverage to some geographic area, it is about beliefs, culture and attitude towards others. It is very important to establish media institutions for some communities to get media representations (GK4, media monitoring expert, April 2022).

This is an indication that the monitoring experts are not sure about equality of representations in the contents. What is more, they question the Ethiopian media authority's power to influence the deep-rooted perceptions of program producers to diversify their contents or challenge the established power structure that plays a vital role in the production systems. The main program that gets monitored is the Amharic program. They have also managed to monitor programs transmitted in Afan Oromo and Tigrigna. However, they are yet to begin monitoring programs transmitted via other languages, such as Wolaita and Sidama. Therefore, we can possibly infer from monitoring experts' explanation that a limitation in the diversity of languages hinders the practices of monitoring in Ethiopian media authority, which implies that diversity suffers even in the institution that is established to keep a balanced coverage of different groups among diverse media houses in Ethiopia.

4.1.6 Access to Information

Access to information in Ethiopia is generally limited. Confluence of factors, both from information providers and recipients, have been identified to have contributed to the limited access to information. According to a 2019 study by Deutsche Welle Akademie (DWA), there are several challenges to access to information in Ethiopia. Some of the challenges are lack of information from the government to the public, unverified information, and misinformation and hate speech circulated through social media. Challenges identified in the media sector included

lack of capacity among journalists; lack of issues-based reporting and specialization, and instead a continued focus on developmental journalism. According to independent institutions such as DWA, BBC Media Action, IMS-Fojo studies, access to humanitarian information was found to be low. The reports indicated that individuals have limited access to information due to a confluence of factors including lack of equipment, lack of communication by service providers, and lack of access to electricity grids for power supply, among others.

4.1.7 Media Policy in Ethiopia and Its role in a National Consensus

The nascent state of media policy in Ethiopia underscores the imperative for its establishment, driven by the need to regulate and guide media institutions effectively. This milestone in media governance was realized through the meticulous review and deliberation of the draft media policy during the 88th regular session of the council of ministers, culminating in its formal approval on August 23, 2020. Emphasized within the ratified policy document was the pivotal role of media policy in not only upholding constitutional rights but also in aligning with international standards regarding freedom of information and communication. Furthermore, the envisaged policy framework was considered to serve as a catalyst for bolstering national economic, political, social, and technological advancements, while concurrently fostering a legal milieu conducive to the operation of mass media. The ratification of the mass media policy draft bill is emblematic of a strategic imperative to harmonize media activities with the multifaceted dynamics of Ethiopian society. This strategic alignment is poised to fortify media institutions, empowering them to disseminate information of utmost reliability and quality to the public sphere. Such an approach not only underscores the state's commitment to robust media governance but also signifies a pivotal step towards cultivating an informed citizenry essential for sustainable socio-political progress.

4.2 Representation of ‘Multiculturalism’ in TV Channels

In this section, the study thoroughly examined the portrayal of multiculturalism and diversity in prime time news stories and talk shows across television channels. The fundamental premise was that television channels have a responsibility to diversify their content in order to authentically represent multicultural societies, given that television acts as a mirror reflecting broader societal dynamics. This recognition is of utmost importance for television channels to effectively engage and connect with their viewership, as well as to strategically position their brands. Consequently,

the study aimed to meticulously investigate and provide comprehensive insights into the individuals and entities accountable for creating news content in Ethiopian mainstream television channels. The research endeavor sought to address significant inquiries concerning the diversity of news sources, encompassing an extensive array of topics, the incorporation of diverse ideas, cultures, and pertinent political and economic issues. Additionally, the study aimed to explore the inclusion of discussions on critical matters such as peace, stability, security, foreign affairs, diplomacy, concerns of international governmental and non-governmental organizations, as well as religious subjects within prime time news stories. By thoroughly examining these facets, the study ascertained the extent of diversity demonstrated by television channels in their portrayal of a wide range of local, national, and international issues. Furthermore, the study also examined gender diversity in news production and presentation within the selected television organizations.

4.2.1 Diversifying News Sources as Multicultural News Production

In this section an attempt has been made to examine the extent to which the three mainstream TV channels (ETV, Fana TV and Walta TV) significantly produce and transmit newsstories that constitute multicultural societies (voices) in support of multiethnic policy in Ethiopia. The study found that both private and government TV channels in Ethiopia focus on covering various groups with differing perspectives. Considering multicultural news production as multiculturalism has a policy significance for diversity of the media and contents, Kellner (2011) perceives the process of production and consumption of media contents as an aspect of political economy. This particular section of the study scrutinizes the selection of news sources, the involvement of various individuals and groups, the geographical scope of news coverage, and the inclusiveness of the topics addressed, illustrating them as facets of multicultural news production. Simultaneously, it investigates the influences exerted by political economy factors on these practices. The integration of these two dimensions, according to Kellner's perspective, engenders a critical pedagogy. The study highlights the importance of using inclusive and considerate terminologies that reflect the diverse society in Ethiopia.

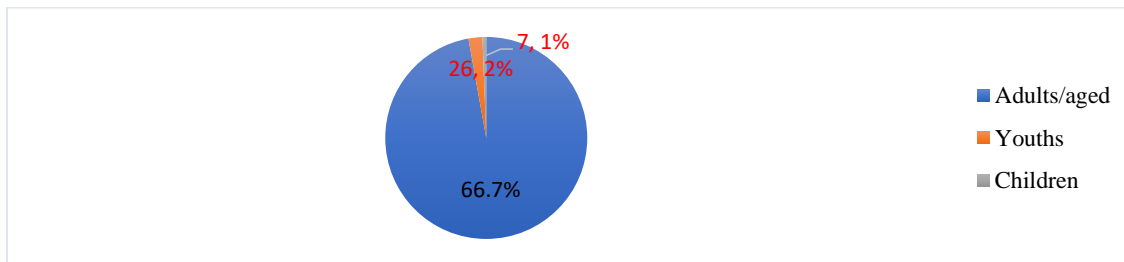
Table 5: Number of News Stories Studied in Each TV Channel (N=1167)

TV Channels	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
ETV News Channel	380	32.6	32.6	32.6
Fana TV Channel	371	31.8	31.8	64.4
Walta TV Channel	416	35.6	35.6	100.0
Total	1167	100.0	100.0	

There were 1167 primetime news stories selected from the news stories transmitted in the three TV channels from 2019-2021(N=1167, ETV constituting n=380(32.6%) of the stories, Fana TV, n=371(31.8%) and Walta, n=416(35.6%). There is a difference in the number of a news stories in each TV channels due to variation in the amount of the news stories transmitted in a one news hour in the TV channels. Accordingly, Walta Television relatively treats a greater number of news stories in one news hour compared to ETV and Fana TV channels.

The coding template (Table 3) used in the study assigned values to different age groups, where adults were represented by 1, youths by 2, and children by 3. This approach was chosen because it was challenging for the researcher to obtain specific age information for the subjects of the news stories. The results depicted in the figure below show that a significant majority of the news story sources were adults or individuals belonging to adult age groups, accounting for 66.7% of the total. This was followed by 26.2% of the news story sources being youths and 7.1% and children. These findings suggest that the news stories primarily focused on adults and their perspectives, indicating a prevalence of adult-oriented content in the analyzed news sources.

Figure 4: Age groups portrayed in TV channels' news stories



The diversity in production of news is associated more with outputs of media. One of the key concerns in this study was the extent to which television channels incorporate diverse news sources. Yet, it is important to recognize various forms of diversity in the news media. Diversity

in news production mainly pertains to the outcomes of the media. Output diversity refers to the dissemination and frequency of topics and sources (Sjøvaag, 2016, p. 4). Sjøvaag further elaborates on this concept by identifying five levels of diversity: structural diversity, organizational diversity, production diversity, output diversity, and diversity of reception. Diversifying news sources leads to output diversity, as various sources attempt to shape public opinion through different public agendas. The diversity of sources also contributes to a more inclusive outcome for multicultural news production. These news sources encompass various public institutions and individuals from both central and regional states.

The sourcing practices of TV channels in terms of both geographical area and institutional sourcing were unstable. Imbalance of sourcing is evident from proportions of news sourcing across various regional sections and institutions within the country. Some regional states had average percentages of sourcing, while others had insignificant percentages. Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, had a share of 9.8% (n = 114). This was followed by regional states with relatively higher percentages: Amhara regional state with 6.4% (n = 75) and Oromia regional state with 5.8% (n = 68). TV channels rarely utilize Harari region as a news source, while Gambela and Southwest Ethiopia receive moderate coverage. The Southwest Ethiopian Peoples' Region was newly formed after splitting off from the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region (SNNPR) on November 23, 2021, through a successful referendum. The referendum was a sign of what Nte (2023) once commented on regarding the peculiarity of ethnic nationalism and the constitutional right enshrined in Article 46.2 of the Ethiopian constitution. This has implications for news sourcing practices and diversity of voices.

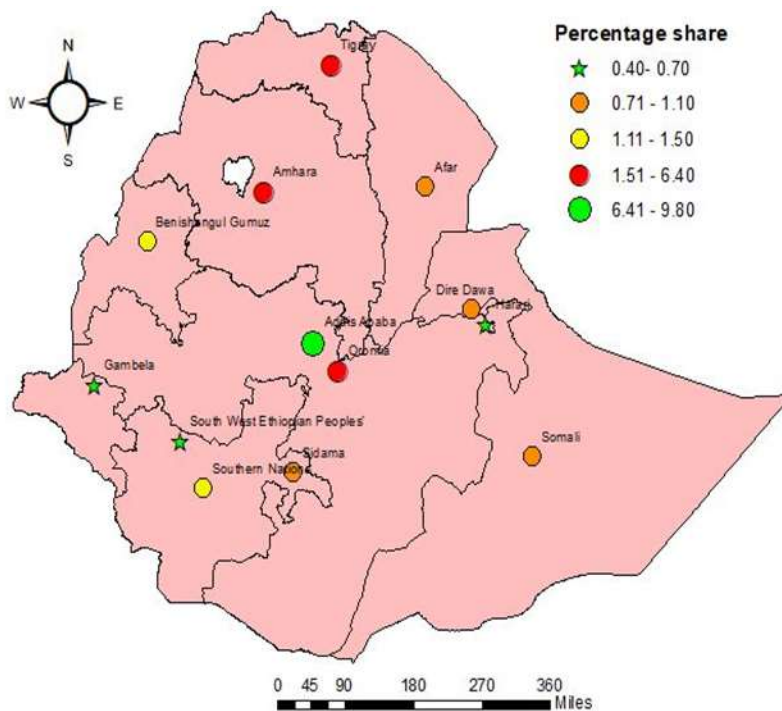
Table 6: Percentage shares of Regional and Institutional Sources (N=1167)

Sources of news	Frequency	%
Regional States		
Addis Ababa	114	9.8
Oromia Region	68	5.8
Amhara Region	75	6.4
Tigray Region	65	5.6
Southern Nations	18	1.5
Benishangul Gumuz Region	18	1.5
Sidama Region	12	1.0
Southwest Ethiopian Peoples' Region	8	0.7
Afar Region	13	1.1
Somali Region	10	0.9
Dire Dawa	13	1.1
Gambela Region	7	0.6
Harari Region	5	0.4
Institutions/Organizations		
Foreign/Diplomacy	192	16.5
Office of the Prime Minister	105	9.0
Political Parties	71	6.1
House of Peoples' Representatives/Federations	22	1.9
Military/NDF	62	5.3
Government Institutions	173	14.8
Religious Organizations /Leaders	31	2.7
Individuals	56	4.8
IGOs/NGOs/Associations/Charities	29	2.5
Total	1167	100

Although an equal percentage of sourcing, 1.5% (n = 18), was used for both the Southern Nations and the Benishangul Gumuz regional state, the stories from Benishangul Gumuz predominantly focused on local conflicts among ethnic groups residing in the Metekel Zone. Additionally, the average percentage of sourcing for the Tigray regional state was 5.6% (n = 65). However, the content heavily featured hostile narratives of the catastrophic war that occurred in

the region between 2020 and 2021. Furthermore, 16.5% (n = 192) of the total sourcing practices across the three channels consisted of foreign news stories with diplomatic missions. This observation reveals a heightened prevalence of sourcing from international origins, thereby emphasizing the Ethiopian government's overarching focus on fostering cross-national relationships. The news stories pertaining to diplomatic missions primarily centred around investment opportunities and agreements involving international investors and diplomats. According to Sakurai (2017), foreign news is not solely about events occurring in foreign countries, but also about how we interpret ourselves through these countries. Therefore, the utilization of more overseas sources mirrors the emphasis given to multinational relations.

Figure 5: Percentage shares of Ethiopian regions used as sources of news and their geographical locations (N=1167)



The map depicted in Figure 4 illustrates the ranges in geographical distribution of news sourcing practices, where Addis Ababa, the capital city, is the primary source of news information, accounting for 6.41-9.8% of the news used by TV newsrooms. Regional states such as Amhara, Oromia, and Tigray are used as a source with relatively higher percentage ranging between 1.51-6.4. Gambela, Harari, and Southwest Ethiopian People have lower percentage shares, ranging from 0.4-0.7%. Similarly, regional states of Afar, Dire Dawa, Sidama, and Somali comprise

relatively lower percentages ranging between 0.71-1.1, together. Southern Nations and Benishangul Gumuz fall within the mild percentage range of 1.11-1.5, which is considered average. As cities and politically dominant ethnic groups were predominantly used as source of news, these sourcing practices have political implications and creating the centre periphery division in the country. Both government and commercial television channels exhibited sourcing practices that favoured powerful areas closer to the political centre, while neglecting remote regions with diverse geographical landscapes and politically apathetic public institutions. This disparity is clearly illustrated in Table 6, where Addis Ababa shares 8% more than the combined shares of Southern nations, Benishangul Gumuz, Sidama, South-East, Afar, Somali, Dire Dawa, Harari, and Gambela regional states, which collectively account for over 50% of the Ethiopian population.

The distribution of sourcing percentages has shown considerable variation, with a notable concentration on central regions and relatively less emphasis on remote areas. In these remote areas, where information tends to flow from few individuals to the majority, there is a lack of representation and diversity in the content. This suggests that TV newsrooms tend to rely on geographically privileged and influential regions, thus limiting the range of perspectives and voices from isolated regions. Previous studies have also indicated that media outlets differ in their sourcing practices, with a preference for non-elite sources being uncommon (Hernandez and Madrid-Morals, 2020, p. 1087). Therefore, the sourcing practices of mainstream television channels in Ethiopia can be criticized for not allowing journalists to reflect the diversity of voices in a multicultural society, due to limitations imposed by newsroom facilities and editorial decisions.

4.2.2 News sourcing Across Institutions

Government institutions are used as sources by 10% more compared to politically apathetic institutions such as NGOs, religious institutions, and charities. The study revealed that the sourcing patterns vary across institutions, revealing that a significant proportion of news stories (14.8%, n = 173) originated from government or civil service institutions (Table 6). Notably, 9% (n = 105) of news stories were sourced from the office of the Prime Minister, with Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed serving as the primary source for topical news. These findings underscore

the flow of news media from government institutions and officials to the public, who typically have limited influence in public affairs. These findings are consistent with prior research (Schiffrin, 2021), which posits that such news sourcing practices reflect the systematic control or influence exerted by governments and political interests over the news media. Additionally, political parties accounted for an average of 6.1% (n = 71) of news sources, while the Ethiopian national defence force constituted 5.2% (n = 62). This data indicates a lack of representation for ordinary majority and an overrepresentation of few public officials who wield dominant control over the dissemination of news from the ruling class to the working class.

The proportion of news stories on peace and stability was like the proportion of news stories covering diplomatic and investment agreements. For example, the Ethiopian national defence forces' news coverage primarily focused on the conflict in Tigray and Oromia. The sourcing practices and percentages of sourcing have blurred the distinction between government-affiliated and privately-owned or quasi-commercial TV channels in their loyalty to the ruling party. The content has become parallel in terms of intensifying the war against groups such as the Tigray Defence Force and the Oromo Liberation Army, which have been labelled as terrorist organizations. This situation may have hindered nationwide negotiations and posed challenges to fostering multicultural respect and tolerance among ethnic groups. At the institutional level, the least common news source was registered for news stories from the House of Peoples' Representatives/Federations, which only accounted for 1.9% (n = 22) of the total, certainly after their occasional meetings. By incorporating debates from the houses of people's representatives, the TV channels could have potentially represented various socio-political factions, generated nationwide public interest, and catered to multicultural groups. News coverages have included reports from international governmental organizations, non-governmental organizations (IGOs or NGOs), charitable institutions, associations, and religious organizations. However, the dominance of government affairs' representation overshadowed the involvement of politically neutral groups.

The diversity of news stories provided by TV channels is seen as promising due to their use of multiple sources. Yet, it can be criticized as lacking intelligence in terms of representing a variety of voices. The current sourcing practices are not comprehensive enough to achieve the goals of multiculturalism, as they fail to adequately reflect the percentage shares of sources from

different geographical areas and institutions. Although there is a higher percentage of news stories from Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, which is a diverse society, this is still considered insufficient. Regional sourcing practices tend to have ethnic implications. The equality of TV coverage is uncertain, as some ethnic groups are significantly underrepresented compared to Addis Ababa and the three regional states: Oromia, Amhara, and Tigray. Therefore, simply balancing the use of news sources based on geographic location or organizational type would not lead to equal representation and could create issues, unless efforts are made to include a diverse range of voices from the regional states.

4.2.3 Factors affecting Diversity of News Sourcing in TV newsrooms

News does not exist in isolation. As posited by Abdissa and Getachew (2024), the operation of news media is intricately interwoven with the broader socio-political, economic, and cultural milieu. These factors exert significant influence on news sourcing practices. The news sourcing process involves numerous interactions, spanning from fieldwork to the editorial decisions reached in the newsroom, that affect journalists' role in diversifying sources. According to interviews with journalists, economic factors and limited infrastructure are increasingly affecting their ability to access diverse sources of information. This influence is closely related to the connection between news diversity and critical political economy, which emphasizes fair and equal distribution and access to media resources. The factors hindering their access to varied information include economic constraints, political pressures, organizational limitations, lack of multicultural media literacy, conflicts, and concerns about security issues in different regions of the country. Despite the obstacles, some journalists assert that they can still engage with a variety of sources of news.

Table 7. Summary of the factors affecting diversity of news sources

Factors				
Economic factors	Organizational factors	Multicultural media literacy	Conflicts and security problems	Political factors
Limitation of resources, Lack of sufficient newsroom facilities, Lack of sufficient per Diem/allowance.	Editorial decisions constrained by market forces.	Language and cultural differences between sources and news reporters	Lack of clear ethical guidelines to report on conflicts. Fear to move to the conflict prone areas	Government control Journalists' autonomy Politically motivated editorial decisions

Some of the journalists held the view that there were attempts to expand the range of geographical locations covered in their fieldwork. As an illustration, a reporter from ETV news channel expressed this sentiment:

In my fieldwork experiences, I have navigated challenging terrains in regions like South-Western and Benishangul Gumuz, which stand out as some of the most remote areas. Along the journey, I have also had the opportunity to visit Wollega. Moreover, my assignments have taken me to Harar, and I've diligently reported on elections in Jinka, South Omo, Gamo Gofa, and Gedeo (MG4, ETV newsroom, May 6, 2022).

The quotation highlights the challenges faced by journalists in covering remote regional states using traditional on-the-ground journalism. The representative from Walta TV also mentions his traveling experience to various parts of the country but have not been able to cover Tigray and Benishangul regions. This suggests that journalists may explore different directions within a country with diverse ethnic groups, either independently or based on editorial directives. Without sufficient support from editorial decisions and newsroom resources, their efforts may be limited in reaching a broad range of areas.

Journalists working in both private and government TV channels similarly refer to resource constraints as a major obstacle to covering diverse geographical regions. Despite their efforts, they face limitations in reporting from various locations. One interviewee in the ETV newsroom emphasized the importance of promoting diversity but cited limited resources as a significant

hindrance. Television production requires substantial financial investment to achieve extensive coverage in every region. The representative from Walta TV also identified resource limitations as a barrier to achieving greater diversity in news coverage. Overall, the interpretation is that despite recognizing the importance of diversity, insufficient resources pose a challenge to effectively implementing this objective in journalism.

There is a relatively open room for the media to accommodate diversity; however, this requires resources. We do not have adequate newsroom facilities, such as cameras for every one of us to gather stories from around the regions. As a result, we might be forced to use a single camera, taking turns to capture different stories (AK6, Walta TV, March 20, 2022).

Journalists often face managerial decisions that require them to convey additional news information beyond their primary responsibilities, as they utilize shared production facilities. Economic factors and market forces heavily influence organizational cultures and editorial choices. Newsrooms, constrained by economic conditions and limited resources, strive to access diverse news sources while keeping expenses low. However, economic pressures and editorial decisions can limit the diversity of news sources. Representing diversity in news reporting is crucial for sustaining pluralism, especially in multicultural contexts. However, newsrooms face organizational constraints that hinder their efforts in this regard. This concept aligns with Hardy's (2014) work on the connection between organizational structures, market competition, and the critical political economy of the media. The critical political economy of media examines the complex relationships between market forces and the production of media content in the industry.

Previous research indicates that prioritizing cost-effectiveness in news production can have negative consequences for representing diverse voices. Romano (2006) argues that managing newsrooms for efficiency in terms of cost and time can result in reduced portrayals of different issues, groups, and voices. Journalists may face pressures to deliver more news information, while being limited in conducting extensive fieldwork for gathering news. As a result, they may rely on news gathered from a specific area, which hampers diversification of news sources and content and limits the utilization of diverse professional expertise within the newsroom. This not

only affects journalists' familiarity with sources and their proficiency in multicultural media literacy skills but also hinders critical engagement with the content produced. Insufficient interaction with diverse local communities not only restricts source diversity but also contributes to biases and prejudices when reporting on diverse societies.

Security issues following conflicts in different parts of the country have hindered efforts to report from diverse geographic areas. This limitation appears to be influenced by the political interests of the government, as journalists are often prohibited from reporting on conflicts due to concerns about exacerbating tensions among ethnic groups. This sentiment was expressed by a Fana TV reporter in an interview on April 3, 2022, who stated that reporting on conflicts is often discouraged by editorial management. Berkowitz (2019) argues that the reporter-source relationship is shaped by journalism's professional ideology, bias, and power dynamics. In this context, the reluctance to report on conflicts could indicate a deliberate suppression of voices.

As a result, communities located in conflict zones continue to be underrepresented in the media. Arthur Atanesyan argues that contemporary media practices often prioritize violence and sensationalism, which hinders the potential for reconciliation (Atanesyan, 2020, pp. 1–2). While government-controlled news sourcing practices may aim to minimize harm, exclusive reliance on authorities' voices can lead to biased news reporting. Moreover, newsworthiness is determined by a small number of ruling elites and top-level editorial decisions that may not align with the values of diverse audiences. An interview with Fana TV's news producer reveals that there was a lack of sufficient representation diverse religious groups, ethnic cultures, and genders on television channels expressed as:

Government events, national policy agendas, and routine activities of public institutions are our usual assignments, from which we collect information either through directions from editors or by our own plan (AM1, Fana TV, April 10, 2022).

The quotation suggests that journalists often face limitations in determining what is considered newsworthy, and their loyalty to the ruling party and government institutions may influence their reporting. This phenomenon can be attributed to two main factors. Firstly, the political environment may restrict journalists' autonomy due to government censorship, press freedom

restrictions, or laws that limit critical reporting. These constraints affect journalists' independence in choosing and presenting news stories. Secondly, the government's control over the media landscape in Ethiopia allows them to shape the public narrative by influencing the selection and prominence of news stories. As a result, news outlets may prioritize voices aligned with the government's agenda, leading to limited representation of diverse social groups and their perspectives. An interviewee from a government TV channel (ETV) highlighted the influence of editors in shaping news coverage as follows:

Journalists have their own plans in their respective departments. However, they seldom practice as per their plans; they are interrupted by prearranged editors' decisions. Even though we emphasize issues of common national interest in newsrooms, the situation of the newsroom makes it difficult to satisfy diverse interests (TW2, ETV news reporter, May 6, 2022).

The quote suggests that journalists often face limitations in determining what is considered newsworthy, and their loyalty to the ruling party and government institutions can impact their reporting. The phenomenon described can be attributed to the influence of gatekeeping within newsrooms, which is often seen as a threat to the diversity of news coverage. Aujla-Sidhu & Aujla-Sidhu (2021) conducted an extensive interview-based study with BBC journalists, revealing the significant challenges journalists encounter in promoting diverse stories. The study highlighted how journalists frequently feel pressured to alter their original ideas to cater to the preferences of the majority population, consequently hindering their creative freedom. This pattern is also evident among Ethiopian journalists, who face discouragement in emphasizing ethnic identities in their reporting. Therefore, it can be inferred that gatekeeping exerts a significant impact on newsroom dynamics, potentially limiting the representation of diverse perspectives and cultural identities in the news. In fact, during one of the interviews on Ethiopian TV, a source confidentially revealed that “the organization had recently instructed journalists not to even report on research related to ethnicities” (ST5, ETV, May 6, 2022). This directive has had significant implications for the content the journalists produce concerning cultural identities. This is influenced by two key factors. Firstly, the political environment in Ethiopia may impose restrictions on journalists, such as censorship and limitations on press freedom, which hinder their autonomy in selecting and presenting news stories. Secondly, the government's control over

the media allows them to shape the public narrative by influencing which news stories receive attention and how they are framed. Consequently, news outlets may prioritize voices aligned with the government's agenda, leading to a lack of diverse representation and marginalized perspectives. An interviewee from a government TV channel (ETV) emphasized the significant role of editors in shaping news coverage.

When I was in South-western region, working as a journalist for community media, government officials and the residents used to criticize the national media for overlooking the local communities; recurrent media coverage is not supposed to be a problem. For instance, harmful traditional practices in such isolated areas could be exposed to the media. Reporting on such societal problems could have minimized them (HW3, Walta TV reporter, March 20, 2022).

The lack of television coverage in remote regions of the country prevents important community issues from being seen by the public, which hinders the media's ability to drive social change. At the same time, this situation disregards the legitimate demands of minority groups for fair representation in the media. Interview with TV newsroom journalists highlighted the challenges faced by news organizations having implications of critical political economy and diversity of news, particularly in terms of inadequate facilities, equipment, and financial support (AW3, ETV; MF4, Walta TV and HT6, Fana TV). These limitations impact the smooth functioning and quality of journalism, leading to overcrowded workspaces and limited access to resources. Editorial decisions are influenced by market forces, such as audience preferences and financial considerations, and journalists strive to balance commercial factors with their responsibility to provide accurate information. Also, language and cultural differences between sources and reporters significantly affect news reporting and interpretation. To address these challenges, news organizations should prioritize the employment of diverse teams with different cultural and linguistic perspectives. Clear ethical guidelines specifically tailored to reporting on conflicts are crucial for ensuring journalists' safety. Government control and politically motivated editorial decisions pose threats to journalists' autonomy and press freedom. It is essential to establish robust legal frameworks that safeguard freedom of expression, media independence, and the safety of journalists.

4.2.4 Issue Diversity

Diversity in the subject matter of news articles is essential for representing a variety of viewpoints, whereas diversity in news sources alone does not guarantee a diverse range of issues being covered. To truly promote diverse perspectives, news sources need to cover a wide range of topics. The concept of Media Agenda Diversity (MAD) emphasizes the importance of examining the diversity of issues covered by the media to foster representation of multicultural groups and promote diverse voices within society (Guo, 2019; Peter & de Vreese, 2003). According to Table 4, a significant proportion (17.4%, n = 203) of news broadcasts between 2019 and 2021 focused on national issues, emphasizing national identity and patriotism. This concentration aligns with the dominance of news stories in Addis Ababa and government institutions. However, this approach may neglect the concerns of specific interest groups in favour of nationwide priorities, potentially failing to meet the expectations and coverage needs of certain segments of the population. Mainstream TV channels in the central region face challenges in satisfying the diverse interests of their audience, particularly given the increasing preference for personalized, localized, and on-demand news content among local viewers (Peters, 2017).

Table 8: Percentage distribution of News stories by ‘Issues’ (N=1167)

Issues	Frequency	%
Political Issues	123	10.5%
Religious Issues	24	2.1%
Social Issues	68	5.8%
Economic Issues	169	14.5%
Foreign/diplomatic issues	159	13.6%
Gender Issues	33	2.8%
Science/education	52	4.5%
Pure Cultural Issue	36	3.1%
Minorities/Disabilities	12	1.0%
Topical National Issues	203	17.4%
Health Issues	99	8.5%
Peace, Security, and instability	189	16.2%

A significant portion of news coverage, about 16%, focused on peace, security, and instability, but many of these conflict-related stories exhibited biases towards certain labelled groups and lacked critical analysis of the negative consequences of conflicts. This bias was evident in the aftermath of the devastating war in northern Ethiopia and local ethnic conflicts, where blame was often placed on the Tigray Defence Forces and the Oromo Liberation Army without considering the latter's acceptance of this designation. Such biased reporting raises concerns about the role of multicultural news production in fostering multiculturalism and fails to acknowledge the importance of peace journalism in conflict resolution (Keeble, 2011). The distribution of news coverage across various topics was as follows: economic issues (14.5%), diplomatic issues (13.6%), political issues (10.5%), and health issues, particularly related to the COVID-19 pandemic (8.5%). However, the impact of the pandemic on rural areas remained a pressing concern, and news stories concerning minorities or disabilities were infrequently reported, comprising only 1% of the coverage. The portrayal of disability in the news media has become a significant topic of political discussion in countries such as the United States and Australia. This highlights the importance for the media to oversee and advocate for policies that protect the rights of marginalized communities to access public information and media (Ellis, 2020; Burns & Haller, 2015).

In general, the classification of news items according to the topics or themes discussed is primarily driven by its impact on the breadth of coverage across various societal issues, thereby influencing the representation of diverse groups within news narratives. It is imperative for the Ethiopian government to institute robust policies aimed at addressing disabilities. Media outlets need to be encouraged to conform to policies emphasizing diversities. Presently, specific policy frameworks concerning the integration of disabilities exists as a prerequisite for media licensure. Given the media's role in shaping public perceptions, mainstream television channels in Ethiopia are considered insufficient in promoting disability-related content. Interviews with journalists revealed a dearth of programs dedicated to disabilities. The data indicates inequity and a potential prioritization of national issues, peace and security, economic matters, and diplomatic affairs, which may contribute to a xenophobic narrative.

4.2.5 Diversity of Subjects in the News

The use of subjects in newsrooms is naturally influenced by the topics of interest to the newsrooms. However, determining what constitutes news becomes more challenging in a society with diverse and competing interests. In the context of this study, subjects refer to the entities or topics that the news media discusses. These subjects can be broadly categorized as public institutions, groups, or parties, local or regional communities, religious organizations, individuals, diplomats, farmers or agriculturalists, and political actors. Analysing the coverage of these subjects on mainstream television channels helped identify which individuals or entities received more attention.

Table 9. Percentage Distribution of subjects of news stories (N=1167)

	Frequency	%	Cumulative Percent
Public Institutions	413	35.4	35.4%
Group or Parties	134	11.5	46.9%
Local/Regional communities	181	15.5	62.4%
Religious Organizations	49	4.2	66.6%
Individuals	168	14.4	81.0%
Diplomats/Foreign countries	176	15.1	96.1%
Farmers/agriculture	22	1.9	97.9%
Political Actors	24	2.1	100.0%

The data presented in Table 9 shows that many news stories, specifically 35.4% (n = 413), featured public institutions as subjects. Following this, local or regional communities were represented in 15.5% (n = 181) of the stories. In contrast, progressive politicians were featured as subjects in a very small percentage of news stories, only 2.1% (n = 24). This discrepancy may be connected to the concern of radicalism and the potential consequences of societal disintegration. It appears that there was uncertainty when it came to diversifying news stories, and instead, an emphasis was placed on subjects associated with government institutions. However, this approach raises questions about the responsibility of mainstream TV channels in providing a platform for diverse voices. While prioritizing certain subjects, there is a risk of silencing other perspectives, which can have negative effects.

4.2.6 Gender Representation and Diversity in News and Talk Shows

Ensuring gender diversity is also of utmost importance when it comes to producing multicultural news. The topic of gender within the media has progressively grown more complex as advancements in gender-based liberation have occurred. This is indirectly linked to the scrutiny of gender disparities, which is an integral aspect of critical multiculturalism. Edström and Svensson (2023) note that gender equality is widely recognized on a global scale and is connected to both aspects of free speech, absence of censorship, and the inclusion of diverse voices.

Table 10: Percentage of Female Sources in Three TV Channels (N=1167)

Gender	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Male	192	16.5	16.5
Female	51	4.4	4.4
Both	924	79.2	79.2
Total	1167	100.0	100.0

Among 1167 news stories transmitted on three TV channels, only 4.4% (51) featured female sources, while males were used as sources for 16.5% (192) of the news stories. However, most news items (79.2% or 924) utilized both males and females as sources, indicating an attempt at gender balance. Challenges such as limited attention to gender issues, lack of awareness, and discomfort in interacting with female counterparts may have contributed to the underrepresentation of female sources in the TV newsrooms. Competency in cross-cultural interaction during interviews also played a role. Overall, these findings suggest that while efforts were made to include both genders, obstacles remained in achieving full gender representation.

Gender representation in news organizations can be influenced by societal perceptions. News organizations that prioritize equal representation of female journalists tend to promote multicultural perspectives. In the case of ETV news channel, men predominantly hold leadership roles, with only a single female journalist during each news hour. Walta TV and Fana TV shows more equal representation, with women frequently appearing as news anchors.

Figure 6: TV news anchors' representations in TV channels



The data indicates that EBC does not actively support female journalists in gaining screen time. Relatively, Walta TV and Fana TV give opportunities to women as news anchors alongside men, consistently featuring female anchors. Research by Byerly and McGraw (2020) shows that newsrooms globally are mostly male dominated, with male news presenters appearing more frequently than female journalists in the studied TV channels. The trend has been similar in newspaper industries (Vandenberghe, 2019). Studies also reveal that news teams are more diverse when minority individuals hold leadership positions (Richardson, 2022). Therefore, providing opportunities for gender and other minority groups in TV newsrooms would lead to a more diverse viewership, positively contributing to multicultural representations. Private TV channels in Ethiopia are making efforts to include women as anchors, while the government owned ETV news channel is falling behind in this aspect. Gender diversity in news stories is essential for multicultural production and is a significant concern within the framework of critical multiculturalism.

With respect to talk shows, on political and social issues, "Netsa Hasab" on Walta TV primarily focuses on male interviews, while "Fana Kelemat" on Fana TV tries to invite females to share their life experiences. However, discussions on Ethiopian TV's "Yegna Guday" appear to be gender blind in its format (one-on-many) where it presents male and female participants on

public discussions. It predominantly concentrates on national issues. Women participation in the national dialogues presented in Yenga Guday has been insignificant. It is worth noting that, apart from Fana TV, the producers of shows on Walta TV and ETV are also predominantly male. Interviews with journalists shed light on various factors contributing to the limited representation of women, including a lack of attention to gender issues, limited awareness of gender sensitivity, and varying levels of comfort when male and female journalists interact with sources of the opposite sex. These factors collectively contribute to the observed gender disparities, as both male and female journalists may exhibit hesitancy in cross-cultural interactions during interviews (Byerly & McGraw, 2020)., as similarly reported by the journalists interviewed in the TV newsrooms.

4.2.7 The relationship between Variables of TV contents

Pearson correlation was computed using SPSS to examine the relationship among constructs determining diversity of news. The results indicate there are significant positive and/or negative relationships and perfect relationships within the variables and insignificant in between the variables.

Table 11: Relationships within and between the variables (N=1167)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. TV channels	1	.021	-.021	-.026	.032	.422**	.017	-.013	.087**
2. Subjects of the news stories		1	-	-.002	-	.013	-.022	.000	-.052
			.148**		.167**				
3. Issues of the news stories			1	.033	.030	.029	-.042	.021	.062*
4. News Sources				1	-.023	.025	.053	-.010	-.007
5. Sex of subjects					1	.005	.084**	.010	.010
6. Sex of the presenter						1	-.041	-.006	.020
7. Music or ads within the news stories							1	.029	.029
8. Attitude towards the subject								1	-.014
9. Age group of the subjects									1

Perfect (r=1) relationship was found in the interior variables whereas some significant relationship was found in between some variables that are used to analyze what multicultural

media production looks like in different mainstream TV channels the perspective of news diversity. Even though there are no such strong relationships between variables, the correlation was significant at 0.01 ($p < 0.01$) and 0.05 ($p < 0.05$). The highest positive correlation was found between sex of the news presenters and TV channels at 0.01 level ($r = 0.422^{**}$), whereas negative correlation ($r = -0.167^{**}$) was observed between subjects used as a source and sex of the subjects, and ($r = -0.148^{**}$) between issues of the news stories and subjects. The lowest, but positive correlation coefficient ($r = 0.084^{**}$) was registered for the relations in instances of using music and ads within the news stories and sex of the subjects. This was followed by the relation between age group of the subjects of news stories and TV channels, ($r = 0.087^{**}$).

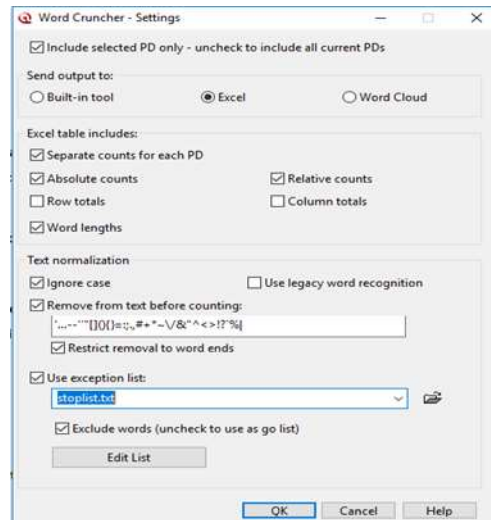
At 0.05 level of confidence ($p < 0.05$), significant correlation has been observed only in between issues of the news stories and age of the subjects indicating substantial relations between the journalist's choice of the issues for the news stories they produce and the age of the subjects on which the news stories are produced. Therefore, there is a positive relationship in between TV channels and gendered the news presentation, productions of advertisements and insertions of music and sex of subjects of the news stories and between age groups of the subjects of the news stories.

Negative relations were subsequent in between subjects used as a source and gender as well as issues of the news stories and the gender of the subjects. In this way, advertisers appear to be gender sensitive while the selection of subjects for the news stories could be considered as gender blind. As indicated in the interview with Fana TV channel journalist, "the advertisements are seasonal, and number of ads will increase during holidays than other regular days". This could be the reason for the positive relations of ads and gender of presenters as females are normally preferred to be an anchor during the holidays needing entertaining stories and unusual appearance in TV that characterizes the situation of media market and news production in TV channels' newsrooms.

The qualitative approach used the Word Cruncher tool of ATLAS ti.7 to identify the prominent languages used by three TV channels in their news stories. Out of the total word count of 34,776, 4,883 relevant words were selected for analysis. These 4,883 words consisted of 113 distinct vocabularies. The analysis specifically focused on significant words, excluding grammatical elements, connecting words, and vocabularies to focus on elements related to the research topic.

Among the chosen words, 'Ethiopia' was the most frequently mentioned, appearing 460 times and accounting for 4.6% of the selected words. Following closely was the term 'national' and its associated words like 'national interests' or 'nationalism,' which occurred 161 times, representing 1.61% of the selected words.

Figure 7: Word Cruncher on Atlas ti.7



The predominant focus of news headlines pertains to government officials (see appendix C). Notably, the prime minister, the President, and various regional officials and mayors garner the highest percentage of mentions. Concurrently, there exists a recurrent mention of several other noteworthy individuals in connection with these officials. This observation underscores a distinct emphasis placed on these figures within the news stories disseminated by specific television channels. The president of Ethiopia intermittently addresses societal issues, including those related to social inclusion and gender representation, thereby implying a focal point on diversity and inclusivity. Nevertheless, the depiction of certain groups within these news narratives tends to adopt a negative connotation, often attributing most violent incidents to these groups. Although concerted efforts are made towards political resolutions with an emphasis on peace and reconciliation, the overarching presence of radicalism and inflexibility has exacerbated the conflict. These factors could have potentially impeded the national unity and reconciliation efforts.

The idea of reconciliation gained attention in news stories, especially after anticipated political changes in Ethiopia in 2019. The government proposed establishing a national reconciliation commission to address political divisions and seek solutions. However, the outbreak of war has impeded the commission's independence and ability to facilitate negotiations, creating uncertainty about Ethiopia's unity as a diverse nation. As a result, mainstream television channels have shown bias in favor of the government and against opposition groups, resulting in an imbalanced representation of the conflict.

Several regions in Ethiopia, including Tigray, Amhara, Afar, Benishangul Gumuz, and Oromia, have gained attention as conflict zones. News coverage has specifically highlighted certain locations, such as Maikadira, where reported massacres of Amhara civilians by the TPLF/TDF armed groups have taken place. There has been an imbalance in the coverage, with a greater emphasis on socio-economic developments in the Amhara and Oromia regions, with some considerable negligence of the crisis in Tigray region. A frequency analysis reveals the repeated mention of words such as "government," "prosperity party," and "opposition parties," indicating a strong focus on the ruling party and a potential loyalty to the government (see appendix C).

Expressions reflecting a multinational or multicultural worldview in news stories have been reiterated to a limited extent, comprising only 4.39% of the selected sample. These expressions emphasize peace, tolerance, respect, coexistence, culture, diversity, unity, solidarity, stability, and reconciliation. Conversely, expressions conveying distrust towards multiculturalism account for 5.17% of the selected expressions, featuring terms related to security, killings, war, terrorism, division, conflict, brutality, and victory. Jargon related to social friction, struggles for righteousness, equality, democracy, protests, and referendums are mentioned to a minor extent, highlighting challenges in multinational governance. Expressions related to common historical memories and national issues, such as the "Adwa victory," nationalism, and patriotism, aim to promote multinational unity. However, most news stories incorporate divisive expressions overshadowing the limited efforts to foster unity. Consequently, TV channels face challenges in promoting harmony within society.

4.2.8 Framing of the News Stories

An analysis was conducted to determine whether the frame of the news stories was favorably or unfavorably inclined towards multicultural integration. The analysis focused on the language and tone used by journalists when constructing or framing the stories, with the intention of identifying whether the stories exhibited a positive or negative orientation. By employing sentiment analysis, which examines the polarity and strength of opinions expressed in text, the journalists' attitudes towards the subjects and issues they covered was highlighted on. This analysis not only provides an understanding of the journalists' perspectives but also carries implications for multicultural representation. News stories with a positive tone can indicate tolerance and respect, irrespective of the specific topic, while stories with a negative tone may perpetuate behaviors of intolerance, thereby undermining the media's role in fostering harmony and promoting integration within multicultural societies.

Table 12. Frames of the contents of News Stories (N=1167)

Sentiments	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Favorable Frames	819	70.2	70.2
Unfavorable Frames	153	13.1	13.1
Neutral Frames	195	16.7	16.7

Numerous news articles discussing peace and security issues have shown a tendency to use confrontational language. These articles, particularly those reporting on the actions and progress of the Ethiopian National Defense Force in the Tigray region, have employed offensive and derogatory terms like "Junta" to refer to the TPLF/TDF and "Shene" to describe the Oromo Liberation Army /OLA. Unfortunately, the use of such language has contributed to the escalation of devastating conflicts in various parts of the country, causing even intellectuals to question the ramifications of all this for social and political harmony.

The media's use of the term "Junta" to describe the TDF⁷ originated from Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's characterization of the group during his address to the Ethiopian people at the beginning of the war in Tigray in November 2020. Throughout the two-year conflict with

⁷ The Tigray Defense Forces (TDF) was referred to have been established in 2020 by former Ethiopian generals to oppose the federal government and its forces during the Tigray War, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Main_Page.

the TDF, the media echoed the Prime Minister's words, employing the term to imply the group's alleged involvement in war crimes, such as extrajudicial killings and the destruction of civilian infrastructure and private property in the Afar and Amhara regions. There are gaps in the investigation of these crimes by an independent third party, and the TV channels have not addressed the need for an investigation into this matter. However, the labeling employed by TV channels could be seen as a discursive strategy aimed at provoking war propaganda and attaining a psychological victory. It is noteworthy that these channels echoed this labeling without fully considering the potential consequences on conflicts among civilians and increased divisions.

After the peace dialogue between the government and the Tigray's TPLF was carried out in Pretoria, mainstream media were subsequently forbidden from using the term "Junta" in their reporting. This restriction aimed to foster a peaceful negotiation environment and encourage a more constructive and inclusive discussion. It is worth noting that in this study, only 13.1% (n=153) of the analyzed news content expressed unfavorable sentiments towards the subjects discussed. However, the dissemination of these negative elements by mainstream media has been echoed in various social and digital platforms. More than seventy percent of the news stories showed a positive stance against the identified issues, while 16.7% remained neutral. On the other hand, the mainstream TV channels (ETV, Fana TV, and Walta TV) have often employed the term "Shane" to negatively portray the Oromo Liberation Army (OLA)⁸, which was labeled as a terrorist organization by the Ethiopian council of ministers, alongside TPLF (TDF), on May 1, 2021. However, the Oromo Liberation Army (OLA) and its leader have consistently disassociated themselves from the name "Shane" in various interviews on alternative media, clarifying their faction's identity.

4.3. Evolving Discourses on National Integration

Since 2018, Ethiopian politics under Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed has undergone significant changes. However, his rise to power faced challenges, and the media discourse during his tenure has featured both optimistic narratives promoting peace and tolerance, as well as inflammatory narratives that challenge Ethiopian unity. Recently, the media discourse has shifted towards

⁸ Amnesty International reports that the Oromo Liberation Army (OLA), an armed group, opposes Prime Minister Abiy's reforms, seeing them as detrimental to the Oromo ethnic group. The OLA claims to operate independently from the OLF party leadership, with whom it has been disconnected since 2019.

divisive narratives that threaten multiculturalism, reflecting the escalating political instability and conflicts in different regions of the country. In the early time of his reign, Abiy Ahmed's commitment to peace and reconciliation was evident from the very outset of his inaugural speech on April 2, 2018, as highlighted by Muluken (2019). Following his rise to power, Abiy Ahmed wrote a book called "Medemer," Amharic word that translates to "synergy". This book served as a platform for his leadership philosophy and aimed to challenge the political ideology of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) known as "ethnic federalism."

According to MokkaDEM (2019), the implementation of reforms faces obstacles in a politically polarized environment, where achieving consensus and compromises is essential but challenging due to security concerns that may have influenced media narratives. MokkaDEM emphasized the need to prioritize addressing divisions within the ruling coalition, expanding political participation, combating corruption, and addressing economic issues before hastily pursuing national unity. Nevertheless, Abiy Ahmed gained international acclaim and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2019 for his notable achievement in initiating peace negotiations with Eritrean President Isaias Afewerki. This development has positioned him as a prominent advocate for peace and stability in the Horn of Africa. Media coverage surrounding his Nobel Peace Prize focused on assessing public sentiment regarding his successful efforts in securing a peace agreement with Eritrea.

Thus, he successfully influenced public opinion regarding his role as a genuine peace negotiator, a narrative that was frequently echoed by television channels. However, there were educated elites who had reservations from the start and expressed curiosity regarding the transparency of the peace agreement. Similarly, the public response to the Nobel Peace Prize drew criticism on social media regarding its authenticity. Although many perceived him as a symbol of peace, some individuals expressed doubts about the effectiveness of the peace deal with Esaias Afewerki in achieving stability in the Horn of Africa. As a result, the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Abiy became a subject of controversy among some opposition groups, while others demonstrated their support for his efforts. One indication of this controversy was Abiy's alleged refusal to respond to the media, which was reported by 'The Guardian' in an article published on December 8, 2019. The article mentioned that senior officials from the Norwegian Nobel Institute considered Abiy's response "highly problematic," highlighting the importance of

freedom of expression and an independent press as crucial components of peace.

Nevertheless, the Nobel Prize committee in Norway invited PM Abiy to be honored, recognizing his swift resolution of the longstanding deadlock between Ethiopia and Eritrea. They praised his ability to bring about change in the context of three decades of complex relations between the two countries. This sentiment was echoed by mainstream television channels starting from December 9, 2019. The depiction of Isaias Afewerki's first tour to key Ethiopian Cities as Addis Ababa, Hawassa, and Adama, signified the apparent settlement of the previous state of no peace and no war between the two nations. Prior to this, there had been little public exposure of the peace agreements, which were initially seen as deceitful. However, they eventually became public knowledge due to the intervention of Eritrean troops following the turmoil triggered by the assassination of Hachalu Hundessa, a renowned Ethiopian Oromo singer, as well as the subsequent conflict in the northern Tigray region.

Abiy employs unorthodox approaches to present himself as a genuine proponent of peace, and the news media was utilized as a direct conduit to amplify his messages. For instance, in one of his televised speeches, he draws parallels between his leadership approach and the crucifixion of Jesus, emphasizing respect and tolerance. He strives to unite diverse groups, such as politicians, freedom fighters, exiled figures, and public figures. He promotes inclusivity through political correctness, avoiding actions or language that could marginalize or discriminate against specific groups. He also used to hold back from immediate responses to offenses committed by different factions. On Christmas Eve of the 2019, Abiy showcases his leadership style rooted in respect and tolerance as expressed as follows:

When Jesus was leading the people of Israel, he emerged as a genuine spiritual leader. However, some individuals who misunderstood and perceived him to be an earthly king ended up inflicting brutal harm upon him. These individuals lacked heart of forgiveness and failed to truly accept Jesus. It was during this period, marked by the division among the Israelites, that the historical mistakes of humanity began to unfold (PM Abiy Ahmed on ETV news, January 7, 2019).

Although the speech had religious undertones and was directed towards Christians, the mention of Jesus' name was both symbolic and metaphorical, representing his aspiration to be honest

leader. Reference to those who saw Jesus as an earthly "king," was used as strategy to label and address certain groups critical of his leadership. In so doing, he positioned himself as a persistent leader who pardons corrupt politicians. Through this strategy, he aimed to garner public acceptance by trying to reveal his political personality. The mention of the division among the Israelites served as an argumentative tactic. He preached unity and encouraged people to adhere to the laws, raising concerns about divisions to evoke a sense of mutual respect among the Ethiopian populace.

Furthermore, he referred to the history of Christmas, specifically the story of the wicked actions committed by Herod the Great, who killed infants in Bethlehem. This reference was intended to resonate with Ethiopians, whose actions might lead to further violence and loss of life, highlighting their failure to grasp the true nature of the situation. For example, there was a news report on Walta TV about the alleged war preparations by the TPLF, involving retired generals who were training armed groups (look at the phrase "retired generals" in table 13). The mention of Herod the Great served as a metaphor for political leaders who opposed the sacred notion put forth by Prime Minister Abiy, who had previously presented himself as a genuine leader.

The Prime Minister's technocratic populist approach involved personally instructing appointed ministers to implement ambitious reforms and bring about political transformation. Technocratic populism is particularly beneficial in countries experiencing ideological conflicts (Mietzner, 2020). Televisions' portrayal demonstrated his strong commitment to supporting displaced individuals across different regions of the country. They extensively covered his Green Legacy initiative, characterized by large-scale tree planting campaigns that attracted significant crowds, symbolizing widespread consensus. On top of these efforts, national reconciliation has been a prominent topic in both private and government television channels, highlighting the establishment of numerous committees engaged in a nationwide dialogue. Ylönen and MokkaDEM noted that Abiy's rhetoric and the concept of Medemer (synergy) combined efforts to hold perpetrators accountable for conflicts in different areas, and these were used as strategies for reshaping a diverse and politically fragmented state (MokkaDEM, 2019; Ylönen, 2021). These decisions were identified as having far-reaching implications for the entire Horn of Africa region, given Ethiopia's central position.

4.3. Blending Negative and Positive Discourses: A Complex Narrative Landscape

Television news channels often presented ambiguous discourses, with news stories positioned between perspectives of peacemakers and troublemakers. They employed a mixture of phrases and statements that contained constructive languages, promoting unity, peace, and respect, as well as blameful, antagonistic, and hostile discourses. The constructive expressions were evident in the coverage of the 2019 Nobel Peace Prize, which some influential individuals argued had a positive impact on Ethiopia's image (as stated in the Table 13, ETV column). The table depicts the news subjects and perspectives addressed by TV channels during news segments, highlighting the use of argumentative approaches, assertions, and communication strategies that involve specific groups and their activities. In this context, all three TV channels consistently emphasize the idea of national unity using unexamined expressions or languages that pose a risk to multiculturalism.

Positive perspectives were communicated through reports featuring Adanech Abebe, the mayor of Addis Ababa City, as a source. The mayor's statements emphasized unity, peace, and hope, easing public concerns about conflict and insecurity (ETV channel's Column, in Table 13). The promotion of environmental initiatives, such as Muferiat Kamil's (the then minister Ministry of peace) visits to regional states like Afar, subtly conveyed optimistic messages that embraced multicultural societies. Presentations of dialogues involving elders and religious leaders prioritized peaceful negotiations. However, these narratives may have served to divert public attention from ongoing conflicts while simultaneously promoting public consensus (as indicated in the last column of the table showcasing employed argumentative and discursive strategies). News discussions combining positive and negative narratives highlighted the ambiguity in the language used to present peace, conflict, and insecurity during public campaigns aimed at integrating people in Addis Ababa City and other parts of the country.

Table 13. A blend of conflicting languages promoting peace and solidarity and discourses threatening multiculturalism

The news topics and viewpoints covered by television channels at news hours			Argumentations approaches, claims, and discursive strategies employed through reference to specific groups and their actions
ETV channel (1)	Fana TV Channel (2)	Walta TV (3)	
Gratitude for Ethio-Eritrean against Tigray Defense Forces (TDF) challenges.	Government forces received the surrender of one hundred OLA members.	Barbaric act of Mai kadra by the TPLF	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Commending the alliance against a common adversary. 2. Victory over OLA 3. Responsibility attributed to the opposing group.
Conflict ensued in the aftermath of Hachalu Hundessa's assassination. ENDF and Amhara Militia collaborating to defeat TDF.	<p>The enemy is fighting with its final chance to fight.</p> <p>The people of Addis Ababa hold TPLF responsible.</p>	<p>Churches serve as storage facilities for artillery.</p> <p>An ethnic conflict leading to civil war.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Spreading fear of conflicts 2. A fallacy combining fear and warning. 3. Attributing blame to churches. 1. Uniting against a common enemy through categorization. 2. The categorization of the public symbolizes their support for the government. 3. Providing clarification regarding the war.
EHRC's engagement and concern regarding human rights violations.	Adanech Abebe urges unity in opposition to TDF.	Public conference addressing peace and security.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Claims human rights violation 2. Mobilizing the masses to support government forces 3. The pursuit of national security
Gonder City people forum on peace and security	Afar security problem on areas captured by TPLF	Achieve peace through the eradication of terrorists.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dialogues for peace. 2. Propagation of fear. 3. Aspirations for self-fulfillment through labeling.
People from Tigray engaging in the looting of cereal crops.	The Amhara regional state, apprehensive of TPLF, advocates for unity.	Ethnic war	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Assertion lacking proof. 2. Concern over potential loss of war victory. 3. Characterizing the civil war as "ethnic" in nature.
The legitimacy of the election in the Tigray region.	Berhanu Jula asserts the destruction of TDF.	The assassination of Hachalu Hundessa.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Delegitimizing fallacy. 2. Assertions of victory. 3. Normative assertion.
The people of Metekel advocate for proactive prevention of conflict.	Brigadier General Kassaye Chemedda providing explanation on war.	I am uncertain if it is capable of communication after passing away.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Claims for alerting 2. Involvement in war 3. Fallacy referring to victory over TDF.
The people of Metekel express strong emotions regarding the conflict.	Residents of Burayu City rallying in support of the military and against TPLF.	Generals retired through illegitimate means.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Provocation of emotions. 2. Mobilization of the masses. 3. Backing for generals retired through illegitimate means (attribution).

Muferiat Kamil's visit to displaced individuals in the Gedeo Zone.	Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's appeal for a war against terrorism.	The massacre in Maikadira.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Normative assertion advocating support. 2. Pursuit of collective will through people's participation. 3. Inciting panic or fear.
Conflict with the TPLF.	Turmoil in Shashemene following the assassination of Hachalu Hundessa.	The incident in Maikadra.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Appeal for action 2. Triggering of conflict 3. Instilling panic
President Sahilework Zewdie emphasizes the importance of religious leaders promoting peace. The alliance between Metekel rebel forces and the TPLF.	Escalation of War Tigrayan individuals were aware of the incident beforehand.	The Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice party members are set to participate in the conflict. A single grave contained over 50 to 60 corpses.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Allocation of roles 2. Anxiety 3. Large-scale mobilization
The Tigray people have not experienced significant benefits from the TPLF. The damages can be attributed entirely to the TPLF.	I support the military (as a campaign). Identify those responsible for looting.	The unity between the OLF and TPLF. Women from Oromia are engaged in food preparation to provide support for the National Defense Force.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Apprehension among the factions 2. Misconception regarding ethnic discrimination 3. Cultivating a sense of victimhood and identifying an adversary.
TPLF officials engaging in power abuse.	Acts of extreme brutality in the Tigray conflict.	The unity between the OLF and TPLF. Our blood to our Defense Forces (as a campaign for blood donation).	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Misuse of authority 2. Fallacious endorsement of warfare and combatants 3. Apprehension regarding factional unity
Misinformation spread by international media.	Kite Tiri (Mass mobilization against Junta (TDF forces).	Seeking justice through armed conflict.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Allocating responsibility 2. Differentiating individuals 3. Expressing admiration for women's role in war
It is vital to take proactive measures in promoting peace among the Metekel people amidst conflicts. Cultural methods employed by the Metekel community to resolve conflicts.	War with a focus on law enforcement. The northern military division was subjected to a massacre carried out by the TPLF.	Remarkable achievements by the retired generals Retired former generals from the TPLF.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Civilian manipulation 2. Human rights violations fallacy 3. Psychological support during blood donation for Ethiopian military.
The regional states of Amhara and Afar have reached an	The Ministry of Peace pays a visit to Afar.	Shimeles Abdissa expresses joyous	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Attribution of blame to international news outlets. 2. Mobilization of masses for war and categorization. 3. Misrepresentation of justice.
			<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Security warning 2. Misrepresentation to authorities 3. Recognition.
			<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reference to traditional conflict resolution methods to overcome disputes. 2. Accusatory 3. Citation to attribute responsibility for chaos.
			<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Establishment of regional-level connections 2. Worries regarding the security of the Afar region

agreement to collaborate in enhancing their relations. A fresh security advisory for residents in various locations.		satisfaction in response to the triumph over TDF. Forced relocation in South Omo involving the Dassenech community. Backing the armed forces.	3. Misrepresentation of victory on war. 1. Anxiety 2. Resource-related disputes 3. Grouping victims by region
A tour of Lucy	There is an abundance of resources available, but no room for tolerance. Commemoration of the military massacre in the Northern region, one year later.		1. Emblem of the national solidarity 2. Homage to the military (persistent attribution of responsibility to the perpetrators). 3. Expressing support for the justification of the conflict.
TPLF bears complete responsibility for the turmoil in Tigray.	The Oromia Prosperity Party urges youth to support the government and defend against the Junta.	Backing the national defense force.	1. Attribution of blame and accountability 2. Regional mobilization of youth in support of the government 3. Endorsing armed conflicts.
The victory of Adwa symbolizes our shared achievement.	Protests erupt in various cities, accusing the TDF.	The TDF utilizes children for military purposes.	1. Emblem of the nation 2. Mobilization for accountability 3. Accusation in exploitation of children
Loss of innocent civilian lives in Aksum.	Conflict against TPLF, not Tigray populace; preparedness to combat TPLF.	Surrendered TDF groups allege forced participation in the war.	1. Propagating victimization 2. Separating armed groups from the populace 3. Claims of coerced affiliation
Aspiration for a peaceful, equitable, and democratic election	Restriction of movement on the roads in Guatsion, Tigray.	The action depicted as being against national interests.	1. Vision of the electoral process 2. Depiction of circumstances 3. TPLF's opposition to national unity.
The upcoming election in Tigray is deemed to be in violation of legal protocols.	Contraband is leading to a security problem.	The TPLF is engaged in power abuse.	1. There is optimism regarding the upcoming election. 2. A security advisory has been issued 3. Assigning blame for the situation.
People must unite to minimize destructions through unity.	Muferiat Kamil asserts that peace cannot be equated to silence.	Backing of the was a key factor in achieving triumph against the TPLF.	1. Statements advocating for unity based on moral or ethical standards. 2. Allusion to the ongoing conflict. 3. Advocating for further solidarity.
Promoting the Green Legacy initiative.	The state of emergency has proven effective in Afar, Amhara, and Oromia regions.	The TPLF forces have faced defeat.	1. Redirecting discourses to environmental concerns amidst the pressing security issues. 2. Acknowledging stringent measures taken. 3. Underestimating the power of the adversary.
Prevent the transmission of Covid-19.	The TPLF forces were expelled from Gaint.	The TPLF and Sudanese soldiers collaborated.	1. Allusion to the issue of health. 2. Signifier of triumph over the adversary. 3. Apprehension regarding a potential plot.
The Ethiopian Islamic Council pledges to uphold peace.	The TPLF's dissemination of false propaganda; we have	The TPLF factions (Junta) have been	1. Recognizing the role of religious organizations in fostering peace.

	never engaged in negotiations with terrorists.	eliminated.	
The residents of Addis Ababa commit to maintaining peace and security.	There is a negative perception of disability in Ethiopia.	The TPLF sustained itself for 27 years through illicit means.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Labelling of TPLF as terrorists 3. Underscoring the victory by downplaying the opposition.
Leaders extend their congratulations to Prime Minister Abiy for his Nobel Peace Prize victory.	They do not view the entitlement to compete for every job as a right.	The TPLF is providing support for the conflict occurring in Qimant regions.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Shifting the war narrative by emphasizing the importance of peace. 2. Addressing negative perceptions of disability. 3. Holding the TPLF accountable for property theft. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Engaging in celebrations for the Nobel Peace Prize. 2. Holding a pessimistic view towards disabilities. 3. Fear to the covert activities of TPLF within the community.
Orthodox synod calls on government for peace and security.	We were used as human shields to absorb gunfire.	TPLF fighters have been apprehended in the act.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Orthodox Church expresses its concerns regarding peace. 2. Instances of exploitation and violations of human rights. 3. Referring to the faction as alleged perpetrators.
Innocent people were being killed and properties were being looted by TPLF.	There were plans to disrupt the stability of the military.	PLF/TDF demonstrates a lack of regard for human life.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Attribution of responsibility for the destruction. 2. Strategic allusion to previous plans. 3. Expressing brutality exhibited by TDF.
TPLF had experience of organizing its own ruthless armed factions.	Afar residents denounce TPLF; Harari individuals condemn TPLF.	Acts of violence targeting women during the war.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Highlighting the brutality of TPLF. 2. Citing the widespread attribution of blame to TPLF. 3. Focusing on the advocacy for women's rights.

