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Department of Public Administration and Development Management

**The Role of Media in Policy Making Process in Ethiopia: the Case of
Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC)**

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DECLARATION

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Yedesdes Tesfa , entitled: *The Contribution of Media for Policy Making Process in Ethiopia: the case of Ethiopia Broadcasting corporations* submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (Public Management and Policy) complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Abbreviations

EBC-Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation

ERTA-Ethiopian Radio and Television Agency

EPRDF-The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary and Democratic Front

HPR- House of People Representative

PMO- Prime Minister Office

Abstract

In principle one of the fundamental roles of the media is to critically scrutinize governmental affairs: that is to act as the 'Fourth Estate' of government to ensure that the government can be held accountable by the public. And media have both direct and indirect influences on policy, and can, at various times, serve as a contributor to policy, a conduit of policy information, and a mirror to the policy process. But there is a widespread belief that EBC as a national media is not carrying out all its responsibilities accordingly. The main focus of the study was to undertake an assessment on Contribution of Media for Policy Making Process in Ethiopia, particularly EBC. A qualitative research methodology has been followed in the study, and a case study design has been utilized. Purposive sampling technique has been employed to identify the potential study participants from the study's target population. Questionnaires and key informant interview have been used as the primary data gathering tool. Secondary data have been acquired by reviewing published or unpublished written documents. Finally, it was found out that EBC's nature and personality today can drive one to come to terms that it is unfit to be a symbol of national media with all its failures to serve the public genuinely and carrying out its all responsibility accordingly. High level of government interference, lack of public participation, unethical and unprofessional reporting, and weak implementation of investigative journalism are among the major challenges.

Key words: media, policy making process, policy, investigative journalism

Chapter One

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Policymaking is a political process which is affected by various social and economic factors and the media plays an integral role in shaping the social context in which policies are developed. Through the media, citizens learn how government policies will affect them, and governments gain feedback on their policies and programs. The media acts as the primary conduit between those who want to influence policy and policymakers controlling the scope of political discourse and regulating the flow of information. Policymaking follows an orderly sequence where problems are identified, solutions devised, policies adopted, implemented and lastly evaluated. In reality, the policy process is more fluid, where policies are formed through the struggle of ideas of various advocacy coalitions. The policies, on which the media focuses can, and often does, play an important role in determining the focal issues for policy makers(Christian, 2013).

Policy makers are answerable to the people who give them authority. Therefore, information used in public processes must be publicly available. Mass media can, and often do, play a critical role in policymaking. The typical view of media is that they matter in the early stages of the policy process -that media can help to set an agenda, which is then adopted and dealt with by politicians, policymakers, and other actors. The impact of media is rarely so constrained, however. Our argument here, in short, is that media matter, not just at the beginning but throughout the policy process (Stuart, Andrea, and Stephen, undated).

Sometimes called the "fourth branch of government," the mass media serve a number of functions within the context of government policy making. As indicated by Fletcher and Taras (1984) "politicians need publicity to promote themselves and their programs and reporters need information and quotes for their stories." In addition, mass media coverage of policy meets a number of other needs (Fletcher&Taras, 1984). It gives citizens the necessary information for "effective political participation" and provides a forum for "debate on public issues." It helps governments circulate "vital information about public services and government accomplishments while providing opportunities for opposition parties to criticize government and propose

alternative policies." Governments will also often use the press "to test public opinion by leaking proposals to a reporter who will value the "scoop."

Media can draw and sustain public attention to particular issues. They can change the discourse around a policy debate by framing or defining an issue using dialogue or rhetoric to persuade or dissuade the public. Media can establish the nature, sources, and consequences of policy issues in ways that fundamentally change not just the attention paid to those issues, but the different types of policy solutions sought. Media can also act as a critical conduit between governments and publics, informing publics about government actions and policies, and helping to convey public attitudes to government officials. Allowing for the possibility that any and all of these effects can be evident not just in the early stages but throughout the policy process makes clear the potentially powerful impact we believe that media can have on policy (Stuart, Andrea, and Stephen, undated). The media may have an indirect influence on the policy agenda. To the extent that public opinion affects policy makers, media can have a part in shaping the policy agenda by influencing public opinion. And

When we come to the Ethiopian situation, the fact that there are only finger-counted broadcast media outlets and they are yet at their budding stage may not enable us to solidly and authoritatively assert the actual influences and pressures on the country policy making process. However, there seems a consensus to exist within the public, as observation dictates, that media organizations owned by the government specially, Ethiopian broadcasting corporation (EBC) are often accused of serving as the government's mouthpiece instead of serving the public interest, it affects its role in policy making process of the country.

