

**A Study on the Role of Journalistic Professionalism in
Regulating and Improving Ethiopian Journalism**

BY

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ABSTRACT

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Ever since press freedom was announced in 1992, Ethiopian journalism has drawn the attention of many researchers. Many of the studies have focused on the impact of external factors, such as government and other interest groups on the press and practice of journalism. However, the influence of press and journalism itself has been very rarely studied, and this study was meant to fill this gap.

Journalism in Ethiopia has suffered from a tug of war between state owned and private media as well as within the private media; this division has made the threat to press freedom twofold. This study attempted to examine the cause(s) for the division by eliciting views of media owners, directors, editors, journalists, journalists associations, and journalism educators; it also tried to examine the role of journalistic professionalism with respect to regulating and improving Ethiopian Journalism.

To this end, data were gathered through in-depth interviews from key informants, who were picked up purposively and whose responses were analyzed qualitatively within the theoretical framework of Differentiation Theory, and Hallin and Mancini's Polarized Pluralist conceptual Model.

Accordingly, the 1992 unprecedented transformation of Ethiopian media landscape from state monopoly to 'liberalized' and 'privatized' media system was found to be the major cause for the division. This being the major cause, however, the study has shown that journalistic professionalism has not yet been conceived by the media practitioners as an important instrument in guarding off outsiders' pressures in general and state interference in particular.

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List of Acronyms

AAU	Addis Ababa University
BBC	British Broadcast Corporate
CPJ	Committee to Protect Journalists
EBA	Ethiopian Broadcast Authority
EEJA	Ethiopia Environmental Journalists association
EFPJA	Ethiopia Free Press Journalists Associations
EHJA	Ethiopian Health Journalists Association
EIJA	Ethiopia Independent Journalists Association
EJA	Ethiopia Journalists Association
ENA	Ethiopia News Agency
ENJU	Ethiopia National Journalists Union
EPSJA	Ethiopia Professional Sport Journalists Associations
ERTA	Ethiopia Radio and Television Agency

ESJA	Ethiopian Science Journalists Associations
ETV	Ethiopia Television
EWMA	Ethiopian Women Media Association
FBC	Fana Broadcasting Corporate
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FMMAI	Freedom of Mass Media and Access to Information
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
IFJ	International Federation for Journalists
OGCA	Office of Government (Ethiopia) Communication Affairs
UDHR	Universal Declaration on Human Rights
UNESCO	United Nation Education Science and Culture Organization
VOA	Voice of America
PPM	Polarized Pluralists Model
DCM	Democratic Corporatist Model
LM	Liberal Model

Chapter One

Introduction and Background

1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the topic of the study. It establishes the background, and states the problem. It also presents the rationale for carrying out the study, the significance of the study and definitions of some important concepts used in the subsequent chapters.

1.1. Background of the Study

In the history of the Ethiopia press, the year 1991 is considered as a hallmark. It marked the downfall of the military government and the coming of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [FDRE] into power, which changed the media landscape. Since then, the press has been guaranteed constitutional rights enshrined in 1995 constitution (Article 29).

Along with other basic democratic rights, like the right to freedom of expression, press freedom has been boldly incorporated in the constitution: - prohibiting (state from) any form of censorship before publication and access to information for public interest (Article 29/3). Consequently, private media have emerged and joined the Ethiopian press for the first time while the former state (owned) media remain under the government hand but with a new approach, that is declaring it as public media.

In the last couple of decades, the FDRE enacted different proclamations, other than the provision embodied in constitution, to create an enabling environment for freedom of expression and press freedom. Instead of rely on the common law approach like that of United States and other western countries, Ethiopia has chosen to enact a specific press bill. Freedom of Mass Media and

Access to Information [FMMAI] (2008 by repealing the 1992 press law) and Broadcast Proclamation (2007) are the specific bills that govern the media sphere.

The government also signed international institutional agreements such as Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR – Article 19), International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR- Article 19), African Charter on Human and People’s Right (Article 9) and the Windhoek Declaration on African Broadcasting (1991).

On the other hand, government has been blamed enacting subsequent laws that directly and indirectly restrict the practice of freedom of expression and press. The revised criminal code of 2004 (article 643 criminal defamation on top of civil liability), charities and societies proclamation (2009) and the anti terrorism proclamation (2009) are the major that concerned bodies mentions as suppressing. A recently enacted directive by the publishers on terms of publishing also listed as barrier. To a larger extent, the freedom of mass media and access to information (2008) also criticized for some of its provisions such as Article 42 (Africa media Barometer, 2010:13). Other than these, Amare Aregawi listed out Investment Law, Election Law and Anti-Corruption Law as restrictive legislations (Amare, 2009:31).

Due to such seemingly contradicting issues, the press has drawn the attention of many researchers. Terje S. Skjerdal (2011), who has conducted lots of study in Ethiopian journalism and media, described Ethiopian media scene as polarized between private and state owned media similar to the situation elsewhere in Africa. This is further emphasized by Gudeta (2008:9) in such a way that there is a North-South Dichotomy in the press. Of course, this is a resonance of the political environment of the nation as Kassoma (2000:22) puts it, “*the press of a nation reflects the politics and vice versa*” (italics is mine). In such battlefield, the practice of

journalism and performance of journalist and media are highly criticized putting the public interests aside.

For instance, a study on “The Political History of Private Press in Democratic Ethiopia from 1991 to 2007” (Hallelujah, 2008:) uncovered that the independent [private] press had not succeeded in performing its role both as necessary prerequisite and a co-requisite for democracy and multiparty politics ethically and professionally. In addition, another study dealt with self regulation of private press (Gudeta, 2008) showed that both the private and state owned media were not functioning in line with the recognized journalistic standards. A more extended critique came from Gebremedhin Simon (2006) quoted by Birhanu (2006:15), “[Ethiopia] Media hardly provide a forum for promoting freedom of expression and exercise of other democratic rights”.

A more comprehensive statement that includes both private and state owned media, in general, about the problem in the practice of journalism in Ethiopia was given by Öyvind Aadland and Mark Fackler (2001):

The absence of a free media tradition in Ethiopia has resulted in lack of adequate provisions for developing independent, professional journalism. Also lacking is a professional board or other mechanism to determine whether press content fits the press bill's criteria for press responsibility and for the taking of lawful measures.

Regardless of such studies' findings and many others not mentioned here, the freedom of press and practice of journalism are still with its defect in addressing the Elements of Journalism (Kovich and Rosenstiel, 2007). As mentioned above, the press, particularly, the private press and the state media are continuing to blame each other and by others for doing this and not doing that; the real problems are not yet resolved.

One thing that everybody can clearly see now is that the numbers of private press in the last 20 years is declining. Though there are some individuals and organizations who take this to show to what extent the government is repressing freedom of press by promulgating various proclamations, others take it as evidence how incompetent private press is to address the demand of the public and pushed out of the market as a result; the mediocre are there, too.

In most cases, the previous researchers had made their focus either on the state or on private press to see the state and condition of the media and press in Ethiopia. Their interpretation, conclusion, and finding meet at the cross road of exogenous factors such as Government, Advertisers, Public Relations, Influential news resources and Interest Groups (Reese, 2001).

It was Birhanu Olana (2006), for the first time, tried to see it from the inside by studying professional orientation of Ethiopian journalists through survey of role perception. He put the condition as follow:

In general terms; however, the research attempts so far lacked to observe journalists' self - perception of their journalistic roles, judgment of journalistic standards and their professional service orientation. As the primary role takers in discharging responsibilities of mass media organizations, where and what was the position of journalists? And how do they perceive the role of journalism? These questions should have been addressed in previous studies (p.22).

It is not exaggerated to say half of the question, journalists and journalistic associations, was missed in dealing the nation's media and works of journalists. Little has been done concerning the role and responsibility of the journalist to protect, improve and preserve press freedom other than questioning their role, independence and others. In short, the shortcomings of journalism as being intrinsic to the way journalism is produced [practiced] has rarely been studied yet; the

interaction and the interrelation among the journalists in Ethiopia seems forgotten in the study of Journalism and Media.

Claude–Jean Bertrand (2006) explained how internal factors are ignored in focusing and emphasizing the external factors that affect the hemisphere of the media.

Everywhere in the world, the problem [with journalism] has been perceived more serious as the commercialization and concentration of media. More and more books have been devoted to the topic as well as conferences, programs on television and radio, and special issues of reviews. They have denounced media outrage as well as deep flaws; they have sought media vices and transgressions; they have expounded ethical principles and norms. What has never (or rarely) been done was to look for practical instruments to get the media to respect the rules, with no recourse to the government (p.viii).

What has been going in Ethiopia since the study of the media is not an exception; what has not been done in Ethiopia was to look for practical instruments to protect and improve media environment with no recourse of the government. Amare Aregawi, a veteran journalist and managing director (formerly editor- in – chief) of bilingual (Amharic and English) Reporter Newspaper noted that the press in Ethiopia has also been in danger from within (Amare, 2009:31). What makes the case worse is that media stations, press and more importantly the journalists are divided themselves in this and that groups (Shemelis, 2000; Birhanu, 2006; Africa Media Barometer Ethiopia, 2010). Consequently, the segmented and fragmented journalistic organization and media industry overshadow the hope to have such instruments to make the press better.

Similarly, Theodoer L. Glasser and Lise Marken (2005) asserted how journalism can be improved as follows:

Any effort to "make journalists [journalism/press/media] better", must begin with a commitment to prepare journalists to talk openly and eloquently about what they do and who they do it, an articulation of purpose of the press that amounts to more of explication of journalism than a defense of journalists (p.264).

If it is so, one way for journalists to talk to organize themselves in union or association of their interest, specialization, genre, gender, location and et cetera. In Ethiopia, journalists have a right to organize themselves into professional association of their choice (Freedom of Mass Media and Access to Information, Article 5/b).

There are around handful of journalists associations or unions formed by journalists: Ethiopian Journalists Association [EJA est.1968], Ethiopian Free Press Journalists Association [EFPJA est. in 1993], Ethiopian National Journalists Union [ENJU est.2003], Ethiopian Independent Journalists Union [EIJU], Ethiopian Science Journalists Association [ESJA], Ethiopia Environmental Journalists Association [EEJA], Ethiopian Media Women's Association [EMWA], Ethiopian Professional Sport Journalists Association [EPSJA] and recently Ethiopian Health Journalists Association (EHJA). There is also movement to create publisher association by owners of private press; it is on the verge of actualization (Amare Aragawi, Personal Interview).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

It may be stating the obvious to say that Ethiopian journalists have been concerned with championing the “free press” without any significant effort to protect it from the external factors. They have been continuously accusing those, particularly, the government for interfering to the free flow of information and endangering the press, but they could not well organize themselves to struggle the suppressions. Instead of involving themselves in regulating the profession, they have only insisted supplanting the government in professional affairs. Francis P. Kasoma (1996) emphasizes that *in its haste to clean up society of its scum, the African press and indeed the world press, has often forgotten or simply ignored the fact that it also badly needs cleansing* (italics is mine).”

Similarly, there is hardly any interrelation and interaction among them in order to help balance freedom of press to responsibility and accountability. They are divided and refused to see each other let alone make a dialogue and cooperate to form a synergy to speak in one voice in order to make the practice of journalism better. For that matter, in the case of Ethiopia “who really represents journalists’ interests legally” is unclear which gives the government regulatory body - Ethiopia Broadcast Authority [EBA] - a monopoly power. The existing journalistic associations/unions that somehow claim themselves as representative are fragmented and not inclusive. As Birhanu (2006:61) puts it the polarized and intense conflict existed in the professional associations of journalists has led many journalists to dissociation than to association.

Regardless of the existing various professional association, there is no single code of ethics or agreement that binds them together. Shemelis (2000) described such division in studying the state private press of Ethiopia from 1991 to 1999 as follow:

. . . the polarization of the print medium in Ethiopia - not just the conventional division between the government and the private but also within the independent [private] press itself: between those which are opposed and those which are friendly to (some would prefer to say 'critically supportive of') the government in power (p.38).

