

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF
JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION**



**Conceptual Foundations and Future Implementation of Ethiopian Mass Media Policy in
line with the International Legal Instruments and Policymaking**

BY

SISAY GEBREMARIAM

**A Thesis Presented to the School of Journalism and Communication in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication**

October, 2021

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ADVISOR: MEKURIA MEKASHA (Assistance Professor)

Addis Ababa University

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

October, 2021

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for an award of any degree in any other university. I have carried it out independently and all the sources of the materials used for the study were acknowledged.

Sisay Gebremariam_____

(The Researcher)

Signature

LETTER OF CERTIFICATION
Addis Ababa University

Graduate School of Journalism and Communication

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Sisay Gebremariam “*Conceptual Foundations and Future Implementation of Ethiopian Mass Media Policy in line with the International Legal Instruments and Policymaking*” submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the University. The work is original in its nature and is eligible to earn masters degree in journalism and communication.

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Examiner_____ Signature_____ Date _____

Examiner_____ Signature_____ Date _____

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Chair of the Graduate School

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List of Acronyms

AU	Africa union
EFPPJA	Ethiopian Free Press Journalist Association
EWJA	Ethiopian Women Journalist Association
EPRDF	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FDREDNMP	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Draft National Media Policy
FDREMMP	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Ethiopian Mass Media Policy
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
IMS	International Media Support
JFAPFE	Justice for All Prison Fellowship Ethiopia
IPDC	International Programme for the Development of Communication
ICJ	International Court of Justice
MSA	Multiple Stream Approach
MPF	Media Filed Approach
MSA	Multiple Stream Approach
SAF	Strategic Action Fields
UN	United Nation
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

Abstract

The thesis deals about five basic themes. The drivers and vested interest of actor's participation in the policy conception, the type of media system theory used to build the conceptual foundation of the policy, issues of international legal instruments, policy principle consideration and the future possible implementation of Ethiopian Mass Media Policy (FDREMMP) researched. Two sources of data are used i.e. the draft and ratified the policy documents and in-depth interview. Eight policy actors selected through purposive sampling considering their institutional representation, role and impact on the policy making. Normative theory, system model, Media filed Approach used. And also Qualitative document and stakeholder analysis theories are employed. And the research has the following finding. Economic and political motives serve as the policy initiation. The conceptual foundation fits with the social responsibility normative theory media system type. Ethiopia media system model seems the feature of Mediterranean /Polarized Pluralist model. Among the three sub models the policy shares contained democratic model. The Basic concepts of the international legal instruments dealing about media freedom incorporated in the Policy. The concerned policy actors participated in the policy making stakeholders driven or ethical approach of policy conception approach employed. The policy applies to all media outlets .The policy influenced by local and international policy actor interest. It is hard to define the type media system in ownership type in Ethiopia context. The policy provides solution for newspaper about how to expand the circulation to the regions yet fails to include such a solution for broadcast.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

This chapter discusses as the background of the study, statement of the problem, objective of the study, research questions, and significance of the study, scope of the study and limitation of the study.

1.1 Background of the study

“Policies in African countries are often embodied in speeches of national leaders, government official pronouncements and directives, legislation and in some instances enshrined in national constitutions. So to study the Countries media Policy knowing the history of a country is essential (Uwom and Alao , 2013:63)

Ethiopia as a nation did not have a media policy in its long media history. Writers like Skjerdal (2012:4) in his Doctoral thesis “Competing loyalties: Journalism culture in the Ethiopian state media” witnessed that “there is no canon which constitutes a common reference point for the development of the nations media.” Unlike the previous regimes the coming of the “Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) into power in 1991 has laid a historical legal framework for the Ethiopian press, with all its challenges on the ground” Dodolla (2016:1).

Among the land mark changes, “EPRDF declared the adoption of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights in its Charter. The Censor Department of the Ministry of Information was abolished. For the first time the private sector became involved in the media field.” Mocria, Messele and Gebrehiwot (2003 :30)

The next 20 years is unlike the beginning. Skjerdal summarizes the environment starting from 1991 onward

The period begins with liberalization (1991—92) and proliferation of new media outlets (1992—96); turning into a phase of government clampdowns (1996—2000); followed by consolidation and renewed diversity (2000—05); then abruptly changing direction due to post-election setbacks (2005—07); succeeded by an interlude of revitalization (2007—10); before once again being affected by a wave of coercion (2010—12) (S. Skjerdal , 2012:7)

Since 2008, Ethiopia has introduced a number of policy documents which dictates the journalistic philosophy for the operation of state media in the country. Among them “Our Medias Developmental and Democratic Working Philosophy: Basis and Directions (2008).” This document requires the state

owned media outlets to pursue the philosophy of development reporting in undertaking all aspects of journalism.(Muluneh ,2015:32) The second policy was initiated in 2012 by FDRE Government Communication Affairs Office and was widely employed in training many journalists, “including those from the private media, in the course of the Ethiopian summer in August 2012. The “Developmental Media, Communication and Ethiopian Renaissance” document depicts that neo-liberal media and Ethiopia have not experienced good relations. (Muluneh , 2015:32)

The last policy of the regime was “The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopias Government Developmental Communication Policy and Strategy” (Draft, 2014). In 2014, the Ethiopian government produced a draft development communication policy and strategy document.” (ibid, 2015:32) This draft policy document, including the above two policy documents, generally stated that the basic reason to adopt development journalism is the poverty situation of the country. The media policies of that period in the country have not yet been formally ratified. But, there are some important policy documents which are regarded as an official media policy documents, all of them are acknowledged development journalism as the countrys officially recognized reporting style, especially for state media.

The policy documents were drafted based on the political economy of the country. The Government Communications Affairs Office was the drafter of all the above policies. In October 2018, Mikias Sebsibe, a columnist of the “*The Reporter*” English weekly news paper entertained a bitter critic on the above proposed media policies. He blamed the policies referring to “ideological orthodoxy of the ruling party”. The policy claims all the countrys media must conform to the hegemonic political economy of the nation. In such political economy, whether government or private media “has no option but to be subservient to the desire of the masses ” (Sebsibe , 2018)

The government of Ethiopia in June 2018 initiated, Media Sector Reform in consultation with the Steering Committee, Media representatives, relevant ministers and stakeholders from the media sector. And four areas of reform were prioritized. Among these four the media reform is the one. A national communication and media sector reform plan (2017/2018) was developed by the defunct Ethiopian Office of Government Communication Affairs (EOGCA).

Actors that include Justice for All (JFA) and UNDP have initiated media policy reform processes working with the government. Research on media needs and issues has been completed and provides a basis for a strategic focus on media policy reforms. JFA has signed a Memorandum of Understanding on media policy support

with the Government Federal Communications Office in January 2018 (R. Mukundu,2018:13)

A research conducted by government office of communication affair in collaboration with Justice for all Prison fellowship Ethiopia concluded that “ ለመገናኛ ብዙሀን ፖሊሲ በጣም ወሳኝና አስፈላጊ ነው ። ሆኖም በአገራችን አስካሁን ድረስ የሚዲያ ፖሊሲ አለመኖር ለብዙ የተቋማት ስራ አፈፃፀም ችግሮች እንደ ዋና ምክኒያት ማቅረብ ይቻላል ። (የኢ.ፌ.ዲ.ሪ የመገናኛ ብዙሀን ፖሊሲና ሕጎች ፤ተግዳሮቶች እና የመፍትሔ ሀሳቦች፤ታህሳስ 2011: ገፅ 211) “Policy is vital to mass media. The absence of media policy in our country is a major cause for the failure of much institution job performance” (Translation by the researcher).

The next action was forming a council. The council had 13 members all experienced lawyers. The council was accountable to the attorney general's office. And then they come up with different working groups. And then one working group was the media task force .It constituted 15 top level independent media professionals, lawyers, practitioners, academics. They worked together to deliberate on the media landscape in the country. And they started off by conducting a very important diagnostic study.

The former Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority Director General, Getachew Dinku (PhD) interview with Prime Media and office of the Prime Minister “Policy Matter” witnessed “The study enriches and created the basis for the drafting process of the media policy. The media's policy started at former government communication affairs office. The government communication affairs office dissolved and Ethiopian broadcast authority inherited the process” ([#PolicyMatters](#) [#pmoETHIOPIA](#) ,2021) After a two-year long consultation in the draft national media policy, the Council of Ministers approved the policy with refined policy and change of name “FDRE Mass Media Policy” last August 2020.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The 1995 Constitution Article 29 sub article 4 stated “in the interest of free flow of information, ideas and opinions which are essential to the functioning of a democratic order, the press shall, as an institution, enjoy legal protection. ...to both the government and the private press” (Constitution 1994:12) Though the constitution recognize both private and government medias have legal protection polices drafted after the constitution a were contradicting the general norm of the constitution.

EPRDF publish variety of media policies. Most of these media policies categorize private and public media as a friend and foe. Among them Foreign, Rural development policy, Affairs of Democratic System Building in Ethiopia are among them. The latter document especially incorporates the issue about media and democracy development policy in chapter two. The document has a detailed evaluation about Ethiopias media and sets a future direction as to how the media should be look like from page 109-127. The policy evaluates both the government and private media status of the country and puts the following reflection:

በአገራችን መንግስት የዲሞክራሲ ስርዓት ግንባታው ትግል መሪ እና አስተባባሪ ነው። መሆንም ይኖርበታል። በሀገራችን ከመንግስት ሚዲያ ውጭ ያሉት ሚዲያዎች የራሳቸው መዋቅራዊ ትግር ያለባቸው በመሆናቸው ለዲሞክራሲ ስርዓት ግንባታ ማበርከት የሚችሉትን አስተዋፆ እያበረከቱ የሚገኙ አይደሉም። (በኢትዮጵያ የዲሞክራሲያዊ ስርዓት ግንባታ ጉዳዮች ፫1994:113)

In our country context the government is the leader and coordinator of democracy building. And it must. Medias other than state Medias have their own structural problem and they do not contribute democratic system building.(Translation by the researcher)

Second, in the previous media regimes, there was no common policy for both private and the public. “In Ethiopia the media policy of state and private owned media varies with few exceptions. The state's mainstream media follow journalistic role and practice guided by developmental journalism while most private media have been guided by advocacy journalism.” (A. Gebreegziabher, 2013:64).

Third, the government was the only media policy maker. It goes top dawn. “The Government Communication Affairs Office of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia presented a draft policy document” (Muluneh , 2015:3). Other local and international stakeholders who have vested interest upon the policy were not part of the policy making. This entails failure to the nations media sector. As Joseph Matumaini states “Challenge of communication policy (Media Policy) in Africa is to liberate its media institutions from a tendency toward centralized, statist, elite control inherited from the past” (J. Matumaini, (2010:1).The Ethiopian media policy suffers from the problem.

The fourth problem is that; the proposed media policies of the previous regimes preach one dominant ideology. “As an official media policy documents, all of them are stated development journalism as the countrys officially recognized reporting style” (Muluneh , 2015:32). Considering the aforementioned situation, Muluneh in his study recommended that “the government shall revisit the media policy of the countryIt is possible to being both watchdog and development journalism.” (ibid, 2015:68). Yet the policy related problem continues up to 2018.

In 2018 the country was on the “brink of transition” .The change attract the attention of both the local and international community. Among aspired actors UNESCO, Justice for all-Prison fellowship Ethiopia (JFA), International Media Support (IMS) and UNDP were mentioned. These institutions approach the government work on the media reform. One of their collaborative efforts was assessing the media landscape of Ethiopia .Especially a study conducted by the former Ethiopian Office of Government Communication Affairs (EOGCA) and Justice for All (JFA) finds out such a critical finding

ለመገናኛ ብዙሀን ፖሊሲ በጣም ወሳኝና አስፈላጊ ነው። ሆኖም በአገራችን እስካሁን ድረስ የሚዲያ ፖሊሲ አለመኖር ለብዙ የተቋማት ስራ አፈፃፀም ችግሮች እንደ ዋና ምክኒያት ማቅረብ ይቻላል። ወጥ የሆነ ፖሊሲ መኖር ወጥ የሆነ አካሄድ እና አሰራርን ለመገንባት ብሎም የተቃና አመራር እንዲኖር ይረዳል። (የኢ.ፌ.ዲ.ሪ የመገናኛ ብዙሀን ፖሊሲና ሕጎች ፤ተግዳሮቶች እና የመፍትሔ ሀሳቦች፤ ታህሳስ 2011 ፡ ገፅ 211)

Presence of Policy is vital to mass media. Yet in our country, the absence of media policy is a major cause for failure the institutional duty execution. The percents of monotonous policy help to build monotonous strategies (Translation by the researcher)

After the identification of the problem, a national media policy document was drafted in October 2018 and after a year and half consultation, a policy document named FDRE Mass Media policy was ratified by the council of Ministers in August 2020.

“Media policy is a contentious and highly political issue worldwide”. Ramirez and Guerrero (2014: 3). Politics and policy are bread and butter for professional journalists. The way a countrys political system is organized also affects the way the media within that country operate. “The ideological constructions of policies are affecting the future of interactive communications” (Sarikakis ,2004 : 1).

This thesis deals both the draft and ratified Media Policy. The study examines conceptual foundation related to media system, approaches of its conception and deriviers used for the media policy making, the role of national and international policy actors and their influence in the policy making, consider the Media policy in line with International legal instruments and policy making principles and its future implementation for both private and state.

1.3 Objectives of the study

1.3.1 General Objective

The study looks at the FDRE mass media policy conceptual foundation related to media system, types and approaches of policy conception drivers, policy actors role and influence in line with media policy making, international legal instruments and media policy principles considerations

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The research addresses the following specific objectives:

- 1) Identify the FDRE mass media policy conceptual foundation in line with media system
- 2) Identify types and approaches of the FDRE mass media policy conception drivers
- 3) Examine local and international policy actors role and influence in the policy making
- 4) Compare and contrast the FDRE mass media Policy principles in line with international legal instruments and media policy principles
- 5) Examine the policy scope of implementation related to media outlet

1.4 Research Questions

The study will attempted to answer the following questions:

1. What type of policy drivers approach used by FDRE mass media policy?
2. What type of media policy conceptual foundation did the FDRE media policy used in relation to the media system?
3. To what extent did the FDRE mass media policy align with core international media legal instruments and media policy principles?
4. To what breadth were the policies stakeholders involved in the policy making and were their influences in the policy making?
- 5, What is the FDRE policy scope of implementation related to media outlet?

1.5 Significances of the Study

The research will have the following significance. It serves as an input for further studies on Ethiopian Mass Media Policy.

Second, the research conducted on conceptual foundation and Implementation of the Ethiopian Mass Media policy. It may also have a contribution for Ethiopian Media System researches.

Third, the outcome of the research will be used as substantiating material for the Media Law drafters who are using the policy as a basic reference for drafting media laws of the country.

Fourth, the research focusing on the conceptual foundation of the Media Policy and the conceptual foundations of a policy is related to political ideology, theories of Media policy. Since the philosophical aspect of the policy will be analyzed in view of Media Theories in general, the outcome of the study will have theoretical significance implication too for policy researchers.

The Research will intend to empirically inform decision-makers and others concerned about the policymaking align with international legal instruments and policymaking. It suggest ways and means of tackling the problem of conceptual foundation and future implementation of the media policy gaps and to shed light for further studies on the Media policy .And it will have practical significance for the policymakers and future amendments on the media policy.

In general, the research has a value for policymakers and academicians who conduct further future studies on Ethiopian Media Policy.

1.6 Scope of the Study

Media policy can be conceptualized as the broader field in which competing ideas and assumptions about “the desirable structure, conduct and performance of media system circulate. It encompasses the formulation and implementation of collectively binding rules and decisions that aim at shaping media system (Puppis, 2016:2 ; Freedman ,2008). Hence, in this context the research expected to address political, legal and economical dimensions. However, the researcher wants to stick to two major points, i. e, political and legal aspect with normative press theories.

Second, the research looks into the conceptual foundations related to media system in the making of the FDRE mass media policy. It did not include categorizing the ideology type.

The other subject matter is the issue of future implementation of the Mass Media Policy. Policy implementation deals about scope in terms of territorial scope i.e. in one country boundary and the subject matter that the policy will be enforced on it. For the purpose of this research the implementation issue is only focus the subject or parties of the media sector not of territorial scope.

Though, the first papers title was designed, while the draft policy was in the pipeline, this time the research has included the ratified policy. For the purpose of comparison, the researcher did not go in to detail in the draft and ratified policy document.

The Mass Media Policy document has general and specific policy parts. The general part deals about basic principles and tenets of the policy. Whereas the specific part related to each type of the medium i.e. Print, Broadcast and the web. Yet, the thesis mainly investigates the general policy parts focusing general principles. Most of the concepts under the focus of the study are found in this part of the policy document.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The issue of researching on policy is very vast. Media policy research specially assessed from politics, economy, legal and other perspective. In order to address all this issues, it needs additional time and further segmented studies.

This study is blending both the first draft and the ratified policies. Due to accessibility problems it couldnt include comments raised on the spot of ratification by council of ministers and other policy dialogue forums. Hence the study limited to the selected policy actors testimony, views and policy document.

The research did not address all policy actors participating during the policy making. Only the main actors are included. In addition, all interested groups, like media mangers, journalists stake holders related with the issues are not included. The associations are used as a source in place.

The other limitation is like the draft National media policy document the ratified policy document still not accessible other than Amharic .Hence the researcher obliged to put both the Amharic and translated content simultaneously.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Review of related Literature

This part of the research discussed the relevant literature related to the researched topic. Among the topics concept and scope of media policy, Approaches to media policy conception types, Media system and six normative press theories ,Media policy principles ,media policy and international legal instruments ,policy actors involvement in the policy making ,Theoretical framework of media policy analysis is discussed.

2.1 Concept and Scope of Media Policy

Concept of media policy defined from different perspective among authors of Media Policy scholars. Some defines media policy comparing with communication policy. To begin with the term media policy definition, “Media defined as creators of content and enterprises focused on its direct and organized distribution” Robert and Victor (2017:6). According to the definition media referred as content creator or message crafter and distributor of the message. Hence media policy is administers the issue of content and how the message distributed.

“Communications historically involved infrastructures and systems in telecommunications.” ibid (2017:6). The issues of content is categorized with the scope of Media, Communication on the other hand defines the concept of infrastructure and system of infrastructure and telecommunication. So media policy is about content creation and content distribution administration where as communication policy is about infrastructure.

The second perspective defines media policy in view of the media industry technological advancement history. A media policy paradigm has shifted from a “media to a communication-oriented approach. Mainly due to technological and economic convergence, separate media and telecommunications policies lean towards an integrated communications policy” Klimkiewicz, 2010). The concept label the word Media and Communication as being used interchangeably and considered as the same and integrated .Because media content is meaningless without the presence of communication platform or infra structure. The concept of media policy paradigm brought a shift and includes both the platform and content, contrary to Robert and Victor definition.