According to Pelly (2010) the board of the EBC is selected by the government. Most of the top managers are members of the ruling party and all staff members are government employees. As a consequence editorial independence of the state broadcaster is limited. News bulletins are essentially bulletins about government activities. The coverage does not reflect diverse views, but is usually one-sided, lacks depth and falls short of journalistic ethics.

In these connections, this study mainly conducted to assess the role of media for policy making process in Ethiopia, with particular reference to, Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation. Since it is a national media and has an opportunity to address large number of the population.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Brown and Teshome (2007) cited in Biruk (2014), argued that policy formation and implementation in Ethiopia is shaped by the ideology and political strategy of the ruling party. Along with, the writers maintained that policymaking in Ethiopia is less systematic, less consultative and more top down. The same is true for media function. In the researcher personal observation, not only government owned media but also the private media specially the broadcast media are negatively influenced by the ideology and interest of the ruling party. In principle, one of the fundamental roles of the media is to critically scrutinize governmental affairs: that is to act as the 'Fourth Estate' of government to ensure that the government can be held accountable by the public. And mass media provides forum for debates and discussion on policy problems and their solutions. But it is difficult to say that Ethiopian Broadcasting corporation as a media carrying out all its responsibilities accordingly. For instance, in Ethiopia government structure the House of People Representative possesses the ultimate power and determines the fate of the nation and the main body in policy making sphere. Its strengths and weaknesses that occur while performing its duties highly affect the life of the people positively or negatively. That is way the national media is expected to contribute a lot in order to promote and support the parliamentary activities.

But in reality as Atebeha (2012) stated" even the national media, ERTA/now EBC has not played its role as expected in disseminating reliable legislative information to the general public. The legislature is not communicating well with the voters through the media. It is obvious that the legislative scrutiny and most oversight activities are taking place at the standing committees' level in closed meeting halls. More than 90% work of the legislature is done under the auspice of the committees. If the work of a committee is hidden, so is the work of a legislature. The general public does not have the opportunity to know about the national issues being discussed within each standing committee though most of the issues discussed in the committee level are imposing obligations and conferring rights to the citizens. Of course the public media entertains some coverage of news, which is mostly fragmented, distorted and less substantive. According to

most of the respondents, when the reporters of ERTA make news on issues of standing committees' meetings, the orientation of their reporting is on what the executive officials said usually magnifying only their performance achievements". On the other hand, the media professionals were acting as the mouth piece of the government to make laudable the voice of government officials. The media acted to shape the public attitudes by presenting the views of the government elites. Moreover, the contents of EBC news reflected that development news was given above all a special attention over other issues. The news was presented in the way it brings "Fourth government" in most positive light.

Ethiopia has been suffering from poverty and underdevelopment for years and also there is a fragile democracy accompanied by absence of good governance and less public participation. This reality demands a participative and open media operation that would help the country to address the social, political and economic problems. But The Ethiopian media lacks an active role in public participation as well as in policy making process of the state. It is important to conduct study to examine the practical contribution of media for policy making process.

The role of media in policy making process in Ethiopia has not been researched so far. Especially, nobody has tried to identify the limited role of media in policy making process of the state, despite the given responsibility to act as a fourth estate. The researcher, therefore, believe that there is a knowledge gap that has not been addressed yet in the area.

The focus of this research is, therefore, to identify the role of media in each stage of policy making process in Ethiopia, identify challenges and to suggest some possible recommendations. The study also assesses how the national media help policy makers to make participative and sound policy. And it contributes some input to the performance of the national media, policy makers and, other body which in need. Moreover, this study has attempted to address the existing significant research gap within the particular topic

1.3. Research Questions

The fundamental research questions that guide and direct the course of the study have been the following.