Further, he claimed that Ethiopian private press came to life as 'rebel' (2002:199). As a result, the division between journalists in the government – controlled (owned) print medium and those in the private press in the founding of the two rival associations: EJA and EFPJA (ibid.). Even the division went on and ENJU and EIJU were formed by those who were formerly member of EFPJA (Birhanu, 2006). In general, media in Ethiopia are categorized as Government affiliated, opposition affiliated, less politicized and moderately pro- Government (Terje S. Skjerdal, 2013).

In his article 'Save Journalism to what ends?' Tobie Wise (2008) claimed that much of the woes that journalism is going through at present are self-inflicted. There is mistrust and poor cooperation between media outlets, institutions and society, in general, mar the image of the press there. Belonging-togetherness was generally lacking among news-people.

In short, there is poor unification towards their profession; they lack a spirit of “we-ness” to unite and stand up together for their profession. Hallelujah (2008) put the situation as limitation in conducting his study as follow: Lack of a strong and all-inclusive journalistic association and the reluctance of the industry to stand and speak as a single institution with common interests is the

other major problem the researcher faced while conducting the study. Its dissociation, its lack of solidarity, integration mechanisms, and structures are holding back them to have unification per their profession.

As a result, the tug - of - war that exists between journalists from the government media and those from the private media and within the private media makes the threats to freedom of press twofold. That is freedom of press and professional journalism standards, in Ethiopia are strongly affected by lack of unique platform or effective cooperation among journalists and journalistic associations. Despite facing the same problems and obstacles in their everyday work (working conditions, different types of pressures, salaries, social protection, etc.), journalist's communities, in general, media industries lack dialogue and solidarity to defend jointly their common interests such as freedom of the press.

Therefore, the cause(s) of division and sub – division of journalists and professional journalistic associations should be studied and addressed in order to regulate and improve the practice of journalism. Furthermore, the role of journalistic professionalism in improving and regulating this disparity should also be studied in order to thwart the cause(s) for such divisions and sub-divisions.

1.3. Rational of the Study

This particular thesis is relevant because it aims to assess and analyze the role of journalists and their organization in protecting, promoting and preserving press freedom. The research focuses on the interrelation and interaction among journalism and their organization in promoting press freedom. In other words, the main purpose of the thesis is to study how *professionalism and*

Professionalization, in general, and professional standards can be used to regulate and improve journalism. It also attempts to come up with recommendations in light of the analysis.

1.4. Objectives of the Study

1.4.1. General Objectives

The study was conducted with the general objectives of:

- 1) Examining the cause(s) for division (state/private journalists) and subdivision (private journalists affiliated to government/private journalists affiliated to opposition party) among journalists and journalistic associations/unions, and
- 2) Examining the potential of journalistic professionalism in regulating and improving journalism in Ethiopia.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

The following are the specific objectives of the study:

- 1) Examine the attitude of concerned bodies (journalists, media owners, government bodies, educators etc.) towards the division and sub division of journalists and their division.
- 2) Identify the differences between government and private media journalists.
- 3) Examine the visions and missions of journalistic associations/unions.
- 4) Explore the interrelation and interaction of the associations/unions.
- 5) Examine the role of the associations in improving and protecting the press.
- 6) Identify the activities that have been done by any of the unions/associations so far.

1.5. Research Questions

Underneath are some of the questions which the study would attempt to answer:

- 1) Who are Journalists?
- 2) How do journalists organize themselves?
- 3) What kind(s) of interrelations and interactions are there among journalists
- 4) What are the challenges journalists faces in organizing themselves?
- 5) What does the relationships that exist among their associations/unions look like?
- 6) What role and function does their organization play in protecting and improving press freedom, improving the practice of journalism and performance of the media?

1.6. Significance of the Study

The study has in that it attempts to show the bigger image of journalistic professionalism regarding its role in the freedom of the press and the practice of journalism.

Media scholars and practitioners, historians and other academicians can benefit from the study by using it as a background document to study the period which is so complex as well as decisive era in the history of democratic Ethiopia. It can also initiate more research, as well as alert concerned stakeholders to act up on the results of the research. Specially, it would serve as a point of departure in studying the press from the inside; concentrating on journalistic professionalism.

1.7. Scope of the Study

As it is elaborated in the background and statement of the problem, the locus of the study is the practice and performance of journalism in both private and state mainstream media with in Addis Ababa. This is so, because most of the mainstream media are published and/or broadcasted in Addis Ababa. Though there are significant numbers of journalists in regions and local areas, the

research stick to the capital for most of regional journalists work only for state owned media. Almost there is no private owned media in any of regional states. In addition, only EJA, EPJA and ENJU are taken from the associations/unions for the reasons that they have more populace in terms of members and generic ones.

1.8. Limitation of the Study

The main limitation that would be a great challenge for this study might be the tension that exists in the media sphere and journalists. Most media editors and journalists are too reluctant to cooperate regardless of being major stakeholders for the study. The lack of well documented and standardized data about journalists and the media, in general, would be another limitation. For instance, except ENJU, most unions/associations have not well developed web pages.

1.9. Definition of Concepts

A) Elements of Journalism: this refers to journalists' principles, rights and duties in practicing journalism. Regarding this the researcher opts for Kovach and Rosenstle: The Elements of Journalism (2003) in conducting this study. The Ten Elements of journalism what Newspeople should know and what the public should expect are listed as follow:

- 1) Journalism's first obligations is to the truth
- 2) Its first loyalty is to the citizen
- 3) Its essence is a discipline of verification
- 4) Its practitioners must maintain an independence from those they cover
- 5) It must serve as an independent monitor of power
- 6) vi)It must provide a forum for public criticism and compromise

- 7) It must strive to make the significant interesting and relevant
- 8) It must keep the news comprehensive and proportional
- 9) Its Practitioners have an obligation to exercise their personal conscience
- 10) Citizens, too, have the rights and responsibilities when it comes to the news

B) Journalistic Professionalism: this refers to the criteria in order to be journalism considered as Profession in relation to Elements of journalism. Here, in this study the three dimensions of professionalization: 1) Autonomy, 2) Distinct professional norms and 3) Public service orientation proposed by Hallin and Mancini is used as guide in defining the criteria for journalism to be professionalism.

Chapter Two

Review of Related Literature

2. Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to the presentation of literature survey that relates the concept of professionalism, and its role in changing and controlling the occupation. It also attempts to assess brief history of Ethiopia media and issues in relation to the practice, and prominent theoretical foundation for the study. It begins by reflecting brief history of Ethiopia.

2.1. Brief History of Ethiopian Media since 1991

In Ethiopia the year 1992 is marked as big bang for the media. While the birth of the modern State Media traces back to the 1900s, the Private Media are recent phenomena of the post 1991 independent press era. There were explosion of private media ever in the history of Ethiopia (Terje S. Skjerdal, 2012). The private Press had flooded the city as the liberalization and privatization of the media guaranteed by the EPRDF 1995 constitution. For the first time the constitution boldly enshrine Prohibition of censorship and access to public information. It includes Article 19 of UDHR word by word as Article 29. Besides, specific proclamations: - Freedom of Media and Access to Information, and Broadcast Proclamation have been enacted to further strengthen media freedom.

The Ministry of Council (1997) has also enacted a regulation for the commencement of first Mass Media Training Institute in the Addis Ababa to teach and train journalists. Currently, journalism education at faculty, college, department and course level is offered in almost all Higher education institutions Nationwide in undergraduate and graduate programs. As a result, the country's media environment has undergone fundamental changes since 1991.

Consequently, we have been witnessing quantitative and to a very lesser extent qualitative changes in the media industry: the nature and specifics of journalistic activity have changed; formats have changed, along with the market and content of journalistic work; and there has been a convergence of traditional media – the press, radio, – and television, network media and mobile telephony.

However, the explosion as well as the flood last for few years; the birth rate and survival rate of the press has been incomparable (Birhanu, 2006). In 2005 National Election, most of the private press suspended and more than dozen of journalists ended up in jail following the post election chaos (Halleluie, 2008). The recent phenomenon in press freedom of Ethiopia is journalist prison sentence alleged of terrorism activities. The government is highly criticized for enacting subsequent laws, for instance, Anti-Terrorism Proclamation (No. 652/2009) that suppress press freedom and clampdown practice of critical journalism. According to program broadcasted in Aljazeera Listening Post (2013) that focus 'Ethiopian Journalism under Anti-Terrorism Law', 11 journalists received harsh prison sentence (5 jailed -3 Local Journalists and 2 Swedish journalists latter pardoned, and 5 in Abstain) and 2 more still waiting for trail. Besides, dozens of journalist flew and many countless forced to practice self – censorship in fear of that. Nicholas Muirhead program producer extended the critics that terrorism and critical journalism are starting to look like one and the same. The program concluded that the proclamation blurs the lines between Journalism and Terrorism. On the other hand, the government keeps on officially announcing that these peoples are in prison due to their terror activities not being for journalists.

Notwithstanding the government indirect and systematic repression of press freedom, most question the professional standards of journalism practice in Ethiopia; it is suffering from low professional standards. There is no as such effective cooperation and a unique platform among

journalists; instead, the journalists fragmented and segmented organization, intense conflict among them and under qualified media personnel worsen the threat to press freedom and impoverished practice of journalism (Shimles, 2000; Skjerdal, 2011; Hallelujah, 2008; Birhanu, 2006; Mekuria, 2005; Gudeta, 2008). Other than these studies, nowadays the degree and extent of journalism professionalization is partly under due consideration in studying media freedom and the practice of journalism.

2.2. Journalism as Profession: Professionalization and Professionalism

Efforts to professionalize journalism began early in the twentieth century as a response to the hyper commercialization of newspapers and the “anything goes” approach to news that emerged in the late nineteenth century as a means of increasing street sales through sensationalism, twisting the truth, and outright lies. Since then, journalism has been dogged by discussions about professionalism (Schultz, 1998).

The case has been as equally important as freedom of the media (Ognian Zlatev, 2011). It has been considered as a way to practice ‘good journalism’. Nowadays, all that goes bad to journalism, one way or the other way partly attributed and related to the question of professionalizing journalism. With fear of exaggeration, professionalization of journalism is highly advocated as a solution for tackling myriad of problems that challenge journalism in dispatching its duties. Hallin and Mancini (2004:10) think, “it is time to give Four Press Theories by Siebert et al. (1956) a decent burial and move on to the development of more sophisticated models based on real comparative analysis.” Journalistic Professionalism is one key concept in which they make their sophisticated model. Jane Leftwich Curry (1990) in his book Poland’s Journalists: Professionalism and Politics boldly states, *‘Professional realities often outweigh*

political forces'. Similarly, the article published in Atlantic Ideas Tour on Journalism and Journalists by F. B. Sandborn described the power of the press, “. . . *easier to overthrow a government at Paris, Madrid, Mexico, or Rome, than to stop a well-managed newspaper* (Italics is mine).”

Thus, different scholars and institutions have made their study, published books and debated on the issue: 'whether journalism is a profession or not', all over the world. In this topic, we will see how journalism as per the definition and principles of the profession is treated in relation to recognized occupation as profession. More importantly, the researcher tried to focus on literatures that pin point how it is worthy for journalism to be a profession; similarly, how it is worthless for journalism, or to be mediocre.

David Nolan (2008) in his article: 'Professionalism without professions?' Journalism and the Paradox of 'Professionalization' focus on how debates regarding journalism and professionalism are paradoxically varied:

[. . .] the incommensurable nature of contemporary debates regarding journalism and professionalism, with some arguing journalism should be recognized as a profession, others suggesting journalistic professionalism is in decline, and still others claiming that a process of 'professionalization' is increasingly evident. Through an engagement with sociological perspectives on professionalism, it suggests that the reason for such disparities is that these debates rest upon different definitions of what professionalism refers to (p.2).

Similarly, Hallin & Mancini (2004:33) stated that the concepts of 'professionalism' and 'professionalization' like many others in social science have always been subject to sharp debate. Their boundaries are ambiguous and their core definitions have been subject to repeated

reinterpretation (ibid.). In general the problem with research on Professionalization are two: first, problem of identifying journalistic professionalism; and second, comparative issues in the global journalism context. Here, focus is given to these two issues with respect to journalism.