Note on the last Column:1=ETV, 2=Fana TV, 3=Walta TV

Portrayals of the campaigns as a Tour of Lucy as a national symbol, a fossilized bone collection representing a significant portion of a female species, have been utilized to foster unity among diverse ethnic, political, and religious groups. For instance, the "Lucy Peace and Love Tour" has been organized in regional states like Gambela, Afar, and Somali, where selected individuals symbolize Ethiopians and promote peace in conflict-affected areas. The commemoration of the Adwa victory has also been highlighted as a shared symbol of pride among Ethiopians. However, mainstream TV channels continue to raise doubts and pose questions about Ethiopia's status as the birthplace of human ancestors, casting doubts on the country's progressive, democratic, and inclusive ideals. These stories lack expressions that encourage multicultural interactions. While broadcasting positive news plays a crucial role in the government's efforts to unite Ethiopians, concerns about political instability persist.

On the other hand, Sahilework Zewdie, the president of the Ethiopian Federal Democratic Republic (EFDR), has consistently advocated for gender equality. Most of her discourses highlight gender inequalities at workplace and different social settings. For instance, in the news stories celebrating female pilots on Ethiopian Airlines (evening news aired by Fana TV, March 8, 2019), she emphasized that women pilots are not given special opportunities, rather equal opportunities to work alongside their male counterparts. This highlights her belief that women can perform at the same level of men, when provided with equal opportunities. Fana TV depicted President Sahilework's consistent emphasis on the necessity of ensuring equal opportunities across all sectors, highlighting the significance of establishing a fair and equitable environment for women to compete with men. Similarly, Crabill, Maddox and Beissel's (2023) study on online media revealed that prominent online news platforms focused on three main topics: women's and girls' opportunities in sports, legacy effects, and commercial advantages. The focus was to challenge the male-dominated fields of opportunity in Ethiopian socio-political culture. The president's efforts align with the understanding that gender inequalities can be deeply rooted and perpetuated in organizational structures, processes, and the design of work (Bishu and Headley, 2020). Despite the president's rhetoric and efforts, there is a lack of sensitive workplace policies regarding gender equality. Research suggests that this lack of sensitivity extends to Ethiopian newsrooms (Bethlehem and Tewodros, 2021).

President Sahilework Zewdie has also emerged as a focal point in the media's coverage of peace, particularly with regards to her passionate appeals to religious leaders and their pivotal role in fostering peace and stability. She consistently stresses the solemn duty of religious leaders to espouse and advocate for messages of peace and unity. A notable instance of her resolute stance can be found in a powerful speech delivered during the commemoration of the Ethiopian Religious Institutions Assembly's 10th anniversary in which she expressed that:

Religious leaders have historically played a vital role in promoting unity and independence in Ethiopia. They have been exemplars of tolerance and mutual understanding. Churches and mosques have served as powerful forces for bringing people together. However, despite these esteemed traditions, there are unfortunate instances of cruelty and inhuman acts perpetrated by a few individuals in present-day Ethiopia (ETV on March 12, 2021).

The president's speech, in referencing the historical roles of religious institutions in fostering societal integration, implicitly highlighted the current state of instability. Employing a strategy of predication, she presented herself as an experienced leader with insightful knowledge of the contribution made by Ethiopian religious institutions to peace and stability (as indicated by the phrase "as we know"). However, her discourses employ nominative and negative reference to present-day religious leaders, accusing them of acting callously. To maintain balance and acknowledge the enduring significance of these institutions, she employed a strategy of perspectivization. By referring to "Churches and Mosques," she alluded to the historical roles played by both Christian and Muslim religious institutions in promoting mutual respect among their respective followers throughout Ethiopia's history. In a similar vein, deputy Minister of Peace emphasized the influential role of religious leaders in touching the hearts of millions and expressed the government's readiness to collaborate with them in restoring peace to the nation.

In this quotation, the speaker employed a rhetorical technique aiming at mitigation as a responsible leader seeking support from religious organizations. By leveraging religiosity to connect with individuals on an emotional level, the speaker aimed to place significant importance on religious matters. As a result, the approach promoted peaceful coexistence and conflict resolution between the government and religious institutions in public dialogues. However, the news coverage of Hachalu Hundessa's assassination had the potential to worsen

conflicts and distrust among ethnic groups, despite the efforts of institutions. Overall, political leaders' narratives in primetime news combine national integration efforts with blaming specific groups, creating a negative tone.

4.3.1 Discourses Threatening Multiculturalism

Prime time news in the mainstream TV channels has been observed to prioritize sensationalism and conflict-oriented narratives, which may inadvertently contribute to the isolation of groups, potentially framing them as terrorists. The words cloud generated by the Atlas ti. shows that negative discourses are frequently used, posing a threat to multiculturalism. Newsrooms have increasingly adopted a framing approach that seeks to evoke public emotions by calling for peace and stability while condemning conflicts in various regions. Unfortunately, they sometimes resort to assigning ethnic labels, which exacerbate public distrust towards certain groups. An example of such news reporting is the broadcast by Fana TV on August 18, 2020, regarding the unrest in Shashemene, Batu (Ziway), and Chiro towns. These news stories, lacking critical moral considerations, can be seen as problematic to multiculturalism.

4.3.2 News Discourses on Conflicts

Mainstream TV channels often fail to consider the impact of disseminating sources' opinions during conflict reporting. For example, following the assassination of Hachalu Hundessa, a news report amplified eyewitness claims suggesting that the perpetrators in Shashemene targeted non-Oromo homes in retaliation. This framing classified the culprits as Oromos and attributed criminality to the entire ethnic group, fueling animosity and leading to anarchy as people sought self-protection. Such discourses created a perception of Oromos as threats to other ethnic groups and reinforced divisions between them.

In addition, television news, while reporting on conflicts, often neglected the importance of adhering to the journalistic moral value of minimizing harm. This oversight is evident in a study on conflict-sensitive journalism conducted in Egypt, Kenya, Serbia, and South Africa, which revealed a conflict between the journalistic norms of objectivity and the watchdog role, and what is deemed desirable in situations involving political instability, societal divisions, violence, and state interference (Lohner, Neverla, & Banjac, 2019). The argument in this study is that the

failure to uphold the moral principles of news making has had a detrimental effect on multicultural integration and transition to democracy.

The way TV channels reported the government responses to chaos might have exacerbated conflicts in the community. For instance, on 16th of December 2019, Fana TV aired a news segment featuring Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed addressing the public regarding the consequences arising from a conflict triggered by Jawar Mohammed's⁹ Facebook post. The post alleged the deployment of armed groups near Jawar's residence, resulting in acts of violence and disruptions to business activities and mobility in specific towns within the Oromia region of Ethiopia. Prime Minister Abiy adopted a discursive strategy of 'allocation' during his address, presenting a comprehensive assessment of the casualties across various cities and placing emphasis on the diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds of the victims. The objective behind this approach was to convey the message that individuals from all ethnic and religious groups had been affected by the conflict expressed as follows:

The documented fatalities throughout Ethiopia comprised thirty individuals from the Oromo ethnic group, twenty from the Amhara group, eight from the Gamo, two from the Silte, one from the Gurage, two from the Hadiya, one from the Argobba, and one unidentified. In terms of religious affiliation, forty were Christians, thirty-four were Muslims, and twelve belonged to other unidentified religious groups. As for the causes of these deaths, there were 76 fatalities resulting from clashes between perpetrators, while 10 deaths were attributed to military forces (ETV, December 16, 2019).

Fatalities were communicated with the aim of determining casualties based on their ethnic groups, employing discursive strategy of predication. The victims were depicted as innocent individuals who unintentionally gathered in a crowd. Subsequently, the Prime Minister's speech accused Jawar Mohammed of intentionally instigating the deaths through his plea for protection, utilizing a negative representation approach. However, this manipulative speech had the potential to classify casualties based on their ethnic backgrounds. Surprisingly, neither the Prime Minister

⁹ Jawar Mohammed is an Ethiopian political analyst and activist; leading organizer of the 2014–2016 Oromo protests who has been credited with toppling the incumbent government in February 2018.

nor the media seemed aware of the implications conveyed in the discourse. The significance of addressing the people was solely focused on highlighting the harm inflicted on Ethiopian citizens, disregarding the potential uncertainties among diverse ethnic groups. Consequently, while emphasizing the harm, the discourse failed to offer any solutions, evoking compassion without actionable remedies. Mitigation strategies were overlooked in the discourse. Consequently, presenting death tolls through ethnic categorizations may have misled the audience and potentially fueled conflicts among multiethnic groups.

Despite the existence of nationalist discourses, news stories often fail to impartially address individuals, ethnicities, political affiliations, and religious groups. Consequently, discourses that pose a threat to multiculturalism by inciting ethnic conflicts and emphasizing security concerns have become prevalent in news content, thereby propagating xenophobic ideologies. The conflicts that have arisen between different groups have progressively become difficult for the government to control. Table 13 provides examples of conflict-related statements and expressions of fear found in news broadcasts from three television channels at different times, indicating a consistent pattern of similar frames. These discourses possess the potential to undermine public consensus, as most news stories, particularly from 2020 onwards, have been saturated with narratives that instill fear of conflicts and security issues. While these discourses claim to address security concerns and rally support for military action against the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF) or Tigray Defense Force (TDF), they might be spreading fear and promoting war against different factions in Ethiopian society.

Table 13 reveals not only the prevalence of narratives that blend hostility with calls for peace restoration but also the consistency among TV channels in their framing and reporting approaches. Consequently, discourses promoting peace, tolerance, and respect are intertwined with narratives of fear and the war on terrorism. For example, both ETV and Fana TV reported on conflicts following Hachalu Hundessa's death, while Walta TV repeatedly covered the Maikadira¹⁰ incident. There is a common trend across all three channels to censure, wage campaigns against, and attribute criminality to the TPLF.

¹⁰ The Maikadira massacre was carried out during the Tigray War. It was carried out on 9–10 November 2020 in the town of Maikadira in the Tigray Region of northwestern Ethiopia. Responsibility was attributed to Tigrayan forces loyal to the Tigray People's Liberation Front.

4.3.3 Discourses of Counterterrorism on armed groups

In a statement released on May 1, 2021, by the Office of the Prime Minister, the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) and Oromo Liberation Army (OLA) were designated as terrorist groups. News reports conveyed this information. The Council of Ministers has officially designated two organizations as being accountable for carrying out attacks on civilians across different regions of the country over the past three years. The actions perpetrated by these factions align entirely with the definition of terrorism as stipulated in Article 3 of Proclamation No. 1176/2020, which focuses on the prevention and suppression of terrorism.

The argumentative strategy employed to persuade the public and the parliament relied on referring to previous attacks on civilians that had not undergone third-party investigations. Furthermore, there was no information provided regarding the legitimacy of the designation by the State court. As a result, the procedures followed in prosecuting the groups as "terrorists" and ensuring whether the designation met internationally acceptable standards were not unveiled. Consequently, the media played a role in legitimizing the Council of Ministers' decision, while the voices of oppositional groups remained unheard, revealing a distinct hegemony of the ruling party.

Furthermore, there were discourses characterized by cynicism towards peace and stability, particularly in relation to the conflicts that arose following the assassination of Artist Hachalu Hundessa. It is also worth mentioning about the discourses sought to delegitimize the elections held in the Tigray regional state. These discourses shared elements that obscured the relationships between the Tigray regional state, certain nationalist groups in Oromia, and the federal government, ultimately leading to deadly conflicts. In general, news discourses focused on the belligerent factions involved in instigating conflicts, namely the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), and rebel groups in Benishangul Gumuz. These discourses aimed to portray these groups as lacking a genuine commitment to the well-being of the people they purportedly represent, thus undermining their sense of humanity.

The Ethiopian government placed great importance on its relationship with Eritrea to secure victory against the Tigray Defense Forces (TDF), as indicated in the ETV channel's column. While support for the Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF) extended beyond the Amhara region, there was significant collaboration between the ENDF and the Amhara militia. The

Ethiopian Human Rights Council expressed concerns regarding human rights violations during the war, while from the government side, the war was framed as a ‘pursuit of justice’, as depicted in the Walta TV channel's column. Some groups perceived the conflict as primarily driven by ethnic divisions, despite the government's portrayal of it as a war against TPLF "terrorists," as presented in the Fana TV channel's column. As a result, the TV channels delivered biased reports that depicted the opposing armed groups negatively and presented the federal government in a positive light, framing the war as an act of justice.

Likewise, the discourse presented on the Fana TV channel consistently aimed to discredit the Tigray Defense Forces. This was evident through the channel's efforts to attribute civilian deaths, such as the mass killings in Maikadira, to the Tigray Defense Forces. Furthermore, there was significant emphasis placed on highlighting the support from youth across various regions of Ethiopia and portraying the conflict as a successful outcome achieved through mass mobilization. These discourses were strategically employed to undermine the power and reputation of the TPLF by asserting that the armed groups had been effectively neutralized. Notably, certain individuals, including the former Minister of Peace, Muferiat Kamil, made calls for peace, but these appeals seemingly served as a deceptive means to rally public support for psychological warfare against the TPLF. Despite intermittent attempts at peaceful negotiations and the use of impartial language, these campaigns appeared to perpetuate hostility. Overall, public reactions to the war, particularly when addressing people in different regions like Afar and Amhara, were characterized by a prevailing use of reproachful language.

Furthermore, the Walta TV channel also disseminated propaganda aimed at denouncing the TPLF and promoting public unity against the faction. This was accomplished through the utilization of campaigns that incorporated national patriotic songs, which were interspersed between news stories as:

*ሆ ብዬ እመጣለሁ ሆ ብዬ በደል
ድሮም የአባቴ ነው ጠላትን መግደል*

A potential English translation of this poem could be read as follows: "I shall return victoriously, for it is inherent in my paternal heritage to defeat the enemy." It portrays Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) as the enemy and the Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF) as patriotic defenders nurtured by their predecessors. While the poem incorporates

cultural symbolism of patriotism, its primary purpose appears to be the elicitation of public sentiment in support of the government. Furthermore, it evokes concerns regarding insecurity, population displacements, widespread support for the ENDF within Oromia and other regions of the country, as well as the condemnation of individuals suspected of supporting the government-labeled "terrorist"¹¹ elements in areas like Welkait. The song draws attention to instances of violence against civilians and women, alongside the pursuit of justice and triumph over areas occupied by the Tigray Defense Forces (TDF).

The Tigray election has been widely portrayed as lacking legitimacy, leading to highly polarized discourses among television channels. Consequently, these channels have become propagators of war propaganda, obscuring objective accounts derived from unbiased reporting of conflicts. As presented in the discourse classification table, one encounters a blend of separatist instances that specifically target the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF). Furthermore, the narratives attribute material destruction and human rights violations primarily to the TPLF. The stories often revolve around mobilizing support against the TPLF, highlighting the Ethiopian government's alliance with Eritrea and interregional cooperation as strategies for achieving victory in the war. Consequently, the discursive constructions employed in these narratives confer righteousness upon the government's side and the war itself. They aim to evoke public sentiments that portray the war as a justified intervention against the historical tyrannical and corrupt rule of the TPLF, placing the blame squarely on the TPLF, which appears to be portrayed as a dominant force in Ethiopia, depriving others of power and influence.

4.4 Multicultural Discourses in TV Talk Shows

This section focuses on examining genres other than news stories, specifically television talk shows and similar programs that involve one-on-one or one-to-many discussions. The aim was to analyze how these shows represent multicultural society and multicultural values. Compared to news reports, television talk shows were considered a more effective genre for facilitating public discourse on cultural, political, and socio-economic issues. Eighteen hours of TV shows from

¹¹ Ethiopia's parliament removed Tigray rebel party from terror list on March 22, 2023. The house has approved the decision to lift the TPLF's terrorist designation with a majority vote. <https://www.france24.com/en/africa/20230322-ethiopia-s-parliament-removes-tigrayan-rebel-party-from-terror-list>.

three different channels (ETV, Walta TV, and Fana TV) over a three-year period (2019-2021) were selected for analysis. The selected shows were "Yegna Guday" (Our Concern) on ETV, "Nesta Hasab" (Free Thought) on Walta TV, and "Fana Keleamat" (Fana Colors) on Fana TV.

"Yegna Guday", meaning "Our Concern" is a TV program that brings together individuals from diverse backgrounds to discuss cultural, political, economic, and social perspectives, aiming to address community issues and explore solutions especially on nationalism and nation building. "Fana Keleamat" combines entertainment with socio-economic realities, reflecting the views of different societies or social classes, symbolizing the diverse range of topics addressed. "Netsa Hasab" focuses on political matters and critical public issues, encouraging thoughtful deliberations on political parties, public officials with relatively free expression of opinions. These programs provide distinct platforms for public engagement and intellectual discourse, emphasizing comprehensive problem-solving, integrating socio-cultural realities, and encouraging unrestrained thought and insightful discussions.

Table 14. Summary of the areas of focus in TV channels' shows

TV Channels	Names of the shows	Episodes	Format	Issues deliberated	Area of focus	Multicultural Values Learnt
ETV	Yenga Guday	6 shows	One-on-Many communities' dialogue	Public Affairs, Political issues, Development and Social Issues	Public issues such as, Politics and governance, Policy Issues, elections, and democratic development, and societal progress, subjects of social community development issues	"Yegna Guday" primarily aimed to promote political correctness and foster national reconciliation by encouraging public engagement in discussions.
Walta TV	Netsa Hasab	6 Shows	One-on-One Talk show	Public Affairs & Politics with political parties	Citizenship federalism, Ethnic federalism, Nation building, Ethnonationalism, Constitutional amendment, election and Democracy	National unity, Ethnic political concerns, Diversity or unity
Fana TV	Fana Keleamat	6 Shows	Mix of One-on-One or One on Many shows	More of socio-cultural issues Family cultures, Celebrities	Gender, Social issues, Family life, Youth and Children	Intercultural, gender sensitive, diverse groups representation

4.4.1 National Issues on ETV's Yegna Guday Show

"Yegna Guday" is a public discussion program broadcast on ETV in a one-on-many format. Its primary purpose is to facilitate deliberations and public debates on current issues by inviting representatives from various sectors, professions, and areas of expertise. According to Coleman (2013), television has a remarkable capacity to blend elements of popular culture with concepts important for democratic public discussion. This capacity allows shows like "Yegna Guday" to address national issues by integrating indigenous cultural solutions. The show is moderated by a journalist who guides the discussion on topics related to politics, social affairs, culture, religion, and unresolved conflicts of public concern. Expert perspectives are often presented to drive the discussions, and participants are invited to express their views through turn-taking. The agenda for these discussions is typically influenced by the ruling party, which utilizes the public media platform to moderate public dialogue.

Political Reform: Since 2018, political reform has been a significant agenda for the Ethiopian government. In one episode of "Yegna Guday" (Our Concern), Episode #1," the focus was on the crucial role of comprehensive reform and the involvement of stakeholders from various government sectors and political party representatives. The program focused on the necessity of nationwide reform and the inclusion of diverse perspectives and political ideologies, which were represented by participants from different interest groups. Yegna Guday's engagement in political reform resonates with the changes brought about by the media, as stated by Cottle and Rai (2006). The media plays a pivotal role in providing a platform for public expression and discussion of modern forms of change. The program categorizes the challenges Ethiopia faces in its nation-building process. The discussion highlighted the perceived difficulty in achieving public consensus on nationalism and fostering synergy among politically, culturally, and religiously diverse groups in Ethiopia.

The discussions on "Yegna Guday" center around both internal and external factors that pose challenges to Ethiopian national unity. Participants from various sectors, including the House of Peoples' Representatives, political parties, civic societies, and youth, engage in deliberations that primarily focus on the challenges and opportunities of a diverse society. The failure to achieve desired outcomes in media deliberations can be attributed to external factors such as the lack of autonomy in civil rights institutions, media, and civil society. The discussions in Yegna Guy

show emphasized the importance of advocating for the freedom of democratic institutions. Internal factors contributing to the erosion of trust within the diverse society were also addressed. These were failures to realize democracy, limited sense of belongingness among political parties, and inadequate enforcement of rules and regulations within public institutions like the military and security forces. In addition, challenges within political parties themselves were recognized as obstacles to the government system. The discussions explored potential mitigative approaches, including the development of a democratic culture and the participation of representatives to harmonize democratic institutions as part of structural political reformation.

In this episode, factors hindering multicultural unity, democratic shortcomings of the EPRDF, interest-based coalitions among political parties, slower progress in developing democratic culture, challenges in the federal system's pursuit of multiethnic integrations, and limitations on freedom and execution of justice are highlighted. The discourse also drew attention to historical divisions within the EPRDF as lessons to be learned from, emphasizing the importance of diverse societies coming together to establish democracy. The show portrayed the EPRDF as a corrupt political organization claiming central power, aggravating disintegration. This depiction served as a signal for the EPRDF to distance itself from the progressive reform ideology that was embraced by Abiy Ahmed.

The show also emphasizes the significance of diverse representation as a means of fostering democratic reform. It recognizes that the sluggish progress in democracy can be attributed to internal structural deficiencies, as well as certain responsibilities placed on opposition political parties. The show underscores the idea that democracy can be achieved through deliberation, wherein problems are identified, and specific solutions are proposed to address prevailing issues. According to Iftikhar et al. (2020), when the public engages in deliberations, it results in the development of public opinion regarding matters that are of importance to the public. This opinion, which is shaped through interactions and discussions, is then considered in making decisions that are intended to benefit the public. The show emphasizes the criticism of EPRDF's ethnic federalism as a factor that hinders the achievement of multinational integration. Mengistu (2015) argues that post-1945 ethnic federal arrangements have generally demonstrated success. Nevertheless, the show's inclination towards deliberating extreme perspectives may impede the

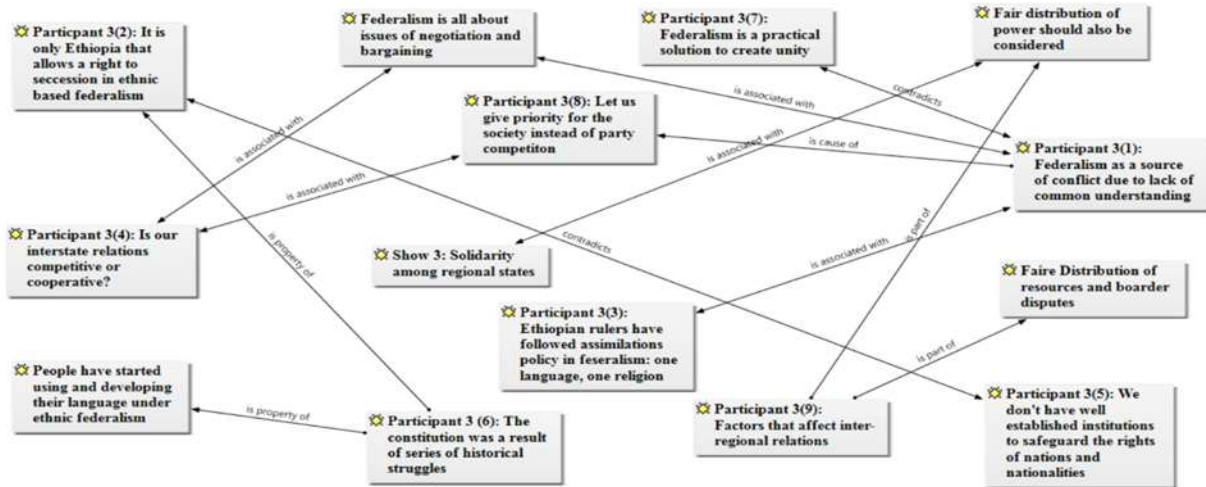
inclusion of critical viewpoints from moderate individuals and hinder the potential for reaching a national consensus.

In addition, the absence of independent democratic institutions such as civil rights advocates, independent media organizations, and a national electoral board raises concerns about the fairness of the discussions held. There has been extensive dialogue surrounding the public demand for holding corrupt officials accountable through legal proceedings in the aftermath of the collapse of the EPRDF. Nonetheless, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed has adopted a discourse of tolerance, utilized moderate language and expressed compassion towards those implicated in corruption. Furthermore, the discussions in Yegna Guday have primarily focused on the pursuit of multinational unity, seeking solutions to the current challenges and urging political leaders to fulfill their responsibilities. The program places significant responsibility on influential organizations and leaders, particularly the ruling government, to actively strive towards achieving multinational unity.

Interregional Solidarity: In the second episode, the issue of solidarity among different regional states was portrayed as a pressing concern. During the Ethiopian reform in 2018, media organizations have actively engaged in mobilizing people towards democratic dialogue and reconciliation. One such initiative that emphasizes the importance of interregional unity was ETV's Yenga Guday. Natalie Fenton (2008) emphasized the significance of solidarity in building a functional political community when society is perceived as fragmented, and this program represents that effort. The show brought attention to the critical role of interregional solidarity in addressing the tense political climate in Ethiopia. The program's agenda setters emphasized the significance of cultivating mutual understanding among regional governments. Kellner and Share (2005) characterize this role as an essential form of media literacy that provides a framework for instructing people in critical solidarity and the ability to articulate their viewpoints effectively. The discussions among participants underscored the necessity of establishing a common understanding concerning the fair distribution of resources and the resolution of border disputes in various regions of Ethiopia. Yenga Guday provided a platform not only for regional governments to engage in dialogues on shared political interests and negotiate differences among multinational states, but also to assert the autonomy of regional governments in addressing their political challenges, including border disputes, through

democratic mechanisms and this is crucial to create a democratic multicultural environment based on inclusive political environment.

Figure 8: Discourses of inter-regional Solidarity



The forum, unfortunately, falls short of its intended objectives as participants often express overlapping, unconstructive, uncertain, and occasionally antagonistic viewpoints. Consensus is seldom reached, particularly concerning the issue of federalism, which remains a significant point of contention among Ethiopian elites. The diagram provided indicates that participant 3(1) holds federalism responsible for causing conflicts and impeding mutual understanding. This highlights the dialectical nature of the divergent perspectives on federalism, with proponents viewing it to attain national consensus and inter-regional solidarity, while critics argue that it serves as a source of conflict. However, the argument against federalism as a cause of conflict is flawed, as it incorrectly attributes the absence of mutual understanding and the failure to cultivate a harmonious society to an inherent philosophical flaw in federalism itself. Consequently, the notion that denounces federalism as a source of conflict is countered by contrasting discourses that perceive federalism as a pathway to achieving solidarity.

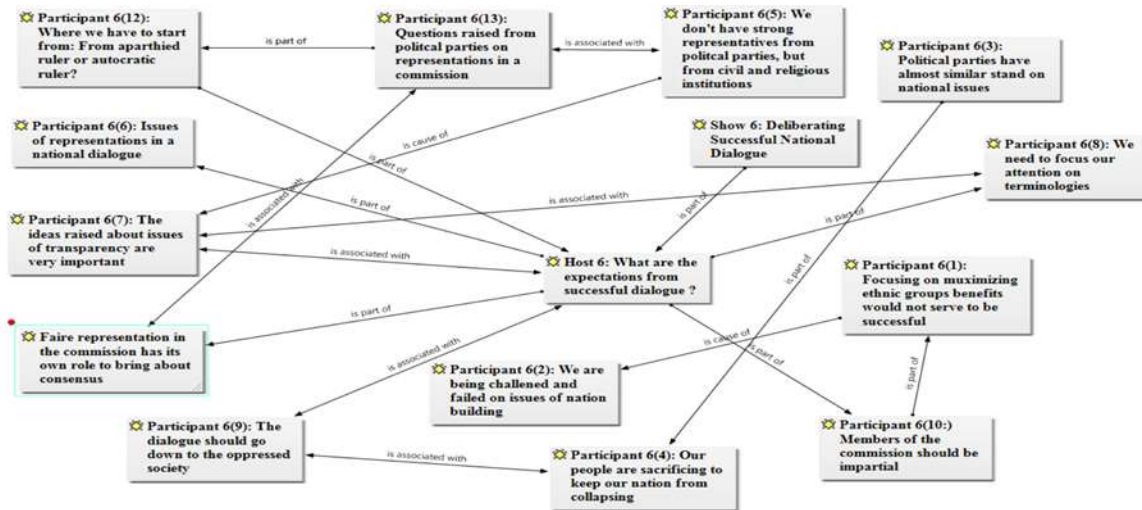
Moreover, there is a tendency in discourses to prioritize competitive relations between states rather than cooperative ones, which contradicts the primary objective of the forum, namely, to promote inter-regional cooperation. Instead, it fosters competition among influential groups, thereby increasing the likelihood of conflicts between regional states. Davies, Pettersson, and Öberg (2023) highlight a growing trend of conflicts at both the international and intrastate levels,

where major powers support opposing factions. They illustrate this with the example of the conflict between Ethiopia and the Tigray regional state, which involves international powers. If the media fails to encourage dialogue between the conflicting parties, the involvement of these powers will further exacerbate the situation. Therefore, it is crucial to emphasize the significance of normative media discourses in such scenarios. In this program, the concept of 'federalism' has been simplified to prioritize 'negotiation and bargaining' to align the discourse with normative principles. This approach seeks to simplify the complexities associated with understanding federalism by framing it as a process of peaceful concessions and bargaining. However, it is important to note that negotiations and bargaining alone are insufficient for achieving multinational solidarity; they can only serve as tools toward that goal. In this regard, public forums conducted in the media are perceived as platforms to promote solidarities through the negotiation of border disputes, addressing issues of unfair resource distribution, and respecting the autonomy of regional states

National Dialogue: very similar to Episode 2, Episodes 3 and 4 focus on the significance of solidarity among regional governments in achieving multinational harmony. The discussions emphasize the need for a national dialogue, with an emphasis on selecting representatives to ensure fair representation of diverse groups. Participants highlight the positive outcomes of national dialogues in 34 countries, including 18 African nations. However, this view is challenged by references to Ethiopia's historical political transitions. The lack of substantial national dialogue has sparked a debate between optimists and skeptics who doubt the success of such dialogue due to past failures. Even though the media cannot provide a clear blueprint for a successful representative dialogue that could lead to national consensus, the discussions are essential in exercising democratic discussions through the media.

evidence. The nation building initiatives and programs by the government remained unclear raising concerns of trust.

Figure 10: Discourses of possible ways for effective national dialogue



Ongoing conflicts in different parts of Ethiopia challenge the notion that trust, and determination can save the state from collapse, making the likelihood of a national dialogue unrealistic. Concerns of participation or inclusion of civil rights organizations are among the issues critical to representation for fair dialogue. Fair representation within the Commission of National Dialogue is seen as rights of political parties, with the expectation that the commission will genuinely represent the Ethiopian people. Transparency, historical problems such as references to apartheid and autocratic rulers, reflect pessimistic views. "Apartheid" refers to a period of discrimination by rulers based on ethnic groups, while "autocracy" represents the control of the public sphere by a small group of political elites who assert authority over the fate of the diverse Ethiopian population. This cynicism aligns with historical injustices and failures in the nation-building process in Ethiopia. Overall, these discussions highlight the complexity of the national dialogue, challenges in representation, transparency, and the need for positive language to foster unity.

Maladministration of Land as a source of conflict: Episode 5 is essential for multiculturalism as it highlights the issues of land mismanagement in Addis Ababa and the impact it has on different ethnic groups and communities. Discussing the unfair distribution and maladministration of land, it brings attention to the displacement of people from their original

land without adequate compensation, emphasizing the need for inclusive national solutions. The discourse also underscores how urban land has become a breeding ground for corruption and political influence. The text was essential for multiculturalism as it demonstrates how systemic issues can affect marginalized communities and perpetuate inequalities. By identifying factors such as population growth, unemployment, rural-urban migration, and lack of clear boundaries between urban and rural lands, the text acknowledges the complex interplay of various factors that contribute to social crisis. The discussion recognized the importance of involving diverse communities and stakeholders in decision-making processes, promoting inclusivity and multicultural perspectives. Therefore, this critical analysis is essential for multiculturalism as it encourages the examination of power dynamics and the need for fair representation and accountability.

Cultural imperialism: In the show transmitted on August 6, 2019, the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation, in collaboration with the Culture and Tourism Office of Addis Ababa City, organized a forum on how to integrate to fight against cultural imperialism. The forum specifically aimed to address concerns regarding the negative influence of foreign cultures on the younger generation in Ethiopia. During the discussion, an educator specializing in Oromo culture and folklore at Addis Ababa University, Tilahun Talila (PhD) shared an initial perspective, emphasizing that practices imported from the West do not bring any value to Ethiopian students. He highlighted that culture is a dynamic aspect of people's way of life, subject to change over time. In addition, educator of Psychology from Addis Ababa University, Mulat Asnake (PhD) contributed to the discussion by pointing out that “addictive behaviors related to use of substances, such as drugs, smoking, chewing, caffeine, cannabis, and cocaine, have been associated with Western culture”. However, the professor’s discourse fails to consider the intersections between individual interests to modernity and Ethiopian cultural values. The discursive practices in this show underscored the significance of culture and positioned the youth as symbols of progress and agents of development, motivating them to overcome their addictions. Ultimately, the text promotes a harmonious coexistence of different cultural identities and a shared commitment to preserving Ethiopian traditions and values.

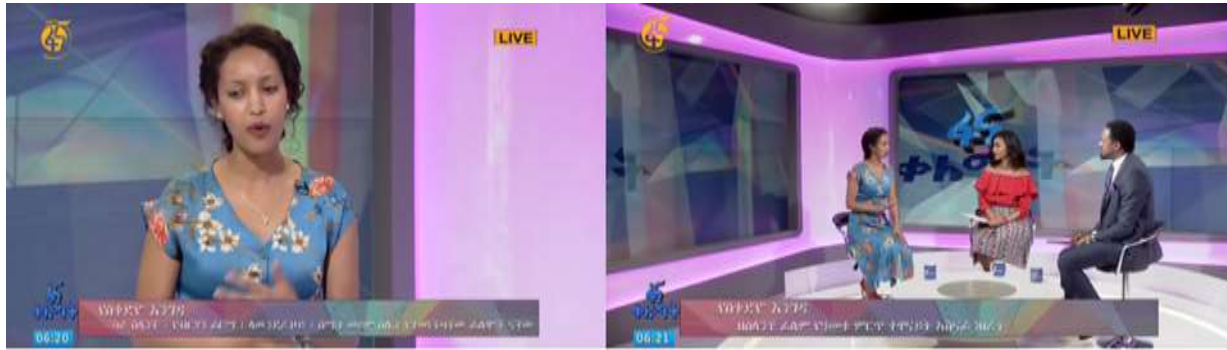
4.4.2 The Fana Kelelat Show

Fana Kelelat is a versatile television program that incorporates various formats, such as intimate

one-on-one discussions and engaging group conversations. It not only showcases individuals' life skills and captivating adventure stories but also presents exemplary families whose experiences offer valuable insights on socio-cultural values. In a randomly selected episode of Fana Kelemat, the television program featured the life experiences of Sayat Demessie, a renowned actress, model, and fashion designer. In 2019, Sayat gained further acclaim with the release of her critically acclaimed song titled "Eskesher," which served as a catalyst for her appearance on the Fana Kelemat show. The episode focused on her accomplishments and delved into her persona, providing an analytical examination of gender-related issues. Sayat consistently takes a leading role in advocating against discrimination faced by women and girls. It is noteworthy that the topic of gender equality falls within the purview of multiculturalism studies. As Tuori (2007) asserts, gender equality and multiculturalism exhibit distinct relationships with the nation. Gender equality is regarded as an inherent component of the nation, whereas multiculturalism is perceived as an external challenge.

In this program, the portrayal of the actress as a proficient artist and socially engaged individual conveyed the message that women possess equal capabilities as their male counterparts, excelling in various professional and personal endeavors. However, the actress critically highlights the detrimental impact of Ethiopian movies in depicting women, shedding light on the specific characters crafted by scriptwriters, which in turn reveals underlying negative cultural attitudes prevalent in Ethiopia. Her discourses highlighted that a significant majority of female characters in Ethiopian films are inaccurately represented, perpetuating flawed and misguided portrayals. According to her, "Ethiopian movie scriptwriters give the females an extraordinary and exceptional perspective that portrays them as beautiful girl with long hair, and traditionally dressed girl." This portrayal not only distorts the image of Ethiopian women but also reduces them to objects of sexual desire. Consequently, this observation points towards the "immaturity" of the scriptwriters, emphasizing the need for their transformation in understanding and depicting diverse female characters more accurately. As women's rights advocate, she offers insights on gender biases and misrepresentations of women portrayed in Ethiopian cinema. Jansson and Calderón-Sandoval (2022) contend that despite the implementation of gender equality policies in Sweden and Spain, the film industry continues to perpetuate a male-dominated norm. It is important to highlight that Ethiopia currently lacks any policies on film industry that effectively address gender equality and multiculturalism.

The actress as woman facing societal pressures manages the impressions she makes as a public figure while prioritizing others' well-being. She demonstrates courage through the Amharic phrase 'Kilet Birke Aydelem,' signifying her resilience against societal attitudes towards women and her determination to bring about change.



Actress, Singer & Model Sayat Demissie on interview, October 27, 2019

(Screenshot by the author)

Moreover, she expresses her personalities as follows:

“I am fearless of making mistakes; I respect others and recognize their rights, identities, as I would like to be modest” (Sayat Demissie, Fana Kelemat Show, October, 27, 2019).

She presents herself as someone who can connect with people from all walks of life, regardless of her own social status, driven by a strong sense of morality, signifying her intercultural competence and sensitivity. Then she narrates the story of her leadership role in a project that focuses on improving women's sanitation and education as follows:

The project's objective was to eradicate societal taboos surrounding menstruation and address the sanitary needs of girls. In Ethiopia, the purchase of sanitary pads is kept confidential, while harmful items like cigarettes and alcohol are openly sold. Menstruation, a natural process beyond our control, is treated as a hidden topic. While bleeding from other body parts is accepted, menstrual blood on clothing is considered offensive (Sayat Demissie, Fana Kelemat Show, October, 27, 2019).

The quote emphasizes the negative impact of societal pressures on girls in Ethiopia, resulting in their absence from school for around a week during their menstrual cycle for which she established a project to raise awareness about menstruation among females, using the slogan "Every Queen Bleeds". The slogan conveys the value of women and their power in a society. It aims to normalize menstruation as a natural occurrence and challenge regressive attitudes. The comparison between purchasing sanitary pads and cigarettes illustrates the biased representation of Ethiopian women in society. The show highlights her advocacy for gender equality, access to education for girls, and the elimination of stereotypical portrayals of women. She also shares her experiences as a Youth Ambassador in the African Union, asserting that African identity has been influenced by the West. The classification of Africans based on skin color and the use of certain languages to depict them align with Western preferences. She expresses that:

Africa confronts challenges in providing essential needs like education, healthcare, and housing. Issues like poverty, conflict, illiteracy, and disease persist. Efforts are necessary to combat poverty, challenge stereotypes, and promote Africa's diverse culture and identity (Sayat Demissie, Fana Kelemat Show, October, 27, 2019).

According to this quote, Africa has two realities: diverse culture and language that, if united, can promote economic and political solidarity, and the reality of poverty and conflict that challenges development. In a nutshell, the show highlighted the actress's speeches, which brought attention to the wider socio-political and economic obstacles that hinder gender equality, unity, and diversity.

In a similar vein, (Episode #2) portrayed a gendered story of a young girls struggling for survival through street selling narrating her strength, courage, and resilience, positioning her as a role model for others facing challenges. Yet, the story also depicted the negative impact of the socio-cultural environment on Ethiopian girls as she describes the life-challenges she faced including economic, psychological, including theft, and miscarriage from the customers. She also experienced physical confrontations and felt the burden of gender-based discrimination. Despite these hardships, she demonstrated resilience and intercultural capacity. Her story emphasized the need for societal changes to improve the lives of females. Overall, the episode shed light on the complex realities and obstacles faced by marginalized individuals in their pursuit of a better

future in Ethiopia.

In Episode #3 of the show, the cultural significance of marriage is explored. The show indirectly promotes the role of family for nurturing the youths with multicultural values. It underscores the importance of intercultural tolerance when individuals, whether from the same or different cultures, enter marriage. It specifically focuses on the pre-marriage negotiations with the bride's family, showcasing the process through which elders express their mission to facilitate the union of the couple. This cultural practice is portrayed as significant and deserving of preservation. Furthermore, the show addresses the involvement of both the bride's and groom's families in the marriage. While traditionally the father's consent holds importance in Ethiopian marriage culture, in certain cases, the mother is informed first, which is considered crucial for the success of the marriage. The mother's agreement signifies that the daughter has reached the legal age of 18, indicating the legitimacy of the marriage. However, the father's consent carries implications, as it can lead to arrangements that commodify young girls. This highlights the societal perception of women as objects of sexual attraction, both within and outside the institution of marriage.

The concept of 'pride' is often tied to communities where economic and social status are believed to be achieved through girls marrying into wealthy families. This implies the objectification of women within marriage systems. According to Kaplan (2008, p.393), there is a push for young girls to marry early to protect them from engaging in undesirable sexual relationships outside of marriage. This argument reinforces biased views of women as objects of sexual attraction, both within and outside of marriage, which is a societal problem. This episode highlights the cultural aspects of marriage negotiations, the importance of parental consent, and the potential exploitation of women within marriage systems. It represents the intersectionality of cultural practices and the exploitation of women. Therefore, research that explores this intersectionality effectively sheds light on the issue (Rice, Harrison, & Friedman, 2019). It emphasizes the necessity of thoroughly examining the cultural and structural dimensions of marriage to fully comprehend and address the problem of female exploitation.

Episode #4 of the show "Beteseb Tiyeka" or "Visit for Family" delves into the life of an emigrant family, offering a historical perspective on the political pressures faced during the 1970s. It explores the political ideologies and slogans of the time, such as "Yale minim Dam Ethiopia Tikdem" (Let Ethiopia be first without any bloodshed), which later evolved into "Ethiopia

Tikdem: Hibretesebawinet Yilemlim" (Let Ethiopia be first and Socialism Proliferate) during Mengistu Hailemariam's leadership. This shift in slogan signifies the promotion of garrison socialism and opposition to the Haile Selassie regime. The central character's political exile in the show is connected to these historical events, where the revised slogan aimed to mobilize people toward a socialist ideology. This indicates the enduring historical influence of socialist ideology on individuals who experienced it. Tareke (2022) notes that Ethiopia's de facto ethnic federal system amalgamates elements of both democratic and socialist federalism, and this show can serve as an illustration of this situation.

Episode #5 of "Beteseb Tiyeka" (Family Visit) explores the experiences of model families at Kolfe Keranio Secondary School, highlighting its role as a repository of intergenerational wisdom and knowledge. The show emphasizes the significance of bringing together individuals from different age groups, aiming to transcend nationalist wisdom and impart life skills essential for success, particularly in impoverished contexts. However, the liberal perspective of transcendentalism often leans toward a unitary system that seeks to surpass early cultural values to align with contemporary society. This inclination can be observed in early multiculturalists in America (Versluis, 2019). While the show symbolizes respect for culture across time and generations, it also presents challenges in promoting diversity. In this context, transcendentalism refers to the transmission of experiences embedded in everyday interactions across generations, forming part of a multicultural approach that aims to foster social unity amidst generational diversity.

The episode delves into the transcendent nature of cultural values, underscoring the importance of passing down wisdom and knowledge while recognizing the difficulties of reconciling traditional values with present-day realities. Elena Timoschuk (2019, pp. 254-256), in her article on the phenomenology of multiculturalism, emphasizes the significance of instilling a respectful attitude towards distant cultural systems in the younger generation as a means of preserving cultural pluralism. Expanding upon this perspective, I argue that nurturing the younger generation through traditional cultural values of respect can contribute to fostering harmony within society, serving as a form of transcendence. Additionally, the show depicts a challenging political environment and an oppressive social context that strengthens societal bonds and cultivates respect for others. Over time, the shared struggles within the repressive political

system gradually led to the development of a familial structure and a sense of unity.

Episode #6 features a 13-year-old author who wrote a book on flying airplanes. The program underscores the significance of representing and educating youths. The teenager credits his family for the idea, with his mother acknowledging their lower-class background and emphasizing the decency associated with her children. The teenager's father, a former lawyer who turned politician, shares his involvement in Ethiopian politics after the 2005 election and the difficulties he encountered as a detained politician. Both parents highlight their children's multilingual talents, enhancing intercultural connections. Generally, Fana Kelemat's shows adeptly address themes of multiculturalism and social tolerance, making them meaningful for exploring the role of individuals and families in fostering intercultural and multicultural synchronicity.

4.4.3 Walta TV's Netsa Hasab (Free Thought) Talk Show

As one of the media hosting hard talks on issues of politics, Walta Television is serving as a political public space for wider ranges of political ideologies in Ethiopia. Talk shows are perceived as an electronic public space (Herbst, 1995), and this has been observed in the Walta Television's talk show, Netsa Hasab, literally meaning free idea. Netsa Hasab (Free Thought) is a one-to-one hard talk hosted by a journalist called Simeneh Bayefers, where he works on by bringing political actors, public experts and leaders to the public space (TV) to discuss, mainly, matters pertaining to political issues in Ethiopia. This section is devoted to examining the representations of the political actors and political ideologies through perusing the procedures, principles and reasons working for the host to select the political actors representing certain political groups for the hard talks, and discursive strategies used by the actors to influence their supporters and adversaries.

Six hard talks are purposively selected to represent the key political parties and political groups as party leaders and political activists. Accordingly, the discussion with Taye Dendea representing Prosperity Party, Getachew Reda representing Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF), Professor Birhanu Nega representing Ethiopian Citizens for Justice Party, Jawar Mohammed (the then activist, and later member and leader of foreign affairs for Oromo

Federalist Congress), Yusuf Ibrahim, vice president of Amhara National Movement (ANM), and Sisay Degu, a leader of One Ethiopian Democratic Party were selected for analysis.

Ethiopian Prosperity Party

Prosperity Party (PP) was formed out of the merger of different ethno-national and regional parties which had constituted the former EPRDF, apart from Tigray People Liberation Front (TPLF) which refused to accept the merger. The Prosperity Party envisages to solve the long standing and complex Ethiopian political problems through establishing non-ethnic political system. As a result, it received public backing and assumed the responsibility of national governance. The Party has recently shown a tendency to alliance with opposition parties espousing citizenship-based/geographical federalism. In this section, the show under examination featured Taye Dendea¹², the then spokesperson and communication personnel for the Prosperity Party.

However, the alliance did not seem to translate into reality. The quandary of endorsing one of the federal systems has continued to be one of the pressing issues in the public sphere. As a result, Walta TV's *Nesta Hasab* host invited the representative of the party to discuss its political programs and objectives. The appearance of Prosperity Party advancing in citizenship-based federalism and its discourses attempts to address the public that otherwise could be influenced by ethnic federalist's ideology. As a television genre focusing on political discourse, the selected texts promote citizenship-based federalism in a polarized political environment where ethno-nationalists hold their ethnic identities sacrosanct.

Discursive Focus: The Prosperity Party focused on illuminating discourse of its structural formation and roles in safeguarding the legal, and constitutional, individual and groups' rights since its establishment. Regarding its structure, the discussant denies the existence of Oromia Prosperity Party, or any prefix attached to an ethnic group. This has been indicated in the supportive table presenting some examples of turn-takings and discursive claims. This argument focused on the reconstruction of the party's identity on the one hand and the reunion of representatives on the other. Central to this discourse, however, was the idea that prosperity party

¹² Note: Taye Dendea was dismissed from his position by a letter written by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed on December 11, 2023. Subsequently, he was incarcerated on allegations of having affiliations with terrorism, as officially stated by government entities.

is a single party that works nationwide-the discourse indirectly suggesting the centralization of power. It also gives the impression that the fear that naming political party after any ethnic group could imply an interest toward ethnic federalism as opposed to citizenship-based federalism that the contender tries to assume. In this way, the argument tries to create an understanding that Prosperity Party was proposing citizenship-based federalism. In so doing, the discourse of the Prosperity Party signaled antipathy toward ethnic based parties. This was also reflected in the shows that featured Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party and One Ethiopia Democratic Party.

Attributing challenges and highlighting accomplishments: Despite providing an explanation regarding the structural formation of the Prosperity Party, the discussant primarily focused on attributing the party's challenges to various groups. Using discursive strategies such as nomination, the interviewee accused the groups that resisted the Prosperity Party's structure, suggesting that they instead advocated for the establishment of a transitional government. Thus, the discourse of Prosperity Party representative articulated that the call for a transitional government was merely a pretext aimed at preserving the former ruling party's status quo. Furthermore, the show accused the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) for manipulating people by exerting power and instigating conflicts among ethnic groups. Additionally, the discourse of the interviewee highlights the achievements of the Prosperity Party in establishing autonomous institutions that promote diversity and inclusive electoral laws for conducting democratic elections.

Discourses of Party Program: The discourse of party program has been constructed through the host's query that requires to highlight parties' political program and aims.

Our goal is to guarantee the cohesion of our nation, the preservation of individual liberties, and the equal treatment of all citizens, irrespective of population size and religious affiliations (Taye Dendea, July 2021 Walta TV Netsa Hasab Show).

From the quotation, it can be inferred that the Prosperity Party asserts the right to representation without regard to factors such as population size and religious groups. This signified the Party's pursuit of citizenship-based federalism. Representing populations based on size or ethnic and religious groups is associated with the political ideology of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia. Ethnic federalists believe that emphasizing diversity is essential and view a lack of emphasis on

diversity as a form of unionist political ideology. On the other hand, proponents of citizen-based federalism consider identifying with ethnic and religious groups and using population size as indicators of radicalism. In summary, the phrase "regardless of population size and religious groups" conveys the idea that these factors should not be used as determining factors in representation. In so doing, supporters of citizenship-based federalism impede discussions that highlight the importance of diverse identities. Opposition parties like the Oromo Federalist Congress (OFC), Tigray People Liberation Front (TPLF), and Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) have chosen to support ethnic federalism as their political agenda to counter the opposing movement. In contrast to the previous faction, ethnic federalists advocate for a system where the allocation of parliamentary seats is based on the population size of the corresponding ethnic groups. At this point, the mention of population size and religious groups indicates a shift in the Prosperity Party's approach from ethnic federalism to citizenship-based federalism. However, the main point made by the host of the show is that the party's handling of Oromia's prosperity lacks clarity and fails to effectively address the governance of a diverse society.

Moreover, "Prosperity Party's program document encompasses aspects of political, economic, and social integration," presenting it as a political ideology centered around unity in diversity and the provision of freedom for all citizens (Netsa Hasab Show's Host, July, 2021). However, the argument made regarding the importance of "respect for people as citizens of Ethiopia" lacks clarity regarding the means to effectively implement the party's ideology of unity in diversity. This ideology has been exploited by the EPRDF and has not been fully realized as intended. Diverse societies have encountered difficulties in achieving cohesiveness due to disparities in resource distribution and administration, resulting in inequality. Consequently, the failure to address these issues of inequality and the imposition of a dominant discourse could potentially lead to the coerced assimilation of marginalized groups under the pretext of citizenship federalism. Such actions are likely to exacerbate social fragmentation and disintegration.

The experience from Myanmar entails us a fear of division at various levels, exacerbated by inequality, discrimination, poverty, and human insecurity indicating the need for harmony through redressing inequality (Takeda, 2021, p. 29). Likewise, the Ethiopian politics involves the condition where ethnic groups are claiming equality, and sometimes critiquing the aphorism of unity in diversity due to lack of realizing equality among diversified societies.

Multiculturalism within the context of citizenship federalism could address the questions of citizenship and political incorporation, but not socioeconomic integration (Bloemraad, 2007). Due to its failure to effect ethnic integration, some intellectuals in Ethiopia opt for “*diversity within unity*”, a model that is perceived to assist for the proliferation of ethnic identities within united citizens.

The criticism regarding the clarity of Prosperity Party's program was countered by the speaker, attributing the confusion to the broader political situation in Ethiopia and opposition parties. However, the speaker's arguments were limited to a narrow defense of their party's program, resulting in a hasty generalization. The discussant observed that the concept of equality and justice has gained prominence in Oromia, but challenges persist at lower levels. This suggests that while the idea of 'equality and justice' is understood at a party level, there may be a lack of political understanding among new entrants, implying that the Prosperity Party may not face significant challenges due to this knowledge gap.

The speaker utilized strategy of self-promotion to convey their party's commitment to protecting both collective and individual rights without any precondition. His discourse emphasized on family's role, while also highlighting a focus on the bigger picture, expressed as follows:

We will join forces with individuals and select opposition parties to establish inclusive institutions that uphold justice, equality, freedom, and democracy. Those who seek to hinder progress towards these principles are inconsequential, as we will overcome their obstacles effortlessly. Our advancement will be guided by the core values of the Prosperity Party (Taye Dendea, Netsa Hasab Talk Show, June 2021).

Accordingly, the Prosperity Party argues that it collaborates with opposition parties that promote peace, justice, and democracy. The arguer uses a strategy of making predications by referring to certain opposition parties that also advocate for citizenship-based federalism to support collaboration. However, he fails to effectively show real political differences and a willingness to accept opposition parties advocating for ethnic federalism. Instead, they rely on phrases like "those who obstruct justice," a strategic reference to parties like OFC, OLF, and TPLF that support ethnic federalism. On the other hand, the interviewer highlights the lack of transparency in Prosperity Party's platform, contrasting it with opposition parties that emphasize the interests

of ethnic groups and the importance of a fair election. The host aimed to underscore the significance of transparent campaigning and being responsive to the needs of ethnic groups. However, Mr. Taye conveyed the impression that Prosperity Party was working towards establishing a multiparty system. To shape the public views as advocator of multiparty system, he uses deontic modality that implies multiparty system's inevitability. Deontic modality focuses on '*necessity and possibility*' (Chrisman, 2015). Therefore, Prosperity party's discourse bears the necessity of multiparty electoral system for diverse Ethiopian people.

Furthermore, the show expounds the Prosperity Party's determination to do whatever it takes to win the election. This statement serves as a positive re-affirmation aimed at garnering support for the party's self-confidence. However, the discourses employed lack clarity in articulating a program that supporters can readily identify with. The recognition of "frictions" at the grassroots level suggests that the party's political program falls short in effectively integrating multicultural groups. Given the significance of inclusion and participation in democratic elections, the discourse on participatory democracy exhibits gaps that warrant further examination. Consequently, the debate centers on the host's criticism of the Prosperity Party's inability to clearly convey their proposed political program and its implications for governing the diverse multiethnic groups within the federation. In contrast, the contender employs a socio-diagnostic critique, emphasizing normative strategies to address conflicts attributed to ethnic federalism, while also highlighting the notion of political correctness. These discourses shed light on the deficiencies in previous political arrangements, seeking support from individuals who align with the principles of citizenship-based federalism.

Table 15: Examples of Selected Discourse Topics and Turn-takings and Argumentations in between interlocutors

Answers to questions of parties’ political programs, ethnic identity, conflicts and multicultural integrations	Discourse Topics: macro and meso structure turn-taking and discourse topics	Argumaentation:claims, topoi and fallacies
<p>Host: the evaluation of the process doesn’t indicate the program of prosperity party. What exactly is Prosperity party’s program?</p> <p>TD: Prosperity party has its own program. Its program merged issues of politics, economy, social and foreign together. Our first strategy is securing national unity (unity in diversity); the second is giving freedom to all citizen and the third is respect for all citizens”.</p> <p>Host: there is no clarity in the prosperity party’s program</p> <p>TD: confusion is everywhere in the country; it is not only in Oromia.</p> <p>Host: Do you mean your party pays any cost to achieve its goals?</p> <p>TD: sure!</p>	<p>Question 1: Discourse topic Engaging in discussions about the party's program.</p> <p>Answer 1 Portions of the program that raising concerns.</p> <p>Question 2: Discourse topic Discussion surrounding the uncertain or ambiguous nature of the Prosperity Party's program.</p> <p>Answer 2: A common thread of limited comprehension observed across different regions.</p> <p>Question 3: Discourse topic Means to achieve party goals</p> <p>Answer 3: Comprehension or grasping of a concept or situation.</p>	<p>Claim 1: Topois exploring the prominent themes of economy, politics, and foreign affairs within the discourse; questioning the validity of the unity in diversity argument and examining claims of citizen freedom.</p> <p>Claim 2: The key elements or themes within the Prosperity Party's program.</p> <p>Claim 3: The fallacy of drawing comparisons with opposition parties.</p> <p>Claim 4: Assessing the methods employed to attain goals, which may involve acts of suppression.</p> <p>Resolute pursuit of objectives.</p>
<p>Host: How do you define your role as an opposition party? Your rhetoric implies a close affiliation with the Prosperity Party.</p> <p>BN: 1. Ethiopian citizens for social justice party has its own program.</p> <p>2. Anyways, the most important differences will be seen during the election.</p>	<p>Question 1: Discourse topic Engaging in discussions concerning party identity and the dynamics between different political parties. Answer 1 (1): The presence of a party program.</p> <p>Answer 1(2): Lack of clarity</p>	<p>Claim 5 Generalization of speechs to party relations</p> <p>Claim 6: The actual existence of the party's political program.</p> <p>Claim 7: Considering the fallacy of (secrecy), keeping</p>

<p>3. We are making studies on different issues that will be presented to the people during the campaign for election”</p> <p>Host: Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party has been disparaged by electoral board on yesterday’s meeting for supporting the ruling party. What is your say on this?</p> <p>BN: We do not recognize this political change from revolutionary perspective as of 1974 or 1991. However, we understand it as a steady reform where what we have achieved is perceived as starting point, to build on it.</p> <p>Host: I think people are uncertain of your political personality on changing of your beliefs about the ruling party. Even your partners before 2005 election, do not perceive you in this way, ‘<i>there must be something cooked</i>’ with ruling party.</p> <p>BN: There must be something they didn’t understand. At that moment, the country has <i>fallen from the edge of a cliff</i>. Some EPDRF members understood they will not achieve their political goal and recognized resistance from the public. Hence, we requested them to establish strong institutions which are capable of resounding democracy.</p>	<p>regarding the party's program is causing delays.</p> <p>Answer 1(3): In the course of advancement, there is a lack of preparedness.</p> <p>Question 2: Discourse topic Providing further clarification regarding the associations and affiliations with the ruling party.</p> <p>Answer 2: Seeking to enhance our comprehension of the typology of political change by identifying similarities with the current realities on the ground.</p> <p>Question 3: Discourse topic Discourse of political behaviour (undesirable connections with ruling party).</p> <p>Answer 3: Asserting the goal of safeguarding the nation by establishing robust democratic institutions.</p>	<p>information secret and the failure marked by irrational delays.</p> <p>Claim 8: Revealing the accurate status of the program.</p> <p>Claim 9 Justification for relations with ruling party</p> <p>Claim 10 Reforming all the political structures, but building on what has been achieved.</p> <p>Claim 11 Considering the personalization of politics as a fallacy that distorts political behavior.</p> <p>Claim 12 Viewing hidden connections with the ruling party for political advantages..</p> <p>Using fallacy of depicting the country's dire situation as a catastrophe and employing metaphors to emphasize on as a failing state and asserting normative righteousness as the basis for claims.</p>
<p>Host: I don’t think your document qualifies a standard party program. I realized that there is a problem in understanding the reality of the country.</p> <p>SD: We include all the Ethiopians living in every section of the world. We would make sure the engagement of all Ethiopians in our political program.</p> <p>Host: Engaging all Ethiopians is something important, however, I fear you do not understand the context of Ethiopian politics and the problem of people on the ground.</p>	<p>Question 1: Discourse topic Discourse of standard party program Answer 1: Advocating politics of inclusion</p> <p>Question 2: Discourse topic Engaging in a dialogue to comprehend the intricacies of Ethiopian politics.</p>	<p>Claim 13 Absence of a program that comprehends the current state of affairs in the country.Claim 14: Considering the global presence of Ethiopians, the idea that working collectively worldwide is a fallacy of inclusion.</p> <p>Claim 15: Challenging one's political comprehension by questioning the notion of a universally applicable political philosophy.</p>

<p>SD: I'm sorry! Party is established based on international views.</p> <p>Host: I don't think you seem to understand what I said, I'm asking about your party's intention.</p> <p>SD: Though they were established 13 years ago, they didn't bring any change to the society, and we have never seen while they appeared to influence the ruling party to change its policies.</p> <p>Host: Your profile shows that you have plenty of experience in running religious organizations. How do you think your personalities and interest in a religious affair helps you maintain equality among various religious groups?</p> <p>SD: We live in a world of diversified religious groups. For, instance, Putin has grown up in a church, but that has not restrained him from making Russia great.</p> <p>Note: TD=Mr. Taye Dendea, BN= Professor Berhanu Nega, SD= Mr. Sisay Degu</p>	<p>Answer 2: International political views</p> <p>Question 3: Discourse topic Discourse of Party's intention</p> <p>Answer 3: Previous political parties proved to be ineffective in their endeavors.</p> <p>Question 4 Discourse topic Discourse of mixing political and religious leadership</p> <p>Answer 4: Being religious does not pose a hindrance to pursuing a career in politics.</p> <p>Numerous religious individuals have achieved success in positions of political leadership.</p>	<p>Claim 16 Reference to failures of other parties which is negative other representation</p> <p>Claim 17 Fallacy of leadership experience</p> <p>Claim 18 Religion is not problem for politics</p> <p>Justifying that religiosity has no negative effect on politics.</p>
---	---	--

Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party

The Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party was established in May 2019 through the amalgamation of various political organizations. These groups included the Patriotic Ginbot 7 Front, which had previously been classified as a terrorist organization by the Ethiopian government, as well as the Ethiopian Democratic Party, All-Ethiopian Democratic Party, Semayawi Party, New Generation Party, Gambela Regional Movement, and Unity for Democracy and Justice Party. The talk show interview between the host and the leader of the Ethiopian Citizen for Social Justice Party provides an interesting opportunity to analyze the discursive strategies and multicultural values employed within the context of citizenship-based federalism.