The third perspective is apart from content and infrastructure debate. Media policy definition focusing on media system and structure. According to Stylianos “Media policy addresses a wide range of contemporary concerns regarding the structure and the performance of media systems in the past, the present, and the future as (Stylianos ,2016) .Similarly Ravindran,(2002:26) “media policy is formulated in response to the challenge of new communication technologies.”. He defines media policy from the view of solving specific problem in the field “The policies are formulated as authoritative guidelines by legitimate bodies, for developing; , maintaining ,utilizing ,regulating and changing the mass media systems, (Ravindran ,2002:3-4). Stylianos and Ravindran want to define media policy from the view of solving contemporary problems in the changing media system and structure and their ideas rely on solving media system problem.

Sarikakis (2004) describes Media policy as referring to “the general principles which guide decisions of authorities, usually governments, about the function of the mass media.” Sarikakis reaffirm the relationship of the media with the public as well as matters regulating the relationship of the media with authorities and the market (Sarikakis, 2004). There are parliamentary legislations and policies.

From the above discussion, Robert and Victor (2017) entertained communication policy and media policy as a separate concept. Both authors say media policy is about content where as communication policy is about infrastructure. On the contrary, Klimkiewicz (2010) argues that media policy paradigm has shifted from a media to a communication-oriented approach. Separate media and telecommunications policies lean towards an integrated communications policy. Hence, both content and platform of media are governed with integrated concept of Communication policy. Stylianos and Ravindran define media policy from the view of solving contemporary problems in the changing media system and structure. For Sarikakis media policy is a guiding principle for government authorities and how Mass media functions.

Ethiopia crafted two types of policy i.e one for media policy (October,2018) and the other is Communication policy. Each deals with their respective issues and shares Robert and Victor definition of media policy. In FDRE National media policy Scope and Definitions part, it states “The National Media Policy is founded on the independent assessment of the Media Landscape and its recommendations, which will represent the governments policy for the future development of the media sector” FDRE National media policy (2018:5). The policy also takes Sarikakis argument of Media Policy as a guiding principle. FDRE Communication Policy scope states « This Policy document forms the overarching protocol under which all other government communications, marketing, advertising, online and media policies and Protocol should be aligned » (FDRE Communication Policy 2018 :18)

2.2 Media Systems and Media Policy Conception

The media systems were originally conceived as press theories and philosophies (Manuel & Mireya , 2014:5). In the media politics , there are two competing interests for the creation of press theories, i.e , degree of freedom of speech and categories of media governmental property and state intervention. Hence, this enables to establish totalitarian, authoritarian, social democratic and liberal models of press (Siebert ,Peterson and Schramm , 1956 , Guerrero & Ramirez(2014:5). These models also the basis for establishing a normative linkage between free media and democracy Meiklejohn,1960;Michnik and Rosen,1997 ; Guerrero & Ramirez (2014:5) in old days.

Ravindran (2002:3-4) stated that “General social principles and norms about communication that are incorporated in political ideologies ,cultural values, legal doctrines ,the fundamental rights ,and our collective critical social consciousness about problems are rich sources from which policies are derived.” The other unique feature of Media policy is it should consider the social, political and social condition of a country. Concepts like how the media function, what the media policy is taking as a theme and the political ideology embedded on the policy serve as a source of media policy.

Media policy, whether seen from the African context or otherwise, is fundamentally concerned with the right of peoples to own and organize media system and to communicate (Okon,2017: 274) . Media Policy is also the outcome of these interactions. Authentication of the media policy document is debatable about its neutrality. Freedman affirmed that “..Media policy is not a clean, administrative, depoliticized, and unproblematic ally evidence-based space but instead, an

ideological power field in which certain preferences are confirmed and others marginalized (Freedman,2015:1). AL ahemed in his thesis “The six Normative Theories and the role of Social, Political and Economic forces in shaping Media Institutions and Content: Saudi Arabia - a Case Study” summarize the normative theories related to unique features of each theories and media system in the following table.

Table 1. Briefly outlined characteristics of the six normative theories of Mass Media in society /system

Theories Name	Access	Method of Control	Objectives or motives	Type of ownership	Restrictions and Limitations
Authoritarian	The ruling class, its representative ,or its permission holders	Government or its agencies ,Regulating licensing and censorship	Propagate government policies	Mostly public	Criticism of the regime or its machinery
Libertarian	Those with financial resource	The forces of the market and the law	Mainly commercial enlighten amusement and watchdog	Mostly private	Liberal or Vulgar ,indehiscent and sedition remark in war time
Social responsibility	The party members only	Censorship and government intervention	Propagate the party policies nationally and internationally	Public	Criticism of the ideological principles of the party
Development	Those with useful ideas	Public opinion and professional code	Spreading healthy idea among the public	Private	Threatening the public interest or individual right
Democratic Participation	Those working inline with national development policies	Censorship and state intervention	To achieve development goals	Mixture of private and public	Material contradicting national development policies
	Every citizens including minority groups	Interchange of sender and receiver role	To serve all the audiences	Small scale private	Large scale one way and professionalized

(M. S. AL-Ahmed, 1987:23)

2.3 From Normative theories to Media system models

“Since the 1980s the old normative media policies have been challenged, and policymakers are searching for a new communications policy paradigm. Mainly due to technological and economic convergence, separate media and telecommunications policies lean towards an integrated communications policy. There seems to be a shift in values: Generally policy has to follow the logic of the marketplace, technology, and the wishes of consumers rather than impose its goals” (van Cuilenburg and McQuail, 2003, pp. 181, 200, 201).

The question is do normative theories will replace by the new values? “Is it possible to replace the four theories with a new set of models, better-grounded empirically but sharing something of the parsimony of the originals? Only with great caution.” (D. C. Hallin and P. Mancini, (2004:10) Basing the shift of values through change of time three media system models emerged i.e liberal model, Polarized pluralist model, Democratic Cooperationist model or Post Communism model. These points serve as a criterion to categorize certain country media ecology as liberal model, Polarized pluralist model, Democratic Cooperationist model or Post Communism model or else.

Yuan Jiang in January 29, 2021 in an online article entitled “The Media System Within and Beyond the West: Australian, Russian and Chinese Media” summarizes the three new models unique feature as follows.

Country Examples	France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain
Newspaper Industry	Low newspaper circulation; elite politically oriented press
Political Parallelism	High political parallelism; external pluralism, commentary-oriented journalism; parliamentary or government model of broadcast governance—politics-over-broadcasting systems
Professionalization	Weaker professionalization; instrumentalization
Role of the State in Media System	Strong state intervention; press subsidies in France and Italy; periods of censorship; "savage deregulation" (except France)

Table 2:- North/Central European or Democratic Corporatist Model

Country Examples	Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland
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Newspaper Industry	High newspaper circulation; early development of mass-circulation press
Political Parallelism	External pluralism, especially in the national press; historically strong party press; a shift toward neutral commercial <p>press; the politics-in-broadcasting system with substantial autonomy
Professionalization	Strong professionalization; institutionalized self-regulation
Role of the State in Media System	Strong state intervention but with protection for press freedom; press subsidies, robust in Scandinavia; strong public-service broadcasting

Table 3 :- North Atlantic or Liberal Model

Country Examples	Britain, the United States, Canada, Ireland
Newspaper Industry	Medium newspaper circulation; early development of mass circulation commercial press
Political Parallelism	Neutral commercial press; information-oriented journalism; internal pluralism (but external pluralism in Britain); professional model of broadcast governance—formally autonomous system
Professionalization	Strong professionalization; noninstitutionalized self-regulation
Role of the State in Media System	A market dominated (except strong public broadcasting in Britain, Ireland)

Source: created by the author of this thesis and based on Hallin and Mancini.

Van Cuilenburg and McQuail (2003) propose three concepts that are central to any new communications policy model: freedom of communication, access, and control/accountability. “Freedom of communication and free and equal access are related to the question of who is in control of the actual communication process [...] access has to be understood both in terms of being able to receive and to send” (van Cuilenburg and McQuail, 2003, p. 204).

As contemporary communications policy depends not only on normative media and telecommunications regulation (embodied in statutory regulation, self-regulation, and market) but

also on the social and communication competences of each individual, it would be reasonable to link the communications and education policies. The shift from regulating media organizations, ownership, and content towards “empowering the citizen” and “promoting civic competences” needs to be discussed thoroughly, preferably at a national level, as policy implementation takes place in the national sphere.

Taking the above discussion there is monotonous media system model working for all over the universe. The above three models also considers the context of the northern hemisphere. It doesn't states the realities of Africa and the rest of the world.

Paul D'Angelo (2013) in his thesis entitled “Framing of AIDS in Africa Press-State Relations, HIV/AIDS News, and Journalistic Advocacy in Four Sub-Saharan Anglophone Newspapers” tried to portray the African media system context including Ethiopia.

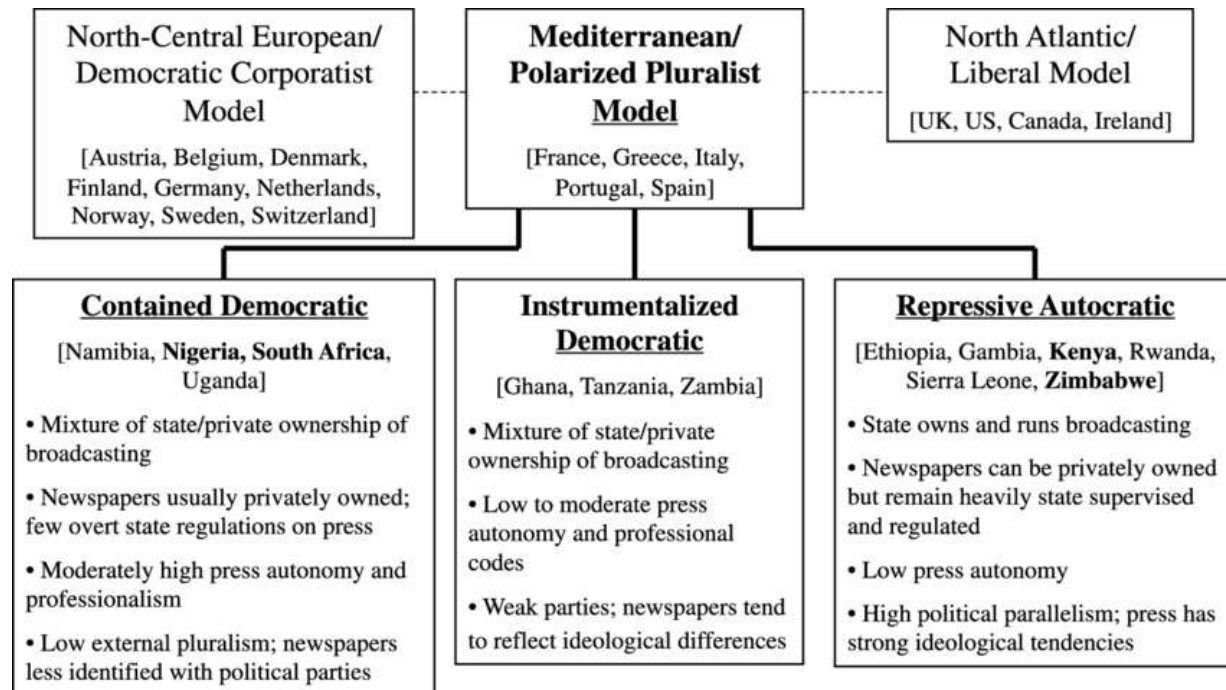


Table Taken from Paul D'Angelo(2013) “Media systems of sub-Saharan African countries”

The old six normative theories value each media system through the five points of references to differentiate one media system from the other i.e Access , Method of Control, Objectives or motives ,Type of ownership, Restrictions and Limitations. Whereas the new media system models value the media systems from Newspaper Industry (media industry) , Political Parallelism , Professionalization , Role of the State in Media System. Thought the comparative criterias varies in number both

normative theories takes three points as foundational criteria to categorize a certain media system i.e freedom of communication, access, and control/accountability.

2.3.1 Approaches to Media Policy Conception

As Roboy & Padovani (2010) stated “ the conception of media policy now requires an understanding of the changing interconnection and interdependencies among technologies ,disciplines ,policy themes ,and the power posses and institutions (formal and informal) that impinge on media policy making on local ,national” (Roboy & Padovani,2010) (okon (2017:274)

Okon, P. E. in his Doctoral thesis “ Changes in Media Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Role of Community Media” he broadly discuss approaches to Media policy conceptions. In his discussion he stated “While scholars are in agreement that different ideological, technological, and economic value system provides the necessary contexts for media policy articulation and realization, the specific definition of the concept, however, differs according to the approach adopted by each scholar. McQuail (2000)

Freedman (2008), for example, identifies three of such fundamental approaches: end-driven; instrumental (or administrative); and venue-based (or actors-driven) approach. One will briefly outline the key elements of each approach with specific emphasis on the venue-based approach on which ones own definition will be primarily rooted. (Okon, 2014:38).Okon, P. E added the fourth The Ethical-Political Approach. For reader continence and enable to grab the main concept of each approach the strength and gaps of each approach digested as follow (Okon ,2015 :79-90) .

The first one end-driven approach:- widespread in the last period of the 19th century. The theme is understands media policy primarily in terms of results (structural, ethical, political, and socio-cultural goals) to be achieved in the constitution of policy frameworks. (Okon, 2014: 38) It strongly emphasize based on the principles of objectivity, social justice, good conscience, and respect for ethical codes of professionalism. The primary objective of the end-driven approach, therefore, is to establish a relation between the press and society on normative, moral, and social justice grounds. (Okon, 2014:39).Major problem of the approach is focus on achievable objectives such as the protection of the interest of the state, the promotion of national cultures, or the prevention of harm to citizens, it ignores the tendency of State governments and big corporate institutions to dominate the policy-making process, the existence of lack of sufficient transparency in the policy-making process, or the need for diversification of policy decision-making venues. (Okon, 2014:39). In addition its restrictive focus on the Anglo-American and Sovietized media systems and the limitations it places

on the capacity of experts and scholars to explore other media and media policy models, this approach cannot provide in the twenty-first century the needed sophisticated framework for comparative media policy analysis worldwide.

The second policy conception approach is instrumental (or administrative). This approach emerged in the beginning of the era of electronic broadcasting. It defines media policy in terms of the actions of the State and its legal institutions in developing legally enforceable rules to govern public communication initiatives and activities. Instrumental conception approach highly relies on state and its machineries in order to govern public communication and its activities (Okon, 2014:39-40). The deficiency of the approach is it is too formal and highly prohibitive. The approach focuses on official policy actors and emphasizes the need to legislate on electronic media in order to prevent harm to individuals, societies and cultures, because it ignores the valid inputs of a wide range of civil society organizations in the policy-making processes. (Braman, 2004a/b; McChesney, 2003; Freedman, 2008; Okon, 2014:40)

Venue-based (or actors-driven) approach is the third policy conception approach. It considers media policy, not just in administrative terms; but in terms of the diversity of policy actors and of decision-making venues. It is still at a developing stage. Okon, 2014:40). Follows a strategy characterized and impacted by the politics of globalization, decentralization, and convergence. The emphasis on media policy conception and formation rests, therefore, on the questions of social, geographic, and political diversity. Media policy decisions are approached as highly political, subject to manipulations, display of partisanship and to clandestine lobbying by representatives of multinational corporations and local communities. Okon, 2014:40). Media policy-making, therefore, becomes a systematic attempt to problematize certain types of media structures and behaviors and to normalize alternative structures and behavior patterns. Places emphasis on diversity of voices, arguments, actors, arenas and conflict-points because the process is subject to competitiveness and diverse political interests, it is not always an ideal tidy process, as it is always conflict-oriented and actors-driven in pursuit of different goals and norms

The very competitive and untidy nature of the process in itself requires that policy-makers remain open and sensitive to political consensus mechanisms available to them in order to resolve differences and reach political hegemony Okon, 2014:41)

Ethical-political policy (Okon, P. Es approach) to fill the gap of the above three approaches. The policy vision aims to connect politics with normative ethics, it also intends to link alternative media

policy visions with mainstream media policy models. Hence ,media policy is an interplay between politics and ethics. Its conception draws on what he describes as skeptical liberalism (1999: 4); that is, a mitigated humanist and right-based theoretical framework that questions the “neutrality” politics of professionalized media and seeks a balance among community, private citizens, and governments rights to determine legal truths.

The goal of the ethical-political approach is to appeal to policy makers, governments, and media professionals to continue to recognize the need to form a policy community. It is capable of providing the necessary participatory platform for stakeholders to draw on the multiple benefits of end-driven, instrumental-oriented, and venue-based approaches to media policy formation.

Ethical-political policy - approach will enable the conception of the interests of governments and of the life context of disadvantaged cultural and ethnic groups, not just as possibilities but as rights and as legitimate ends

2.4 Principles of Media Policy

Napoli (2001), Freedman (2008), and Karppinen (2012) have all attempted to trace the genealogy of core policy concepts like pluralism, diversity, freedom, and the public interest but all too often these terms are actually used in ways that distort their intended purposes. Freedman

(2015:104).So what are policy principles? Policy principles are more than concepts. According to Robert G. Picard and Victor Pickard

Policy principles are coherent statements based on underlying norms and values that help policymakers and organizations respond to issues and take part in legislative and regulatory activities. These principles are grounded in philosophical values and beliefs that can then be transferred into policy and practice by providing the fundamental criteria used in decision making processes. Robert & Pickard (2017:7)

Pursuant to the excerpt Policy principles must be logical statements that have a foundation of norms emanates from philosophical values and can be transferred into policy and practice by policy makers and organizations. “In practice, principles are articulated and then used to set policy objectives and determine the means to achieve them. Robert & Pickard (2017:7).The objective of media policy are not universal.

Different political and economic contexts produce different media policies. Yet, media policies, despite their differences, all possess a set of elements that define them as media policy. These are goals and objectives, values or criteria by which the goals are recognized and defined, content and communication services to which the policy applies, the different distribution services, and policy measures or means of implementation (van Cuilenburg and Slaa, 1994; van Cuilenburg and McQuail, 2003).