It would be better to look at Sociological Perspectives of Professionalization first and then Journalistic Perspectives of Professionalization. The British sociologist Julia Evett (2003) explicates two different perspectives taken on professions:

- A normative value system created and upheld by the profession itself giving the profession a collective identity - a positive interpretation;
- An ideology used as a mechanism for social order and discipline among the professionals - a more negative interpretation due to its monopolistic adaptation.

Similarly, Nolan (ibid.) cited Michael Schudson (2001:149) notes two perspectives of professionalization: Durkheim Perspective (as occupational norm- status seeking ideology) and Weberian Perspective (instrumental use by employers as a mechanism to exercise control over employees) equivalent to Evett's Positive interpretation and Negative interpretation, respectively, both of which are implicated in the gradual 'professionalization of American journalism'. In these lines of thought, professionalization of an occupation viewed as disciplinary mechanism established on shared norms and moral commitment, and mechanism of securing work place control particularly through the use of professional training and the establishment of professional schools (Nolan, 2008).

According to sociological researcher, the logic of profession can be classified into three. First professional logic is a way of controlling the work by rules and standards defined by the

professionals themselves. The second is Bureaucratic logic which refers to the rules defined by the state or by the organizations; Market logic is the third with all power on the hands of the consumer (Witschge et al. 2009).

Hugo de Burgh (2003:106) in dealing Chinese journalists listed four points as traits of profession commonly cited although nobody agreed with any precision: the possession of skills based on theory, agreed educational qualifications, mutual competence testing, adherence to codes of conduct and social responsibility the most commonly. By 'social responsibility' it was meant that professionals are not entirely self-interested but perform some tasks out of social altruism.

However, others have seen professions as being interest groups effecting a monopoly in the market (Larson, 1977), groups trying to define and control their own work (Friedson, 1994) and groups at a particular stage . . . trying to wrest control of their own work from external determinations (Johnson, 1972); all cited by Hugo (ibid.). As mentioned above, these all fall under Weberian notions of professional.

In general, in sociological term professions are thought to have four characteristics (Donsbach, 1997):

- 1) Primary orientations to the community rather than self interest
- 2) A high degree of generalized and systematic knowledge
- 3) A high degree of self-regulation through codes of standards absorbed through work socialization and associations operated by the professionals themselves

- 4) A system of rewards which are symbols of work achievement so that professionals usually have a high degree of freedom and high income levels.

A more comprehensive characteristics for the legitimacy of occupations as professions, are essentially drawn from pre-eminent examples of 'true' profession: law, medicine and the clergy by identifying the key criteria that need to be satisfied for professional standing to be bestowed. The five characteristics generally considered essential are (Schultz, 1998:127):

- 1) Unique knowledge;
- 2) Control over entry to the occupation;
- 3) A commitment to public service;
- 4) Operating autonomy; and
- 5) Codified and enforced ethical standards.

Here, to relate the metrics, with that of Durkheim and Weberian Perspectives of profession, 3 and 4 are trait assigned to Durkheim while 1, 2 and 5 ascribe to Weberian. For an occupation to be called a profession, all these five criteria should be fulfilled according to Sociological Perspective of Profession. These points are also considered as professional values.

Most scholars, for instance Hallin & Mancini (2004:33) argued that Journalism departs substantially from that ideal type of professionalization based on classic liberal profession concept. It would be unfair and illogical to try to categorize or exclude journalism as profession using these characteristics. Hugo de Burgh (2005:269) emphasized that no one benefits from the pretensions of professionalism [Sociological Perspective of Professionalization] that prompt lame comparisons between the education of journalists and the education of, say, Physician and Lawyers. Thus, it would be far more productive to inquire why and how the occupations of reporting and news editing achieved the professional status they did and how journalism may be

attempting (or not, as the case may be) to raise that status. This first strand of journalism studies [Sociological perspectives of professionalization], in short, largely avoids the deeper questions surrounding journalism's unsettled occupational status (Schudson and Anderson, 2009). As a result, they propose new perspective known as Journalistic Perspectives of Profession which is calculated by derivation from a generic formula of sociological perspectives of profession taking Elements of Journalism and freedom of expression as well as press freedom as variable.

For instance, as per sociological perspectives of profession professional status requires command of a specific area of knowledge which partly determines entry into the profession (Unique Knowledge, certification to be a journalists). Lawyers must know the law. But what body of knowledge is required to be a journalist, the English journalists' question (Sanders, 2003:3). This is to mean that Journalistic expertise makes journalism an unusually fascinating case within the sociological analysis of the professions (Schudson and Anderson, 2009). Journalism has no systematic body of knowledge or doctrine acquired only through long prescribed training or education, Hallin & Mancini (2004) argue. If an education in journalism matters, for journalists or anyone else, it matters not because it credentials practitioners or trains them in certain ways but because it clarifies and maybe heightens the public's expectations for a certain quality of public discourse (de Burgh, 2005). The point here is whether one needs a journalism degree or any university degree to be considered as journalists. In United States, Britain and Germany, for example, you do not need to produce a diploma attesting to majoring journalism, or for that matter, in any other kind of education (Andre Richter, 2009). If so, one can ask the route to be journalists.

As Witschge and Nygren (2003:40) quoted *'there will always be many routes into journalism* (Shoemaker & Reese, 1956; McQuil, 2000) *making it difficult to identify an exclusive professional track'* (italics is mine).

Four views of others to be a journalist are identified by (Andre Richter, 2010) as:

Some say the essence of education lies in teaching the methods and skills of the practical arts. Others say it lies in training that is as close as possible to actual work, in on-the-job training in editorial boards, and in master classes taught by well-known journalists. They believe that universities ought to train mass communication theoreticians and media critics. A third group rejects traditional training in favor of the new methods of Internet journalism and even mobile journalism (which, they say, is where the future lies). A fourth believes that under market conditions, student journalist should first of all master the theory and practice of management and advertising, and perhaps even the psychology of the mass consciousness (p.41).

Here, one as David Mould (2008) asked in his book chapter contributed to Journalism Education can pose 'Which route to journalism is better?' Ritcher (2010) responded by criticizing all these views as fragmentation, not pluralism; one goes against the other which still makes journalism lack what they call common sense and essence , in general a consensus like that of law or medicine.

The other controversial case in the professionalization of journalism is control over the entry of the occupation (Licensing). Practicing law or medicine is a privilege, not a right; in most parts of the world, it requires authorization from the state, a requirement [that] journalists understandably resist (Glasser and Marken, 2005:269). Well, law and medicine can be considered as privilege for those who have qualified in those fields as result licensing and controlling mechanism can be

set out. This is to mean that, since, the pillar and foundation for press freedom is freedom of speech/expression which is constitutionally guaranteed in democratic government system, any licensing and controlling in any form would be against the law. The licensing of journalists—whether by government or a professional body—can lead to restrictions on press freedom, David Mould exclaim (2010).

Thus, such resistances to the requirement of 'unique knowledge' and 'control over entry to the occupation' lead to a conclusion that journalism is an 'open profession' or as others say semi-profession, even a craft unlike closed profession - law and medicine. However, Ritchers argues that *when everyone becomes a journalist, no one will be a journalist* (2010:37) [Italics is mine]. Similarly, Kovach and Rosenstle (2007:120) remarked, *'Anyone can be a journalist. Not everyone is'* (italics is mine). Their important implication is that: the meanings of freedom of speech and freedom of the press are that they belong to everyone. But communication and journalism are not interchangeable terms. Regarding this, O'Neill (2004) quoted by Berger (2010) elaborated the case by categorizing *'freedom of expression'* as *'a self – regarding right'* and *'freedom of the press'* as *'other regarding right'*(italics is mine). In her view, free speech [*'a self – regarding right'*] is not per se obliged to take account of ethics, whereas journalistic speech [*'others – regarding right'*] lays claim to being guided by the ideals of truth-telling, independence, public interest and consideration for the impact of a given communication. According to her proposition, knowledge of truth – telling is needed though she did not say how this knowledge can be acquired. Independence should be assured to practice journalistic speech for public interest considering its impact.

Hence, Hallin and Mancini (2004) proposed Three Dimensions of Professionalization what they thought as fairly closely related: Autonomy, Distinct Professional Norms and Public Service Orientation. According to them, unique knowledge and control over entry to the profession are not binding factors for journalism to be considered as profession unlike sociological perspectives.

Different media systems vary in their levels of professionalization, they argue. It is Hallin and Mancini (2004), however, who make the strongest case for severing the link between objectivity and professional standing in the world of journalism. 'Objectivity' in the sense of Lippmann (1965) rather, it is viewed primarily in terms of 'greater control over [one's] own work process' (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:34-36), the presence of distinct professional norms, and a public service orientation.

On the other side, there are people who are against and strongly opposed to the professionalization of journalism from the beginning. Sam Smith in his article - 'Why journalism is not a profession?' appeared in the DC Gazette in the 1970s wrote that professional aspiration of journalism would be one of the most dangerous of anti – democracy being monopolistic characteristic of profession. Curran (1991:99) cited in Schultz (1998:123) also put his fear that professional self-interest appears to coincide with the public interest. Here, what to be noticed and careful about is that the quest to professionalization should be paved intentionally having in mind those problems which may ruin journalism. Effort should be exerted to compromise the social perspective of professionalization with that of Journalistic perspectives of professionalization. Be it Positivist, be it functionalist approach, or normative , cognitive, evaluative dimensions of journalism professionalism and professionalization or competitive and

dominance paradigm (McNair,1998) perhaps they do not matter; the question should be how professionalism and professionalization can be used to change and control an occupation, in this case Journalism, which is certainly a critical approach. Hence, it would be more advantageous and beneficiary to see the quest to professionalize journalism from this angle. *Throughout this research concerning Journalistic Professionalism, the researcher focuses his intention on how professional standards can be used to improve (change) and regulate (control) journalism.* In connection to professionalism, David H.Weaver (2005:44) in his survey of “who are journalists?” uses journalism education, self-regulation and journalistic associations as indicators that show the professional of journalism in the 22 countries.

2.3. Journalism (Media) Education

Journalism Education was first created in the United States of America more than a century ago, 1908, at University of Missouri. Its purposes were to accomplish two interrelated goals: to improve the mind of journalists’ and to improve the image of journalism (Medsger, 2005:206). Willard G. Bleyer, founder of Journalism education and creator of first doctoral research program in journalism, declared study of journalism are 'necessary to protect society and government against immature, half-educated, unscrupulous journalists'. That was to mean that the image of rough drunks in the newsroom would be replaced by an image of thoughtful, educated journalists; Journalism schools would be, in part, the finishing schools of journalism. James W. Carey of Columbia Graduate School of Journalism in New York was a devil's – advocacy of Bleyer's ideas of journalism education. But Pulitzer, as publisher and editor, focused more sharply on the need to improve the minds of journalists than on the need to smooth journalists’ rough edges (ibid. 206/7). Educating journalists and improving newspaper were

labeled as immediate goal of studying journalism by the principal visionaries of American journalism education (Bleyer, Walter Williams and Pulitzer). They looked beyond these; the larger goal to which they aspired was *to produce a more informed citizenry through better journalism* (ibid. 208).

Since it was established, Journalism Education has been considered as line of thought against customary and traditional argument '*Journalist is born not made*'. De Burgh (2005) edited a book in titled '*Making Journalists: Diverse Model, Global Issue*' foreword by James Curran which comprise lots of book chapters devoted to the making of journalists. He and the contributors directly and indirectly argue in favor of journalism education believing that *better* (than other routes) *journalist can be made through journalism education*. However, the problem lies in fragmentation of the understanding of the essence of a journalistic education.

The two main journalism education models [Rees and Cohen (2000) cited by Florence Namasinga (2011)] or forms of journalistic education (Adil Jalilov: 2010) are University Education [widely identified as USA] and Training Session (On – Job – Training) [continental-European polytechnics or Anglo-Saxon countries]. Deuze (2009:132) expounds these models into five types respectively with identification of countries where the models are practiced.

In the first model, training is offered at schools or institutes located at universities. This model is for example adopted in Finland, Spain, USA, Canada, South Korea, Kenya, Uganda, Argentina, the Gulf States and Australia. This, according to Deuze, is becoming the dominant mode of training journalists-to-be worldwide.