It is important to understand the key principles of citizenship-based federalism, which views people as "collective citizens." This philosophy emphasizes the unity and shared identity of citizens within a diverse and multicultural society. As such, the political movement seeks to promote a sense of belonging and commonality among Ethiopians, transcending ethnic or cultural differences. Therefore, analyzing the talk show interview from the perspective of citizenship-based federalism and multicultural values provides insights into the discursive strategies employed and the party's approach to fostering unity and inclusivity within a diverse society. It allows us to understand how the political movement aims to navigate the balance between collective citizenship and multiculturalism, addressing the concerns of various cultural and ethnic groups in Ethiopia.

Evocation as Discursive Strategy: The host's discourse centered around shedding light on the political persona of the Politician representing the Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party, specifically highlighting his past flaws while leading the Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD). The CUD had emerged as a prominent opposition party during the 2005 Ethiopian election. With a commitment to uncovering historical truths in democratic conversations with politicians, the host inquired about the guest's decision to decline an invitation from Walta TV for a discussion with Lidetu Ayalew. Lidetu Ayalew, a well-known politician and former colleague of Professor Berhanu Nega, was representing the Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party through his appearance on Walta TV. It is worth noting that Lidetu Ayalew had served as a member of the Ethiopian parliament from 2005 to 2010, following the 2005 Ethiopian election.

In essence, the discourse revolved around adopting a historical framework to approach the subject matter at hand.

The talk show's host criticized the leader of the Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party for refusing to discuss with Mr. Lidetu¹³, stating it was in the best interest of the public. However, the interviewer employed a strategy of presenting different viewpoints to uncover the truth of the debated issue. He referred to past errors, particularly the missed opportunity in the 2005 election, arguing that there were no relevant political matters to discuss with Lidetu, given his current political stance differs from that of the Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party. By delving into the reasons behind the politician's reluctance to engage in genuine political dialogue, the host of the discussion highlighted a lack of trust between the two politicians, which concerned their respective supporters. In so doing, their discourse showcases the intolerance among politicians and their apathy towards public involvement. Additionally, the interviewer presents Mr. Lidetu's claim of being subjected to slander by members of the Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party in the following manner:

Despite the state's efforts to promote peace, reconciliation, and political solidarity, I experienced slander during a podium event organized by members of the Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party and their supporters in Addis Ababa. This suggests that they continue to spread hatred and engage in demeaning politics, even though their leader returned to Ethiopia as part of a political reform aimed at fostering reconciliation (Netsa Hasab Talk Show Host, January 2020).

Despite the interviewer's attempts to promote peace and ideological transformation underlying objective was to uncover hidden truths about the political conduct of the two politicians. This could have served to empower their respective supporters with the ability to make informed judgments and choices. The discussion aimed to expose viewers to the root causes of the disagreements between the two political allies who led the Coalition for Unity and Democracy

¹³ Lidetu Ayalew is a politician in Ethiopia who was the founder and the leader of the Ethiopian Democratic Party. He was a deputy chairman and chief spokesperson of Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD), until 2005 Ethiopian election.

(CUD)¹⁴. The goal of this discussion is to encourage reconciliation, urging the leaders to set aside their personal egos for the benefit of the people. In this context, the interviewer strategically employs references to the past as a means of revealing the detrimental aspects of the politicians' behavior, which the host characterizes as a form of animosity.

The discussant attempts to defend his political personality by portraying himself as a politician with unwavering political stances. He employs a strategy of emphasizing his positive attributes while criticizing others. However, this approach undermines the public's right to understand the political distinctions between the two politicians. Moreover, it could negatively impact his standing as a party leader and how the public perceives his party's political agenda. In the 2005 Ethiopian election, Mr. Lidetu won a parliamentary seat, and while Professor Berhanu¹⁵ disputed the results, claiming his party had won the election. The situation led to an immediate rivalry between the two politicians. It is believed that the Meles administration rejected the true result, which prompted the contender to go into exile and form a guerrilla movement outside of Ethiopia.

The leader of the Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party misinterprets his duty by criticizing Mr. Lidetu as a politician known for his inconsistent stance. Rather than engaging in political discussions with other politicians to gain public support for his party, he adopts a strategy of presenting himself as a problem-solving politician dedicated to preventing the disintegration of Ethiopia. This approach serves as a means of self-validation, implying that without his involvement, negative consequences would have ensued.

In a nutshell, the Netsa Hasab' show utilized the discursive strategy of evocation when examining the core component of the Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party's political discourse. Evocation, as a discursive strategy, involves the deliberate use of language or rhetoric to elicit specific emotions, memories, or associations, with the aim of influencing how the audience perceives or responds to a particular subject or topic (Perloff, 2018; Birdsell & Groarke, 2016; Goodwin & Jasper, 2015). This strategy relies on employing vivid and

¹⁴ The Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD)' was a coalition of four political parties that were involved in Ethiopian General Election held on May 15, 2005.

¹⁵ Professor Berhanu Nega is currently serving as a minister ministry of Education in Ethiopia. He was deputy chairman of 'CUD 'for whom he served as chief election campaign strategist during the 2005 Ethiopian election.

descriptive language to create a sensory or emotional experience for the listener or reader.

The Perception on the Political Reform: The viewpoints held by politicians regarding political reform have had an impact on the present state of politics in Ethiopia. The leader of the Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice party displayed a combination of ambition and uncertainty. The candidate regarded the reform as an internal change within the ruling party, rather than a revolutionary transformation like those in 1974 or 1991 that resulted in complete structural changes and a shift in power. In their speech, they suggested that the situation in Ethiopia was favorable for building upon the progress achieved through gradual reform. This attitude reflected optimism towards political change, which the Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party embraced and stood up for. Consequently, the discourse from the Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice leader exhibited a positive perception of the reform, recognizing its timely implementation when the nation was on the brink of division, and aiming to preserve the unity of the country.

Discourse of Party Identity and Political Program: In this episode, the discussions have centered around party identity and the clarification of their political programs. The aim was to highlight the distinctions between the Prosperity Party and the Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party, particularly regarding their stance on citizenship-based federalism. Following the 2021 election, the Prosperity Party has engaged in cooperation with opposition parties that share similar political ideologies. This collaboration was seen as a significant development, demonstrating the ruling party's commitment to a multiparty democratic system. As part of this, opposition parties were assigned key positions in public institutions, indicating a willingness to involve diverse parties in the governance of the State.

During the show, the host attempted to explore the possibility of a merger between the two parties if their differences were minimal. Despite both parties advocating for citizenship federalism, the Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party struggled to clearly articulate the points of divergence. Professor Berhanu's statement, "we are making studies on different issues that will be presented to the people during the campaign for election," implied a lack of preparedness and political expertise in effectively communicating their positions to the public.

Furthermore, the politician failed to provide substantial evidence of his party's collaboration with

other opposition groups for societal improvement, despite acknowledging the presence of "overlapping policies" and similarities with other parties advocating for citizenship-based federalism. This phrase exposed the politician's lack of supporting evidence and raised doubts regarding the extent of the alliance between the two parties.

In the intricate dance of political discourse, the host and contender engaged in a battle of words, their rhetoric reflecting the underlying tensions and power dynamics at play. Employing a discourse historical approach, we can unravel the intricacies of their verbal sparring and examine the broader socio-political context. As the host wielded his critical language, accusing the contender of evading criticism and failing to present constructive ideas, he cast a spotlight on the contender's strategies of self-protection. This critique revealed the absence of a concrete political ideology centered around citizenship-based federalism. The host's words served as a reminder that without a clear ideological foundation, the contender's transformative claims could be seen as hollow or opportunistic.

However, the contender, aware of the need to shape public perception, sought to portray Ethiopia as a nation on the brink of collapse, positioning himself as a transformative leader ready to rescue the state from impending doom. This strategic maneuver reflected the contender's muddled political personality, as he attempted to simultaneously present himself as a savior while deflecting blame onto the people for spreading disinformation about politicians. Here, the discourse historical approach sheds light on the complex interplay between personal ambition, public perception, and the manipulative nature of political rhetoric.

In response, the host skillfully attempted to neutralize the contender's narrative by shifting the blame, emphasizing the overriding public interest in understanding the programs of the Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party. By redirecting the focus to the party's policies, the host aimed to counterbalance the contender's attempts at portraying himself as the sole savior of the nation. This strategic move, grounded in the discourse historical approach, highlighted the importance of transparency and accountability in political discourse, as well as the role of media in scrutinizing and informing the public. The utilization of the discourse historical approach, as outlined by Wodak and Meyer (2015) allows us to unveil the intricate power dynamics, ideological disparities, and strategic maneuvers inherent in this political exchange. By employing this analytical framework, we acquire a more profound comprehension of the multifaceted factors

that shape political discourse and its substantial influence on public opinion and decision-making processes.

Furthermore, the host of the show draws a comparison between the speaker's statements and his perceived political background, specifically emphasizing his past involvement in armed struggle. Adopting a conventional stance, the interviewer implies that people are wary of anything associated with the ruling party. In response, the guest counters by attributing the party's decision to the prevailing political circumstances at the time. The guest further suggests that certain members of the EPRDF may have endorsed the Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party's proposition to establish robust institutions that can uphold democracy, including an electoral board, security forces, police, and a court system.

Generally, the interviewee expressed the Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party's willingness to collaborate with the ruling party on crucial matters such as peace, countering divisive ideologies, and pursuing justice through realistic means. He emphasized the importance of political accountability and the establishment of strong democratic institutions to ensure stability and transform the nation into a democratic system. The episode highlighted a consensus between the two parties on the construction of democratic institutions and their shared goal of conducting fair elections. Notably, in the 2021 Ethiopian election, the Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party secured a parliamentary seat, leading to the party's leader being appointed as the Minister Ministry of Education. This appointment, being the first of its kind for an opposition party in Ethiopian politics, shed light on the trustworthiness of the election despite initial doubts from the host.

One Ethiopia Democratic Party

The episode on One Ethiopian Democratic Party primarily focused on elucidating the meaning of the name of the party and its founding objectives. When questioned about the rationale behind creating a new party, the host argued that existing parties in Ethiopia prioritize personal goals over the public interest. In response, the guest countered by emphasizing the importance of having multiple parties in a diverse nation like Ethiopia. The guest suggested that diversity can be accommodated through consensus among representatives. Hence, the party's name symbolizes the aspiration for genuine unity.

According to the guest's discussion, the establishment of the Ethiopia Democratic Party was driven by a global outlook, aiming to achieve political objectives such as peace, unity, and national development that previous parties had been unable to realize. The term "international perspectives" refers to embracing universal political philosophies and normative democratic principles, although the specific principles were not explicitly outlined. Instead, strategic efforts were made during the discourse to present the party as closely affiliated with various human rights organizations, even though the extent of their involvement remained shrouded in mystery. In this regard, the leader's remarks in the discourse serve as a conclusive statement on the failure of opposition political parties to bring about political change in Ethiopia by exerting influence on the ruling party.

Furthermore, the host of the show critically evaluated the preliminary program of the One Ethiopia Democratic Party, deeming it inadequate as a standard party platform and indicative of a lack of understanding regarding the Ethiopian political landscape. The host remarked, "Upon reviewing the document, it became evident that there is a problem in comprehending the country's situation." (Walta TV's Netsa Hasab Host, September 2020). This assessment not only highlighted the deficiencies within the broader Ethiopian political arena but also specifically targeted the shortcomings of the One Ethiopia Democratic Party.

In response to this criticism, a representative from the One Ethiopia Democratic Party aimed to clarify that their party's goal is to promote inclusivity among Ethiopians worldwide, regardless of geographical barriers, in line with multicultural values. The host recognized the importance of involving all Ethiopians in shaping the nation's future, emphasizing the significance of diverse perspectives. However, he highlighted the limitations of the party's program, suggesting that it failed to fully grasp the intricate dynamics of contemporary Ethiopian politics through a multicultural lens. He described the party's program document as 'narrow' in its approach, as it did not sufficiently address the nuanced contextual factors at the local level, despite presenting itself as universally applicable in its discourse.

The representative of the One Ethiopia Democratic Party emphasized that their party's objective was to foster inclusivity among all Ethiopians globally, transcending geographical limitations and embracing multiculturalism, albeit in an assimilationist context. The host also recognized the importance of involving all Ethiopians in shaping the nation's future, emphasizing the

significance of diverse perspectives. However, he highlighted the limitations of the party's program, suggesting that it failed to fully grasp the intricate dynamics of contemporary Ethiopian politics through a multicultural lens. He described the party's program document as 'narrow' in its approach, as it did not sufficiently address the nuanced contextual factors at the local level, despite presenting itself as universally applicable in its discourse.

Personalization of Politics: Walta TV's Netsa Hasab employs a discursive strategy of personalizing political drawbacks by attributing them solely to political party leaders. This approach is not limited to a single episode but is pervasive throughout the genre, as the host consistently evaluates the capabilities of leaders. In a specific instance, the host expressed dissatisfaction with the interviewee's religious background, characterizing them as someone with more expertise in religious affairs. This portrayal implies that religiosity may hinder the ability to ensure equality among different religious groups. Unfortunately, the host employs negative and stereotypical assertions, suggesting that religiosity is only meaningful within religious organizations. The host utilizes a discursive strategy of nomination to convey the concern that religious leaders may prioritize the interests of their own religious groups. However, this discourse devolves into baseless generalizations and stereotypes, lacking constructive discussion. Consequently, discomfort regarding the candidate's religious background fosters a sense of intolerance towards members of certain religious groups, without concrete evidence of its impact on political leadership.

As a result, the interviewee challenges the host's emphasis on the religious identity of political leaders, considering it peculiar to focus on such a factor. As an example, he points to Russian President Putin, who was raised in the church but has achieved success in leading Russia towards greatness. In Ethiopia, there exists a historical reality of distrust towards politicians belonging to religious groups. This perception categorically undermines societal consensus and poses a risk to unity, emphasizing the need for media to handle it with caution.

In the end, merging with parties advocating citizenship-based federalism was proposed as a solution, with the host arguing that a political party without a clear ideology is useless and only appeals to people's emotions without addressing the real issues. The host's remarks were patronizing and indicated that the One Ethiopia Democratic Party lacked a concrete political

agenda, public policies, or a guiding ideology to effectively govern Ethiopia's diverse society. This suggests that the party might have been formed prematurely. As a result, both the overall text and this specific forum indicated the failure of political parties to adequately convey their political agendas. The factors can be partially attributed reasons outlined in the subsequent section.

Proponents of Ethnic Federalism

During the Ethiopian reform period, the media extensively covered the political programs and restructuring efforts undertaken by various political parties. Notably, some political parties exhibited resistance towards the reform, particularly regarding potential changes to the federal model. Conversely, new parties emerged as entities or existing parties realigned themselves with a focus on advocating ethnic-based federalism approach. This section focuses on Walta media's representation of ethnic based federalism through its deliberations on 'Netsa Hasab' talk show.

Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF): As a means of fostering democratic deliberation, Walta TV held a televised talk on September 10, 2019, that provided a platform for a discussion with representative of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), represented by Getachew Reda, the current interim leader of Tigray region. Their discussion primarily revolved around the political disparities between TPLF and the newly established Prosperity Party, with the former opting not to join the latter. The TPLF has been characterized as a left-wing ethno-nationalist paramilitary organization. It is noteworthy that the Ethiopian government designated the TPLF as a terrorist group following its assault on the Tigray-based Ethiopian defense forces in November 2020.

During the conversation with the TPLF representative, the host referred to an article written by journalist Teklay Hailay, which had previously discussed the representative. This reference served as an effective recontextualization strategy, an interdiscursive practice (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). The article drew a parallel between the political situation in the Tigray region and that of Sparta. By employing this comparison, the host aimed to strengthen the argument that the rights of individuals in Tigray are inadequately protected. However, the representative discussed countered this assertion stating that no political advantage is gained through violating individuals' rights in Tigray. Rather than engaging directly with the specific comparison made, the protagonist emphasized on the nature of press freedom in Tigray region that is allowing

anyone to express their views on politics and politicians. In so doing, he challenged the claims presented in the article, asserting that it was produced without fear of bias.

In the show, Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) positioned itself as a proponent of participatory democracy, despite the talk's host consistently referencing his previous media appearance. Prior to the deliberation, Getachew Reda, on Zami radio, acknowledged that the TPLF's democracy demonstrated participatory characteristics at higher levels, while there are limitations in involving individuals at lower levels. Therefore, the host's discourse implied that despite undergoing structural changes, the TPLF's democratic practices fail to facilitate active engagement and meaningful participation from individuals at lower levels. This observation brings attention to the problem of inclusion within the TPLF's democratic framework, signifying absence of comprehensive implementation of participatory democracy across its organizational structure.

Moreover, the show highlights the complex interplay of political motivations, power dynamics, and the TPLF's claim for supremacy and its relationship with the central government. Tensions between the TPLF and the central government led to TPLF's refusal to recognize the government's legitimacy. The party employs discursive strategies to absolve itself from allegations of supremacy and regional autonomy, challenging the central government's authority. The TPLF's refusal to recognize the legitimacy of the government is driven by various political motivations, including historical grievances, perceived marginalization, and a desire for greater regional autonomy. The power dynamics stemming from the TPLF's previous central power influence within the EPRDF, and its subsequent loss of power have influenced its resistance against the central government. Support for regional autonomy reflects its aspirations for self-governance and the protection of ethnic interests. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for comprehending Ethiopia's current political landscape and exploring avenues for peaceful resolution and inclusive governance.

The protagonist in the discussion argues for a constructive approach that goes beyond blaming TPLF alone to achieve peace. Instead, they proposed the development of a united system that effectively addresses shared problems of the society. The argument takes a normative stance, offering a socio-diagnostic critique, and suggesting corrective measures for an inclusive political environment. Ethnic federalism was explicitly promoted for peaceful coexistence, asserting that

"citizen-based federalism" is insufficient for accommodating diverse ethnic groups. However, the host presents evidence of the TPLF's actions, including dismissing charges against its members, organizing protests, interfering in foreign affairs, and obstructing military convoys. These actions indicate that the Tigray regional state rejects the central government's authority and violates constitutional limits.

The show also shed light on the mutual accusations exchanged between the Tigray region and the central government, focusing on decision-making processes that lacked public involvement. The importance of public participation in the context of ethnic federalism was underscored, along with concerns regarding delegations sent to Eritrea by the Amhara region. The sincerity of the peace agreement and the extent of the central government's unilateral authority were called into question, highlighting the contrasting treatment of the Tigray region. Transparency and concerns of inclusion were raised regarding the Eritrea peace agreement, emphasizing the need for broader consultation. The disputant also expressed concerns about the Amhara regional state, border disputes, and the interpretation of the constitution. The host's characterization of these concerns as '*Amhara-phobia*' was seen as a biased judgment, and the disputant emphasized the necessity of addressing the complex situation and avoiding reliance on biased assumptions. What is more about the show is that personal identities and familial connections of politicians were used to draw comparisons and associate them with specific ethnic groups. The reference to border conflicts between Tigray and Amhara, particularly in Welkait¹⁶, was made, and the disputant expressed concerns about the allocation of land to specific groups, questioning why the Tigray region would allocate their land based solely on the expressed interest of another group, metaphorically referred to as "Israelites," which symbolizes the Amharas.

National Movement of Amhara (NaMA)

The show portrayed NaMA's emphasizing the importance of its logo, which features a "Watch" symbol. The protagonist sees the symbol as representing urgency and its connection to Ethiopia's political crisis. It symbolizes NaMA's commitment to protecting Ethiopia from disintegration and protecting its unity. However, during the argument with the host, the show aims to uncover

¹⁶ Welkait is a woreda which was historically part of the northern Amhara region of Gonder in Ethiopia that annexed to Tigray Region following the fall of the communist Derg regime.

the existence of individuals within the NaMA party who entered politics for personal gain. While the interviewer fails to provide evidence to support this claim, the interviewee responds suggesting that the party's establishment primarily aims to protect the interests of the Amhara people. When confronted with allegations and suspicions about the personal motivations of party members, the interviewee adopts a defensive stance and tries to justify their actions by emphasizing the perceived prevalence of political extremism faced by the Amhara community. This analysis highlights the discussion surrounding the motivations and justifications of individuals within NaMA, offering insights into the intricate interplay between personal interests, communal concerns, and the multicultural dynamics within the party.

The main issue identified in Netsa Hasab's show is the tendency to personalize political matters. One notable example of this is when the show focuses on the perception of political leaders affiliated with the EPRDF towards NaMA. Specifically, Bereket Simon is portrayed as a potential threat to NaMA and the unity of the Amhara people. The speaker strongly questions Bereket Simon's credibility as a representative of the Amhara community, suggesting that he and his group may not genuinely reflect the interests of the people. Furthermore, the challenger criticizes Bereket Simon and the Amara Democratic Party (ADP) for allegedly failing to safeguard the rights of the Amhara community, accusing them of being "puppets" of the TPLF. This accusation implies lack of autonomy and downplays ADP as a subservient to another political faction. Through these critiques, the intention was to undermine the reputation of Bereket Simon and the ADP, while also casting doubt on their commitment to the well-being of the Amhara people.

The allegations directed at NaMA paint the party as contributing to political divisions and engaging in deliberate dissemination of misinformation targeting opposition leaders. In response to the prevailing instability, NaMA presents a potential solution by advocating for the establishment of a parliamentary commission for a transitional government. This proposal demonstrates NaMA's willingness to engage in power-sharing rather than solely relying on the next election cycle, as pointed out by the host of the show. The party's policies on addressing unemployment were highlighted during the discussion, with the host underscoring their importance. The discourse touched upon the perception of the contender's statements, which were deemed ambiguous, and criticized the fallacy of relying solely on historical narratives. The

host consistently emphasized the significance of democratic dialogues and the need for public consensus. Nevertheless, there was a clear emphasis on the importance of collaborative efforts to achieve integration throughout the argumentative discourses. Protection for religious and cultural groups, and advancing the principles of democracy, justice, and equality were also emphasized. It is worth noting that despite the host's persistent focus on individual personalities and political behavior, the overarching theme remained centered on the pursuit of a harmonious and inclusive political landscape through academic analysis and interpretation.

Promoting Ethnic Federalism through Activism

Another show selected was focused on Jawar Mohammed's involvement and his perspectives in Ethiopian Politics. Jawar Mohammed, a prominent activist and member of the Oromo Federalist Congress (OFC) in Ethiopia faced Netsa Hasab's host on February 27, 2019. As an advocate of ethnic federalism, the show provides valuable insights into Jawar's background, political affiliations, and his views on various issues, including political animosity, electoral regulations, and the Ethiopian constitution. In trying to reveal, Jawar's political qualifications and identity, the show appears to be critical of his significant role in Ethiopian politics. It portrayed him as an emerging figure, offering valuable insights into his background and political journey, emphasizing his dedication to ethnic federalism and his representation of the Oromo ethnic group. In addressing criticisms related to causing political animosities, the speaker presented himself as a conscientious activist and intellectual involved in shaping policy discourse.

The show also examines how a politician responds to criticisms regarding his proposal to involve Qeerroo, civic associations and intellectuals in the Ethiopian election. It raises doubts on the participation of Qeerroo in the electoral process to lead to unnecessary chaos, thereby undermining Ethiopian unity. To support his viewpoint, the politician highlights examples of democratic elections in developed nations and emphasizes the role of disciplined activism in driving political transformation. He argues that the inclusion of Qeerroo, civic associations, and intellectuals is critical for achieving a fair and unbiased representation in the election process, which symbolizes the democratic significance of their involvement. However, one statement made by the politician, namely, "*we punish them with our votes,*" when addressing the Qeerroo, has drawn criticism, and led to questions about the politician's confidence during the early stages

of the election, when election campaigns had not yet commenced. In this regard the show was critical of the statement that perpetuates fear and raises doubts about Jawar's ability to minimize conflicts.

Furthermore, the speaker supports his argument by providing an illustrative example from Donald Trump's 2016 election campaign, that not all of Trump's proposed policies were effectively implemented following his election victory. Specifically, he highlights the plan to construct a wall along the Mexico-USA border. Despite it being a prominent promise during Trump's campaign, the actual construction of the wall did not materialize due to the Democrats' refusal to approve the budget required for its implementation. This example served to demonstrate that policy proposals in democratic states are subject to approval based on the interests and decisions of the majority. By presenting this argument, the protagonist seeks to garner support for his democratic struggle and encourage Ethiopians to draw lessons from such instances. He utilizes this example as evidence to challenge premature concerns regarding the potential consequences of the Ethiopian election, which he perceives as inherently discriminatory.

The underlying messages of the argument are twofold. Firstly, it promotes the challenging of negative perceptions towards politicians and encourages tolerance for competing policies, even if they initially appear contradictory to certain groups' rights. The intention is to allow these policies to undergo scrutiny through the democratic process. Secondly, the argument draws a connection to the example of the Mexico-US border wall, highlighting that divisive plans are likely to be opposed and overturned by the majority through their votes. Overall, the argument emphasizes the significance of democratic processes in evaluating policies and underscores the potential for the majority's votes to rectify and reject measures that seek to divide and segregate.

It is crucial to note that the show predominantly focuses on fearmongering, failing to provide substantial insights that promote constructive dialogue and peaceful resolutions. This is evident through the host's persistent scrutiny of the guest's activism, speculating its potential to incite violence. For instance, the host brings up a past incident where Jawar accused the government of being responsible for the deaths of 43 Oromos in Saris, a suburb of Addis Ababa. However, the discussant considers them to be fabricated to downplay the incidents in Burayu, which involved

a series of communal clashes in 2018. In so doing the show portrays Jawar's discourse media biases in which he stresses as "killing of Oromos is an ongoing tragedy that often goes unnoticed and unaddressed". In this case, Jawar's intention was to shed light on the hidden reality surrounding the deaths of the 43 Oromos, which had received limited attention from media organizations.

In so doing, the show highlights inequalities among various ethnic groups in Ethiopia, through Jawar's discourse that compares the reactions to displacements and offenses against the Oromo community with similar incidents involving other ethnic groups in Oromia. The main point of the argument was that harms inflicted upon the Oromo people tends to be disregarded, while societal problems experienced by other ethnic groups in Oromia quickly become a matter of national concern. The protagonist provides evidence of media biases based on ethnic groups, citing examples of displacements near Lega Tafo-Lega Dadi, Adama, and Dire Dawa. The displacement incidents in Adama and Dire Dawa received no media reports, whereas the displacement in Lega Tafo-Lega Dadi garnered significant attention. Jawar classifies the ethnic identities of the displaced individuals in Adama and Dire Dawa as Oromo, while implying that those affected in Lega Dadi were non-Oromo. This implies that offenses against the Oromo people are downplayed, and human rights violations are not adequately represented. These instances demonstrate a deliberate disregard for internal conflicts within the country, which undermines the democratic values of equality among different ethnic groups and hampers multiculturalism. To support the discourses by tangible instances of ethnic-based discriminations, the protagonist pointed out the media's disregard for the suffering of 240,000 displaced individuals in Wollega. In this case, Jawar suggests that engaging in discussions like the current one can contribute to resolving these problems, acknowledging the important role of platforms deliberations like Netsa Hasab in Walta TV, in facilitating democratic discourse but warns against favoritism towards specific groups, as it can perpetuate inequalities in ethnic representation.

Despite facing disrespect and negative perceptions, the speaker skillfully maintains a positive self-image, attributing criticism to media biases rather than questioning his own political integrity. Through strategic discourse, he adeptly navigates the conversation and dismisses unfounded criticisms. As the show highlights discrepancies in his self-presentation and negative

public perceptions, he advises journalists to focus on pertinent questions regarding economic policy, security, and social inequality to foster national progress. Alternatively, this could imply that he is reluctant to place trust in journalists. According to Splendore, Garusi, and Valeriani (2024), establishing trust in journalists is crucial to establish a reasonably stable foundation for public discourse. Here, the speaker employs a strategy wherein he aims to involve his supporters and focus on subjects that improve political understanding, to garner public trust for their agenda. Simultaneously, he criticizes journalists for prioritizing personal stories over important public matters.

Regarding the notion of unity, he draws upon historical movements that aimed to liberate people from oppression, underscoring the pursuit of a fair and inclusive unity that grants autonomy, participation in decision-making processes, and equitable distribution of resources at the federal level. Furthermore, he advocates for the democratization of the existing constitution rather than its complete replacement; his arguments may reflect concerns about the potential abandonment of ethnic federalism in favor of a unitary system of government which completely rejects. In addition, interviewer brings up the speaker's statement on OMN, describing his stance on federalism as "non-negotiable", asserting that the foundation of federalism lies in what Jawar refers to as the "Woyane's"¹⁷ constitution." However, Jawar refutes this claim, attributing the constitution to the intellectual contributions of Haile Fida, Lencho Lata, Walegn Mekonnin, and Zegeye Asfaw, suggesting that Meles Zenawi simply adopted a pre-existing document. By acknowledging the key ethno-nationalist politicians and public intellectuals of the 1960s and 1970s who played a role in drafting the Ethiopian constitution, he downplays Woyane's involvement in its preparation, and this could be attributed to the reason that the constitution to have no problem with respect to preserving the political philosophies of ethnic federalists. He also argues that previous attempts to create a unifying state through assimilation have failed, resulting in exploitation, oppression, and subjugation at the national level. He emphasizes the success of national movements since the 1960s in combating these injustices, recommends nations to utilize the constitution as their own resources.

What is more, the show highlighted the rise of anti-ethnic federalism in the public sphere. It

¹⁷ Woyane was the name attributed to a group of rebellion in Tigray region that was uprising against the centralization process from the government of Emperor Haile Selassie.

emphasized the need for interpretation of the politician's stance on this issue, which he downplays, dismissing citizen-based politics as a passing trend. The speaker's discourses highlighted the historical reality of citizen-based politics as a form of class struggle in the 1970s and united movements in the late 1990s. Jawar acknowledges the existence of both forms of federalism for diverse political ideologies, believing that finding a balance between citizenship and ethnic federalism is crucial for productive democratic discussions. His discursive arguments propose ethnic federalism because it grants autonomy to the nations and nationalities; prevents the abuse of central power and preserve the cultural and political interests of diverse groups. Hence, concludes that this system allows for the flourishing of a democratic society that values multiculturalism.

4.5 Multicultural News Production: study on Newsroom Journalists

Multicultural news production is influenced by several factors, including journalists' intercultural competence, their cultural and ethnic identities, the level of editorial freedom they enjoy, and the prevailing managerial cultures within newsrooms. These factors are particularly important in diverse societies where media production should cater to the needs of varied audiences. This study aims to investigate these factors and explore diverse perspectives on multicultural news production. A comprehensive qualitative questionnaire (concourse) has been designed to gather data from newsroom journalists. Through factor analysis, the study sought to identify the key factors that shape multicultural news production. Statistical analysis using SPSS version 26 was employed to identify patterns and relationships among these factors.

Demographic Composition of Journalists

In this study, 50 journalists from three TV newsrooms participated. The distribution of journalists across the newsrooms was as follows: ETV (20 journalists, 40%), Fana TV (15 journalists, 30%), and Walta TV (15 journalists, 30%). Regarding gender distribution, 66% were male and 34% were female journalists. In terms of ethnicity, the majority (60%) were ethnic Amharas, followed by ethnic Oromos (16%), Tegarus (8%), and smaller percentages of Sidama, Gurage, and Somali ethnic groups (2% each). The remaining 10% belonged to other ethnic backgrounds. Orthodox Christians accounted for 72% of the journalists' religious affiliation, followed by Muslims (12%), Protestants (10%), and other religious groups (6%). Regarding

educational background, 58% of the journalists held a bachelor's degree or higher in journalism, 26% in language studies, 10% in other social sciences, and 6% in other natural sciences.

Table 16: Demographic distribution of informant journalists

TV Channels	Gender		Ethnic group		Religion		Field of study							
	Qty	%	Qty	%	Qty	%	Qty	%						
ETV	20	40	Male	33	66	Oromo	8	16	Orthodox	36	72	Journalism	29	58
Fana TV	15	30	Female	17	34	Amhara	30	60	Muslim	6	12	Language	13	26
Walta TV	15	30				Sidama	1	2	Protestant	5	10	Other Social	5	10
Total	50	100				Gurage	1	2	Wakefata	3	6	Other Natural	3	6
						Somali	1	2						
						Silte	0	0						
						Others	5	10						

The sorted items were subjected to Principal Component Analysis. A forced method was employed, resulting in the extraction of five factors extracted. The decision to use a forced method was based on two reasons. Firstly, the study incorporated five constructs consisting of statements related to factors identified in the existing literature and theoretical understanding of multicultural TV production. The aim was to determine which construct best reflected journalists' perspectives of factors influencing their multicultural news production. Secondly, the forced method was chosen to simplify the generation of numerous factors for easier interpretation and to facilitate the determination of a statistically meaningful rotated factor cut-off point (Yong & Pearce, 2013). Due to difficulties in calculating the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity, likely due to the small sample size, the researcher had to separately apply these tests for each of the five constructs.

Table 17: Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity

Constructs	KMO and Bartlett's Test	
Multicultural media Production practices		.609
	Approx. Chi-Square	729.789
	Df	190
	Sig.	.000
Level of Media Literacy Skills		.687
	Approx. Chi-Square	716.026
	Df	153
	Sig.	.000

Freedom of Multicultural Production		.703
	Approx. Chi-Square	131.095
	Df	21
	Sig.	.000
Views on Salary and Allowance		.668
	Approx. Chi-Square	226.700
	Df	21
	Sig.	.000
Impact of Organizational Culture and Managerial issues		.648
	Approx. Chi-Square	148.202
	Df	28
	Sig.	.000

The KMO (Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin) and Bartlett's Test results for each of the five factors are presented in the Table 17. Among the constructs, "Journalists' own view about their freedom on multicultural news production" had the highest KMO and Bartlett's Test value of 0.703, followed by "Views on the level of their respective media literacy skills" with a value of 0.687, and "Views on their salary and allowance" with a value of 0.668. On the other hand, the constructs "Journalists' views on Multicultural news media production practices" and "Impact of Organizational Culture and managerial issues" had the lowest KMO values of 0.609 and 0.648, respectively. All the KMO and Bartlett's Test values are theoretically acceptable as values above 0.6 indicate sufficient sampling adequacy. The results show a significant relationship between all the factors of multicultural news media production, suggesting that the factors successfully predict journalists' beliefs and involvement in this area. However, the relatively modest KMO and Bartlett's values can be attributed to the small sample size, which is not ideal for standard factor analysis. Since the study primarily focused on subjective viewpoints, more importance was placed on the values of individual items within the extracted factors.

Table 18: Total Variance Explained for Journalistic Practices in newsrooms

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% Of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% Of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% Of Variance	Cumulative %
1	12.644	21.073	21.073	12.644	21.073	21.073	8.701	14.502	14.502
2	6.177	10.296	31.369	6.177	10.296	31.369	8.114	13.523	28.025
3	4.743	7.905	39.274	4.743	7.905	39.274	5.573	9.289	37.313
4	4.495	7.492	46.766	4.495	7.492	46.766	4.508	7.513	44.826
5	3.286	5.477	52.243	3.286	5.477	52.243	4.450	7.417	52.243
6	3.006	5.010	57.253						
7	2.360	3.933	61.186						
8	2.089	3.481	64.667						

9	1.962	3.270	67.938
10	1.710	2.849	70.787

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Table 18 displays the results of Principal Component Analysis, indicating the total variance explained by each component. It includes the initial eigenvalues, extraction sums of squared loadings, and rotation sums of squared loadings, along with the percentage of variance and cumulative percentages. Component 1 accounts for 21.073% of the total variance, with corresponding values of 12.644 for initial eigenvalue and extraction sums of squared loadings. The cumulative percentage for Component 1 is also 21.073%. Component 2 explains 10.296% of the variance, with values of 6.177 for initial eigenvalue and extraction sums of squared loadings. The cumulative percentage for Component 2 is 31.369%. Component 3 contributes 7.905% of the total variance, with values of 4.743 for initial eigenvalue and extraction sums of squared loadings. The cumulative percentage for Component 3 is 39.274%. Similarly, component 4 explains 7.492% of the variance, with values of 4.495 for initial eigenvalue and extraction sums of squared loadings. The cumulative percentage for Component 4 is 46.766%. Component 5 accounts for 5.477% of the total variance, with values of 3.286 for initial eigenvalue and extraction sums of squared loadings. The cumulative percentage for component 5 is 52.243%. Overall, this table provides a comprehensive and insightful overview of the variance distribution across the components derived from the data.

Table 19: Rotated Component Matrix for Journalists' View of Multicultural News Media Production

Rotated Component Matrix					
	Component (Factors)				
	A	B	C	D	E
30. I can accurately produce and report stories on females and males regardless of their difference.	.800				
33. I recognize and express cultural realities of different groups of people in programs produce.	.750				
38. I work on the news and talk shows of diversified sources because it is my normative responsibility.	.747				
29. I learn more valuable things while I work on producing some cultural stories.	.724				
26. I can easily access sources who could give me information about specific cultures of certain community.	.710				
24. I collect stories in language that is different from language of transmission that is used in the media institution I work in.	.705				

31. I can accurately produce and report stories of religion regardless of religious differences.	.684				
28. I can easily create any media text that is meaningful to some cultural group in our country.	.666				
32. I can accurately report about every culture regardless political differences.	.645				
27. I can easily analyze and understand the meaning and value of the cultures I produce	.629				
21. I can easily understand different language, ethnic and religious groups for my journalistic practice	.583				
23. The news and talk show produce constitute issues of ethnicity, religion and culture	.579				
36. I plan and move to different sources of news and information located at different region/culture/ethnic groups even if it is different from my own.	.575				
22. I can easily understand local cultures of people wherever I go for journalistic field work in Ethiopia.	.555				
25. I feel I have language skills to produce stories of different cultures in Ethiopia.	.551				
37. I often prefer to work with sources nearby than remoter local areas to produce cultural stories.	.547				
35. I work on the news and information of diversified sources to accommodate diversities of cultures.	.530				
43. There is a program production guideline that directs me to produce programs on cultural practices of different groups.	.507				
34. I try to use texts that express different emotions and thoughts of people about their cultural values.	.483				
12. I feel cultural differences are important for the promotion of diversities in TV.		.755			
10. I easily connect with journalists of different culture/ethnic to increase my understanding of different cultural groups at my workplace.		.735			
13. I admire and encourage people to reflect their cultural and religious identities on media despite their ethnic differences.		.715			
11. I believe any culture, religion and ethnic group is no better than the other.		.675			
8. I feel free telling people about my own ethnic, cultural and religious background while I make interview with them.		.636			
19. I write more about popular cultures of certain ethnic groups because they give me more sense.		.628			
7. I feel comfortable to write about once cultural and political history.		.591			
14. I wish if I would produce more news and programs on my own religion.		.566			
3. My ethnic background has no influence on the cultural stories I produce		-.547			
15. I give more time to finding out my ethnic roots and history to use them as a source.		.545			

9. I work to reduce practices that undermine equality of people based on ethnicity, religion and political views		-.545			
1. I produce news and talk shows on diversified cultures in Ethiopia.		-.541			
6. I believe that the stories I produce in this organization do not misrepresent people based on their gender, religion and ethnic background.		-.531			
17. I have sources of news and information from my own ethnic groups		.518			
5. I believe in diversity of cultures, and work for peaceful co-existence of different civilizations and cultures in television.		-.509			
20. I feel it is not important to be identified as members of some ethnic/religious groups on TV.		-.482			
2. I fairly select news and information sources based on once ethnic and religious background.		.442			
16. I would like to write and report stories on ethnic identity.		.437			
18. I work with different news and entertainment sources regardless of their ethnic/religious and cultural background.		.428			
51. There are other benefit packages in addition to my salary that the institution is offering.			.838		
50. There is a time shared for advertising during the transmission time of the program I produce.			.774		
47. The salary I get is adequate to lead my life working with this profession.			.719		
52. I think I can consider myself as one of the middle-income classes in our country, Ethiopia			.707		
49. There are some benefits I get because of the nature of programs I produce from various sources (i.e., advertising			.676		
46. The media/television organization in which I am working pays me in accordance with my journalistic performance.			.545		
48. My salary increases according to my years of experiences.			.494		
42. I believe the media laws in Ethiopia do not suppress cultural practices that I produce and transmit.				.788	
40. I exercise my conscience to produce programs about cultures of different ethnic groups.				.576	
41. I had never encountered editorial censorship when I produce and disseminate cultural stories of different ethnic groups.				.557	
39. I feel I have a freedom to write and report about once culture without interference from editors and directors				.541	
43. There is a program production guideline that directs me to produce programs on cultural practices of different groups.				.507	
44. Editorial policy of the media organization in which I am working encourages the production and dissemination of diversified groups.				.506	
45. The editorial policy in my media organization allows me to produce programs in language of any ethnic group in Ethiopia.				.495	
53. Tolerance and respect for ethnic cultures is one of the core normative values in editorial policy of the organization I am					780

working in.					
55. I believe that the operational management of the media organization and its policy encourages the view that cultures are equal.					.770
57. I believe there is a policy/system that fairly distribute costs of cultural productions and consumptions.	.				.581
58. Women have chances for producing, using their conscience independently to right stories on cultural and political issues.					.563
56. The media management policy considers the variety of cultures represented in the media as a public good having economic values.					-.508
54. I select topical stories of different political and cultural views based on the issues of priority set by the media organization I am working in.					.502
59. There are women editors and managers at the top-level management.					.490
60. There is a good understanding of multicultural program production in the management.					.408
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. ^a					
a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.					

Factor Loadings and Naming of the Factors

The rotated component matrix reveals the distribution of 60 items across five factors. Factor A contains 19 items, Factor B contains 19 items, Factor C and Factor D contain 7 items each and Factor E contains 8 items. The naming of each factor was determined based on the construct associated with the highest number of loaded items. For instance, Factor A, with 19 loaded items, corresponds to "journalists' views on multicultural media production practices," specifically related to the level of their multicultural media literacy skills. The naming of the other factors followed a similar procedure.

Factor A: Multicultural Media Literacy Skills (MMLIs)

Factor A, named as "journalists' views on multicultural Media Literacy Skills (MMLIs)," primarily represents perspectives on multicultural news literacy. Notably, item 30, which emphasizes accurate reporting on gender differences, exhibits the highest loading value of 0.800, followed by item 33, highlighting the recognition and expression of cultural realities in programs (loading value: 0.750). Reene (2021) and Martinsson (2009) have suggested that media literacy skills are essential for active engagement in a media-driven society, and these skills can also be

connected to the concept of gender-sensitive reporting. Conversely, item 34, pertaining to the utilization of texts conveying emotions and thoughts about cultural values, demonstrates the lowest loading value of 0.483. This indicates that journalists appear to express significant concerns regarding their multicultural literacy, but they are not sure on the adequacy of their utilization of critical textual representations concerning cultural values. This discrepancy undermines Kellner's (2005) assertion that media literacy encompasses the acquisition of skills, knowledge, and intellectual frameworks necessary for comprehending and crafting texts. The factor, therefore, suggests that journalists are sensitive towards gender-related issues in their production practices, while their ability to effectively convey cultural values through textual means is relatively limited. Importantly, the study reveals that journalists' belief in their multicultural media literacy skills strongly predicts their engagement in multicultural media production within newsrooms, surpassing the influence of their ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds. This significant finding aligns with insights from interviews conducted with newsroom journalists:

I don't personally focus on such ethnic identity issue. It is really a blessing to be multilingual for many reasons. My colleagues get surprised when I try to speak and translate Afan Oromo. I am so much happy and successful in my daily routine activities as I can communicate with speakers at the field (HT6, May 2022).

Overall, Factor A strongly reflects the significance of media literacy skills, particularly in relation to language proficiency across diverse ethnic cultures, as a key determinant of multicultural media production. According to Gizeyalew and Sisay (2019), digital media literacy encompasses the abilities to access, manage, understand, and create information, all of which are interconnected with knowledge of language since comprehension relies on language proficiency.

Factor B: Multicultural News media production Practices

Factor B comprises 19 items that specifically capture journalists' perceptions of multicultural news production practices. The item "I feel cultural differences are important for the promotion of diversities in TV" (item 12) exhibits the highest loading value of 0.755 in this factor. It entails journalists' belief on the significance of cultural diversity in television. This was closely followed by "I easily connect with journalists of different culture/ethnic to increase my understanding of different cultural groups at my workplace" (item 10), with a loading value of

0.735, denoting the journalists' intercultural competence. Conversely, the item "I work with different news and entertainment sources regardless of their ethnic, religious, and cultural background" (item 18) demonstrates the lowest loading value of 0.428 in this Factor. This statement suggests the journalists' commitment to embracing cultures other than their own in their production practices. However, it is noteworthy that external factors related to journalists' interactions could have influenced the actual loading value. Furthermore, the item "I would like to write and report stories on ethnic identity" (item 16) exhibits a loading value of 0.370, indicating a relatively lower inclination among journalists to produce stories concerning issues of ethnic identities.

Factor C: Journalists Salary and Incentives

The remuneration and incentives received by journalists are closely linked to their engagement in producing news and entertainment content that reflects diverse cultural perspectives. In particular, the field allowances granted to journalists serve as a significant indicator of their involvement in gathering stories from multicultural contexts. Among the factors analyzed, Item 51, which pertains to the availability of additional benefit packages provided by the institution, exhibited the highest loading score of 0.838 in this factor. It was closely followed by Item 50, which indicates the inclusion of advertising time during program broadcasts (loading value: 0.774). Conversely, Item 48, which expresses the belief that salaries increase with years of experience, displayed the lowest loading value of 0.494 in this factor. The loading results of this factor suggest that journalists generally hold an optimistic perception regarding the benefit packages they receive, while also perceiving a disparity between salary increments and years of experience. This observation aligns with the findings in the political economy section, which indicate a decrease in the rate of salary increments for journalists with over ten years of experience, despite higher increments for those with less than ten years of experience. This factor is about the financial security of journalists which plays a crucial role in their ability to effectively engage with diverse cultural groups. According to interviewed journalists, the availability of incentives, field allowances, and material resources directly impact their access to a wide range of news sources, particularly in diverse areas. This aspect has been extensively explored in the study of contents in prior sections.

Factor D: Freedom for Multicultural News Media Production

The level of journalistic freedom within news media organizations has a direct impact on multicultural news media production. Journalists' beliefs about their freedom were found to be predictive of their engagement in multicultural media production. Several items measuring journalists' perspectives on the freedom of multicultural production were included in the study. The item with the highest score (0.788) was "I believe the media laws in Ethiopia do not suppress cultural practices that I produce and transmit" (item 42). This was closely followed by "I exercise my conscience to produce programs about cultures of different ethnic groups" (item 40). These findings suggest that journalists in media houses have a certain degree of freedom to create programs that represent diverse cultures. Promoting the freedom of the press is an essential aspect of upholding communication rights, which involve establishing laws and cultural practices that enable the active involvement of all sectors of society (Hackett, 2013). To ensure the realization of communication rights, it is crucial to foster an environment where press freedom is safeguarded. This entails creating legal frameworks and nurturing cultural norms that facilitate the full engagement of every segment of society. However, the item which states "the editorial policy in my media organization allows me to produce programs in the language of any ethnic group in Ethiopia" (item 45) received the lowest loading value of 0.495 in this factor. This indicates that while journalists generally believe they have the freedom to produce content on diverse cultures, there are some restrictions imposed by editorial policies.

Factor E: Organizational Culture and Managerial Issues

Although organizational culture and managerial issues may influence the conditions for multicultural production in TV channels, they may not be considered as the main factors affecting multicultural media production in this study. The highest-scoring item (0.780) within this factor states that "tolerance and respect for ethnic cultures is one of the core normative values in the editorial policy of the organization I am working in" (item 53). It is closely followed by the belief that "the operational management of the media organization and its policy encourages the view that cultures are equal" (value: 0.770). These findings suggest that journalists generally perceive the editorial culture and attitudes of media managers as promoting cultural equality. However, journalists express less confidence in the management's understanding of multicultural program production, as indicated by the lowest loading value in

this factor (0.408). Therefore, while journalists are optimistic about managerial decisions regarding multicultural production practices, they do not have strong confidence in the management's level of experience and understanding in this area.

Cross Loadings and Zero Loadings

In factor analysis, it is common for a single item to be associated with multiple factors, which can create cross-loadings. To address this, a strategy often employed is to remove items that show higher loadings on factors other than the intended one. In this study, seven items (items 15, 16, 23, 35, 39, 41, and 59) were cross loaded onto at least two factors. To ensure clarity in interpretation, these items were excluded from the analysis. One item (item 4) had zero loading and was loaded onto Factor B. This item pertains to the journalists' feelings about their religious background's impact on their values and how they produce stories about others' religions. The absence of loading values for this item is likely due to journalists' hesitancy to express their internal sentiments regarding sensitive issues related to their religious and ethnic identities in Ethiopia. In the ETV newsroom, there have been reported occurrences where interviewees declined to address inquiries concerning ethnic and religious affiliations, suggesting a management stance against actions that could potentially undermine societal cohesion. Consequently, the subjective perspectives articulated by journalists may not entirely encapsulate the complexities of their identities, influenced as they are by political ideologies and organizational constraints.

Post Sorting Interview

After participating in the item sorting process, journalists were interviewed for their impressions and insights. These interviews proved valuable in exploring individual perspectives on multicultural news production and the supportive environment for such practices in their newsrooms. The interviewees emphasized the importance of the competencies required for producing multicultural programs and expressed a strong belief in their roles. However, they also noted that certain statements posed challenges and required critical thinking from different perspectives. They found that these statements were intricate, addressing subjective and diverse behaviors, multicultural understanding, and attitudes towards promoting diversity and inclusion

Consequently, these factors influenced the journalists' sorting experiences, as their

understandings may not have perfectly aligned with the theoretically defined constructs, potentially impacting the loading values. The post-sorting interviews with the journalists yielded two important insights. Firstly, they were not fully aware of whether they had adequately embraced diversity in their production practices, as the sorting exercise provided their first opportunity to critically examine their roles as multicultural news media producers. Secondly, they expressed uncertainty about the extent to which their cultural backgrounds might have influenced their behaviors and journalistic practices within a multicultural society. Despite the positive and higher loadings in their sorting experiences, most journalists lacked confidence in their level of multicultural media literacy. They acknowledged the significance of multicultural production values and believed they were operating accordingly. However, their reflections revealed that multicultural media literacy was closely linked to language and culture of the sources. They encountered difficulties understanding the diverse cultures and languages among their sources, often relying on community translators or their own teams in such situations.

Additionally, journalists' level of freedom is influenced by their economic situation. The interviews highlighted that remuneration, incentives, and field allowances they receive directly impact their performance. Organizational cultures and editorial policies regarding the inclusion of disadvantaged groups, such as gender and disabilities, also shape the media environment. An interviewee from Fana TV channel mentioned that limited intercultural competence among journalists can be attributed to the lack of interaction between gender groups within newsrooms.

Our efforts to cover gender issues are ongoing, but it is challenging to consider our coverage as sufficient. The issue extends beyond mere attention; there is a need for increased awareness and understanding of gender groups. Unfortunately, there is a tendency to conduct interviews predominantly with individuals of the same gender, limiting interaction with cross-gender groups. To empower women and bring them to the forefront, meaningful engagement and interaction with them are crucial (TJ, Fana TV Journalist, April 2022).

This indicates that journalists' level of freedom is influenced by their economic situation. The interviews highlighted that the remuneration, incentives, and field allowances they receive directly impact their performance. Organizational cultures and editorial policies regarding the inclusion of disadvantaged groups, such as gender and disabilities, also shape the media

environment. An interviewee from Fana TV channel mentioned that limited intercultural competence among journalists can be attributed to the lack of interaction between gender groups within newsrooms.

Education and Curricula: A recent study by Sutrisno (2023) suggests that educating individuals about culture and media can aid in their comprehension of how shifting media consumption patterns influence cultural identity. The study emphasizes the importance of incorporating curricula that teach critical skills for analyzing media content and comprehending its effects on cultural identity. In this study, key informant interviews conducted with journalism educators from various universities indicate that journalists in Ethiopia possess inadequate media literacy skills, primarily due to the absence of comprehensive attention to multicultural literacy within the journalism curricula. Consequently, graduates of journalism tend to exhibit partisan and opinionated tendencies as they are employed in various media organizations. One respondent noted that journalists fail to critically assess the impact of the information they disseminate, highlighting their limited professional integrity in accommodating diversity.

Furthermore, the journalism and communications curriculum in Ethiopia is criticized for its superficial treatment of diversity, failing to accurately reflect current realities and lacking essential courses on subjects such as peace journalism and media diversity. Merawi and Ageze (2023) have recently examined the trajectory of the Ethiopian educational curriculum and found that the development of postmodern curriculum has resulted in the exclusion of various perspectives, particularly those of educated professionals, in the curriculum development process. According to Sánchez (2022), leadership, particularly within educational spheres, is intricately intertwined with cultural frameworks, undergoing extensive scrutiny, theoretical exploration, and practical application. In the context of overseeing journalism and communication curricula within Ethiopian higher education institutions, it becomes imperative to integrate a spectrum of cultural values. Successfully navigating leadership in this milieu necessitates adopting a culturally attuned approach aimed at fostering the cultivation of multicultural ideals. Additionally, there exists a prevalent disregard for significant values, religious and cultural doctrines, alongside a palpable detachment from indigenous wisdom and principles. Given the importance of multiculturalism in diverse societies, the study's implications for journalism and communication curricula in Ethiopia is worth noting. Reframing the approach

to teaching and learning in the field of communication and journalism to embrace a more profound understanding of cultural and epistemic dialogue, as suggested by Moyo and Moyo (2020), has the potential to address the issue of multicultural integration in Ethiopia. By incorporating cultural diversities and the values they entail into the communication and journalism curriculum, the nation can take strides towards resolving this problem.

In the newsrooms, it has been suggested that journalists are often recruited without sufficient consideration of their journalistic competencies. On the other hand, some respondents argue that the national media landscape in Ethiopia is heavily influenced by specific ethnic groups, thereby undermining the realistic portrayal of diversity in media content. Consequently, the existing curriculum necessitates reassessment and revision to bridge the gap between theoretical knowledge and practical aspects of journalism, as well as to address issues pertaining to diversity. Overall, the themes emerging from the educators' perspectives include the intercultural competence of journalists, their media literacy skills and biases, the lack of professional integrity in accommodating diversity, and the deficiencies in the journalism curriculum. Consequently, the responses underscore the need for substantial changes in these areas.

4.6 Multicultural Television Viewing

This section explores the characteristics of multicultural TV viewing in the three TV channels. Multicultural TV viewing can be approached and comprehended through various perspectives. Understanding TV viewers' preferences is crucial for television program producers and news presenters. Audiences have more choices that align with their specific needs. According to research, a significant portion of the multiethnic and multilingual audience relies heavily on mainstream national TV for their news consumption. The reason is that national news channels are considered crucial in providing essential resources for citizenship (Gillespie et al., 2010). This finding reveals the dual dynamics of media production and consumption: the first being the newsroom's responsibility to cater to multicultural groups, and the second being the audience's freedom to choose. The political economic factors also influence the state of audiences' consumption. In Ethiopia, viewers encounter challenges in accessing television content primarily due to the substantial financial barriers associated with acquiring a TV set. The cost of purchasing a television set varies between 25,000 ETB to 210,000 ETB, contingent upon the brand and quality of the display. The economic dimension of TV viewing imposes significant

demands on individuals. Further, the study examines the social, cultural, political, and representational factors intertwined with the practice of television viewing.

Audience Demographics

There has been an effort to ensure diversity in the selection of participants for sorting subjective items. In terms of ethnic groups, the distribution was as follows: 33% Oromos, 29% Amharas, 9.5% individuals from other ethnic groups (including Sidama, Gurage, Sumale, Silte, and others). Regarding mother tongue languages, 36% Afan Oromo speakers, 30.5% Amharic speakers, 7.5% Tigrigna speakers, 7% Sidama and Sumale speakers, and some smaller percentages from other language backgrounds. In terms of religion, the participation was: 42.5% Orthodox, 36% Protestants, 10% Muslims, and 11.5% Wakefata followers. It is important to note that ethnic groups and mother tongue languages appeared to be intertwined. For example, the percentage of Oromo ethnic group participants was not equal to the percentage of participants whose mother tongue was Afan Oromo. This suggests the presence of non-Oromo ethnic groups with Afan Oromo as their mother tongue. A similar pattern was observed with the Amhara ethnic group. Likewise, there were individuals from the Tigray ethnic group whose mother tongue was not necessarily Tigrigna, indicating that ethnic identification did not always align with the participants' mother tongue language.

Table 20: Demographic distribution of respondents by ethnic group, language and religion(N=200)

Ethnic Group	Mother Tongue				Religion			
		%		%		%		%
Oromo	66	33	Afan Oromo	72	36.0	Orthodox	85	42.5
Amhara	58	29	Amharic	61	30.5	Protestant	72	36
Tigray	19	9.5	Tigrigna	15	7.5	Muslim	20	10
Sidama	14	7	Sidama	14	7.0	Wakefata	23	11.5
Gurage	13	6.5	Garaginga	11	5.5	Catholic	0	0
Somali	13	6.5	Somali	14	7.0	Others	0	0
Silte	7	3.5	Siltenga	7	3.5			
Other	10	5	Other	6	3			
Total	200			200			200	

In terms of region or city of residence, participants were selected from Addis Ababa City, Adama, Diredawa, Hawassa, and Jimma, with each city accounting for 20% of the total participants. This deliberate selection aimed to ensure a diverse audience from different cities. Regarding education level, the breakdown was as follows: 55.5% held a master's degree, 37.5% held a bachelor's degree, and 7% held a PhD, as shown in Table 21. An effort was made to balance gender representation, resulting in 51.5% male participants and 48.5% female participants engaging in the sorting process.