The objectives or Principles of Media Policy are partial. “Principles are not neutral, because they are normative, reflecting specific values that are subject to contestation.” Robert & Pickard (2017:7). They are influenced by numerous domestic philosophical, economic, industrial, political, and social factors that make it difficult to directly transfer them among countries with similar effect. Robert & Pickard (2017:8) .Yet the overall concern of media policy principles addresses a basic question of policymaking i.e what the public value is being served? They set the bases for choices by specifying what is valued and why it is valuable to the public (Moore 1995; Robert & Pickard (2017:8)

Though “...criterias may vary across different national contexts, but there are some core principles that underpin effective media policies.(23)Among the global efforts Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism and UNESCO are some of them. With the hope of “starting a broader conversation about core policy principles. Policymakers, scholars, and concerned citizens may refer to it as they consider the underlying normative values that underpin a nations media system and help define its central role within a democratic society” Robert & Pickard (2017:8)

According to Robert G. Picard and Victor Pickard Principles are grouped under seven rubrics. The first is Meeting fundamental communication and content needs like Promoting Freedom of Expression , Rights of Communication Robert & Pickard (2017:11) The second policy rubric is providing effective ability for public use of media and communications issues related to Universal Access to Infrastructures . Robert & Pickard (2017:17)Third policy principle is Promoting diversity/plurality in ownership of media and content available Robert & Pickard (2017:21) The fourth policy rubrics is protection for users and society from sex, gender and racial discrimination and other offences Robert & Pickard (2017:24)The fifth rubric is providing transparency and accountability Robert & Pickard (2017:28). The sixth rubric is pursuing developmental and economic benefits related to Incentivizing Private Investment in Infrastructures, Services, and Innovation Robert & Pickard (2017:31).The seventh ,equitable and effective policy outcomes

include Fostering Meaningful Public Consultation and Participation in the Policy Process Robert & Pickard (2017:33). Though the recommended policies are workable they lack universality and binding effect.

Prior to Robert G. Picard and Victor Pickard UNESCO developed a Universal Media development indicators that countries use them both as a base line and a mandatory principle.

Formally endorsed by the Intergovernmental Council of UNESCOs International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) at its 26th session in March 2008, the MDIs have been since recognized by many stakeholders, including media institutions, as an important tool for guiding media development efforts. They are designed to be applied in any country, and interest in applying them in countries around the world is running high. (Mendel, 2019:1)

UNESCOs MDI core mandate is to foster “the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth”, “the free exchange of ideas and knowledge” and “the free flow of ideas by word and image”, as prescribed by UNESCOs Constitution.” (Mendel, 2019:1). Taking this basic concept UNESCO develop five grand media development indicators.

The framework revolves around five main Media Development Categories, broken down into increasingly detailed levels of Issues, Key Indicators and Sub-indicators (Mendel, 2019:1). Category one is a system of regulation conducive to freedom of expression, pluralism and diversity of the media (Mendel, 2019:10). Category two, concern about Plurality and diversity of media and level economic playing field and transparency of ownership (Mendel, 2019:15). Category three deal with Media as a platform for democratic discourse. (Mendel, 2019:19). Category four subject to Professional capacity building and supporting institutions that underpins freedom of expression, pluralism and diversity (Mendel, 2019:22). Category five governs issues of Infrastructural capacity is sufficient to support independent and pluralistic media. (Mendel, 2019:24).

The formerly stated UNESCO media development indicators are not universally recommended principles. Rather “the MDIs build upon these foundations and principles, and represent an interpretation of international human rights standards, which countries are required to respect, because of their status as part of international law (Mendel, 2019:1).

2.5 Media policy and International Legal instruments

International legal instruments are international laws. Fortunately, "the ICJ statute contains a clear list of the sources of international law. " Damtie and Kruger (2009:151). Pursuant to Statute of the International Court of Justice Article 38 four sources of international laws are mentioned. First are conventions or treaties, Second, international custom "general practice" and must be "accepted as law." Third, is "general principles of law", fourth "judicial decisions and the teachings and the fifth source of International legal instrument is NGOs. Among the first conventions or treaties, second, international custom "general practice" and must be "accepted as law." are relate to this study

As an international legal instrument the study considers UDHR, ICCPR, Windhoek declaration and UNESCO MDI. These international legal instruments entertained the basics of media i.e freedom of expression.

UNESCOs Media Development Indicators(MDI) "Endorsed by the Intergovernmental Council of UNESCOs International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) at its 26th session in March 2008, since then recognized by many stakeholders as an important tool for guiding media development efforts." (*Mendel, 2019: 1*). Regarding to their applicability "They are designed to be applied in any country, and interest in applying them in countries around the world is running high." (*ibid: 1*). This is secondary data

To begin with UDHR the UDHR is "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations," Among the standard expected to achieved is Article 19. The concept of the article states "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

This more explained in ICCPR Article 19 sub 2 "Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice." The unlimited right has parallel obligation pursuant to ICCPR Art 3

"The exercise of the rights provided for in paragraph 2 of this article carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as

are provided by law and are necessary: (a) For respect of the rights or reputations of others; (b) For the protection of national security or of public order (ordre public), or of public health or morals.

Hence Ethiopia is the part of the above discussion spirit of international law since Ethiopia is a signatory of the International legal Instrument .If we see how this will be feasible in the Ethiopian context is it should be noted that the 1995 Ethiopian Constitution provides “All international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the law of the land and that the fundamental rights and freedoms specified in the Constitutions shall be interpreted in a manner conforming to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenants on Human Rights and international instruments adopted by Ethiopia” (Articles 9(4) and 13(2)).

2.6 Policy Actors involvement in National Media policy making

Policy crafting is not a sole action the policy maker, rather, it needs others involvement especially those who have interest on the crafted policy. The policy designing arises from different interest of policy actors in the field. As an issue

new actors, technologies and paradigms are emerging and are creating new conflicts, or accelerating established ones, in media policy-making, for example in terms of national vs. supra-national levels of policy-making, public vs. corporate interests, centralized vs. dispersed policy networks, secretive vs. transparent forms of decision-making, and separate vs. converged policy fields. (Freedman , (2006:907)

These complex competing interests of variety parties expected to be presented on the policy crafting forum. Such policy crafters action creates conducive conditions for the policy making

Media policy making means not entertain a single interest. Rather contending interest from various actors should be incorporated. These

Rival interests interact in unequal conditions in order to shape the dynamics of the media environment and to lay the preconditions for the production, circulation, and consumption of media goods. This means that we need to look at ideologies as well as institutions, power as well as paperwork, elites as well as evidence. (Kunzler (2012) Freedman (2014:12)

These competing interests portrayed by Matthias Kunzler as “force of ideas approach” to think about the values espoused by leading actors in the policy process and how these then have an impact on the design and institutionalization of different approaches to the media world.” Matthias Kunzler(2012) Freedman (2014:12) .The media world is led by competitors interest. The competing interest also incorporated in the nations media policy. “Media policy is related to the actors specific interest in the ongoing power struggle. Voltmer ,(2014:2) .Hence there is no single source of interest in the national media policy.

The past narration, states is the ultimate crafter of media policy changed. The new challenge for states media policy making power usurped by many actors who owns diversifies interests.

National government power and ability to regulate as a synonymous with the shift from government to governance ,which denotes a change from a unified policy exercised by the national government to a more complex system, encompassing a number of policy actors and political institutions. (Globalization and Nation States (:106)

The policy actors are from local and abroad. Media regulation, which was once a national prerogative, now takes place in a context significantly influenced by forces from afar. “Yet most of what is written about contemporary policy making continues to focus on national contexts and concerns. Regulators must expand their frame of reference and reassess the constitutional principles” (Wu, 2010) ; Curtin (2015:17) regarding the local actors too other than the state.

On the other hand policy makers should go beyond the limit their territorial scope and look other the global forum of policy making. They are expected to compare their effort because “ for both political and competitive reasons, and because traditional mechanisms of national media policy have proven largely ineffective in an era of transnational cultural flows” Curtin (2015:14) .

Media policy making is not only confined to the state. “International and regional organizations, other supranational bodies and entities, the media industry itself and the civil society operating across states have gradually become important actors in media policy formation.” (Psychogiopoulou and Anagnostou, 2012:16). “The state is affected by the emergence of multinational corporations nongovernmental organization and the trend towards liberalization and commercialization, but it also

affects the societal national and international scene.” (Globalisation and Nation States(:106). These non state actors shape media policy. The effective appearance of non-state actors in law making and implementation marks a dramatic turn in relations among states, societies and legal systems that highlights the need to globalize, as well as internationalize, media law and policy. Braman, S. (2009: 93).

On the contrary Okon P.E forwarded the following view While Eko (2003) and Peter Golding & Phil Harris (1997) hold what may be considered as a moderate critical position in favour of international policy interventions, the most negatively critical are the positions of Harold Fisher (1985) and Sean Kelly (1978). Aids from external sources may have been well-intended and may have yielded some positive developmental benefits, they tended to generate lasting negative consequences, because of the contradictory ideologies (e.g. liberalism, cultural imperialism, and communism) and Schramms one-way communication concept upon which such policy initiatives were grounded: Firstly, they failed to address adequately the questions of culture, identity, participation, and globalization that had increasingly become major issues within the academia (Eko, 2003; Golding & Harris, 1997). Secondly, they slowed down the upward mobility of media institutions of developing societies by introducing dependency syndrome in relation to media censorship and organization (Fisher, 1985). Thirdly, such strategic interventions, in the long run, enabled the erosion of the rights of ordinary citizens to freedom of information access; as it provided legal openings, through the logic of Information Sovereignty, for authoritarian regimes to find justifications to continue the suppression of authentic information flow and harassment of journalists who represent dissident voices (Kelly, 1978). Okon (2015 ; 84-85)

Though non state actors play dramatic role in the making and implementation of media law and policy the state still shapes both the national and international policy agendas. As---says “National governments maintain a significant amount of autonomy to shape national policy agendas and meanwhile continue to influence decisions in the international environment.” (Globalisation and Nation States (:106).The power of state goes beyond maintaining autonomy on national agenda. They also “retain key policy instruments to dictate the future of their cultural assets and are able to achieve most of their policy objectives.

governments remain the dominant policy actors as they are tasked to manage and orchestrate changes (rather than control them), coordinate policies and offer consensus (rather than imposing it), enable to facilitate developments (through, for example, the provision of a regulatory framework and political order), and ensure accountability of the market in a period of rapid technological change. (Globalization and Nation States (:106)

To sum up “public policy including media policy in globalized world is informed by various actors, i.e : the state (core executive), the market private /business actors including the media and civil society (voluntary and community sector actors.” (Globalization and Nation States (:107) .Therefore state act as the dominant power in policy orchestration as an actor.

2. 7 Media Policy theoretical Framework

From theoretical point of view Media Policy analysis, Media Policy Field Approach will be used. Media Policy Field (MPF) approach combines an organizational field approach, the theory of Strategic Action Fields (SAF) (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012), with the Multiple Streams Approach (MSA) of policy development (Kingdon, 1995).

The first theoretical base for MPF is Strategic Action Fields (SAF). SAF focuses on organizational structural relation .It has its own unique features. Among them Martin (2003) The approach emphasizes inter-organizational relations but is distinct from the main directions within organizational institutionalism by emphasizing fields as more fundamentally contentious (Fligstein and McAdam, 2011).

The second feature is for the existence of social change SAF comprises four aspects, first, actors share a general consensus about what the field is and about what is at stake. Second, actors in the field possess more or less power and are conscious about the power of other actors. Third, there is a shared sense in a field about the rules, that is, the tactics that are legitimate and useful, linked to a certain position. Fourth, different actors in a field might have different frames of reference based on their social position.

In related to the second concept, the second question will be who are the actors and what position do they have in the policy making process. SAFs comprise three types of analytically distinct actors: *incumbents*, *challengers* and *governance units* (Fligstein and McAdam, 2011: 5). Incumbents are strongly influential and dominant actors within a field, and their interests tend to be deeply engrained in how the field is organized, which means that the existing organization and purpose of the field will serve the interests of incumbents in terms of rules, resource flows and shared understandings. The second actors are Challengers. Challengers occupy less privileged positions within the field and usually have little influence over its operation. Even though challengers often conform to the existing order, they might still formulate alternative visions about how the field could function. Finally,

governance units are entities that are charged with overseeing compliance with field rules and making the system function.

The third feature of SAF: is what type of relation do the actors have? SAF emphasizes competition, strategic cooperation and struggle for power within the field (Johannsson and Kalm, 2015). To offering a framework to describe various actor roles and power through the lenses of incumbents and challengers, SAF also offers specific tools to discuss how different states of a field produce different conditions for different actors, through distinguishing between episodes of contention and periods of settlement.

The other component of Media Policy is Multiple Stream Approach (MSA). MSA Centered on how ideas are forged into policy. Emphasizes how the framing of ideas through social processes shapes political possibilities and determines how ideas become solutions to policy problems. MSA framework contains five structural elements: problems, policies, politics, policy windows and policy entrepreneurs (Zahariadis, 2007).

Policy processes are considered to emanate from three separate streams: the problem stream, the policy stream and the politics stream, and policy change takes place when these streams are connected.

Policy choices and policy change occur in cases where the problem, the policy and the politics streams are combined in critical moments and termed *policy windows* (Cairney and Jones, 2016).

Policy windows are most likely opened up by compelling problems or by events in the political stream. Whether policy change actually takes place in concurrence with such windows depends on the skill and manoeuvring of *policy entrepreneurs*

Policy entrepreneurs are individuals or organizations that pursue their goals as power brokers, coalition enablers and manipulators of problem definitions and policy solutions (Mintrom and Norman, 2009; Zahariadis, 2007: 35). Media Filed is a combined approach of both. The MPF approach makes use of the strengths of SAF and MSA, to forge a holistic understanding of current changes in media policy fields. Among the five this paper employ only the for criteria excluding policy enterpreners.

Both approaches take a cultural view of social change that depends on shared definitions of what are important and valuable aims and what are viable tools to reach those aims. Both perspectives also acknowledge that change proceeds through complex processes, where actors manoeuvre strategically to pursue their interests

Central contribution of the MPF approach is to give input into what is required for individual or organizational actors to promote change processes, by emphasizing the combination of policy entrepreneurs (MSA) and social skill (SAF).

CHAPTER THREE

3. Research Method , Design, Data Gathering and Analysis

3.1 Research Method

“Research methods involve the forms of data collection, analysis, and interpretation that researchers propose for their studies” Creswell (2014:295). Methods as defined by Michael Crotty are “the techniques or procedures used to gather and analyze data related to some research question or hypothesis” (Crotty, 1998:3). The researcher used qualitative investigation method than quantitative. Because questions and objectives framed by this research addresses by qualitative research method.

“Qualitative research is concerned with quality of information, attempt to gain an understanding of the underlying reasons, motivations for actions, establish how people interpret their experiences and the world around them. It provides insights into the setting of a problem” (Mac Donald & Headlam, 1986:8). This study specifically deals with Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Mass Media (FDREMMP) policy. “Media Policy research aims to analyze both particular policy decisions and regulatory instruments, this includes identifying stakeholders with vested interest in the outcome of a particular policy and analyze various views and positions on the policy topic” (Puppies and Bulk, 2019:10). This research also particularly deals on FDREMMP policy decisions relating with policy actors who have vested interest in the policy making and the mass media policy document. As Manuel Puppis and Hilde Van den Bulck (2019) added hierarchically policy paradigms are wider than media policy. Then Media regulation and governance comes latter than media policy. Media policy is in between media law, regulations and policy paradigms. The scope of the study is limited to policy, FDRE Mass Media Policy. When necessary, related media laws are referred.

As Dvora Yanow (2007) says “In policy research, almost all likely sources of information, data, and ideas fall into: documents and people” (Dvora Yanows (2007) , Eugene Bardach (2009) ,Owen ,2014:8). For the purpose of this research, the researcher uses two sources of data too i.e in-depth interview of policy actors and the policy documents.

3.2 Sources of Data

3.2.1 FDRE Draft National Media Policy and FDRE Mass Media Policy as a Primary

In traditional policy analysis, documents are usually considered primarily as sources. Being interested in the documents qualities as texts in themselves ,rather the interest lies in using them as sources intended to document a process (Skogerbø 1996: 50; also Østbye et al. 2007: 47). Karppinen & Moe (2012:9) discussed how can such documents be considered as a primary source of document? Where do they get such a power? “The power of policy document to be considered as a primary source emanates from “the interest lies in using them”. (Skogerbø 1996: 50; also Østbye et al. 2007: 47; Karppinen & Moe (2012:9). For the purpose of this research the Ethiopian Mass Media Policy is designed and ratified by council of minister office hence it shares the logic and considers the Ethiopian Mass Media Policy as a primary Data Source.

3.2.2 Federal Constitution as a primary data source

“If the document is legislation, this is primary source, i.e. constitution, law, etc. ..because it is created by a single body (legislature over the jurisdiction over which it rules) for general purpose use.”(Louangrath ,2017) .The 1995 Ethiopian **FDRE** Constitution is the utmost law of the land. Article 9 sub 1 of FDRE constitution affirms “The Constitution is the supreme law of the land. Any law, customary practice or a decision of an organ of state or a public official which contravenes this Constitution shall be of no effect.” Any local or international law or policy document expected should comply with notion of the constitution accordingly. In order to examine the UNSECO MDI enforceability in the Ethiopia Context the research refers the constitution as a source of document.

3.2.3 In-depth Interview as a primary source

Using in-depth interviews as a primary source of data for developing” (Villa E.Q , 2017) preferred for its richness.

3.3 Sampling technique

Among the qualitative research sampling techniques probability (Random sampling) verses Purposeful sampling provided as a choice. Since this research employ in-depth interview as one method of data collection purposive sampling fit to this research purpose.

“ Purposeful sampling is a sampling technique that qualitative researchers use to recruit participants who can provide in-depth and detailed information about the phenomenon under investigation. It is highly subjective and determined by the qualitative researcher generating the qualifying criteria each participant must meet to be considered for the research study.”
(<https://www.statisticssolutions.com/qualitative-sampling-techniques/>)

In in-depth the researcher cares about whom should I talk too? Who knows a lot about the subject? Who does answer the subjective questions matters most? The thesis set the following criterias to select the stakeholders/policy actors “with a vested interest in the outcome of a particular policy, views and positions on the policy topic and their relation to wider paradigmatic beliefs, involvement in the formal and informal steps in negotiations toward a policy decision (Van den Bulck, 2013; Hutchinson, 1999; Blakie and Soussan, 2001, see Chapter 26 by Van den Bulck, M. Puppis and H. V. Bulck, 2019:33)

Hence such questions are addressed by Snow ball or Chain sampling. “Snowball sampling — asking others to identify people who will interview well, because they are open and because they have an in-depth understanding about the issue under study.” (6 Methods of data collection and analysis : 6). When the researcher use data gathered through this technique “Often a key informants or cases will be mentioned multiple times and take on additional importance.” (Cohen D,2006). Because information gathered using this method have depth. “This method can be useful for identifying a small number of key cases that are identified by a number of key cases that are identified by a number of key or expert informants as important cases or exemplars. (Cohen D, 2006). This sampling technique mainly used question related to policy stakeholders specifically the question concerns the breadth of the policy stakeholders involvement in the policy making and their influences in the policy making will be addresses. It enables the researchers to examine the stakeholders involvement in the policy making and their influence in the policy making process.