The second model is a mixed system in which a country may have both standalone journalism schools and university level training. This model, de Burgh explains, is common in France, Germany, India, Indonesia, China, Brazil, Nigeria, Turkey and South Africa. The third model is where journalism education is administered at standalone schools. This is common in Netherlands, Denmark, Italy and some countries in Africa like Ghana.

The fourth is primarily on-the-job training by the industry through apprenticeship systems. This model is what was originally known as a British system of journalism education but Georgio Terziz (2009:49) says the system has undergone extraordinary transformations. The last model comprises all the above characteristics and includes commercial programmes as well as in-house training by media companies, publishers, trade unions and other private or government institutions. This model, Deuze (2009:132) notes, is adopted in Eastern Europe, Cuba, North Africa, Southern Africa and the Middle East. A lot has changed since de Burgh published his work as to which country adopts what model. Many countries are moving towards the mixed system offering journalism training at universities, standalone colleges and on-the-job apprenticeship.

Whatever the model, there is still a going on debate what to be included in educating and/or training journalists. In addition, by whom they should be taught and/or trained is also major point of discussion. On top of these, whose interest is (interests are) governing the programs and curriculum need thorough explanation.

There is a tension concerning '*the making of journalists*' between a theoreticians in one side and a practitioner; Classroom versus Newsroom clashes; Educators versus Editors clashes. Of all horned cattle, a college [journalism] graduate in the newspaper office is the worst (Atlantic Ideas

Tour, 1874). Critiques point out that many faculties remain fixed in the past, teaching the theory of journalism exclusively while others teach only tradecraft (vocational skills) without proper grounding in ethics and other subjects (CIMA Report, 2007: 4). For instance, the most common complaint from journalists (even those actually teaching journalism) is that there is too much 'theory' and there is a contradiction between the teaching of practice and theory of journalism (Angela Phillips, 2005:228). As Jalilov (2010:106) points out that journalism was frequently taught by theoreticians who had never published an article, never been on the air, and never produced a show – or, if they did, it was a very long time ago.

Tumber and Prentoulis (2005:69), the Mediocre, argued that journalistic education has to incorporate both 'idealist' and 'realist' aspirations and both 'intellectual' and 'practical' dimensions. Cole (1996) cited by Angela Phillips (2005:229) strengthen this by stating, “One area [of students in journalism education] is about learning to be a journalist, to do journalism; the other is learning to apply critical theory to the products of journalism.”

Thus, the programs and curriculum for journalism education should balance the theory and the practice parts in teaching and/or training 'the would be journalists'. Similarly, the Johns and James L. Knight Foundation has recognized the critical need for excellent journalists to be hired as teachers in journalism education in order fill the gap and bridge vocational skills with the theories (Medsger, 2005:218). That is to mean that both the academicians and practitioners should involve in producing journalists; as Phillips (2005:241) puts it out '*Bringing Hands and Minds Together*' (italics is mine) should be given due attention. Otherwise, journalists and journalism education as grew apart, they would keep go apart. In short, Journalism Educators

should be composed of theoretician to deal with theories and critical thinking pertinent to journalism, and practitioner to handle vocational skills.

In whose interest should journalism education be governed is another controversial issue. Here, Media Interest and Government Interest are most frequently mentioned stake holders in Journalism Education. Adil Jalilov (2009) argues:

Journalism education (though now it would be more correct to say media) cannot be viewed separately from the area in which it operates, the media market. First, because media education is essentially a service component of the market, a system that trains personnel for it. It is the market that determines the structure of the demand for the product of media education – the high-skill professionals. What sort of professionals and how many of them are needed depends entirely on the market (p.105).

This kind of approach to journalism education, however, highly criticized for its highly commercial motives. Thus most of the time, the industrialization of media education, are highly confronted by the government's interest. Programmes and their content are excessively ideologized and adjusted to fit the government's perspective, not the market (ibid. 108). What is suggested is that the government as well as the media should not directly involve in the educating and training of journalists. They should let Higher Education and Training Institution free; however, supporting these bodies financially and being partnership will help the industry and government voices' be heard. Both can enhance their interest by allowing journalism students to have internship in their media house and giving media house training. For instance, industry bodies could provide training for educators and organize conferences where practice could be shared between those in the industry and those in education. They could also help

arrange work experience (both for staff and students) and ensure that courses have access to industry professional to advice on content and standards (Phillips, 2005:241). Likewise, the government could possibly involve itself in presenting and explaining its policies and strategies, specifically the regulation about the media and stated goals to be achieved through the media, to journalism educators in order to relate them in teaching journalism to their students from the Nations perspective. Another point is the accreditation to journalism. This refers to accreditation for the courses in journalism and excellence by external body before joining practice of journalism. Once again, the question became by whom accreditation and quality of assessment should be performed. As branding and keeping the reputation of journalism, the accreditation play major role but should be given either by the journalism education institutions or with their active involvement; External bodies need not independently perform the task of accreditation and Quality Assessment like what has been done in United Kingdom, argues Phillips (2005).

Angela Phillips concluded and suggested the following concerning journalism education:

. . . We must consider which system is more likely to fulfill the Public - Aspect of journalism by offering a context in which students examine the ethics of journalism and the role of journalists in democracy. I would suggest that a good education for [a would be] journalist is one in which learning how to write intros, putting together a news package and learning the elements of media law sit alongside lectures and discussions which encourage them to think about where the power lies (p.243).

Once again, as Phillips concluded, what is to be underscored and must not be ignored is that the goal for journalism, first obligation is to the truth and loyal to the citizen (Kovach & Rosenstile,

2009). Therefore, journalism learning first and foremost focus should be to produce journalists (to do journalism) and academician to apply critical theory to the products of journalism. Short and precise, public interest should not be compromised neither to industry profit interest nor government propaganda interest whatever the system will be. What matters is how these systems integrate Public interest in their choice.

2.4. Professional Journalistic Association

Peoples who share common properties get themselves together to form a group. In such a way, workers who have fallen under same discipline like Lawyers and Physicians organize themselves to co-operate each other by establishing a Union or Association, called Professional Association/Union. You can find in all corners of the globe Economic Associations, Nurses Associations, Teachers Associations etc at Local, National and International level. Likewise, journalists have their own association. In this topic the researcher will focus on journalistic association vis-à-vis Journalism Professional Standards and Press freedom.

The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) as principles follows

Journalistic associations are important for protecting and strengthening the rights and freedom of the press, upholding and improving, professionalism, high standards of journalism and education in journalism, improving social and working condition of all journalists, and encouraging and supporting members unions in collective bargaining (p.6).

Davor Marko in his research (2011:6) condensed the IFJ principles in two most important functions that journalists associations should have:

- i) Protection of journalists and their rights
- ii) Promotion of high journalistic standards and professionalism.

Nuriddin Karshiboev understanding the function of professional association in studying Tajikistan's Media Landscape advised Journalists to rely, above all, on themselves and Journalistic Associations so that they maintain pluralism and independence of media, freedom of criticism and free access to information and media (2009:185).

These show that to what extent professional association can play very significant role to control and improve the profession itself. If so, the challenge is how and who based on what criteria should the association established; the formation and membership became an issue. The mere gathering of people is far from to be called association hence there should be a bond strong enough to unify and harmonize them to have collective consciousness towards their profession. Membership should be guaranteed on clearly set out criteria because lower membership requirements could be a major reason for lower quality and status of the profession (Curry, 1990:125). In most cases, journalism lacks a tradition of organized, collective action on behalf of the interests working journalists due to segregation from many of the centers of power. Consequently, journalism endures a hodgepodge of professional associations (Overholser and Jamieson, 2007:391). In this regard, Poland (Curry, 1990:125) has set out National Convention criteria for admission that include only "professional journalists, citizens of Poland, whose main source of income is work in journalism (Print, Radio, Television and Film chronicles)." Similarly, Davor (2011) emphasized that there should be certain criteria to be fulfilled in order to have unbiased, professional and efficient associations for instance clearly defined public policies and legislative framework. In fact, the requirement could be different from country to country;

however, what has to be emphasized is that the formation and membership should be carefully and strictly set out so that the association can be effective and efficient in implementing its key role.

2.5. Media Self – Regulation:

2.5.1. Why Media Self Regulation?

It might not be uncommon to act legal frameworks for media as, all institutions and industries, about its rights and duties so that it works and behaves accordingly. However, as principles of freedom of communication is probably the most complex and controversial constitutional guarantees as well as fundamental and universal in democratic form of government (Cohen-Almagor 2001: ix; UDHRs, Article 19: 1948), the regulation of the media and journalists whether they respect and go with it, or breach the limitations while enjoying the freedom should be controlled by quite different mechanism. Further Karen Sanders (2003:142) quoted Belsey and Chadwick (1995:465) that “. . . *the legal route to media quality will not be sufficient. Neither legal rights for journalists nor legal restrictions on the media will in themselves produce good journalism.*” Consequently, media regulation should be self imposed (Cohen-Almagor 2001: x; Loeffler 1969:149).

The underlying notions for letting media regulate itself but not by those in power is to empower the media which in turn suits them play watchdog role by making their first obligation to the truth and loyal to the public. In other words, in order to avoid state control and others powerful bodies which might limits and interfere in their work media should control itself. Further, Self-regulation is vital for media precisely because the media are regarded as a democracy watchdog (Ognian Zlatev, 2011:17). Guy Berger (2010) in his article published in South African Journal

for Communication Theory and Research quoting Krüger (2009:10) question: *“if the media are the watchdogs of other centers of power in society, who will take on the job of keeping an eye on them?”* give the answer as self – regulation.

Thus, the mere interpretation of self regulation is avoiding interventions and intimidations of those in power while keeping the autonomy of the press being responsible and accountable. But other than debunking pressures, the very purpose of media regulation is for preserving and protecting freedom of press. Ognian Zlatev (2011) describes it as follows:

Media self regulation is equally important, in developing countries and in those with mature democracies, as achieving freedom and independence is just as important as their preservation and protection in socially responsible way (p.18).

Therefore, preserving, protecting and for that matter promoting freedom of the press are also notions that lie deep inside media self regulation in addition to exercising freedom and independence. This makes self regulation twofold; in one hand, securing autonomy; safe guarding it, on the other hand.

2.5.2. Functions and Structure of Media Self - Regulation

Instead of rushing to enumerate the functions of self regulation let us have a look at the definition of self control. Tracing back to time, we get Löffler’s definition for self regulation given in an analogy to Abraham Lincoln’s classic definition of what democracy is (... the rule of people by the people for the people): “Organizations of self control [self regulation] are institutions set up by and for the press” (Loeffler, 1969). Recently, another definition is proposed by Claude- Jean Bertrand (2006) as “Press Council (as form of self regulation) is an institution that would help media be more ‘socially responsible’ without yielding any of their freedom”.

Much of the discussion about self-regulation centers on the argument that it can achieve more than the law. The former PCC chairman, Lord Wakeham argued that self regulation is more effective than statutory regulation in resolving complaints against the press without impingement on freedom. Sanders (2003) explains it as follow as:

Self-regulation does produce effective self restraint. It does work in the vast majority of disputes between individuals and newspapers - nine in ten of which we can resolve. It is free and easy and quick. It does produce responsibility without impingement on freedom. It will be a practical and flexible method of regulation in the new world of the Internet and the communications revolution we are now witnessing. And it is on the basis of that I am content to argue that - while it may not be perfect - self-regulation can deliver more for ordinary people than a formal legal system of press restraint ever could (p.143).

There is misperception that self regulation is akin to censorship, self censorship and other forms of institutions. Press Council [self regulation] is not an office of governmental censorship, not internal self – internal censorship bureau (self censorship), not a lobby serving media owners, not union of professional journalist, not arbitration agency to settle dispute among media, nor a branch of media user association. It is a group of people whose concern for the quality of media has led them to use their moral authority with the intent of improving them (Bertrand, 2006).

On the contrary, self regulation functions primarily for the protection of media from political censorship, economic dependence and devastating court cases based on the largest possible consensus of the social and communicational agents by establishing minimum principles on

ethics, accuracy, personal rights and so on, while fully preserving editorial freedom on what to report and what opinions to express.