Table 21: Distribution of Respondents by Region, Education, and Gender (N=200)

Region of Residence			Education Level		Sex			
		%			%		%	
Addis Ababa	40	20	Degree	75	37.5	Male	103	51.5
Adama	40	20	MA	111	55.5	Female	97	48.5
Dire Dawa	40	20	PhD	14	7			
Hawassa	40	20						
Jimma	40	20						
Total	200	100		200	100		200	100

4.6.1 Factors Associated with Multicultural TV Viewing

Q methodology was employed, supported by SPSS Version 26 to analyze subjective viewpoints on multicultural TV viewing. This involved 60 statements which could theoretically be categorized into constructs closely related to the viewers' beliefs. Then factor analysis has been conducted. Factor analysis is a statistical technique used to simplify and identify underlying patterns in data. In this study, factor analysis was employed to explore the subjective viewpoints of TV viewers. Principal component analysis was used, and measures of sampling adequacy, such as the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) and Bartlett's Test, were conducted for each of the three TV channels. Bartlett scores are computed using maximum likelihood estimates, which are considered the most accurate in representing the "true" factor scores (DiStefano, Zhu, & Míndrilã, 2009, p. 5). The results of the KMO and Bartlett's Test indicated high values, with a KMO value of 0.911 for ETV viewers, 0.896 for Fana TV viewers, and 0.888 for Walta TV viewers. These values suggest that the sampling was valid and adequate. The high KMO and Bartlett's Test values provide confidence in the adequacy of the sampling, and the communalities confirm the appropriateness of the factor extraction process.

Table 22: Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure (KMO) of Sampling Adequacy in the three TV channels

KMO and Bartlett's Test		ETV	FANA TV	WALTA TV
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.911	.896	.888
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	8973.384	8591.480	9930.094
	Df	1770	1770	1770
	Sig.	.000	.000	.000

Table 24 illustrates the Total Variance Explained (ETV) through principal component analysis (PCA). It offers insights into eigenvalues, sums of squared loadings, and cumulative percentages of variance explained for each component or factor. Initial eigenvalues range from 21.911 for Component 1 to 1.250 for Component 10. The eigenvalue of a principal component is a measure of how much of the overall variability in the data can be accounted for by that component (Bruin, 2006). The Squared Loadings column depicts the proportion of variance explained by each component after the extraction process. For instance, Component 1 explains 36.518% of the variance, while Component 2 explains 5.917%. As more components were included, the cumulative percentage column demonstrated the accumulation of explained variance. By Component 5, the cumulative percentage of variance explained reached 54.168%. The Rotation Sums of Squared column represents the sums of squared loadings after rotation, an optional step aiming to simplify and interpret the factors. The increasing cumulative variance indicates that each subsequent component contributes to explaining the overall variance. Components could be retained based on the research objectives and desired level of explanation. The findings show five factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 in ETV news channel. A cumulative variance of 50% to 60% is typically considered satisfactory in humanities (Williams, Onsman, & Brown, 2010, p. 6).

Table 23: Total Variance Explained for ETV Viewers

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% Of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% Of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% Of Variance	Cumulative %
1	21.911	36.518	36.518	21.911	36.518	36.518	10.805	18.009	18.009
2	3.550	5.917	42.435	3.550	5.917	42.435	8.721	14.535	32.544
3	2.849	4.749	47.184	2.849	4.749	47.184	4.477	7.462	40.006
4	2.159	3.598	50.782	2.159	3.598	50.782	4.381	7.301	47.307
5	2.032	3.386	54.168	2.032	3.386	54.168	4.116	6.860	54.168
6	1.911	3.185	57.352						
7	1.421	2.368	59.720						
8	1.405	2.342	62.062						
9	1.348	2.247	64.309						
10	1.250	2.083	66.392						

In a similar vein, five factors were retained for Fana TV with the first component explaining the highest variance (35.229%). Component 2 accounts for 5.951% of the variance and contributes

to a cumulative percentage of 41.181%. The variance increasing from the third to the fifth demonstrates increasing percentages of 45.411%, 49.045%, and 52.420% respectively.

Table 24: Total Variance Explained for Fana TV Viewers

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% Of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% Of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% Of Variance	Cumulative %
1	21.14	35.23	35.23	21.14	35.23	35.229	9.693	16.155	16.155
2	3.571	5.951	41.181	3.571	5.951	41.181	7.640	12.733	28.888
3	2.538	4.231	45.411	2.538	4.231	45.411	5.931	9.885	38.773
4	2.180	3.634	49.045	2.180	3.634	49.045	4.673	7.788	46.561
5	2.025	3.375	52.420	2.025	3.375	52.420	3.516	5.859	52.420
6	1.724	2.874	55.294						
7	1.641	2.736	58.029						
8	1.451	2.418	60.447						
9	1.310	2.184	62.631						
10	1.258	2.096	64.727						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis

Walta TV's table for total variance reveals that first component has eigenvalue of 21.791, accounts for 36.318% of the total variance and explains a cumulative percentage of 36.318%. After extraction, the sum of squared loadings for Component 1 is 21.791, representing 36.318% of the variance. Following rotation, the sum of squared loadings for Component 1 becomes 10.520, explaining 17.533% of the variance. A similar pattern is observed for components 2, 3, 4, and 5, with increasing eigenvalues and cumulative percentages of variance explained. Overall, the first five components have the most substantial impact on understanding Walta TV viewership, while the remaining components contribute less to the overall variance explained.

Table 25: Total Variance Explained for Walta TV Viewers

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% Of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% Of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% Of Variance	Cumulative %
1	21.791	36.318	36.318	21.80	36.318	36.318	10.52	17.533	17.533
2	3.626	6.043	42.360	3.626	6.043	42.360	7.657	12.762	30.295
3	3.039	5.066	47.426	3.039	5.066	47.426	6.352	10.587	40.882
4	2.224	3.706	51.132	2.224	3.706	51.132	4.201	7.002	47.884

5	2.135	3.558	54.690	2.135	3.558	54.690	4.083	6.805	54.690
6	1.859	3.098	57.788						
7	1.650	2.750	60.538						
8	1.480	2.466	63.004						
9	1.437	2.395	65.400						
10	1.321	2.201	67.601						

The Varimax rotation method was utilized to extract five factors pertinent to multicultural TV viewing across different channels. Initially, employing a rotation without forced method yielded ten factors, elucidating significant portions of total variances for ETV (66.392%), Fana TV (64.727%), and Walta TV (67.601%). Furthermore, all items analysed demonstrated communalities surpassing the threshold of 1. To prevent over-factoring, the scree plot test (Gorsuch, 1983) was conducted, revealing a noticeable break following the fifth component, prompting the retention of five components for further exploration. To ascertain the suitable components for representing factors related to multicultural television viewing, a Monte Carlo PCA for Parallel analysis was conducted. This method entailed comparing the eigenvalues acquired from the actual data matrix with criterion values derived from a randomly generated data matrix, as depicted in Table 26 below.

Table 26: Comparison of Eigen Values with Criterion Value

Components	Actual Eigen Values from PCA			Criterion Value from Parallel Analysis	Decision
	ETV	Fana	Walta		
1	21.911	21.138	21.791	2.28	Accepted
2	3.550	3.571	3.626	2.26	Accepted
3	2.849	2.538	3.039	2.14	Accepted
4	2.159	2.180	2.224	1.98	Accepted
5	2.032	2.025	2.135	1.86	Accepted
6	1.711	1.724	1.859	1.79	Rejected
7	1.421	1.641	1.650	1.73	Rejected
8	1.405	1.451	1.480	1.68	Rejected
9	1.348	1.310	1.437	1.63	Rejected
10	1.250	1.258	1.321	1.58	Rejected

The rotated component matrix showed that the items were similarly loaded on different factors in ETV, Fana TV, and Walta TV. For ETV viewers, 6 items were loaded onto Factor A, 11 items onto Factor B, 17 items onto Factor C, 10 items onto Factor D, and 9 items onto Factor E. Similarly, for Fana TV viewers, 11 items were loaded onto Factor A, 6 items onto Factor B, 21 items onto Factor C, 9 items onto Factor D, and 11 items onto Factor E. Lastly, for Walta TV viewers, 10 items were loaded onto Factor A, 6 items onto Factor B, 22 items onto Factor C, 11

items onto Factor D, and 7 items onto Factor E. The findings suggest that the constructs derived from theoretical and literature-based statements are more strongly associated with the attitudes of Fana TV viewers, followed by Walta TV viewers and ETV viewers, respectively. This indicated audience segmentation across the three TV channels that basically depends on various contextual factors. In a previous study conducted by Widyatama, Suranto, and Mahbob (2021), it was indicated that the primary determinant of audience preferences is television content itself, followed by the goals of the audience, the activities of the broadcasting companies, and the influence of social networks. Similarly, Dinler, Atan, and Berberoglu (2022) discovered that the image and quality of programs presented on television channels significantly impact the audience's preferences for specific channels. The present study aimed to explore the relationship between these factors in relation to multicultural attitude and quality of multicultural news media production. The factors across three television channels confirm to the theoretical literature and variations in audience perspectives and the relative importance of each factor.

Table 27: Rotated Component Matrix for ETV channel viewers

Items	Component				
	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C	Factor D	Factor E
4. The way the channel produces and transmits my culture is attractive.	.685				
3. I watch the channel because it transmits programs that are interesting to me.	.670				
2. The TV channel produces more stories of the culture that belongs to me.	.668				
6. The channel transmits variety of programs on cultural, ethnic/religious issues.	.650				
5. I feel the channel is working regardless of one's own ethnic identity.	.583				
1. I watch the channel when I have a free time.	.475				
7. I watch the channel to get some experiences of cultures of different Ethnic groups		.696			
12. Cultural and political differences are mediated by the channel.		.690			
15. There are varieties of cultural, political and religious issues representing different groups in the channel.		.683			
16. News and talk shows in the channel 'systematically' categorize people according to their ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds.		.666			
8. I feel happy when I watch the cultural expressions on the channel even though they are different from my culture.		.624			
9. I enjoy almost all cultural programs transmitted through the channel		.619			

regardless of the ethnic/religious groups they focus.				
11. I believe that the channel focuses on multiethnic groups in its news and talk shows.		.571		
13. I feel the channel is accommodative in cultural and political news and talk shows it transmits.		.559		
14. I can easily understand cultural programs produced though they are different from my own culture.		.558		
10. I like to watch the news and talk shows of typical traditional cultural experiences.		.479		
17. I tolerate different political and cultural views transmitted by the channel.		.417		
18. The channel produces news and talk shows for diversified cultural groups.			.723	
37. The way stories produced are free from biases in their presentations of cultural and political groups			.711	
38. The channel produces more news and programs on minorities, disabled groups/individuals or groups needing special care.			.696	
29. The channel allocates nearly equal time for languages of different ethnic groups.			.677	
28. Programs focusing on different age groups are equally represented in the channel.			.639	
19. I watch the channel because it transmits both my own culture and other groups' cultural values.			.621	
20. I feel the channel equally represents Ethiopian people regardless of their cultural and ethnic differences.			.611	
22. The channel produces different educative programs on women.			.595	
32. The news and talk shows in the channel are all inclusive in cultural and political issues they produce.			.584	
26. The channel produces more programs on people of higher economic classes.			.566	
36. I can refer to some Talk shows/stories that are reflections of Ethiopian cultural diversity in the channel.			.547	
21. The channel fairly represents most religious groups in Ethiopia.			.531	
34. I feel people of diversified cultures have got equal opportunity in participating in the production or consumption of news and talk shows in the channel.			.528	
23. I like the programs that are produced by women journalists in the channel.			.458	
24. I feel comfortable if I find myself in the channel regardless of my sex.			.452	
33. I feel that I need more news and programs on social and political issues transmitted in my own language.			.438	

30. I feel there are equal representations of voices for different ethnic groups in the news and talk shows transmitted by the Channel.			.433	
57. I feel strong management is needed for skilled production of cultural programs.			.775	
58. I feel it is better to create a system that fairly distributes the cost of production and distribution among different cultural groups in Ethiopia.			.696	
54. I feel there are some skills and knowledge that journalists producing programs of diversified cultural groups need to develop.			.633	
50. The news stories and talk shows in the channel are attractive to watch.			.642	
60. I feel free watching the channel because of its quality in cultural production.			.618	
51. The programs in the channel are well designed and they hook my attention.			.618	
59. I generally believe that the channel has a good sense for all cultural stories and produce them in an attractive way.			.608	
56. I feel organizational management of the channel and its policy encourages diversity and equality of culture.			.593	
52. Journalists producing about cultures in the channel have better understanding of different cultural groups.			.571	
55. The channel gives more time for advertisements, and less focus on the transmission of diversified cultures.			.474	
41. I would like if the channel produced more programs about my own ethnic culture				.689
46. Most of the news and programs in the channel are different from my own cultural and political views.				.643
45. I waste more time to find out news and programs focusing on my ethnic background and history in the channel.				.590
49. I feel most of the journalists in the channel are not from my ethnic group				.546
44. Topical news stories focus on political and cultural views/interests/ of my ethnic group.				.540
48. The channel transmits programs with a clear sense of my ethnic background.				.538
47. Political protests of my ethnic group are emphasized in the channel.				.531
42. The channel host guests from my language, cultural, ethnic and religious group on the talk shows.				.524
43. I feel the channel is notable in its production and transmission of my culture.				.457
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.				
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.				
a. Rotation converged in 13 iterations.				

4.6.2 Naming of the Factors

The factors in the analysis were ordered and named based on the number of items loaded onto them, indicating their contribution to multicultural TV viewership. For example, in the case of ETV, all the items from the construct of "audiences' preference," which is one of the factors influencing multicultural TV viewing, were exclusively loaded onto Factor A. As a result, the given to each of the factors vary for each TV channel.

Factor A: Tolerance of Diversity

Statements related to the concept of "Tolerance of Diversity" were loaded under "Factor A" for both Fana TV and Walta TV channels (Appendix, A and B). The highest loading score for Fana TV (0.711) was item number 7, stating "I watch the channel to experience cultures of different ethnic groups." On Walta TV, item number 12 had the highest loading score of 0.725, suggesting that the channel appeals to viewers interested in exploring their cultural and political disparities. This finding highlights the role of television in reflecting and shaping individual identities. Similarly, Assyltayeva et al. (2023) also found that mass media play a significant role in identity formation. Although both Fana TV and Walta TV measured the construct of "tolerance of diversity" similarly, there were specific differences in subjective opinions within this factor between the two channels. The lowest loading score for Fana TV (0.434) was item number 17, which says "I tolerate different political and cultural views transmitted by the channel." In contrast, for Fana TV, item number 7 had the highest loading score. This suggests slight differences among assumptions of audiences within the same factor influencing their attitudes toward "tolerance of diversity." It can also be inferred that audiences generally hold a positive attitude toward tolerance of diversity, but their beliefs on viability of tolerating specific cultural and political views present challenges, as indicated by the scores of the loaded items in this factor.

Factor B: Audiences' Choice

Six items of "audiences' preference" were loaded onto Factor A in ETV, whereas for Fana TV and Walta TV viewers, these items were loaded onto Factor B. This indicates that ETV aligns more closely with audience preferences compared to the other two channels. Item 4 loaded with highest score (0.685) in Factor A. It states "the way the channel produces and transmits my culture is attractive." This was closely followed by item number 3, which states "I watch the

channel because it transmits programs that are interesting to me" with a loading score of 0.670. The item with the lowest loading score in this factor was 0.475, "I watch the channel when I have free time." It is important to note that factor loadings with a score of ± 0.30 or higher are considered acceptable in factor analysis(Williams, Onsmann, & Brown, 2010). To accurately represent the construct of audience preference, it is more appropriate to designate Factor B as the "Audience Choice" factor, as items related to this construct were loaded onto Factor B for both Fana TV and Walta TV. Therefore, it can be argued that audience preference is a defining characteristic of multicultural viewing, exhibiting similarity across commercial channels, while it counts differently in government TV channel. According to a study conducted by Park et al. (2023), it was discovered that multicultural audiences tend to place greater trust in the news and engage more actively in discussions about news and current events when they perceive themselves as being accurately represented. In a similar wise, multicultural audiences' interest to news produced specifically for their diverse backgrounds can also serve as an indication of trust, as it reflects their confidence in the content.

Factor C: Fair Representation

The concept of "fair representation" was found to be a common factor among the audiences in the three TV channels. The viewers beliefs of fair representation on television directly influences their viewing experience. This factor of 'fair representation' is associated with multicultural TV viewing in both the government-owned ETV and the commercial television channels. However, there are variations in the loading scores and subjective statements across the three channels. For example, item number 18, which states "the channel produces news and talk shows for diversified cultural groups," had the highest loading score in Factor C for ETV, indicating a stronger belief in equal representation among ETV viewers compared to Fana and Walta TV viewers. Item number 29, which suggests equal airtime allocation for languages of different ethnic groups, had the highest loading scores for Fana TV and Walta TV. However, this belief may not align with the practical reality, indicating a bias among the audiences in perceiving state television as marginalizing various groups. On the other hand, item number 25, which refers to producing programs focused on educated elites, had the lowest loading scores for both Fana TV and Walta TV. This indicates neither of these channels specifically caters to educated elites in Ethiopia. Therefore, audiences' beliefs in 'Fair representation' differ across channels.

Factor D: Quality of Multicultural Programs

Items associated to "Quality of Multicultural Programs" were loaded to Factor D in both ETV and Walta TV channels. However, for Fana TV viewers, items related to audiences' belief about their own ethnic identity were loaded to this factor. In ETV, item number 57, which expresses the belief that "strong management is needed for highly skilled production of cultural programs," had the highest loading score of 0.775. On the other hand, for Walta TV viewers, it was item number 51, stating that "the programs in the channel are well designed and hook my attention," with the highest loading score of 0.688. These values indicate that ETV viewers perceive the quality of multicultural production as needing improvement, while Walta TV viewers believe that the programs are of high quality.

In contrast to the other two channels, items associated with ethnic identity were loaded onto Factor D for Fana TV viewers. Item number 41, which expresses the desire for more programs on one's own ethnic culture, had the highest loading score of 0.770. Conversely, item number 47, which states that "political protests of my ethnic groups are emphasized in the channel," had the lowest loading value. Viewers place a higher value on their own ethnic identity or higher level of ethnic identity salience is associated with Fana TV viewing compared to ETV or Walta TV channels. Furthermore, item number 55, which states that "the channel gives more time for advertisements and less focus on the transmission of diversified cultures," had the lowest loading score of 0.474 in both ETV and Walta TV channels. This indicates that advertisements do not significantly affect the representation of multicultural groups in terms of airtime allocation or hinder the quality of multicultural production in both government-owned and privately owned TV channels.

Factor E: Views on Ethnic Identities

Factor E, named as "Ethnic Identity," exhibited strong loadings with items pertaining to viewers' perspectives on ethnic identity in both the ETV and Walta TV channels. However, in the case of Fana TV, items related to the construct of "Quality of Multicultural Programs" were associated with this factor. Notably, item number 41, which expresses the desire for increased production of programs about one's own ethnic culture, received the highest loading score of 0.689 for ETV viewers and 0.697 for Walta TV viewers. Conversely, ETV viewers assigned the lowest loading score of 0.457 to item number 43, which says the channel lacks prominence in producing and

transmitting their culture. Similarly, Walta TV viewers assigned the lowest loading value of 0.455 to item number 42, which highlights the hosting of guests from their language, cultural, ethnic, and religious groups indicating their lower gratifications toward viewing it.

Cross loadings: Cross-loading arise from the idea that a variable can have moderate-sized loadings on more than one factor, which can complicate interpretation. It should be noted that in any rotation criterion, the possibility of items with cross-loadings exists. Cross-loading refers to the extent to which a variable or item correlates with multiple factors (Schmitt & Sass, 2011). In the context of this study, cross-loadings can be interpreted as interconnectedness of beliefs among TV audiences. However, the decision of whether to ignore or interpret cross-loadings often depends on the items and the sample size. According to Le and Cheong (2010), for a sample size of 200, a cross-loading greater than 0.4 is typically deleted for clearer interpretations. Since the scores of all the items with cross-loadings were above 0.4 in this study, the researcher chose to delete the cross-loadings to ensure clear interpretations. Multiple loadings were more commonly observed in Fana TV and Walta TV compared to ETV, indicating the intersectionality and complexities of audiences' worldviews in multicultural TV viewership. This phenomenon was observed more frequently in commercial TV channels than in the government-owned TV channel. The theory of intersectionality suggests that individuals create a unique social space based on their lived experiences, wherein they may simultaneously belong to multiple social groups and hold multiple social identities, leading to the presence of multiple worldviews (Settles & Buchanan, 2013). Consequently, the occurrence of multiple loadings in multicultural TV viewing may be linked to the intricate beliefs held by audiences regarding this subject.

Zero Loadings: In the extracted factors of the three TV channels, there were instances of zero loadings, indicating no relationship between items and the corresponding factors of multicultural TV viewership. ETV viewers had the highest number of items with zero loadings, followed by Walta TV, while Fana TV had only two items with no loading values. This suggests that the specific statements in the survey are more associated with the beliefs of Fana TV viewers compared to the other channels. The items with zero loadings were dropped from the rotated components. For example, item 25, which states "the channel produces more programs for people of higher educational levels," was excluded as it had no value in Factor C, indicating that

it does not align well with audiences' beliefs regarding "equality of representation." Similarly, item 35 ("the channel does sufficiently broadcast stories of my religion") and item 39 ("I don't give my own value judgment to the cultural programs produced in the channel") had no relation to the construct of "fair representation." Additionally, item 40 ("I equally enjoy all the cultural programs transmitted by the channel") showed no relation with construct "fair representation." Furthermore, item 53 ("I feel journalists working in the channel are responsible for the quality of the news stories and talk shows on cultural issues") was loaded onto Factor D with zero loadings.

On the other hand, for Fana TV, items 24 and 25 ("I feel comfortable if I find myself in the channel regardless of my sex" and "the channel produces more programs on people of higher educational levels," respectively) were loaded onto Factor C with zero values. This suggests that beliefs regarding social class and gendered views among Fana TV audiences do not strongly associate with "tolerance of diversity." In the case of Walta TV, item 17 ("I tolerate different political and cultural views transmitted by the channel") does not relate to Factor B, indicating viewers' positive outlook for political and cultural programs on Walta TV does not directly indicate their tolerance of diversity. Additionally, item 24 in Walta TV, indicates no significant association with viewers' beliefs on "equality of representation." Moreover, items 43 ("I feel the channel is notable in its production and transmission of my culture") and 44 ("topical news stories focus on the political and cultural views of my ethnic group") were loaded onto Factor E with no significant factor score.

4.6.3 Post-Sorting Interviews

Conducting post-sorting interviews is crucial in Q methodology research to delve deeper into the beliefs of audiences and understand why they sorted the items in their preferred ways. Through these interviews, participants expressed various views, including the influence of the shift in TV channel transmission from foreign-based satellite services like Nile Sat to an Ethiopian-based service called Ethio Sat. They mentioned that foreign-based satellite TV allowed them to access a wider range of global news information. This indicated a somewhat unfavorable attitude towards the content produced by Ethiopian television channels for some viewers. One participant highlighted this shift and its impact on their TV viewing habits:

"I rarely watch and sometimes I focus on topical issues. I even lost that opportunity after the shift of the Ethiopian government from overseas satellite communications to the home-based Ethiosat that gives no opportunity to watch international news. Otherwise, I don't pay much attention to the televisions." (AL, Key informant interview, January 2022)

The transition from overseas satellite service to a national service was driven by a mix of political and economic reasons related to projecting local content and having a healthy advertising market. However, viewers missed the opportunity to explore a wide range of multinational content in foreign languages and access their favorite channels. Additionally, some participants mentioned the issue of equality of representation in television channels, which influenced their sorting experiences. They encountered challenges in assessing the extent to which programs were truly multicultural and identifying those that embraced multicultural perspectives. Overall, the audience's attitudes, skills, and understanding of the programs they watch can influence the factors associated with multicultural TV viewing.

4.7 Ideologies Governing Cultural Diversity in the TV Channels

Ideologies play a significant role in representation, including the portrayal of multiculturalism on television. According to Colombo (2015), multiculturalism as an ideology plays a role in challenging the concept of universalism. Media producers, driven by their own ideologies, shape the content they create. One of the main objectives of this study was to examine ideologies held by TV channels and how they shape the portrayal of diversities through news media information. In Ethiopia, media governance is closely intertwined with political governance, resulting in direct influence on editorial practices in newsrooms. Newsrooms are required to prioritize government affairs and their loyalty to national interests, which is reflected in the extent to which they incorporate ruling ideologies into their programs. This involves providing opportunities for competing political ideologies. The Ethiopian Media Authority (EMA) aimed to promote the inclusion of diverse political ideologies in TV content but lacks a concrete framework to effectively accommodate various political groups. TV organizations have overlooked the significance of diversifying ideologies by failing to establish a solid framework, instead prioritizing the dominant ideology of those in power. It appears that mainstream political thinking predominates, limiting the presence of pluralistic and multicultural ideologies, as noted by Douglas Kellner (2011). However, the neoliberal perspective on multiculturalism emphasizes

the economic benefits brought about by minority groups, as seen in the case of Australia (Kim, Curran, & Zhen, 2020), citing Bernard (2006). This acknowledges the importance of cultural identities the sufficient attention from a neoliberal standpoint, in achieving the objectives of pluralism or multiculturalism.

According to the director of public and community media monitoring at EMA, it is understood that the media tends to prioritize government ideologies. Editors-in-chief themselves openly express their role in voicing the government's political ideologies (personal interview, May 2022). This aligns with the perspective of an interviewee from the ETV newsroom, who highlights that key media managers are chosen by the government and therefore remain loyal to it (MG, reporter in ETV newsroom, June 2022). Consequently, experts within the EMA acknowledge that there is a fear of addressing ethno-national ideologies. The fear of potential conflicts and backlash arising from reporting on ethnic politics results in a cautious approach that seeks to minimize harm in media reporting (DF, Editor in Fana TV newsroom, personal interview).

The ideologies of news stories in the TV channels: In a society characterized by profound ethnic divisions, it can be challenging to find multicultural national ideologies that prioritize values such as tolerance, respect, fairness, equality, and peaceful coexistence. Konstantopoulos (2021) argues that while the appeal to culture and tradition has long been employed by nationalists, the concept of identity is a relatively new phenomenon that has gained significant cultural and political importance in recent times. Throughout the period spanning from 2019 to 2021, the dominant focus of mainstream TV channels revolved around ethnic conflicts. These conflicts were characterized by the presentation of contrasting ideologies of national unity, ethno-national identities, political dissent among diverse ethnic groups, as well as territorial disputes and power struggles. However, prior to 2019, there emerged encouraging and constructive ideas that emphasized the importance of national reconciliation and the establishment of social structures aimed at enhancing the well-being of the Ethiopian population. These ideas served as symbols of the perceived political reform occurring during that time.

As an illustration, the coverage of news stories and television programming initially placed emphasis on community dialogues aimed at achieving national consensus and promoting

democratic advancements. However, this focus gradually diminished starting in November 2020, coinciding with the escalation of ethnic conflicts and the instigation of the Northern War involving the Tigray regional state. Simultaneously, confrontations between government forces and the Oromo Liberation Army unfolded across various areas of the Oromia regional state. These significant events have exerted a profound influence on the narrative propagated by both government and privately-owned television channels, which consistently exhibit alignment with the government and categorize all opposition factions as terrorist entities. Consequently, the proliferation of terror ideologies is observed among the ideologies disseminated through these television channels.

The ethnic conflicts should not be perceived merely as clashes arising from cultural differences among various groups. They are deeply rooted in multifaceted political, economic, social, cultural, and territorial grievances that contradict the prevailing ideologies propagated through mainstream television and social media platforms. These conflicts are intertwined with ethnonational ideologies that pose significant challenges for the government in its pursuit of national harmony. Consequently, the government maintains a continuous interest in utilizing television channels to disseminate an ideological battle, serving its vested interest of consolidating central power. The television channels disseminated news stories characterized by aggressive disinformation and unexpected inflammatory speeches targeting specific factions already designated as terrorist groups.

Journalists have acknowledged that they prioritize the government's agenda, particularly evident among journalists employed by the state-owned ETV. A notable example is a chief news producer within the ETV newsroom who explicitly stated the significance placed on promoting the governing ideology.

In our newsroom, special attention is given to the annual address delivered by the President of Ethiopia to the House of People's Representatives, which outlines government plans and addresses critical national matters. The speeches delivered by the Prime Minister and the President, focusing on political issues, consistently receive top priority (NW6, Chief Producer, ETV, June 2022).

The interviewee highlighted the newsroom's allegiance to disseminating government ideologies. Editors from private TV channels have similarly indicated that national issues are accorded

higher priority. According to a news editor at Walta TV, the government exerts permanent control over media outlets, resulting in those outlets often reflecting the interests of the governing body they are loyal to. This control hierarchy links media directors to political representatives (DF5, Editor in Walta TV newsroom, May 2022). What sets Walta TV apart, from the perspective of journalists, is its consistent production of documentaries that are typically subsidized by external organizations seeking to shape public opinion in favor of their own causes. This practice directly contributes to an unfair distribution of airtime, disadvantaging minority groups and marginalizing diverse ideologies. Another news editor at Walta TV states that Ethiopians are more interested in learning languages such as German, Italian, Arabic, and French, rather than the languages spoken by different ethnic groups within Ethiopia (AK6, Editor in Walta newsroom, May 2022). This linguistic preference further exacerbates the ideological divisions between various groups and impedes the development of a multicultural political ideology.

Conversely, some interviewed journalists hold the belief that since the reform, there has been an increase in the freedom enjoyed by journalists in newsrooms, resulting in the emergence of conflicting ideologies within the news media. In the case of Fana TV newsroom, a news editor asserts that "journalists have been able to report on politics freely, which has sometimes led to the formation of public opinions that have negative consequences" (SW4, Fana news editor, May 2022). Moreover, due to a climate of fear and the securitization of various aspects of society, reporting on these issues has become a challenging task for newsrooms. While editorial decisions may help mitigate potential harm, the act of suppressing competing ideologies can also result in backlash unless a thoughtful solution is sought.

In comparison to news articles, talk shows, and public discussions, programs like "Netsa Hasab" on Walta TV and "Yenga Guday" on ETV have played a significant role in promoting diverse ideologies within their respective channels. The host of "Netsa Hasab" emphasizes that the show's objective is to seek the truth, amplify the voices of those who are marginalized, bring forth opposing viewpoints, and entertain a range of ideologies (SB7, Host of Netsa Hasab, May 2022). Similarly, "Yenga Guday" focuses on important public issues, particularly those related to achieving national consensus, through honest dialogues with key public figures, as mentioned earlier in the previous section. However, "Yenga Guday" tends to have a hegemonic influence as

it often selects representatives who align with the ruling ideologies. In essence, the adoption of more inclusive and less divisive ideologies largely depends on whose perspectives are given prominence in mainstream channels.

In addition to the factors mentioned in the section on audience studies, it is important to highlight specific concerns raised by interviewees that are relevant to the discussion of media ideologies. A notable aspect is the issue of equal representation, which has a significant impact on the formation of meaningful ideologies. Some of the media educators interviewed point out that the lack of equity in representations can be traced back to historical injustices. To quote one of the informants:

The news media in Ethiopia cannot be separated from the country's political history. It has long been aligned with a dominant culture, political ideology, and the ruling monarchies, serving as a tool for promoting their ideologies (DE, Key informant Interview, January, 2022).

Despite the passing of the monarchial period, the news media culture in Ethiopia continues to perpetuate the status quo by prominently featuring government ideologies. The editorial policies of newsrooms are often designed to align with the interests of the ruling party. Another informant suggests that there are groups in Ethiopia that advocate for a "melting pot" style of national unity, but views this as a sponsored ideology rooted in church origins. However, achieving acceptance and viability for this ideology in the current era of diverse choices seems challenging (AG, personal interview, April 2022). The metaphors of the "Melting Pot" and the "Salad Bowl" are used to illustrate different approaches to achieving societal harmony (Berray, 2019). While the former emphasizes assimilation, the latter focuses on integration based on individuals' choices. Berray proposes a more inclusive theory that incorporates divergent viewpoints within heterogeneous societies, aiming for a more acceptable approach. Similarly, the conflicting media ideologies in Ethiopia call for theories of media politics to better understand the complex political issues that contribute to societal fragmentation.

Generally, mainstream TV channels in Ethiopia often blend the ideologies of war and peace in their news stories and talk shows. However, instead of providing a balanced presentation of competing ideologies, they tend to focus on promoting the ruling government's ideology. Some public figures advocate for peace, while others criticize opposing political ideologies as

regressive. Nonetheless, there are occasional instances where competing ideologies are voiced during political discussions. As a result, the ideologies conveyed in news and talk shows on these channels encompass both multicultural and antimulticultural values.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Discussion

This section discusses the analysis presented in Chapter Four. It attempts to integrate findings from diverse methodologies, theoretical frames and conceptual perspectives to effectively address the main goals of the study. The analysis was drawn on multiple sources of data including various documents, television content analysis, audience studies, perspectives of journalists, and insights from interviews with key informants. Additionally, it discusses the broader ideological frameworks that shape the production of multicultural television news and other programs. To begin with, the relation between media ownership and political influence in Ethiopia has had a profound effect on the way the media operates within the country's political and economic spheres. The media landscape has undergone notable transformations due to recent shifts in political leadership and advancements in digital technology. This has resulted in a swift growth of the television industry, characterized by the licensing of channels across three distinct ownership categories: government media, commercial media, and community media.

There is a growing trend towards reliance on digital and online platforms. Seipp (2023) suggests that digital and online media are reshaping the power dynamics in terms of opinion, news production, and distribution. This transition presents a different market and means of exerting influence, providing a relief from the hierarchical authority that frequently imposes restrictions on the programming of conventional television channels. Although the Ethiopian television industry has not completely embraced this shift, there are signs that both government-run and commercial TV channels are progressively adopting online platforms and expanding the range of their contents. This hybrid model facilitates reaching the digitally savvy younger generation with content that might otherwise go unnoticed.

According to Kristensen and Hartley (2023), digital and social media platforms that distribute identical content as mainstream TV channels can be characterized as multi-sided markets that operate concurrently. This approach offers potential benefits for TV channels in terms of expanding their market share. However, it also poses challenges to the existing mechanisms of media control, as online platforms can serve as a space for resistance and potentially polarize the

political situation. It is important for the controlling mechanisms to be aware of these disparities, and addressing them aligns with the principles of critical political economy theory (Hardy, 2014), that this study sought to develop a media model that promotes better multicultural representation. In addition, there is a need for regulatory laws that address the digital presence of media channels and create a balance between content on digital and mainstream platforms.

Research by Enli and colleagues (2019) suggests that the government lacks the bureaucratic capacity to effectively respond to the media in the digital era. In Ethiopia, the emergence of mainstream channels operating both online and offline might have complicated regulatory policies. While digital outlets offer new business opportunities for commercial channels, they have not been adequately considered within the existing regulatory frameworks. This situation could potentially lead to increased censorship of journalists, thereby negatively impacting mainstream TV channels. The absence of a regulatory framework for managing digital media in various countries, beyond Ethiopia, demands prompt policy responses from governments. A study conducted in Kenya proposes a solution in the form of co-regulation. According to Ikran (2023), co-regulation involves fostering collaboration between the government, private companies, and other regulatory entities to achieve a balanced and effective regulation of media, with the aim of reducing misinformation. Adopting a similar approach in Ethiopia would enable the development of a system for regulating both mainstream and digital media without compromising democratic importance of representing diverse cultures.

In Ethiopia, an intriguing trend has emerged where unlicensed religious television channels are thriving despite efforts by the Ethiopian Media Authority to regulate them. These channels have successfully dominated the industry by utilizing crowdfunding system. This type of funding is collecting non-refundable donations from their followers, similar to startup ventures (Carrabs, 2021). What makes them unique is their approach of collecting wages from believers, allowing them to offer services and maintain their presence in the market. Research suggests that journalists funded through crowdfunding platforms in Canada and United States often enjoy greater autonomy due to their financial independence from traditional media outlets (Hunter, 2015). Nevertheless, ethical considerations regarding the maintenance of professionalism remain a subject of ongoing debate. When examining crowdfunded religious television within religious media organizations, it is imperative to conduct a rigorous assessment of the professionalism

exhibited by the personnel involved. The absence of licensing agreements for religious leaders suggests either their freedom from regulatory controls or a belief that their content is not such harmful. However, this serves as an indication of the inadequate regulation of digital broadcasting. In light of the Ethiopian political environment, it is imperative to approach religious fundamentalism with caution.

In addition, television ownership is characterized by its concentration in the capital city, typically housing the government and commercial television channels, while regional cities are home to community media. The primary aim of launching TV channels that represent regional states was to cater to the diverse ethnic groups residing in those areas. This trend of ownership has been criticized by Mulatu and Terje, who argue that it leads to the ethnicization of the media (Mulatu & Terje, 2020). Critics of capitalism, such as Knoche (2021, pp. 372-74), employ an analysis of ownership concentration as a means to scrutinize the system. From Knoche's perspective, we can argue that Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC), under which ETV is operating, aims to strengthen its business and increase its market options by expanding its ownership to encompass various media outlets, radio stations, and transmitters across the country. This horizontal expansion offers EBC an economic power. Private media organizations, inspired by this experience, are also establishing multiple media outlets in order to bolster their own economic influence.

In addition, Vargo and Amazeen (2021) noted that government TV channels receive financial support from the allocated budget, while commercial ones must find alternative sources of funding. This difference in funding opportunities often leads to the production of sponsored news stories by commercial TV channels, where the content is influenced by the organizations funding the media. This creates economic arrangements where the composition of journalistic content is shaped by the interests of advertisers (Vargo and Amazeen, 2021, p. 5186). On the other hand, Melojevic and Krstic (2018) discovered in their research conducted in Serbia that the state budget and public companies manipulate the market, thereby generating favorable conditions for the establishment of clientelist networks. Journalists employed by private television channels in Ethiopia also encounter lower salaries and a lack of incentives compared to those working in government-owned media. The call for government subsidies aims to address this imbalance and enhance production outcomes.

However, it is important to acknowledge that certain journalists in commercial TV channels may receive higher remuneration based on their qualifications and experience. This situation can create a feeling of disillusionment among journalists, but it can also foster mutually beneficial relationships between journalists, organizations, and politicians. According to Melojevic and Krstic (2018), it was found that Serbian journalists have an obligation to disclose the activities of their financial supporters. Without adequate monitoring and regulation, a comparable situation might arise for Ethiopian journalists working in private TV channels. In general, State funding can have a significant impact on stabilizing the media market, but it can also lead to the dominance of government ideologies. In such cases, it becomes crucial to have viable public broadcasting that serves the people impartially. To address concerns about ownership diversity, authorities should explore opportunities to establish normative-oriented public broadcasting. The effectiveness of the public broadcasting service model depends on its capacity for social participation (Seridório, Rothberg & Pieranti, 2022), which, in turn, promotes multicultural representation. This can also minimize what Raeijmaekers and Maesele (2015) have noted that market-oriented media can diminish the potential impact on intelligent and rational debate by treating information as a commodity and presenting it in a simplified manner, rather than offering diverse and pluralistic news ideas to the public.

In addition, TV channels in Ethiopia face a significant challenge due to the existence of multiple regulatory frameworks. Television channels are required to obtain licenses from the Ethiopian media authority. The complexity and confusion surrounding the power of the Ethiopian media authority arise from the overlapping regulatory frameworks, as it grapples with the dual mandate of promoting competition among media organizations while fulfilling specific responsibilities. This situation can be interpreted as a means of exercising control over content and potentially limiting the diversity of media content available. Nieminen (2016) concerned with licensing as a mechanism for controlling the financial and technical capabilities of media institutions. From a critical political economy perspective, it can be argued that authorities in Ethiopia not only aim to determine what is considered newsworthy but also seek to exert control over the business of news media.

Moreover, the licensing process, which can be used as a control mechanism, may lose its effectiveness if the licensing body is not autonomous. While the Ethiopian media authority

claims to be autonomous, it is accountable to the House of Peoples Representatives of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Therefore, the extent of its autonomy depends on the degree to which the House itself is autonomous and free from the central power's influence. Otherwise, every activity of the Ethiopian media authority might facilitate the co-opting of media owners to the government. This aligns with study from Hong Kong conducted by Lee (2023), which contributes to lack of clear boundary between private/commercial and government ownership. Furthermore, the Ethiopian Media Authority (EMA) struggles to align regulatory mandates with constitutional rights, resulting in ineffective reconciliation of media laws and journalistic practices in the industry. This necessitates news outlets to adopt self-regulation, as highlighted by Duncan (2014). Concerns stem from the EMA's close ties with the government and ambiguous procedures for enforcing regulatory guidelines, casting doubt on its autonomy and ability to balance regulations with public information rights. The contentious issue of ensuring public access to reliable and timely news information persists due to the mismatch between regulatory practices and constitutional rights. As a result, the limited resources, constricted regulatory frameworks, and lack of political will to promote ownership diversification impede the production of multicultural news in mainstream TV channels.

News Diversity: News diversity encompasses various dimensions and perspectives. Fico and Riffe (2008) note content diversity categorized into demographic, program-type format, and viewpoint diversity, emphasizing media economics and the marketplace of ideas. Joris et al. (2020) further elaborate on chain diversity, considering connections between sources, content, exposure, internal diversity, and structural and performance diversity. Sjøvaag (2016) analyzes internal and external structures to identify diversity levels. Baden and Springer (2017) approach news diversity normatively, focusing on source and view representation. Mattis et al. (2022) propose supply, exposure, and consumption diversity levels, highlighting selective exposure's threat and news' impact on audiences. News diversity involves various sources and perspectives, explored through demographic, program-type format, viewpoint, and internal and external structures. Evaluating and comparing these dimensions is challenging due to the absence of standardized norms. Scholars like Magin et al. (2023) adopt a multiperspectival approach, recommending content diversity studies as a normative foundation. This study views news diversity as essential for multicultural news production in diverse societies. It recognizes news

sourcing in TV newsrooms as valuable for multicultural representations. Fisher (2018) emphasizes the journalist-source relationship's importance, as journalists rely on sources to construct news stories. This work analyzed news sourcing practices in relation to diversity of representations.

The media landscape, including factors such as ownership, regulations, press freedom, and limited production resources, had significant implications for how news content caters to diverse and multicultural audiences. One notable aspect is the uneven and inconsistent sourcing practices of mainstream television channels, including government owned ETV and commercial TV channels. The result of the study on 1167 news stories show that these channels often exhibit biases in their selection of news sources, favoring politically dominant groups and geographically advantageous institutions and people. There has been a notable emphasis on higher-ranking officials who had stronger political allegiance to the ruling party.

Consequently, politically indifferent institutions and geographically remote areas were given little attention to be considered sources of news. For instance, notable variations are evident in the sourcing practices between Addis Ababa (9.8%) and the Harari region (0.4%), as well as between political and state diplomatic entities (16.5%) and politically impartial organizations such as NGOs and charitable institutions (2.5%). These disparities suggest potential favoritism towards certain groups in their utilization as news sources due to geographic location, population size of political position. Establishing a balanced representation of news sources facilitates the inclusion of diverse and pluralistic viewpoints, aligning with Powell's (1971) concept of pluralism. This entails recognizing the cultural variety present within various societal groups, a task that news media organizations face in achieving without implementing a system of balance. Fuchs (2022) recommends a dialectical approach to examining institutions such as media from a critical theories perspective. This approach allows us to delve into the political economy issues, domination, exploitation, and ideologies that are intertwined with the study of these institutions. These problems encompass both economic and political aspects, with the political dimension being particularly significant. It becomes apparent that certain geographically and politically privileged groups are given priority over others, which highlights the importance of Siapera's (2010) assertion about the necessity of focusing on marginalized and underrepresented ethnic groups.

On the other hand, Varma (2023) conducted a study on the portrayal of homelessness in San Francisco's news media and found that while news stories often emphasize solidarity as a news value, they fail to promote inclusive sourcing practices. This has important political consequences, as it leads to a lack of representation for diverse societies in mainstream media, further reinforcing the dominance of ruling ideologies. When considering representational works through dialectical reasoning, contradictions between the use value and exchange value of media products may arise. This can result in a disregard for the contributions of individuals and geographies in media content production and a potential neglect of cultural values within societies. Consequently, television news often prioritizes political agendas over addressing the diverse public's broader range of issues. Limited access to the media as a platform for expressing diverse viewpoints, as highlighted by Raeijmaekers and Maesele (2015), leads to an imbalance in the content that is produced. Consequently, this imbalance ultimately results in an unequal representation of ideological perspectives.

Furthermore, Siapera emphasizes the crucial role of providing justified representation in nationwide media. Doliwa and Purkarthofer (2021) suggest that promoting alternative or community media in underserved areas can contribute to the advancement of participatory, non-profit journalism, diverse discussions, and increased public engagement. It is crucial to reassess the responsibilities of government and commercial television channels regarding their impact on public discourse. Their role in shaping public opinion cannot be overlooked. Insufficient representation of ordinary majority and the excessive reliance on public figures as news sources have created an environment where populist political discourses, primarily led by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, have gained prominence. According to Antony Nadler (2019), populist leaders and activists are known for their extensive media presence. Prime Minister Abiy's presence in news narratives, coupled with his tendency to portray himself as an authority across various domains, perpetuates a system characterized by a monolithic ideology, consequently marginalizing diverse perspectives from experts in the discourse. According to Mylonas (2014) the phenomenon can be closely linked to the leader's use of hegemony to legitimize decisions that serve his own interests.

The critical pragmatist approach was applied to assess pluralism in an ideal newsroom setting, aiming to identify and address fragmentation, uphold diverse voices, and manage conflicts of interest. This approach functioned both as a theoretical perspective and a methodological framework, facilitating the exploration of diverse information sources and philosophical viewpoints (Hampson and McKinley, 2023), utilizing methods like textual analysis, interviews, and audience feedback. Additionally, the discussion aimed to shed light on discursive practices while also considering the broader political economy factors influencing TV channels.

Moreover, the results of interview with journalists indicated several factors that impede their ability to produce diverse news content. These factors are linked to the political and economic dynamics of television channels, such as resource limitations, challenges related to conflict and insecurity, language barriers with local sources, and managerial and editorial constraints that limit journalists' autonomy. Borrowing from the standpoint of Dewey's critical pragmatism (Kadlec, 2006; Bohman, 2002), it is crucial for journalists to engage in critical inquiry and exercise social intelligence. This is necessary to foster a collective endeavor towards human emancipation, wherein the equitable and just utilization of news production resources for inclusive representation becomes an integral part of the democratic struggle in multicultural societies.

Journalists have observed that the determination of newsworthiness is often influenced by the political interests of selected few, rather than serving the broader public interest. This results in the neglect of sensitive public issues in certain locations. Selvika and Høigilt (2021) attribute this phenomenon to instrumentalized political parallelism, where politically powerful individuals exploit media outlets for their own purposes. In Ethiopia, this system involves the selection of gatekeepers based on political loyalty, rather than expertise gained through experience. Lilleker and Thompson (2021) recommend journalists to emphasize the importance of safeguarding the public by assuming the role of gatekeepers in situations where individuals in political and governmental positions possess inherent credibility and enjoy exclusive information privileges. This phenomenon has directly impacted the diversity of news in Ethiopian mainstream channels, influencing the range of sources, issues, and subjects covered. To foster multicultural productions that embrace pluralism and diverse ideological perspectives, journalists must develop the resilience to withstand political pressures silencing them. The

normative perspective, which aims to achieve fair representation of multiculturalism in the media, can be effectively supported by critical theory (Richardson, 2015), and plays a crucial role in adopting pluralism, that has been described as a society-centered approach by Raeijmaekers and Maesele (2015).

Discursive Practices: In conflict scenarios where the media aligns closely with the governing authority, it is difficult to have fair and inclusive discussions that represent diverse range of multicultural perspectives. According to Zurriyati, Rahman, and Alaqad (2023), political interference in news coverage has led to the distortion of public discourse, which is essential for the functioning of democracy. Ensuring media independence and pluralism is crucial for promoting democratic discourse and amplifying diverse perspectives in news discourses. According to Adamu (2022) the process of politicizing ethnicity was the primary source of various difficulties encountered in the management of ethnic diversity among students in Ethiopia. This study tries to address the politicization of ethnic identity, possibly through underscoring the necessity of fair and balanced dialogue. This corresponds to the fifth dimension of the public sphere, as outlined by Dahlgren (1995), emphasizing the media's function as a space for public discourse.

Instead of politicizing ethnic media, it advocates for a media approach that maintains detachment, treating ethnic identities as normal aspects of the society, while exploring how identities are constructed without hindering the coexistence of diverse individuals perhaps through biased representations. This is closely tied to the professional conduct of journalists. Budarick (2021) utilizes Mouffe's post-foundational approach that rejects universalism, to explore the marginalization of ethnic groups within rationalist public discourse. By adopting this perspective, it becomes feasible to discern approaches that promote fair coexistence among ethnically diverse communities, thereby reducing the imposition of unnecessary dominance and facilitating a balanced interplay of relationships. The significance of the politics of difference within the framework of multiculturalism is elucidated within this context. Siapera (2010) previously observed that Habermas aimed to establish a framework that recognizes and embraces cultural distinctions while upholding universal values, thereby addressing the universalism versus particularism dilemma commonly associated with ethnic identities and disparities.

In a recent study by Rovamo, Petterson, and Sakki (2023), it was observed that immigration has become a highly contentious topic in diverse societies such as Finland, leading to an increase in animosity. This has resulted in a division among people, with some expressing support for immigration while others oppose it. Therefore, it can be argued that concerns regarding ethnic based conflicts by the news media might have exacerbated societal divisions. To address the issue, newsrooms in Ethiopia needed to exercise autonomy and independence from political pressure, which was absent in both government and private TV channels. Siopera's critique on Habermas for overlooking the significance of culture in advocating for the separation of the political sphere from culture is particularly important in the context of journalism, where it is necessary for journalists to maintain independence and impartiality towards all cultural aspects within a community. This does not necessarily imply journalists should disregard identity; rather, they should strive to build trust within the community by ensuring equal and fair representation of all cultural perspectives. Highlighting, the decline of trust towards news media in the US, Varma and colleagues (2023) suggest that to address the issue of marginalization, it is crucial to establish norms of social justice. They propose a shift from a purely observational style of reporting to an interpretive approach that emphasizes solidarity. This new approach aims to ensure accuracy and promote fair and equitable representation of diverse groups. Gálik and Vogl (2015) argue that incorporating a wide range of cultural values, lifestyles, languages, and heritages into mainstream media enhances media pluralism and fortifies democracy. From the critical political economy perspective, incorporating diverse cultural values in media representation fosters economic benefits for diverse groups through subscription revenues. This perspective is consistent with the notions put forth by Murdock (2011) and Hardy (2014) regarding the use of popular creativity to generate profits, leading to a fair distribution of economic values associated with different cultures. Hence, it follows that discursive pluralism is linked to the economic influence of the media.

Likewise, in multicultural societies, the expectation is for newsrooms to uphold the responsibility of producing impartial news, which is considered a normative value for promoting harmony among diverse societies (Østebø et al., 2021, p. 13). However, in politically unstable states with ethnic conflicts, achieving this goal becomes unlikely as such conflicts tend to influence the news media. According to Østebø and colleagues, Ethiopia has recently witnessed outbreaks of violence between communities despite Abiy Ahmed's initial goal of fostering unity

among different ethnic groups. These acts of violence could be attributed to a combination of newly acquired political freedoms and insufficient law enforcement. Due to enhanced political freedom, news media outlets have quickly transformed, openly sharing content aligned with polarized political perspectives in the newsrooms. As indicated in the above section, news narratives that emphasize peace and security tend to de-politicize ethnic conflicts, bolstering government authority in the pursuit of stability, while marginalizing certain groups as national security threats. Hjermer (2023) argues that depoliticization neutralizes political gaps and consolidates authority. Moreover, the convergence of discussions on peace and integration with those highlighting the risks of ethnic politics functions to deescalate political tensions within Ethiopia. However, this strategy undermines the multicultural fabric by depoliticizing ethnic-based politics and marginalizing ethnic voices.

Previously, Gebru and Hagos (2023) conducted a study that sheds light on the incivility exhibited by programs engaged in debates on TV channels in Ethiopia. During the political transition that began in 2018 and the ongoing civil war since 2020, news narratives have encompassed both appeals for multinational cooperation to tackle national problems and reports fueling conflicts that undermine political stability, portraying the conflict as a threat to national unity. These unstudied discourses were designed to elicit emotional responses concerning the civil wars in Ethiopia, posing a potential threat to multiculturalism. According to Chin and Reid (2022), liberal multiculturalism places emphasis on the recognition of differences and identities. Ethiopian mainstream television channels, regardless of ownership (ETV government, Fana and Walta commercial), heavily rely on the government and lack autonomy. This has resulted in the promotion of discourses that undermine multiculturalism and prioritize the political interests of the ruling government. These television channels also generate intersecting narratives aiming for unity, although they give priority to the political interests of groups. As a result, this emphasis on specific interests contributes to the weakening of cohesive narratives (Chin & Reid, 2023).

A recent study by Augoustinos (2022) indicates that increasing challenges to multiculturalism in Nordic countries have been attributed to nationalist rhetoric and the rise of far-right extremism. Similarly, in Ethiopia, the media is facing difficulties countering the dissemination of hostile and divisive discourses, which are fueled by extreme ethnic politics. Despite their unappealing nature, there are also discourses that emphasize the need for public unity and proactive conflict

prevention, particularly through the efforts of religious councils and the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission in safeguarding civilian rights. These concerns have influenced the production of multicultural news. Moreover, discourses highlighting shared national symbols such as the Adwa Victory and the controversial Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam are employed as mechanisms to foster national unity.

Nonetheless, the rapid dissemination of discourses centered around differences, war, and conflict has quickly rendered these efforts ineffective, posing a significant threat to multicultural coexistence. Consequently, mistrust has emerged among regional governments, prompting TV channels to propagate competing discourses that have transitioned into war propaganda. In the past, Gillespie (2007) put forth the argument that the intertwining of security challenges, political and military actors, and the practices of news producers contributes to the perpetuation of public fears. TV news media reports in Ethiopia have been unable to bring stability to the civil war, which has been characterized by its shifting nature, moving from one region to another. The conflict is often framed as a fight against terrorism, indirectly benefiting the current government.

In these ways, the news coverage on mainstream TV channels in Ethiopia has endangered multiculturalism and influenced public perceptions by highlighting differences and conflicts that label specific groups as terrorists. The practice of scapegoating ethnic, linguistic, religious, and cultural minorities is not a new occurrence, but it becomes more prominent during times of crisis, as mentioned by Melo-Pfeifer and Gertz (2022, p. 338). This trend has been observed and replicated in the news media discourses in Ethiopia. Similarly, a study on public discourses of multiculturalism in French newspapers, conducted by May (2015), identifies articles that exhibit hostility towards multiculturalism. May argues that these articles promote ideologies that reject any demands based on ethnic origin or religious affiliation. Consequently, the struggle against discrimination is portrayed as a pretext for measures that could threaten the Republic. Similarly, Sadia and Jessica (2022) also acknowledge that both theoretical frameworks and empirical research on media discourses indicate that stereotypes arise and persist through interaction with messages conveyed in news media. The focus of mainstream TV channels on amplifying political leaders' discourses, which attribute offenses to specific groups, has made it more challenging for newsrooms to prioritize normative dimensions and ensure inclusive multicultural representations from various ideological perspectives in Ethiopia. While the conflicts relocate,

they often resulted in the transfer of blame from one group to another, with news media closely aligning with existing power structures. An example of this shift can be seen from a shift Tigray to the Amhara region, accompanied by using peculiar terms to describe armed groups, which dominate both mainstream and digital platforms. This has led to the emergence of overlapping, stereotypical, unbalanced, and alarming discourses, posing a threat to multiculturalism as observed in the main television news discussions during the specified study period of 2019-2021. This highlights the necessity for independent media that provides balanced coverage for opposing groups.

The Talk shows as public space for Public Sphere: This study investigated eighteen talk shows across three Ethiopian mainstream television channels, revealing diverse focuses ranging from socio-cultural to political matters. ETV's "Yenga Guday" and Walta TV's "Netsa Hasab" predominantly focus on political and governance-related public issues such as elections and democracy. Walta TV's discussions mainly focused on federalism's compatibility with Ethiopian society. Meanwhile, Fana TV prioritizes socio-cultural topics like gender mainstreaming. Despite their divergent approaches, all three channels serve as platforms for collective discussion on shared concerns. It is also worth noting that while certain TV talk shows promote discourses of peace, national integration, solidarity, and reconciliation, some of them often fall short in providing effective solutions for ongoing conflicts and political instabilities within the country. A study in Nigeria revealed that a considerable segment of the population lacks exposure to peace and conflict resolution messages and attributed the problem mainly to low literacy rates and the elitist nature of mainstream media, which predominantly caters to privileged minorities (Owolabi & Hassan, 2023). ETV's "Yenga Guday" program facilitates nationwide discussions on various topics including public affairs, nationalism, the constitution, justice, and diversity. For instance, ETV explored challenges associated with implementing Article 39 of the Ethiopian constitution in one episode, a provision allowing secession that is often viewed as conflicting with the essence of federalism. Certain factions advocating for multinational unity critique this article, asserting that it hampers their pursuit of a cohesive multinational integration.

Conversely, supporters of self-determination emphasize the importance of robust institutions to protect the rights of different nations and nationalities, including the right to secession. They see Article 39 as necessary for ensuring self-determination and result of historical struggles.

Proponents of self-determination believe that the main issue lies in the lack of multiethnic solidarity, which they attribute to a misinterpretation of the concept and a failure to promote unity in diversity through negotiations. According to Belser and Beglinger (2023), there is a global increase in claims for secession, leading to conflicts rooted in these demands. The presentation of secessionist claims and resistance to them in Ethiopian television channels might have heightened concerns among individuals who view secession as opposed to national unity. Unfortunately, these resistances often escalate into conflicts, and the media can inadvertently contribute to the amplification of societal divisions regarding the territorial integrity of multinational states. Therefore, it is important to hold the media accountable and encourage them to facilitate dialogues to address intrastate conflicts and political rivalries.

One notable aspect of ETV's Yenga Guday is its format, which brings together representatives from diverse backgrounds for nationwide discussions. This format enables broader public participation in addressing matters that are significant to their lives, positioning ETV as a platform for public broadcasting that allows greater involvement of individuals in the production of content. Drawing inspiration from UNESCO's principles, Sabir (2020) highlights that public service broadcasting serves as a space where all individuals in a country have an equal opportunity to access and participate in discussions. Despite ETV not meeting the requirements of public service broadcasting, primarily due to its close ties to the state and politics, the introduction of shows that involve public participation leads to a notable transformation, at least in terms of programming.

ETV's Yegna Guday program aims to foster national dialogue among representatives from diverse groups to promote interregional solidarity and resolve political tensions in Ethiopia. The program discusses the importance of national solidarity for multiethnic integration. In this respect, however, it is vital to consider Will Kymlicka (2020) proposal for inclusive solidarity through a multicultural welfare state, which goes beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism. This could be possible through inclusion of multicultural groups in the ongoing multinational dialogue, addressing topics such as mutual understanding among regional governments, equitable resource distribution, and democratic resolution of border disputes that would address the meaning of equality that Kymlicka has tried to address. However, achieving consensus remains a challenge, and there are concerns about the inclusion of all ethnic and

political groups in the deliberations, as many participants seem to have affiliations with the government.

The show also emphasizes the issue of cultural imperialism and the need to protect Ethiopian cultural values from harmful foreign influences. The media focusing on resistance to overseas cultural influence could promote the need to embrace normative arguments and embrace multicultural policies. The media's focus on resisting overseas cultural influence can promote the normative arguments pursuing for multicultural policies. Boucher, Guérard de Latour & Baycan-Herzog (2023) argue that multicultural theorists reject assimilationist policies, emphasizing the moral significance of cultural belonging. Consequently, Yenga Gudya's concern for safeguarding national cultures and values aligns with the idea of multiculturalism, particularly in terms of cultural protection. It particularly focuses on safeguarding the younger generation from practices that may have detrimental effects. The impact of modernism on Ethiopian cultural values and the interest of the youth receives significant attention in the program's coverage. Despite its efforts, Yegna Guday faces obstacles in accomplishing its objectives due to conflicting viewpoints, a tendency towards competition rather than cooperation, and skepticism regarding the effectiveness of national dialogue. The program highlights complex and challenging issues such as federalism, land mismanagement, and cultural imperialism, which hinder the achievement of unity and common understanding in Ethiopia.

Walta TV's Netsa Hasab: Walta TV's talk show, Netsa Hasab, renowned for its coverage of Ethiopian politics, has been critiqued for its tendency to overlook crucial national issues, political ideologies, and the imperative of multinational unity. The analysis revealed a lack of comprehensive acknowledgment of political parties' potential to promote democratic ideals of inclusivity. While various factors contribute to the show's limitations, the discussion particularly underscores the challenges of conducting political deliberations in multicultural societies. These challenges impede the show's ability to grasp the nuances of its diverse audience, especially when navigating sensitive topics involving political parties with followers from diverse ethnic and political backgrounds. Notably, the absence of representation of various social groups and perspectives risks undermining political integration (Beier, Fiechtner, & Trebbe, 2020). Despite serving as a significant platform for political discourse, Netsa Hasab falls short in providing substantial ideas and constructive solutions for addressing common public issues, thereby

limiting its effectiveness in promoting public engagement and facilitating meaningful political dialogue

In this case, the limitations associated with talk show hosts are worth considering. Journalists who host these shows may face constraints related to their capacity to engage with complex issues in a comprehensive manner, their autonomy in shaping the content and direction of discussions, and the potential lack of balance in their presentation of diverse perspectives. It is important to note that while existing literature often highlights the perceived shortcomings of talk shows, scholars such as Lunt and Stenner (2005) have argued that these shows possess untapped potential for facilitating public participation. Despite the criticisms, talk shows can still serve as platforms for public engagement and have the capacity to involve citizens in important discussions.