- a) What is the role of media in policy making process in Ethiopia?
- b) How well connected are policy makers and media?
- c) How well are media communicated to the public?
- d) What affects the role of EBC in policy making process in Ethiopia?

1.4. Objectives of the Study

The general and specific objectives of the study were as follows.

1.4.1. General Objective

The general objective of the study was to assess the role of media in policy making process in Ethiopia with particular reference to the national media, EBC

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

- a). To explain the contribution of media for policy making process
- b). To identify and describe the responsibility of media in the public policy making process of the country in general and EBC in particular.
- c). To examine the nature of relationship between policy makers and media within the public policymaking system, particularly with the national media
- d). To generate policy inputs and suggest some potential solutions to the problems identified in the study.

1.5. Scope of the study

The study is limited to the role of media for policy making process in Ethiopia with particular reference to the national media, EBC. It neither specifically covers the role of private or other government media. This study also attempted to study the contribution of EBC on each stage of policy making process.

Moreover, the study has been conducted only in Addis Ababa. These are for three reasons. First, most of the print and electronic media including the head office of EBC are found in Addis

Ababa. Second, all major policy decisions of vital importance are carried out at federal level namely in Addis Ababa. The third reason is also, the researcher's permanent work place is Addis Ababa and it is difficult to go to another place to carry out this study.

The time that covered under the study was also limited. Participation of people in politics and idea of a free media, are the concept which try to practice after EPRDF came to power. So, the study shall concentrate on the post 1991 period in Ethiopia.

1.6. Significance of the Study

The findings have expected influence on the media to examine and revisit their contribution to the policy making process of the country so that this study has been served as an input to think about it.

Understanding how the media contribute to the public policy making process and also examining the limited role of the national media is advantageous to all those who are directly or indirectly connected to the processes of policy making especially, media organization, the general public, policy maker, legislatures' and other beneficiaries.

Moreover, the researcher believed that this study could be helpful to filled the gap and contribute its share in adding data for future studies.

1.7. Limitation of the study

Since the study area are not researched sufficiently the researcher has faced problems like lack of information used as a direct reference. Secondly, it has been very difficult for the researcher to obtain the necessary official primary data formally. And to overcome this setback, informal personal connections or contacts have been exploited. Time was another constrain for the researcher because the researcher mostly used interview to collect primary data from purposely selected samples from the target population. On the other hand, the virtual non-existence of relevant literatures herein Ethiopia regarding to the contribution of media for policy making process of the state and also the fact that the relevant literatures are solely oriented towards the western media realities, was challenging for the researcher.

1.8. Organization of the Study

This research paper consists of five major chapters. The first chapter has provided an overview, presented the statement of the problem, introduced the research questions and objectives, established the rationale for significance of the study, specified the scope of the study, and explained the limitations of the study, at last discussed ethically considered issues. And chapter two has introduced conceptual and analytical tools on the basis of which the study phenomenon has been assessed and analyzed. Then chapter three has clearly specified the research methodology, research design, sampling design, methods of data collection and the methods of data analysis and interpretation. Discussions have been made based on the results of data analysis in the proceeding chapter. At the end, the conclusions and suggested recommendations have been provided based on the findings of the study.

Chapter Two

2. Review of related literature

2.1. What is media?

The word media is the plural of medium, which comes from the Latin *medius* for middle and refers the main means of mass communication (broadcasting, publishing, and the Internet) regarded collectively (Media, 2015). There are three senses of the word media. The first is as an “intervening or intermediate agency or substance”, the second is a “conscious technical sense, as in the distinction between print and sound and vision as media”, and, lastly, “the specialized capitalist sense” in which a newspaper or broadcasting service that already exists is seen as a medium for something else- as in advertising (Williams,1983). Overtime, all three of these senses seem to have converged and formed the way that people currently think about media (Williams, 1983).