About its function, Bertrand (2006) put two points as fundamental purpose of Press Council (self regulation):

- 1) Aim at preserving press freedom against direct and indirect threats of the government. That is, it helps the press in struggle against the traditional enemy of its freedom, the government & its bureaucracy.
- 2) Strives to help the press assume all its function in society and thus to mobilize public opinion in support of its fight for independence. That is, to render accounts to the public.

Specifically, self regulation importance can also be seen from three perspectives: its role to the press, public and democracy itself. Media self-regulation helps the press maintain media's credibility with the public by promoting standards. That is, it helps convince the public that the free media are not irresponsible. At the same time, self-regulation protects the right of journalists to be independent, and to be judged for professional mistakes not by those in power but by their colleagues. In such way, media self regulation protects the media by reducing the number of legal claims against journalists and news outlets, diminishing government interference and allowing media to work more freely.

Similarly, self control offers a sort of "quality assurance" to the public complaints against the media. It is quite natural for media consumers to seek guarantees about the value of journalists' information and codes of ethics provide guidance on editorial standards. Complaints launched with self-regulatory bodies come at no cost, unlike court proceedings. This is a considerable advantage for the average citizen. There are benefits for complaining politicians, such as the

speedy resolution of disputes, and the satisfaction of seeing mistakes acknowledged publicly and voluntarily by the press.

Media self-regulation is also an effort to impose democracy's political culture, independent of political forces. It also advances the transition from a government-owned, state-controlled press to one owned and controlled by civil society.

Miklós Haraszti (2008:12) listed out five merits of media self regulation: It preserves editorial freedom, it helps to minimize state interference, it promotes media quality, it is evidence of media accountability and it helps readers [audiences] access the media.

The important aspects that are considered as barrier for the functioning and effectiveness of self regulatory institution are: Government Control, Funding, Internal Barriers, and Alternatives of Litigation (Ristow Bill, 2009:18 - 23). No doubt, self control organization need to have its own finance independent of any body to run all the missions and visions it prescribed. Often they face shortage to have enough finance which force them slip on the hands of vested interested groups. To cope up with such dependency media organization takes the lion share as Sweden and Netherlands where as in Norway media owners and journalists shares the costs. In the case of Switzerland, journalists expected to cover the entire expense while in Luxembourg some of the fund contributed from the state itself (Ognian Zlatev, 2011:21-22).

Considering the conditions and financing mechanism are, more or less, fulfilled, self control is yet far to be realized. "Who exactly is going to do the job and how?" is need to be addressed with special emphasizes. As possible as, self regulatory should give comprehensive representation to all stakeholders (journalists, editors, media owners, media consumers, civil society), and all members should be of good standing and publicly acceptable (ibid.20). For

instances, Bertrand (2003:115) list out eight reasonable combinations, seven of which have been realized, as of the year 2000 while the eighth possibility suggested by himself.

Notwithstanding the fact that media should regulate itself in any of the possible combinations, very recently most institutions and governments are pointing their hands and questioning their transparency to such regulatory organizations. They suspect and become doubtful that the stake holders, especially in time of intense commercialization, with vested interests do things independently. As most thought, self-regulation is not primarily a way to keep the government off the media's back, nor a response to statutory regulation threatened by the government. It for primarily political reasons risks becoming a synonym for self-censorship.

ASPAN institute underscored that *'no one seriously takes the propositions that a truly free press ought to be as free from the interest of the market place [stake holders] as it is free from the demand of the state'*(Overholser and Jamieson, 2007:393). Such kinds of proposition, for instance, are leading to an inquiry into the Culture, Practice and Ethics of the press of Britain after the hacking of the mobile phone of a murdered teenager ordered and commissioned by the government (The Leveson Inquiry, 2012). Lord Justice Brian Leveson who was appointed as chairman opened the hearings on 14 November 2011, saying: "The press provides an essential check on all aspects of public life. That is why any failure within the media affects all of us. At the heart of this Inquiry, therefore, may be one simple question: *who guards the guardians?*" (ibid.3). In his executive summary presented to the parliament, he made clear that "what is needed is a genuinely independent and effective system of self-regulation" (ibid.23). In the summary of the recommendation he recommended 47 points how to establish regulatory model (ibid. 32 - 38).

According to Leveson recommendations, it should comprise a majority of people who are independent of the press and may include former editors or academic journalists; it should not include any serving editors, any serving members of the government. The fear against to this inquiry is that such kind of model erodes the sense of selfness in the process and may open window for government to interfere (ibid. 32).

There may be drawback for this inquiry; however, the argument that a truly free press ought to be as free from the interest of the stake holders as it is free from the demand of the government, and who guards the guardians should be taken seriously in regulating the press to secure the autonomy as well as preserve and promote it in responsible and accountable way.

2.6. Four Dimensions for Understanding Media Systems

The Four Principal Dimensions that Hallin and Mancini (2004:21) proposed for understanding media system are:

- i) Development of Mass Circulation (Commercialization)
- ii) Political Parallelism
- iii) Journalistic Professionalism; and
- iv) State Intervention

I) Development of Mass Circulation (Media Market/Commercialization)

This refers to an emphasis on the weak or strong development of mass circulation press, and 24 Hours and 7 Days (24/7) broadcasting in case of Radio and Television. Other than quantifying the circulation (as High & Low) or transmission (as Long & Short), the nature of the newspaper/radio/television, its relation to its audience and its role in the wider process of social

and political communication should also be noticed in media market analysis (ibid.22). For instance, the audience addressed could be small elite – mainly urban, well-educated, and politically active. That is, it may be inter-elite communication where by horizontal process of debate and negotiation among elite factions. On the other hand, the audience to be addressed could be large public that include ordinary peoples which is called vertical process of communication (ibid.). They argued that, “. . . though in many high-circulation countries commercial media have coexisted with media rooted more in the world of politics: the growth of a mass circulation press is by no means synonymous with commercialization.” Media Literacy, population, and Language, in general, demography of the audience significantly affects the rate of mass circulation (ibid. 23). Further, they proposed four broadcasting models based on the governance and regulation of broadcast stations. Governance Model (directly controlled by government or political majority), Professional Model (controlled and run by professional), Parliamentary or Proportional Representation Model (control proportionally divided among political parties representation in the parliament) and Civic/Corporatists Model (controlled distributed among various social and political groups).

II) Political Parallelism

Politics has become one of the principal functions of the press or the media since late nineteenth century. Political press or Political Journalism development has been connected with the development of Commercial press and Journalistic Professionalism. Its purpose was to serve a political cause subsidized by political actors unlike that of commercial press whose purpose was to make money financed by advertising (ibid.26). For that matter, the purpose of media in terms

of politics, since then, have not much changed rather it is escalating and become highly politicized.

Hence, Political Parallelism (earlier called Party – Press Parallelism) refers to the degree to which the structure of the media system paralleled that of the party system (ibid. 27). Nowadays, a one to one connection between the press and party is so rare; however, the media go with the general political tendencies [Center Left, Center, Center Right] like Germany press, not with particular party politics (ibid.). Here, the question is whether media should have distinct political orientation that in turn poses objectivity (Journalistic Professionalism Principle) of the media in question. In some countries, they have distinct political orientation; in others they do not have. Most of the time media's political orientation is in subtle form; it is implicitly manifested. As mentioned above, this could be due to the notion of objectivity in journalism.

Hallin and Mancini (2004:28) lists out five ways that media's distinct political orientation manifested: Media Content (content of news, current affair programs and sometimes their entertainment program on distinct political occasion such as Election), Organizational Connection (to political parties, religious institutions, trade unions, cooperatives etc), Tendencies for media personnel to be active in political life (their involvement in political party), Partisanship of media audiences (Audience political orientation) and Journalistic role orientation and practices (Advocacy Journalism, Development Journalism etc).

III) Journalistic Professionalism

Hallin and Mancini (2004) unlike the sociological journalistic professionalism put three dimensions that determine journalism as profession. These includes: Autonomy [independency

of journalists and media], Distinct Professional Norms [shared code of ethics] and Public Service Orientation [notion of public trust] (ibid. 2004:34). The degree of journalism professionalization should be seen from fulfillment of such variables not from sociological perspective.

Defining Journalistic Professionalization in such way, they tried to see the relationships that exist between Political Parallelism and Commercialization. Business and Politics are often considered as unholy alliance of the media (Remzi Lani, 2011:53). They are inseparable but they may not go hand in hand all the time. *They generally take the view that Journalistic Professionalization can be threatened either by Political Parallelism (due to Political Instrumentalization) or by Commercial Instrumentalization (due to Clientelism), and indeed in many cases by both at once* (ibid. 2004:37) (Italics is mine). Political Instrumentalization is the control of the media by outside actors – parties, politicians, social groups or movements, or economic actors seeking political influences – who use them to intervene in the world of politics. When the media falls on the hands of these “outsiders”, journalists will lack autonomy, political rather than distinctively journalistic criteria will guide the practice of journalism and media will serve particular interests rather than functioning as “Public Trust”. They are inversely related; as political parallelism is very high, indeed journalistic professionalism become low. Historically the development of journalistic professionalization eroded political parallelism in important ways, diminishing the control of parties and other political organizations over the media, and creating common practices that blurred the political distinctions among media organizations. In other way round, autonomy for journalism professionalism is priceless. However, this does not mean that politics is not a subject of journalism. Paradoxically, journalism is 'political profession'; what has to be emphasized that the pressure by political parties, in general, 'outsiders' should not challenge the autonomy of journalists. Besides, the practice of journalism

must not centre particular interest other than public interest. After all, politics and policies are for journalist bread and butter of their professional lives (Curry, 1990:161).

Contrary to the general view, some argue that commercialization is essentially in harmony with professionalization that it undercuts political instrumentalization (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:37). However, it has also its own consequences that professional standards can be neglected, even ruined, for the sake of defending the interests of media owners, whether such interests are of a financial or political nature (or both) , at least implicitly.

IV) State Intervention

It is undeniable that the state plays a significant role in shaping the media system of any society; the state can play role of ownership, regulatory and funder collectively or separately significantly or at limited role (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:41 & 49). Thus, there are considerable differences in the extent of state intervention as well as in the forms it takes. In a liberal media system state intervention is limited and the media are left primarily to market forces while in social democratic state plays its role in ownership, funding and regulation (ibid.44). The most important form of state intervention highly depicted in public media where the state owned the media. Mostly, state intervenes in the regulation process which includes: Libel, defamation, privacy, and right-of-reply laws; Hate speech laws; Professional secrecy laws for journalists (protecting the confidentiality of sources) and “conscience laws” (protecting journalists when the political line of their paper changes); Laws regulating access to government information; Laws regulating media concentration, ownership, and competition; Laws regulating political communication, particularly during election campaigns; and Broadcast licensing laws and laws

regulating broadcasting content, including those dealing with political pluralism, language, and domestic content (ibid.44).

Apart from these, they argued quoting Hall et al. (1978) that the state always plays an important role as a source of information and 'primary definer' of news with enormous influence on the agenda and framing of public issues (ibid. 41).

Hallin and Mancini (2004:299) concluded by giving a simplified representation of the patterns of variation of four dimensions on media system set against the three Media Models. They demonstrated the pattern in a table as follows that reduces the four dimensions to quantitative terms while they argue that they involve qualitative difference.

Four Dimensions	Models		
	PPM	DCM	LM
Development of Mass Circulation	Low	High	High
Political Parallelism	High	High	Low
Professionalization	Low	High	High
State Intervention	High	High	Low

Table 2.1: Four Dimensions' Pattern of Variation in the Three Models of Media System

In a similar fashion, it is possible to draw a pattern of how professionalism is related with the rest of three variables. In such a way, professionalization has direct relation with commercialization and inverse relation with Political Parallelism and state intervention. However, this relation is drawn in quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis may reveal another link. For instance, commercialization may be threat for professionalization as mentioned above.