Nevertheless, the aforementioned factors have had a detrimental impact on the way political talk shows are constructed in Ethiopia. Netsa Hasab's political discourse has become disconnected from the principles associated with multiculturalism, and the language used in these discourses rarely promotes constructive public dialogues. Previous study on media and the public sphere in Ethiopia has identified ineffective ideologies, policies, and strategies in accommodating diverse viewpoints. Gebru, Ali, and Nigussie (2021) underscore several barriers that hinder the facilitation of substantive discussions in talk shows. These obstacles include organizational cultures that discourage open dialogue, guests' hesitancy to engage in political deliberations due to authoritarian governance, a lack of professionalism and courage among participants, and journalists' limited comprehension of the topics under discussion.

Drawing on the works of Mouffe, Raeijmaekers and Maesele (2015) propose agnostic model as an alternative to the liberal and deliberative models by comparing the three democratic models in politics and the media. They argue that the belief in universal rational consensus overlooks the heterogeneous nature of society, and that any form of consensus inherently involves excluding certain perspectives. Therefore, they suggest that the media should foster an agonistic public space where dissensus can be expressed and alternatives be presented. Applying this approach, Walta TV's Netsa Hasab could benefit when hosting politicians with diverse ideologies, allowing for genuine deliberations rather than using the platform as an opportunity to shape their political beliefs. In this context, the role of the media is to facilitate discussions and present alternatives

for the public to evaluate.

This study highlights the absence of multicultural values in the discourses of politicians advocating for both citizenship-based federalism and ethnic federalism. The researcher identifies two main reasons for this absence. Firstly, proponents of citizenship federalism tend to be resistant to discussing the drawbacks of ethnic federalism, and conversely, proponents of ethnic federalism often demonstrate a similar reluctance to critically examine citizenship-based federalism. Secondly, the study points out a lack of substantial political ideology frames provided by the hosts, which would expose viewers to diverse political perspectives and enable them to make informed choices. Lunt and Stenner (2005) identify three distinct types of discussions commonly observed in television talk shows: public discussions on relevant topics, therapeutic approaches to personal problems, and the revelation of conflicts and emotional secrets. In the case of Walta TV's program *Netsa Hasab*, there is a noticeable emphasis on the latter two types, while neglecting to address issues that are pertinent to multiculturalism.

In addition, the program exhibited a tendency to prioritize the personalities of politicians rather than engaging in discussions centered around philosophical ideals of multiculturalism. This approach was evident in the show's personalized treatment of politicians, such as highlighting the ethnic background of Getachew Reda, a supporter of ethnic-based federalism, to establish connections with other advocates for the rights of the Raya people. The use of "kinship" to identify the politician to emphasize the fluidity of identity, despite the general perception of ethnic identity as deeply ingrained and relatively unchangeable (Levy, 2000). The program also presented contrasting perspectives on identity, with proponents of citizenship federalism arguing for identity based on individual choices, while ethnic federalists associate identity with specific ethnic groups. Additionally, the show focused on Jawar Mohammed, an activist who later joined the Oromo Federalist Congress (OFC) and represented the Oromo ethnic group, examining his personal background and political influence through activism (February 27, 2019).

The host of *Netsa Hasab* has made efforts to acknowledge and respond to public rumors or claims from various groups to influence public discourse. This is evident in the host's response to the question on framing of ideas and selection of guests for deliberation that he says, "based on circulating public rumors". As a result, important public issues are only superficially addressed, without delving into underlying core problems. Moreover, the show tends to prioritize

sensationalizing conflicts and tensions rather than fostering constructive analysis and peaceful discussions. While addressing public rumors can be useful in identifying relevant issues, it can sometimes lead to discussions that are irrelevant to most viewers. Additionally, personalization in the public domain should not be seen merely as a strategic tactic, but as a role that shapes the discourse and understanding of public issues. The involved parties in this analysis often seek societal homogeneity as a solution to the current political challenges, yet they lack clear political programs or normative policies to effectively unite diverse societies. Supporters of citizenship-based federalism argue that identifying as Ethiopian based on nationality alone is sufficient for fostering unity, while disregarding the importance of religious, cultural, and ethnic identities in promoting peaceful coexistence.

The talk show genre, in the context of Ethiopia's multicultural society, should be critically examined to prevent the generation of harmful public opinions that do not contribute to multiculturalism. While ethnic diversity is often blamed for societal conflicts, proponents of unionism struggle to find common ground through open discussions in the media. Paradoxically, the media's presence can exacerbate conflicts in such situations. It is important to emphasize that ethnic diversity itself is not the root cause of civil conflicts. Instead, effective management of diversity requires politicians to engage in inclusive and focused deliberations that promote principles like self-rule, shared rule, regional empowerment, regional autonomy, and unity in diversity (Nte, 2023).

The Netsa Hasab show on Walta TV also faces editorial pressures hindering host's autonomy in exercising personal judgment during discussions. This negatively impacts the framing of discussed issues. Talk shows, as a genre dedicated to democratic discussion, have the potential for genuine and spontaneous deliberations. In this regard, the host recognizes the importance of addressing public rumors about the political activities of invited politicians, which brings public issues to the attention of potential followers who may not be aware of them otherwise. However, the show is subject to significant editorial pressure, leading to the exclusion of many controversial topics of public interest by the chief editors. This aligns with Lunt and Stenner's argument (2005) that talk shows often face institutional constraints while still providing an opportunity for marginalized voices to be heard.

The professional competence and integrity of journalists should be critically evaluated in this context. Beciu, Lazar, and Madroane (2018) argue that journalists often fall short in their role as impartial and unbiased negotiators and critical analysts when addressing the issues at hand. This deficiency may explain why political talk shows struggle to provide constructive discourses that accurately represent the diverse perspectives within society. To ensure the effectiveness of these discourses, it is important to base deliberations on surveys that assess the public's informational needs regarding politics and politicians before broadcasting. Failing to take such measures may result in the failure to achieve the intended goals of these discussions.

Talk show hosts have a responsibility to act as facilitators in engaging the public on important issues, as emphasized by Gulenko (2020). Gulenko highlights the significance of talk shows as platforms for open discussions and points out that personalization often focuses on politicians themselves rather than their political views. Saba and Anwar's (2017) study on Russian media underscores the principles of inclusion, deliberation, and opinion formation, which are partially observed in TV talk shows. However, Finlayson (2022) suggests that political language has adapted to the norms and formats of television discourse, leading to a generic portrayal of political leaders and stylized individuals. In this context, Walta TV's show "Netsa Hasab" (Free Thought) may have been influenced by the political environment, with politicians seeking integration without providing constructive and rational thoughts to achieve consensus. The host's personal biases and tendency to personalize discussions, along with the influence of stereotypes originating from public rumors, could present challenges in maintaining objective justifications.

Netsa Hasab's representation of ethnic federalism and its advocates in the context of political reforms in Ethiopia centered around the political differences between the TPLF and the Prosperity Party. It highlighted the TPLF's refusal to join the Prosperity Party, which led to discussions on border disputes, the TPLF's historical influence, and its ongoing rejection of the central government's legitimacy. Within this framework, the show placed blame on the TPLF for the ongoing turmoil and provided a critical analysis of the situation, suggesting potential remedies. One notable aspect discussed was the Tigray regional state's defiance of central government authority and violation of constitutional boundaries. In contrast, the program also addressed the Amhara regional state's inclination to expand its influence beyond its own borders, as evidenced by its delegation's visit to Eritrea, serving as a counterbalance to the claims of

TPLF's supremacy. The show focuses on highlighting differences between political issues rather than exploring the importance of engaging in negotiations. Amasha (2023) argues that to truly understand the political views of intellectuals, it is essential to pay close attention to their discussions and considerations, therefore, we can fully appreciate the complexities and uncertainties that shape their final political positions.

Historically, the Tigray Regional State governed this region, but Amhara elites contend that it originally belonged to the Amhara regional state and was forcibly annexed by the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) after assuming power in 1991. These conflicts highlight the challenges of delineating boundaries between ethnic regions, leading to territorial competition along ethnic lines, as noted by Tom Lavers (2018, pp. 464-465). The historical issue of land tenure in Ethiopia adds complexity to the matter as clear demarcation of borderlands owned by different ethnic groups was not effectively implemented. Media coverage plays a vital role in influencing the discussions regarding these conflicts, serving as a platform for interests to be expressed. Examining the media's role in this debate is crucial for comprehending the diverse interests involved and offering policymakers valuable insights to help resolve border conflicts.

The show in its portrayal of NaMA aimed to analyze the motivations behind individuals joining the movement, determining whether they were driven by genuine political aspirations or personal gain. The show presented politicians' arguments to justify their involvement, emphasizing the perceived political extremism faced by the Amhara community. It underscored the significance of promoting deliberation to advance democracy, justice, and equality. The discussions aimed to counter accusations against political parties by labeling their opponents as "enemies," suggesting that this labeling reflected the ruling government's exertion of power and influence.

In the episode featuring Jawar, the discussions presented federalism as an essential and unalterable political system in Ethiopia. The portrayal of the protagonist's attribution of the Ethiopian constitution as the intellectual work of individuals like Haile Fida, Lencho Leta, Walegn Mekonnin, and Zegeye Asfaw refers to the ethno-nationalism. In one hand, it suggests that the EPRDF government merely utilized their existing body of work. The focus was on downplaying the role of Woyane¹⁸ in the constitution's development. On the other hand, it

¹⁸ Woyane was the name attributed to a group of rebellion in Tigray region that was uprising against the

highlighted the contributions of ethno-nationalist politicians and public intellectuals from the 1960s and 1970s. The main objective was to challenge discourses advocating for constitutional amendments rooted in the interests of citizenship-based federalists. The aim was to oppose efforts to establish a unified symbol of a unitary state through assimilation, as they were perceived to result in exploitation, oppression, and subjugation. According to Jawar, the fight against these injustices since the 1960s has yielded positive results over the past three decades, empowering nations to govern themselves highlighting on democratizing the existing ethnic federal system, which has proven effective since 1991.

Addis Ababa has emerged as a focal point of political contention among Ethiopian leaders. One individual, representing the perspective, prefers to refer to it as "Finfinnee," highlighting its ties to Oromia and its diverse cosmopolitan nature. This discourse emphasizes the need for a careful balance between the interests of Oromia and other ethnic groups. The advocate calls for democratic negotiations and struggles as the way forward for Addis Ababa, recognizing its historical significance as ancestral land for the Oromo people, which underwent changes during different land tenure regimes. This historical backdrop has direct implications for ethnic politics, particularly regarding resource conflicts, viewed through the lens of citizenship rights. Emperor Menelik's establishment of Addis Ababa, constructed upon the remnants of villages and farms in 'Finfinnee' following his descent from Entoto, resulted in its renaming. Consequently, Addis Ababa remains a prominent center of political activity for the Ethiopian population (Laver, 2018; Dulume, 2022, pp. 45-52).

Generally, Walta TV's program "Nesta Hasab" has served as a prominent platform for discussing socio-political issues in Ethiopia with deliberations featuring politicians advocating for both citizen ethnic federalism, addressing the need for inclusive dialogues and national consensus in Ethiopia's diverse society. Multiculturalism was slightly emphasized, with calls for inclusive dialogue and democratization of institutions to achieve equality among ethnic groups. These discussions create a platform where people interact, fostering a dialogue akin to a public sphere, which serves as the groundwork for multiculturalism, as outlined by Modood (2017). Netsa Hasab's deliberations lacked substantial explanation due to a focus on personal aspects rather

centralization process from the government of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1943.

than the underlying political philosophies. The framing and administration of the talk shows were also inadequate, relying on unverified claims and lacking contextual references for informed debate.

The host of the show primarily focused on divisive narratives and personal aspects, rather than emphasizing shared values and the conceptual aspects of ethnic federalism. This approach hindered a meaningful comparison of political programs and instead targeted the social and cultural identities of the politicians. This entails that hosts ought to prioritize stimulating balanced political debates that encompass diverse perspectives, fostering healthy discourse. Timbering (2002) argues that talk shows often struggle to impartially represent multicultural viewpoints, leading to an under-representation of diverse societies. In essence, the public sphere holds significant importance in fostering national consensus and managing diverse political interests, and talk shows serve as a suitable platform for engaging in this exercise of the public sphere. However, there are limitations that impede the realization of the intended goals in this respect.

Fana TV: "Fana Kelemat" is a television program with a diverse format, blending entertainment and education to address topics ranging from gender equality to cultural norms. It delves into issues such as gender biases in Ethiopian cinema, societal pressures on women and girls, and challenges faced by marginalized individuals, aiming to raise awareness about social issues, promote gender equality, and foster intercultural understanding. Moreover, it evaluates the accuracy of historical narratives in television and their impact on public perception. The influence of socialist ideology on Ethiopian politics is evident, aligning with Glynn's (2006) assertion that multicultural theory has roots in Marxist influences, thus linking issues of social democracy to multicultural ideologies. The show subtly navigates the complexities of embracing diversity and multiculturalism while grappling with the clash between traditional values and societal evolution. It advocates for integrating foreign cultures with indigenous norms while exploring how family unity and shared struggles bolster societal resilience and cohesion. Additionally, it highlights the importance of representing and empowering youth, emphasizing the need for platforms for young voices and nurturing talent through education and family support. These themes serve as a foundation for exploring broader implications arising from the presented information.

Newsroom Journalists: The study conducted on journalists highlights the significant role of multicultural news media literacy skills and multicultural production practices within newsrooms in relation to multiculturalism. The study indicated that there are disparities observed in journalists' commitment to collaborating with diverse sources and their inclination to address matters concerning ethnic identities. This pertains to the interplay between sensitivities toward ethnic identity and the multifaceted generation of multicultural content. Journalistic emphasis on urban centres often neglects peripheral regions, a phenomenon somewhat akin to Atnafu's (2021) contention regarding restricted information accessibility in media tailored for urban audiences. This discrepancy diverges from Hobbs' (2021) assertion linking journalists' proficiency in critical thinking with their media literacy skills encompassing information retrieval, production, and critical reflection.

Interviews with journalists indicate that newsrooms discourage journalists from aligning themselves with specific ethnic groups, and there is limited support for news media programs focusing on ethnic issues. A participant from the ETV newsroom presented his views saying, "we received cautionary advice against participating in questionnaires related to ethnic identity issues." The intention of newsrooms to minimize discussions on ethnic identity is not solely aimed at fostering multicultural unity. Through downplaying such issues mainly due to its effect on political stability, the current political climate advocates for a melting pot approach to multiculturalism. It tries to integrate various cultures into a shared overarching culture. This is done with the intention of fostering a newsroom environment where journalists consistently view and report on ethnic groups as individuals or citizens.

In the context of a multi-ethnic nation like Russia, specialized competencies and skills, such as proficiency in ethnic languages, are required for journalistic work in ethnic media outlets (Gladkova & Vartanova, 2023). However, the authors argue that there is a low level of proficiency in ethnic languages among journalists. Mainstream television channels may sometimes face challenges in adequately catering to the diverse language skills of different ethnic groups. The absence of multicultural literacy skills can be attributed to the need for a journalist who is proficient in multiple languages and possesses multicultural literacy. From Kellner and Share (2005) point of view, acquiring media literacy skills could involve the skills

of multinational languages, as an intellectual tool for understanding and producing various types of texts and artifacts.

The rise of regional ethnic media outlets may have resulted in the creation of news content that exacerbates ethnic tensions and fosters a competitive rather than cooperative culture. This situation can also contribute to a lack of interest among individuals in learning languages beyond their own ethnic groups, and efforts to address this should begin at the college level by modifying curricula. In line with Nkoala's (2024) argument that linguistic diversity should be seen as advantageous in higher education and that students' multilingual abilities can promote epistemic justice, journalism education designed for professional journalists should actively involve and motivate them to acquire multilingual skills. It is crucial to recognize that some audiences rely on mainstream government or commercial media as their primary source of news, and they may not necessarily seek exposure to alternative media sources if they find contents interesting to their consumption. According to Thorbjørnsrud & Figenschou's study (2022), the democratic function and credibility of the news media depend on the trust citizens place in them to deliver relevant and accurate information that aligns with their socio-cultural interests. Rather than solely emphasizing alternative media, it would be more constructive to encourage mainstream media to foster trust among diverse cultural groups. Therefore, this study has taken a normative stance by emphasizing the significance of mainstream TV channels addressing the needs for multicultural representation to mitigate the potential negative effects of regional ethnic media outlets.

Multicultural TV viewing: The study on audiences focused on five factors that are associated with multicultural TV viewing. Audience research often tends to prioritize the frequency of content consumption. However, an alternative approach has been undertaken to investigate the attitudes held by audiences towards multiculturalism in Korea (Kim, Curran, & Zhen, 2020). These authors have expressed that there is no correlation between watching multicultural television and developing either positive or negative attitudes towards multiculturalism. They consider this to be a problem of Korean multicultural content. In contrast to the conventional emphasis on viewing frequency, this particular study places emphasis on the audience's preferences for diverse content produced by different ethnic groups when exploring the factors that influence multicultural TV viewing. These factors encompass tolerance of diversity,

audience choice, equality in representation, quality of multicultural programs, and views on ethnic identities. Chaika et al. (2022) suggested that to foster tolerant attitudes and discourage the proliferation of extremism and violence among audiences, the media should aim to cultivate a sense of appreciation for the diverse range of cultures that exist. To explore this concept, the current study on multicultural television viewing approaches it from two angles: firstly, by analyzing the current patterns of multicultural viewing, and secondly, by identifying the factors that influence audiences' engagement with multicultural television content.

The findings in this study highlighted the importance of catering to audience preferences, providing fair representation, and improving the quality of multicultural programs to effectively engage multicultural audiences as most of the items associated with multicultural TV viewing were significantly loaded to each of the factors. Park et al. (2023) discovered a noteworthy connection between the perception of adequate representation in the Australian news media and audiences' trust in news, as well as the confidence to engage in society and the sense of belonging. The observation regarding the interrelation between audience preference and the demand for adequate portrayals has been indicated from the analysis of key informant interviews and subsequent post-sorting interviews. In essence, it can be posited that there exists a strong correlation between the choices made by audiences and their insistence on the provision of comprehensive and faithful representations in Ethiopia.

While the channels were similarly measured against the factors, the results vary regarding the tolerance of different political and cultural views. These differences are highlighted with respect to audience choice. Audiences felt about fair representation while viewing ETV than Fana or Walta TV channels. Nevertheless, the significance of equitable distribution of broadcasting time among diverse linguistic communities within government-owned media outlets was underscored. Although both Fana and Walta operated on a for-profit basis and may not receive direct substantial subsidies from the government, viewers' perceptions could have been influenced by the normative obligations as they are mandated to uphold principles of diversity representation. Otherwise, unregulated television markets face susceptibility to market failure (Ohlsson and Sjøvaag, 2019), owing to the distinctive business model of the broadcasting sector, notably advertising, which dictates selection of audiences significant to advertisers. Thus, achieving equilibrium between the expectations of licensors concerning commercial television and the

medium's normative responsibility becomes imperative. The audience's perception that state television should refrain from marginalizing any group has contributed to the prominence of the issue of fair representation among viewers of national government television. This assertion was corroborated by the findings of a content analysis, which revealed infrequent utilization of news sources from certain ethnic groups and regional states by mainstream television channels. This is a question of cultural recognition and resource allocation within the mainstream politics for some identities. Belfiore (2020) highlighted that discussions surrounding cultural and creative industry policies and the allocation of resources are not impartial. Instead, they are characterized by conflicts, power dynamics, and a nuanced politics involving representation. In this sense, neglecting the issue of resource allocation within media institutions can lead to concerns about which cultural values are being reflected in television channels, necessitating the implementation of policy measures.

Perceptions regarding the quality of multicultural programs suggest that there is a need for stronger management to enhance the production of cultural programs in ETV, while commercial TV channels exhibit a relatively higher quality. It is worth noting that this may be influenced by viewers' perception of other cultures. In a recent study conducted by Kharkhurin, Koncha, and Charkhabi (2023) on the impact of plurilingualism and pluriculturalism, the researchers emphasize the interplay between extraversion, intercultural competence, and multicultural experience, and their effects on diverse cognitive processes such as fluency, flexibility, and originality. This finding suggests that our satisfaction with cultures different from our own directly influences our perception of cultural consumption. The distinction between ETV and commercial TV channels may not solely reflect differences in their respective audiences, but rather the variations in the content produced by these television channels as cultural industry entities, which aim to cater to their diverse viewers. Consequently, it is crucial to underscore Kadlec's (2006) observation on Dewey's perspective, suggesting that an analytical framework rooted in critical pragmatism is necessary to address cultural pluralism. This framework enables the examination of hegemonic structures present within media institutions and promotes more thoughtful and balanced representations of cultural diversity.

The analysis of ethnic identity as a factor reveals that individuals who watch ETV and Walta TV exhibit less attachment to their ethnic identity compared to viewers of Fana TV. As

indicated in the analysis section, the factor scores revealed that Fana TV exhibited a factor of ethnic identity, with nine items loading into this factor D. In contrast, for ETV and Walta TV, the items related to ethnic identity loaded into a different factor, labeled as factor E, with five items for ETV and seven items for Walta TV. While it is appropriate to label the factor as the factor of ethnic identity, there is a need for a caution in generalizing the results across the three channels. This finding suggests a possible lack of ethnic awareness or recognition among those exposed to ETV and Walta TV, indicating similarities in the consumption of government and commercial television in this aspect. Mastro's study in 2015 demonstrates that audiences actively use media to fulfill their needs for racial and ethnic group vitality. This finding cautions against assuming that TV consumption is a uniform behavior across all channels. Certain TV channels could create programs that accommodate diverse audiences and acknowledge their individual perspectives. Consequently, Fana TV can be regarded as being culturally sensitive towards viewers who have recognized these subjective viewpoints. This sensitivity can explain why Fana TV has a higher ethnic identity factor loading compared to the other two channels. It is important to consider, as Englestad (2017) suggests, that a critical analysis of the public sphere should acknowledge its tendency to marginalize specific groups based on factors such as ethnicity. This perspective should be considered when assessing the role of these two media platforms. According to Ceron and Splendore (2018), critical theorists emphasize the importance of media professionalism over pluralism. In terms of recognizing the significance of multiculturalism in media, critical media theories ought to incorporate issue of diversity, audience choice, equal representation, multicultural production, and the exploration of ethnic identities in the newsrooms as these ideas are associated with participation and emancipation in various ways.

5.2 Conclusion

This extensive inquiry examined the nexus between the political economy of media and the representation of multiculturalism. It focused on the institutional and organizational frameworks of television news, focusing on legal and regulatory aspects, audience engagement, and multicultural media production across three mainstream Ethiopian TV channels. Despite changes in media freedom and ownership diversity since 2018, the Ethiopian Media Authority (EMA) continues to struggle with issues related to media infrastructure and diversity. Disparities

in media growth and overlapping regulations hinder the development of a dynamic media environment. Urgent reforms are necessary to enhance the EMA's effectiveness and foster a more inclusive media landscape in Ethiopia.

Despite laws granting press freedom in Ethiopia, significant obstacles remain due to lack of political commitment and inefficiencies of responsible bodies. Limited multicultural literacy among journalists, exacerbated by political pressures, impacts their professionalism and representation of diverse languages. Addressing these issues requires both political will and training to enhance journalists' skills in various languages, fostering a more inclusive media environment. In Ethiopia, the political situation has taken a toll on journalists, with many facing imprisonment and forced exile. The restrictive environment has also limited the representation of diverse cultures, silencing certain voices. The introduction of hate speech regulations has further curtailed mainstream media's ability to provide diverse content. To address this, it is crucial to enhance journalists' skills and knowledge through capacity building and training, including language training (Jakson, 2019). This will enable them to monitor media more comprehensively and inclusively. Moreover, incorporating intercultural communication skills into education curricula can help promote diversity and inclusion. The media pluralism monitor is essential for evaluating multicultural production in Ethiopia, considering legal, political, and economic factors that influence media diversity (Toma, Popescu, & Bodea, 2022). Furthermore, fair representation and diverse content may have been impeded by the combined influence of government pressure and lack of linguistic diversity. Overall, the Ethiopian media landscape requires a multifaceted approach to ensure fair representation and diverse content.

The Ethiopian Media Authority's approach creates an uneven media landscape, making it challenging for commercial TV channels to access markets and engage audiences. To promote diversity and representation, financial support for private media outlets is crucial. However, regulatory oversight of online media poses a significant challenge due to lower competition and ownership concentration. The confluence of regulatory frameworks raises concerns about control, undermining media autonomy and fostering self-censorship. On the other hand, the CPE approach to examining the diversification of news sources in multicultural news production has identified some crucial insights. Firstly, it underscores the equal significance of diversifying the topics and subjects covered in news articles alongside diversifying the sources themselves. This

means that the scope of issues discussed is pivotal in achieving multicultural production, regardless of the sources utilized. Secondly, it recognizes that diversifying news sources may not necessarily lead to a diverse range of voices and equitable representation, particularly in politically constrained environments. Thirdly, economic constraints and top-down decisions made by newsroom managers and editors can impede the diversity of news media by limiting sources to specific geographic areas and institutions, similar to previous study by Glasser, Awad, and Kim's (2009) that concludes journalism becomes more diverse when goodwill spreads within and across newsrooms and when market conditions allow for it, implying that good political decisions and a viable market are crucial for accommodating diverse voices. Fourthly, journalists' lack of autonomy and apprehension about disrupting established newsroom cultures often result in the prioritization of government issues, thereby marginalizing the voices of ordinary individuals in remote areas, even if they possess the capacity and awareness to contribute to multicultural societies through news media.

In Ethiopia, journalists prioritize reporting on national issues to avoid discussing ethnic differences, leading to a lack of representation of diverse perspectives. To achieve true diversity, policy interventions are needed to ensure government-media collaboration and representation of diverse voices. Relying on government sources can be problematic, as officials often manipulate information and undermine public trust. Moreover, the focus on national issues over socio-cultural issues neglects the experiences of ethnic groups. The Salad Bowl Theory suggests that news outlets should respect and acknowledge the diversity within a multicultural society, rather than just providing a narrow range of content options. According to Panis, Paulussen, and Dhoest (2019), adopting "professional pragmatics" during TV production can ensure inclusive representation and address super-diversity.

The lack of representation of marginalized groups in news sources perpetuates their marginalization. The critical political economy approach highlights the need for broader topics, economic factors, and journalist challenges to achieve a representative media landscape. Humprecht and Esser (2017) emphasize the importance of organizational, political, and professional factors in determining diversity. To address this, a dynamic multicultural policy is necessary to empower TV journalists and foster inclusive news production in Ethiopia. Such a policy would counter government control, enabling journalists to cover diverse issues and

promote respect among interest groups. By adopting this approach, Ethiopia can ensure a more comprehensive and representative news discourse that reflects the country's multicultural society. Therefore, diversifying news sources is not enough to guarantee a diversity of voices. Journalists, editors, managers, and political authorities must work collectively to achieve content diversification. This requires a nuanced understanding of the complexities involved, including the experiences of journalists and their interactions with sources. As Mathisen (2023) suggests, research methods beyond content analysis are necessary to uncover the intricacies of newsroom practices. A holistic approach that considers media market trends, public access to television channels, and normative ideals is crucial for creating a policy framework that supports multicultural news production and promotes diversity. By assessing these interrelated factors, we can gain a deeper understanding of the dynamics shaping newsroom practices and their impact on the diversity of news content.

The analysis also reveals that discourses were heavily influenced by nationalist narratives, aiming to foster unity among Ethiopians. However, the ongoing civil war and political polarization have led to the propagation of negative narratives about certain groups, reinforcing biased perspectives and exacerbating tensions. The media's failure to represent diverse viewpoints perpetuates negative narratives, undermining understanding and respect among ethnic and political groups. To address this, it is crucial to champion media freedom, promote diverse and inclusive media organizations, and encourage unbiased reporting through initiatives such as investigative journalism, citizen journalism, media literacy, and digital platforms that amplify diverse voices. By doing so, we can create a more inclusive media environment that promotes understanding and respect among diverse groups, ultimately contributing to a more harmonious society. The Discourse Historical approach highlights the importance of critique, ideology, and power in understanding complex issues. The paradox lies in the inclusion of both positive and negative discourses, which can be manipulative. Therefore, critical media literacy is crucial to report conflicts within multicultural societies. The forms of ownership, where state and commercial media are aligned with elites, have polarized news media, hampering national consensus. Research should delve into the relationships between media and politics to address ownership biases, artificial pluralism, and marginalization of minority groups. Critical literacy approaches and multicultural media literacy can transform the role of media in fostering societal integration through unbiased discourses. By considering inclusion, diversity, and social justice in

media literacy education, we can promote journalistic autonomy and independence, leading to more inclusive and unbiased discourses. According to a study conducted in Nigeria, it was found that journalists have a role to play in promoting peace when reporting on conflicts. It emphasized that journalists should adopt a peace-oriented approach in their reporting, and they can contribute to fostering a deeper understanding of conflict-related issues by offering insightful, well-informed, and critical commentary (Igbashangev and Gbasha, 2023). The study underscores the importance of employing neutral and respectful language when addressing oppositional groups, instead of endorsing the ideology of the ruling government. Through such practices, the media can elevate marginalized voices and promote inclusive dialogues. This approach holds promises in cultivating multicultural tolerance, equality, and mutual respect within television newsrooms. Overall, emphasizing on peace reporting, journalistic autonomy, neutral language, marginalized voices, and multicultural tolerance in reporting can enrich multicultural discourse in Ethiopia.

The study emphasizes the importance of multicultural news production and multicultural literacy skills among journalists. To achieve this, journalists must be equipped with necessary skills to create news media that caters to diverse perspectives, including language proficiency across diverse ethnic cultures. Critical media literacy is crucial in shaping the future of journalism, particularly in differentiating between fake news (Pinem, 2023). Balanced and truthful reporting in diverse societies requires multicultural media literacy, which involves analyzing media trends, accessing and evaluating content, and understanding cultural context (Reene, 2021; Martinsson, 2009). It highlights the need for journalists to understand diverse cultures, especially for monolingual journalists navigating heterogeneous societies like Ethiopia. Offering training initiatives and capacity-building schemes focused on crafting multicultural content and fostering intercultural comprehension can be beneficial (Silverblatt et al., 2014). Moreover, nurturing an inquisitive attitude towards indigenous languages is essential for journalists to enrich their encounters and comprehension of source cultures (Peter Cunliffe-Jones et al., 2021). The study also emphasizes the importance of critical media literacy, encompassing both the skills needed to produce content and those of the consumers, and the politics of representation (Cunliffe-Jones et al., 2021). The relationship between critical media literacy and the politics of representation emerges as a key research agenda.

In addition, the study highlights the link between journalists' compensation, incentives, and their involvement in creating news and entertainment content that encompasses diverse cultural perspectives (Wittel, 2016). The commercialization of media content can have an impact on the diversity of content and audiences, emphasizing the importance of considering content as a public good that equally caters to diverse citizens (Bozman & Johnson, 2015). To address these challenges, policies promoting equality in multicultural representation, freedom of expression, and minimizing constraints on multicultural media production are essential. Financial support is crucial for journalists to effectively engage with diverse cultural groups, and providing similar benefits at a microlevel can help retain journalists and foster expertise in specific public issues. Overall, multicultural media literacy, fair remuneration, journalistic freedom, and inclusive organizational culture are vital for improved multicultural news production in mainstream TV channels.

The intersection of political economy and multicultural media production in Ethiopia highlights the economic value of cultures and the democratic imperative of diversifying content. It emphasizes the importance of ethnic inclusivity, equitable representation, and unbiased discourses to foster trust and uphold citizens' rights, mitigating ethnic tensions through sound public deliberations. Free journalistic practices, reasonable regulations, and incentives are needed to uphold press freedom and democratic values. The study also examined the compatibility of the Ethiopian media with various media models from around the world by studying media content, journalists, and audiences within theoretical frameworks that integrate multiculturalism and the political economy of the media. Ethiopian media has been examined by scholars such as Skjerdal (2013) and Gagliardone (2014) as a developmental media model and Menychle (2017) as a mixture of a polarized pluralist model. The developmental model has been criticized for prioritizing government propaganda over democratic values, while the polarized pluralist model has been criticized for exacerbating ethnic divisions (Dessie, Ali, and Moges, 2023). In light of the current study, both models fail to promote multicultural representation, with the former suppressing dissenting voices and the latter overly emphasizing ethnic nationalism, leading journalists to primarily focus on their own ethnic identities. Although the ethnic-based regional media in Ethiopia is commendable in focusing on ethnic identities, it is not the primary issue in mainstream commercial and government channels. Nevertheless, its influence on the content produced in mainstream media should not be underestimated. Ethnic

and regional disparities in news sourcing practices would indirectly materialize the essence of propaganda model, as TV channels often rely on government sources. The study underscored how biases in sourcing contribute to silencing certain voices and maintaining political power. Mainstream Ethiopian TV channels played a role in shaping public opinion during the recent civil war by labeling government opposition as 'terrorists' and promoting unity against them. However, voices of the labeled political parties were largely absent in mainstream news, aligning with Kirinić7 (2022)'s assertion of biased media presentation and limited alternative perspectives.

Although developed within the context of liberal capitalism, the propaganda model can provide some insight into the complex interplay between media and politics in Ethiopia. The current study conducted during the recent and ongoing Ethiopian civil war. It demonstrates how the concept of 'manufacturing consent' has been effectively utilized to shape public opinion and garner support for the ruling government. Specifically, it revealed that the mainstream TV channels were used to create consensus among the population through labelling those opposing the government through armed struggle as 'terrorists' thereby fostering unity against these factions. Consequently, ideological and physical warfare have been propagated against these opposition groups. Like the filter of anti-communism, a fear of ideology' described in the propaganda model, TV channels in Ethiopia disseminated a widespread sense of trepidation towards "opposition parties." This fear primarily stems from failure to assess and understand each other's political ideologies and policies, resulting in a pervasive hostility towards democratic struggles carried out by opposition groups. However, the five filters could not explain the intricate relations of political economy of the media and multiculturalism within the dynamics of ethnic politics in Ethiopia. This implies the presence of other news filters that correspond to the propaganda model but cannot be fully elucidated solely through the lens of the propaganda model, given the prevailing dynamics of ethnic politics in diverse Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian media landscape exhibits characteristics indicative of government influence, as the government strategically employs media channels to cultivate public support. Consequently, news sourcing practices in Ethiopia are notably biased towards government-related affairs, effectively filtering out dissenting voices. *Censorship* as a news-filtering mechanism further reinforces this bias. Moreover, the portrayal of *terrorism* as a prominent news topic serves to

instill fear and apprehension among the populace, particularly towards opposition factions vying for political power. By manipulating news content, the ruling government aims to shape public opinion and garner support, thereby impeding the dissemination of balanced and diverse perspectives that accurately represent Ethiopia's multicultural society.

Therefore, in the Ethiopian media landscape, the presence of *government-centric news sourcing* and *self-censorship* contribute to the operation of news filters. These filters include "*terrorism fear mongering*," "*public support cultivation*," and "*government bias*." Terrorism fear mongering entails the deliberate emphasis on news coverage related to terrorism, aiming to instill fear and apprehension among the public, particularly towards opposition factions seeking political power. Public support cultivation and government bias encompass the strategic use of media channels by the government to shape public opinion. This involves highlighting government achievements or policies while downplaying dissenting views and exhibiting favoritism towards the government's agenda. As a result, news representation becomes skewed, and limiting the diversity of information available to the diverse public.

In general, the propaganda model addresses media-politics interactions. However, it cannot be used to fully explain ethnic politics and polarizations in the context of developing democracies like Ethiopia. Thus, additional news filters explaining Ethiopia's diverse ethnic landscape are identified. The Ethiopian media landscape reflects significant government influence, fostering self-censorship and emphasizing terrorism-related news to advance government's agenda. This hampers the discussions of diverse perspectives and fair representation of Ethiopia's multicultural society. Addressing these challenges requires exploring media models ensuring diversity in ownership and content.

It is essential to assert that applying western market-driven media frameworks directly to Ethiopia's media landscape is impractical. While acknowledging the relevance of market-oriented approaches, prioritizing a sustainable model centered on public ownership and robust investment in public media is imperative. This involves implementing principles of public broadcasting, where media operations are partly guided by public interest mandates. Additionally, promoting linguistic diversity and fair airtime allocation (re-distribution) can enhance inclusivity and representativeness in media content. Drawing from comprehensive empirical evidence and substantive discourse, it is highly recommended to devise an innovative

media model for Ethiopia. Notably, Humprencht et al. (2022) illuminate significant empirical findings identifying a distinct "hybrid" cluster, offering a middle-ground approach bridging democratic corporatist and polarized-pluralist perspectives. These insights are invaluable for shaping an effective media framework in Ethiopia. The would be proposed model advocates for prioritizing public ownership and reallocating capital towards investment in public media, as well as advocating for the promotion of diverse languages to foster a more inclusive media environment.

Based on the normative and moral foundations of the Nordic Media Model, which prioritizes societal well-being through public media access, it is crucial to propose adaption of "*Plurinationalwelfare Media Model*" as a media model for a diverse society like Ethiopia. This model integrates the principles of multiculturalism, ethno-nationalism, and welfarism within the media landscape, providing guidance for media policies and practices that promote authentic representation, inclusivity and social welfare. The welfarist ideals, as discussed by Syvertsen et al. (2014), emphasize the shared benefit for the public and form the basis for public service media. The "Plurinationalwelfare Media Model" encompasses the value of inclusion and well-being for all members of society. The core concept of welfarism involves redistributing of wealth to benefit the poor (Goodin and Grand, 2018). In a similar vein, transferring investment capital from mid-level investors to media ventures or encouraging them to invest on media through policies could foster diversification in both ownership and content.

The term "*Plurinationalwelfare*" is a fusion of various concepts, namely multiculturalism or pluralism, nationalism or ethno-nationalism, and welfarism. It encompasses the idea of recognizing and embracing the presence of multiple cultures within a society (multiculturalism/pluralism), acknowledging the significance of national identity (ethno-nationalism), and advocating for social welfare policies (welfarism) that align with the moral values associated with diverse and pluralistic cultures. The term summarizes the notion of a society that acknowledges and celebrates its diverse cultural backgrounds. Plurinationalwelfare media model creates media environment wherein a small number of publicly owned media outlets work operate for the inclusion of diverse people, fair representation of diverse ethnic and language groups, and the neutralization or

displacement of ethnocentric institutions. This fosters a sense of "Plurinationalism." Plurinationalism represents a novel paradigm, wherein "pluri" denotes cultural pluralism, capturing the theoretical framework that acknowledges ethnic diversity. Concurrently, "nationalism" connotes ethno-nationalism, informing the model aimed at conceptualizing Ethiopia's myriad nations.

The Plurinationalwelfare model acknowledges the significance of public broadcasting and advises against relying solely on public ownership as the State's primary approach. Instead, it promotes various ownership structures, such as ethnic-based ownership, where media outlets may be owned by specific ethnic groups but operate in diverse ethnic languages and cultures to ensure content diversity. The model supports commercial ownership, wherein individuals investing in media enterprises must come from a wide range of ethnic, cultural, and political backgrounds. Furthermore, it advocates for public ownership that guarantees a broad spectrum of content, representation, and opportunities for all interested groups in the media industry. In this context, a "Plurinationalwelfare Media Model" can be defined as a *media model that incorporates the principles of multiculturalism, ethno-nationalism, and welfarism*. It characterizes a media system that seeks to represent and responsive to the interests of the various cultural, political, ethnic groups within a society, while concurrently promoting social welfare and inclusivity. Then, the media will have the ability to critique the systems of power and unfair distribution of resources, potentially aligning with the concept of critical multiculturalism. Within the "Plurinationalwelfare Media Model," the media plays a crucial role in reflecting the multicultural society by valuing diverse cultural backgrounds and amplifying marginalized voices through establishing an inclusive media landscape. The model prioritizes content that addresses issues of inequality, poverty, and social justice and seeks to rectify historical disparities by actively including and amplifying diverse voices and perspectives.

This can be achieved through public ownership and funding, coupled with a strong emphasis on public broadcasting that promotes cultural pluralism. Horsti (2017) argues that public service broadcasters are crucial in implementing multicultural media policies due to their commitment to "serving all principle." Adopting the Plurinationalwelfare Media Model may involve promoting public ownership and participation of marginalized

communities in the industry. Within the critical political economy perspective, this approach rigorously examines the economic dynamics inherent in the media industry. It considers various factors such as commercial pressures, political power dynamics, market forces, and profit-driven motives. This perspective aligns with the arguments put forth by Horsti and Hultén (2011), which suggest that public service broadcasters' policies of recognition have become intertwined with the acknowledgment of their commercial values.

There is contention regarding the application of welfarism in poor nations, though this argument lacks persuasive rational arguments. Conversely, the reluctance towards welfare policies in the United States, the leading global economy, has been linked by scholars to racial perceptions, particularly regarding African Americans (Gilens, 2009). This suggests that the resistance to welfarism is not solely rooted in economic disparities but also reflects societal attitudes towards minorities. Moreover, discussions in Sweden regarding the inclusion of middle-income groups in welfare programs (Mau and Sachweh, 2014; Goodin and Grand, 2018) underscore the necessity of redistribution across diverse social strata to maintain societal equilibrium (Bergh, 2007). Thus, the argument for such a model necessitates prioritizing public interest and advocating for public broadcasting to amplify diverse voices, as exemplified by the regulatory approaches of Norway and Sweden within their democratic-corporatist frameworks (Neimanns, 2023). Concentrated media ownership demonstrates diminished support for redistribution. Embracing welfarism becomes imperative, particularly in multicultural societies like Ethiopia as redistribution serves as a principal mechanism for societal balance (Kymlicka, 1995). Consequently, multicultural groups can benefit not only from the social and cultural aspects of media representation but also from its economic value.

Furthermore, the Plurinationalwelfare model proposed in this study considers global inflation as a problem, and suggests for tax-free importation of media equipment, thereby incentivizing small media enterprises and minority ownership. This approach fosters a sense of patriotism by encouraging national self-sufficiency and reducing dependence on wealthier nations. For instance, in Ethiopia, where middle-income individuals contribute approximately 35% of their income in state taxes, it becomes pertinent to scrutinize how much of these public funds are allocated to the media sector. In this way, it would be

possible to effectively promote entrepreneurial journalism to diversify ownership. Therefore, there is a need for state intervention to facilitate the transfer of investment capital from competing public service sectors to the media industry. By incorporating these considerations, future media policies in Ethiopia hold promise for addressing societal challenges, ensuring fair representation, and advancing social welfare objectives.

5.3 Implications

This study has significant implications for both media studies in general and TV studies specifically, touching upon theoretical, methodological, and policy realms. It highlights the interdisciplinary nature of the research, employing various theories and methodologies crucial for generating insights relevant to academics, the research community, and policymakers. By merging multiculturalism with the political economy of media, the study reveals how an amalgamation of these fields enhances our understanding, emphasizing that achieving multicultural representation is complex without considering the broader political-economic landscape.

Theoretically, the study underscores the importance of incorporating diverse theories, such as political economy, cultural pluralism, representation, public sphere, and critical discourse studies. These theories did not only provide lenses for understanding the subject matter and framing research questions but also guide the selection of methodologies for a comprehensive exploration of the intricate facets within media and communication studies, particularly concerning the political economy of media and multiculturalism at both macro and micro levels of analysis. At macro-level, the study addressed the broader political and economic landscape facilitating multicultural representation within TV organizations. At the micro level, it explored diversity of news contents, textual representations audiences' choice and perceptions of their TV viewing, and journalistic practices, all of which are informed by the macro-level factors. The theory of cultural pluralism informed the recognition of group identities, as highlighted by Huo and Molina (2006), as multiculturalism goes beyond simply acknowledging the existence of different groups and involves recognizing and respecting their rights. This approach of exploring intricate public issues from diverse viewpoints would be regarded as a promising foundation for future transformative research endeavors.

Similarly, employing multiple methodologies supported the comprehensive study on the complex interplay of the political economy of the media and multicultural representations with reference to diversity and inclusion in multiethnic society. Mixed methods in this research project offered the implication that relates to what Hesse-Biber & Leavy (2008) argued in the proposition of a synergetic effect toward leading the development of multiple methods in specific research and what Hesse-Biber (2010) argued for its importance in expansion which allows researchers to continuously employ mixed methods. This study underscores the potential value of employing mixed in addressing the intricate nuances of the political economy of television concerning multiculturalism. Without such an approach, comprehensively understanding newsroom operations, content representation, journalistic practices regarding diverse sources of information, responsiveness to issues of fair representation, multicultural viewing, and the multifaceted factors influencing their interactions would prove challenging.

Utilizing multiple theories and methodologies can be linked to the concept of intersectionality, which holds significant importance in media studies (Joseph & Winfield, 2019), given that both political economy and multiculturalism encompass power dynamics that influence the functioning of a particular system. Thus, the implication of this study lies in its potential for intersectionality research, which is essential for examining television and the socio-political systems within which they operate to accurately represent society. The approach allowed for a deeper understanding of the political and structural issues at play within the media industry. A sole focus on studying the media as a corporate entity, without considering the influence of power structure may result in researchers inadvertently emphasizing misrepresentations, underrepresentation, or negative portrayals.

The study's significant implication for multidisciplinary research in media studies surpasses a narrow focus on media content alone. Instead, it integrates findings from diverse data sources to thoroughly investigate the presence of an inclusive media environment conducive to multicultural representations and public integration. By examining broader perspectives, particularly concerning the ethics of reporting on conflict, it underscores the interconnectedness between media and society. Considering societal well-being within underdeveloped democracy, it moves beyond mere description to suggest policy

implications. This research adopts a humanistic perspective, emphasizing the public sphere in television channels and delving into political contestations and interactions, thereby addressing issues of justice and emancipation, and transcending the narrow analysis of these complex issues.

The study, through its critical lens, pursues an emancipatory research agenda that deeply explores power dynamics and conflicts (Višňovský et al., 2020). Its interdisciplinary approach significantly contributed to comprehending the intricate structural dynamics inherent in public institutions, especially within the media domain. However, there remains ample scope for further investigation, particularly in examining how various factors influence the equitable dissemination of news in multicultural societies. Undertaking such inquiries is crucial for developing a comprehensive understanding of the complex dynamics in play.

Furthermore, the study's implications for policymakers are manifold, particularly in the realm of media politics and representational issues. Notably, it suggests that the extent of multicultural representation is closely intertwined with the level of media freedom. The study implies the necessity of proactive policymaking regarding media regulation. While existing laws and proclamations might have adequately addressed the human rights in relation to communication, the challenge lies in translating them into actionable measures that safeguard the rights of journalists and media proprietors. Thus, this study calls for robust media policy that facilitates the application of these laws without infringing upon the rights of various groups to representation and inclusion. Ultimately, the study underscores the significance of a cohesive media policy that not only upholds legal provisions but also fosters an environment conducive to multicultural ideologies and inclusivity. Such a policy framework is essential for leveraging the media's potential in advancing multiculturalism and promoting social harmony in Ethiopian society.

5.4 Recommendations

Ethiopia is one of the diverse nations with vast cultural diversity, with groups expressing unique identities. These diverse people seek to articulate their cultural heritage and interests. Addressing this array of voices requires a resilient media system. Mainstream television channels should actively strive to fulfill the representational requirements of

diverse cultural and ethnic demographics. To operationalize this goal, the study proposes the following actionable recommendations.

- ✓ The State must foster political commitment to enhance the media landscape by incentivizing media proprietors to invest in diversified outlets accessible to all regions of the nation.
- ✓ Media regulatory bodies should ensure the effective implementation of media laws while aligning them with the editorial guidelines of media houses and governmental policies governing the industry. This will help reduce turnover among journalists, as well as foster multicultural production practices through sensible subsidies aimed at sustaining the viability of private and commercial media amidst economic hardships.
- ✓ The regulatory authority, notably the EMA, should prioritize the empowerment of journalists to strengthen the media industry, emphasizing their professional autonomy through comprehensive training and capacity-building programs, particularly aimed at enhancing their multicultural media literacy skills. This will enable them to engage effectively with audiences across diverse cultural and political spectrums amidst the proliferation of competing information sources.
- ✓ The media regulatory body should also reassess its regulatory frameworks to uphold press freedom and promote the inclusion of diverse voices within mainstream television channels, particularly focusing on the effective implementation of rules outlined in proclamations and guidelines established by authorities to translate regulations into actionable measures.
- ✓ Television newsrooms should emphasize on the importance of news coverage that places a premium on peace talks and utilizes unbiased, non-inflammatory language to promote multicultural cohesion. This involves employing languages devoid of derogatory connotations and ensuring the accurate interpretation and usage of words by both journalists and potential audiences.
- ✓ Journalists must recognize that Ethiopia is governed by a federal system, and this multinational federalism should be mirrored in the media organizations they

- serve. In such an environment, it is imperative for journalists to possess skills and knowledge of the diverse cultures and aspirations within the society. This understanding is crucial not only for accurate representation but also for fulfilling the informational needs of different sections of the society.
- ✓ Activists, civil society, academia, and researchers should support policymakers in utilizing research findings and organizational reports to develop inclusive media policies that represent the diverse range of Ethiopian citizens. This involves exploring methods for strategically allocating state resources to establish new media ventures or provide incentives, aiming to ensure fair representation in ownership and content distribution. Additionally, such efforts could encourage collaborations among media outlets, civil society, and government entities to facilitate dialogue and community involvement, fostering inclusivity and mutual understanding among various cultural and ethnic groups.
 - ✓ Academic institutions offering journalism and media studies should prioritize an evaluation of the prevalent Ethiopian Journalism curriculum utilized across universities in Ethiopia. This initiative is crucial for contextualizing educational materials, particularly in adapting the curriculum to authentically represent Ethiopian diversity, ethnic complexities, and socio-economic realities. Such a tailored approach is essential for fostering inclusivity and enabling the incorporation of varied Ethiopian societal perspectives into journalism education.
 - ✓ Media houses in general, and mainstream TV channels in particular, must establish unified or distinct editorial policies to ensure the representation of multicultural society, aligning with licenses permitting operation within the multinational state.
 - ✓ Media organizations should also conduct periodic organizational reviews to ensure alignment with national diversity policies and regulatory frameworks aimed at promoting equitable representation of diverse groups.

- ✓ The research community must strive toward promoting and working on independent research, aimed at offering empirically grounded resolutions to the intricate relationship between media and politics in Ethiopia. Academic institutions should grasp the transformative capacity of media in the socio-economic advancement of the nation and allocate resources and infrastructure essential for fostering independent research in this domain.

References

- Aalen, L., & Tronvoll, K. (2009). The End of Democracy? Curtailing Political and Civil Rights in Ethiopi. *Review of African Political Economy* (120), 193 — 207.
- Aaron, T. (2017). *State and economic development in Africa*. New York: Springer.
- Abbink, J. (2006). Discomfiture Of Democracy? The 2005 Election Crisis in Ethiopia and Its Aftermath. *African Affairs*, 105(419), 173–199
- Abbink, J. (2017). A Decade of Ethiopia: Politics, Economy and Society 2004–2016. *Progress in Development Studies*, 18(2), 147–148. doi:10.1177/1464993417749150
- Abbink, G. J. (2021). The Ethiopia conflict in international relations and global media discourse. *E-International Relations*, (5), 6. <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3263724>
- Abbink, J. (2021). The politics of conflict in Northern Ethiopia, 2020–2021: a study of war-making, media bias and policy struggle. *African Studies Centre Leiden the Netherlands, ASCL Working Paper, 152*, 2021.
- Abdissa, O. J. (2021). Vicious circle of Ethiopian politics: Prospects and challenges of current political reform. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 7(1), 1893908.
- Abdissa, Z. (2010). *US press representation of the southern Sudanese civil war, 1983–2005* (Doctoral dissertation, The University of New Mexico).
- Abdissa, Z. & Fitih, A. (2018). The journalistic field in Ethiopia: Where partisanship and credibility cohabit. *News making Cultures in Africa: Normative Trends in the Dynamics of Socio-Political & Economic Struggles*, 291-312.
- Abdissa, Z. (2023). *Media Space and the State of Media Associations in Ethiopia: A baseline Study*. Center for the Advancement of Rights and Democracy (CARD)
- Abdissa Z, and Getachew, D. (2024). *Journalism in Ethiopia: The wrestle between universal ideals and cultural particulars*. Sunflower Printing Press. Addis Ababa.

- Abdissa, Z. (2019). Freedom of Mobility in an Ethnic-Based Federal Structure: The Ethiopian Quandary. *Social and Political Issues*, 1.
- Abebe, H. (2016). Freedom of expression and the Ethiopian anti-terrorism. *Haramaya Law Review*, 5(1). <https://www.ajol.info/index.php/hlr/article/view/160567/150138>
- Abebaw. A. Y. (2013). Diversity in Ethiopia: A historical overview of political challenges. *The International Journal of Community Diversity*, 12(3), 17.
- Abdullah, R. (2014, July). Writing a Literature Review Research Paper: A step-by-step approach. *International Journal of Basic and Applied Science*, 3(1), 47-56.
- Abraham E. & Amanuel. G. (2013). Relationship between press freedom and human development: evidence from eastern African countries. *World of Media Journal of Russian Media and Journalism Studies* (1).
- Adejumobi, S. A. (2007). *The History of Ethiopia* . Greenwood Press.
- Adeto, Y. A. (2019). Preventing violent extremism in the Horn: The case of ethnic extremism in Ethiopia.
- Addisu, R. (2019). The coverage of internal conflict between Oromia and Somali regional states on Ethiopian media: Comparative study of OBN and SRTV. Unpublished master's Thesis, Addis Ababa
- Afwork, D. (2013). *Media and Democracy in Ethiopia: Roles and Challenges of the Private Media Since 2005*. Addis Ababa.
- Agaredech, J. (2013). Representation of Gender and Gender Relations in Newspapers' Narratives: the Case of Ethiopia. PhD Thesis. <http://thesisbank.jhia.ac.ke/id/eprint/8335>
- Ahadu, E., & Abebe, D. (2019). Does Ethnic Federalism imperative for Ethiopia? A critical Analysis. *International Journal of Social Science Research and Review*, 2(4), 18-32.
- Ambaye, D. (2015). Land Rights and Expropriation in Ethiopia. *Hindawi*. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-14639-3

- Ala-Fossi, M. (2020). Finland: Media welfare state in the digital era? *Journal of Digital Media & Policy*, 11(2), 133-150.
- Alemi, M., Tajeddin, Z., & Kondlaji, A. R. (2017). A Discourse-Historical Analysis of Two Iranian Presidents' Speeches at the UN General Assembly. *International Journal of Society, Culture and Language (IJSCL)*.
- Allen-Meares, P., & Lane, B. A. (1990). Social work practice: Integrating qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques. *Social Work*, 35(5), 452-458.
- Alhuntushi, A., & Lugo-Ocando, J. (2023). Science Journalism and Professional Autonomy. In *Science Journalism in the Arab World: The Quest for 'Ilm' and Truth* (pp. 99-122). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Alkın, R. C. (2017). In Search of New Paradigms in Multiculturalism Debates: Introduction to Özensel's Rope Culture Model. *International Journal of Society Research*, 7(12), 177-192. Retrieved from <http://opusjournal.net/>
- Allison Shorten, J. S. (2017). Mixed Methods Research: Expanding The Evidence Base . *Evidence Based Nurs*, 20(3), 74-75. doi: 10.1136/Eb-2017-102699
- Almeida, F. (2018). Strategies to Perform a Mixed Methods Study. *European Journal Of Education Studies*, 5(1), 137-150.
- Amasha, M. (2023). The Ideals and Interests in Intellectuals' Political Deliberations: The Arab Spring and the Divergent Paths of Egypt's Shaykh al-Azhar Ahmad al-Tayyib and Grand Mufti Ali Gomaa. *American Journal of Islam and Society*, 40(3-4), 41-76.
- Ambaye, D. (2015). Land Rights and Expropriation in Ethiopia. *Hindawi*. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-14639-3
- André Cocou, D., & Franck, A. (2019). Discourse- Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Studies: Theoretical And Conceptual Analysis, Basic Characteristics And Analytical Tool. *Revue Internationale De Linguistique Appliquée, De Littérature Et D'éducation*, 2(1), 70-81.

- Anna Triandafyllidou, R. W. (2009). *The European Public Sphere and the Media: Europe in Crisis*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan .
- Anteneh T. A. (2012). An Integrative Approach to Intercultural Communication in Context: Empirical Evidence from Higher Education. *PhD dissertation*. Justus Liebieg University, Giessen. Germany
- Apeldoorn, B. V., & Horn, L. (2018). *Critical Political Economy*
- Appelrouth, S. & Edles, L.D (2011). *Sociological theory in the Contemporary era*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Appleton, J. V., & King, L. (2002). Journeying from the philosophical contemplation of constructivism to the methodological pragmatics of health services research. *Journal of advanced nursing*, 40(6), 641-648.
- Apuke, O. D. (2017). Another look at the political economy of the mainstream and new media: The capitalists' influence. *Journal of Mass Communication and Journalism*, 7(4), 1-7.
- Aharoni, M., & Lissitsa, S. (2022). Closing the distance? Representation of European asylum seekers in Israeli mainstream, community, and social media. *Journalism Practice*, 16(6), 1150-1167.
- Armigon, A., William Cannon, H., & Choi, J.-G. (2020). Q method finds anti-refugee sentiments on Yemeni migration to Jeju. *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*. doi:doi=10.1080/14616688.2020.1757746
- Art Silverblatt, A. S. (2014). *Media Literacy: Keys to Interpret Media Messages* (Fourth Edition ed.). Santa Barbara, California: Praeger.
- Augoustinos, M. (2022). Concluding Remarks: The Future of Multiculturalism? In *The Far-Right Discourse of Multiculturalism in Intergroup Interactions: A Critical Discursive Perspective* (pp. 241-256). Cham: Springer International Publishing

- Aujla-Sidhu, G., & Aujla-Sidhu, G. (2021). Diverse Journalism. *The BBC Asian Network: The Cultural Production of Diversity*, 125-147.
- Asif, M. (2013). Methodological pluralism with reference to recent literature. *International Journal of Academic research and reflection*, 1(2), 14-25.
- Assyltayeva, E., Ishmukhamedov, S., Tolen, Z., & Agybay, Z. (2023). The Influence of Mass Media on the Formation of Civic Identity: The Example of Kazakhstan (Content Analysis). *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*, 1-19.
- Athique, A. (2018). The dynamics and potentials of big data for audience research. *Media, Culture & Society*, 40(1), 59-74.
- Atnafu, B. (2021). Higher education institution students' social media literacy in Ethiopia: A case of Bahir Dar University Students. *Journal of Media Literacy Education Pre-prints*. Retrieved from <https://digitalcommons.uri.edu/jmle-preprints/8>
- Atanesyan, A. (2020). Media framing on armed conflicts: limits of peace journalism on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. *Journal of intervention and state building*, 14(4), 534-550. doi:10.1080/17502977.2020.1780018
- Awad-Cherit, I. (2008). Cultural diversity in the news media: A democratic or a commercial need? *Javnost-The Public*, 15(4), 55-72.
- Awad, I. (2011). Critical Multiculturalism and Deliberative Democracy: Opening Spaces for inclusive communication. *Javnost the Public*, 18(3), 39-54.
- Azzopardi, C., & McNeill, T. (2016). From cultural competence to cultural consciousness: Transitioning to a critical approach to working across differences in social work. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 25(4), 282-299.
- Baden, C., & Springer, N. (2017). Conceptualizing viewpoint diversity in news discourse. *Journalism*, 18(2), 176–194. doi:10.1177/1464884915605028

- Ballesteros, B., Luján, L., & Pedro, J. (2010). The Political Economy of Communication: Power and Resistance, An Interview with Vincent Mosco. *Global Media Journal*, 10(17), 1-17.
- Balmas, M., Rahat, G., Sheaffer, T., & Shenhav, S. R. (2014). Two routes to personalized politics: Centralized and decentralized personalization. *Party Politics*, 20(1), 37–51. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068811436037>
- Baker, R., Thompson, C., & Mannion, R. (2006). Q methodology in health economics. *Journal of health services research & policy*, 11(1), 38-45.
- Baltar, F., & Brunet, I. (2012). Social research 2.0: virtual snowball sampling method using Facebook. *Internet research*, 22(1), 57-74.
- Banks J.A. (2007). An introduction to Multi Culture Education: An Overview of the Issues and Concepts related to Multicultural Education
- Barker, J. H. (2008). Q-methodology: An alternative approach to research in nurse education. *Nurse Education Today*, 917–925. doi:10.1016/j.nedt.2008.05.010
- Barnett, S., & Townend, J. (2015). Media Power and Plurality: From Hyperlocal to High-Level Policy. *Palgrave Mcmillan*. doi:10.1057/9781137522849
- Bashir, A. A. (2020). Ethiopia’s Challenging Path to the 2020 Ballots.
- Beciu, C., Laz, M., & Diana, I. (2018). *Mediating Public Issues in Romanian Broadcast Talk: Personalized Communication Strategies*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1527476417697270>
- Behrenshausen, B. G. (2013). The active audience, again: Player-centric game studies and the problem of binarism. *New Media & Society*, 15(6), 872-889.
- Beier, A., Fiechtner, S., & Trebbe, J. (2020). Ordinary citizens in Swiss Public Television News: Representing a national public sphere? *Journalism Studies*, 21(8), 1055-1075.
- Bélair, J. (2016). Ethnic federalism and conflicts in Ethiopia. *Canadian Journal of African Studies*. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00083968.2015.1124580>

- Belfiore, E. (2020). Whose cultural value? Representation, power and creative industries. *International journal of cultural policy*, 26(3), 383-397.
- Belser, E. M., & Beglinger, R. (2023). Secession in federal systems: voice versus exit. *Kincaid John/Leckrone Wesley J.(eds.), Teaching Federalism, Multidimensional Approaches*, 176-186.
- Benet-Martínez, V. (2012). Multiculturalism: Cultural, Social, and Personality Processes. In K. Deaux, & M. Snyder (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Personality and Social Psychology* (pp. 1-54). Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195398991.013.0025
- Bennett, T. (2015). Cultural studies and the culture concept. *Cultural studies*, 29(4), 546-568.
- Berger, A. A. (2000). *Media and Communication Research Methods: an introduction to Quantitative and Qualitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks. London. New Delhi: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Bergh, A. (2007). The middle class and the Swedish welfare state: How not to measure redistribution. *The Independent Review*, 11(4), 533-546.
- Bergman, M. M. (2008). *Advances in Mixed methods Research*. (M. M. Bergman, Ed.). SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Berihun, A. G. (2023). UCL Faculty of Laws. 4(2023). London
- Berkowitz, D. (2019). Reporters and their sources. In *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 165-179). Routledge.
- Berray, M. (2019). A critical literary review of the melting pot and salad bowl assimilation and integration theories. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies*, 6(1), 142-151.
- Besley, T., Burgess, R., & Prat, A. (2002). *Mass Media and Political and Political Accountability*. London School of Economics.