3.4 Background of the interviewee and their involvement in the Policy making

Toby Mendel says “Regardless of who holds the pen, it is useful to involve different stakeholders” (Mendel: 3). Mendel in an online journal article “Applying UNESCOs Media Development Indicators: - A Practical Guidebook to Assist Researchers” listed out five major categories media development index within a certain country. Among them “Category 1 . A system of regulation

conducive to freedom of expression, pluralism and diversity of the media” discuss about issue of Legal and Policy Framework related to media policy stakeholders .It stated that

The public and civil society organizations (CSOs) participate in shaping public policy towards the media ...The focus here should be on...does the government consult widely with interested stakeholders when it is engaging in media policy development or proposing to adopt legislation on the media? (Year unknown, 10-12) ([https : // en .unesco. org /sites/default/files/ guidelines_mdi_final_en_0.pdf](https://en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/guidelines_mdi_final_en_0.pdf))

Based on the aforementioned explanation the researcher interviewed eight selected interviewees considering their institutions representation and that have bold impact on the policy making FDRE Ethiopian National Media Policy(Mass Media policy).The first two actors “Justice for All (JFA) and UNDP have initiated media policy reform processes working with the government through conducting foundational research with former Ethiopian Office of Government Communication Affairs (EOGCA) and financing the policy drafting process respectively. Research on media needs and issues has been completed and provides a basis for a strategic focus on media policy reforms. (R. Mukundu 2018:13)

Among the interview groups, a former Ethiopian Government Communication Affair takes the lead to “A national communication and media sector reform plan (2017/2018) was developed by the lately Ethiopian Office of Government Communication Affairs (EOGCA)” (#PolicyMatters #pmoETHIOPIA ,2021) The other stakeholder for this research is UNESCO. Yared Belete UNDP communication director reaffirmed UNESCOs MDI model as a reference “At the model level, we have a UNESCO base based on the policy rubric. When the policy was issued, it was seen as a reflection of that. We weigh up through that and give our reflection based UNESCO tools” (Y. Belete, personal communication, (April 31/2019).So UNESCO selected for providing optional standard for the policy item. Though UNESOC,UNDP, JFAPFE and former Ethiopian Office of Government Communication Affairs (EOGCA) as major stake holders of the policy.

On the other hand of, Ethiopian Journalist Association, Ethiopian Media Council Representative the organization yet to be register and Ethiopian Free Press Journalist Association (EFPJA) other from the profession wing the researcher collect the view. The associations and stakeholders interviewed for fulfilling a question of actors influenced by the policy making and future the possible implementation of the National Media Policy of Ethiopia.

The last but not the list, Solomon Goshu Media and Communication Consultant and the drafter of the newly mass media law included for the in-depth interview. To get his reflection about how the media policy help the new press law drafting process. Former Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority Director General, Getachew Dinku (PhD) interview with Prime Media and office of the Prime Minister “Policy Matter” also exploited as a source. Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority (EBA) now on

Ethiopian Media Authority “in fact the media's policy started a bit earlier with the former government communication affairs office. And then my own office Ethiopian broadcast authority inherited the process.” ([#PolicyMatters](#) [#pmoETHIOPIA](#) ,2021).

To sum up, UNDP mainly participating financing the policy making process. UNESCO is one wing of the UN office like UNDP it mainly involve setting policy standards in which countries may use it as a reference during crafting any policy of their context. For the Medias the UNESCO set MDI, this is also used as a tool to measure countries standards. JFA-PFE prepared a base line study for the policy drafting in collaboration with former Office of Government Communication. EOGCA and Ethiopia Media Authority are main stakeholders organs of the policy from the government side. The Journalist associations Ethiopian National Media Council, Ethiopian Journalist Association and Ethiopian Free Press Journalist Association are parties who represent the journalism professionals of the country.

This research used in-depth interview. Informants are aware of the question what they answer and give their consent through pre interview with email interaction. The researcher sends the transcribed interview to the interviewees and rechecks the correctness of the answer. And also saves their audio accordingly.

3.5 Research Design in Media Policy Research

“Research designs are types of inquiry within qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches that provide specific direction for procedures in a research study.” Creswell (2014:295). For the purpose of this research qualitative research design is used. Regarding to research design types, Prashant Kumar Astalin(2013) divides qualitative research into four main strategy types that are: phenomenology; grounded theory; ethnography; case study. Astalin(2013:118) For the rationale of this research a combination of case study ,phenomenology, and grounded theory are employed.

The research deals with four main issues. The first issue is identifying the type of media policy conceptual foundation in line with media system. “Media systems were originally conceived as press theories” Manuel & Mireya (2014:5). In order to identify the Ethiopian National Policy conceptual foundation in related to the media system, among the qualitative research designs grounded theory employed .It “allows theory/theories to emerge from the data that is collected. Grounded theory research follows a systematic yet flexible process to collect data, code the data, make connections and see what theory/theories are generated or are built from the data. (Astalin ,2013:121). The

researcher follows a step by step grounded theory inquiry method. The question addressed with this theory among the research questions is examining the type of media policy conceptual foundation did the FDRE media policy used in relation to the media system. In order to answer this research question the research uses the policy document as an input data. Since the research examines the policy document media system type, both the traditional normative theories and the newly media system modules are can be used as a theory. The six normative theories are outdated the research prefer to use media system models theory for analyzing the document. Based on the theories opening codes, axial codes or codes are grouped in categories repeatedly done till the suitable theoretical frame found.

The second and third objectives of this research are comparing and contrasting the National/Mass Media Policy principles in line with International media policy principles & legal instruments, and identifying drivers of the policy initiation for policy making are among them. Hence in order to address these objectives case study also in use. Case study works “to find underlying principles.” (Astalin, 2013:122). the underlying principles identified in to two ways “They may be prospective, in which criteria are established and cases fitting the criteria are included as they become available, or retrospective, in which criteria are established for selecting cases from historical records for inclusion in the study.” (ibid, 2013:122). This research used UNESCOs MDI whether Ethiopia Mass Media Policy designed accordingly or not. Second the research will use the literature review to name the type of driver used by ENMP. Hence the research prefers case study prospective design among the two case study designs.

The fourth objective of the research is examining policy actors role on involvement in the policy making. This is mainly related with policy actors and the research consumes data from the policy actors reflection about the policy making. Thence phenomenology qualitative design is used. John W. Creswell (2014) defined phenomenology as “a detailed description of experiences (Creswell, 2014: 254) .The experience is “It may be an event , situation ,experience or concept. It is primarily an attempt to understand empirical matters from the perspectives of those being studied.” (Astalin ,2013:119). It involves obtaining data from multiple individuals who have experiences the phenomenon. Phenomenology requires holistic understanding of the raw data, summarizing raw data and understanding the natural and central meaning and formulating thematic index are process of phenomenology. The research also employs all these steps. Hence the research used a combination of phenomenology, case study and ground theory qualitative research design is employed.

3.6 Data Analysis

Media Policy decisions will be analyzed in relation to views and stakeholders' vested interests and positions on the policy topic communicated with selected sources. The study analyzes two sources of data. The first one is the Policy documents, i.e., the Ethiopian National Media Policy which was drafted in October 2018 and ratified August 2020 by council of ministers with a change of name FDRE Media Policy for Ethiopia" analyzed simultaneously. Since, "Qualitative document analysis is one of the most popular methods in media policy research, as documents produced during the policy making process are a valuable source of information." Puppis and Bulck (2019;32). The policies also analyzed from normative theories press to identify the media system type the FDRE mass media policy used, to identify the drivers the policy document to come in to existence, and know the scope of application of the policy accordingly.

The other source of data is policy actors interview. In-depth interview exploited "due to the need for depth and richness (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003:171). Analyzing the in-depth interview transcript enables to uncover policy actors position, views, visibility power and relationship behind policy development. Mainly the research used the analysis to analyze FDRE mass media policy actors influence and impact the policy making. The "who and how" of Mass Media policy making questions will be answered. In order to address these questions two major sub categories of in-depth interview analysis will be employed i.e stakeholders analysis and advocacy Collation Framework . "A combination of stakeholder analysis and of the Advocacy Coalition Framework allows us to analyze the relationship between actors who share similar values and believes in the media policy community (Puppis and Bulck (2019;37).

The first sub category is the stakeholders analysis .In the stakeholders analysis policy actors past, present position and future potential, interest, influence, interrelations and network examined in the policy making. Under the stakeholders analysis, to sort out the relevant stakeholders two way of identification are provided as option. One is stakeholders who have a presence on the spot of the main policy debate fora and the other is open exploration of possible stockholders based on theoretical listing of possible stakeholders. The first type is selected to give their testimony on the public hearing whereas the second type of stakeholders searched for their views on issues. This paper used a combination of two methods for stakeholders analysis.

The second sub category analysis is related to policy actors is Sabatior and Jenkins Smith (1993) idea i.e advocacy Collation Framework .This model of analysis helps to understand how policy actors and stakeholders come together, how shared beliefs affected by the policy out come. Actors who share similar values and beliefs the topic at hand builds relationship that result advocacy collation. Advocacy coalition framework analysis is done by comparing and contrasting the views and logics expressed by the various stakeholders analysis. It helps to evaluate the visibility and power of each actors and the coalition link between various actors. For the purpose of advocacy coalition framework actor are categorized as sub government actors /stockholders and actors hold similar beliefs and values with regard to topics at hand.

The Third analysis is MFA Media Filed Approach combine SAF and MSA. Media Filed Approach (MFA). It combines Strategic Action Filed (SAF) and Multiple Stream Approach (MSA). SAF helps to know who craft the collective framework and what power the crafter has to sell the frame work in the policy market. Whereas, Multiple Stream Approach (MSA) assists to identify policy actors who identify problem, propose solution and observers the recommended solution proposals in the policy making.

Both Ethiopian National Mass Media/Media Policy document and in-depth interview are coded, extracted, and summarized as categories and sub categories and ready for analysis or interpreted.

CHAPTER FOUR

4 Data Analysis, Presentation and Discussion

4.1 Overview of Mass Media Policy

The National Media Policy has five chapters, including the introduction part. Before the introduction chapter major key terms of the policy presented. Following the key terms the introduction section commences.

The introduction summarize major policy contents of the policy as follows .The policy use the concept of constitutional right of freedom of expression as a bed rock principle in order to achieve the whim of building democratic system and national consensus. The press guaranteed constitutional protection yet, fails to have appropriate executing policy at national level. In order to identify the barriers of constitutional guaranteed rights research conducted at national level and identified major problems of the press. To solve the problems in the research finding the new policy drafted and ratified.

The policy has four major sections. Section one includes concerns like the significance of the national media policy , basic philosophies ,visions , missions ,major goals ,principles ,scope ,aims ,executing strategies and media situation of Ethiopia.

The second section of the policy mainly focus on common policies and strategies for all medias .This section specifically incorporates issues such as establishing conducive legal framework , access to information , media ownership , organs who have the right to get broadcasting license ,mass media infrastructure development and Digital media convergence ,media leadership , types of media content diversity and composition ,Universal access of media , concept of co-production ,prioritizing special national agendas, medias role in serving the public, content and advertising influence , fair competition among public and private medias ,social medias ,opportunities and treat of print media ,media investment and incentives ,media self regulation and journalist associations , journalist protection ,professional ethics and standards , news agencies ,capacity building works and media regulation bodies are entertained .

Section three of the policy mainly addresses specific policy guidelines and strategies governing each medium. The specific policy deals with print media executing strategies , newspapers and magazines administered by the government , community newspapers and magazines , mass media executing

policy strategies ,public broadcasting service ,commercial broadcasting service ,community broadcasting service , website and online media executing strategies are stated under this section.

Section four of the policy mainly focusing on allocation of power regarding the national policy execution. According to the article the execution of the policy delegated to both governmental and non-governmental organs .Among them Media regulatory organ ,the mass medias itself , media council and journalist associations ,Academic institutions , Federal ,Regional and local people representative councils , different government and non-governmental institutions have a contribution for the execution of Policy.

4.2 Analysis of FDREMMP Media System and Media Policy Conception

This research deploys a combination of thematic comparison and theoretical generalization to identify and analyzing the type of Ethiopian Mass Media Policy used as a media system. Based on this assumption first part of the research applies to theoretical generalization in order to identify and analyze the type of media system Ethiopian National Media Policy applies. Theoretical generalization allows to “systematically arranges the categories in relation to each other and puts them in to theoretical context” (Puppis, 2019: 380)

“The linkage between media policy and theories explain the critical role the media play in the society” (J. Johnson & W. A, Johnson (2013:100). As base line for theoretical generalization, the research applies Mohammed AL-Ahemed characteristics of the six normative theories. According to AL-Ahemed five criterias are set to evaluate the normative press theories related to media systems. Media access, method of control, objective or motive, type of ownership, restriction and limitations are assigned to outline characteristics of among mass media with in categorized societies.

The old normative theories serve as a criterion for a long. Now the value system changed. In this era media models matters than the six normative theories. As stated “Is it possible to replace the four theories with a new set of models, better-grounded empirically but sharing something of the parsimony of the originals? Only with great caution” (D. C, Hallin and P. Mancini (2004:10) University of California Universit`adi Perugia:100 (Three media system models emerged i.e liberal model, Polarized pluralist model, Democratic Cooperationist model or Post Communism model.

Three basic concepts that are central to any new communications policy model are first is freedom of communication second access and third control/accountability. “Freedom of communication and free and equal access are related to the question of who is in control of the actual communication process [...] access has to be understood both in terms of being able to receive and to send”

These concerns serve as a criterion to categorize certain country media ecology as liberal model, Polarized pluralist model, Democratic Cooperationist model or Post Communism model. Writers like Paul D'Angelo (2013) in his “Media systems of sub-Saharan African countries” also conclude that Ethiopian Media system a head of the new policy drafting and ratification was categorized as “Repressive autocratic”

The research uses both the six old normative theories and the new media system models and their criteria of categorization to evaluate, identify and generalize the type of normative theory or media system model Ethiopian Mass Media policy in make use of.

4.2.1 Analysis of FDREMMP Media System media access

To begin with media access, liberal theory affirmed “whoever has control over the media has access to the public” (AL-Ahemed 1987 :13). Whereas developmental theory recites those working in line with national development policies will have access. “The media are seen as public institutions serving the peoples' needs and subject to government intervention in case o f deviation from development needs” (McAnany, 1980, McQuail, 1983, (AL-Ahemed 1987 :13). Authoritarian theory on the other hand narrate only the elite ruling classes, its representative or its permission holders have access. They are the sole beneficiaries of access to media (Vishnu, 2015: 38) (Vishnu, 2015:50). The Social Responsibility Theory “principles would allow open access to all.” (AL-Ahemed 1987:14). The democratic participant media theory states “individual citizens and minority groups have the right of access to media and served according to their own determination of need; the organization and content of media should not be subject to centralized political or state

bureaucratic control " (McQuail: 1983:97, AL-Ahemed 1987:18) Soviet communist (AL-Ahemed 1987:13) access is only available to those who either act within the accepted ideological framework or have sufficient financial power.

Coming to Ethiopian media policy, pursuant to Art 3.1 pp 8 old English versions the draft Ethiopian National media policy states “Equally media offer the public an opportunity to exercise their constitutional rights to access to information. (NMPE ,2018:7). On the other hand the ratified Ethiopian Mass media policy Art 2.8 paragraph 1 tells

አቅም በፈቃድ መጠን ሁሉም ዜጎች የመረጃ ተደራሽ የሚሆኑበት ሁኔታ ያመቻቻል። የሕዝብ ብሮድካስት አገልግሎት ተደራሽነትን በማስፋፋት የብሮድካስት አገልግሎትን ሁሉም የአገሪቱ ሕዝብ ማዳረስ ይገባል። ሁሉም የአገሪቱ ዜጋ የሬዲዮ ወይም የቴሌቪዥን ተከታታይ እንዲሆን ማስቻል፣ የኢትዮጵያ ሬዲዮና ቴሌቪዥን ሽፋን መቶ በመቶ እንዲሆን ማድረግ ያስፈልጋል። (ኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ .መ.ብ.ፖ፣2012፡ ገፅ 12)

The government tries it best to address all citizens information need. By expanding the public broadcasting service it is necessary to widen broadcasting service opportunity to the public. In order to create every citizens radio and television access it is expected to upgrade the coverage of Ethiopian radio and Television with 100 %.
(Translation by the researcher)

Both the new and old policies reiterate the stance of “Every citizen will have access to media” On the subject to media access the policy follows the stance of Social responsibility theory.

4.2.2 Analysis of FDREMMP Media System method of control

The second evaluative criterion for normative theory is the method of control. The six normative theories view method of control as follows. Marx argued that the “ruling class which controlled the material means of production also held sway over the means of psychological production and distribution, including the media. (Vishnu, 2015:38). The Soviet Communist (Totalitarian) theory in the Soviet Union, the media directly owned and controlled by the party reflect the party's ideological position, with at least as great a degree of inevitability. (AL-Ahemed 1987:6) Authoritarian says media is subjected to tight control by the authorities in their management and operation (AL-Ahemed 1987:10). The government or its agencies regulate the licensing and censorship. The Libertarian (free press) theory states that the forces of the market and the law control the media. Thence it is the profit factor which controls the mass media under this theory. (AL-Ahemed 1987:13) The social responsibility theory acknowledges the media are controlled by the general ethics of the community

and form the main environment for exchange of views and opinions. Professional code has a value too (AL-Ahemed 1987:14). Developmental (AL-Ahemed 1987:13) censorship and intervention by the government “ the moot point in this theory being that media should act as the harbinger of good and positive news, and focus on the developmental activities of the government rather than being judgmental or critical about it.”(Local press in the making, pp 34) The Democratic participation theory narrates the interchange of sender receiver role. “Simply put, media’s role for the democratization of ideas is foremost” (local press in the making, pp 36) .Taking the above theoretical discussion as a thematic comparison reference points the Ethiopian draft media policy art 2.1 states “The ultimate objective of this reform initiative is to stimulate the growth of an independent, diverse and vibrant media sector that serve the well-being of the people by creating a conducive framework to enhance this development.” (ENMP, 2018:6)

In addition the policy in article 3.14 added that the media should regulate themselves. In 2016, 24 media organisations had signed the Code of Conduct to become members.

According to the Code of Conduct to be signed by all its members, the EMC was intended to handle complaints and mediate between media and the citizens. The complaints mechanism is intended to replace the use of the criminal code against journalists and media houses. (ENMP, 2018:17) para 2

Article 5.13 further stated that “The Independent Media Council shall be the central authority that encourages journalist associations and media organisations to implement best journalistic practices by adapted codes of ethics for and editorial learning processes. (5.3 ፣pp27) para 3

Not only that the policy Art 5.14 paragraph 2 declare that “The responsibility to decide on journalistic issues will rest with the self-regulating body” i.e the media council. The EMC power is not only limited to quasi judicial role Art 5.1 further explains “The Media Council should develop editorial guidelines for various issues such as Court Reporting, Conflict Reporting, Factual Reporting versus Opinions, Gender Sensitive Reporting, Election Reporting, and Investigative Journalism.” (5.15 par 2) the council has legislative role on the issue of journalism.