2.7. Theoretical Frameworks

2.7.1. Differentiation Theory

Underneath, Hallin and Mancini (2004) media comparing system there lays differentiation theory. It originates from William Durkheim and Max Weber functional theory and passing through Talcot Parsons' system theory. Niklas Luhmann (1978 & 2000) and Alexander (1981) are also pioneers scholars in Differentiation Theorists (as cited in Hallin & Mancini (2004:77)). Differentiation, as defined by Parson (1971:26) quoted in Hallin & Mancini (2004:77), is “the division of a unit or structure of a social system into two or more units or structures that differ in their characteristics and functional significance for the system.” And the differentiation is based on the function it has in the social system. That is rules of games, the standard of practice and criteria for evaluation.

Professionalization is a central concept in differentiation theory, and can clearly be understood in terms of the degree of differentiation of a field (in our case journalism) from other occupations and forms of social practice (Politics, Business etc) (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:79). However, Habermas and Bourdieu criticize such kind of differentiation in that it may lead to unilinear path towards a greater differentiation. The differentiation of media from other social control system may in turn lead to another differentiation called de-differentiation. Generally, Functionalism has been criticized in two major ways: first, it has been accused of reductionism; secondly, functionalism is implicitly conservative (Heywood; 2000:90) as Mohammad Uddin Nashir and Mohammad Hamiduzzaman (2009) cited it out.

Thus, according to differentiation theory, a high degree of professionalization of journalism means that journalism is differentiated as an institution and form of practice from other institutions and forms of

practice – including politics; or to put it in terms of Bourdieu’s sociology, professionalization exists where journalism is developed as a distinct field with significant autonomy from other social fields, including the political field (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:132).

2.7.2. Polarized Pluralists Model

Based on their analysis of four dimensions of comparing media system, Hallin and Mancini (2004) have developed three models: The Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralists Model, North/Central European or Democratic Corporatists Model and Atlantic or Liberal Model. Here, the researcher emphasis on PPM as model in conducting this study.

In this model, media was developed as institutional of the political and literary worlds more than of the market; journalism has evolved from political and literary roots (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:96) and seen as “a route of passage, not a place of arrival” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:110 quoting Ferenczi 1993: 29,41; Chalaby 1996). There is also a high degree of political parallelism prevalence where by the media serving to represent the wide range of political forces that contended for influences, both in their bargaining with one another and in their efforts to consolidate their own political voices (ibid.,139).

In such model, the media deviate in many ways from the norm of professional that is neutral and fail to play watchdog role (ibid.); Media Instrumentalization by political elite and commercial owners (who are of course the same person) is also common in such model. Besides, Media function as battleground between contending social forces, mainly politics (Curran, 1991 quoted in Hallin & Mancini, 2004:140).

The following table is extracted from Hallin and Mancini (2004:67) that summarizes PPM based on the four dimensions of comparing media systems:

Four Dimensions	Polarized Pluralists Model
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 State in Media System	Strong state intervention; press subsidies; periods of censorship; “savage deregulation”.

Table 2.2. The Polarized Pluralists Model: Media System Characteristics

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

3. Introduction

This chapter discusses the organization of the study in terms of research design approach and methodological approaches employed to collect and analyze data. It also presents the procedures on how the research was conducted. Besides, it explains and justifies the methods, techniques and fieldwork experiences with details of the data gathering process.

3.1. Research Approach

The research approach employed in addressing the study was critical approach. Contemporary critical approach to study media and journalism are categorized in two: Political Economy and Professional Criticism (Fourier, 2005). The underlying proposition of political economy is that economic and political control of media determines the content and thus ideological power of the media (Garnham, 1979; Herman & Chomsky, 2002; Mattellart, 1992; McChesney & Nichols, 2002 cited in Fourier, 2005). The professional criticism focuses on shortcoming of journalism as being intrinsic to the way journalism produced (Fourier, 2005).

The two criticisms in studying journalism are not mutually exclusive; it is too difficult to see one in the absence of the other. Nevertheless, there was less emphasis to professional criticism in studying journalism. For example, in the Four Theories of the Press (Siebert et al., 1958), press is only portrayed on the basis of political system. However, half a century later, Hallin and Mancini refutes that media may not always be dependent variable. Picturing Media as an extension of the political system and/or annex of business has undermined the potential of the media in social

control system, so called fourth estate. It is possible to see the role and effect of each separately using Theory of Differentiation (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:66). And what the researcher does is this. Thus, the researcher sticks to professional criticism of journalism throughout the study with holding but not overlooking the huge impact of political economy.

3.2. Data Gathering Methods

Qualitative methods of data collection and analysis are deemed the best options to get opinions and attitudes of respondents for the study. Employing qualitative research methods, the researcher sought to undertake detailed investigative assessment of the cause of division among media and journalists as well as the potential of journalistic professionalism.

In-depth Interviews

A number of social researchers affirm that one of the major ways qualitative researchers can understand a phenomenon, perceptions, feelings and knowledge of people is through in-depth interviewing (Steiner & Svend, 2009; Bryman, 2004; Cres1well, 2003 cited in Namasinga, 2011).

Steiner and Svend (2009) identify different forms of interviews; the most notable being structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. Structured interviews are standardized in a way that the interviewer reads all the questions from an interview guide and rarely deviates from it (Ibid.). In this case, all interviewees are asked the same questions in the same order. Semi-structured questions on the other hand are more flexible as the researcher can adjust questions depending on how the interviewee answers earlier questions in order to clarify the responses and to follow promising new lines of inquiry or to probe for more details (Ibid., Doyle;

2002:11-23). Creswell (2003) adds that in-depth interviews are appropriate for soliciting a rich, detailed and a holistic picture of people's experiences.

The researcher used open-ended semi-structured for gathering primary data. These data were thematically categorized in two: those that focuses on indicators of professionalism and factors that affect professionalism.

3.3. Sampling Method

The subject of this research is the practice and performance of journalism in Ethiopia; thus, the population for the studies comprises all actors that involve in the practice. This includes Journalists, Journalism Education institution, Journalists Associations, media industries, and Regulatory bodies. As it is difficult to address each and every actor using in-depth interview a representative sample was used by the researcher.

In general, the most challenging thing in conducting study based on in-depth interview is how to identify key informants from such large population. The researcher employed purposive sampling method to select representative key informants from all actors having in mind their role in the practice and performance of journalism. Accordingly, Eleven respondents were selected from Journalists, Journalism Educators, Journalists Associations, Media Owners, Media Directors and Media Concerned Government institutions (EBA, ENA as OGCA branch).

The interviews, all done face-to-face, were conducted in between February and May 2013. In most cases, the interviews were carried out in the offices of the informants; only few informants interviewed outside their office. All interviews were done in Amharic Language, except one interview, which was in English.

However, it was very tiresome to meet most of the interviewees. There were times when the researcher waited for more than three weeks to have an interview with some of the key informants. Moreover, the lack of well documented and standardized data about journalists and the media had highly affected the researcher in terms of using secondary data. For instance, except ENJU, most unions/associations have not well developed web pages. Even ENJU's webpage has not been updated for a long time.

Chapter Four

Data Analysis and Presentation

4. Introduction

In this chapter, the data, which was collected as per the objectives of the study are analyzed and presented. The qualitative data were gathered through intensive in – depth interview with the key informants. Similarly, the analysis would be based on literature reviewed and the framework set out in chapter two.

The presentation, discussion and the analysis of data are organized in two parts. The first part focuses on indicators of Journalistic while the second focuses on Professionalism major factors that have impacts on Journalistic Professionalism.

4.1. Major Indictors of Journalistic Professionalism

The debate whether "is journalism profession?", "should it be?" and "could it be?" has still been going on; however, proponents of 'journalism is profession' set out indictors. Self – Regulation is one litmus paper. Media's self organized regulation in responsible and accountable way based on code of ethics is highly promoted to show journalism is a profession. Besides, the expansion of journalism education all over the world is also taken as indicator. Furthermore, different forms of associations/unions in which journalists organize themselves in their choice are also considered as indicator. Here, the researcher analysis the three indices Vis- á -Vis journalistic professionalism in the case of Ethiopia.

4.1.1. Journalistic Professionalism and Self – Regulation

The importance of self – regulation in the practice and performance of journalism /media is described as follow (Ognian Zlatev, 2011):

Media self regulation is equally important, in developing countries and in those with mature democracies, as achieving freedom and independence is just as important as their preservation and protection in socially responsible way (p.18).

What matters most in self – regulation is how the body in charge of it is organized. There are two ways of organizing self - regulatory body: the first is statutory press council in which the government takes the initiatives to establish then all media become members; the second one is press/media institutions organize themselves. In Ethiopia neither a government nor media lead self – regulation has existed yet. Since the government initiation was clamp down, the media institutions and journalistic associations have struggled to form self – regulation.

Amare Aregawi, coordinating committee for organizing media council, hoped that the realization of the media council which was at its verge would be one step forward for the press. In the other hand, Meseret Atalay, rejected the critics that the council did not involve all the media by indicating all were invited and informed in the beginning. Yonas Amare, journalist in private newspaper, said that his suspicion about its effectiveness even if its enactment becomes real. Similarly, Yohannes Kassa disclosed that he did not see the need for self – regulation at all if government respect press freedom.

Other than the legal framework set out for the media, media quality needs an internal regulation which looks for professional excellence among media institutions (Belsey & Cadwick, 1995:465 quoted in Sandres, 2003:142). Tadesse Zinaye, ENA News and Program Production Directorate

Director, underscored that self – regulation played an important role in such a way that it helps carry on tasks in accountable and responsible spirit. Most informants complained about government’s reluctance to make financial support for the actualization of media council. However, Desta Tesfaw and Tadesse Zinaye disagreed on idea of government financial support for the establishment of self-regulation; the finance can be covered by press itself. Indeed, in most countries, for instance, Netherlands and Switzerland, press councils are financed by media industries and journalist (Ognian Zlatev, 2011:21).

4.1.2. Journalistic Professionalism and Journalists Association/Union

An occupation gets recognition to the extent how work forces in the field organize themselves. Workers in different disciplines have organized themselves and form associations and trade unions at large to strength their unity and safeguard their interest. Nowadays, scholars and researchers (Glasser and Marken, 2005) are highly recommending journalists to form platform whereby they engaged in open and eloquent discussion in the practice of journalism:

Any effort to “make journalists [journalism/press/media] better,”..... must begin with a commitment to prepare journalists to talk openly and eloquently about what they do and who they do it, an articulation of purpose of the press that amounts to more of explication of journalism than a defense of journalists (p.264).

Accordingly, journalists in the world have associations based on their choice and profession. It holds true for journalists in Ethiopia. Journalistic associations/unions in Ethiopia strive for similar achievements. The president of EJA, ENJU and EFPJA in separate interview unanimously said that their objectives were to protect journalists and their rights, and promote journalistic standards. However, still they have no platform in which both three collectively

discuss. Meseret Atalay, EJA president said that he was disinterested in the establishment of ENJU let alone working together. He extended his opposition to government body who issued a license to ENJU which had similar structure (National level) and purpose. But EJA accepted and showed willingness to cooperate with others for they were specific in specialization, sex, ownership et cetera. A counter argument is given by ENJU.

. . . . Both EJA and EFPJA do not represent the journalists. EJA has inclined to state media journalists since its establishment. Government appointee officials lead EJA prior to the existing president. Of course, the current president is long time serving state media journalist . . . the case of EFPJA is similar; those who sacked from state media when EPRDF came to power form it. EFPJA only includes private press employee journalists. Even most of the members were not journalists; the owners were allowed to be member and the leaders were from them. Due to such reasons, journalists come together and form ENJU. Only journalists allowed being member; no publishers and government appointee officials. Further, it aspires to be labor union. ENJU has world reorganization from IFJ.