- Bethlehem, N. W., & Tewodros, H. (2021). Gender in Ethiopian Media Landscape. Retrieved from <https://www.mediasupport.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Gender-in-Ethiopian-Media-Landscape-March-2021.pdf>
- Bezabih, K. W. (2019). A Brief Overview of Multicultural Education in Ethiopian: A Review. *Journal of Philosophy, Culture and Religion*, 42, 9-15.
- Binyam, M. A. (2021). Social media, Public Sphere and the Political Tragedies of Contemporary Ethiopia. *Skhid*, 1(3), 5-12.
- Birdsell, D. S., & Groarke, L. (2016). Political Communication and Persuasion: An Introduction. Routledge.
- Bishu, S. G., & Headley, A. M. (2020). Equal employment opportunity: Women bureaucrats in male-dominated professions. *Public Administration Review*, 80(6), 1063-1074.
- Bhaskar, R. (2009). Scientific Realism and Human Emancipation (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203879849>
- Bhaskar, R. (2020). Critical realism and the ontology of persons. *Journal of Critical Realism*, 19(2), 113-120. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14767430.2020.1734736>
- Bjornsen, G. (2012). Investigators or integrators: broadcast journalists covering multicultural Norway. In Eide, E., & Nikunen, K. (2011 ed.). *Media in motion: Cultural complexity and migration in the Nordic region*. Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate Pub.
- Bloemraad, I (2007). Unity in Diversity?: Bridging Models of Multiculturalism and Immigrant Integration. *DU Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 4(2), 317-336. doi:10.1017/S1742058X707018X
- Blumenthal, A. (1940). A new definition of culture. *American anthropologist*, 42(4), 571-586.
- Bohman, J. (2002). How to make Social Science Practical: Pragmatism, Critical Social Science and Multiperspectival Theory. *Journal of International Studies*, 31(3), 499-524.
- Bonde, B. N. (2018). Overview of the Ethiopian media Landscape. *Addis Ababa*.

- Boner, J. (2018). *Philosophy and political economy*. Routledge.
- Boucher, F., Guérard de Latour, S., & Baycan-Herzog, E. (2023). Rethinking liberal multiculturalism: Foundations, practices and methodologies. *Ethnicities*, 14687968231151455.
- Boukala, S. (2016). Rethinking topos in the discourse historical approach: Endoxon seeking and argumentation in Greek media discourses on 'Islamist terrorism'. *Discourse Studies*, 18(3), 249–268. doi: 10.1177/1461445616634550z
- Boukala, S. (2023). Protocols of political forgiveness: forgetting and forgiving antisemitism in Greek right-wing politics. *Handbook of Political Discourse*, 360-373.
- Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative research journal*, 9(2), 27-40.
- Bozdağ, Ç., Neag, A., & Leurs, K. (2022). Inclusive media literacy education for diverse societies. *Media and Communication*, 10(4), 248-255.
- Bozeman, B., & Johnson, J. (2015). The political economy of public values: A case for the public sphere and progressive opportunity. *The American review of public administration*, 45(1), 61-85
- Bradley, W. (2013). Is there a post-multiculturalism. *Studies on Multicultural Societies*, 19, 1-15.
- Braumoeller, Y. M. (2004). Symposium: Discourse and Content Analysis. *Qualitative Methods*, 15-39.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2019). Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis. *Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis*, 11(4), 589–597. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2019.1628806
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2020): One size fit all? What counts as quality practice in (reflexive) thematic analysis? *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, doi: 10.1080/14780887.2020.1769238

- Bratt, H. (2019/2020). *Uneven Playing Field: Understanding Abiy Ahmed Manipulation of Democracy in Ethiopia*. Uppsala University
- Brown, A. (2017). What is Hate Speech? Part 2: Family Resemblances. *Law and Philosophy*, 561–613.
- Brown, S. R. (1993). *A Primer on Q Methodology*.
- Browning, G & Kilmister, A. (2006). Marx and critical political economy. *Critical and Post-Critical Political Economy*, 40-60.
- Bryson, B. P. (2005). *Making multiculturalism: Boundaries and meaning in US English departments*. Stanford University Press.
- Bulger, M., & Davison, P. (2018). The Promises, Challenges and Futures of Media Literacy. *The National Association for Media Literacy Education's Journal of Media Literacy Education*, 10(1), 1-21.
- Burns, S., & Haller, B. (2015). The Politics of Representing Disability Exploring News Coverage of the Americans with Disabilities Act and the National Disability Insurance Scheme. *Asia Pacific Media Educator*, 25(2), 262–277. doi:10.1177/1326365X15604938
- Burton, D. (2002). Towards a Critical Multicultural Marketing Theory. *Marketing Theory*, 2(2), 207–236. doi:10.1177/147059310222004
- Buzgalin, A., & Kolganov, A. (2016). Critical political economy: the 'market-centric' model of economic theory must remain in the past-notes of the Post-Soviet School of Critical Marxism,. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 40(2), 575-598. doi:10.1093/cje/beu080
- Byerly, C. M., & McGraw, K. A. (2020). Axes of power: Examining women's access to leadership positions in the news media.
- Byrne, D. (2021). A worked example of Braun and Clarke's approach to reflexive thematic analysis. *Quality and Quantity*, 56. doi:10.1007/s11135-021-01182-y

- Cabanese, J.V.A. (2014). Multicultural Mediations, developing world realities:Indians, Koreans and Manila's entertainment Media. *Media, Culture and Society*, 36(5) 628–643, Sage
- Chaika, O., Sharmanova, N., Maliuga, N., & Savytska, I. (2022). Multiculturalism in modern mass media: analysis of stereotypes. *Amazonia Investiga*, 11(60), 10-22.
- Callaghan, C. W. (2016). Critical theory and Contemporary paradigm differentiation. In *Critical Management Studies in South african context* (Vols. 16(2), a421, pp. 59-99). Acta Comercii, Suppl, . Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/ac.v16i2.421>
- Call-Cummings, M., & Ross, K. (2019). Re-positioning power and re-imagining reflexivity: Examining positionality and building validity through reconstructive horizon analysis. *Research methods for social justice and equity in education*, 3-13.
- Calhoun, C. (2010). The Public Sphere in the Field of Power. *Social Science History*, 34(3), 301–335. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40927615>
- Camacho, S. (2019). From Theory to Practice: Operationalizing Transformative Mixed Methods with and for the Studied Population. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1-31.
- Champion, K. (2015). Measuring Content Diversity in a Multi-Platform Context. *The Political Economy of Communication*, 3(1), 39–56. Retrieved from <http://www.polecom.org/>
- Campos, P. H., & Lima, R. d. (2017). Social Positions and Groups:approximations between Pierre Bourdieu's sociology and social representation theory. *Culture and Psychology*, 23(1), 38-51. doi:10.1177/1354067X16652133
- Carr, P. R. (2011). The Media, Media Literacy and Democratic Education. In P. R. Carr, *Counterparts:Does Your Vote Count? Critical Pedagogy and Democracy* (pp. 209-230). Peter Lang AG. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42981001>
- Carreiras, H., & Caetano, A. (2016). Reflexivity and the sociological study of the military. In *Researching the military* (pp. 8-22). Routledge.
- Chicago Cultural Studies Group . (1992). Critical Multiculturalism. *Critical Enquiry*, 530-555.

- Chiumbu, S. (2016). Media, Race and Capital: A Decolonial Analysis of Representation of Miners' Strikes in South Africa. *African Studies*, 75(3), 417–435.
doi:10.1080/00020184.2016.1193377
- Chin, C., & Reid, S. (2022). Discourses of Multicultural Acknowledgment in Canada: Liberal and Conservative, General and Specific. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 1-17
- Christian Fuchs, M. S. (2015). The Political Economy of Capitalist and Alternative Social Media. In C. Atton (Ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Alternative and Community media* (pp. 165-175). London: Routledge.
- Cohrs, O. M. (2017). Examining the ethos of conflict by exploring lay people's representations of the Kurdish conflict in Turkey. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 1–22.
- Coleman, S. (2013). Debate on Television: The Spectacle of Deliberation. *Television & New Media*, 14(1), 20-30. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1527476411433520>
- Colombo, E. (2015). Multiculturalism: An overview of multicultural debates in western societies. *Current Sociology*, 63(6), 800-824.
- Cooren, F. (2008). Between semiotics and pragmatics: Opening language studies to textual agency. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 40, 1-16. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2006.11.018>
- Corr, S. (2001). *An introduction to Q methodology, a research technique*. *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 64(6), 293-297.
- Corrigan, T. F. (2018). Making Implicit Methods Explicit: Trade Press Analysis in the Political Economy of Communication. *International Journal of Communication*, 12, 2751–2772.
- Cottle, S., & Rai, M. (2006). Between display and deliberation: Analyzing TV news as communicative architecture. *Media, Culture & Society*, 28(2), 163-189.

- Comeforo, K. (2010). Review Essay: Manufacturing Consent: the political Economy of the Mass Media. *Global media and Communication*, 6(2), 218-230.
doi:10.1177/1742766510373714
- Constantopoulou, C. (2021). National Identities in Contemporary Media. Introduction to the Special Issue.
- CPI. (2019). Ethiopian Special Report .
- Crabill, E., Maddox, C., & Beissel, A. (2023). We Did It: A Content Analysis of Australian and New Zealand Online News Media Coverage of the Bid Process for the 2023 FIFA Women's World Cup. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, 16(1), 53-63
- Creamer, E. G. (2018). *An Introduction to Fully Integrated Mixed Methods Research*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approach* (2nd edition.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W., & Clark, V. P. (2011). *Mixed methods research*. SAGE Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Steps in conducting a scholarly mixed methods study*.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approach*. 4th ed.
- Chrisman, M. (2015). Deontic modals. In *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Taylor and Francis. doi:10.4324/9780415249126-L3571-1
- Cristel Antonia Russell, H. J. (2013). Cultural Diversity in Television Narratives: Homophilization, Appropriation, and Implications for Media Advocacy. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 32(Special Issue), 119–130.

- Cotton, M. D., & Mahroos-Alsaiari, A. A. (2015). Key actor perspectives on stakeholder engagement in Omani Environmental Impact Assessment: an application of Q-Methodology. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 58(1), 91-112.
- Cunliffe-Jones, P., Gaye, S., Gichunge, W., Onumah, C., Pretorius, C., & Schiffrin, A. (2021). The state of media literacy in sub-Saharan Africa 2020 and a Theory of Misinformation Literacy. *Misinformation policy in Sub-Saharan Africa: From laws and regulations to media literacy*.
- Dahlgren, P. (1995). *Television and the Public Sphere: Citizenship, Democracy and the media*. London: Sage Publications.
- Dana, G. (2022). A Critical Analysis of Jurgen Habermas's Discourse Theory of Morality: Exposing Some of its Unadmitted Ethical Assumptions. *Ethiopian Journal of the Social Sciences and Humanities*, 18(1), 65-93.
- Daniel, A. (2020). The Ethiopian Constitution and Ethnic Federalism. In T. Ginsburg & A. Z. Huq (Eds.), *From Parchment to Practice: Implementing New Constitutions* (pp. 281-302). Cambridge University Press.
- Daniel Riffe, S. L. (2005). *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research* (second edition ed.). New Jersey & London: Lawrence Elbaum Associates, Inc.
- Daniel Riffe, S. L. (2014). *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research* (3rd edition ed.). New York & London : Routledge.
- Daniel Riffe, S. L. (2019). *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research* (Fourth Edition ed.). New York and London: Routledge: Taylors and Francis Group.
- Das, R. (2017). Audiences: A decade of transformations—reflections from the CEDAR network on emerging directions in audience analysis. *Media, Culture & Society*, 39(8), 1257-1267.

- Datondji, A. C., & Amousou, F. (2019). Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Studies: Theoretical and Conceptual Analysis, Basic Characteristics and Analytical Tools. *Revue Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée, de Littérature et d'Éducation*, 2(1), 70-80.
- David Sweetman, M. B. (2010). Use of the Transformative Framework in Mixed Methods Studies. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16(6), 441-445.
- Davis, C. H, & Michelle, C. H. (2011). Q Methodology in Audience Research: Bridging the Qualitative/Quantitative 'Divide'? *Participations Journal of Audience and Reception Studies* , 8 (2), 527-561.
- Davies, S., Pettersson, T., & Öberg, M. (2023). Organized violence 1989–2022, and the return of conflict between states. *Journal of peace research*, 60(4), 691-708.
- Dessie, B. A., Ali, A. C., & Moges, M. A. (2023). Ethnic orientation over ethical underpinnings: Emerging trends of the Ethiopian media landscape. *Journalism Practice*, 17(9), 1919-1936.
- Dessie, B. A., Ali, A. C., & Moges, M. A. (2023). Towards ethno-political advocacy: Ethiopian journalists' professional role perceptions in post-EPRDF interregnum. *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, 10(1), 2168843.
- Deuz, M. (2001). Journalism education and multiculturalism: Enhancing the curriculum. *Asia Pacific Media Educator*, 10(15), 127-147.
- Deuze, M. (2004). Journalism studies beyond media: on ideology and identity: research section. *Ecquid Novi*, 25(2), 275-293.
- Dibaba, S. D. (2021). The Merger of Ethiopia People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) into Ethiopia Prosperity Party (EPP) and its impact on the Constitution. *International Journal of Scientific & Engineering Research*, 12(3).

- DiBianca Fasoli, A., & Raeff, C. (2021). How does culture show up in development? Conclusion to the spotlight series on the concept of culture. *Applied Developmental Science, 25*(2), 106-113.
- Di Pofi, J. A. (2002). Organizational diagnostics: integrating qualitative and quantitative methodology. *Journal of Organizational Change Management, 15*(2), 156 - 168. doi:10.1108/09534810210423053
- Ding, S. (2011). In T. E. Literacy, & S. Livingstone (Ed.), *Media literacy: Ambitions, policies and measures*. London.
- Dinler, A., Atan, T., & Berberoglu, A. (2022). Factors Affecting the Sustained Market Position of TV Channels: Insights from Audience Preferences. *Sustainability, 14*(23), 16138.
- Dirbaba, B. O. (2014). Pride Versus Humility: The Self-Perceived Paradoxical Identities of Ethiopian Journalists. *Sage, Open, 1-14*.
- DiStefano, C., Zhu, M., & Mindrila, D. (2019). Understanding and using factor scores: Considerations for the applied researcher. *Practical assessment, research, and evaluation, 14*(1), 20.
- Doliwa, U., & Purkarthofer, J. (2021). Community media's role in changing centre-periphery relations through participatory, not-for-profit journalism. *International Journal of media & cultural politics, 17*(2), 161-182.
- Dominck, J. R. (2006). *Mass Media Research: Processes, Approaches, and Applications*. Australia & Canada: Wadsworth.
- Dong, Q., Day, K. D., & Collaço, C. M. (2008). Overcoming ethnocentrism through developing intercultural communication sensitivity and multiculturalism. *Human Communication, 11*(1), 27-38.
- Douglas, O., & Phillips, A. (2022). *Journalism, Culture and Society: A Critical Theoretical Approach to Global Journalistic Practice*. Taylor & Francis.

- Downing, J.D.H. and Husband, C.H. (2005). *Representing Race: Racisms, Ethnicities and Media*. London: Sage Publications.
- Doyle, L., Brady, A. M., & Byrne, G. (2016). An overview of mixed methods research—revisited. *Journal of research in nursing*, 21(8), 623-635.
- Drápalová, E., & Wegrich, K. (2021). Technocratic Populism and Subnational Governance. *Government and Opposition*(56), 640-660. doi:10.1017/gov.2020.16
- Duenckmann, F. (2010). The village in the mind: Applying Q-methodology to re-constructing constructions of rurality. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 26, 284–295. doi:10.1016/j.jrurstud.2010.01.003
- Dulume, W. (2022). Finfinnee and the Oromoo: The Need to Redeem Historical Injustice Done to the Oromoo in the Course of Addis Ababa Establishment and Beyond. *Asian Journal of Sociological Research*, 6(2), 45-52.
- Duncan, J. (2014). A political economy of press self-regulation: the case of South Africa. *Media, Culture & Society*, 36(2), 167–182. doi.org/10.1177/0163443713515738
- Dune, T., Perz, J., Mengesha, Z., & Ayika, D. (2017). Culture Clash? Investigating constructions of sexual and reproductive health from the perspective of 1.5 generation migrants in Australia using Q methodology. *Reproductive Health*, 14(50). doi:10.1186/s12978-017-0310-9
- Durity, L. (2006). Shielding Journalist-" Bloggers": The Need to Protect Newsgathering Despite the Distribution Medium. *Duke L. & Tech. Rev.*, 5, 1.
- Edles, S. A. (2011). *Sociological theory in the Contemporary era*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Edström, M., & Svensson, E. M. (2023). Media Content. *The Handbook of Gender, Communication, and Women's Human Rights*, 195.

- Efe, I. (2013). Using Discourse Historical Approach and Corpus Linguistics for Turkish Political/Media Discourse Analysis. *Civilacademy, Journal of Social Sciences*, 11(1), 1-32.
- Egne, R. M. (2015). *Ethiopia in Transition: A Multicultural Education Perspective on Teacher Education Policies, Curricula, and Practices*. Oslo, Norway.
- Eisen, H. D. (2016). Famine, Genocide and Media control in Ethiopia. *The Journal of Pan African Study*, 9(10).
- Ellis, K. (2020). Disability and Digital Television Cultures Representation, Access, and Reception. Routledge.
- Eppich, W. J., Gormley, G. J., & Teunissen, P. W. (2019). In-depth interviews. *Healthcare simulation research: A practical guide*, 85-91.
- Endaylalu, G. A. (2022). The Grand Missed Opportunities for Change in the Modern Ethiopian Political History: Lesson to be Learnt for Contemporary Democratic Transition. *International Relations and Diplomacy*, 10(1), 33-49. doi: 10.17265/2328-2134/2022
- Engelstad, F. (2017). Afterword: A viable model of the Public Sphere? In H. L.-J. Fredrik Engelstad, *Institutional Change in Public Sphere: Views on the Nordic Model*. De Gruyter
- Engracia Giraldi, J. D. M., Engracia Giraldi, I. D. M., & Scaduto, A. A. (2011). Brazil's image as a social representation process. *African Journal of Business Management*, 5(22), 8821-8831.
- Enjolras, B., & Steen-Johnsen, K. (2017). The Digital Transformation of the Political Public Sphere: A Sociological Perspective.
- Enli, G., Raats, T., Syvertsen, T., & Donders, K. (2019). Media policy for private media in the age of digital platforms. *European Journal of Communication*, 1-15.
doi:10.1177/0267323119861512

- Erlingsson, C., & Brysiewicz, P. (2017). *A hands-on guide to doing content analysis*. *African Journal of Emergency Medicine*, 7, 93-99.
- Esposito, E. (2021). Politics, Ethnicity and the Postcolonial Nation: *Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture*. (R. W. Paul Chilton, Ed.) John Benjamin's Publishing Company .
- Ethiopia, Acountry Study. (n.d.). Kessinger Publishing, LLC.
- Evers, J., & Silver, C. (2014). The First ATLAS.ti User Conference. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*.15(1}, pp. 1-8. Berlin: Technical University Berlin. Retrieved from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/>
- Exel, J. van, & Graaf, G. de. (2005). Q methodology: A sneak preview. Online document. Extracted December 2019. Available at www.qmethodology.net/PDF/Q-methodology
- Fairclough, N. (2013). Critical discourse analysis. In *The Routledge handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 9-20). Routledge.
- Fairfield, P. (2011). *Philosophical Hermeneutics Reinterpreted*. London & New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Fallis, D. (2011). Floridi on Disinformation. *Etica & Politica / Ethics & Politics*, XIII, 201-214.
- FAO. (2020). *Global Forest Resources Assessment 2020, Ethiopia* . Food and Agriculture Organization of the United States . Rome: FAO.
- Farr, R. M. (1998). From Collective to Social Representations: Aller et Retour. *Culture & Psychology*, 4(3), 275-296. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354067X9800400301>
- Fazel, K., Kaiser, S., Robertson, P., & Ruf, M. J. (1995). A concept of digital terrestrial television broadcasting. *Wireless Personal Communications*, 2, 9-27.
- Federal Negarit Gazette. (2020). Hate Speech and Disinformation Prevention and Suppression Proclamation. Proclamation No.1185/2020. 26th year (No. 26), 2020, Addis Ababa.

- Fenton, N. (2007). Bridging the mythical divide: Political economy and cultural studies approaches to the analysis of the media. *Media studies: Key issues and debates*, 7-31.
- Fenton, N. (2008). Mediating solidarity. *Global media and communication*, 4(1), 37-57.
- Ferdman, B. M. (2017). Paradoxes of Inclusion: Understanding and Managing the Tensions of Diversity and Multiculturalism. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 53(2), 235–263. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/0021886317702608>
- Feyissa, E. F. (2015). Ethiopians in the Twenty-First Century: The Structure and Transformation of the Population,. In G. P. Fiquet (Ed.), *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia* . London : Hurst and Company.
- Fico, F. G., & Riffe, S. L. (2008). A Content Analysis Guide for Media Economics Scholars. *Journal of Media Economics*, 21(2), 114-130. doi:10.1080/08997760802069994
- Ficquet, É., & Dereje, F. (2015). Ethiopians in the Twenty-First Century. *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia*.
- Finlay, L., & Gough, B. (Eds.). (2008). *Reflexivity: A practical guide for researchers in health and social sciences*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Finlayson, A. (2022). YouTube and Political Ideologies: Technology, Populism and Rhetorical Form. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321720934630>
- Fish, S. (1997). *Boutique Multiculturalism, or Why Liberals Are Incapable of Thinking about Hate Speech* (Vol. Critical Inquiry 23). Chicago University.
- Fisher, C. (2018). News Sources and Journalist/Source Interaction. *Oxford Research Encyclopedias*. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.849>
- Fisher, G. J., & Tsehaye, M. (2018). ‘Game Over’? Abiy Ahmed, The Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front and Ethiopia’s Political Crisis. *African Affairs*, 118(470), 194–206. Doi:10.1093/Afrac/Ady056

- Flanagan, A. (2005). Blogging: A journal need not a journalist make. *Fordham Intell. Prop. Media & Ent. LJ*, 16, 395.
- Flew, T. (2011). Media as Creative Industries :Conglomeration and globalization as accumulation strategies in an age of digital media. In D. Winseck, & D. Y. Jin (Eds.), *The Political Economies of Media: The Transformation of the Global Media Industries* (pp. 84-100). London: Bloomsbury Academic. doi:10.5040/9781849664264
- Flick, U. (2018). Triangulation in data collection. *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data collection*, 527-544.
- Forchtner, B. (2010). *CADAAD*, 4(1), 18-37.
- Forchtner, B. (2011). Critique, the discourse–historical approach, and the Frankfurt School. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 8(1), 1-14.
- Forchtner, B., & Tominc, A. (2012). Critique and argumentation: On the relation between the discourse-historical approach and pragma-dialectics. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 11(1), 31-50.
- Forchtner, B. (2020). Critique, Habermas and narrative (genre): the discourse-historical approach in critical discourse studies . *Critical Discourse Studies*, 1-19. doi: 10.1080/17405904.2020.1803093
- Forchtner, B. (2021). Critique, Habermas, and narrative (genre): the discourse-historical approach in critical discourse studies, *Critical Discourse Studies*, 18(3), 314-331, doi: 10.1080/17405904.2020.1803093
- Forman, J., & Damschroder, L. (2015). Qualitative content analysis. *Empirical methods for bioethics: A primer* (pp. 39–62). Published online.
- Fowers, B. J., & Richardson, F. C. (1996). Why is multiculturalism good? *American psychologist*, 51(6), 609.
- Frank, M. (2009). Effects of Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia. Holding Together or Splitting Apart?

- Fraser, N. (1998). Social justice in the age of identity politics: redistribution, recognition, participation. *Discussion Papers, SSOAR, Open Access Repository*, 98-108. Retrieved from <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-126247>
- Fraser, N. (2006). Mapping the feminist imagination: From redistribution to recognition to representation. *Die Neuverhandlung Sozialer Gerechtigkeit: Feministische Analysen Und Perspektiven*, 37-51.
- Fraser, N. (2008). *Scales of Justice: Reimagining Political Space in a Globalizing World*. Columbia University Press.
- Fraser, N. (2017). *Fortunes of Feminism: From State-Managed Capitalism to Neoliberal Crisis*. Verso.
- Fraser, N. (2017). 27. The Theory of the Public Sphere: The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (1962). In H. Brunkhorst, R. Kreide & C. Lafont (Ed.), *The Habermas Handbook* (pp. 245-255). New York Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7312/brun16642-029>
- Frese, M. (2011). Diversifying the Meanings of Norms. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 46(10), 1327-1330. doi:10.1177/00220221115600267
- Friese, S. (2012). *Qualitative Data Analysis with ATLAS.ti*. London, New Delhi : SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Friese, S. (2019). Qualitative data analysis with ATLAS. ti. *Qualitative data analysis with ATLAS. ti*, 1-344.
- Fuchs, C. (2021). *Foundations of Critical Theory: Media, Communication and Society Volume Two*. Routledge.
- Fuchs, C. (2022). *Foundations of Critical Theory: Media, Communication and Society*. London & New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. doi:10.4324/9781003199182-2
- Fukuyama, F. (2018). Why national identity matters. *J. Democracy*, 29, 5.

- Fukuyama, F. (2019). *Identity: the demand for dignity and the politics of resentment*. New York Times bestselling author.
- Gagliardone, I. (2014). New media and the developmental state in Ethiopia. *African Affairs* , 113(451), 279–299. doi:10.1093/afraf/adu017
- Galetić, F. (2021). Changing the Market Position of Public Television—Case of Croatia, Slovenia and Hungary. *Köz-gazdaság*, 16(1), 159-169.
- Galt, K. A. (2008). Media Review: SPSS Text Analysis for Surveys 2.1. Chicago, IL: SPSS Inc. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 2(3), 284-286.
- Gandy Jr, O. H. (1992). The political economy approach: A critical challenge. *Journal of Media Economics*, 5(2), 23-42.
- Garcia, M., & Rajkumar, A. S. (2008). *Achieving better service delivery through decentralization in Ethiopia* (Vol. 132). World Bank Publications.
- Garnham, N. (1995). Political Economy and Cultural Studies: Reconciliation or Divorce?" *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 12(1): 62-71.
- Garson, G. D. (2013). *Validity and Reliability*. David Garson and Statistical Associates Publishing.
- Gartley, J. (1980). Electronic Media in Ethiopia. *Northeast African Studies*, 2/3(3/1), 163–170. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43660064>
- Gaston, E. (2014). *Process lessons learned in Yemen's national dialogue*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.
- Gebru. K.K, & Adem, C. A. & Hagos, N. (2021). The Challenges of Hosting Televised Deliberations in Ethiopian Media. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19401612211020267>
- Gedion T. (2010). Freedom of Expression in Ethiopia: The Jurisprudential Dearth. *Mizan Law Review*, 4(2).

- Gehlbach, S., & Sonin, K. (2014). Government control of the media. *Journal of Public Economics*. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2014.06.004>
- Genosko, G. (2016). *Theory, From Information to Affect*. London, New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.
- Gessese, A. A. (2020). Ethnic Nationalists Abuse of Media: Lessons of Yugoslavia and Rwanda for Ethiopia. *European Scientific Journal*, 16(16), 98-122.
- Gezahegn, B. K. (2023). Journalists' safety in Ethiopia: An inquiry of influences, coping mechanisms, and the role of professional associations. *Master's thesis*. NLA University College.
- Ghiara, V. (2019). Disambiguating the Role of Paradigms in Mixed Methods Research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1–15. doi:10.1177/1558689818819928
- Gibson, C. B. (2017). Elaboration, generalization, triangulation, and interpretation: On enhancing the value of mixed method research. *Organizational Research Methods*, 20(2), 193-223.
- Gillespie, M. (2007). Security, media and multicultural citizenship: A collaborative ethnography. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 10(3), 275–293. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549407080731>
- Gillespie, A. (2008). Social Representations, Alternative Representations, and Semantic Barriers. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 38(4), 375-391.
- Gillespie, C. A. & . Gritzner, C. F. (2003). Ethiopia. Infobase Publishing.
- Gillespie, M., Gow, J., Hoskins, A., O'Loughlin, B., & Žveržhanovski, I. (2010). Shifting securities: News cultures, multicultural society and legitimacy. *Ethnopolitics*, 9(2), 239-253.
- Gilens, M. (2009). *Why Americans hate welfare: Race, media, and the politics of antipoverty policy*. University of Chicago Press.

- Giraldi, J. d., Giraldi, I. d., & Scaduto, A. A. (2011). Brazil's image as a social representation process. *African Journal of Business Management*, 8821-8831. doi: 10.5897/AJBM10.1510
- Giroux, H. A. (1995). Resistance, Multiculturalism and Politics of Difference. In K. Barry, & M. Peter (Eds.), *Critical Multiculturalism: Uncommon Voices in a Common Struggle* (pp. 1-18). Westport, Connecticut, London: Bergin and Garvey.
- Gizachew, N. E. (2022). The new Ethiopian hate speech and disinformation prevention proclamation: A sign for fracture of the promises of the reform? *Journal Communication Spectrum: Capturing New Perspectives in Communication*, 12(2), 112-123. doi:10.36782/jcs.v12i2.2186
- Gizealew, A. D., & Sisay, E. T. (2019). Current state of the art digital literacy in Ethiopia: article review. *Studies*, 5(9), 2454-8499.
- Gladkova, A., & Vartanova, E. (2023). Theoretical Approaches for Potential Global Collaboration. *The Routledge Companion to Journalism in the Global South*.
- Glasser, T. L., Awad, I., & Kim, J. W. (2009). The claims of multiculturalism and journalism's promise of diversity. *Journal of communication*, 59(1), 57-78.
- Goodin, R. E., & Le Grand, J. (2018). *Not only the poor: The middle classes and the welfare state*. Routledge.
- Goodwin, J., & Jasper, J. M. (Eds.). (2015). *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Gorski, P. C. (2009). Insisting on Digital Equity: Reframing the Dominant Discourse on Multicultural Education and Technology. *Urban Education*, 44(3), 348-364. doi:10.1177/0042085908318712
- Gorsuch, R. L. (1983). *Factor analysis* (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Govenden, P. C. (2019). *Token Transformation: A Critical Political Economy of the Media Analysis of Ownership and Content Diversity in South Africa's Print Media* (Doctoral dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand).
- Graham, P. (2007). Political economy of communication: a critique. *CPOIB*, 3(3), 226-245. doi:10.1108/17422040710775012
- Greene, J. C. (2012). Engaging Critical Issues in Social Inquiry by Mixing Methods. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 56(6), 755–773. doi:10.1177/0002764211433794
- Gripsrud, J. (2007). Television and the European public sphere. *European Journal of Communication*, 22(4), 479-492.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 191–215). Sage Publications Ltd.
- Gulenko, P. (2020). Political discussion as a propaganda spectacle: propaganda talk shows on contemporary Russian television. *1989*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443720974230>
- Guo, L. (2019). Media Agenda Diversity and Intermedia Agenda Setting in a Controlled Media Environment: A Computational Analysis of China's Online News. *Journalism Studies*. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2019.1601029
- Guyot, J. (2009). Political-economic factors shaping news culture. HAL, .135-149. Retrieved from <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00636604>
- Guilherme, M., & Dietz, G. (2015). Difference in diversity: multiple perspectives on multicultural, intercultural, and transcultural conceptual complexities. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 10(1), 1-21.
- Gutmann, A. (2003). *Identity in Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Habermas, J. (1989). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Oxford, Polity Press.

- Habermas, J. (1991): "The public sphere" In Mukerji, C.; Schudson, M. (Ed.): Rethinking popular culture. Contemporary perspectives in cultural studies. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press. pp.398-404.
- Hackett, R. A. (2013). Press freedom and communication rights: What kind of journalism does democracy need? *Pacific Journalism Review*, 19(1), 13-40.
- Hagmann, T., & Abbink, J. (2011). Twenty years of revolutionary democratic Ethiopia, 1991 to 2011. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 5(4), 579-595.
- Hailemariam, E. (2023). The State of Multiparty Democracy and Multilevel Governance Under the Ethiopian Developmental State Model: A Retrospective Analysis. *Ethioinquiry, Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2(1), 84-105. <https://journals.hu.edu.et/hu-journals/index.php/erjssh/article/view/660>
- Hall, S. (Ed.). (1997). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (Vol. 2). Sage.
- Hall, S. (2000). Conclusion: The multicultural question. In B. Hesse (Ed.), *Un/settled multiculturalism*. London: Zed Books
- Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. Cambridge university press.
- Han, C. (2015). How to do critical discourse analysis: A multimodal introduction.
- Hardy, J. (2014). *Critical political economy of the media: An introduction*. Routledge.
- Hardy, J. (2019). Political economy of news. *The international encyclopedia of journalism studies*, 1-8.
- Harrison, H., Birks, M., Franklin, R., & Mills, J. (2017, January). Case study research: Foundations and methodological orientations. In *Forum qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: qualitative social research* (Vol. 18, No. 1).

- Hartmann, D., & Gerteis, J. (2005). Dealing with diversity: Mapping multiculturalism in sociological terms. *Sociological theory*, 23(2), 218-240.
- Hay, J. & Couldry, N. (2011). Rethinking convergence/culture: An introduction. *cultural studies*, 25(4-5), 473-486.
- Henok, A. G. (2016). Freedom of expression and the Ethiopian anti-terrorism proclamation: a comparative analysis. *Haramaya Law Review*, 5(1), 87-114.
- Herbst, S. (1995). On electronic public space: Talkshows in theoretical perspective. *Political Communication*, 12(3) 263-274
- Herman, E. S. and Chomsky, N. (1998). *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of Media*. New York, Pantheon Books
- Hermes, J., van den Berg, A., & Mol, M. (2013). Sleeping with the enemy: Audience studies and critical literacy. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 16(5), 457-473.
- Hernandez, M. & Madrid-Morales, D. (2020). Diversifying Voice, Democratizing the News? A Content Analysis of Citizen News Sources in Spanish-language, *International Broadcasting Journalism Studies*, 21(8), doi:10.1080/1461670X.2020.1734857
- Herns-Branaman. (2018). What Propaganda Model Can learn from the Sociology of journalism:. 25-36. doi:<https://doi.org/10.16997/book27.ci> License: CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0
- Herzog, B. (2016). Discourse analysis as immanent critique: Possibilities and limits of normative critique in empirical discourse studies. *Discourse & Society*, 27(3), 278–292. doi:DOI: 10.1177/0957926516630897
- Herzog, B. (2016). Discourse analysis as immanent critique: Possibilities and limits of normative critique in empirical discourse studies. *Discourse & Society*, 27(3), 278–292. doi: 10.1177/0957926516630897
- Hesmondhalgh, D. (2017). Capitalism and the media: Moral economy, well-being and capabilities. *Media, Culture & Society*, 39(2), 202-218.

- Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2010). *Mixed methods research: Merging theory with practice*. Guilford Press.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N., & Johnson, R. B. (Eds.). (2015). *The Oxford handbook of multimethod and mixed methods research inquiry*. Oxford University Press.
- Hjarvard, S. (2013). *The Mediatization of Culture and Society* (1st ed.). Routledge.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203155363>
- Hjermann, A. R. (2023). Depoliticising democracy through discourse: Reading Russia's descent into autocracy and war with Jacques Rancire's political theory. *New Perspectives*, 2336825X231169476.
- Hobbs, R. (2022). Media literacy. In *The Routledge international handbook of children, adolescents, and media* (pp. 475-482). Routledge.
- Hobbs, R. (2021). *Media literacy in action: Questioning the media*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Hobbs, R., & Jensen, A. (2009). *Journal of Media Literacy Education* 1, 1-11.
- Hodkinson, P. (2011). *Media, Culture and Society: An Introduction*. Los Angeles: Sage
- Hofstede, G., Hofstede, G.J. and Minkov, M. (2010) *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind: Intercultural Cooperation and Its Importance for Survival*. 2nd Edition, McGraw-Hill, London.
- Höijer, B. (2011). Social representations theory. *Nordicom review*, 32(2), 3-16.
- Horn, B. v. (2018). *Critical Political Economy. KFG Working Paper Series(87)*.
- Hoover, J. (2003). A Propaedeutic to the Theorizing of Cultural Pluralism. In w. a. Cris E. Toffolo (Ed.), *Emancipating Cultural Pluralism* . New York: State University of New York Press.

- Howard, R. (2009). Conflict-Sensitive Reporting: State of the Art. A Course for Journalists and Journalism Educators. [Online]. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/>
- Huang, J. N. (2019). The political economy of press freedom: *The paradox of Taiwan versus China*. Routledge.
- Horsti, K. (2017). Celebrating multiculturalism: European multicultural media initiatives as anti-racist practices. In *Anti-racism and Multiculturalism* (pp. 153-168). Routledge.
- Horsti, K., & Hultén, G. (2011). Directing diversity: Managing cultural diversity media policies in Finnish and Swedish public service broadcasting. *International journal of Cultural studies*, 14(2), 209-227.
- Human Rights Watch. (2015). Journalism is not a crime: Violations of media Freedoms in Ethiopia. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/01/21/journalism-not-crime/violations-media-freedoms-ethiopia>
- Humprecht, E., Castro Herrero, L., Blassnig, S., Brüggemann, M., & Engesser, S. (2022). Media systems in the digital age: An empirical comparison of 30 countries. *Journal of Communication*, 72(2), 145-164.
- Humprecht, E., & Esser, F. (2018). Diversity in online news: On the importance of ownership types and media system types. *Journalism Studies*, 19(12), 1825-1847.
- Hunter, A. (2015). Crowdfunding independent and freelance journalism: Negotiating journalistic norms of autonomy and objectivity. *New Media & Society*, 17(2), 272-288.
- Hunter, A., Nelson, E., McNichol, E., & Holt, J. (2017). Using Q methodology to determine attitudes of women to their experience of urinary incontinence and use of absorbent pads. In *Neurourology and Urodynamics*. Wiley Periodicals . Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1002/nau.23386>
- Huo, Y. J., & Molina, L. E. (2006). Is pluralism a viable model of diversity? The benefits and limits of subgroup respect. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 9(3), 359-376.

- Hwang, S. (2008). Utilizing Qualitative Data Analysis Software: A Review of Atlas.ti. *Social Science Computer Review*, 26(4), 519-527. doi:10.1177/0894439307312485
- Hyman, I., Meinhard, A., & Shields, J. (2011). The role of multiculturalism policy in addressing social inclusion processes in Canada. *Centre for Voluntary Sector Studies Working Paper Series*.
- Igbashangev, P. A., & Gbasha, C. T. (2023). Journalistic Responsibilities Amid Primordial Pressure in Reporting Conflict in Benue State, Nigeria. *Nigeria*. (April 15, 2023).
- Ikran, A. A. (2023). Exploring Co-Regulation as a Solution to Automated Disinformation in Kenya. *Journal of Intellectual Property and Information Technology Law (JIPIT)*, 3(1), 201-256.
- International Crisis Group. (2019). *Managing Ethiopia's Unsettled Transition*. International Crisis Group. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/ethiopia/269-managing-ethiopias-unsettled-transition>.
- International Media Support (IMS). (2023). *Compilation of Briefing Papers on the Media Sector Development in Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- ITU. (2012). Roadmap for the transition from analogue to digital terrestrial television in Ethiopia, Report, 2012. Telecommunication Development sector: Ethiopia
- Jacobs, J. K., Kawanaka, T., & Stigler, J. W. (1999). Integrating qualitative and quantitative approaches to the analysis of video data on classroom teaching. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 31(8), 717-724.
- Jacobson, D., & Mustafa, N. (2019). Social identity map: A reflexivity tool for practicing explicit positionality in critical qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 18, 1609406919870075.
- Jackson, J. (2019). *Introducing Language and Intercultural Communication* (2nd ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351059275>

- Jahoda, G. (2012). Critical reflections on some recent definitions of “culture”. *culture & psychology*, 18(3), 289-303.
- Jakubowicz. (2015). *Trends in media Pluralism: World Trends in Freedom of Expression and Media Development Global Report* . UNESCO.
- Jamil, S., & Retis, J. (2023). Media Discourses and Representation of Marginalized Communities in Multicultural Societies. *Journalism Practice*, 17(1), 1-4.
- Jane Forman, L. D. (2015). "Qualitative Content Analysis" In *Empirical Methods for Bioethics: A Primer*. 39-62. Retrieved from [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1479-3709\(07\)11003-7](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1479-3709(07)11003-7)
- Jansson, M., & Calderón-Sandoval, O. (2022, July). Opposition to gender quotas in Sweden and Spain: Debates about gender equality in the film industry. In *Women's Studies International Forum* (Vol. 93, p. 102599). Pergamon.
- Jennifer K. Jacobs, T. K. (1999). Teaching, Integrating qualitative and quantitative approaches to the analysis of video data on classroom. *International Journal of*, 31, 717-724.
- Jensen, K. B. (2002). *A Hand Book of Media and Communication Research: Qualitative and Quantitative methodologies*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Jensen, K. B. (1991). When is meaning? Communication theory, pragmatism, and mass media reception. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 14(1), 3-32.
- Jessop, B., & Sum, N.-L. (2016). What is critical. *Critical Policy Studies*, 10(1), 105–109. Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rcps20>
- Jin, D. Y. (2018). Political Economy of the Media. *Oxford Research Encyclopedias*, doi:10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.551
- Johnson, R. B. (2012). Dialectical Pluralism and and Mixed Research. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 56(6), 751–754.

- Johnson, R. B. (2017). Dialectical Pluralism: A Metaparadigm Whose Time Has Come. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 11(1), 156–173. doi:<https://doi.dox.org/10.1177/1558689815607692>
- Johnston, S. W. (2009). *Research Methods for Evryday Life: Blending Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Jon Harald Sande Lie, B. M. (2018). *Ethiopia: A Political Economy Analysis*. Norwegian Institute of International Affairs. Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs.
- Joris, G., Grove, F. D., Damme, K. V., & Marez, L. D. (2020). News Diversity Reconsidered: A Systematic Literature Review Unraveling the Diversity in Conceptualizations. *Journalism Studies*. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2020.1797527
- Joseph, T. B. (2012). Critical Media Literacy in Action: Uniting Theory, Practice and Politics in media Education.
- Joseph, J. L., & Winfield, A. S. (2019). Reclaiming our time: Asserting the logic of intersectionality in media studies. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 42(4), 408-411.
- Jusić, T., & Gilberds, H. (2022). Media Reform Amid Political Upheaval: Lessons from Burma, Ethiopia, Sudan, Tunisia, and Ukraine.
- Judith Mckenzie, B. B. (2011). A case for the use of Q-methodology in disability research: lessons learned from a training workshop. *Disability and Rehabilitation*, 33(21-22), 2134–2141.
- Kadlec, A. (2006). Reconstructing Dewey: The Philosophy of Critical Pragmatism . 38(4), 519–542. doi:doi:10.1057/palgrave.polity.2300067
- Kanpol, B., & McLaren, P. (1995). *Critical Multiculturlaism: Uncommon Voices in a Common Struggle* . Westpot, Connecticut, London : Bergin and Gurvey .
- Kaplan, Y. S. (2008). A Father's Consent to the Marriage of His Minor Daughter: Feminism and Multiculturalism in Jewish Law. *S. Cal. Rev. L. & Soc. Just.*, 18, 393.

- Kaushik, V., & Walsh, C. A. (2019). Pragmatism as a Research Paradigm and Its Implications for Social Work Research. *Social Sciences*, 8(255). doi:doi:10.3390/socsci8090255
- Karppinen, K., Moe, H., & Svensson, J. (2008). Habermas, Mouffe and political communication: A case for theoretical eclecticism. *Javnost-the public*, 15(3), 5-21.
- Karppinen, K., & Moe, H. (2012). What we talk about when we talk about document analysis. *Trends in communication policy research: new theories, methods and subjects*, 177-193.
- Karppinen, K., & Moe, H. (2019). Texts as data I: Document analysis. *The Palgrave handbook of methods for media policy research*, 249-262.
- Kebede, S., & Tveiten, O. (2023). Ethnicity as journalism paradigm: Polarization and political parallelism of Ethiopian news in transition. *Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies*, 13(3), e202335.
- Keeble, R. L. (2011). The Dilemmas of War and Peace Reporting. In *Ethical Issues in International Communication* (pp. 119-134). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Kelecha, M. (2023). Political and Ideological Legacy of Ethiopia's Contested Nation- Building: A Focus on Contemporary Oromo Politics. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00219096231161036>
- Kellner, D. (2011). Cultural studies, multiculturalism, and media culture. *Gender, race, and class in media: A critical reader*, 3, 7-18.
- Kellner, D., & Share, J. (2005). Toward critical media literacy: Core concepts, debates, organizations, and policy. *Discourse: studies in the cultural politics of education*, 26(3), 369-386.
- Kellner, D., & Share, J. (2007). Critical Media Literacy: crucial policy choices for a twenty-first-century democracy. *Policy Futures in Education*, 7(1), 59-69.
doi:10.2304/pfie.2007.5.1.59

- Kempf, W. (1994). Towards an Integration of Quantitative and Qualitative Content Analysis in Propaganda Research. *27(13/85)*.
- Kharkhurin, A. V., Koncha, V., & Charkhabi, M. (2023). The effects of plurilingualism and pluriculturalism on divergent thinking: Testing the moderating role of personality traits. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 1-21.
- Khoshgooyanfar, A. (2011). How People Think about a TV Program: A Q-Methodology Approach. *Qualitative Report*, *16(2)*, 482-493.
- Kidd, J. (2016). Representation: Key ideas in media & Cultural Studies. London & New York: Routledge.
- Kiflu, G. K., & Nigussie, H. (2023). Habermassian Ethical Discourses in the Ethno-polarized Ethiopia. *Journalism Practice*, 1-16.
- Kilmster, G. B. (2006). Critical and post-Critical political Economy. Palgrave macmillan.
- Kim, H. T., Curran, N. M., & Zhen, L. (2020). Welcoming Difference or Reinforcing the Status Quo? The Influence of Multicultural Television Viewing on Multicultural and Gender Attitudes in South Korea. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, *49(6)*, 600-616.
- Kim, J., & Bates, D. W. (2011). Analysis of the definition and utility of personal health records using Q methodology. *Journal of medical Internet research*, *13(4)*, e1781.
- King, J. V. (2002). Journeying from the philosophical contemplation of constructivism to the methodological pragmatics of health services research. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, *40(6)*, 641-648.
- Kirinić7, V. (2022). Manufacturing of Consent in the Hyper-Information Age. *European Realities*, 247.
- Klaehn, J. (2009). Propaganda Model: Theoretical and Methodological Considerations, *Westminister Papers in Communication and Culture*, *6(2)*, 43-58.

- Knoche, M. (2021). Media Concentration: A critical political economy perspectives. *Triple C*, 19(2), 371-391,. Retrieved from <http://www.triple-c.at/>
- Konopásek, Z. (2007). Making thinking visible with Atlas. ti: Computer assisted qualitative analysis as textual practices. *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung. Supplement*, 276-298.
- Konstantopoulos, G. (2021). The Many Lives of Enheduana: Identity, Authorship, and the "World's First Poet.". *Presentation and Perception of Powerful Women in the Ancient World*, 57-76.
- Kristensen, L. M., & Hartley, J. M. (2023). The Infrastructure of News: Negotiating Infrastructural Capture and Autonomy in Data-Driven News Distribution. *Media and Communication*, 11(2).
- Kunock, A. I. (2023). Media and the Management of Cultural Diversity in Cameroon: The Case of the Anglophone Crisis. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication*.
- Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. *Oxford Political Theory* (Reprint ed.). Clendon Press.
- Kymlicka, W. (2020). Solidarity in diverse societies: Beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism. *Minorities and populism—critical perspectives from South Asia and Europe*, 41-62.
- Lacy, S., Watson, B. R., Riffe, D., & and Lovejoy, J. (2015). Issues and Best Practices in Content Analysis". *Communication Studies*, 1-37.
- Lai, L. S., & To, W. M. (2015). Content analysis of social media: A grounded theory approach. *Journal of electronic commerce research*, 16(2), 138.
- Lavers, T. (2018). Responding to Land-based Conflict in Ethiopia: The Land Rights of Ethnic Minorities Under Federalism. *African Affairs*, 117 (468), 462–484.

- Le, T. C., & Cheong, F. (2010). Perceptions of risk and risk management in Vietnamese Catfish farming: An empirical study. *Aquaculture Economics & Management*, 14(4), 282-314. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13657305.2010.526019>
- Leavy, P. (Ed.). (2017). Handbook of arts-based research. *Guilford Publications*.
- Leavy, P., & Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2008). Historical context of emergent methods and innovation in the practice of research methods. *Handbook of emergent methods*, 17-22.
- Lee, J. (2018). Scaling as an argumentative resource in television talk shows. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 1-17. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2018.10.002>
- Lee, F. L., & Chan, C. K. (2023). Legalization of press control under democratic backsliding: The case of post-national security law Hong Kong. *Media, Culture & Society*, 45(5), 916-931.
- Lefort, R. (2012). Free market Economy, 'Developmental State' and party-state hegemony in Ethiopia: the case of the 'model farmers'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 50(4), 681-706.
- Leistyna, P. (2002). *Defining and Designing Multiculturalism: One School Systems Efforts*. New York : State University of New York.
- Leung, Y.-m. L. (2015). (Free) TV cultural rights and local identity: the struggle of HKTV as a social movement. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 1469-8447(online). doi:10.1080/14649373.2015.1069055
- Levine, D. N. (2013). Ethiopia's Dilemma: Missed Chances from the 1960s to the Present. *International Journal of African Development*, 1-18.
- Levine-Donnerstein, W. J. (1999). Rethinking Validity and Reliability in Content Analysis. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 27(3), 258-284. doi:DOI: 10.1080/00909889909365539

- Levy, T. J. (2000). *The Multiculturalism of Fear*. New York: Oxford University Press.
doi:doi:10.1093/0198297122.001.0001
- Lewis, A. M. (n.d.). *Media Manipulation and Disinformation Online*. Data & Society Research Institute.
- Liang, W., Zhang, W., He, D., Guan, Y., Wang, Y., & Sun, J. (2007). Digital terrestrial television broadcasting in China. *IEEE Multimedia*, 14(3), 92-97.
- LloydWong, S. G. (2015). *Revisiting Multiculturalism in Canada: Theories, Policies and Debates* (Vol. Volume 1). Sense Publishers.
- Lilleker, D. G., & Thompson, S. (2021). Protecting the citizen: Political journalists as gatekeepers in the digital age. In *The Routledge Companion to Political Journalism* (pp. 293-301). Routledge.
- Lie, J. H. S., & Mesfin, B. (2018). Ethiopia: A political economy analysis. *Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Norway*
- Lisa J. Orchard, C. F. (2014). Investigating the Facebook experience through Q Methodology: Collective investment and a ‘Borg’ mentality. *new media & society*, 17(9), 1547–1565.
- Litschka, M. (2019). The political economy of media capabilities: The capability approach in media policy. *Journal of Information Policy*, 9, 79-110.
- Locke, K. K. (2019). *Research Methods for Social Justice and Equity in Education*. (K. K. Locke, Ed.) Iowa, Auburn: Palgrave macmillan. doi:https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-05900-2.
- Lohner, J., Neverla, I., & Banjac, S. (2019). Conflict-sensitive journalism? Journalistic role perceptions and practices in democratization conflicts. *Media, Communication and the Struggle for Democratic Change: Case Studies on Contested Transitions*, 59-81.
- Louise Doyle, A.-M. B. (2016). An overview of mixed methods research – revisited. *Journal of Research in Nursing*, 21(8), 623–635. doi: 10.1177/1744987116674257

- Love, P. (2013). Document analysis. In *Research in the college context* (pp. 99-112). Routledge.
- Luke, C. (1994). Feminist pedagogy and critical media literacy. *Journal of communication inquiry, 18*(2), 30-47.
- Lunt, P., & Livingstone, S. (2013). Media studies' fascination with the concept of the public sphere: critical reflections and emerging debates. *Media, Culture & Society, 35*(1), 87–96. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443712464562>
- Lunt, P., & Stenner, P. (2005). The Jerry Springer Show as an emotional public sphere. *27*(1), 59–81. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443705049058>
- Lynam, T., Damayanti, R., Rialine Titaley, C., Suharno, N., Bradley, M., & Krentel, A. (2020). Reframing integration for mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 14*(3), 336-357.
- Macnamara, J. (2005). Media content analysis: Its uses; benefits and best practice methodology. *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal, 1*–34.
- MacKenzie, D. (2011). The credit crisis as a problem in the sociology of knowledge. *American Journal of Sociology, 116*(6), 1778-1841.
- Magin, M., Stark, B., Jandura, O., Udriș, L., Riedl, A., Klein, M., . . . Furrer, B. H. (2023). *Journalism Studies, 1*-29. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2023.2178248
- Malik, S. (2013). Creative Diversity: UK Public Service Broadcasting After. *Popular Communication: The International Journal of Media and Culture, 11*(3). doi:10.1080/15405702.2013.810081
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (2010). Cultures and selves: A cycle of mutual constitution. *Perspectives on psychological science, 5*(4), 420-430.
- Martinsson, J. (2009). The role of media literacy in the governance reform agenda. *CommGap Discussion Papers. World Bank.*

- Masini, A., Van Aelst, P., Zerback, T., Reinemann, C., Mancini, P., Mazzoni, M., ... & Coen, S. (2018). Measuring and explaining the diversity of voices and viewpoints in the news: A comparative study on the determinants of content diversity of immigration news. *Journalism Studies*, *19*(15), 2324-2343.
- Mastro, D. (2016). The role of media in the well-being of racial and ethnic groups. In *The Routledge Handbook of Media Use and Well-Being* (pp. 409-421). Routledge.
- Mau, S., & Sachweh, P. (2014). The Middle-class in the German Welfare State: Beneficial Involvement at Stake? *Social Policy & Administration*, *48*(5), 537-555.
- Mathisen, B. R. (2023). Sourcing practice in local media: Diversity and media shadows. *Journalism Practice*, *17*(4), 647-663.
- Matsumoto, Y. (2015). The power of the ordinary: Quotidian framing as a narrative strategy. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *86*, 100-105.
- Matthes, J., & Kohring, M. (2008). The content analysis of media frames: Toward improving reliability and validity. *Journal of communication*, *58*(2), 258-279.
- Mattis, N., Masur, P., Möller, J., & Atteveldt, W. v. (2022). Nudging towards news diversity: A theoretical framework for facilitating diverse news consumption through recommender design. *New media and Society*, 1-26. doi:10.1177/14614448221104413
- Malik, S. (2013). Creative Diversity: UK Public Service Broadcasting After. *Popular Communication: The International Journal of Media and Culture*, *11*(3). doi:: 10.1080/15405702.2013.810081.
- Marcus, B., Weigelt, O., Hergert, J., Gurt, J., & Gelléri, P. (2017). The use of snowball sampling for multisource organizational research: Some cause for concern. *Personnel Psychology*, *70*(3), 635-673.
- Margo, R. (2014). Representation of the Ethiopian Multicultural Society in Secondary Teacher Education Curricula. *Journal of Teacher Education for Sustainability*, *16*(1), 54-75.

- Marilyn Domas White, E. E. (2006). Content Analysis: A Flexible Methodology. *Project Mus* , 55(1), 22-45. doi:DOI: 10.1353/lib.2006.0053
- Marshet, T. T. (2018). Prosecution of Politicide in Ethiopia: Perspectives on Development. *International Criminal Justice Series, 18*.
- May, P. (2016). French cultural wars: public discourses on multiculturalism in France (1995–2013). *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 42*(8), 1334-1352.
- May, S. (2005). Critical multiculturalism and cultural difference: Avoiding essentialism. In *Critical multiculturalism* (pp. 20-53). Routledge.
- May, S. (1999). *Critical Multiculturalism: Rethinking Multicultural and Antiracist Education*. London: Falmer Press.
- Mayer, V. (2016). The places where audience studies and production studies meet. *Television & new media, 17*(8), 706-718.
- Mayring, P. (2014). Qualitative content analysis: theoretical foundation, basic procedures and software solution. *Open access repository*.
- McAllister, M. P. (2015). *Critical Political Economy of the Media: An Introduction*.
- McChesney, R. W. (1998). The political economy of global communication. *Capitalism and the information age: The political economy of the global communication revolution, 1-26*.
- McFadden, J. B. (2016). Understanding Media and Culture. In J. B. McFadden (Ed.). University of Minnesota .
- McGhee, D. (2008). *EBOOK: The End of Multiculturalism? Terrorism, Integration and Human Rights*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).
- McLaren, P. and Farahmandpur, R. (1999). Critical multiculturalism and the globalization of capital: Some implications for a politics of resistance. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing, 15*(4), 27-46.

- McLennan, G. (2001). Can there be a 'critical' multiculturalism? *Ethnicities*, 1(3), 389-422.
doi:1468-7968(200112)1:3;389-422;020357
- McQuail, D. (2010). *McQuail's mass communication theory*. Sage publications.
- Meareg, A. (2017). The Edge of Ethnic Federalism, Prospects and Gloom in the Post-1991 Ethiopia. *Public Policy and Administration Research*, 7(3), 18.
- Mebrie, S. (2019). Electoral Politics, Multi-Partism and the Quest for Political Community in Ethiopia. *Ethiopian Journal of the Social Sciences and Humanities*, 14(2).
<https://doi.org/10.4314/ejossah.v14i2.4>
- Media Proclamation No. 1238/2021.
- Mekuria B. (1997). The politics of linguistic homogenization in Ethiopia and the conflict over the status of Afaan Oromoo. *African affairs*, 96(384), 325-352.
- Melo-Pfeifer, S., & Gertz, H. D. (2022). Transforming Disinformation on Minorities Into a Pedagogical Resource: Towards a Critical Intercultural News Literacy. *Media and Communication*, 10(4), 338-346. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v10i4.5708>
- Mendis, B. S., & Johannessen, J. B. (2016). Multilingualism and linguistic capacity building. *Oslo Studies in Language*, 8(1).
- Mengie, L. T. (2016). Federalism as an Instrument for Unity and the Protection of Minorities: A Comparative Overview: Ethiopia, India and the US. *Mizan Law Review*, 10(2), 265-294.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/mlr.v10i2.1>
- Mengistu, M. M. (2015). Ethnic Federalism: A Means for Managing or a Triggering Factor for Ethnic Conflicts in Ethiopia. *Social Sciences*, 4(4), 94-105.
doi:10.11648/j.ss.20150404.15
- Menychle. A. M. (2017). Conceptualizing an African media system: an examination of media and politics in the Ethiopian context. NLA. <http://hdl.handle.net/11250/2585796>

- Menychle A. M. (2019). *The Historical Development of Media in Unconquered Africa*. *Media History*, 1–18. doi:10.1080/13688804.2019.163452.
- Merawi, T. M., & Ageze, E. T. (2023). Curriculum Development in Ethiopia vis-à-vis Patrick Slattery's Postmodern Curriculum Principles: A Reflection. *Bahir Dar Journal of Education*, 23(1), 74-92.
- Mertens, D., & Marsh, E. E. (2006). Content Analysis: A Flexible Methodology. (L. M. Baker, Ed.) *Project Muse: Scholarly Journals online*, 55(1), 22-45.
- Mertens, D. M. (2007). Transformative Paradigm: Mixed Methods and Social Justice. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1(3), 212-225.
- Mertens, D. M. (2009). *Transformative Research and Evaluation*. New York. London : The Guilford Press.
- Mertens, D. M. (2012). Transformative Mixed Methods: Addressing Inequities. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 802 –81.
- Mertens, D. & C. O. (2018). Transformative Mixed Methods Training for the Next Generation of Researchers and Evaluators in Southern Countries. *International Journal of Multiple Research Approaches*, 10(1), 390-402.
- Mertens, D. M (2019). Transformative Mixed Methods in. In J. M.-M. Romm(eds), *Mixed Methods and Cross Disciplinary Research: Towards Cultivating Eco-systemic Living* (pp. xi-xviii). Australia & South Africa: Springer.
- Meyer, M. D. (2012). New directions in critical television studies: Exploring text, audience, and production in communication scholarship. *Communication Studies*, 63(3), 263-268.
- Meyer, B. & Moors, A. (2006). *Religion, Media and the Public Sphere*. Indiana University Press.