The ratified Ethiopian Mass Media policy substantiated the concept in summarized manner

2.17 መግናኛ ብዙሃን ራሱን በራሱ የመቆጣጠር እና የጋዜጠኞች ማህበራት ፣ መግናኛ ብዙሃን የራሳቸውን ጠንካራ ምክር ቤት በማቋቋም፣ የራሳቸውን የሙያ መተዳደሪያ ደንብ በማዘጋጀት ፣ ጋዜጠኞች ብቃት ማረጋገጫ በመስጠት ፣ የሚቀርቡ ቅሬታዎችንም በመመርመርና በመወሰን ራሳቸውን በራሳቸው ማስተዳደር ይጠበቅባቸዋል ። (የኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ.የመ.ብ.ፖ ፣2012፡ ገፅ 11)

The mass media shall administer themselves by regulate and the journalist associations ,mass medias shall form strong council , prepare professional code of conduct ,giving professional competence certificate ,examine and give relevant decisions for public complains. (EMMP,2020: 11) (Translation by the researcher)

The policy allows mass Medias in Ethiopia to administer them by establishing relevant organ which act as quasi court, legislative and executive power. Thence the policy shares the features of social responsibility theory concept of method of control.

4.2.3 Analysis of FDREMMP Media System “objective of the policy”

The third normative criteria for policy conceptual foundation is the “objective of the policy”

The six normative theories views the objectives of a certain policy excepted to be portrayed as follows. Under the Soviet Communist theory the mass media are not allowed to criticize the party's. However, it is not forbidden to discuss and criticize the minor functioning and functionaries of the regime.(Siebert, 1976, p .141). Authoritarian regime views the media as whistle blower and expected to “propagate government policies” Under libertarian theory “mainly commercial enlighten amusement and watchdog” role played by the media. Social responsible Medias anticipated to “spreading healthy ideas among the public”. Development Medias plays “to achieve development goals” Democratic participation Medias strive to serve all the audience. (AL-Ahemed 1987:17) In this regard the draft ENMP remains silent to single out the specific objective of the policy. Whereas the ratified mass media policy pursuant to article 1.8 of the policy listed out the following major objectives

የመገናኛ ብዙሃን ከማናቸውም የፖለቲካና የኢኮኖሚ ተጽእኖና ጣልቃ ገብነት መጠበቃቸውን ማረጋገጥ፤ መገናኛ ብዙሃን በዝሃነትንና ስብጥር መሰረት አድርገው እንዲሰሩና የህብረተሰቡን መረጃ የማግኘት መብት ማረጋገጥ፤ 3. የመገናኛ ብዙሃን የሙያ ስነ ምግባርን ተከትለው ተገልጋዩ ማህበረሰብ ትክክለኛ፣ ሚዛናዊ፣ ተአማኒና ተጨባጭነት ያለው መረጃ እንዲያቀርቡ ማድረግ 4. የመገናኛ ብዙሃን መረጃን በማሰባሰብና በማሰራጨት ሂደት የተጠያቂነትን እሴቶች በማዳበር የድርጅቶች እና የግለሰብ መልካም ስምና ዝና እንዲሁም ሌሎች መብቶችንና ጥቅሞችን መጠበቃቸውን ማረጋገጥ ናቸው፡፡ (page 4: 2020)

*Protect mass media freedom from undue political and economic intervention
Enable mass Medias to entertain diversity and ensure public access to information 3. Mass Medias would follow professional ethics and serve shall serve the public with accurate, balanced, trust worthy and providing tangible information 4) Mass Medias shall develop professional accountability values .similarly they shall oversee institutions and individual integrity, rights and interests protected accordingly. (Translation by the researcher) (EMMP,2020: 4)*

From the above reading of the article Ethiopian Mass Medias are expected to act as independent media governed by professional ethics. And they are expected to “spread healthy idea among the public” like the social responsible medias do. Hence the type of theory employed by the national mass media policy is social responsible theory concept.

4.2.4 Analysis of FDREMMP Media System Media ownership

According to AL-Ahemed “Common questions may be raised about all systems of mass communication; who controls the output of any given media? Who owns it? Who does it serve? etc.” (AL-Ahemed 1987:24)

Concerning to the type of ownership in authoritarian the media is mostly public. In Libertarian most Medias owned by private. The Soviet communist type of ownership is dominated by the public. The social responsibility media system dominated by private ownership. Under Developmental mixture of private and public type of ownership reveals where as Democratic participation allows small scale private type of ownership.

Coming to Ethiopian Mass Media Policy pursuant to the draft media policy article 3.4 there are three types of ownership recognized by the policy. The first state which is owned by the federal or regional states, the second type of ownership is “commercial” or private the third category is “community stations” which is very unique and extraordinary concept to the six normative theories. Regarding to the proportion of Ethiopian media industry existence both the public and private medias are relatively equal in number .They are approximately counted in 10th. The number of community media over smart both private and public ration in three fold. There number at the time of policy ratification is close to 50. From this context it is hard to define Ethiopian context under normative narrative type of media ownership.

The ratified Ethiopian Mass Media Policy under article 2.3 reaffirms the stance of the draft policy

በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ የመገናኛ ብዙሃን ባለቤትነት በሕዝብ ፣ በንግድና በልዩ ልዩ ማህበረሰቦች የተያዘ ነዉ ። ይሁን እንጂ በአገራችን የንግድ መገናኛ ብዙሃን ባለቤትነትና ስብጥር ፍትሃዊ አይደለም። (ኢ. ፌ. ዴ.ሪ .መ.ብ.ፖ ፣ 2012፡ ገፅ 6)

“Media ownership in Ethiopia holds in the hands of the public , commerce and different communities. Yet the commercial media share in the media industry is unjust.” (EMMP,2020: 6)(Translation by the researcher)

4.2.5 Analysis of FDREMMP Media System restrictions and limitations

The last but not the least normative evaluative criteria of AL-Ahemed are restrictions and limitations imposed by the respective media system theories. In democratic participation the limitation is “not to be professional and promoting one way communication transaction.” Developmental theory prohibits “materials contradicting national development policies. “Threatening the public interest or individual right is not allowed in social responsible media system. The soviet communists see as enemy Medias who “criticize the ideological principle of the party” The libertarians prohibits acts of violating the liberal norm or “vulgar, indehiscent and sedition remarks in war time” Authoritarians abandon Medias “criticizing of the regime or its machineries”

With regard to Ethiopian Policy context “

Article 1.2(para 3 pp2) የወጣቶችን ደህንነት ፣ የሰውን ክብርና መልካም ስም ለመጠበቅ ሲባል ሕጋዊ ገደቦች በነዚህ መብቶች ላይ ሉደነገጉ እንደሚችሉ ፤ የጦርነት ቅስቀሳዎች እና የሰብአዊ ክብርን የሚነኩ የኢደባባይ መግለጫዎች በሕግ እንደሚከለከሉ በህገ መንግስቱ ተመልክቷል፡፡ በዚህም መሰረት ይህ የፖሊሲ ሰነድ ከላይ የተመለከቱትን መሰረታዊ እሴቶች ታሳቢ በማድረግ ተዘጋጅቷል፡፡ (ኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ .መ.ብ.ፖ ፣2012፡ ገፅ 2)

Pursuant to the FDRE constitution Art 29 sub 6 and 7 “ These rights can be limited onlyin order to protect the well-being of the youth, and the honor and reputation of individuals. Any propaganda for war as well as the public expression of opinion intended to injure human dignity shall be prohibited under the constitution. The policy also crafted with this notion too (Translation by the researcher)

From the previous policy articles the policy restrictions share two theories features i.e the libertarians and social responsible theories media system. The libertarians prohibits acts of violating the liberal norm or “vulgar, indehiscent and sedition remarks in war time” On the other hand social responsible media system not allowed “Threatening the public interest or individual right”. EMMP sets the “any propaganda for war as well as the public expression of opinion intended to injure human dignity shall be prohibited” the policy combines both the concept of social responsibility and Libertarian theories restriction concepts. This is the other peculiar feature of the policy.

4.3 Media System Model Analysis

In the literature review part, Paul D'Angelo thesis referred for media model types discussion. Paul D'Angelo (2013) in his thesis entitled “Framing of AIDS in Africa Press-State Relations, HIV/AIDS News, and Journalistic Advocacy in Four Sub-Saharan Anglophone Newspapers” portrayed the African media system context including Ethiopia form the three media system model types. In his concluding remark he categorizes the EPDRF regimes Ethiopian media system model as repressive autocratic. He is using, *Hallin and Mancini, media system categorization criterias i.e*

Professionalization, Role of the State in Media System, Newspaper Industry and Political Parallelism criteria. And the Ethiopian repressive autocratic media system model had a feature of state owned and run broadcasting , newspaper can be privately owned but remain heavily state supervised and regulated ,low press autonomy and high political parallelism: press has strong ideological tendencies.

From the time 2018 and on ward Ethiopia starts new journey in the media sector. New media policy crafted. Thence, what new line of thought the new policy brings than that of the former regarding to media system.

Media system “were originally conceived as press theories” Manuel & Mireya (2014:5). The policy theory analysis part addressed the other section of this thesis. Primarily this part will deal the media system analysis.

Formerly, the thesis referred Hallin and Mancini four media system categorization criteria’s of professionalization, role of the state in media system, newspaper industry and political parallelism criteria.

4.3.1 Degree of Development of the Mass Circulation in Ethiopia

Media system analysis primarily considers the structure of media markets, including, particularly, the degree of development of the mass circulation press; News paper circulation or proportion of public watching or hearing of news in broadcast medium. Bringing the theoretical notion to Ethiopian context a data collected from the Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority indicated that up to 2018

20 privately owned newspapers and magazines are under circulation. In a similar manner, 23 newspapers and magazines owned by the federal and regional states are circulating information for their audiences on various languages. ..Regarding the electronic media, there are 29 television (both privately and State owned) and 72 radio channels including regional, federal and community radio stations in the country. (Mulatu, 2019:6)

In order to define the media system calculating media per population ratio is used .Ethiopian media per population ratio is shows 0.00000002 %. From the above stated data the newspaper circulation in Ethiopia very low compare to media per population ration. And also the Medias are limited to urban especially in Addis Ababa. Such Ethiopian system models features seem Mediterranean system model.

4.3. 2. Political Parallelism in EMMP

The second media system comparison categorization criterion is political parallelism. Political parallelism deals party-press parallelism. Issues like media content—the extent to which the different media reflect distinct political orientations in their news and current affairs reporting, and sometimes also their entertainment content, journalistic role orientations and practices are considered.

Among the EMMP principles media considered as a public good. Pursuant to Article 3sub 1

“Medias role is to serve the Ethiopians need for information and education, to provide a platform where their concerns are voiced, and to stimulate dialogue among the people and constitute a bridge between the people and the leadership. Media is a public good that holds political and economic decision makers accountable to the public so that their work benefits the people and the country as a whole. (EMMP, 2018:8)

Media as a public good presumed to serve the information need of the people and uses as a platform for dialogue and be a bridge between the people and the leadership. Furthermore it expected to create accountability.

The FDREMMP Article 3.6 under the title of “Media pluralism and diversity” stated the history of Ethiopian media and political partys relation. “Ethiopia is characterised by media ownership concentration and in-house programme production with news reports tend to reflect and support the political agenda of the governing parties.” (FDREMMP, 2018: 12).For instance “According to the law for the Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority (EBA) news and current affairs programmes by commercial broadcasters and the state-owned broadcasters are obliged to enhance the participation of the public through the presentation of government policies and strategies...” (FDREMMP, 2018: 12). The federal government owned media serves the ruling party policy and strategy rather than the people public good. The regional medias are also “closely aligned to the regional authorities.” (ibid, 12)

The previous regime the party politics and media parallelism were confused. Another example for this trend is the regional public Medias. Pursuant to Article 3.7 the “management of regional public broadcasters are similarly appointed by the regional political authorities.” (2018:13).To readjust the previous misguided trend the policy introduces new trend.

Though the former policy stand entertains such a restrictive clause to the media Article 5sub 2 witnessed that “the Constitution will remain free from political interference...” (FDREMMP, 2018: 20). The 1995 Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, article 29 sub 2 states “Everyone has the right to freedom of expression without any interference.”(FDREC,

1995:9) Hence the constitution protects political interference yet the practice is different. In order to shape the distorted political party versus media parallelism the policy forwarded policy recommendations.

First, the policy Art 1 sub 1 stated that “all media and media platforms as a public good belonging to the people and serving the interests of the Ethiopian citizens.” (FDREMMP, 2018:4) This rule applies for both commercial and state Medias.

Second, the policy obliges the politicians to be accountable to the public regarding to access to information. Article 3 sub 3 of The draft National Media Policy of Ethiopia emphasize “Access to information is a key provision for citizens and media to hold public authorities and political decision makers accountable, to ensure that decisions are fair, and that public authorities serve the citizens efficiently.” (FDREMMP, 2018: 10).

The third policy recommendation is stated in Article 3.9 of the policy. The Article deals about Commercial Medias “*Commercial media prioritize the ability of the content to attract many strong consumers and thereby advertisers. The weaker they are the more they will be tempted to provide favorable reporting of companies or political parties against payments or for sponsors.* (FDREMMP, 2018: 14). Though commercial Medias expected to be fair and balanced to their reporting the market condition forces them to compromise their credit to political parties for their survival. Yet the challenge of compromising professional integrity will not be issues of commercial media.

Fourth, though the policy tries to set a balanced party politics verses media parallelism it seems to believe that the problem is eminent to exist. In order to solve such a challenge financing the media set as an option. Pursuant to Article 5 sub 12 of the policy describes “...the political intentions financial support from the state should ensure that media reflect the diversity of the population and provide all groups public interest content at price that makes it available to all, including marginalized groups. (ibid, 2018:26). The financial support provided as an option by the policy is with one condition. The financial support made by the state is when the state ensures that “the media reflect the diversity of the population and provide all groups public interest content at price that makes it available to all, including marginalized groups.”

The fifth remedy seems ensuring the commercial media management professional independence through licensing. Article 5 sub 5 of the policy affirmed that “Broadcast licenses to commercial media should require that media management is independent from political parties and only dependent on transparent external economic interests so that the content primarily reflects the voices and needs of the Ethiopian people.” (Ibid, 2018:23). Pursuant to that policy commercial

media expected to make themselves free from political parties interference and expected to abide for the public interest they stand for. The policy set this ideas as a principle when the commercial medias processing their license.

The policy wants to enforce this stand from community radios. According to EMMP Article 3 sub 6 whims “community radio may successfully contribute to diversity in languages and cultures, but religious and political radios are not granted a broadcast license to minimize the risk of tensions among local population groups.” (FDREMMP, 2018:12). Article 6 sub 7 of the policy reaffirm this position too. Secondly, Article 5 sub 3 states “Political parties and governments cannot own public service media.” (Ibid , 2018:21) too.

Sixth, the other measure taken by the policy is ensuring political parallelism in the policy is Article 5sub 3 concepts. The issue is about budgeting and fund of public service Medias. Pursuant to Article 5 sub 3 “Public service media may be owned by the state or by the regional states or be constituted as a public foundation. Their budget and funding should be separate from the general budget for the state or the region” (Ibid, 2018: 21) The policy stated in the same vain that “Public service media in countries with volatile democracies as Ethiopia are also typically perceived as particularly biased towards governments and parliamentary majorities.” (Ibid, 14)

Summarizing the policy measures, the policy consider media platforms as a public good belonging to the people and serving the interests of the Ethiopian citizens. Second, the politicians shall be accountable to the public regarding to access to information. Third, Commercial media prioritize the ability of the content to attract many strong consumers and there by advertisers. The weaker they are the more they will be tempted to provide favorable reporting of companies or political parties against payments or for sponsors. Fourth, financial support from the state should ensure that media reflect the diversity of the population and provide all groups public interest content at price that makes it available to all, including marginalized groups. Fifth, measure is ensuring the commercial media management professional independence through licensing. Political parties and governments cannot own public service media. Religious and political radios are not granted a broadcast license to minimize the risk of tensions among local population groups. Sixth, Public service media may be owned by the state or by the regional states or be constituted as a public foundation.

From the above discussion the policy seems to follow North Atlantic or Liberal Model. North Atlantic or Liberal Model follows Neutral commercial press; information-oriented journalism; internal pluralism (but external pluralism); professional model of broadcast governance—formally autonomous system.

4. 3. 3 Issue of professionalization

Issue of professionalization is the third evaluative criteria media system models. The development of journalistic professionalism; and one of the central criteria of this model is that the practice of a profession is “based on systematic knowledge or doctrine acquired only through long prescribed training” (Wilensky 1964: 138).

According to EMMP Article 5 sub 14 stated that “Legislation that jeopardizes the independence of journalists should be reviewed and adapted. The responsibility to decide on journalistic issues will rest with the self-regulating body discussed above” .Hence according to the spirit of the media policy professional issues concerns journalists and the profession itself wishes to be administered by the self-regulatory self administering body.

The other issue dealt by Ethiopian media policy is, the issue of self-censorship and crafting professional guide lines. The spirit of the policy read as follows pursuant to Article 5 sub article 15

“Self-censorship will be significantly reduced or even disappear when the legal basis to restrict journalistic practice is removed. The Media Council bases its decisions on an up dated journalistic code of practice, and the journalist associations gain influence. The Media Council should develop editorial guidelines for various issues.”

The policy emphasizes self-censorship shall be abolished .In addition according to the whim of the policy professional guide lines such as “code of practice” and guide lines focusing in different issues shall be drafted and ratified by a “presumed independent organ” by the policy called “Media Council”

The other policy recommendation for the professionalization of Ethiopian media industry is “5.16 Mid-career training” pursuant to Article 5 sub 16. According to the spirit of the policy

“State-supported hands-on training facilities should be established to house combined hands-on courses, on-the-job training and mentoring. National, regional, and international providers of highly specialized mid-career training should be invited to facilitate training sessions, including training-of-trainers, so improved journalistic methods will reach all parts of the country.” (2018: 28)

The excerpt defines state takes the lead for the professionalization of the country journalism through training.

From the cumulative discussion Ethiopian Mass Media policy have a feature of Strong professionalization; institutionalized self-regulation and the state only supports capacity building through training. Hence the policy shares the feature of Northern European or Democratic Corporatist Mode.

4.3.4 State intervention

The fourth media system evaluative criterion is the degree and form of state intervention in the media system. “The state plays a significant role in shaping the media system in any society. But there are considerable differences in the extent of state intervention as well as in the forms it takes” D. C. Hallin & P. Mancini (2004:49).