(Anteneh Aberham Personal Interview, April 20, 2013)

Regardless of the blame, none of them have many numbers of journalists as their member. As three of them noted that the current status of their members ranges from 400 to 1000 (but I cannot verify it independently for I could not access their document). Desta Tesfaw noted that such frictions among organizations that claimed as representatives of journalists showed that how the press and journalists fail to organize themselves internally. It is as Overholser and Jamieson (2007:391) argues that endures journalism a hodgepodge of professional associations. Yonas Amare and Yohannes Kassa said that they doubted that these associations organize themselves independently rather they consider it as conspiracy (by the government) to divide and rule them. They argued that they had never seen any of the associations/unions dealing with the

case of journalists "prosecution", "intimidation" or impounding and closure of newspapers. In addition, their involvement during the enactment of media laws and regulations was that much. Meseret Atalay also confessed that they had no power to negotiate for they did not have labor/trade unions structure. Otherwise, he exclaimed, they participated and appealed to the House of People Representatives on selected articles during the ratification of FMMAI which is now governing the media. Anteneh Aberham, picking the recent cases, said that ENJU gave training to many journalists on Anti-Terrorism Proclamation. Though journalists have the right to organize themselves in their choice and profession (FMMAI, Art 5/b), the various associations including these three do not have all inclusive one platform that governs journalists and the practice of journalism.

4.1.3. Journalistic Professionalism and Journalism Education

The route to be a journalist has remained contentious; the fact that there will always be many routes into journalism makes it difficult to identify an exclusive professional track (Witschge, and Nygren , 2009 quoting: Shoemaker & Reese, 1956; McQuail, 2000). There are two lines of thought concerning the road to journalism. The first thought propagates the idea that "journalists are born not made" while the other propagates "Journalists can be made". Here, the researcher opt for the latter school of thought and try to analysis journalism education role in journalistic professionalism.

Medsker (2005:206) quoting (Rogers & Chaffee, 1994:14) express the importance study of journalism by stating Willard G. Bleyer word "necessary to protect society and government against immature, half-educated, unscrupulous journalists". However, the processes of making journalists through education have various form and method of deliverance.

In Ethiopia, journalism education in universities is recent phenomenon. Woldu Yemessel emphasized that the education which are offered in the universities is promising start; however, on – job – training should also be given focus and strengthen. He also noted that recruitment of journalists should be thoroughly worked out and all media stations should give journalists intensive in-house training for those who are newly recruited as what his station has started. Similarly, Tadesse Zinaye underscored that intensive in-house training should be given once journalists are recruited. Though in-house training is significant, media industry -private and state - does not give internship for students of journalism. Students' apprenticeship is so rare, which help students practice classroom concepts.

Further, Woldu Yemessel suggested that

. . . Journalism education would be better if it were given as second degree. Since, he justifies, the practice of journalism assesses all issues such as politics, economics and technologies, it needs qualified workforce from such fields badly. Then employee with such qualification should further learn the techniques and ethics of journalism which help them gather and report in that specific area (Woldu Yemessel, Personal Interview, April 26, 2013).

According to him that unique body of knowledge about journalism alone is not sufficient to practice it. This is in line with Kovach and Rosenstle (2001) propositions: "anyone can be journalist but not everyone". Amare Aregawi agrees on this said that anyone that has the passion can be journalist as long as she/he is not criminal regardless of educated or not provided that she/he has something for the public. Otherwise, he added that, the editorial policy and editor will be there to make it journalistic. But here one can argue that "how can editorial policy be set out?"

and "how can editors work on the editing process?"; only journalism education can have the answer whether it is taught as first or second degree.

Besides, there is tension between journalism theoreticians versus practitioners, educators versus editors, and classroom versus newsroom in the 'making of journalists' (Medsger, 2005). The academicians' focus on the theory and concepts while the practitioners' focus on skills. For instances, Aberham ENJU president oversimplified it that all news in newspaper need to be written in inverted pyramid styles. On the other hand, Mekuria Mekasha and Mulat Alemayehu as journalism educators were optimistic that journalism school would shape the practice of journalism by working together with the media industry. Desta Tesfaw also expressed that journalism educators would give journalism one outlook in the context of Ethiopia by producing new graduate and giving on-job- training.

4.2. Major Factors Affecting Journalistic Professionalism

Following similar fashion that Hallin and Mancini (2004) follow to compare the media and political system in terms of the four dimensions, here the researcher employs similar pattern to analyze Journalistic Professionalism with State Intervention, Political Parallelism and Media Markets (Commercialization).

4.2.1. Journalistic Professionalism and State Intervention

Media system has been a focus to Researchers and Scholars of various disciplines in relation to Social Control Systems in Societal, National, Regional and International level. Their indispensable functions and roles in disposing basic human rights: Freedom of expression makes them complex and controversial. It is here media system relations to social control system in general and particularly to political economy starts. The political economy of any state

(government) should include and give special protection regarding media system. The well, meaningful and up to standard functioning of media system such as press freedom needs democratic government.

The state plays a significant role in shaping the media system in any society. State intervention often manifests in media ownership, regulating and funding. Besides, government play crucial role as sources of information and primary definer of news (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:44).

However, media born out from democratic government their role in democratization, preventing, promoting and sustain democracy give them super power to confront government. Thus, media no longer are dependent variable to social control system particularly to political economy system (Siebert et al., 1956); they are independent of the political system and have potential to change political system (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Besides, media could not be an extension of political system all the time.

Hence, state intervention in media's affairs has been a focus to study the impact in addressing the missions of media. The breakthroughs of media in time of state interference have been studied and proposed; journalistic professionalism is one of the most highly accepted mechanisms to shoulder such malpractice of the government by promoting autonomy and independence. Here, the researcher analysis the relation between state intervention and journalistic professionalism in the practice of journalism.

Historically the media in Ethiopia was under the firm control of the state; in the monarchic (r.1930 – 1974) and military regime (r.1974 – 1991) media were mouth – piece of the government. It was in 1992 that free press was announced and censorship lifted up after the

existing government - FDRE (r.1991-Present) has taken power. And it was then the private media born out. Of course, the announcement later boldly enshrined in the Constitution Law enacted in 1995.

What FDRE has done for the press has been welcomed and praised for announcing media privatization as well as demonized for succession of previous state owned media. According to Anteneh Aberham, ENJU President and journalist, the "Unconditional" announcement of Free Press could be historical but the fact that it was done with "no preparation" brings the repercussion: division between journalists and media as Government and Private. Similarly, most of the interviewees shared his thought that the Media land escape at present is result of how the private press enter the media hemisphere and how the government owned media continued.

At that time, the private press was owned and run by those who were media officials and soldiers of over thrown military regime (Terje S. Skjerdal, 2012). They took the advantage and turned the press into battle field to kick off the government. The private press acted as rebel (Shimelis, 2000:20); Journalism principles and values were not taken in to consideration. They used the press as a tool for setting and addressing their agenda which was purely political. In short, the private press was started with its own political stance against the political system of ruling government; this went viral to all proliferating private press as trend. Therefore, ethical journalism was abandoned due to unprecedented transformation into free press.

On the contrary, Yohannes Kassa, Editor – in – Chief of 'Addis Guday', weekly magazine, emphasized on formerly government owned media structures and organizations; he believes that the government should change the ownership into pure public like VOA and BBC. He continues, “as long as, the state media has continued to be mouth – piece of the government in practice, the

claim of the government to transform them in to Public Media does not hold water.” “It makes the problem doubled, even if we admitted the pitfalls and ill manners of private press”, he added.

Desta Tesfaw, Director of EBA underscored that the practice of journalism was not started according to the notions of universally agreed and accepted Journalism standards such as the pursuit of truth and first loyalty to citizens (Kovach & Rosenstle, 2001). He adds that there were not as such reform on the formerly government owned media. Likewise, the private press got in practice without the least requirement. He concludes that the low level journalistic professional causes the rift.

Though no one denies, instead appreciates the legal frame works set out for the media from the constitution to proclamation, most of the interviewees are critical about the media yet free from heavy hands of government intrusion. Years after years, events after events, the government has been taking advantage of proclaiming various laws and decrees to tighten its control over media. Most of the interviewees mention recently proclaimed proclamations, Charities and Social Organization and Anti-Terrorism as restrictive in journalism endeavors. The ongoing imprisonment of "journalists", the closure "newspapers", high rate of "journalists" flew to abroad due to intimidation et cetera by FDRE regardless of how (in)justice, enlists it as notorious government for press freedom; FDRE has been categorized to states that are intolerable to journalists and media institution (CPJ report, 2011).

Amare Aregawi, Managing Director of Reporter Newspaper, said that the lack of support from government; for instance, for other investment there is government support but, he continues, for press no consideration is given. Yohannes strengthened Amare’s view in such a way that government had not given any training to build journalists capacity in private press. In the

contrary, Desta Tesfaw rejected the appeal to media's special treatment other than the legal rights. On the other hand, however, he shared with the rest of the key informants that the access of information to governmental institution was by far poor in practice.

Notwithstanding all this odds, the media institutions and journalists show little commitment and seem to give all the responsibilities to the government. Most of the time, they had always kept blaming the government to changes the media land escape. They have rarely tried to make up themselves up to the standards of journalism and used them to resist the tactical interference of the government. The potential of the media in competing power for the public sake as fourth estate (Schultz, 1998) was highly undermined by the media and journalists. Furthermore, F. B. Sandborn description of the press power as “. . . *easier to overthrow a government at Paris, Madrid, Mexico, or Rome, than to stop a well-managed newspaper* (Italics are mine)” are not well recognized. On the contrary, what has been observed is that the power of media is boycotted by the political system. Journalists' role as watchdog of government is left out up to the "willingness of the government"; in Ethiopia the competitive behavior of Media and Political system that prevails in democracy form of government is over dominated by the political system.

Instead, the notion of media as watchdog and fourth estate are well understood by the ruling government as result they have systematically and technically manipulated the press in prolonging their power. On the other hand, the media and journalists are yet not well aware of the fact to what extent the power of journalism reach outs. The media systems are parts and parcels of political system; it breaths (in and out) Politics (Kassoma, 2000). Hallin and Mancini's (2004) proposition that media are not always dependent variable to social control system is yet inconceivable; Media's power in confronting the government for the public interest is

underestimated. Besides, the government's "unholy alliance" (Remzi Lani, 2011) to the media is not understood by the practitioners and media institutions; lest adhering to the professional standards of journalism in over shouldering government pressures (Curry, 1990) is given least consideration.

4.2.2. Journalistic Professionalism and Political Parallelism

In journalism the relation between journalistic professionalization and political parallelism Hallin and Mancini (2004) is expressed as follows:

Historically development of journalistic professionalization eroded political parallelism in important ways, diminishing the control of parties and other political organizations over the media, and creating common practices that blurred the political distinctions among media organizations (p.38).

When newspaper was begun as force in political life in the end of 18th and beginning of 19th century, journalists in their routine activities of truth finding and serving the public politics become their prior agenda (Hallin & Mancini:2004). The issues of politics, in one or the other way, have remained as axis of journalism in influencing public opinions. Similarly, the very nature of media reaching to mass public makes them preferable to political parties and politician to address their agendas to influence the public opinion at large.

Therefore, it was not uncommon to see that newspapers run and owned by political parties early at the beginning of private press. In most cases, the private press were established by the initiatives of political parties or political actors, or supported by them. And newspapers were considered as voice for respective party. Their reports were based on particular interest and causes of the party colored by partisanship.

But the rise of journalistic professionalism in the 19th century started to question the objectivity of journalists and press in their reporting. Objectivity as professional ideology of journalism embarks an inquiry of political orientation of the press as well as journalists.

The press in Ethiopia has been highly challenged by the notion of political parallelism since 1992. Meseret Atalay, EJA president and journalist, points out that Press and politics are blurred. The private press has been there to promote political interest of political parties; Desta Tesfaw shares similar view. He underlines that those who opposes the political system directly moved towards establishing a newspaper/magazine instead of political party. Likewise, Wondwossen Mekonnen, EFPJA president, underscores that the competition among newspapers/magazines is politically designed where by politician lead the press to set and frame an agenda. They propagate ideologies of political parties, he adds. For frequent and critical newspaper readers, it would be quite easier to track which newspaper belongs or ally to which political party.

In fact, the political orientation of journalists and the press at large are still hot issue and debatable in the contemporary media studies. No serious media analyst would argue that journalism anywhere in the world is literally neutral especially from politics. After all, politics and policy are bread and butter for professional journalists (Curry, 1990:161). Rather the question is how political issues should be handled vis-à-vis the Elements of Journalism.