- Meyrowitz, J. (2009). We Liked to Watch: Television as Progenitor of the Surveillance Society. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 625 (1): 32–48. doi: 10.1177/0002716209339576.
- Mezentsev, S. (2021). Politics and Religion in the Formation of the Ethiopian Statehood from the Empire through Federal Democratic Republic. *Russian Academy of Sciences*, 52(3), 65-83.
- Michael D. Fetters, L. A. (2013). Achieving Integration in Mixed Methods Designs—Principles and Practices. *Health Services Research*, 48(6), 2135-2156.
- Michelle, C. H. (2011). Q Methodology in Audience Research: Bridging the Qualitative/Quantitative ‘Divide’? *Participations Journal of Audience and Reception Studies*, 8(2), 527-561.
- Mietzner, M. (2020). Rival populisms and the democratic crisis in Indonesia: Chauvinists, Islamists and technocrats. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 74(4), 420-438.
- Milkessa, M. (2021). Governing Contested Cities in Federations: Urban Politics, Conflicts and Policies of Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. Addis Ababa.
- Milkias, P. (2011). *Ethiopia*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
- Milojević, A., & Krstić, A. (2018). Hierarchy of influences on transitional Journalism: Corrupting relationships between political, economic and media elites. *European Journal of Communication*, 33(1), 37-56. doi:10.1177/0267323117750674
- Mitchell, A. (2018). A Review of Mixed Methods, Pragmatism and Abduction Techniques. *The Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods*, 16(3), pp. 103-116, available online at www.ejbrm.com
- Modood, T. (2014). Understanding ‘Death of Multiculturalism’: discourse means understanding multiculturalism. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 9(3), 201–211. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17447143.2014.934254>

- Modood, T. (2017). Must Interculturalists misrepresent multiculturalism? *Comparative Migration Studies*, 5(1), 15.
- Mokkadem, S. (2019). Abiy Ahmed's 'Medemer' Reforms: Can it Ensure Sustainable Growth for Ethiopia and What are the Challenges Facing the New Government?
- Morse, J. M. (2015). Critical Analysis of Strategies for Determining Rigor in Qualitative Inquiry. *Qualitative Health Research*, 25 (9), 1212–1222.
- Mosco, V. (2009). *The political economy of communication*. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Mohajan, H. K. (2018). Qualitative Research Methodology in Social Sciences and Related Subjects. *Journal of Economic Development, Environment and People*, 7(1), 23-48. Retrieved from <https://mpira.ub.uni-muenchen.de/85654/>
- Morin, J. B. (2016). Q-Sample Construction: A Critical Step for a. *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, 38(1), 96–110. doi: 10.1177/0193945914545177
- Morse, J. M. (2015). Critical Analysis of Strategies for Determining Rigor in Qualitative Inquiry. *Qualitative Health Research*, 25(9), 1212–1222.
- Morse, J. M., Barrett, M., Mayan, M., Olson, K., & Spiers, J. (2002). Verification Strategies for Establishing Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies*, 1(2). Retrieved from <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0>
- Moyo, L., & Moyo, L. (2020). Reflections on Critical Pedagogy and Multiculturalism in Media Studies. *The Decolonial Turn in Media Studies in Africa and the Global South*, 227-252.
- Mukundu, R. (2018). *Media and Freedom of Expression Assessment: Ethiopia in transition: Hope amid challenges*. Copenhagen: International Media Support.
- Mulatu, A, M, (2017). Why Silence? Reporting Internal Conflict in Ethiopian Newspapers. SSRN: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3081980>

- Muluken, A. C. (2019). A Shift of Political Discourse: Critical Discourse Analysis of Ethiopian Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed's Inaugural Speech. *Advances in Sciences and Humanities*, 5(5), 128-137.
- Muluken, A. C., Mulatu A. M., & Biset, A. N. (2021). Social media hate speech in the walk of Ethiopian political reform: analysis of hate speech prevalence, severity, and natures. *Information, Communication & Society*, 1-21. doi: 10.1080/1369118X.2021.1942955
- Muluken, A. C. (2023). Ethiopian Socio-Political Contexts for Hate Speech. *Hate Speech on Social Media*, 227.
- Munroe, A., & Pearson, C. (2006). The Munroe Multicultural Attitude Scale Questionnaire. *Educational and*, 66(5), 819-834. doi:10.1177/0013164405285542.
- Murdock, G., & Golding, P. (2016). Political economy and media production: a reply to Dwyer. *Media, Culture & Society*, 38(5), 763-769.
- Murphy, M. (2012). *Multiculturalism: A Critical Introduction*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Musella, F. (2022). Monocratic government: The impact of personalization on democratic regimes (Vol. 8). Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG.
- Muyiwa, M. (2024). Fragile Democracy: Media Freedom and Radical Polarisation in Ethiopia. *Media Watch*, 15(1), 73-92.
- Mylonas, Y. (2014). Crisis, Austerity and Opposition in Mainstream Media Discourses Of Greece: Critical Discourse Studies. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 11(3), 305– 321. doi:10.1080/17405904.2014.915862
- Naderifar, M., Goli, H., & Ghaljaie, F. (2017). Snowball sampling: A purposeful method of sampling in qualitative research. *Strides in development of medical education*, 14(3).
- Nakkouzi, R. E. (2017). *Legitimizing Past Actions Through Strategic Manoeuvring: A Framework For Integrating The Discourse-Historical Approach And Pragma-Dialectics*. Lancaster University. Unpublished Phd Dissertation.

- Negarit Gazeta, (2020). Proclamation No. 1185/2020, Proclamation to Provide for the anti-hate speech law.
- Negarit Gazeta. (1995). the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Addis Ababa: *Berhanena Selam Printing Enterprise*
- Negarit Gazeta. (2008). A proclamation to provide for freedom of the mass media and access to information. Article 214 & Article 613. <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4ba7a6bf2.html>
- Neimanns, E. (2023). Welfare states, media ownership and attitudes towards redistribution. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 30(2), 234–253. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2021.1986117>
- Newcomb, H. M., & Hirsch, P. M. (1983). Television as a cultural forum: Implications for research. *Quarterly Review of Film & Video*, 8(3), 45-55.
- Nieminen, H. (2016). Media and Democracy from European perspectives. [doi:10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.66](https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.66)
- Ng, E. S., & Bloemraad, I. (2015). A SWOT Analysis of Multiculturalism in Canada, Europe, Mauritius, and South Korea. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764214566500>
- Nguyen, A.-M. D., & Benet-Martínez, V. (2010). Multicultural Identity: What It Is and Why It Matters. In R. Crisp (Ed.), Research Gate (pp. 1-43). doi: 10.1002/9781444325447.ch5.
- Nigussie, A. (2020). *Pedagogy*. 5(3), 20-35.
- Nkoala, S. (2024). Multilingual students' linguistic repertoires as a resource: a case study of assessments in journalism studies. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, 1-16.
- Nöth, W. (2011). Semiotic foundations of pragmatics. In D. Gruyter, & A. H. Wolfram Bublitz (Ed.), *Foundations of Pragmatics* (Vol. 1, pp. 140-167). Berlin, Boston.
- Nutman, A. (2013). Ethiopian Media industry: Ownership and Regulations From Historical Point of View. Addis Ababa. Retrieved from <http://etd.aau.edu.et/handle/123456789/5463>

- Nte, T. U. (2023). Constitutional right to secession and ethnic nationalism in Ethiopia. *International Journal of Political Science and Governence*, 5(1), 36-41.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.33545/26646021.2023.v5.i1a.199>
- Obono, K., & Madu, O. (2010). Programming content of Nigerian broadcast media: Towards an indigenizing paradigm. *Estudos em Comunicaçãon*, 75-91.
- Ofcansky, P. T., & Berry, L. V. (Eds.) (1991). Ethiopia: A Country Study. GPO for the Library of Congress. <http://countrystudies.US/Ethiopia/>
- Ohlsson, J., & Sjøvaag, H. (2019). Protectionism vs. Non-interventionism: two approaches to media diversity in commercial terrestrial television regulation. *Javnost-The Public*, 26(1), 70-88.
- Oleinik, A. (2010). Mixing quantitative and qualitative content analysis: Triangulation at work. *Research Note, Qual Quant*, 45, 859–873. doi:DOI 10.1007/s11135-010-9399-4
- Orchard, L. J. (2014). Investigating the Facebook experience through Q Methodology: Collective investment and a ‘Borg’ mentality. *new media & society* , 17 (9), 1547–1565.
- Orosco, J. A. (2016). *Toppling the Melting Pot: Immigration and Multiculturalism in American Pragmatism*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Osborne, N., & Grant-Smith, D. (2021). In-depth interviewing. In *Methods in urban analysis* (pp. 105-125). Singapore: Springer Singapore.
- Østebø, T., Haustein, J., Gedif, F., Kadir, M. J., Jemal, K., & Tesfaye, Y. A. (2021). *Religion, Ethnicity, and Charges of Extremism: The Dynamics of Inter-Communal Violence in Ethiopia*. European Institute of Peace .
- Owolabi, T. O. S., & Hassan, A. O. (2023). Building a Culture of Peace and Conflict Resolution Through Indigenous Language Media (ILM). In *Indigenous African Language Media: Practices and Processes* (pp. 401-418). Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore.

- Paige, J. B., & Morin, K. H. (2016). Q-sample construction: A critical step for a Q-methodological study. *Western journal of nursing research*, 38(1), 96-110.
- Pajnik, M., & Hrženjak, M. (2022). Engendering media work: Institutionalizing the norms of entrepreneurial subjectivity. *Journalism*, 23(2), 499-516.
- Pakulski, J. (2014). Confusions about. *Journal of Sociology*, 50(1), 23–36.
- Panis, K., Paulussen, S., & Dhoest, A. (2019). Managing super-diversity on television: The representation of ethnic minorities in Flemish non-fiction programmes. *Media and Communication*, 7(1), 13-21.
- Paquet, G. (1989). Multiculturalism as National Policy. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 13(1), 17-34. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.com/stable/41810414>
- Park, S., Lee, J. Y., McGuinness, K., Griffiths, R., & Nguyen, T. (2023). News Representation and Sense of Belonging Among Multicultural Audiences. *Media and Communication*, 11(4), 264-273.
- Parker, C., Scott, S., & Geddes, A. (2019). Snowball sampling. SAGE research methods foundations.
- Pedro-Caranana. (n.d.). Introduction. In *Propaganda Model Today* (pp. 1-18). London: University of Westminster Press. doi:<https://doi.org/10.16997/book27.a>. License:CC-BYNC-ND 4.0
- Perloff, M. (2018). The poetics of evocation: Literary strategy and political discourse. In *Political Communication in Action: From Theory to Practice* (pp. 157-172). Routledge.
- Peter, J., & De Vreese, C. H. (2003). Agenda-rich, agenda-poor: A cross-national comparative investigation of nominal and thematic public agenda diversity. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 15(1), 44-64.
- Peters, C. (2017). *The Places and Spaces of News Audiences*. Routledge.

- Petit dit Dariel, O., Wharrad, H., & Windle, R. (2013). Exploring the underlying factors influencing e-learning adoption in nurse education. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 69(6), 1289-1300.
- Picard, R. G. (2014). Panel I: The Future of the Political Economy of Press Freedom. *Communication Law and Policy*, 97-107. doi:10.1080/10811680.2014.860832
- Pinem, M. S. U. (2023). The Shift from Print to Digital Media and Its Effect on Users' Media Literacy in Critiquing the Depth of News: A Systematic Literature Review. *Edunity Kajian Ilmu Sosial dan Pendidikan*, 2(11), 1369-1382.
- Pluye, P., & Hong, Q. N. (2014). Combining the power of stories and the power of numbers: Mixed methods research and mixed studies reviews. *Annual Review of Public Health*, 35, 29-45. doi:10.1146/annurev-publhealth-032013-182440
- Polyák, G. (2019). Media in Hungary: Three pillars of an illiberal democracy. *Public service broadcasting and media systems in troubled European democracies*, 279-303.
- Potter, W. J., & Levine-Donnerstein, D. (1999). Rethinking validity and reliability in content analysis.
- Portalla, T., & Chen, G. M. (2010). The development and validation of the intercultural effectiveness scale.
- Prato, G.B. (2009). *Beyond Multiculturalism: Views from Anthropology*. Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Powell, J. H. (1971). *The concept of cultural pluralism in American social thought, 1915-1965*. University of Notre Dame.
- Qadir, S. A., & Riaz, F. (2019). Gendered Political Identity Construction in Pakistani Television Talk shows. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 9(1), 20-28.
- Qingwen Dong, K. D. (1995). Overcoming Ethnocentrism through Developing Intercultural Communication Sensitivity and Multiculturalism. *Human Communication*, 11(1), . 27 – 38.

- Raab-Steiner, E., & Benesch, M. (2015). "Der" Fragebogen: von der Forschungs-idee Zur SPSS-Auswertung. Vol. 8607. UTB.
- Rachel Baker, C. T. (2006). Q methodology in health economics. *Journal of Health Services Research & Policy*, 11(1), 38–45.
- Raeijmaekers, D., & Maesele, P. (2015). Media, pluralism, and democracy: what's in a name? *Media, culture & society*, 37(7), 1042-1059.
- Rajikumar, M. G. (2008). *Achieving Better Service Delivery through Decentralization in Ethiopia*. Washington DC: The world Bank.
- Rambaree, K. (2014). Three Methods Of Qualitative Data Analysis Using ATLAS.ti: 'A Posse Ad Esse'. Digital Repository of Technische Universität Berlin. Retrieved from <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:kobv:83-opus4-44270>
- Ranaivoson, H. (2007). Measuring cultural diversity: a review of existing definitions. *Recuperado el*, 23.
- Ray, L. (2004). Pragmatism and Critical Theory. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 7(3), 307–321..
- Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (2016). The discourse-historical approach (DHA). *Methods of critical discourse studies*, 3, 23-61.
- Reisigl, M. (2017). The Discourse-Historical Approach. In J. Flowerdew, & J. E. Richardson, *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies* (pp. 44-59). London: Routledge. Retrieved from <https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315739342.ch3>.
- Reisigl, M & Wodak, R. (2009). Semiotics of Racism-A Critical Discourse-Historical Analysis. In R. Wodak, *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Lancaster University.
- Reisigl, M. & Wodak, R. (2008). Discourse Historical Approach. In R. W. Meyer(ed.), *Methods Of Critical Discourse Analysis*(pp. 87-121). London : Sage Publications.

- Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (2001). Discourse and discrimination: *Rhetorics of racism and antisemitism*. Routledge.
- Reuter, T. Kempin (2023, May 29). *ethnic conflict*. *Encyclopedia Britannica*.
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/ethnic-conflict>
- Rice, C., Harrison, E., & Friedman, M. (2019). Doing justice to intersectionality in research. *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies*, 19(6), 409-420.
- Richardson, A. J. (2015). Quantitative Research and the Critical Accounting. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, (1-26). <http://scholar.uwindsor.ca/odettepub/85>
- Richardson, R. J. (2022). Local TV Newsroom Diversity: Race and Gender of Newscasters and Their Managers. *Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 66(5), 823-842.
 doi:10.1080/08838151.2022.2121834
- Riffe, D., Lacy, L. & Fico, F. (2005). Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research. New Jersey & London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Riffe, D., Lacy, L. & Fico, F. (2014). Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research. New York & London : Routledge.
- Robsan, M. (2014). Representation of the Ethiopian Multicultural Society in Secondary Teacher Education Curricula. *Journal of Teacher Education for Sustainability*, 16 (1), 54-75.
- Robichaux, A. (2005). Amharization: Strengthening the Boundaries of Oromones.
- Robinson, P. (2018). Does the propaganda model theorize propaganda. *The propaganda model today: Filtering perception and awareness*, 53-67.
- Romano, A. (2006). Public Journalism and the ‘Frugal Correspondent ‘in Multicultural Societies. *Australian Studies in Journalism*, (16)169-188.
- Rosa, A., & Pievi, N. (2013). Semiotic Methodology For The Analysis Of The Cultural And Individual Dynamics Of Social Representations: A View From Cultural Psychology. *Papers on Social Representations, Peer Reviewed Online Journal*, 22, 19.1-19.29.

- Rosado, C. (1996). Toward a definition of multiculturalism. *Retrieved from*.
- Rovamo, H., Pettersson, K., & Sakki, I. (2023). Who's to blame for failed integration of immigrants? Blame attributions as an affectively polarizing force in lay discussions of immigration in Finland. *Political Psychology*
- RSF, (2022). Reporters Without Borders, <https://rsf.org/en/country/ethiopia>
- Rubin, D. I. (2017). *Multiculturalism, Dialectical Thought, and Social Justice Pedagogy*. Charlotte, NC: Information age Publishing.Inc.
- Russell, C. A., Schau, H. J., & Crockett, D. (2013). Cultural diversity in television narratives: Homophilization, appropriation, and implications for media advocacy. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 32(1-suppl), 119-130.
- Saba, T., & Anwar, N. (2017). The Political Dynamics of the Public Sphere: The Case of Local Pakistani Talk Show. *19*, 247–263.
- Sabbagh, C., & Schmitt, M. (Eds.). (2016). *Handbook of social justice theory and research* (pp. 201-218). New York: Springer.
- Sakurai, T. (2017). Foreign News as Cultural Expression: Media, Perspective, and Consciousness. *SHS Web of Conferences*, 33. doi:10.1051/ SHS Web of Conferences 33, 00014 (2017) shsconf/20173300014
- Salawu, A. (2016). The parallel between press and political history of Ethiopia: a Survey up till 2013.
- Sánchez, M. (2022). The Cultural Constructions of Leadership. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Educational Leadership and Management Discourse* (pp. 1377-1393). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Santos, J. L. G. D., Menegon, F. H. A., Pin, S. B. D., Erdmann, A. L., Oliveira, R. J. T. D., & Costa, I. A. P. (2017). The nurse's work environment in a hospital emergency service.

- Satu, E., Maria, K., Outi, K., Tarja, P., Kati, U., & Helvi, K. (2014). Qualitative Content Analysis: A Focus on Trustworthiness. *SAGE Open*, 1-10. doi:10.1177/2158244014522633
- Sayer, A. (2000). Realism and social science. London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Schey, R., & Shelton, S. A. (2023). Queer (ing) and Trans (ing) Critical Media Literacies in Response to Anti-lgbtqia+ Legislation and Policies. *The International Journal of Critical Media Literacy*, 3(2), 73-87.
- Schiffrin, A. (Ed.). (2021). Media capture: How money, digital platforms, and governments control the news. Columbia University Press.
- Seridório, D. F., Rothberg, D., & Pieranti, O. P. (2022). Participation as an organizational commitment in public service television. *MATRIZES*, 16(2), 261-278.
- Singh, M., & Kumar, A. (2023). A Critical Political Economy Perspective on Indian Television: STAR, Hotstar, and Live Sports Streaming. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society*, 21(1), 18-32.
- Schmitt, T. A., & Sass, D. A. (2011). Rotation Criteria and Hypothesis Testing for Exploratory Factor Analysis: Implications for Factor Pattern Loadings and Interfactor Correlations. *Educational and Psychological measurement*, [https://doi: 10.1177/0013164410387348](https://doi.org/10.1177/0013164410387348)
- Shannahan, C. (2017). Zombie multiculturalism meets liberative difference: searching for a new discourse of diversity. *Culture and Religion*, 17(4), 409–430.
- Shannon-Baker, P. (2016). Making Paradigms Meaningful in Mixed methods Research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 10(4), 319–334.
- Shepard, J. M. (2009). Bloggers After the Shield: Defining Journalism in Privilege Law. *U. Balt. J. Media L. & Ethics*, 1, 186.

- Seipp, T. J. (2023). Media concentration law: Gaps and promises in the digital age. *Media and Communication*, 11(2), 392-405.
- Seglow, J. (2018). Multiculturalism. In *Political concepts (pp. 156-168)*. Manchester University Press.
- Semahagn, A. (2018). The Developmental State Model in Ethiopia: A Path to Economic Prosperity or Political Repression? *Social Evolution & History*, 17(1)
- Sengul, K. (2019). Critical discourse analysis in political communication research: a case study of right-wing populist discourse in Australia, *Communication Research and practice*, doi:10.1080/22041451.2019.1695082
- Settles, H., & Buchanan, N. T. (2013). Multiple Groups, Multiple Identities, and Intersectionality. In V. Benet-Martínez, & Y.-y. Hong (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Multicultural Identity* (pp. 160-180). Oxford University Press.
- Siapera, E. (2010). *Cultural Diversity and Global Media: Mediation of Difference*. UK and USA: A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Publications.
- Silverblatt, A., Miller, D. C., Smith, J., & Brown, N. (2014). *Media literacy: Keys to interpreting media messages*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
- Sjøvaag, H. (2016). Media diversity and the global superplayers: operationalising pluralism for a digital media. *Journal of Media Business Studies*. doi:10.1080/16522354.2016.1210435
- Shimelis, B. (2017). *Sustainability and Roles of the Ethiopian Media Council*. Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa.
- Skjerdal, T. (2010). Research on brown envelope journalism in the African media: African Communication Research, 3(3).
- Skjerdal, T., & Mulatu, A. M. (2020). The ethnification of the Ethiopian media The ethnicification of the Ethiopian media: *A research report*. Research Gate.

- Skjerdal, T. (2011). Development journalism revived: The case of Ethiopia. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 32, 58 - 74.
- Skjerdal, T. S. (2012). *Competing Loyalties: Journalism Culture in the Ethiopian State Media*. OSLO.
- Skjerdal, T. S. (2013). Development journalism revived: The case of Ethiopia. In *Press Freedom in africa* (pp. 75-91). Routledge.
- Skjerdal, T., & Alemayehu, M. (2020). The ethnification of the Ethiopian media Th e ethnicifi cation of the Ethiopian media: A research report. Research Gate.
- Sloan, L., Joyner, M., Stakeman, C., & Schmitz, C. (2018). *Critical multiculturalism and intersectionality in a complex world*. Oxford University Press.
- Smith, J. (1992). Reviews: Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society (Polity Press/MIT, 1989)*. *Thesis Eleven*, 31(1), 182–187.
- Splendore, S., Garusi, D., & Valeriani, A. (2024). A deliberative democracy framework for analysing trust in journalists: An application to Italy. *Media and Communication*, 12.
- Snyder, H. (2019). Literature review as a research methodology: An overview and guidelines. *Journal of Business Research*, 104, 333–339.
- Solomon, D. (2021). The merger of Ethiopia people’s revolutionary democratic front (EPRDF) into Ethiopia Prosperity Party (EPP) and its impact on the constitution. *International Journal of Scientific & Engineering Research*, 12(3), 960-978.
- Song, S. (2010). Multiculturalism. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2020/entries/multiculturalism/>
- Spencer-Oatey, H. (2007). Theories of identity and the analysis of face. *Journal of pragmatics*, 39(4), 639-656.

- Steen-Johnsen, B. E. (2017). Institutional Change in the Public Sphere. In F. Engelstad (ed.). Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvbkk05k.8>
- Stremlau, N. (2014). Media, Participation and Constitution-Making in Ethiopia. *Journal of African Law*, 58(2), 231–249.
- Sultana, F. (2007). Reflexivity, positionality and participatory ethics: Negotiating fieldwork dilemmas in international research. *ACME: An international journal for critical geographies*, 6(3), 374-385.
- Sum, N.-L., & Jessop, B. (2013). *Towards a Cultural Political Economy: Putting Culture in its Place in Political Economy*. Cheltenham; Northampton, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, Inc.
- Sutrisno, S. (2023). Changes in Media Consumption Patterns and their Implications for People's Cultural Identity. *Technology and Society Perspectives (TACIT)*, 1(1), 18-25.
- Steen-Johnsen, B. E. (n.d.). Institutional Change in the Public Sphere. In F. Engelstad (Ed.). Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvbkk05k.8>
- Stenner, P., Watts, S., & Worrell, M. (2008). Q methodology. *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology*, 215-239.
- Streeck, W. (2018). European social policy: progressive regression.
- Stremlau, N. (2011). The press and the political restructuring of Ethiopia. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 5(4), 716-732.
- Stremlau, N. (2014). Media, Participation and Constitution-Making in Ethiopia. *Journal of African Law*, 58(2), 231–249.
- Strunk, K. K., & Locke, L. A. (Eds.). (2019). *Research methods for social justice and equity in education*. Palgrave Macmillan.

- Sum, N.-L., & Jessop, B. (2013). *Towards a Cultural Political Economy: Putting Culture in its Place in Political Economy*. Cheltenham; Northampton, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, Inc.
- Sweetman, D., Badiee, M., & Creswell, J. W. (2010). Use of the transformative framework in mixed methods studies. *Qualitative inquiry*, *16*(6), 441-454.
- Takeda, M. (2021). Building Equality and Social Cohesion in Myanmar: Plurilingualism as a Platform for Establishing Peace Culture. In C. Yamahata, D. M. Seekins, & M. Takeda (Eds.), *Social Transformations in India, Myanmar, and Thailand: Volume I* (pp. 29-50). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-9616-2_3
- Tamrat, N. (2019). The paradoxical Ethiopian media. *The Reporter*. <https://www.thereporterethiopia.com>
- Tareke, S. G. (2022). Democratic Versus Socialist Multicultural Federalism: The Dilemma of Ethiopian Federalism. *Journal of Developing Societies*, *38*(4), 440-462.
- Taylor, C. (1994). The Politics of Recognition. In C. Taylor, K. A. Appiah, J. Habermass, S. C. Rockefeller, M. Walzer, S. Wolf, & A. Gutmann (Ed.), *Multiculturalism: Examining Politics of Recognition* (pp. 25-73). New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Taylor-Gooby, P., & Waite, E. (2014). Toward a more pragmatic multiculturalism? How the UK policy community sees the future of ethnic diversity policies. *Governance*, *27*(2), 267-289.
- Teddlie, C., & Tashakkori, A. (2009). *Foundations of mixed methods research: Integrating quantitative and qualitative approaches in the social and behavioral sciences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Teddlie, C., & Tashakkori, A. (2010). Overview of contemporary issues in mixed methods research. In A. Tashakkori & C. Teddlie (Eds.), *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research* (2nd ed., pp. 1-41). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Teddle, C., & Tashakkori, A. (2012). Common “Core” Characteristics of Mixed Methods Research: A Review of Critical Issues and Call for Greater Convergence. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 56(6), 774-788. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764211433795>
- Teklie, T. B. (2020). Media and Governance: The Synergies and Dynamics in Ethiopia (Evidence from Adigrat Town, Tigray).
- Temesgen, S. M. (2015). Weaknesses of Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, 4(11), 49-54.
- Terrell, S. R. (2012). Mixed-Methods Research Methodologies. *The Qualitative Report*, 17(1), 254-280. Retrieved from <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol17/iss1/14>
- Teshome, W., & Záhorkík, J. (2008). Federalism in Africa: The case of ethnic-based federalism in Ethiopia. *Journal of Human Sciences*, 5(2).
- Thevenin, B. J. (2012). Critical media literacy in action: *Uniting theory, practice and politics in media education* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Colorado at Boulder).
- Tewodros, W. (2020). Social media, protest, & outrage communication in Ethiopia: toward fractured publics or pluralistic polity? *Information, Communication and Society*. doi: 10.1080/1369118X.2020.1811367
- Thorbjørnsrud, K., & Figenschou, T. U. (2022). The alarmed citizen: Fear, mistrust, and alternative media. *Journalism Practice*, 16(5), 1018-1035
- Tigre, G. (2018). Multidimensional Poverty and Its Dynamics in Ethiopia . In A. a. Heshmati, & H. a. Yoon (Ed.), *Economic Growth and Development in Ethiopia, Perspectives on Development in the middle East and North Africa (MENA) Region*, (pp. 978-981). doi:10.1007/978-981-10-812-2 8
- Tijana Vukij, M. Z. (2019). Developing Intercultural Communication Competencies Using Various Learning Methods at a Media Communication Study Programme. *Journal of International Business Research and Marketing*, 4(6), 1849-8558. doi:10.18775/jibrm.18498558.2016.46.3002.

- Timbering, B. M. (2002). *A History of the TV Talk Show* (First ed.). University of Texas Press.
- Timotheos, G. (2010). Freedom Expression in Ethiopia: The Jurisprudential death. *Mizan Law Riview*,4(2).
- Tiryakian, E. A. (2003). Assessing multiculturalism theoretically: E pluribus unum, sic et non. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 5(1), 20-39.
- Timoschuk, E. (2019). Phenomenology of Multiculturalism. In *International Conference on European Multilingualism: Shaping Sustainable Educational and Social Environment (EMSSESE 2019)* (pp. 181-183). Atlantis Press.
- Toffolo, C. E. (2003). *Emancipating cultural pluralism*. SUNY Press.
- Toma, R., Popescu, M., & Bodea, R. (2022). Monitoring media pluralism in the digital era: Application of the Media Pluralism Monitor in the European Union, Albania, Montenegro, the Republic of North Macedonia, Serbia and Turkey in the year 2021. Country report: Romania. European University Institute.
- Tong, J. (2017). The Taming of Critical Journalism in China. *Journalism Studies*. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2017.1375386
- Tracy, S. J. (2013). *Qualitative Research Methods:Collecting Evidences, Crafting analysis, Communicating impact:.* Wiley-Blackwell.
- Tremblay, A. (2019). *Diversity in Decline? The Rise of the Political Right and the Fate of Multiculturalism:Palgrave Politics of Identity*. London & Edinburgh: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Triandafyllidou, A., & Wodak, R. (Eds.). (2009). *The European public sphere and the media: Europe in crisis*. Springer.
- Tshuma, L.A., Matsilele, T., Msimanga, M.J., & Jamil, S. (Eds.). (2024). *Patterns of Harassment in African Journalism* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781032697604>

- Tuori, S. (2007). Cooking nation: Gender equality and multiculturalism as nation-building discourses. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 14(1), 21-35.
- Turner, T. (1993). Anthropology and Multiculturalism: What is Anthropology that Multiculturalists Should be Mindful of It? *Cultural Anthropology*, 8(4), 411-429
- Turner, G. (Ed.). (1993). Nation, culture, text: Australian cultural and media studies. Psychology Press.
- Uluğ, Ö. M., & Cohrs, J. C. (2017). “Who will resolve this conflict if the politicians don’t?” Members’ of Parliament understandings of the Kurdish conflict in Turkey. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, 28(2), 245-266.
- UNDP. (2019). Human Development Report 2019: Beyond income, beyond averages, beyond today: Inequalities in human development in the 21st century. New York: US
- UNESCO. (2022). Assessment of Media Development in Ethiopia Based on UNESCO's Media Development Indicators. <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/igo/>
- Valcke, P., Pickard, R., & Sukosd, M. (2015). A Global Perspectives in media Pluralism and Diversity: In *Media Pluralism and Diversity* (pp. 1-19). doi:10.1057/9781137304308_1
- Valcke, P., Sukosd, M., & Picard, R. (Eds.). (2015). *Media pluralism and diversity: Concepts, risks and global trends*. Springer.
- Valenta, A.L & Wigger, U. (2013). Q methodology: Defintiton and application in Health Care Informatics. *Journal of the American medical Informatics association*, 4(6)501–510.
- Vandenberghe, H. (2019). Representation of Women in the News: Balancing between Career and Family Life. *Media and Communication*, 7(1), 4-12. doi:10.17645/mac.v7i1.1627
- VanderStoep, S. W. & Johnston, D. D. (2009). *Research Methods for Everyday Life: Blending Qualitative and Quantitative approaches*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1997). What is political discourse analysis. *Belgian journal of linguistics*, 11(1), 11-52.

- Van Leeuwen, T. (2006). Critical Discourse Analysis. Keith Brown, ed. *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, Vol. 3. Oxford: Elsevier. 290-94.
- Vargo, C. J & Amazeen M. A. (2021). Agenda-Cutting Versus Agenda-Building: Does Sponsored Content Influence Corporate News Coverage in U.S. Media? *International Journal of Communication* 15(2021), 5186–520
- Varma, A., Limov, B., & Cabas-Mijares, A. (2023). “They Always Get Our Story Wrong”: Addressing Social Justice Activists’ News Distrust Through Solidarity Reporting. *Media and Communication*, 11(4), 286-296.
- Verstraeten, H. (1996). The media and the transformation of the public sphere: A contribution for a critical political economy of the public sphere. *European Journal of Communication*, 11(3), 347-370.
- Vertovec, S. (2010). Towards post-multiculturalism? Changing communities, conditions and contexts of diversity. *International social science journal*, 61(199), 83-95.
- Višňovský, K. J., Ryłko-Kurpiewska, A., Newsroom, V. M. V. M. J., & Ekštejn, S. K. (2020). Theoretical Studies. *Communication Today*, 11(1).
- Vukić, T., Zelenik, M., & Welzer, T. (2019). Developing Intercultural Communication Competencies Using Various Learning Methods at a Media Communications Study Programme. *Marketing*, 4(6).
- Versluis, A. (2019). Multiculturalism and Transcendentalism. *Academic Questions*, 32(4), 515-520.
- Wahzudin, E., Haditama, H., & Setianingrum, V. M. (2023). Content and Audience Commodification Related to the Ferdy Sambo Case in the Perspectives of Media Political Economy: Review of News Coverage on KompasTV and iNewsTV. *The Journal of Society and Media*, 7(1), 228-249.
- Waite, P. T.-G. (2014). Toward a More Pragmatic Multiculturalism? How. *An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions*, 27(2), 267–289.

- Wasko, J. (2005). Studying the political economy of media and information. *Comunicação e Sociedade*, 7, 25-48.
- Warner, W., & Hirschberg, J. (2012, June). Detecting hate speech on the world wide web. In *Proceedings of the second workshop on language in social media* (pp. 19-26).
- Wasko, J. (2014). The Study of the Political economy of the media in the twenty-first century. *International Journal of media and cultural politics*, 10(3), 259-271. doi:10.1386/mcp.10.3.259_1
- Watts, S., & Stenner, P. (2005). Doing Q methodology: theory, method and interpretation. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 2, 67-91.
- Webb, J. (2009). *Understanding Representation*. LA, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington, DC: Sage.
- Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic Content Analysis* (second edition ed.). London: Sage Publications Inc.,
- Weis, T. (2015). *Vanguard Capitalism: Party, State, and Market in the EPRDF's Ethiopia*. Oxford University .
- Welzel, R. I. (2005). *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wesley, J. J. (2009). Building Bridges in Content Analysis: Quantitative And Qualitative Traditions. *The Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Carleton University*. Ottawa.
- White, M. D., & Marsh, E. E. (2006). Content Analysis: A Flexible Methodology. *Library Trends*, 55(1), 22-45.
- Widyatama, R., Suranto, A. W., & Mahbob, M. H. (2021). The Determinant Factors of Television's Audience in Choosing TV Channel in the Disruptive Era. *Profetik: Jurnal Komunikasi*, 14(2), 151-170.

- Wimmer, D.R. and Dominick, J. R. (2006). *Mass Media Research: Processes, Approaches, and Applications*. Australia & Canada: Wadsworth.
- Williams, B., Onsmann, A., & Brown, T. (2010). Exploratory factor analysis: A five-step guide for novices. *Journal of Emergency Primary Health Care*, 8(3), 1-13.
- Wilkin, P. (2001). *The Political Economy of Global Communication: an introduction*. London: Pluto Press.
- Wise, A., & Velayutham, S. (2009). Introduction: Multiculturalism and everyday life. In *Everyday multiculturalism* (pp. 1-17). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Winseck, D. (2016). Reconstructing the Political Economy of Communication for the Digital Media Age. *The Political Economy of Communication*, 4(2), 73-114.
- Winter, E. (2015). Rethinking Multiculturalism After its “Retreat”: Lessons from Canada. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 59(6), 637-657
- Wittel, A. (2016). Digital Marx: Toward a political economy of distributed media. In *Marx in the age of digital capitalism* (pp. 68-104). Brill.
- Wodak, R. (2001). The discourse-historical approach. *Methods of critical discourse analysis*, 1, 63-94.
- Wodak, R. (2008). Discourse Historical Approach. In R. W. Meyer(ed.), *Methods Of Critical Discourse Analysis*(pp. 87-121). London : Sage Publications .
- Wodak, R. (2009). Semiotics of Racism-A Critical Discourse-Historical Analysis. In R. Wodak, *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Lancaster University.
- Wodak, R. (2015). Critical discourse analysis, discourse-historical approach. *The international encyclopedia of language and social interaction*, 1-14.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2015). *Methods of critical discourse studies* (3rd ed.). Sage.

- Wong, L., & Guo, S. (2015). Revisiting multiculturalism in Canada: An introduction. In *Revisiting multiculturalism in Canada* (pp. 1-14). Brill.
- World Economic Situations and Prospects 2024. A report by the UN Departments of Economic and Social Affairs https://www.un.org/development/desa/dpad/wp-content/uploads/sites/45/WESP_2024_Web.pdf
- Yanchar, S. C., & Williams, D. D. (2006). Reconsidering the compatibility thesis and eclecticism: Five proposed guidelines for method use. *Educational researcher*, 35(9), 3-12.
- Yean, T. S. (2023). 2023/56 “Backing Startups and Believing in Unicorns: Policy Implications and Challenges for Malaysia.
- Ylönen, A. (2021). Counting on friends in Tigray: internal and regional considerations in the ongoing crisis. *HORN Bull*, 4, 1-13.
- Yonas, A. A. (2019). *Preventing violent extremism in the Horn: The case of ethnic extremism in Ethiopia*. European Institute of Peace.
- Yonatan, T. (2010). *Ethnic Diversity and Federalism: Constitution Making in South Africa and Ethiopia*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Yong, A. G., & Pearce, S. (2013). A Beginner’s Guide to Factor Analysis: Focusing on Exploratory Factor Analysis. *Tutorials in Quantitative Methods for Psychology*, 9(2), 79-94.
- Záhořík, J. (2017). Reconsidering Ethiopia’s ethnic politics in the light of the Addis Ababa Master Plan and anti-governmental protests. *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, 8(3), 257-272.
- Zborowski, J. (2016). Television aesthetics, media and cultural studies and the contested realm of the social. *Critical Studies in Television*, 11(1), 7-22.
- Zewge, A. A. (2010). *Understanding the Local Media Environment and International Media as Source for Local News: Five Ethiopian Newspapers in Focus*. Oslo: University of Oslo.

Zollmann, F., Klaehn, J., Sikka, T., Comeforo, K., Broudy, D., Tröger, M., & Mullen, A. (2018). The propaganda model and intersectionality: integrating separate paradigms. *Media Theory*.

Zuppa, J., Morton, H., & Mehta, K. P. (2003). Television food advertising: Counterproductive to children's health? A content analysis using the Australian Guide to Healthy Eating. Dietitians Association of Australia.

_____. (2019). Managing Ethiopia's Unsettled Transition: International Crisis Group Africa Report N°269, 21 February 2019

List of Publications from the Dissertation

1. Nemomsa, G., Jemaneh, A., & Zerai, A. (2023). The Political Economy of Mainstream Television Channels in Ethiopia: Perspectives from Ownership and Regulations. *Observatorio (OBS*)*, 17(3). <https://doi.org/10.15847/obsOBS17320232333>
2. Eranfeno, G. N., Gemed, A. J., & Bamano, A. Z. (2024). Diversifying News Sources as Multicultural News Production: Critical Political Economy Approach to Sourcing Practices in Ethiopian Mainstream TV Channels. *Electronic News*, 0(0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/19312431241240783>
3. Eranfeno, G. N., Gemed, A. J., & Bamano, A. Z. (2024). News discourses threatening multiculturalism in Ethiopian mainstream TV channels: Discourse historical approach. *Heliyon*, 10(4), e25641. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2024.e25641>

Appendices

Appendix A: Rotated Component Matrix for Fana TV Viewers

	Component				
	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C	Factor D	Factor E
7. I watch the channel to get some experiences of cultures of different ethnic groups.	.711				
12. Cultural and political differences are mediated by the channel.	.692				
8. I feel happy when I watch the cultural expressions on the channel even though they are different from my culture.	.691				
9. I enjoy almost all cultural programs transmitted through the channel regardless of the ethnic/religious groups they focus.	.649				
15. There are varieties of cultural, political and religious issues representing different groups in the channel.	.633				
16. News and talk shows in the channel 'systematically' categorize people according to their ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds.	.598				
10. I like to watch the news and talk shows of typical traditional cultural experiences.	.565				
13. I feel the channel is accommodative in cultural and political news and talk shows it transmits.	.504				
11. I believe that the channel focuses on multiethnic groups in its news and talk shows.	.498				
14. I can easily understand cultural programs produced though they are different from my own culture.	.465				
17. I tolerate different political and cultural views transmitted by the channel.	.434				
3. I watch the channel because it transmits programs that are interesting to me.		.691			
4. The way the channel produces and transmits my culture is attractive.		.678			
6. The channel transmits variety of programs on cultural, ethnic/ religious issues.		.676			
2. The TV channel produces more stories of the culture that belongs to me.		.585			
5. I feel the channel is working regardless of one's own ethnic identity.		.563			
1. I watch the channel when I have a free time.		.523			
29. The channel allocates nearly equal time for languages of different ethnic groups.			.742		
31. I have news and talk shows I like to watch both from my own ethnic groups and other groups of different cultures in the channel.			.681		
28. Programs focusing on different age groups are equally represented in the channel.			.661		
30. I feel there are equal representations of voices for different ethnic groups in the news and talk shows transmitted by the channel.			.635		

20. I feel the channel equally represents Ethiopian people regardless of their cultural and ethnic differences.			.619		
18. The channel produces news and talk shows for diversified cultural groups.			.596		
32. The news and talk shows in the channel are all inclusive in cultural and political issues they produce.			.574		
38. The channel produces more news and programs on minorities, disabled groups/individuals or groups needing special care.			.563		
22. The channel produces different educative programs on women.			.554		
19. I watch the channel because it transmits both my own culture and other groups' cultural values.			.530		
35. The channel does sufficiently broadcast stories of my religion.			.522		
37. The way stories produced are free from biases in their presentations of cultural and political groups.			.510		
34. I feel people of diversified cultures have got equal opportunity in participating in the production or consumption of news and talk shows in the channel.			.503		
21. The channel fairly represents most religious groups in Ethiopia.			.454		
33. I feel that I need more news and programs on social and political issues transmitted in my own language.			.492		
40. I equally enjoy all the cultural programs transmitted by the channel.			.489		
39. I don't give my own value judgment to the cultural programs produced in the channel.			.464		
26. The channel produces more programs on people of higher economic classes.			.445		
36. I can refer to some Talk shows/stories that are reflections of Ethiopian cultural diversity in the channel.			.443		
27. The channel produces more programs on government officials and political party members.			.430		
23. I like the programs that are produced by women in the channel.			.420		
41. I would like if the channel produced more programs about my own ethnic culture.				.770	
46. Most of the news and programs in the channel are different from my own cultural and political views.				.656	
49. I feel most of the journalists in the channel are not from my ethnic group.				.641	
45. I waste more time to find out news and programs focusing on my ethnic background and history in the channel.				.638	
48. The channel transmits programs with a clear sense of my ethnic background.				.623	
42. The channel host guests from my language, cultural, ethnic and religious group on the talk shows.				.641	
44. Topical news stories focus on political and cultural views/interests/ of				.565	

my ethnic groups.					
43. I feel the channel is notable in its production and transmission of my culture.				.517	
47. Political protests of my Ethnic groups are emphasized in the channel.				.402	
57. I feel strong management is needed for skilled production of cultural programs.					.766
58. I feel it is better to create a system that fairly distributes the cost of production and distribution among different cultural groups in Ethiopia.					.734
54. I feel there are some skills and knowledge that journalists producing programs of diversified cultural groups need to develop.					.566
56. I feel organizational management of the channel and its policy encourages diversity and equality of culture.					.553
51. The programs in the channel are well designed and they hook my attention.					.520
52. Journalists producing about cultures in the channel have better understanding of different cultural groups.					.519
53. I feel journalists working in the channel are responsible for quality of the news stories and talk shows on cultural issues					.453
60. I feel free watching the channel because of its quality in cultural production.					.439
59. I generally believe that the channel has a good sense for all cultural stories and produce them in an attractive way.					.474
50. The news stories and talk shows in the channel are attractive to watch.					.444
55. The channel gives more time for advertisements, and less focus on the transmission of diversified cultures.					.436
<i>Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.</i>					
<i>Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.</i>					
<i>a. Rotation converged in 18 iterations.</i>					

Appendix B: Rotated Component Matrix For Walta TV

	Component				
	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C	Factor D	Factor E
12. Cultural and political differences are mediated by the channel.	.725				
9. I enjoy almost all cultural programs transmitted through the channel regardless of the ethnic/religious groups they focus.	.713				
8. I feel happy when I watch the cultural expressions on the channel even though they are different from my culture.	.712				
15. There are varieties of cultural, political and religious issues representing different groups in the channel.	.694				
16. News and talk shows in the channel 'systematically' categorize people according to their ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds.	.630				
10. I like to watch the news and talk shows of typical traditional cultural experiences.	.612				
13. I feel the channel is accommodative in cultural and political news and talk shows it transmits.	.611				
11. I believe that the channel focuses on multiethnic groups in its news and talk shows.	.608				
14. I can easily understand cultural programs produced though they are different from my own culture.	.565				
7. I watch the channel to get some experiences of cultures of different ethnic groups.	.655				
6. The channel transmits variety of programs on cultural, ethnic/ religious issues.		.689			
3. I watch the channel because it transmits programs that are interesting to me.		.682			
4. The way the channel produces and transmits my culture is attractive.		.665			
2. The TV channel produces more stories of the culture that belongs to me.		.664			
5. I feel the channel is working regardless of one's own ethnic identity.		.506			
1. I watch the channel when I have a free time.		.441			
29. The channel allocates nearly equal time for languages of different ethnic groups.			.822		
38. The channel produces more news and programs on minorities, disabled groups/individuals or groups needing special care.			.714		
30. I feel there are equal representations of voices for different ethnic groups in the news and talk shows transmitted by the channel.			.693		
28. Programs focusing on different age groups are equally represented in the channel.			.685		
31. I have news and talk shows I like to watch both from my own ethnic groups and other groups of different cultures in the channel.			.671		
37. The way stories produced are free from biases in their presentations of cultural and political groups.			.600		
32. The news and talk shows in the channel are all inclusive in cultural and			.596		

political issues they produce.					
18. The channel produces news and talk shows for diversified cultural groups.			.582		
35. The channel does sufficiently broadcast stories of my religion.			.581		
39. I don't give my own value judgment to the cultural programs produced in the channel.			.570		
19. I watch the channel because it transmits both my own culture and other groups' cultural values.			.561		
36. I can refer to some Talk shows/stories that are reflections of Ethiopian cultural diversity in the channel.			.547		
33. I feel that I need more news and programs on social and political issues transmitted in my own language.			.534		
27. The channel produces more programs on government officials and political party members.			.501		
22. The channel produces different educative programs on women.			.482		
23. I like the programs that are produced by women in the channel.			.478		
26. The channel produces more programs on people of higher economic classes.			.481		
34. I feel people of diversified cultures have got equal opportunity in participating in the production or consumption of news and talk shows in the channel.			.474		
40. I equally enjoy all the cultural programs transmitted by the channel.			.466		
20. I feel the channel equally represents Ethiopian people regardless of their cultural and ethnic differences.			.466		
21. The channel fairly represents most religious groups in Ethiopia.			.423		
25. The channel produces more programs on people of higher educational levels.			.421		
51. The programs in the channel are well designed and they hook my attention.				.688	
56. I feel organizational management of the channel and its policy encourages diversity and equality of culture.				.679	
50. The news stories and talk shows in the channel are attractive to watch.				.668	
52. Journalists producing about cultures in the channel have better understanding of different cultural groups.				.607	
53. I feel journalists working in the channel are responsible for quality of the news stories and talk shows on cultural issues.				.567	
57. I feel strong management is needed for skilled production of cultural programs.				.647	
58. I feel it is better to create a system that fairly distributes the cost of production and distribution among different cultural groups in Ethiopia.				.643	
60. I feel free watching the channel because of its quality in cultural production.				.517	
59. I generally believe that the channel has a good sense for all cultural stories and produce them in an attractive way.				.455	
54. There are some skills and knowledge that journalists producing programs of				.469	

diversified cultural groups need to develop.					
55. The channel gives more time for advertisements, and less focus on the transmission of diversified cultures.				.434	
41. I would like if the channel produced more programs about my own ethnic culture.					.697
49. I feel most of the journalists in the channel are not from my ethnic group.					.643
45. I waste more time to find out news and programs focusing on my ethnic background and history in the channel.					.606
46. Most of the news and programs in the channel are different from my own cultural and political views.					.560
48. The channel transmits programs with a clear sense of my ethnic background.					.531
47. Political protests of my Ethnic groups are emphasized in the channel.					.481
42. The channel host guests from my language, cultural, ethnic and religious group on the talk shows.					.453
<i>Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.</i>					
<i>Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.</i>					
<i>a. Rotation converged in 9 iterations.</i>					

Appendix C: Word Cruncher's Word counts relevant to the study on Atlas ti.7

S. N	Words	Sub Total	%	S. N	Words	Sub Total	%	S. N	Words	Sub Total	%
1	Ethiopia/ns	460	4.6	34	Diplomacy	46	0.46	67	Patriotism	18	0.18
2	National/ism	161	1.61	35	Women	46	0.46	68	UN/UNESCO	17	0.17
3	Abiy Ahmed	157	1.57	36	Co-existence	45	0.45	69	Adanech Abebe	16	0.16
4	TPLF/TDF	156	1.56	37	Enemy	44	0.44	70	Children	16	0.16
5	Regional	152	1.52	38	Victory	44	0.44	71	Authorities	15	0.15
6	Government	144	1.44	39	Sahilework Z.	43	0.43	72	Hachalu Hundessa	15	0.15
7	Addis Ababa	137	1.37	40	Battle	42	0.42	73	Opposition parties	15	0.15
8	Peace	133	1.33	41	Education	42	0.42	74	Prosperity party	35	0.35
9	Ministry	128	1.28	42	Egypt	42	0.42	75	Orthodox	14	0.14
10	Tigray	126	1.26	43	Farmers	42	0.42	76	Charity	12	0.12
11	Military	123	1.23	44	Freedom	42	0.42	77	Division	12	0.12
12	Covid-19	97	0.97	45	Modern	42	0.42	78	Medemer	12	0.12
13	Religious	93	0.93	46	Cultural	38	0.38	79	Meskel	12	0.12
14	Security	86	0.86	47	Administration	36	0.36	80	Reconciliation	12	0.12
15	Federalism	80	0.8	48	Conflicts	35	0.35	81	Solidarity	12	0.12
16	Country	79	0.79	49	Deaths	35	0.35	82	Adwa	11	0.11
17	Discussions	77	0.77	50	Tourism	35	0.35	83	Associations	11	0.11
18	Killing	77	0.77	51	Investigation	32	0.32	84	Protests	11	0.11
19	Politics	77	0.77	52	Somali	30	0.3	85	Gambella	11	0.11
20	War	71	0.71	53	Civilian(s)	28	0.28	86	Holidays	11	0.11
21	President	65	0.65	54	Bodies	26	0.26	87	Brutal/Brutality	10	0.1
22	Terrorism	65	0.65	55	Northern Eth.	26	0.26	88	Benishangul Gumuz	8	0.08
23	Oromo/mia	62	0.62	56	Sudan	26	0.26	89	Disability	8	0.08
24	Organization	59	0.59	57	Afar	25	0.25	90	Getachew Reda	8	0.08
25	Amhara/s	58	0.58	58	Demeke M.	24	0.24	91	Lemma Megersa	8	0.08
26	Christianity	57	0.57	59	Diversity	24	0.24	92	Noble Peace Prize	8	0.08
27	Economy	56	0.56	60	Multicultural	24	0.24	93	Bahir Dar	7	0.07
28	Ethnic/Ethnicity	56	0.56	61	Propaganda	23	0.23	94	Shimeles Abdissa	7	0.07
29	Tolerance/Respect	56	0.56	62	NEBE	22	0.22	95	Slogan	7	0.07
30	Together	55	0.55	63	Unity	21	0.21	96	Barbaric/ barbarians	6	0.06
31	Health	54	0.54	64	Equality	20	0.2	97	Bullet	6	0.06
32	Celebration	52	0.52	65	Stability	19	0.19	98	EU/European	6	0.06
33	History	48	0.48	66	Democracy	18	0.18	99	Gedu Andargachew	6	0.06

100	Stability	6	0.06
101	Zinash Tayachew	6	0.06
102	Sudan/Sudanese	5	0.05
103	Tolerance/Respect	5	0.05
104	Terrorism/st	5	0.05
105	Tigray	5	0.05
106	Together	5	0.05
107	Tourism	5	0.05
108	UN/UNESCO/UNECA	4	0.04
109	Unity	3	0.03
110	Victory	3	0.03
111	War	3	0.03
112	Women	2	0.02

Appendix D: Media outlets Licensed by Ethiopian Media Authority

Stations	Category	Language
Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC)	General, news	Amharic
Oromia Broadcasting Network (OBN)	General, news	Afan Oromo
Amhara Media Corporation	General, news	Amharic
Addis TV	General, news	Amharic, Afan Oromo, English
Tigray TV	General, news	Tigrigna
Harari TV	General, news	Harari, Afan Oromo
SRTV	General, news	Somali
Dehub TV	General, news	Amharic
Dire TV	General, news	Amharic, Afan Oromo, Somali language
Gambela TV	General, news	Amharic
Afar TV	General, news	Afar
Wolaita TV	General, news	Amharic, English and Wolaita
Benishangul Gumuz Media (BGM)	General, news	Benishangul and Amharic

Appendix E: Media Outlets Licensed before and after 2018

በኢትዮጵያ የሚኖሩ የሚገኙ የግል ግንባታ ስራዎች

ከለውጥ በፊትና ከለውጥ በኋላ የተሰጠ የመገናኛ ብዙሃን ሥልጣን

ፊት ቁጥር	የሰጠው ስራ	የተሰጠው ስራ የግንባታ ስራ		
		ከለውጥ በፊት	ከለውጥ በኋላ	ደምር
1	የሕዝብ ግንባታ	10	-	10
2	የሕዝብ ግንባታ ስራ (ፊት ለፊት)	9	-	9
3	የሕዝብ ግንባታ ስራ (ፊት ለፊት)	8	-	8
4	የግንባታ ስራ	10	6	16
5	የግንባታ ስራ (ፊት ለፊት)	11	20	31
6	የሰጠው ስራ (ፊት ለፊት)	2	-	2
7	የክፍያ ስራ (Pay TV)	1	3	4
8	የመገናኛ ስራ	50	4	54
9	የመገናኛ ስራ (ፊት ለፊት)	-	2	2
10	የግል ግንባታ ስራ	398	80	478
11	የበይንም ስራ (ፊት ለፊት)	-	40	40
12	የውጭ ግንባታ ስራ (የግንባታ ስራ)	30 ሚ.ዲያ (110 ጋዜጠኛ)	3 ሚ.ዲያ (15 ጋዜጠኛ)	33 ሚ.ዲያ (125 ጋዜጠኛ)
	ጠቅላላ ደምር	529	158	687

Appendix F: Privately owned TV Stations

Station	Category	Language
Kana TV	General Entertainment	Amharic
Nabad TV	News, Entertainment	Somali
LTV Ethiopia	Culture	Amharic
EBS TV	News and Entertainment	Amharic
ENN TV	News	Amharic
JTV Ethiopia	News and Entertainment	Amharic
Nahoo TV	News and entertainment	Amharic
Walta TV	News	Amharic
Fana TV	News	Amharic
Aleph TV	General entertainment	Amharic
Afrihealth TV	Health	Amharic
ARTS TV	News Entertainment	Amharic
DW TV	General News	Tigrigna
Bisrat TV	General entertainment	Amharic
Asham TV	News, entertainment	Amharic
AHADU TV	News entertainment	Amharic
Asrat TV	General News	Amharic
ESAT	General news	Amharic
Balageru TV	General Entertainment	Amharic
ABN TV	News, entertainment	Amharic
Ye Ethiopia Lijoch TV	Children's channel	Amharic
TV 9 Ethio	News Entertainment	Amharic
SMN	General News	Sidama
TMH TV	General News	Tigrigna
OBS TV	General entertainment	Afan Oromo
OMN	News Entertainment	Afan Oromo
FIB	News Entertainment	Afan Oromo

ONN	Politics	Afan Oromo
NBC ETHIOPIA	Entertainment	Amharic
Channel 29	News and entertainment	Tigrigna
Zee Alem	Indian entertainment	Amharic
Abol TV	Entertainment	Amharic
Hagere TV	News and entertainment	Amharic
Abbay Media TV	News and entertainment	Amharic and Afan Oromo

Appendix G: Religious TV Channels and Broadcasters

Station	Category	Language
Africa TV 1	Islam	Amharic, Afan Oromo, Tigrigna
Zawya TV	Islam	Amharic
Nuuralhuda TV	Islam	Afan Oromo
Nesiha TV HD	Islam	Amharic, Tigrigna, Afar, Somali, Silte, Guraginga, Hadiya, Afan Oromo, Welene, Kebenna
Hamiltan TV	Islam	Afan Oromo
As-Sunnah TV	Islam	Amharic, Harari, Silte
TV Islaamaa	Islam	Afan Oromo, Amharic, Tigrigna, English
Harima Tv	Islam	Amharic
BST (Bilal Satellite Television)	Islam	Amharic
Minber TV	Islam	Amharic, Afan Oromo, Afar, Somali
Daewa Tv	Islam	Amharic
Yebereka Lijoch Tv	Islam	Amharic
Nuur TV	Islam	Afan Oromo
EOTC TV	Ethiopian Orthodox	Amharic, Afan Oromo, Tigrigna
EOTC MK	Ethiopian Orthodox	Amharic, Afan Oromo, Tigrigna
Aleph TV	Ethiopian Orthodox	Amharic
OCN	Ethiopian Orthodox	Afan Oromo
Christ Army TV	Protestant	Amharic
Bethel TV	Protestant	Amharic
Vision TV	Protestant	Amharic
JPS TV	Protestant	Amharic
JSL TV	Protestant	Amharic
Holy TV	Protestant	Amharic
CJ TV	Protestant	Amharic
Jesus TV	Protestant	Amharic
El Shaddai Television Network (ETN HD)	Protestant	Amharic
Presence TV	Protestant	Amharic
Elhori TV	Protestant	Amharic
Elohi TV	Protestant	Amharic
MO'A TV HD	Protestant	Afan Oromo
Arara TV	Protestant	Afan Oromo
GMM TV Ethiopia	Protestant	Amharic
Anointing TV	Protestant	Amharic
Christ Mission	Protestant	Amharic
Holy Spirit TV	Protestant	Amharic
Marcil TV	Protestant	Amharic
Evangelical TV HD	Protestant	Amharic
Glory TV ETH	Protestant	Amharic
Fover TV	Protestant	Amharic
WW TV	Protestant	Amharic
7 Spirit TV	Protestant	Amharic
Rehobot TV HD	Protestant	Amharic
CC TV Ethiopia	Protestant	Amharic
IFTiin TV	Protestant	Amharic
LJ TV Worldwide	Protestant	Amharic

Appendix H: Links for Walta TV and ETV Shows analyzed

1. <https://youtu.be/Rf183tAwkeY>
2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W3mEuv518nU&t=3s>
3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k4JqyRZeGZk>
4. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BYHUuUiU_DU
5. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eJNOXYDP2Gk>
6. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yrC4DbpYqgk>
7. <https://youtu.be/FjR5ZdSc7rI>
8. <https://youtu.be/4bM2CLQS0RQ>
9. <https://youtu.be/-rbYbGnTnoo>

Appendix I: TV news Contents Selected for Analysis and their dates of transmission

S.N	ETV	Walta TV	Fana TV			Full news packages
1	Sept 10, 2019	Sept. 28, 2019	Sept 6 2019	Sept 18, 2020	Sept, 18, 2019	Sept 12, 2019
2	Oct. 22, 2019	Oct. 12, 2019	Sept 24, 2019	Sept 28, 2020	Oct, 5, 2019	Oct 7, 2019
3	Nov. 4, 2019	Nov. 10, 2019	Sept 22, 2019	Nov 11, 2020	Oct 12, 2019	Oct 20, 2019
4	Dec. 14, 2019	Dec. 12, 2019	Oct 28, 2019	Nov 13, 2020	Nov, 25, 2019	Nov 26, 2019
5	Jan. 7, 2019	Jan. 22, 2019	Oct 13, 2019	No, 16 2020	Feb, 15, 2019	Jan 8, 2019
6	Feb. 27, 2019	Feb. 3, 2019	Nov 3, 2019	Nov 17 2020	Jan, 10, 2019	Jan 19, 2019
7	March 16, 2019	March 15, 2019	Nov 9, 2019	Nov 18 2020	March, 25, 2019	Feb 10, 2019
8	April 28, 2019,	April 6, 2019	Nov 18. 2019	Nov 24 2020	Sept, 14, 2020	Feb 28, 2019
9	May 21, 2019	May 18, 2019	Dec. 3, 2019	Nov 28 2020	Oct, 3, 2020	March 24, 2019
10	June 20, 2019	June 22, 2019	Dec 15, 2019	Dec 1, 2020	Oct, 15, 2020	April 6, 2019
11	July 6, 2019	July 21,2019	Dec 16, 2019	Dec 6, 2020,	Sept 16, 2020	May, 13, 2019
12	Aug. 22, 2019	Aug. 7, 2019	Dec 27, 2019	Dec 7, 2020	Nov, 8, 2020	Sept 15, 2020
13	Sept 5 2020	Sept 9, 2020	Dec 28, 2019	Dec 12, 2020	Dec, 17, 2020	April 7, 2020
14	Oct. 15, 2020	Oct 13, 2020	Dec 30, 2019	Dec 14, 2020	Feb, 13, 2020	Sept. 23, 2021
15	Nov 20, 2020	Oct 19, 2020	Jan 6 2019	Dec 16, 2020	April, 17, 2020	Oct 14, 2021
16	Dec 14, 2020	Nov. 29, 2020	Jan 21 2019	Dec 18, 2020	Aug, 19, 2021	Jan 3 2021
17	Jan. 23 2020	Dec. 2, 2020	Feb 1 2019	Dec 24, 2020	Sept, 24, 2021	Jan, 5, 2021
18	Feb 16 2020	Jan. 30, 2020	March 8 2019	Dec 26, 2020	Oct, 12, 2021	Feb 16, 2021
19	March 11 2020	Feb. 3, 2020	April 18 2019	Feb 8, 2020	Oct, 23, 2021	March 10, 2021
20	April 20, 2020	March 29, 2020	May 19, 2019	Feb 19, 2020	Oct, 27, 2021	April 14, 2021
21	May 26, 2020	April 14, 2020	May 20, 2019	Feb 21, 2020	Nov, 15, 2021	May 27, 2021
22	June 19, 2020	May 28, 2020	May 21, 2019	March 7, 2020	Dec, 10, 2021	June 25, 2021
23	July 21, 2020	June 4, 2020	May 27, 2019	March 16, 2020	Sept. 4, 2021	July 17, 2021
24	Aug. 27, 2020	July 9, 2020	June 19, 2019	March 19, 2020	Sep 19 2021	Nov 19 2020
25	Sept. 1, 2021,	Aug. 15, 2020	June 20, 2019	April 18 2020	Oct. 4, 2021	Feb 8/2019
26	Oct. 31, 2021,	Sept 17, 2021	June 28, 2019	April 23 2020	Oct 30, 2021	March 12, 2021
27	Nov. 7, 2021	Aug 15 2020	July 3, 2019	June 22 2020	Nov 3, 2021	September 7 2021
28	Dec. 14, 2021	Nov 21, 2021	July 11, 2019	June 27 2020	Nov 7, 2021	July 28 2020
29	Jan. 24, 2021	Dec. 6, 2021	July 12, 2019	June 29 2020	Nov 10, 2021	October 15 2021
30	Feb. 12, 2021	Jan. 28, 2021	July 22, 2013	July 20 2020	Dec 8, 2021	Nov, 23 2021
31	March 10, 2021	Feb. 3, 2021	July 31, 2019	July 21 2020	Dec 10, 2021	Dec, 28 2021
32	April 19, 2021	March 7, 2021	Aug 1, 2019	July 24 2020		
33	May 9, 2021	April 16, 2021	Aug 9 2019	Aug 3 2020		
34	June 17, 2021	May 31, 2021,	Aug 11, 2019	Aug 10 2020		
35	July 8, 2021	June 1, 2021	Aug 14 2019	Aug 11 2020		

36	Aug. 20, 2021	July 3, 2021	Aug 18 2019	Aug 24, 2020		
37			Aug 28 2019	Aug 29, 2020		

Appendix J: Interview Guide for Experts in Ethiopian Media Authority

1. What role does the Ethiopian Media Authority play in shaping the media landscape and promoting journalistic freedom?
2. How does the Ethiopian Media Authority interact with the government and act as a mediator between the government and media organizations?
3. What criteria must be met to obtain licenses for starting TV channels in Ethiopia, and how does the Ethiopian Media Authority monitor and evaluate their content?
4. What strategies does the Ethiopian Media Authority employ to effectively monitor and assess TV organizations?
5. What level of independence does the Ethiopian Media Authority have in promoting journalistic freedom?
6. How does the Ethiopian Media Authority ensure content diversity on TV channels?