The word media is currently used to refer to mass media, "the main means of mass communication, such as television, radio, and newspapers" (Mass media, 2015). The term mass media came about in the 1920s and finally made a distinction between face-to-face and mass communication (Peters, 1999). Although the term mass communication and mass media are used interchangeably, they are different concepts. Mass media refers to “technological tools, or channels, used to transmit the messages of mass communication” while mass communication means “a society-wide communication process to a large, mixed audience” (Hanson, 2010). One way to define mass media is as “the intersection of mass communication, culture, and technology”(Giles,2003). Mass media include print media such as books, magazines, newspapers, and electronic media such as radio, television, movies, and the Internet (Hanson, 2010).

In conversation, the term the media generally refers to communication media or mass media, which are available to a plurality of recipients and are conceived collectively, as a single, all-encompassing and pervasive entity. Originally meaning an intermediary or a middle quantity, the word medium has been in use since the sixteenth century. By the 1700s, the term was used to

refer to currency and a medium of exchange. In the nineteenth century, medium tended to indicate a material used in creative expression and a “channel of mass communication.” Since the early twentieth century, medium has referred to “any physical material ... used for recording or reproducing data, images, or sound” (Oxford English Dictionary Online). The term media carries different meanings in various fields. In the field of natural science, a medium is a substrate, whereas in the arts it is a material with distinctive physical properties. In media studies and other social sciences, media typically refer to “the means of communication” (print or broadcast media) or “certain technical forms by which these means are actualized” (books, newspapers, television, radio, film, and now the Internet and video games) (O’Sullivan et al. 1994). This definition of media will be utilized in the study.

2.1.1. Principles and Function of Journalism

Rosenstein and Kovach (2001) declared some important principles that define journalism and those are the basis for *The Elements of Journalism*. They are:

Journalism’s first obligation is to the truth: As Kovach and Rosenstein, 2001 says respect for truth and public’s right to information is fundamental principles of journalism. This "journalistic truth" is a process that begins with the professional discipline of assembling and verifying facts. Ethicists Patterson and Wilkins (1994) also argue that journalism is now a profession because of two modern responsibilities imposed on journalists—a greater responsibility than other people to tell the truth, and a greater obligation to foster political activity.

Its first loyalty is to citizens: While news organizations answer too many constituencies, the journalists in those organizations must maintain allegiance to citizens and the larger public. More to the point, journalists are the people’s surrogate or speakers, cover issues which are in the public interest. This means since journalism loyalty is to citizens, news production should consist of the interest and participations of audiences. So, the yardstick of newsworthiness is audience centered news which implies that the service of journalism is to citizens.

Its essence is a discipline of verification: Journalists rely on a professional discipline for verifying information. Seeking out multiple witnesses, disclosing as much as possible about sources, or asking various sides for comment, all signal such standards.

Its practitioners must maintain an independence from those they cover: Independence is an underlying requirement of journalism, a cornerstone of its reliability.

It must serve as an independent monitor of power: Journalism has an unusual capacity to serve as watchdog over those whose power and position most affects citizens. This implies that the press should recognize where powerful institutions are working effectively or not. Scholars put immense responsibility up on journalists and editors to question and watch over government. Schultz (1998) states that journalists and editors remain the most insistent advocates of the news media as the Fourth Estate: watching, questioning, analyzing and informing, often despite the opposition of their managers who would prefer a more compliant, more entertaining and less critical approach.

It must provide a forum for public criticism and compromise: The news media are the common carriers of public discussion, and this responsibility forms a basis for public special privileges.

Schudson(1995) also acknowledged, the six primary functions served by media or can serve in a democracy;

1. **Information:** the news media can provide fair and full information so citizen scan make sound political choices.
2. **Investigation:** the news media can investigate concentrated sources of power, particularly governmental power.
3. **Analysis:** the news media can provide coherent frameworks of interpretation to help citizens comprehend a complex world.
4. **Social Empathy:** journalism can tell people about others in their society and their world so that they can come to appreciate the viewpoints and lives of other people, especially those less advantaged than them.
5. **Public Forum:** journalism can provide a forum for dialogue among citizens and serve as a common carrier of the perspectives of varied groups in society.
6. **Mobilization:** the news media can serve as an advocate for particular political programs and perspectives and mobilize people to act in support of these programs.