Among the state interventions “economic and social life, including an active industrial policy (Ibid, 2004:161) are among some of them. For media context “The differing roles the state can play as owner, regulator, and funder of the media are clearly rooted in more general differences in the role of the state in society (Hallin & Mancini, 2004) these roles of the state vary among nations and media systems. For instance “the state intervention, particularly in periods of dictatorship, interrupted the development of journalism as a profession” (Ibid, 2004:111) Whereas in “a strong liberal tradition of press freedom and freedom of information has coexisted with strong state intervention in the media sector as in other sectors of society. (Ibid, 2004:74) .The common and “important form of state intervention is surely public service broadcasting (Ibid, 2004:41). From the major types of intervention of the state in the media sector the following major types are assessed in the Ethiopian media policy.

4.3.4.1 State as Media owner

To begin with state as media owner, the draft national media policy Art 2 sub 2 states that there are “13 newspapers and 10 magazines that are owned by the federal and regionally owned publications. (FDRENMP, 2018: 7). The 1995 Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Article 29 sub 3 states the non interference of the state in manner that “Freedom of the press and other mass media and freedom of artistic creativity is guaranteed. Freedom of the press shall specifically include the following elements: (a) Prohibition of any form of censorship. (b) access to information of public interest.” (FDREC, 1995 :10). Sub 4 of Article 29 of the constitution states

“In the interest of the free flow of information, ideas and opinions which are essential to the functioning of a democratic order, the press shall, as an institution, enjoy legal protection to ensure its operational independence and its capacity to entertain diverse opinions.”

Though the press allowed to enjoy the constitutional legal protection, pursuant to Article 29 sub 5 of the constitution “any media financed by or under the control of the State shall be operated in a manner ensuring its capacity to entertain diversity in the expression of opinion”. Here the constitution acknowledges two preconditions. As clearly stipulated by the constitution, first is the state privileged to own media. Second, the type of media financed or owned by the state expected to “operate in a manner ensuring its capacity to entertain diversity in the expression of opinion.”

The draft National Media Policy (FDRENMP , 2018: 7) article 5 sub 3 talks about Media Ownership. It also reaffirms that “Public service media may be owned by the state or by the regional states or be constituted as a public foundation. Their budget and funding should be separate from the general budget for the state or the region.” Pursuant to the same article special exception is set by the policy i.e “Political parties and governments cannot own public service media.”

4. 3. 4 .2 State as regulator

Interference with media operation is strictly forbidden by the constitution according to article 29 of the constitution. Yet “These rights can be limited only through laws which are guided by the principle that freedom of expression and information cannot be limited on account of the content or effect of the point of view expressed.” Pursuant to Article 29 sub 6

The same article states “Legal limitations can be laid down in order to protect the well-being of the youth, and the honor and reputation of individuals. Any propaganda for war as well as the public expression of opinion intended to injure human dignity shall be prohibited by law.” Hence in this condition the role of the state as a regulator become feasible. And according to article 29 sub 7 “Any citizen who violates any legal limitations on the exercise of these rights may be held liable under the law.”

The other role of the state as a regulator is existed in the draft National media policy. Pursuant to Article 6 sub 7 Frequency allocations is given to the state. “Broadcast licensees shall be monitored regularly. Serious violations of license conditions or other provisions in this policy shall constitute grounds for withdrawal of the license after at least 3 warnings and advice on corrections.”

4. 3. 4 .3 State as funder of the media

Assumptions proposed made by the FDRE mass media policy article 3 sub 4 states “Commercial media are perceived as opposition media whereas state or regional state-owned public media are perceived as supporting the governing bodies.”

Such a friend and foe policy works in the Ethiopia media for a long. Pursuant to Article 5 sub 6 the draft policy both the private and the public act for the same purpose i.e “Media pluralism and diversity” under this concept

“It is essential that public service and commercial broadcasters as well as print media commit to serving the interest of the whole population. They must prioritize also giving voice to marginalized groups and the rural population and ensure that these groups have access to media.”(FDRE, 2018:12)

Though the policy wishes to align both the public and the private for the same purpose issues of funding is a center of controversy. Private, commercial media especially claim that “federal or regional governments are reluctant to allocate advertisements to private media and to treat them equally with state owned media.” The policy also assures “State-owned media are entirely dependent on funding from the budget of the state or the region as well as of advertisements — primarily from public institutions.”

In order to maintain the balance the media policy forwarded the following measure. According to Article 3 sub 13 issues of Media support entertained. “There is no direct media support from the Ethiopian state to private commercial media in Ethiopia and only rarely is the launch of community media supported.”

According to 5 subs 11 the policy implies what kind of support the policy proposes for print media is stated. “a state-owned facility used by all print media to ensure that print publications can be distributed across all major towns whether produced in regions or in Addis Ababa. The existing state-owned national printing house should reduce its price levels for printing significantly.”(Ibid, 26)

The other support proposed by the policy is empowering the country media professionals. Pursuant to Article 5 sub 16 “State-supported hands-on training facilities should be established to house combined hands-on courses, on-the-job training and mentoring.” (Ibid,2018:28)

To conclude the discussion about media system, Ethiopia newspaper circulation is very low compare to media per population ration. And also the Medias are limited to urban especially in Addis Ababa. Such Ethiopian system models features seem Mediterranean system model. The policy seems to follow North Atlantic or Liberal Model follows Neutral commercial press; information-oriented journalism; internal pluralism (but external pluralism); professional model of broadcast governance—formally autonomous system. Ethiopian Mass Media policies have a feature of Strong professionalization; institutionalized self-regulation and the state only supports capacity building through training. Hence the policy shares the feature of Northern European or Democratic Corporatist Mode. Regarding media ownership, any media financed by or under the control of the

State Public service media may be owned by the state or by the regional states or be constituted as a public foundation. State as regulator broadcast licensees shall be monitored regularly. Serious violations of license conditions or other provisions in this policy shall constitute grounds for withdrawal of the license after at least 3 warnings. The state as a funder, the policy allocates resource through advertising and capacity building. It is hard to conclude Ethiopian New media policy resembles among one of the media system model. Yet it seems the feature of Mediterranean /Polarized Pluralist model. Among the three sub models the policy shares contained democratic model.

4.4Media Policy Conception Approches

In the literature review part a section dedicated to “Approaches to Media Policy Conception” discussed policy articulation approach types. As Freedman (2008) identifies three fundamental approaches i.e. end-driven; instrumental (or administrative); and venue-based (or actors-driven) approach. Okon, P. E added the fourth the Ethical-Political (Okon, 2014:38) approach. Each of this approach has its own strength and weakness as it was discussed in the literature review part of this paper.

So, which approach Ethiopian National Mass Media policy follows? To get the answer thematic comparison between the literature referring “Approaches to Media Policy Conception” and Ethiopian National Mass Media policy compared. In the ratified policy document there is any clue regarding to the issue of policy conception approach followed. Whereas the National Draft Media Policy puts clear cut approach that the national media policy conception used. Article 2.1 of the National Draft Media Policy utter “The National Scenario” Under this topic the fourth paragraphs reads as following:

In June 2018, a draft National Communication and Media Sector Reform Plan (2017/18-2020) was developed by the GCAO Project Office for Communication and Media Sector Reforms in consultation with the Steering Committee, media sector representatives and relevant ministers and stakeholders from the media sector. (National Draft Media Policy,2018 (p 5)

Among the participants the former Federal government communication affairs office, Communication Director General Tamrat Dejene , witnessed “Relevant public and commercial media bodies were involved. Federal and state communication bureaus were also involved. In addition, some celebrities have been invited to participate. (T . Dejene ,personal communication, , March 3 2019)

Tamrat adds “technical committee was set up under the auspices of the committee and various experts from Fana, EBC, Walta and private media were started to provide technical assistance to journalists with better technical experience.” (Tamrat, D ibid)

Paragraph six of the National Draft Media Policy further indicates “The stakeholder-driven approach to media reform was inspired by similar media reform processes in Africa and in Europe which emphasizes the participatory involvement of stakeholders in order to secure commitment to the reform process.” (National Draft Media Policy, 2018: 5)

The aforementioned quotes taken from the draft policy paragraph 4 and 6 indicates stakeholders have a say in the policy conception and drafting. This implies Ethiopian Media policy follows “The stakeholder-driven approach” or Ethical-Political approaches which providing chance “the necessary participatory platform for stakeholders”

The National Mass Media Policy do not prefer to stick the three fundamental approaches of as Freedman (2008) identifies i.e. end-driven; instrumental (or administrative); and venue-based (or actors-driven) approach. Article 2.1 paragraph seven of the National Draft Media Policy states “This process aims to deliver on two fronts. On one side, this National Media Policy and on the other side, a Public Communication Policy that aims to improve the collaboration between the state, the media and the public.” (National Draft Media Policy, 2018: 5)

Among the policy conception approach the goal of the ethical-political approach is to appeal to policy makers, governments, and media professionals to continue to recognize the need to form a policy community (Okon, 2014:38) The parallel reading of the Ethiopian National Media policy with Ethical political approach shows similarity in the concept of participatory collaboration with in the policy community .Hence the Ethiopian National Media approach compatible with Ethical political approach and “capable of providing the necessary participatory platform for stakeholders to draw on the multiple benefits of end-driven, instrumental-oriented, and venue-based approaches to media policy formation.” (Okon, P. E.,2014: 43)

4.5 Analysis on Drivers of the Ethiopia Mass Media Policy

National Media Policy making is shaped by variety of factors. Among the major reasons change of system of government, technological advancement, political changes are some of the factors.

African scholars, in particular, emphasize on the importance of African ethical values and traditional systems among policy drivers. Okon, P. E. in his Doctoral thesis criticizes “ the failures of academicians not to give due attention to other drivers or “policy shapers” (Okon, 2015:79) Among

the major policy shapers or Drivers Technological Developments & Transfers, Development Initiatives of International Organizations, Indigenous Philosophical Traditions & Social Values, Concerns for National & Local Cultures, Political Economy of Communication, Modernization & Colonialism and Democracy & Popular Participation are the major policy shapers.

J. Johnson & W. A, Johnson (2013) summarize drivers “shapers” classification in to grand categories i.e political system and economic system drivers. According to J. Johnson & W. A, Johnson, “Political system: is one of the two major drivers of communication policy. The subsisting ideology upon which a nations polity is based shapes and directs media policy.” Siebert et al (1956), J. Johnson & W. A, Johnson (2013:106).

On the other hand J. Johnson & W. A, Johnson, defines economic system as the following

an industry and a business venture, the media system is driven by the dynamics and the interplay of the market forces and principles shape participation, ownership and access. How opened or closed is the economy? Does the economic system operates on free market, mixed market or closed Market? J. Johnson and W. A, Johnson (2013:107).

Which, among the two the FDRE Mass Media Policy follows?

Part 2 sections 2.1 of FDRE Mass Media Policy states about Policy Context. Especially the article listed out “The National Scenario” in paragraph 2 and 3 for the policy reform. Pursuant to article 2.1 paragraph 2 “ the media reform initiative will imply transformative change of policy and legal frameworks, strengthen independent media institutions, and improve media self-regulation.” (National Draft Media Policy, 2018: 5)

The other driver for the media policy reform is related to Ethiopian Freedom status in the world. According to article 2.1 paragraph 3

Ethiopia had seen an increasingly worrying media situation. In the World Press Freedom Index, Ethiopia fell from 137 in 2013 to 150 in 2017. In the Freedom of the Press 2017 Report, Ethiopia is ranked 46 in Sub Saharan Africa out of 50 Countries and 183 out of 195 globally. (National Draft Media Policy, 2018: 6)

From the cumulative reading of the above two paragraphs, three main reasons offered by the National Media Policy serve as shapers. The first one is stimulating growth of independent, diverse and vibrant media sector; second one is “to bring transformative change to strength media self

regulation independent media institution. The third instigating circumstance is Ethiopia Media freedom status in view of world freedom index.

From personal interview with among one of the participants in the policy drafting process was the former Federal government communication affairs office, Communication Director General Tamrat Dejene. In order to the know the policy drafters intention the researcher questioned the steering committee leader and former FGCAO, Communication Director General Tamrate Dejene.

According to Tamrate Dejene “the first reason Ethiopia Media Industry was lag behind from the international Media Industry technology arena. Second, there is a public demand on the format and presentation of the Medias. Third, the media industry organizational set up/structure is not complying with modern principle” T . Dejene , Communication , March 3 2019)

As claimed by Tamrat the lag behind of Ethiopia Media Industry from the international Media Industry technology arena which is a Technological Developments & Transfers issue. Second, there is a public demand on the format and presentation of the Medias which deals about content. Third the stagnating nature of Ethiopian media industry organizational set up/structure is not complying with modern principle are treated as driving force policy drafting.

The FDRE mass media policy in its preamble puts the following points as a pushing factor for policy development.

ይህን የመገናኛ ብዙሃን ፖሊሲ በማዘጋጀት ሂደትም ዋና ዋና የዘርፉን ችግሮች እና መስራት የሚያስፈልጋቸውን ወሳኝ ጉዳዮች ለይቶ ለማወቅ በአገር አቀፍ ደረጃ ጥናት ተደርጓል፡፡ ነባራዊ ሁኔታውም ተገምግሟል፡፡ በጥናቱ መሰረትም ፤ ምቹ የህግ ማእቀፍ አለመኖሩ ፤ የመረጃ እጦት መኖሩ፤ መገናኛ ብዙሃን ሁለን አቀፍ ተደራሽነት የሌላቸው መሆኑና ብዝሃነቱን እና ጥራቱን ጠብቆ ያልተሰፋፋ መሆኑ ፤ በስራ ላይ ያሉት ህጎች የጋዜጠኞችን የስራ ነጻነት የሚጋፉ መሆናቸው እና የመሳሰለት ዋና ዋና ችግሮች መሆናቸው ተለይተዋል፡፡(የፖሊሲው መግቢያ አንቀፅ)

In the process of developing this media policy, a national survey was conducted to identify the major problems of the sector and the key issues that need to be addressed. The prevailing situation has been assessed. According to the study lack of a proper legal framework, information, universal access to the media, and diversity and quality identified as major obstacles to the freedom of expression of journalists and other major problems also identified. (Translation by the researcher)

In the Ethiopian mass media policy context issues of “change of policy and legal frameworks, strengthen independent media institutions, and improve media self-regulation (National Draft Media Policy, 2018: 5) , Ethiopia had seen an increasingly worrying media situation (National Draft Media Policy, 2018: 6) , Ethiopia Media Industry lag behind from the international Media Industry technology arena , public demand on the format and presentation of the Medias , media industry organizational set up/structure is not complying with modern principle, lack of a proper legal

framework, information, universal access to the media, and diversity and quality identified as major obstacles to the freedom of expression of journalists and other major problems also identified.

As stated by J. Johnson & W. A. Johnson (2013:) issues of content ,ownership ,infrastructure ,training ,operation ,structure ,technology ,ethics ,legal framework ,national history and culture are included in the social system (the base) or the media system. The media system is influenced by both the political (ideology of the nation) and economical (the media market force) system drivers. Ethiopian Mass media policy drivers are indifferent from this context. Hence the policy used both the political and economic drivers for the policy formulation.

4. 6 The Policy scope, applicability and execution

Applicability of the policy viewed in two perspectives .One on the scope of the policy this is related to territorial scope or industrial scope especially in which medium the policy is applied. The other question that be addressed in this section is who execute the policy.

Starting from Ethiopian Media policy context starting, the Draft policy article 1.1 pp 1 implies what type medium will be covered by the policy “The national policy covers the following mass communication media in Ethiopia: i. e Print Media, Radio, Television, Online media and it also covers the Social Media.” (art 1,1.1 ,paragraph 1,pp 4). From media industry perspective there is any media type uncovered by the policy.

Regarding to the territorial scope of application of the policy the article 1.1 pp

Print media are defined as newspapers and magazines that are printed for mass distribution at national, regional or local level. Broadcast media cover radio and television. These media transmit by analogue or digital airwaves, cable, satellite or online streaming in real-time simultaneously received by a mass audience or individually downloaded from the internet. Online media are media that distribute their content to a mass audience by the internet only. (art 1,1.1 ,paragraph 1,pp 4)

According to the print media the newspaper and magazine that have “distribution at national, regional or local level” will be governed by this policy .Where as Radio , Television and the online media do not have such restrictions on the policy. Rather than the policy defining the territorial scope of the policy in these mediums it simply listed out the type of technology exploited by this medium. Hence there is no territorial scope limit for radio, television and online medium under the jurisdiction of Ethiopian.

Regarding to answering “who execute the policy” the draft national policy Don no mentioned the specific responsible organ in the policy.

When keep on looking the ratified FDRE Mass Media Policy 1.7 Page 4 policy Execution page 28 ,

የፖሊሲው ወሰን :-ይህ የፖሊሲ ሰነድ የሚከተሉትን የመገናኛ ብዙሃን አውታሮች ያካትታል:- 1. ጋዜጣና መጽሕፍት፣ 2. ሬዲዮ እና ቴሌቪዥን እንዲሁም 3. በባይነ መረብ አማካኝነት የሚሰራጩ የአገሪቱን ሚዲያን እና የማህበራዊ ሚዲያን፡፡(2012:4)

1.7 The scope of the policy this policy document includes the following media networks: 1. Newspapers and magazines, 2. Radio and television as well 3. online media and social media. (2020:4) (Translation by the researcher)

Under the new FDRE Mass Media Policy there is no detailed scope of application of the policy like the draft policy do. The policy only listed out the type of medium covered by the policy. And fail to define the territorial applicability of the policy.

Regarding to who is the responsible organ to execute the policy? the ratified policy part four single out each responsible organ and its respective duties accordingly.