Appendix K: Questions prepared for key informant Interviewees outside media organizations

1. How are television channels in Ethiopia addressing the production and dissemination of content from different cultural groups?
2. Are television channels in Ethiopia producing content in a fair and diversified manner?
3. What measures can be taken to ensure equal representation of diverse groups on television channels?
4. Are people in Ethiopia equally represented on TV channels regardless of their ethnic, cultural, and religious differences?
5. Which cultural values are overemphasized and underrepresented on television channels in Ethiopia?
6. How can television channels contribute to justice and national consensus based on the equality of different cultural, ethnic, and religious groups?

Appendix L: Questions Prepared to Journalists selected for an Interview

1. How long have you worked at this television organization and what is your role?
2. What factors influence your journalistic practices and how do editorial policies accommodate different cultural groups?
3. To what extent does the political situation in Ethiopia impact your journalistic practices, and what are the main challenges in a multicultural society?
4. Does your television channel adequately represent different cultures, including minorities, disadvantaged groups, and people with disabilities?

5. What is the approximate cost and funding sources for producing entertainment stories or talk shows?
6. How do you ensure professional integrity in covering cultural issues and producing content in different languages?
7. Are audiences required to pay subscription fees, and do advertisers frequently target your stories to promote their products?
8. How much independent judgment do you have in selecting stories that align with your organization's values?
9. What political system would best enable your television channel to represent multicultural societies?
10. What are the factors affecting your journalistic practice in promoting national consensus and justice?

Appendix M: Leading questions for an interview conducted with Journalism educators

I. Your Profile Information

1. The University in which you are currently teaching_____
2. Your Field of Specialization_____
3. Years of Experience as Journalism/ communication instructor_____

II. Your views on Media Literacy Skills and Intercultural competence

1. How do you evaluate the level of your students' intercultural competence? Do you think that they are competent to effectively reach out culturally, politically and socially diverse groups in Ethiopia?
2. What is the level of media literacy skills of journalists, their educational background, their motives and interests regarding multicultural state, multiculturalism, and cultural diversity?
3. How do you evaluate the journalists professional integrity in accommodating diversity from your teaching and research experiences so far?
4. What do you think about the status of the curriculum in which you are teaching in producing journalists to work in a diverse society like Ethiopia? Shortly write it in a paragraph.

Appendix N: Sample of Ethiopian Media Authority's License Agreement documents for government and private media

1. በኢትዮጵያ ብሮድካስት ባለሥልጣን እና በ..... የመንግሥት ቴሌቪዥን ብሮድካስት አገልግሎት ጊዜያዊ የፈቃድ ስምምነት ሰነድ

መስከረም 2013 ዓ.ም.
አ.ብ.ባ

1. መግቢያ:-
የኢትዮጵያ ብሮድካስት ባለሥልጣን የብሮድካስት አገልግሎት ለማስፋፋት ለመከታተልና አስፈላጊውን ድጋፍ ለማድረግ በአዋጅ ስልጣን ተሰጥቶታል። በመሆኑም ባለሥልጣኑ በሳተላይት አማካኝነት በሚሰራጩ የቴሌቪዥን ብሮድካስት አገልግሎት ለመሰማራት የሚፈልጉ አመልካቾች የሚያቀርቧቸውን ሰነዶች አስፈላጊውን ማጣራት በማድረግ ፈቃድ እንዲወስዱ ሁኔታዎችን አመቻችቷል። መንግሥት የብዙኃን መገናኛ ድርጅት ለፈቃድ የሚያስፈልጉ ቅድመ ሁኔታዎችን አሟልቶ ካቀረበው ማመልከቻ ጋር አያይዞ ባቀረባቸው ሰነዶች ላይ በብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጅ ቁጥር 533/1999 መሰረት አስፈላጊው ማጣራት ተደርጓል።

ቡብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጅ ቁጥር 533/99 አንቀጽ 22 ንዑስ አንቀጽ 4 የፈቃድ ማመልከቻው ተቀባይነት ያገኘ አመልካች ፈቃዱ በሥራ ላይ ስለሚውልበት ሁኔታ በባለሥልጣኑ የተዘጋጀውን የፈቃድ ስምምነት በመፈረምና ተገቢውን የፈቃድ ክፍያ በመፈጸም የፈቃድ ምስክር ወረቀት እንደሚሰጠው ተደንግጓል። ሆኖም ግን ሥራው የሚመራበት መመሪያ እና የክፍያ ተመን ተዘጋጅቶ መደበኛ ፈቃድ እስኪሰጥ ድረስ ጊዜያዊ ፈቃድ ያለክፍያ ለመስጠት መስከረም 06 ቀን 2007 ዓ.ም. በባለሥልጣኑ የተወሰነ በመሆኑ አመልካቹ ባቀረበው የማመልከቻ ቅጽ ያስቀመጣቸው ሁኔታዎች ስራ ላይ ስለመቀላቸው ለመከታተል እና ጊዜያዊ ፈቃዱ የተሰጠበትን ግዴታዎች ለማስከበር ይረዳ ዘንድ ይህ የፈቃድ ስምምነት ሰነድ ተዘጋጅቷል።

2. ትርጓሜ:-

በዚህ ስምምነት ውስጥ:-

ሀ. "ባለፈቃድ" ማለት

ማለት ነው፤

ለ. "ባለሥልጣን" ማለት የኢትዮጵያ መገናኛ ብዙኃን ባለሥልጣን ማለት ነው።

3. የጣቢያው ስም:-

ጣቢያ....." ተብሎ ይጠራል። ባለፈቃዱ ከባለሥልጣኑ ፈቃድ ሳያገኝ የጣቢያውን ስም መቀየር የለበትም።

4. የሳተላይት አከራይ ድርጅት ስም.....

5. የመላኪያና የመቀበያ ፍሪኩዌንሲ

ሀ. መላኪያ ፍሪኩዌንሲ:- 18127.370 ሜጋ ሺርዝ

ለ. መቀበያ ፍሪኩዌንሲ:- 10727.370 ሜጋ ሺርዝ

6. የስርጭት ሽፋን

ኢትዮጵያ፣ ምስራቅና ሰሜን አፍሪካ እና የመካከለኛው ምሥራቅ አካባቢዎችን ይሸፍናል፤

7. የማሠራያው መሣሪያው ጉልበትና የስርጭት ባንድዊደዝ

ሀ. የማሠራያው ጉልበት:- 400 ዋት

ለ. የአንቴናው አይነት:- Circular 3.7 m c-band

ሐ. የስርጭት ባንድ ዊድዝ 5.5 ጊጋ ሺርዝ

8. የማሰራጫ ጣቢያው የሚተከልበት ቦታ

..... ቀበሌ 01

9. የስርጭት ፕሮግራም

ሀ. ባለፈቃድ ከሚያሰራጫቸው ፕሮግራሞች ቢያንስ 60 በመቶ በኢትዮጵያውያን የተዘጋጁ የአገር ውስጥ ፕሮግራሞች ይሆናሉ፤

ለ. ሕገመንግሥቱን በሚመለከት ለሕብረተሰቡ ግንዛቤ ለማስጨበጥ የሚረዳ ፕሮግራም ያዘጋጃል፤

ሐ. ሴቶችን፣ አረጋውያንን፣ ሕጻናትንና ወጣቶችን፣ አካል ጉዳተኞችን፣ ጎዳና ተዳዳሪዎችን እና የመሣሰሉ ልዩ ትኩረትና ድጋፍ የሚሹ የሕብረተሰብ ክፍሎችን የሚመለከቱ ፕሮግራሞችን አዘጋጅቶ ያሰራጫል፤

መ. ባለፈቃዱ በጣቢያው:- 65% ለአገር ውስጥ መዘቃ ያውላል ፤

ሠ. የሚያሰራጫቸውን ፕሮግራሞች በተመለከተ የብሮድካስት አዋጅ ቁ. 533/99 አንቀጽ 30 ድንጋጌዎችን ማክበር አለበት፤

10. ማስታወቂያና ስፖንሰርሽፕ

ሀ. ፕሮግራሞችንና የማስታወቂያ ስርጭትን በተመለከተ የማስታወቂያ አዋጅ ቁጥር 759/ 2004 መሰረት አድርጎ መሥራት አለበት፤

ለ. በብሮድካስት አገልግሎት የሚሰራጩ ማስታወቂያን በተመለከተም የአዋጁን አንቀጽ 17 ድንጋጌ አክብሮ መሥራት አለበት።

11. የፈቃድ ዘመን

ለባለፈቃዱ የተሰጠው ጊዜያዊ ፈቃድ የሚያገለግለው ባለሥልጣኑ በሳተላይት አማካኝነት የሚሰራጩ የቴሌቪዥን ብሮድካስት አገልግሎት የፈቃድ መመሪያ እስኪያወጣ ድረስ ብቻ ነው። መመሪያው እንደወጣ ባለፈቃዱ የተሰጠውን ጊዜያዊ ፈቃድ መልሶ ቋሚ ፈቃድ ማውጣት አለበት።

12. የፈቃድ ዓይነት

ይህ ፈቃድ የሚያገለግለው በሳተላይት አማካኝነት ለሚሰራጩ የቴሌቪዥን ብሮድካስት አገልግሎት ብቻ ነው። ከዚህ ውጪ ከምድር ወደ አየር ነፃ የቴሌቪዥን ብሮድካስት አገልግሎት እና ለመሣሰሉት ብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጁ አንቀጽ 17/1 ለተዘረዘሩት ሌሎች የብሮድካስት አገልግሎት ፈቃድ ዓይነቶች አያገለግልም።

13. ልዩ ልዩ ለውጦች

አመልካቹ ፈቃድ ለማውጣት ለባለሥልጣኑ በሰጣቸው መረጃዎች ላይ ለውጥ ሲያደርግ ለውጡን ወዲያውኑ ለባለሥልጣኑ በጽሁፍ ማሳወቅ አለበት።

14. ባለፈቃዱ ብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጅ ቁ.533/99 ክፍል አምስት የተቀመጡ የባለፈቃድ ግዴታዎችን አክብሮ መሥራት አለበት።

15. የፈቃድ ክፍያ:-

ሀ. ባለፈቃዱ ለጊዜያዊ ፈቃዱ የማመልከቻ፣ የመጀመሪያ ፈቃድ እና ዓመታዊ ክፍያዎችን አይከፍልም፤

ለ. ባለፈቃዱ ቋሚ ፈቃድ ሲወስድ ብሮድካስት አገልግሎት የክፍያ ተመን መሰረት የማመልከቻ፣ የመጀመሪያ ፈቃድ እና ዓመታዊ ክፍያዎችን የሚከፍል ይሆናል።

16. ሕግን አክብሮ ስለመሥራት

ባለፈቃድ የሀገሪቱን ሕገ-መንግስት፣ የመገናኛ ብዙሃንና የመረጃ ነጻነት አዋጅ 590/2000፣ የብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጅ 533/1999 እንዲሁም በእነዚህ ህጎች ተመስርቶ ባለሥልጣኑ ያወጣቸውና ወደፊት የሚያወጣቸውን መመሪያዎችን መስፈርቶችን አክብሮ የመሥራት ግዴታ አለበት።

15. የውል ግዴታው የሚፀናበት ጊዜ

ይህ ፈቃድ ስምምነት በሁለቱም አካላት ከተፈረመበት ቀን ጀምሮ የፀና ይሆናል።

ስለ ኢትዮጵያ ብሮድካስት ባለስልጣን

ስም: _____

ፊርማ _____

ቀን _____

ስለ ባለፈቃዱ

ስም: _____

ፊርማ _____

ቀን _____

2. በኢትዮጵያ መገናኛ ብዙኃን ባለሥልጣን እና በ _____ የአካባቢው ማህበረሰብ የሚዲያና ኮሙኒኬሽን ማህበር መካከል የተደረገ የማህበረሰብ ኤፍ. ኤም. ሬዲዮ ብሮድካስት አገልግሎት የፈቃድ ስምምነት

ፈቃድ ስምምነት አድራጊዎች:-

የኢትዮጵያ መገናኛ ብዙኃን ባለሥልጣን

አድራሻ:- ክልል:- አማራ ዞን:- ሰ/ሸዋ ክ/ከተማ:-..... ወረዳ:- ቤ.ቁ:-**ግናው ግቢ**
ሰ.ቁ..... ፋክስ _ የመ.ሣ.ቁ _____

የብሮድካስተሩ ስም:- የ..... የአካባቢው ማህበረሰብ የሚዲያና ኮሙኒኬሽን ማህበር

አድራሻ:- ክልል:- አማራ ዞን:- ሰ/ሸዋ ክ/ከተማ:-..... ወረዳ:- ቤ.ቁ:-**ግናው ግቢ**

ሰ.ቁ..... ፋክስ _ የመ.ሣ.ቁ _____

ይህ የማህበረሰብ ብሮድካስት አገልግሎት የፈቃድ ስምምነት በኢትዮጵያ መገናኛ ብዙኃን ባለሥልጣን እና በ..... እና የአካባቢው ማህበረሰብ የሚዲያና ኮሙኒኬሽን ማህበር መካከል ተደርጓል::

አንቀጽ 1

የፈቃድ ስምምነት ዓላማ

የፈቃድ ስምምነቱ ዓላማ የ..... ማህበረሰብ ተኮር ሬዲዮ ጣቢያ ሕገመንግስቱን አክብሮ በብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጅ እና ፈቃዱን ለማግኘት ባቀረበው የፕሮጀክት ሰነድ መሰረት ስራውን እንዲያከናውን ለማድረግ ነው።

አንቀጽ 2

የፈቃድ ስምምነት ሕጋዊነት

ይህ የፈቃድ ስምምነት ሰነድ በብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጅ ቁጥር 533/99 እና በማህበረሰብ ሬዲዮ ብሮድካስት አገልግሎት መመሪያ 04/2004 አንቀጽ 9 መሠረት የተፈጸመ የፈቃድ ስምምነት ሆኖ ነው::

አንቀጽ 3

የፈቃድ ስምምነቱ አካል የሆኑ ሰነዶች

የኢትዮጵያ ፌዴራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ ሕገ መንግስት፣ የብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጅ ቁ. 533/99 የመገናኛ ብዙኃንና የመረጃ ነገነት አዋጅ ቁ. 590/2000 የማህበረሰብ ሬዲዮ ብሮድካስት አገልግሎት መመሪያ ቁ. 04/2004 እና ብሮድካስተሩ በማመልከቻ ቅጹ ያስቀመጣቸው ሁኔታዎች እና ጣቢያው ፈቃድ ለማግኘት ያቀረበው የፕሮጀክት ሰነድ የዚህ ውል አካል ይሆናሉ::

አንቀጽ 4

ሰለ ቴክኒካዊ ጉዳዮች

4.1. የጣቢያው መጠሪያ:-

የብሮድካስት ጣቢያው የ..... ማህበረሰብ ተኮር ሬዲዮ ጣቢያ ተብሎ ይጠራል:: ብሮድካስተሩ ለባለሥልጣኑ በማስፈቀድ የጣቢያውን መጠሪያ መቀየር ይችላል::

4.2. የተፈቀደው የሬዲዮ ሞገድ:-

ብሮድካስቱ በተፈቀደለት 97.9 ሜጋ ሺርዝ የሬዲዮ ሞገድ ብቻ ስርጭቱን ያስተላልፋል::

4.3. የፈቃድ/ የስርጭት ክልል:-

ብሮድካስተሩ እንዲያስራጭ የተፈቀደለት ክልል ከተማና አካባቢው ነው::

4.4. ስርጭቱ ሥራ የሚውለው የመሣሪያ ዓይነትና ጉልበት:-

ሀ. የመሣሪያው ጉልበት 2 ኪ.ሎ ሞት፤

ለ. የአንቴናው ዓይነት አምኒ ዳይሬክቸር

ሐ. የምሰራው ከፍታ 30 ሜትር (በዚህ ስምምነት አንቀጽ 4/3 የተገለጸውን የፈቃድ ክልል ለመሸፈን የሚያስችል) ነው፤

መ. የአንቴናው ገን 2 ዲ.ቢ፤

ሠ. ከስቴዲዮ ወደ ማሰራጨ አንቴና የማድረሻ ዘዴ ሬዲዮ ሊንክ ነው::

4.5. የማሰራጨ መሣሪያው የሚተከልበት ቦታ:-

ብሮድካስተሩ የማሰራጨ መሣሪያውን በአማራ ክልል፣ ሰ/ሸዋ ዞን፣ ከተማ፣ ቀበሌ 04 የቤ/ቁ በዩንቨርሲቲው ዋና ግቢ ውስጥ ይተከላል::

አንቀጽ 5

የፕሮግራም ስርጭት:-

ብሮድካስተሩ:-

- 5.1. ከሳምንት የሥርጭት ጊዜው በ.ያንስ 60 በመቶውን ማህበረሰቡን የሚመለከቱ ጉዳዮች ላይ ማዋል አለበት፤
- 5.2. ሕገመንግሥታዊ ተልዕኮና ኃላፊነትን በመወጣት አንድ የጋራ ፖለቲካ ማህበረሰብ ግንባታ፣ በመልካም ስነ ምግባር የታነጸ ዲሞክራሲያዊ እሴቶች የተላበሰ ትውልድ እንዲጠናከር የሚያደርጉ ፕሮግራሞችን፣ የብሔር ብሔረሰቦች እና ሕዝቦች አኩልነትን የሚያንፀባርቁ ፕሮግራሞችን ፣ የብሔር ብሔረሰብና ሕዝቦችን ቋንቋ፣ ሙዚቃ፣ ባህልና እሴት እንዲሁም የሕገመንግሥቱን ዋና ዋና መርሆዎች የሚያስተዋውቁ ፕሮግራሞችን ያቀርባል::
- 5.3. በሰላም፣ በልማት፣ በዴሞክራሲ ስርዓት ግንባታ እና በመልካም አስተዳደር ጉዳዮች ላይ ብሔራዊ መግባባትን ለማጠናከር የሚረዱ ፕሮግራሞችን ያቀርባል፤
- 5.4. አካባቢያዊ፣ ክልላዊና አገራዊ ዜናዎችን በየዕለቱ ጠቀሰ፣ ቀን እና ማታ ቢያንስ በቀን ለ3 ጊዜ ያቀርባል፤
- 5.5. የሃሳብ፣ የአመለካከት፣ የባህልና የቋንቋ ብዙሃትን የሚያስተናግዱ ፕሮግራሞችን ያቀርባል፤
- 5.6. ሴቶችን፣ አረጋውያንን፣ ሕጻናትን፣ ወጣቶችን፣ አካል ጉዳተኞችን እና መሰል የሆኑ ልዩ ትኩረትና ድጋፍ የሚሹ የሕብረተሰብ ክፍሎችን የሚመለከቱ ፕሮግራሞችን አዘጋጅቶ ያስራጫል፤
- 5.7. ፕሮግራሙን በቀን ቢያንስ በፕሮጀክት ሰነዱ ባስቀመጠው ሰዓት መሰረት ያስራጫል፤
- 5.8. ፕሮግራሙን በሳምንት ቢያንስ ለ14 ሰዓት ማሰራጨት አለበት፤
- 5.9. የሚያስራጫቸው ፕሮግራሞች በብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጅ ቁጥር 533/99 አንቀጽ 30 ማለትም:-

- 5.9.1. ማንኛውም ለሥርዓት የሚቀርብ ፕሮግራም የተለያዩ አመለካከቶችን በማንፀባረቅ ሕብረተሰቡን በአጠቃላይ እንዲያገለግል ሚዛናዊ ሆኖ መቅረብ አለበት፤
 - 5.9.2. ማንኛውም ለሥርዓት የሚቀርብ ፕሮግራም ይዘቱና ምንጩ ትክክለኛ መሆኑ መረጋገጥ አለበት፤
 - 5.9.3. ማንኛውም ዜና ክሊድልዎ የፀዳ ትክክለኛና ሚዛናዊ መሆን አለበት፤
 - 5.9.4. ማንኛውም ለሥርዓት የሚቀርብ ፕሮግራም፡-
 - ሀ. የሰው ልጆችን ስብዕናና ነፃነት ወይም ሥነ ምግባርን የሚጻረር ወይም የሌሎችን እምነት የሚያንኳስስ፤
 - ለ. በመንግስት ፀጥታ ወይም በሕግ መንግስቱ መሠረት በተቋቋመው የመንግስት አስተዳደር ወይም በአገር መከላከያ ኃይል ላይ የወንጀል ድርጊት የሚፈፅም፤
 - ሐ. የግለሰብን፣ የብሔር ብሔረሰብን የሕዝብን ወይም የድርጅትን ስም የሚያጠፋ ወይም በሐሰት የሚወነጀል፤
 - መ. ብሔረሰብን ከብሔረሰብ የሚያጋጭ ወይም በሕዝቦች መካከል የእርስ በርስ ግጭት የሚያነሳ ወይም
 - ሠ. ጦርነት የሚቀሰቅስ መሆን የለበትም፡፡
- 5.10. ብሮድካስተሩ የሚያሰራጩቸው ፕሮግራሞች በብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጅ ቁጥር 533/99 አንቀጽ 31 ማለትም የልጆችን አመለካከት ስሜትና አስተሳሰብ ሊጎዱ የሚችሉና ወደ አልተፈለገ አቅጣጫ እንዲያዘነብሉ የሚገፋፋ ፕሮግራሞችን ልጆች በሚያዳምጡበት ጊዜ ማቅረብ የለበትም፡፡

አንቀጽ 6

የማስታወቂያ ስርዓት

ብሮድካስተሩ ለማስታወቂያ የሚመድበው ጊዜ በማስታወቂያ አዋጅ ቁ.759/2004 መሰረት ይሆናል፡፡ በዚህ መሰረት የማስታወቂያ አዋጁን ሳይተላለፍ ማስታወቂያዎችን ያስራጫል፡፡

አንቀጽ 7

ክፍያ

- 7.1. ብሮድካስተሩ ዓመታዊ ክፍያዎችን በየዓመቱ የመንግስት በጀት ዓመት በተጠናቀቀ በሁለት ወራት ውስጥ ይከፍላል፡፡
- 7.2. የፈቃድ ዓመታዊ ክፍያው በብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጅ ቁጥር 533/1999 አንቀጽ 27(2) መሰረት ካልተከፈለ ለዘገየበት ለእያንዳንዱ ወር 5% /አምስት በመቶ/ የመቀጫ ክፍያ እየታከለበት ይከፍላል፡፡ ሆኖም የመቀጫው ጠቅላላ ድምር ከፈቃድ ዓመታዊ ክፍያው /ከሃምሳ መቶኛ/ ሊበልጥ አይችልም፡፡

አንቀጽ 8

ስለ ማስፈቀድ

- ብሮድካስተሩ የሚከተሉትን ለውጦች ለማድረግ በቅድሚያ ባለሥልጣኑን ማስፈቀድ ይኖርበታል፡-
- 8.1. የማስራጫ መሳሪያውን ጉልበት ከተፈቀደለት መጠን ለመጨመር ወይም ለመቀነስ ሲፈልግ፤
 - 8.2. በአንጭናው ዓይነትና ርዝመት ላይ ለውጥ ማድረግ ሲፈልግ፤
 - 8.3. የማስራጫ መሳሪያውንና የአንጭናውን ቦታ መቀየር ሲፈልግ፤

አንቀጽ 9

ስለ ማሳወቅ፡-

- ብሮድካስተሩ የሚከተሉትን ለውጦች ሲያደርግ ለውጡ በተደረገ በ14 ቀናት ውስጥ ለባለሥልጣኑ በጽሁፍ ማሳወቅ አለበት፡-
- 8.4. የመከራም ሆነ መደበኛ ስርዓት ሲጀምር፤
 - 8.5. የፕሮግራምና የስርዓት ስዓት ለውጥ ሲያደርግ፤
 - 8.6. የመርሀ ግብር ለውጥ ሲያደርግ እና አዳዲስ ፕሮግራሞችን ሲያካትት፤
 - 8.7. የአድራሻ ለውጥ ሲያደርግ፣ የፌዴራ ጣቢያውን የጠቅላላ ጉባኤ፣ የቦርድ አባል፣ ወይም ሥራ አስኪያጅ ወይም የፕሮግራም ኃላፊ ለውጥ ሲያደርግ፤
 - 8.8. የጣቢያውን ዓመታዊ አጠቃላይ የሥራ እንቅስቃሴ የሚያመለክት ያለፈውን በጀት ዓመት የሥራ ክንውን ሪፖርት፣ የአዲሱን በጀት ዓመት ዓመታዊ ዕቅድ እና የበጀት አጠቃቀም፤
 - 8.9. የገንዘብና የዓይነት እርዳታ እንዲሁም የለጋሾች ዝርዝር ወይም ሌላ የገንዘብ ምንጭ ማስረጃ፤
 - 8.10. በፕሮግራም ዝግጅት የሚሳተፉ የበጎ ፈቃደኞች ወይም ሠራተኞች ዝርዝር፤ በየሰዓት ዓመቱ የቦርድ አባላትን ምርጫ እያካሄደ ቃለጉባውን ለውል ሰጪ ማሳወቅ አለበት፡፡
 - 9.1. የስርዓት አገልግሎቱን ለአንድ ወር ሲያቋርጥ፤
 - 9.2. የአድራሻ ለውጥ ሲያደርግ፤
 - 9.3. የጣቢያ አመራር አካል እና የፕሮግራም ሃላፊ ለውጥ ሲያደርግ፤
 - 9.4. ፈቃድ ለመውሰድ ባቀረባቸው ሌሎች መረጃዎች ላይ ለውጥ ሲያደርግ፤
 - 9.5. የጣቢያውን ኤዲቶሪያ ፖሊሲ ሲያሻሽል እንዲሁም፤
 - 9.6. የበጀት አመቱ ሲጠናቀቅ የጣቢያውን አመታዊ አጠቃላይ የስራ እንቅስቃሴ እና የአዲት ሪፖርት ማሳወቅ አለበት፡፡

አንቀጽ 10

ቅሬታን ስለማስተናገድ

- ብሮድካስተሩ፡-
- 10.1. በጣቢያው በተላለፈ ፕሮግራም መብቱ ተነክቷል ወይም በአግባቡ አልቀረበም በማለት ቅሬታ የሚያቀርብ ሰው መልስ የመስጠት መብቱን ማክበር አለበት፤
 - 10.2. በተሰራጨ ፕሮግራም ላይ የሚቀርብ ቅሬታና ጥቆማ ተቀብሎ ለማስተናገድ የሚያስችል አሰራር በመዘርጋትና ለአድማጮች በማሳወቅ ተግባራዊ ማድረግ አለበት፡፡

አንቀጽ 11

የፈቃድ ዘመን

ብብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጅ አንቀጽ 24 መሰረት የፈቃድ ዘመን ፈቃድ ከተሰጠበት ቀን ጀምሮ ለሚቀጥሉት 5 ዓመታት ሆኖ የፈቃድ ዘመኑ ካበቃ በኋላ በየዓመቱ ፈቃዱ መታደስ አለበት።

አንቀጽ 12

አክብሮ ስለመሥራት

ብብሮድካስተሩ የአገሪቱን ሕገ መንግስት፣ የመገናኛ ብዙኃንና የመረጃ ነገነት አዋጅ፣ የብብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጅ፣ እንዲሁም በአገሪቱ ሕጎች መሰረት ያወጣው መመሪያዎችን እና ባለሥልጣኑ የሚሰጣቸውን ግብረ መልሶችና ውሳኔዎች ማክበር ይኖርበታል።

አንቀጽ 13

ቅሬታ ስለማቅረብ

ብብሮድካስተሩ ባለሥልጣኑ በሚሰጠው ውሳኔ ላይ ያለውን ቅሬታ ውሳኔው በደረሰው በ14 ቀናት ውስጥ ለባለሥልጣኑ ቦርድ ማቅረብ ይችላል።

አንቀጽ 14

የባለሥልጣኑ ኃላፊነት

- 10.1. ብብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጅ ቁጥር 533/99 አንቀጽ 7 በተሰጠው ሥልጣንና ተግባር መሰረት ለብብሮድካስተሩ አስፈላጊውን ክትትልና ድጋፍ ያደርጋል፤
- 10.2. በሞኒተሪንግ እና በሌሎች የክትትል አግባቦች በየጊዜው ከሚሰጠው ግብረ መልስ በተጨማሪ ቢያንስ በአመት አንድ ጊዜ የመስክ ኢንስፔክሽን በማካሄድ በጣቢያው የሚሰጠው ጥንካሬዎች፣ እጥረቶች እና መፍትሔዎችን መጠቀም አለበት፤
- 10.3. የስርጭት ተግዳሮቶችን እያጠና እንዲፈቱ ለመንግስት የፓሊሲ ሃሳብ ያቀርባል፤

አንቀጽ 15

የፈቃድ ስምምነቱ የሚፀናበት ጊዜ

ይህ የፈቃድ ስምምነት ከተፈረመበት ቀን ጀምሮ የፀና ይሆናል።

ስለ ባለሥልጣኑ
 ስም _____
 ፊርማ _____
 ቀን _____

ስለ ብብሮድካስተሩ
 ስም _____
 ፊርማ _____
 ቀን _____

3. በኢትዮጵያ ብብሮድካስት ባለሥልጣን እና በ..... ኃ.የተ. የግል ማ. መካከል የተደረገ ከአገር ውስጥ በሳተላይት አማካኝነት የሚሰራው የንግድ ቴሌቪዥን ብብሮድካስት አገልግሎት የፈቃድ ስምምነት

ጥር 2012 ዓ.ም.
ኢ.ብ.ባ

ፈቃድ ስምምነት አድራጊዎች፡-

የኢትዮጵያ መገናኛ ብዙኃን ባለሥልጣን
 አድራሻ፡- አዲስ አበባ ክ/ከተማ ወረዳ 8 ስ.ቁ.
 ብብሮድካስተሩ ስም፡-የተ. የግል ማ.
 አድራሻ፡ አዲስ አበባ፣ ክ/ከተማ..... ወረዳ 3፤ ቤ.ቁ..... ስ.ቁ..... ፋክስ፡- _____ መ.ሣ.ቁ _____

ይህ የንግድ ብብሮድካስት አገልግሎት የፈቃድ ስምምነት በኢትዮጵያ መገናኛ ብዙኃን ባለሥልጣን እና በ..... ኃ.የተ. የግል ማ. መካከል ተደርጓል።

አንቀጽ 1

የፈቃድ ስምምነቱ ዓላማ

የፈቃድ ስምምነቱ ዓላማ..... ኃ.የተ. የግል ማ. የንግድ ብብሮድካስት አገልግሎት ጣቢያ ቴሌቪዥን ሕገ መንግሥቱን አክብሮ ብብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጅ እና ፈቃዱን ለማግኘት ባቀረበው የፕሮጀክት ሰነድ መሰረት ሥራውን እንዲያከናውን ለማድረግ ነው።

አንቀጽ 2

የፈቃድ ስምምነቱ ሕጋዊነት

ይህ የፈቃድ ስምምነት ሰነድ ብብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጅ ቁጥር 533/99 እና በሳተላይት አማካኝነት በሚሰራው የንግድ ብብሮድካስት አገልግሎት መመሪያ ቁጥር 2/2008 አንቀጽ 9 መሠረት የተፈፀመ የፈቃድ ስምምነት ሰነድ ነው።

አንቀጽ 3

የፈቃድ ስምምነቱ አካል የሆኑ ሰነዶች

የኢትዮጵያ ፌዴራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ ሕገ መንግስት፣ የብብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጅ ቁጥር 533/99፣ የመገናኛ ብዙኃንና የመረጃ ነገነት አዋጅ ቁጥር 590/2000፣ በሳተላይት አማካኝነት የሚሰራው የንግድ ብብሮድካስት አገልግሎት መመሪያ ቁጥር 2/2008 እና ብብሮድካስተሩ በማመልከቻ ቅጹ ያስቀመጣቸው ሁኔታዎች እና ጣቢያው ፈቃድ ለማግኘት ያቀረበው የፕሮጀክት ሰነድ የዚህ ውል አካል ይሆናሉ።

አንቀጽ 4

ስለ ቴክኒካዊ ጉዳዮች

4.6. የጣቢያው መጠሪያ፡- የቴሌቪዥን ጣቢያው (.....) ተብሎ ይጠራል። ብብሮድካስተሩ ባለሥልጣኑን ሳያስፈቅድ የጣቢያውን መጠሪያ መቀየር አይችልም።

- 4.7. ይዘቱን ወደ ሳተላይት የሚልከበት ቦታ እድራሻ
 - የቦታው ስም:- አዲስ አበባ
 - መልካም ምድራዊ አቅጣጫ:- **ምስራቅ 38° 47' 38" ሰሜን 8° 59' 25"**

ከፍታ ከባህር ጠለል በላይ **2580**

4.8. የሚጠቀምበት ባንድ ዊድዝ:- **3 ሜጋ ሽርዝ**

4.9. የፈቃድ/ የስርጭት ክልል:-

ውል ተቀባይ በኢትዮጵያና በሌሎች የዓለም አካባቢዎች የሳተላይት ቴሌቪዥን ብሮድካስት አገልግሎቱን ያሰራጫል።

አንቀጽ 5

የፕሮግራም ስርጭት:-

ብሮድካስተሩ:-

- 5.11. ከሳምንታዊ ፕሮግራም የሥርጭት ጊዜው ቢያንስ 60 በመቶውን መረጃ ሰጪ፣ አስተማሪና አዝናኝ ለሆኑ አገራዊ ፖለቲካዊ፣ ማኅበራዊ እና ኢኮኖሚያዊ ርዕሰ ጉዳዮች ያውላል፤
- 5.12. ሕገመንግሥታዊ ተልዕኮና ኃላፊነትን በመወጣት አንድ የጋራ ፖለቲካ ማኅበረሰብ ግንባታ፣ በመልካም ሥነ ምግባር የታነጸ ዲሞክራሲያዊ እሴቶች የተላበሰ ትውልድ እንዲጠናከር የሚያደርጉ ፕሮግራሞችን፣ የብሔር ብሔረሰቦች እና ሕዝቦች እኩልነትን የሚያንፀባርቁ ፕሮግራሞችን፣ የብሔር ብሔረሰብና ሕዝቦችን ቋንቋ፣ ሙዚቃ፣ ባህልና እሴት እንዲሁም የሕገመንግሥቱን ዋና ዋና መርሆዎች የሚያስተዋውቁ ፕሮግራሞችን ያቀርባል፤
- 5.13. በሰላም፣ በልማት፣ በዲሞክራሲ ሥርዓት ግንባታ እና በመልካም አስተዳደር ጉዳዮች ላይ የአገሪቱ ርዕሰ ብሔር እና ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር የሚገኙባቸውን አገራዊ ፋይዳ ላላቸው ሁኔታዎች በጣቢያዊ ኤዲዮሪያል ፖሊሲ መሠረት የሚዲያ ሽፋን ይሰጣል፤ ብሔራዊ መግባባትን ለማጠናከር የሚረዱ ፕሮግራሞችን ያቀርባል፤
- 5.14. አገራዊ ዜናዎችን በየዕለቱ ጠዋት፣ ቀን እና ማታ ቢያንስ በቀን ለ3 ጊዜ ያቀርባል፤
- 5.15. የሃሳብ፣ የአመለካከት፣ የባህልና የቋንቋ ብዝሃነትን የሚያስተናግዱ ፕሮግራሞችን ያቀርባል፤
- 5.16. ሴቶችን፣ አረጋውያንን፣ ሕጻናትን፣ ወጣቶችን፣ አካል ጉዳተኞችን እና የመሳሰሉ ልዩ ትኩረትና ድጋፍ የሚሾ የሕብረተሰብ ክፍሎችን የሚመለከቱ ፕሮግራሞችን አዘጋጅቶ ያሰራጫል፤
- 5.17. ፕሮግራሙን በቀን ቢያንስ በፕሮጀክት ሰነዱ ባስቀመጠው ሰዓት መሰረት ያሰራጫል፤
- 5.18. ጣቢያው ከሚያሰራጫቸው ሙዚቃዎች ውስጥ ቢያንስ 60 መቶኛውን ለአገራዊ ሙዚቃ፣ ያውላል፤
- 5.19. የሚያሰራጫቸው ፕሮግራሞች በብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጅ ቁጥር 533/99 አንቀጽ 30 ማለትም:-
 - 5.19.1. ማንኛውም ለሥርጭት የሚቀርብ ፕሮግራም የተለያዩ አመለካከቶችን በማንፀባረቅ ሕብረተሰቡን በአጠቃላይ እንዲያገለግል ሚዛናዊ ሆኖ መቅረብ አለበት፤
 - 5.19.2. ማንኛውም ለሥርጭት የሚቀርብ ፕሮግራም ይዘቱና ምንጩ ትኩረት መሆኑ መረጋገጥ አለበት፤
 - 5.19.3. ማንኛውም ዜና ከአድልዎ የፀዳ፣ ትኩረት ሚዛናዊ መሆን አለበት፤
 - 5.19.4. ማንኛውም ለሥርጭት የሚቀርብ ፕሮግራም:-
 - ሀ. የሰው ልጆችን ስብዕናና ነፃነት ወይም ሥነ ምግባርን የሚጸረር ወይም የሌሎችን እምነት የሚያንኳስስ፤
 - ለ. በመንግሥት ፀጥታ ወይም በሕገመንግሥቱ መሠረት በተቋቋመው የመንግሥት አስተዳደር ወይም በአገር መከላከያ ኃይል ላይ የወንጀል ድርጊት የሚፈፀም፤
 - ሐ. የግለሰብን፣ የብሔር ብሔረሰብን የሕዝብን ወይም የድርጅትን ስም የሚያጠፋ ወይም በሐሰት የሚወነጀል፤
 - መ. ብሔረሰብን ከብሔረሰብ የሚያጋጭ ወይም በሕዝቦች መካከል የእርስ በርስ ግጭት የሚያነሳሳ ወይም
 - ሠ. ጦርነት የሚቀሰቅስ መሆን የለበትም።
- 5.20. ብሮድካስተሩ የሚያሰራጫቸው ፕሮግራሞች በብሮድካስት አገልግሎት አዋጅ ቁጥር 533/99 አንቀጽ 31 ማለትም የልጆችን አመለካከት ስሜትና አስተሳሰብ ሊጎዱ የሚችሉና ወደ አልተፈለገ አቅጣጫ እንዲያዘነብሉ የሚገፋፉ ፕሮግራሞችን ልጆች በሚያዳምጡበት ጊዜ ማቅረብ የለበትም።

አንቀጽ 6

የማስታወቂያ ስርጭት

ብሮድካስተሩ ለማስታወቂያ የሚመድበው ጊዜ በማስታወቂያ አዋጅ ቁ.759/2004 መሰረት ይሆናል። በዚህ መሰረት የማስታወቂያ አዋጁን ሳይተላለፍ ማስታወቂያዎችን ያሰራጫል።

አንቀጽ 7

ክፍያ

- 7.1. ብሮድካስተሩ የማመልከቻ እና የመጀመሪያ የፈቃድ ክፍያ በድምሩ ብር 75,550 (ሰባ አምስት ሺህ አምስት መቶ ሃምሳ ብር) ይከፍላል።
- 7.2. ዓመታዊ ክፍያን በተመለከተ ወደፊት ባለሥልጣኑ በሚወስነው መሰረት ተፈጻሚ ይሆናል።

አንቀጽ 8

ስለ ማሰፈቃድ

- ብሮድካስተሩ የሚከተሉትን የቴክኒክና ሌሎች ለውጦች ለማድረግ ባለሥልጣኑን ማስፈቃድ ይኖርበታል:-
- 8.11. የማሰራጨ መሣሪያውን በታ ለመቀየር ሲፈልግ እና የሚጠቀምበትን ባንድ ዊድዝ ለመጨመር ወይም ለመቀነስ ሲፈልግ፤
- 8.12. ከንብረት ይዘታ ጋር የተያያዙ ውሎችን ለማሻሻል፣ ለመለወጥ ወይም ለመሰረዝ ሲፈልግ፤
- 8.13. ማንኛውንም የአክሲዮን ድርሻ ለውጥ ማድረግ ወይም ለሌላ ወገን ማስተላለፍ ሲፈልግ፤
- 8.14. የውጭ ወይም የአገር ውስጥ ብሮድካስተሮች የሚያስተላልፉትን ፕሮግራም ተቀብሎ ለማሰራጨት ሲፈልግ፤
- 8.15. ከሳተላይት ድርጅት ጋር ያደረገውን ስምምነት ለማሻሻል ወይም ለማቋረጥ እንዲሁም ፈቃድ ካገኘበት ሳተላይት ውጪ በሌላ ሳተላይት ፕሮግራሞችን ለማሰራጨት ሲፈልግ፤

አንቀጽ 9

ሰለ ማሳወቅ

ብርድካስተሩ የሚከተሉትን ለውጦች ሲያደርግ ለውጡ በተደረገ በ14 ቀናት ውስጥ ለባለሥልጣኑ በጽሁፍ ማሳወቅ አለበት፡-

- 9.7. የስርጭት አገልግሎቱን ለአንድ ወር ሲያቋርጥ፤
- 9.8. የአድራሻ ለውጥ ሲያደርግ፤
- 9.9. የፕሮግራምና የስርጭት ሰዓት ለውጥ ሲያደርግ፤
- 9.10. የጣቢያው አመራር አካል እና የፕሮግራም ኃላፊ ለውጥ ሲያደርግ፤
- 9.11. ፈቃድ ለመውሰድ ባቀረባቸው ሌሎች መረጃዎች ላይ ለውጥ ሲያደርግ፤
- 9.12. የጣቢያውን ኤዲቶሪያል ፖሊሲ ሲያሻሽል እንዲሁም፤
- 9.13. የበጀት አመቱ ሲጠናቀቅ የጣቢያውን አመታዊ አጠቃላይ የሰራ እንቅስቃሴ እና የኦዲት ሪፖርት ማሳወቅ አለበት፡፡

አንቀጽ 10

ቅሬታን ሰለማስተናገድ

ብርድካስተሩ፡-

- 10.3. በጣቢያው በተላለፈ ፕሮግራም መብቴ ተከታታይ ወይም በአግባቡ አልቀረበም በማለት ቅሬታ የሚያቀርብ ሰው መልስ የመስጠት መብቱን ማክበር አለበት፤
- 10.4. በተሰራጨ ፕሮግራም ላይ የሚቀርብ ቅሬታና ጥቆማ ተቀብሎ ለማስተናገድ የሚያስችል አሥራር በመዘርጋትና ለአድማጮች በማሳወቅ ተግባራዊ ማድረግ አለበት፡፡

አንቀጽ 11

የፈቃድ ዘመን

ብርድካስተሩ አገልግሎት አዋጅ አንቀጽ 24 መሰረት የፈቃድ ዘመን ፈቃድ ከተሰጠበት ቀን ጀምሮ ለሚቀጥሉት 10 ዓመታት ሆኖ የፈቃድ ዘመን ካበቃ በኋላ በየዓመቱ ፈቃዱ መታደስ አለበት፡፡

አንቀጽ 12

ሕግ አክብሮ ስለመሥራት

ብርድካስተሩ የአገሪቱን ሕገመንግሥት፣ የመገናኛ ብዙኃንና የመረጃ ነገነት አዋጁን፣ የብርድካስተሩ አገልግሎት አዋጁን፣ እንዲሁም በእነዚህ ሕጎች መሰረት የወጡትን መመሪያዎችን እና ባለሥልጣኑ የሚሰጣቸውን ግብረ መልሶችና ውሳኔዎች ማክበር ይኖርበታል፡፡

አንቀጽ 13

ቅሬታ ሰለማቅረብ

ብርድካስተሩ ባለሥልጣኑ በሚሰጠው ውሳኔ ላይ ያለውን ቅሬታ ውሳኔው በደረሰው በ14 ቀናት ውስጥ ለባለሥልጣኑ በርድ ማቅረብ ይችላል፡፡

አንቀጽ 14

የባለሥልጣኑ ኃላፊነት

- 10.4. ብርድካስተሩ አገልግሎት አዋጅ ቁጥር 533/99 አንቀጽ 7 በተሰጠው ሥልጣንና ተግባር መሰረት ለብርድካስተሩ አስፈላጊውን ክትትልና ድጋፍ ያደርጋል፤
- 10.5. በሞኒተሪንግ እና በሌሎች የክትትል አግባቦች በየጊዜው ከሚሰጠው ግብረመልስ በተጨማሪ ቢያንስ በአመት አንድ ጊዜ የመስክ ኢንስፔክሽን በማካሄድ በጣቢያው የሚስተዋሉ ጥንካሬዎችን፣ እጥረቶችን እና መፍትሔዎችን መጠቀም አለበት፤
- 10.6. የስርጭት ተግዳሮቶችን እያጠና እንዲፈቱ ለመንግሥት የፖሊሲ ሃሳብ ያቀርባል፤

አንቀጽ 15

የፈቃድ ስምምነት የሚፀናበት ጊዜ

ይህ የፈቃድ ስምምነት ከተፈረመበት ቀን ጀምሮ የፀና ይሆናል፡፡

ሰለ ባለሥልጣኑ
 ስም _____
 ፊርማ _____
 ቀን _____

ሰለ ብርድካስተሩ
 ስም _____
 ፊርማ _____
 ቀን _____

Appendix O: Newsroom Journalists Interviewed in the three TV channels

No.	Name of the Journalist	Sex	Organization	Role in the newsroom
1	AM1	M	ETV	Reporter
2	TW2	M	ETV	Executive Producer
3	AW3	M	ETV	Reporter
4	MG4	M	ETV	Senior Reporter
5	ST5	M	ETV	Editor
6	NW6	M	ETV	Chief Editor
7	AT7	M	ETV	Producer
8	BJ8	M	ETV	Producer
9	PB1	M	Walta TV	Producer

10	KA2	F	Walta TV	Reporter
11	HW3	F	Walta TV	Reporter
12	MF4	M	Walta TV	Producer
13	DF5	M	Walta TV	Editor
14	AK6	M	Walta TV	Editor
15	SB7	M	Walta TV	Producer (Host)
16	AM1	M	Fana	Reporter
17	FK2	M	Fana	Producer
18	MK3	F	Fana	Producer
19	SW4	M	Fana	Producer
20	TJ5	M	Fana	Chief Producer
21	HT6	M	Fana	Reporter

Appendix P: Media monitors interviewed in Ethiopian Media Authority

No.	Name of the Journalist		Role in the newsroom
1	DT1	M	Director for media commercial media monitoring
2	YG2	F	Director for public and community media monitoring
3	AA3	F	Public and community media monitoring team leader
4	GK4	M	Public and community media monitoring senior expert
5	ST5	M	Commercial media monitoring expert
6	MA6	M	Commercial media monitoring expert
7	FG7	M	Public and community media monitoring expert
8	DK8	M	Commercial media monitoring expert
9	HL9	M	Public and community media monitoring expert

Appendix Q: Educators interviewed from universities

No.	Name of the Journalist	Organization
1	AL (PhD)	Haramaya University
2	DE (Assistant Professor)	Ambo University
3	BG, MA	Wollega University
4	GM, MA	Mekelle University
5	BW (PhD)	Hawassa University

Appendix R: Questions Sorted out by TV viewers

Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies
Department of Journalism and Communication
Media and Communication Studies, PhD Program

Dear respondents, the followings are set of statements (concourses) prepared to represent a universe of perspectives on the study of audiences' viewpoints on "multicultural media consumption/viewership. "The result of the study will only be used for Doctoral Dissertation on the topic of **"The Political Economy of the Ethiopian Media and Its Impact on Media's Representation of Multiculturalism: Selected Mainstream Television Channels in Focus"**. Your cooperation is required to sort the statements according to your experiences on what you think about multiculturalism (tolerance of diversity) in television channels you watch. The statements are highly subjective. You level them not only against the scales provided to you; but you need to compare the statements against each other to sort them. For instance, the first statement in the following says, "I watch the channel in my free times" and the second says, "The TV channel produces more stories of the culture that belongs to me". To give the value for the statements, you need to compare them according to your interests or experiences. Note that the statements invite you to compare and sort them accordingly. Use this sign '√' to mark in the boxes of the respective values you give for each of the statements or on the spaces provided to you. You are required to fill all the background information at the beginning of the questionnaire. Not filling your background information will disqualify your responses for the statements that follow.

The confidentiality of your response is highly secured. Therefore, feel free to answer or fill any of the questions posed.

Thank you very much for your Cooperation!

Email: nemomsa.gizachew@gmail.com

58	I feel it is better to create a system that fairly distributes the cost of production and distribution among different cultural groups in Ethiopia.																								
59	I generally believe that the channel has a good sense for all cultural stories and produce them in an attractive way.																								
60	I feel free watching the channel because of its quality in cultural production.																								

Use the following space to write what you think as important input for this study

Appendix S: Questions Sorted by Journalists

Addis Ababa University

School of Graduate Studies

Department of Journalism and Communication

Media and Communication Studies, PhD Program

Dear respondents, the followings are set of statements (concourses) prepared to represent a universe of perspectives on the study of journalists' viewpoints on "multicultural media production. The result of the study will only be used for Doctoral Dissertation on the topic of "**The Political Economy of the Ethiopian Media and Its Impact on Media's Representation of Multiculturalism: Selected Mainstream Television Channels in Focus**". Your cooperation is required to sort the statements according to your experiences on what you think about multiculturalism (tolerance of diversity) in television channels you watch. The statements are highly subjective. You level them not only against the scales provided to you; but you need to compare the statements against each other to sort them. For instance, the first statement in the following says, "I produce news and talk shows on diversified cultures in Ethiopia" and the second says "I fairly select news and information sources based on once ethnic and religious background". To give the value for the statements, you need to compare them according to your interests or experiences. Note that the statements invite you to compare them and sort accordingly. Use this sign '√' to mark in the boxes of the respective values you give for each of the statements or on the spaces provided to you. You are required to fill all the background information at the beginning of the questionnaire, and not filling your background information will disqualify your responses for the statements that follow.

The confidentiality of your response is highly secured. Therefore, feel free to answer or fill any of the questions posed.

Thank you very much for your Cooperation!

Email: nemomsa.gizachew@gmail.com

Mobile: 0996864941

No	Statements describing the skills and status of Journalists' multicultural media production	Scales								
		-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4
Journalists' perspectives about their own practices of <i>Multicultural Media Production</i> (#20 statements)										
1	I produce news and talk shows on diversified cultures in Ethiopia.									
2	I fairly select news and information sources based on once ethnic and religious background.									
3	My ethnic background has no influence on the cultural stories I produce.									
4	I feel my religious background has not much effect on my values for others religion and the way I produce stories about them.									
5	I believe in diversity of cultures, and work for peaceful co-existence of different civilizations and cultures in television.									
6	I believe that the stories I produce in this organization do not misrepresent people based on their gender, religion and ethnic background.									
7	I feel comfortable to write about once cultural and political history.									
8	I feel free telling people about my own ethnic, cultural and religious background while I make interview with them.									
9	I work to reduce practices that undermine equality of people based on ethnicity, religion and political views.									
10	I easily connect with journalists of different culture/ethnic to increase my understanding of different cultural groups at my workplace.									
11	I believe any culture, religion and ethnic group is no better than the other.									
12	I feel cultural differences are important for the promotion of diversities in TV.									
13	I admire and encourage people to reflect their cultural and religious identities on media despite their ethnic differences.									
14	I wish if I would produce more news and programs on my own religion.									
15	I give more time to finding out my Ethnic roots and history to use them as a source of information.									
16	I would like to write and report stories on ethnic identity.									

17	I have sources of news and information from my own ethnic groups.									
18	I work with different news and entertainment sources regardless of their ethnic/religious and cultural background.									
19	I write more about popular cultures of certain ethnic groups because they give me more sense.									
20	I feel it is not important to be identified as members of some ethnic/religious groups on TV.									
Perspectives on Multicultural Media Literacy Skills (MMLIs) (#20 statements)										
21	I can easily understand different language, ethnic and religious groups for my journalistic practice.									
22	I can easily understand local cultures of people wherever I go for journalistic field work in Ethiopia.									
23	The news and talk show I produce constitute issues of ethnicity, religion and culture.									
24	I collect stories in language that is different from language of transmission that is used in the media institution I work in.									
25	I feel I have language skills to produce stories of different cultures in Ethiopia.									
26	I can easily access sources who could give me information about specific cultures of certain community.									
27	I can easily analyze and understand the meaning and value of the cultures I produce.									
28	I can easily create any media text that is meaningful to some cultural group in our country.									
29	I learn more valuable things while I work on producing some cultural stories.									
30	I can accurately produce and report stories on females and males regardless of their difference.									
31	I can accurately produce and report stories of religion regardless of religious differences.									
32	I can accurately report about every culture regardless of political differences.									
33	I recognize and express cultural realities of different groups of people in programs I write and report.									
34	I try to use texts that express different emotions and thoughts of people about their cultural values.									
35	I work on the news and information of diversified sources to accommodate diversities of cultures.									
36	I plan and move to different sources of news and information located at different region/culture/ethnic groups even if it is different from my own.									
37	I often prefer to work with sources nearby than remoter local areas to produce cultural stories.									
38	I work on the news and talk shows diversified sources because it is my normative responsibility.									
Perspectives on Freedom of journalists on multicultural production (# 7statements)										

39	I feel I have a freedom to write and report about once culture without interference from editors and directors.									
40	I exercise my conscience to produce programs about cultures of different ethnic groups.									
41	I had never encountered editorial censorship when I produce and disseminate cultural stories of different ethnic groups.									
42	I believe the media laws in Ethiopia do not suppress cultural practices that I produce and transmit.									
43	There is a program production guideline that directs me to produce programs on cultural practices of different groups.									
44	Editorial policy of the media organization in which I am working encourages the production and dissemination of diversified groups.									
45	The editorial policy in my media organization allows me to produce programs in language of any ethnic group in Ethiopia.									
Views on journalists' salary, allowance or remuneration (#7statements)										
46	The media/television organization in which I am working pays me in accordance with my journalistic performance.									
47	The salary I get is adequate to lead my life working with this profession.									
48	My salary increases according to my years of experiences.									
49	There are some benefits I get because of the nature of programs I produce from various sources (i.e., advertising).									
50	There is a time shared for advertising during the transmission time of the program I produce.									
51	There are other benefit packages in addition to my salary that the institution is offering.									
52	I think I can consider myself as one of the middle-income classes in our country, Ethiopia.									
Views on organizational/ managerial issues on multicultural media production (#8 statements)										
53	Tolerance and respect for ethnic cultures is one of the core normative values in editorial policy of the organization I am working in.									
54	I select topical stories of different political and cultural views based on the issues of priority set by the media organization I am working in.									
55	I believe that the operational management of the media organization and its policy encourages the view that cultures are equal.									

56	The media policy/management consider the variety of cultures represented in the media as a public good having economic values.									
57	I believe there is a policy/system that fairly distribute costs of cultural productions and consumptions.									
58	Women have chances for producing, using their conscience independently to right stories on cultural and political issues.									
59	There are women editors and managers at the top-level management.									
60	There is a good understanding of multicultural program production in the management.									

Use the following space to write what you think as important input for this study