In Ethiopia the media policy of state and private owned media varies with few exceptions private media. The state's main stream media follow journalistic role and practice guided by developmental journalism while most private media guided by advocacy journalism. Though Desta Tesfaw, EBA's director insists that the media policy of mainstream media derived from political economy of the state; however, he continued, the private media has the freedom to

follow media policy what they suit them. Woldu Yemessel Chief Executive Officer of FBC corporate highly organized first private national and multilingual radio station, said that the media policy of FBC was formulated based on conditions of the country that was developmental journalism. However, practice of state mainstream media and FBC quite different in terms of practicing regardless of their similar orientation.

But as journalistic role and practice approach (Hallin and Mancini, 2004:28) is one element in which media's distinct political orientation manifests, state media and FBC at least align them to one political orientation which in turn depicts partisanship with the rest of private media. In addition, the motto of some private media coincides to some political parties' motto which again shows how they are parallel to certain party politics. Mulat Alemayehu, Journalism Educator at AAU School of Journalism, noted that the audiences preference to private and state owned media basis political ideology of the audience not information basis. This shows that partisanship of media audience (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:28) contributes for partisanship in Ethiopia media. Furthermore, most private media in Ethiopia have connection to international organization such as CPJ and Human Rights Watch unlike the state media also signifies the degree to which the media align themselves to party politics which have political ideology similar to these organization.

Though one-to-one connection between media and political parties is increasingly uncommon today, the case in Ethiopia is yet not improved; Media are still not differentiated politically. Instead of associating themselves with general political tendencies like what the German press do (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:27), Ethiopian media associates themselves with particular parties. Desta Tesfaw and Amare Aregawi asserted that most newspapers/magazines starting from front

page, editorial page, Op-ed page and inside pages all are fulfilled by similar ideas, perspectives and angles.

Such kind of political orientation exposes the media for political instrumentalization; they allow external actors - parties, politicians, social groups or movements, or economic actors seeking political influences – who use them to intervene in the world of politics. Consequently, journalists will lack autonomy, political rather than distinctively journalistic criteria will guide the practice of journalism, and media will serve particular interests rather than functioning as "public trust".

4.2.3. Journalistic Professionalism and Media Markets (Commercialization)

The development of a commercial press aimed at making money paved the road for the press to be independent from political and other external influences. Media's ability to generate income from advertising and air/space renting enable them to run their work by themselves. Media Market has changed the media land escape in terms of financial capacity; however, it can also potentially threaten elements of journalism ranging from more blatant such as product placement in film and television programming and demands from advertisers for influence over editorial content to more subtle kinds of pressures (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:26/37). In short commercialization is a challenge as well as an opportunity for the media only what determines is the journalistic professionalization.

Mekuria Mekasha, journalism educator at AAU, underscores the importance of strong financial muscle for the press to emancipate itself from outsiders particularly from state interference and political parties influence. Anteneh Aberham, strengthening the role of making business in the press criticizes the way most Ethiopian commercial press enter the business. They step onto it

with no long term plan hoping to be profitable in their first edition; he continues, however, the bonanzas of the press come at least after year provided that there is good execution of Elements of Journalism.

Further, Desta Tesfaw elaborates it

. . . the private commercial press enters the practice for three purposes: one to oppose the government in power, two to make business blow with the winds whatever the case may be and three to practice per the principles of journalism. In the first case, their independence is highly challenged for they are established or supported by political parties. In the second they are blindly run for the profit with no journalistic professionalization. The third one somewhat have set out plan and follow principle as well as earning profit.

Hence, he believes that commercialization in Ethiopia threatens than emancipates the press from the interferences of state, political parties and other interested groups. This coupled with the low level of journalistic profession make the problem chronic. Moreover, Meseret Atalay points out the renting of air time and space by private press to those who afford the price without considering journalistic value let the media fall under commercial instrumentalization too. Amare Aregawi, witness that the commercial motive help them lot to hold professional journalistic but do not alleviate the state intervention.

Chapter Five

Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusion

The study was conducted to examine the cause(s) that divided media [into: government affiliated, Opposition affiliated, Less politicized and Moderately Pro-government] and then journalism and journalists in the Ethiopia for the last two decades. Besides, it has examined journalistic professionalism contribution to sort out the problem. To do so, the study examined the various views of major actors in the media and other parties who are stake holders in the industry.

One of the major finding of the study was that the cause for division of media in Ethiopia was found to be the 'unprecedented transformation' of the media land escape in 1992 following the coming up of the existing government into power; the liberalization and privatization of media was announced unconditionally, but with no preparation. No prior structural adjustment was made to hold on the practice of journalism in democratic system. Rather, the private owned press jumped into practice of journalism without considering the least requirement a press could fulfill. It was run by ex-government media officials and workers who were mouth-piece of the government (Terje S. Skjerdal, 2012:19). Consequently, they used the press to restore the overthrown government system by any possible means on the expense of Elements of journalism. Similarly, the former state owned media continued under state control with nomenclature adjustment-public media serving the state. Such practices turned the mere ownership difference into antagonistic political ideology. However, in due time the media market

push farther the division within private press subdividing them into three: affiliated to government, affiliated to opposition and moderately politicized (Terje S. Skjerdal, 2012:33).

Hence, the road to journalism and its practice were not paved inline to universally accepted and agreed journalism elements (Kovach and Rosentile, 2009). This made journalism to overlap or blend with other profession roles and functions like politics, theatrical art and writing. In Ethiopia, not only anyone can be journalist but also everyone can be journalists as long as he/she joins the media once.

The interrelation and interaction of journalists are limited in the vicinity of the media ownership they belong. As result, each journalists associations comprises those who works in related industry, for instance, state media journalists confined themselves into EJA while journalists from private media in to ENJU. Let alone, coming together to form a platform they blame each other and they hardly accept the existence of one to the other. Regardless of sharing same vision and mission as journalists, they are not bonded to each. Even their solidarity towards their members does not go beyond verbal appeal; their power to negotiate on journalists' right and protect them is very weak. In general, the press which is expected to compromise many things is unable to compromise itself and has yet not become unifying factor.

Despite the liberalization and privatization, the practice and performance of journalism in Ethiopia remain highly dependent to government. Still, professional commitment is not considered as armor to the suppression from government and others threat; vibrant media which is effective and efficient is left to 'Government Will'. The power of media in competing power being fourth estate (Schultz, 1998) is given little emphasis. Therefore, it seems that much of the woes that journalism in Ethiopia passing through is self-inflected.

Meanwhile, the journalistic professionalism in improving and regulating Ethiopian journalism from such problems is not well comprehended as prudent. Yet, they are not that much confident that professional realities over weigh external pressures specially state interference. In fact, the rise in journalism education school and the demand for media to commence on job training sparks the interest on journalistic professionalism. Otherwise, the research revealed that journalistic professionalism is hardly conceived as breakthrough to all odds against journalism in Ethiopia. But this could not be discouraging outcome rather it is an awakening call how journalistic professionalism is badly needed.

5.2. Recommendations

The media system (dating back to 1992 to present) in Ethiopia has already taken a wrong twist in the beginning. No matter how devastating the repercussions, little has been done to pull it into the 'right truck'. Still, the resources for media to function in democratic system are not yet given more concern. And it is this gap that let the press suffer more than the division.

At the center of US and European journalism excellence we found journalism education as engine. It has played significant role in shaping the penny press and tabloid that had been threat to journalism back in time. For instance, USA journalism model which is considered as conventional model for journalism was highly challenged and are still confronting with many challenges. However, the principles, values and elements set out are always safeguarding the status quo of journalism.

Hence, Ethiopian journalism fate won't be different from this; Journalism education should be used in founding and directing the practice of journalism in Ethiopia. They can be a bridge to narrow the gap between the divided and segmented media, and brought in one platform. The talk,

debate and concern, in general dialogue about media in Ethiopia should be on journalism education to bring journalistic professionalism so that the boundary from other discipline can be differentiated.

In the other hand, even though British press are renowned for its journalistic professional adherence , an inquiry ordered by the House of Commons, into the culture, practice and ethics of press following the phone hacking scandals was reported to the parliament months ago (Leveson, 2012).. Similarly an inquiry should be called upon the culture, practice and ethics of Ethiopian media system for the last couple of decades. Once again, journalism education schools and journalism educators would be better to commence such inquiry with government cooperation. In such way, the media would be able to respect the rules with no recourse to the government (Bertrand, 2006: viii).

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Appendices

Appendix 1: List of Key Informants

1. Abraham Anteneh: President of ENJU and Journalists. Interviewed Saturday, April 20, 2013.
2. Amare Aregawi: Managing Editor of Private bilingual and biweekly Reporter Newspaper. Director of Media Communication Center. Interviewed on Friday, April 19, 2013.
3. Desta Tesfaw: Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority Director; MA in Political Science and Public Administration; Interviewed on Monday, April 22, 2013.
4. Mekuria Mekasha: Journalism Educator in Addis Ababa University; Assistance Professor in journalism. Interviewed on Wednesday, April 24, 2013.
5. Meseret Atalay: President EJA and Editor – in – Chief of Documentary in ERTA; BA in Theatrical Art. Interviewed on Tuesday, April 16, 2013.
6. Mulat Alemayehu: Journalism Educator in Addis Abeba University; MA in Journalism and Communication.
7. Tadesse Zinaye: News and Program Production Directorate Director in ENA; MA in Journalism;
8. Woldu Yemessel: Chief Executive Officer of FBC PLC. Interviewed Friday, April 26, 2013.
9. Wondwossen Mekonnen: President of EFJA, journalist. Interviewed on Thursday, April 25, 2013.
10. Yohannes Kassa: Editor – in – Chief of private weekly Amharic Addis 'Guday' Magazine; BA in ICT administration. Interviewed on Tuesday, May 07, 2013
11. Yonas Amare: Journalist in weekly private Ethio Channel Newspaper; Journalism and Communication BA holder. Interviewed on Friday, April 26, 2013.

Appendix 2: Interview Questions

1. Journalism and Journalists in Ethiopia is highly criticized for division between the government and the private media, and sub – division with in private media itself; consequently, there is lack of all inclusive journalists associations, and reluctance of the industry to stand and speak as single institution with common interest.

What do you think the causes?

2. Studies on the field of journalism show that Professionalization of journalism is a good mechanism in controlling and changing journalism.

How do you see the level of professionalization in Ethiopia in practicing journalism?

2.1. Should unique knowledge (as physician and lawyers do have) be necessary in order to be a journalist?

If so what kind of knowledge is required and how should it be acquired?

2.2. Should entry over the occupation be controlled? How do you see it Vis – á – Vis freedom of expression? If so who shall do this and How?

2.3. In regarding Journalists working Autonomy, from whom and to what extent do journalists be independent?

2.4. How do you see their orientation towards the public?

2.5. Should a distinct norm practice such as code of ethics be established regarding the conduct of journalists?

3. Scholars argue that legal route to media quality will not be sufficient. Neither legal rights for journalists nor legal restrictions on the media will in themselves produce good journalism. They suggest Self regulation can do it much better. How do you see the condition of self regulation in Ethiopian journalism?

4. Nowadays, the proposition “a truly free press ought to be as free from the interest of the market place [stake holders] as it is free from the demand of the state” is highly advocated by scholars to show how press freedom and professional standards are degraded by media conglomerates. How can the watchdogs be watched?

5. Politics and Business, arguably considered as ‘unholy ally’ of media press; media’s first and foremost interest- public interest threat by political and economic interests from the government or political actors, and media owners. How do you relate journalistic professionalization with politics and business?

6. Despite the fact that censorship constitutionally prohibited in Ethiopia, self-censorship is at its peak in practicing journalism. What do you think the cause for self censorship?

Only for Journalists Associations Representatives

1. Which public policies define the frame within which these associations operate in Ethiopia? What are the criteria to be a member?
2. What is the exact role of these associations in regard to the protection of professional standards and journalistic rights of the media?
3. Has the formation of some of these associations been motivated by political reasons rather than by a desire to promote professional standards and the rights of media professionals?
4. How can they contribute (by which means or by which joint efforts) to increase overall professionalism and accountability of the media?