ፖሊሲው በሚከተሉት መንግሥታዊና መንግሥታዊ ባልሆኑ አካላት ይፈፀማል፡፡ የኢየንዲዲም የማሰራጀት ሀሊፋነት እንደሚከተለው ይሆናል፡፡ 1. የመገናኛ ብዙሃን ተቆጣጣሪ አካል.....2. የመገናኛ ብዙሃን.....3. የመገናኛ ብዙሃን ምክር ቤትና የጋዜጠኞች የሙያ ማህበራት.....4. የትምህርት ተቋማት.....5. የሕዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት፣ የክልል ወይም የአካባቢ የህዝብ ምክር ቤቶች.....6. የተለያዩ መንግሥታዊ መስሪያ ቤቶች እና መንግሥታዊ ያልሆኑ ተቋማት፡- የመገናኛ ብዙሃን ዘርፍ ተገቢውን ድጋፍ በመስጠት፣ የፖሊሲው ተፈጻሚነት የበኩላቸውን አስተዋፅኦ ማበርከት ይኖርባቸዋል፡፡(ገፅ 28 ፣ክፍል 4)

The policy is implemented by the following governmental and non-governmental bodies. Each executive's responsibility will be as follows. 1. Mass Media Regulatory Body2. The Press... . 3. The Media Council and the Professional Associations of Journalists 4. Educational Institution 5. House of Peoples' Representatives, regional or local public councils 6 . Various government agencies and non-governmental organizations should provide appropriate support to the media and contribute to the implementation of the policy. (2020:28)(Translation by the researcher)

4.7 Analysis of FDRE Mass Media Policy in line with International media policy principles and legal instruments

4.7.1 FDRE Mass Media Policy in line with International legal instruments

How UNESCO media development index used for evaluation? As the literature refers the UNESCOs constitution or the media development indicator has an objective of “not intended as a tool to rank a countrys level of media development against that of others. Rather, they provide an assessment of the various gaps and weaknesses in the media development framework” (T. Mendel, 2019:1)

The MDI hierarchically group and sub grouped as categories, indicators and sub indicators. Amongst the MDI five major main evaluative criterias he first category concerns about “A system of regulation conducive to freedom of expression, pluralism and diversity of the media” (Mendel, 10) Under this category the first indicator is “Issue A.” deals about “Legal and Policy Framework”. Below this indicator there are five specific sub indicators. Based on this assumption the research compares MDI criterias with the old and new FDRE (Mass) Media Policy to infer weather the policy creates conducive system of regulation or not. The indicator requires both the law and the practice simultaneously. Since the scope of this research includes evaluating the practice this part of the research analysis frame from substantive perspective.

To begin with the first sub indicator state “Freedom of expression is guaranteed in law ...” (Ibid, 11) this should indicate how such mechanisms are relevant to the media. The Draft Media policy Art 3.2 talks about “Conducive legislative framework”. Under the same article paragraph 2 utter

the FDRE constitution article 29 “The Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia is a signatory to several international and regional legal instruments that guarantee the freedom of expression..” (FDREMMP, 2019:8) In paragraph 7 the similar article further states “Despite these clear constitutional provisions several articles” (ibid , 9) such as the mass media law ,the criminal code and the anti terrorist law and other “subsidiary media-related laws have in practice been interpreted so as to limit journalists and medias right to expression.” (ibid,) Yet it doesnt clearly stipulate these laws should be amended.

Pursuant to the ratified policy article 2.1 “በአገራችን ሃሳብን በነጻነት የመግለጽ መብት የማረጋገጥ የሚወጡ ህጎች ኢትዮጵያ የፀደቀችባቸዋል፡፡ አለምአቀፍና አህጉራዊ ስምምነቶችን የማይቃረኑና የተጣጣሙ መሆን አለባቸው፡፡” (FDREMMP,2012:6) “The laws enacted in our country to guarantee the right to freedom of expression must not contradict and harmonize international and regional agreements ratified by Ethiopia” (FDREMMP, 2012: 6)(Translation by the resercher)

The second sub indicator for category one evaluation point is Article 1.2 concept “The right to information is guaranteed in law” (ibid) In the draft media policy article 3.3 talks about Ethiopian trend about access to information. The provision reads “ Ethiopian journalism suffers fromgain access to information. Effective provision of Access to Information has been unsuccessful in almost

all public bodies at federal and at regional levels” FDREMMP, 2012: 10) The same article paragraph four further states “the media themselves ...researching and keeping stories alive waiting up to 60 days for the requested information demand a lot of resources” (ibid ,10) .The new FDRE Mass Media Policy affirms the same right to the public and the media. In order enforce the policy Article 2 sub 2 claims as follows

ዜጎች ከመንግስት ተቋማት መረጃ ማግኘት እንዲችሉ ተቋማቱ መረጃ የመስጠት ግዴታቸውን እንዲወጡ ተጠያቂነትን ማረጋገጥ፤ ሁሉም ተቋማት መረጃ በአንላይን የሚያስረጩበትን ዘመናዊ አሰራርን ማዳበርና ተግባራዊ ማድረግ፤ ፈጣንና ቀልጣፋ የመረጃ ፍሰት እንዲኖር ብሔራዊ የመረጃ ማዕከል በማቋቋም መረጃ በቀላሉ የሚሰጥበት አሰራር መዘርጋት፤ እራሱን የቻለ የመረጃ ነጻነትን የተመለከተ ህግ ከዝርዝር ማስፈጸሚያ ደንብና መመሪያዎች ጋር እንዲወጣ ማድረግም ያስፈልጋል፡፡(FDREMMP, 2012: 6-7)

Citizens can get information from government institutions; Institutions must be held accountable for fulfilling their obligation to provide information, and all institutions must develop and implement modern systems for disseminating information online. Establish a National Information Center for faster and more efficient flow of information An easy-to-use system should be developed. Law Enforcement of Independent Information from Detailed Enforcement It also needs to come up with rules and regulations. (Translation by the researcher)

The third sub indicator of UNESCO media development index is either “1.3 Editorial independence is guaranteed in law” (ibid, 14) or not. This sub indicator under line two major concerns of influence the first one “constitute informal or extra-legal harassment which do not amount to physical threats or attacks” (ibid).Where as the second one is “advertiser trying to blackmail an editor into not carrying a story which exposes problems with their product.” (ibid, 17). The draft policy article 3.9 discuss about other countries trend about media as a public service .It say nothing about like the title describes “Content versus advertisement conflict”. The type of measure when this conflict appears not mentioned.

The other point dealt with the draft media policy is about Protection of journalists. According to Article 3.15 of the FDRE draft media policy “and journalists directly or indirectly have been used to restrict journalistic freedom significantly and impose harsh and arbitrary sentences on media and journalists for many years.” (FDREMMP, 2012: 18). Among the legal frameworks facilitates this arbitrariness are The Criminal Code, Mass Media and Access to Information Proclamation and Anti-Terrorism Proclamation are some.

The ratified mass media policy portray how can content verses advertisement scenario in a clear manner in article 2.12

የንግድ መገናኛ ብዙሃን ከተዳከሙ ከፍተኛ የሚሰጣቸውና ስፖንሰር የሚያደርጋቸው የንግድ ድርጅት ወይም የፖለቲካ ፓርቲ እንዲጋለጡ በማድረግ የነሱን አላማ የማስፈፀም በሚያተኩር ዘገባ ላይ እንዲጠመድ ጫና ሊፈጥሩባቸው ይችላሉ፡፡ በመሆኑም ሁሉም የህዝብ፣ የንግድና የማህበረሰብ መገናኛ ብዙሃን በፍትህዊነት

ከመንግስት የማስታወቂያ በጀት ተጠቃሚና ተወዳዳሪ እንዲሆኑ የመንግስት ተቋማት የማስታወቂያ በጀት ክፍፍል ግልፅ የአሰራር ስርዓት ሊዘረጋለት ይገባል፡፡(ibid , page 15)

If they are weak, the media can expose them to a commercial or political party that pays them and sponsors them, so that they become involved in reporting on their goals. Therefore, in order for all public, commercial and community media outlets to be fair and beneficiaries of the government's advertising budget, there must be a clear system of distribution of government budgets.” (ibid ,15) (translation by the researcher)

The issue of Protection of pursuant to article 2.18 “በመገናኛ ብዙሃን ተቋማትና ጋዜጠኞች የአሰራር ነጻነት ላይ የሚከሰት ጣልቃ ገብነትና ተፅዕኖን መከላከል የመገናኛ ብዙሃን ተቋማትና ጋዜጠኞች መብትና የደህንነት ሕጋዊ ጥበቃ ወይም ከሌላ ማድረግ ያስፈልጋል፡፡ በአንፃሩም ጋዜጠኞችና የመገናኛ ብዙሃን አካላት የአገርና የህዝብን የደህንነት እንዳይጣሱ የተጠያቂነት አሰራርንም መዘርጋት ያስፈልጋል፡፡” ገፅ page 16)

“The rights and safety of media institutions and journalists need to be protected. On the other hand, there is a need to establish accountability so that journalists and the media do not violate national and public security.” So protection of journalists acknowledge by the policy. (translation by the researcher)

The fourth sub indicator is Journalists right to protect their sources or anonymity. According to Article 1.4 in order to create a Conducive legislative framework "like the access to information anonymity of sources will be upheld in law “ (ibid , 20). The ratified FDRE policy “እነዚህም መረጃ የመሰብሰብ፣ የመቀበልና የማሰራጨት እና ምንጮችን ያለማሳወቅ መብቶች በሕግ ጥበቃ ሊደረግላቸዉ ይገባል፡፡” (FDREMMP,2012:6)These include data collection; the rights to receive, disseminate and disclose sources must be protected by law. (FDREMMP, 2012: 6) (translation by the researcher)

The fifth MDI to create a conducive legal and policy framework pursuant to Article 1.5 The public and civil society organizations (CSOs) participate in shaping public policy towards the media

Policy old Art 2 sub 2.1 para 4 further discussed in the stakeholders analysis part

In June 2018, a draft National Communication and Media Sector Reform Plan (2017/18-2020) was developed by the GCAO Project Office for Communication and Media Sector Reforms in consultation with the Steering Committee, media sector representatives and relevant ministers and stakeholders from the media sector. (para 6)

The new policy say nothing further discussed in the stakeholders analysis part except Journalist Source of information protection all the four MDI concepts included in the FDRE (Mass) Media Poicy.

Hence Ethiopia is the part of the above discussion spirit of international law since Ethiopia is a signatory of the International legal Instrument .If we see how this will be feasible in the Ethiopian context is it should be noted that the 1995 Ethiopian Constitution provides “All international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the law of the land and that the fundamental rights and freedoms specified in the Constitutions shall be interpreted in a manner conforming to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenants on Human Rights and international instruments adopted by Ethiopia” (Articles 9(4) and 13(2)).

Such is the context in which Article 29 of the Ethiopian Constitution - Right of Thought, Opinion and Expression should be understood and interpreted and hence the standard against Which this study examine the National Media Policy.

Since the Ethiopian National Media Policy drafted with the bastion of Article 29 of the constitution it doesn't mean that the policy is compromised. Pursuant to article 9 of the constitution Supremacy of the Constitution declared. “Article 9(1.) The Constitution is the supreme law of the land. Any law, customary practice or a decision of an organ of state or a public official which contravenes this Constitution shall be of no effect. Since the National Media Policy document is part of any law and customary practice it is expected to be compatible with the constitutional principle to have a binding effect otherwise the contrary is true.

4.8 Policy stakeholders, advocacy Collation Framework and Media field Approach Analysis

4.8 .1 FDRE Mass Media Policy Collective Framework Analysis

In order to identify the role and impact of policy actors or stakeholders this research employed Media Filed Approach. As discussed in the literature review part Media field approach is a combination of Strategic Action Filed (SAF) and Multiple Streams Approach. Among the two in this part of the research SAF help to analyze policy actors/stockholders power in the issue, actors position and tactics used to sell their proposed idea in the policy making forum and actors frame of reference they used based on their position and participation in the policy making.

Eight policy actors interviewed for the purpose of indentifying the policy actors power and influence in the FDRE Mass Media policy making. That is ,Tamrat Dejene ,former Communication Director General at Federal government communication affairs office and EBA now at Ethiopian Media Authority Head of secretary office the newly EMA , Wondesen Mekonen, Ethiopian Free Press Association (EFPA) , Meseret Atalaye, Ethiopian Journalist Association President (EPA) Tamrat

Hailu (Owner of Kumneger magazine and Executive of Ethiopian Press Council)(EPC) , Yared Belete (Communications at UNDP ,Democratic Governance and Peace Building Unit)(UNDP) , Aderaw Genetu ,NPO Communication and Information at UNESCO Addis Ababa Liaison Office for AU and UNECA(UNESCO) , Wubeshet Shiferaw (Senior Advisor at Justice for all Prison fellowship Ethiopia (JAPFE) ,Solomon Goshu (Media and Communication Advisor)(MCA) , Former Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority Director General, Getachew Dinku (PhD) interview with Prime Media and office of the prime minister “Policy Matter” also exploited this part the analysis

When change exists at any time dominant powers compete to get support. That is the time to create “collective frames serve to galvanize support for a given cause (Fligstein and McAdam, 2011: 7).196). In the Ethiopian context there was a political change in the country. In amidst Ethiopian Government in collaboration with UNDP start up the media reform project two years ahead of this research. But the actors of the reform are not only Government Communication Affairs and UNDP rather other stakeholder also takes the share of the policy reform.

Among the above listed actor who is the major policy actor players influence the media policy making. As Fligstein and McAdam says “In a stable environment, it might be easy for incumbents to evoke established collective frames; however, when a SAF is in a crisis, it might be easier for challengers to define new ways of thinking about goals and practices (see, for example, Brüggemann et al., 2016)

For a long the Ethiopia media govern by the rule set by the government only at the time of the reform pledges to work together with Ethiopian government offered from various actor. Along with them the UNDP, UNESCO, Prison fellowship Justice for all are some of them.

4.8 .2 Ethiopia National Media Policy Challengers vs Incumbent analysis Policy Actors Analysis

“Studying incumbent and challenger roles entails mapping the actors and their relative position as well as the mix of coercion, competition and cooperation characteristics to the field and their transformations over time as a result of disruption.” (Kari, S.J, Vilde, S.S and Bernard, E.(2019: 198). Qualitative and quantitative network methods could be used for this purpose, as well as qualitative interviews and document analysis employed too.

Two points analyzed from the above extract one is a challengers and incumbent issue that helps to map actors incumbent and challenger position. Second, based on the first idea the power manifestation of actors i.e coercion, competition and cooperation will be discussed.

To begin incumbent and challenger category in the literature review part “Incumbents defined as a strongly influential and dominant actors within a field, and the actors interests tend to be deeply engrained in how the field is organized, the existing organization and purpose of the field will serve the interests of incumbents actor in terms of rules, resource flows and shared understandings. Based this definition among the actors , Ethiopian government fulfill the above feature of incumbent, the ultimate power on how the media policy organized and the purpose of the policy decided by it .The media policy is serving the interest of Ethiopia government and its institution. Since the gathering of the above stated policy actors agenda framed by the Ethiopian government the government considered as Incumbent.

The second actors are Challengers who occupy less privileged positions within the field and usually have little influence over its operation. Even though challengers often conform to the existing order, they might still formulate alternative visions about how the field could function.

Based on this thematic definition amid the stockholders (policy actors) the better position is controlled by UNDP and UNESCO. Yared Belete, Communications at UNDP describe the role they have in the policy making is “during this process is rather than giving the money we hire international consultants and experts like hiring media consultant” (Y. Belete, personal communication ,(April 31/2019). Aderaw Genetu , UNESCO Addis Ababa Liaison Office for AU and UNECA states “We have this tool(the media development index) and other tools. At the same time, we are working to implement this tool, primarily with the UNDP, to develop a media policy in the country as an input” A. Genetu , personal communication ,(April 31,2019). The other actor is Justice for All Prison Fellowship Ethiopia. Wubeshet Shiferaw Senior Advisor at Justice for all Prison fellowship explains “Our participation in the study of the policy. Generating ideas If you have ideas. Our role is to help make the ideas of the government or stakeholders come true” W. Shiferaw, personal communication ,June 15 ,2019)

From the aforementioned reason the UNDP, Justice for all Prison Fellowship Ethiopia and UNESCO occupy less privileged position within the policy making and have little influence on the operation. The three organs often conform to the existing media policy offers. Yet they might still formulate alternative about how the national media policy shaped. Since this organs have a a lesser power than Ethiopian Government or Ethiopia Media Authority the are the challengers.

In the policy making the other stockholders are the governance units. Governance units are entities that are charged with overseeing compliance with field rules and making the system function. For this research context these stakeholders are the professional associations i.e Ethiopian Free Press Association (EFPA) , Ethiopian Journalist Association President (EPA) Ethiopian Press Council(EPC) and (Media and Communication Advisor)(MCA) fall under this category.

Following the previous discussion raising from Incumbent, challengers and governance unit the role structure of the field may be built on .The other element is power manifestation issue. The power different mixes i.e coercion (when a dominant actor or coalition of actors control valued resources impose the rules of the field under threat of withdrawal of these valued resources), competition (when actors struggle for resources) and cooperation (when actors make alliances to provide and control valued resources)

The issue of resource and power mainly mount between stockholders who have competing interest. For the purpose of this research the issue mainly concerns the incumbent and challengers i.e Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority (now EMA) verses UNESCO ,UNDP and JFA-PFE.

Table 1:- Manifestation of power relation between incumbent and challengers

Policy Actors/Stakeholders	Manifestation of power relation	
	Related with EBA(EMA)	Manifested power relation type
UNESCO	We dont intervene matters of states and government. We only provide options What we do is facilities recommend them to adopt MDIs A. Genetu , In-depth interview ,(April 31,2019).	Competition for providing options
UNDP	-Our relation is based on bilateral agreement -expertise and financial support there is no free launch (Y. Belete, In-depth interview, (April 31/2019).	Pushing forward or influencing
JFA-PFE	Role of JFA-PFE is supporting efforts made by Ethiopia government We do not substitute the role of the government W. Shiferaw, In-depth interview ,(June 15 ,2019)	cooperation

To summarize the power structure and the power position among the actors, the power structure of the field is built on UNDP and EBA (EMA) is Pushing forward or influencing because when a dominant actor or coalition of actors (EBA(EMA),UNDP) controlling valued resources impose the rules of the field under threat of withdrawal of these valued resources. Whereas the relation between EBA (EMA) and UNESCO is competition for providing options (when actors struggle for resources i.e the rule setting) and EBA(EMA) verses Justice for all is cooperation (when actors make alliances to provide and control valued resources).

4.8 .3 Media Policy window stakeholders analysis

The second theoretical segment of Media filed approach multiple stream approach. As we discussed in the literature part MSA centered on how ideas are forged into policy. MSA framework contains five structural elements: problems, policies, politics, policy windows and policy entrepreneurs (Zahariadis, 2007). Among these five elements the three are very crucial.

Because policy change occurs when three elements exist at the same time i.e the problem, the policy and the politics streams are combined in critical moments and termed *policy windows* (Cairney and Jones, 2016; Kari ,S.J , Vilde, S.S , Bernard ,E :2019;195)

4.8 .3.1. The Problem Stream

To begin with problem stream “ the empirical task will consist of identifying which problems are made salient, how these salient problems are framed and which fields actors and coalitions stand behind the different formulations of salient problems.” (K. S. Johnsen , V. S. Sundet, B. Enjolras, 2019:200) . From FDRE Mass Media Policy context the task of identifying which problems are made salient for policy drafting is given to the former Ethiopia Government Communication Office Affair then to Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority(now named Ethiopia Media Authority). The former Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority Director General, Getachew Dinku (PhD) states about the issue for “Policy Matters” tube show that “we were also supported by consultants both international and local consultants and they carried out a study. And brought their findings to our attention and then the media policy drafting process also started that way ” ([#PolicyMatters](#) [#pmoETHIOPIA](#) ,2021) “ with partners such as UNDP, an international consultant and a local consultant were hired to conduct the study” (T . Dejene , personal communication, February 6,2019). Among the stockholders Justice for all prison fellowship Ethiopia in collaboration with the Former Government Communication Office Affair conduct research about FDREE Mass media policies and laws, identify problems, challenges of the media and forward recommendations. “We started two years ago. We had an assessment that we should work on the law and solve the practical problems. These

initiatives are accepted by the government because they are real gap.” (W. Shiferaw, personal communication, June 15, 2019)

The outcome of the collation stakeholder research, shows as a salient feature of the country do not have a national media policy till the drafting starts. The absence of reference document showing the future direction of Ethiopian Media Industry, the lagging of Ethiopian Media Industry technology, public demand on media format and presentation, the media Industry structure not comply with modern principles are identified as the problem streams.