2.1.2. Relationship between Media, Government and Political Parties

Democracy requires the active participation of citizens. Ideally, the media should keep citizens engaged in the business of governance by informing, educating and mobilizing the public. The media can play a positive role in democracy only if there is an enabling environment that allows them to do so. They need the requisite skills for the kind of in depth reporting that a new democracy requires. There should also be mechanisms to ensure they are held accountable to the public and that ethical and professional standards are upheld. Media independence is guaranteed if media organizations are financially viable, free from intervention of media owners and the state, and operate in a competitive environment. The media should also be accessible to as wide a segment of society as possible. Efforts to help the media should be directed toward: the protection of press rights, enhancing media accountability, building media capacity and democratizing media access (Sheile, 2004).

Dagim (2013) explained that, the relationship between media and government and political parties is very important in defining a role for the media in the political process. This relationship inevitably affects the media practice either positively or negatively. When the government learns from the media practices, the relationship could be said to have a positive effect. However, when the government puts illegitimate sanctions, including censorship, on the media, the negative effect prevails. Similarly, when the media tend to report truthfully and objectively, positive relationship could be secured and when the reverse happens, the relationship would turn out to be unfavorable. As far as media's relationship with political parties is concerned, the political parties are one of the major sources of political information and actors in the political sphere that the media make use of when pursuing the ideal democratic functions they are expected to.

Kumar and Jones (2005) see four central ways in which the 'combined' and 'singular' media can influence the government and the process of governing. First, the media inform the public of the actions of officials elected to rule. Second, the information provided influences the workings of the government for the public would act according to the information. Third, through the works disseminated to the wide public, the media inform people the deeds of other governmental institutions. Fourth, 'information provided by the media serves as an early warning system for government officials of problems they may not have recognized or issues coming to the surface that they did not see coming.

Influence of the Government on Media mostly affects the conduct of media organizations harmfully as it puts an impediment on freedom of expression and of the press. However, a certain positive influence could be seen in some regulations on the media that are made to secure the protection of human rights. Kumar and Jones(2005)in support of the view that the government pressures the media, write, all three branches of government consistently serve as an influence on the organization, operations, and actions of news outlets. Government actions run the range from measures taken to regulate news organizations to procedures used to protect the routines and products of news media.

Janus(1984) cited in Adonay(2016) argued, governments of all countries exert controls over the mass media in one way or the other. In countries where ‘the media are largely privately owned, controls are exerted through laws, regulations, licenses, and taxes. In countries where the media are primarily government-owned, government control is exerted through media financing.’ This control, which takes the form of laws (such as those designed to punish libel) and regulations, may determine both who can own a broadcast medium as well as what kinds of content will be permitted. The more suppressive/undemocratic the political system is, the more influences it exerts on the media. In addition, Political influence on the media becomes manifest as several news media subscribe to a specific editorial policy by showing their political/ideological inclination in their reporting and editorials. It’s also true that journalists themselves may have a political stance that may or may not play out in the news production (Hanitzsch&Hoxha ,2014).

In addition to their function of carrying information between the government and the public, media can influence political decisions and functions by disclosing what officials usually prefer to hide from the public and by monitoring the government and other governmental political institutions ‘power. It is due to this—watchdog function—that the media are considered the fourth estate added to the traditional three organs of a government that are the legislative, the executive and the judiciary.

Media also have a relationship with different political parties that take part in the democratic Process. This relationship might not be discordant as it is the case with the relationship between media and government. Politicians that are not incumbents but work to be, also had to use the media in order to reach the public. In so doing, they relate with the media. Three areas of nexus could be manifested in the relationship between media and political parties. First, the media

resort to the parties as one of their major political sources that they need to perform their democratic functions. Second, as it works in their relationship with the government too, the media inspect platforms of different political parties in which they evaluate and present to the public the likely affects of the policy of the parties if the people are to elect them. Third, the political parties draw on the media to address the public as to what the public needs to know about their policy. In addition, fundamentally, it is through the media that the parties can maintain a regular connection with their public. However, the parties might sometimes influence the media profoundly and the media may turn out to be serving some parties than working for the citizenry.