4.8 .3.2 The Policy stream analysis

The second part of policy window analysis is policy stream .In the policy stream, “the empirical investigation will be concerned with not only the nature of policy solutions that are put forward by different coalitions and actors but also the degree of acceptability of these solutions. (K. S. Johnsen , V. S. Sundet, B. Enjolras, 2019:200).

Regarding the policy solutions Justice for All , UNESCO are put forward their findings and standards. The first solution forwarded to the Ethiopian Media Policy was in a collaborative study of former government communication affair and Justice for All Prison fellowship Ethiopia. The 16 point recommendation summarized as follows.

Due to the Absents of Media Policy in the country the following gaps are created and adjusted based on the recommendation accordingly. First Universal Access of Media and in order to interpreted it in real term it needs Universal Access Fund ,Issue of Media Support, Encouraging Amateurs ,Incentive and Support for Print Media, Public/Government Medias Administration, Public Mass Media Income ,Media role for national affairs, Establishing free and fair competition ,Strengthening national Media Agency ,Media ownership of Ethiopian Diaspora, Media ownership of religious Institutions ,Facilitating for Journalists to organize professional association themselves according to their interest, Establishing Journalist Training ,research and awarding institution ,Establish and Use common broadcast Infrastructure, Digital Convergence in Media and Communication.”

The second recommendation was given by UNDP and UNESCO. UNSECO set and recommend countries to refer its constitutional principles i.e Media Development Indicator. “we are working to implement this tool, primarily with the UNDP, to develop a media policy in the country as an input” (A. Genetu , personal communication , April 31,2019). Yared Belete UNDP communication director reaffirmed UNESCO MDIs model as a reference. “We weigh up through that and give our reflection based UNESCO tools” (Y. Belete, personal communication, (April 31/2019). Aderaw Genetu emphasizes about UNESCO standard status “When we say MDIs measures countries media

development in other word it shows countries strength and weakness. Our goal is to give them a point of reference to Policy makers than competition and comparisons among countries.”

So how much the FDRE Mass Media Policy incorporates Justice for all and UNESCOs MDI recommendations. Referring the above sated argument lets identify the grain from the chaff, the issue and principles of FDRE Mass Media policy. This research employs UNESCO MDIs Category 1 the issue deals “A system of regulation conducive to freedom of expression, pluralism and diversity of the media” (Mendel, 10) about as a point of reference. Under UNESCO Media Development Index standard there are five major categories and contain 50 indicators and 100s of sub-indicators. Since examining all the criteria is out of the scope this research hard to achieve it difficult to conclude all UNESCO standards are become part of Ethiopian Media Policy. But recommendations made by Prison Fellowship Ethiopia plays a vital role on the conducting of a base line study which serves as a crucial input for media policy drafting.

4.8 .3.3 The Politics stream analysis

The third policy window analysis is the politics stream “the empirical analysis will inquire into the ways the problems are perceived by the public, politicians, political parties and other interest groups.” Since this research not includes politicians and political parties, there is no any evidence regarding their view. Among the pubic and interested group EBA (EMA), EJA ,EFRA and EPC are par of it. From the legislature, a consultant and Drafter of the new media policy view includes as follows.

To begin examination “the ways the problems are perceived” by interested groups this part of analysis begins with the two Journalist associations. Meseret Atalaye , President of EPJ observe the problem as “ it is better to have a policy rather than having not. At least the policy exists under this framework. We as stake holder raise the issue the countries policy direction and give the due comment.” (M. Atalaye, personal communication, April 2019).

Ethiopian Free Press Journalist Association (EFPJA) president, Wondesen Mekonen perceive the Media Policy problem as lack of stake holder participation in the policy making. “There is a game of friend and foe regarding to the reform. The only way that benefits the country is conducting a frank all inclusive discussion...Because all the works done not for individuals ... the issue is the nations.” (W. Mekonen ,personal communication, August ,2019)

The other association shared the reflection is the Ethiopian Press Council. Tamrat Hailu the executive member of the council state “the issue of the media policy pending for a long time The policy has many gaps and I dont think so there is any organ that own it.” (T. Hailu , personal

communication, October 2019) emphasizing about the policy executing organ. For Tamrat the other gap of the policy cited by Tamrat was licensing religious and political media. Formerly “Ethiopian press law limits these two organs to have their own media. But in reality is different. So the policy shall have the answer to this and other related questions.” (T. Hailu ,ibid)

The other stakeholder is Solomon Goshu a Media and Communication Advisor and law drafter. He has a connection with FDRE Mass Media Policy. He perceive the policy as merit than problem “The policy, which is very liberal, contains many changes that are good news for the actors in the field, which are fundamental to the previous policy frameworks.” (S. Goshu , personal communication, March ,2021)

Solomon added how the policy has value in the future media legal drafting

As a legal draftsman, you cannot decide on a policy where you do not know the government's policy. The first legal draft number One Input is a policy. You need to know the direction of the policy. It is the government that makes the law.. (S. Goshu , ibid)

Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority Director General, Getachew Dinku (PhD) interview with Prime Media and office of the prime minister “Policy Matter” .“ there was no risk of prescription .Whatsoever no prescription .we had to make sure that. It all had to come from the process and from the discussions. We were very open to international practices and standards.” ([#PolicyMatters](#) [#pmoETHIOPIA](#) ,2021)

Policy choices and policy change occur in cases where the problem, the policy and the politics streams are combined in critical moments and termed *policy windows* (Cairney and Jones, 2016)

From the above discussion the problem, the policy and the policy stream analyzed accordingly.

These will be considers as the EFRDE Mass Media Policy, policy outcome or policy window.

4.9 Findings

- Regarding to normative theoretical analysis of FDREMMMP media system feature shows both the draft and ratified policies have a particular social responsibility theory mode of media access
- Regarding “method of control” both the draft and ratified policy give the Ethiopia Media Council has the power of quasi legislative, executive and judiciary power in Ethiopian

journalism profession. The FDREMM policy has a particular social responsible normative theory feature in this regard too.

- From policy objective view the FDREMM has a stand of “media are independent only governed by professional ethics” the policy takes a particular social responsibility normative theoretical feature whereas draft policy does not have any clue.
- FDREMM states three types of media ownership public ,private and community it is hard to categorize among one of the six normative theory especially related to community radio
- FDREMM shares the feature of a particular social responsible and liberal feature of restrictions and limitations.
- In general the FDREMM fits with the social responsibility normative theory in the issue of media ownership ,method of control ,objective of policy ,the restriction and limitation has the spirit of liberal and social responsibility
- From the reading of draft policy and in-depth interview analysis the FDREMM follows stakeholders driven or ethical approach of policy conception approach. Which mean all concerned policy actor get involved and have a say in the policy making process
- Regarding the policy driver or shapers from in-depth interview findings the policy initiated due to economic and political motives
- FDREMM scope of application apply to all media outlets and regardless of the type of ownership
- International legal instruments and policy making principles incorporated in the FDREMM
- The collective framework set by the government ,the local actor Justice for All Prison Fellowship Ethiopia (JFAPFE) and International stakeholders (UNESCO and UNDP)
- In the power relation the government is the incumbent, the challengers are UNDP, UNESCO and JFAPFE because they have the valuable resource for policy making and simultaneously propose their own policy solution. The journalist associations are takes role of governance unit in the policy making
- In the policy window analysis or multiple stream approach the problem stream lead by Ethiopian government , JFAPFE ,UNDP and identify the policy lacuna for the media sector and the related problem due to the absents of the policy. The same actors propose solution. UNDP propose UNESCO MDIs incorporate in the policy drafting where as JFAPFE and EGCOA identify 16 policy recommendations. All JFAPFE and EGCOA recommendations included and get high degree of acceptability
- The policy problem perceived by Ethiopian Media Council as the policy do not have specific organ specially related to execution the ratified policy solve this issue. Second licensing the political and religious media still need an answer. From law drafter perspective the policy

resolve problem of reference in the law making. The journalist associations have a positive feedback about the policy.

- Ethiopia media system model seems the feature of Mediterranean /Polarized Pluralist model. Among the three sub models the policy shares contained democratic model.

CHAPTER FIVE

5 Conclusion and Recommendation

5.1 Conclusion

The first “national media policy” in the history of Ethiopia drafted and opened for discussion in October 2018. After 18 months the draft policy ratified by council of ministers in August, 2020. The research examines five basic themes. The types and approaches of drivers the policy conception, the type of media system theory used to build the conceptual foundation of the policy, actors/stakeholders role and influence in the policy making, issues of international legal instruments and policy principle consideration and the future possible implementation raised as a questions and researched. Two data sources are used for the research i.e. the policy document and in-depth interview.

The policy document is analyzed qualitative document analysis. Both the draft and ratified policy undergoes through the analysis. To analyze the content of the policy in the eyes of the six normative media theories theoretical and thematic analysis is employed.

The in-depth interview analyzed with two theories, Stakeholders analysis and Media Filed Approach (MFA). Stakeholders analysis to identify, select relevant policy actors and get their views and testimonies in the policy making. The second theoretical analysis employed in the in-depth interview is Media Filed Approach (MFA). It combines Strategic Action Filed (SAF) and Multiple Stream Approach (MSA). SAF helps to know who craft the collective framework and what power the crafter has to sell the frame work in the policy market. Whereas, Multiple Stream Approach (MSA) assists to identify policy actors who identify problem, propose solution and observers the recommended solution proposals in the policy making. And based on all this analysis scenarios the research outlined the following finding. Ethiopia media system model seems the feature of Mediterranean /Polarized Pluralist model. Among the three sub models the policy shares contained democratic model.

5.2 Recommendations

- 1) The Policy allows mass Medias in Ethiopia to administer them by establishing relevant organ which act as quasi court, legislative and executive power i.e. the media council. The media council in practice led by media owners and most of the concerned bodies that means journalists are unrepresented. The policies do not provide a solution to solve such problem.
- 2) Pursuant to Ethiopian Mass Media Policy there are three types of ownership recognized by the policy. The first state which is owned by the federal or regional states, the second type of ownership is “commercial” or private the third category is “community stations” which is very unique and extraordinary concept to the six normative theories. It is hard to define the type media system in this context.
- 3) The policy considers media platforms as a public good belonging to the people and serving the interests of the Ethiopian citizens. Political parties and governments cannot own public service media. Religious and political radios are not granted a broadcast license to minimize the risk of tensions among local population groups. Public service media may be owned by the state or by the regional states or be constituted as a public foundation. Yet the state still owns media with the name of public. Hence it is hard to achieve political parallelism between the politics and the media
- 4) Newspaper circulation in Ethiopia very low compare to media per population ration. And also the Medias are limited to urban especially in Addis Ababa. The policy provides solution for newspaper about how to expand the circulation to the regions. Yet it doesn’t include such a solution for broadcast.
- 5) Ethiopian Mass Media policy has a feature of Strong professionalization; institutionalized self-regulation and the outlined that the state only supports capacity building through training. Yet the major problem of most media in Ethiopia is finance. The policy promises such issue will be addressed by allocating advertising to the media. The policies do not imply how the advertising distribution will be implemented on the ground the
- 6) The policy influenced by various actors’ interest. UNDP contributed the valued resources in terms of fund. The other wing of UNDP, UNESCO is providing policy options as a standard. PFE-Justice contributed for base line study. Since examining all the criteria is out of the scope this research hard to achieve it difficult to conclude all UNESCO standards are become part of Ethiopian Media Policy. But recommendations made by Prison Fellowship Ethiopia plays a vital role on the conducting of a base line study which serves as a crucial input for media policy drafting. The policy seems influenced by various actors’ interest. Further studies should be focusing in this arena.

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የኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ የመገናኛ ብዙሀን ፖሊሲና ሕጎች ፤ ተግዳሮቶች እና የመፍትሔ ሀሳቦች ፤ በኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ

ጉዳዮች ፅ/ቤት እና በጀስቲስ ፎር ኦል ፕሪዝን ፌሎውሺፕ ኢትዮጵያ የተጠና ፤ ታህሳስ 2011 አዲስ አበባ ኢትዮጵያ

በኢትዮጵያ የዴሞክራሲያዊ ስርዓት ግንባታ ጉዳዮች ፤ ግንቦት 1994 ዓ.ም ፤ አዲስ አበባ

የኢትዮጵያ ፌዴራላዊ ዴሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ የሚዲያ ፖሊሲ የመጀመሪያ ረቂቅ ፤ 2011 ዓ. ም ፤ አዲስ አበባ

የኢትዮጵያ ፌዴራላዊ ዴሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ የመገናኛ ብዙሀን ፖሊሲ 2012 ዓ. ም ፤ አዲስ አበባ

Appendices

I. English in-depth interview Policy actors in the policy making Annex

-Major Policy Actors -Former Office of Government Communication Affair Representative, Prison Fellowship Ethiopia, UNDP and UNESCO is among some of them

-Why they Select? Actors like Justice For All had a land mark contribution on research input for policy making, Former Government office of Communication Affair is a major stake holder ,UNDP and UNESCO also contribute their own share and have experience on the former government crafted “The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Government Developmental Communication Policy and Strategy”

Questions

- What’s your role in the policy?
- Why your institutions support the policy?
- In what precondition your organization such project?
- What purpose your organizations want to achieve?

I. Amharic in-depth interview Policy actors in the policy making Annex

በፖሊሲ ማውጣት ሂደት ተቋማችሁ ምን ድርሻ ነበረው?

በምን ምክኒያት ነው ተቋማችሁ የፖሊሲ ማውጣት ሂደቱን የደገፈው?

የፖሊሲ ማርቀቅ ሂደቱን ሲደግፍ ተቋማችሁ ምን ቅድመ ሁኔታዎችን አስቀምጦ ነው?

ይህ ፖሊሲ አሁን ባለው ደረጃ በመቀረፁ ተቋማችሁ ምን ግብ አሳክቷል?

II. English in-depth interview for interested groups affected by future implementation of the policy annex

Selected Groups Ethiopian Journalist Association, Ethiopian Free press Journalist Association and Ethiopian Press Council

Why they selected? In the Scope of the Media Policy First Draft Document stated that “The national policy covers the following types of mass communication media in Ethiopia: Print Media, Radio, Television and Online Media.”

It also covers the Social Media. Though the new media do not have a representing association on the current Ethiopian Context .Even if they are controversial, the rest outlets are represented by this Association and Councils.

Questions

Are you participated in the policy formulation?

How many discussions you participated?

What Claims you raised during the policy discussion?

Is your demand incorporated in the policy?

How much the policy is Ethical to the profession?

Do you believe the policy making process free from biases? If yes How? If no how?

What do you say about the implementation?

III. Amharic in-depth interview for interested groups affected by future implementation of the policy Annex

በፖሊሲ ማርቀቅ ሂደቱ ላይ ተሳትፈህል/ችሃል?

ምን ያህል ውይይቶችን ተሳተፋችሁ?

በፖሊሲ ውይይቱ ወቅት ምን አይነት ጥያቄዎችን አነሳችሁ?

የኛንት ፍላጎት በፖሊሲው ውስጥ ምላሽ አገኝቷል?

ፖሊሲው ምን ያህል ሙያዊ ስነምግባርን ያከበረ ነው?

ስለ ፖሊሲው ተፈጻሚነት ያለህ ሀሳብ ?

የፖሊሲ ማርቀቅ ሂደቱ ከአድሎአዊነት የፀዳ ነው ብለህ ታምናለህ?

IV. English version of Policy Context analysis criteria's Annex

4.1 What is the purpose of the policy (for the organization or the state)?

4.2 Are drivers or forces behind the policy evident?

4.3 What values underpin and guide the policy and are these linked to local or national strategic and quality issues?

4.4 Are there multiple values that might create tensions?"

4.5 Mainly concerns like purpose of the policy, forces behind the policy values underpin local or national strategic issues, issues create tension. These points are focuses related to research objectives and Questions.

VI. English version of Policy Text analysis criteria's Annex

Policy text is the content of the policy document and the core focus of analytical activity. It is this text that needs to be subjected to detailed data analysis, especially in qualitative research where the issue is not the mere counting of words but the questioning of the text as one searches for answers. As Bell and Stevenson (2006) assert,

- 4.1. How is the policy structured and how does the text provide evidence of its construction or development?
- 4.2. Purposes and the values that underpin the policy?
- 4.3. What are the key elements of the policy?
- 4.4. Are they associated with local or national legal or regulatory requirements?
- 4.5. How the policy could be interpreted from a variety of standpoints?
- 4.6. Are there related procedures specified in the text that provide guidance for practice?

VII. English version of Policy Consequence analysis criteria's Annex

- 5.1 What is the intended overall impact of the policy?
- 5.2 How is policy implementation intended to be monitored?
- 5.3 How and when is the policy to be reviewed?
- 5.4 How does the text draw attention to important aspects of practice related to the policy?
- 5.5 Current strengths and positive aspects of the policy in practice?
- 5.6 Current concerns and negative aspects of the policy in practice?

VIII. Interviewees Profile

- 1) Yared Belete , Communications at UNDP ,Democratic Governance and Peace Building Unit @ UNDP, August ,2019
- 2) Solomon Goshu , Media and Communication Consultant and the drafter of the newly mass media law, March ,2021)
- 3) Getachew Dinku (PhD) , Former Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority Director General, interview with Prime Media and office of the prime minister “Policy Matter” (January ,2021)
- 4) Meseret Atalaye, Ethiopian Journalist Association President (EPA)(April ,2019)
- 5) Tamrat Hailu (Owner of Kumneger magazine and Executive of Ethiopian Press Council)(EPC) (October ,2019)
- 6) Wondesen Mekonen, Ethiopian Free Press Association (EFPA) (August ,2019)
- 7) Aderaw Genetu ,NPO Communication and Information at UNESCO Addis Ababa Liaison Office for AU and UNECA(UNESCO) (April ,2019)
- 8) Justice for All (JFA) Wubeshet Shiferaw (Senior Advisor at Justice for all Prison fellowship Ethiopia (JAPFE)(June ,2019)
- 9) Tamrat Dejene , former Communication Director General at Federal government communication affairs office and EBA now at Ethiopian Media Authority Head of secretary office the newly EMA (March , 2019)