2.1.3. Polarized Media

In polarized media according to Hallin&Mancini (2004), the state plays a large role as an owner, regulator, and sponsor of media, though its capacity to regulate effectively is often limited. The system is rooted to a large extent in the high degree of ideological diversity and conflict and the state and political parties have played a strong role in a society and the media were closely tied to those institutions (Hallin&Mancini, 2004).

The media in Ethiopia has long been functioned in a polarized media environment where exist two extreme media outputs. Skjerdal(2012) states that, the existing state of the media in Ethiopia is commonly described as a polarized state of affairs between the state media and private media outlets. According to Shimelis (2002), the private press, in the first place, didn't begin its life as an independent institution but as an instrument of rebel. Accordingly, he asserts that the stories presented, interlocked as it is at every point with the political and social changes, in the country, are a saga of valor in the defense and, to a large extent, the fostering of the democratization process. The government media on the other hand is often described as faithful mouthpiece of the government in that they stand at the other end of the bifurcation. Nicole Stremlau (2011) cited in Skjerdal (2012) attributes polarization in the press to EPRDF's revolutionary democracy ideology, which leaves little room for a dynamic opposition. Aad land and Roe (2000) cited in Skjerdal (2012) on their part explain the tendency to polarization as an absence of a tradition of dialogue in the local society, where disagreement customarily ends in enmity and division. Editor Mesfin Negash of the defunct newspaper *Addis Neger* claims that anybody engaging in critical political reporting in Ethiopia will be considered an enemy of the government and an

activist. Mesfin comments: "I don't think it is a matter of choice for journalists to be taken as activists in Ethiopia where they play, by design or convenience, the role of teaching, monitoring, exposing and defending those basic elements of democracy (Mesfin, 2010 cited in Skjerdal, 2012).

2.1.4. The concept of developmental journalism and its practice in Ethiopia

Development journalism has different definitions in different contexts. The concept originated in the Philippines and was developed into a coherent doctrine in the 1960s across Asia and the Middle East (Ogan, 1980 cited in skjerdalin, 2011). In the subsequent years, development journalism gained universal currency with a strong following in the Second and Third World. The conceptual basis of development journalism relies heavily on development communication theories. In 1968, a not for profit organization, the Thomson Foundation sponsored a course called The Economic Writers' Training Course. The Course Chair, Alan Chalkley was the first to coin the term "development journalist" (Ogan, 1980 cited in skjerdalin, 2011). Working with the Philippine Press Institute, Chalkley and Erskine Childers began to conduct development oriented seminars to encourage the Philippine journalists to report more development news.

Chalkley (1968) cited in skjerdal (2011) explained that a journalist's main task was to inform and give his or her readers the facts. His or her secondary task was to interpret, to put the facts in their framework and, where possible, to draw conclusions. Chalkley added that the third task of the development journalist was to positively promote facts of economic life and to interpret those facts, to open eyes of readers to the possible development solutions. Aggarwala (1979) cited in skjerdalin (2011) described the essence of development journalism as to "critically examine, evaluate and report the relevance of a development project to national and local needs, the difference between a planned scheme and its actual implementation and the differences between its impact on the people as claimed by government official and as it is actually is". Development journalism also entails that the media should critically report on the MDGs, comparing planned schemes and actual implementation and impact. Banda (2006) cited in skjerdalin (2011) defined development journalism as consisting of 'news' that: Should examine critically, evaluate and interpret the relevance of development plans, projects, policies, problems, and issues. It should indicate the disparities between plans and actual accomplishments, and include comparisons with how development is progressing in other countries and regions. It also should provide contextual

and background information about the development process, discuss the impact of plans, projects, policies, problems, and issues on people, and speculate about the future of development. Gunaratne (1996) cited in skjerdalin (2011) described developmental journalism as an integral part of a new journalism that involved "analytical interpretation, subtle investigation, constructive criticism. Melkote (1991) cited in skjerdalin (2011) sums up the ultimate goal of development journalism/communication as to raise the quality of life of populations, including the increase of income and well-being, eradication of social injustice, promotion of land reform and freedom of speech and establishing community centers for leisure and entertainment. Development journalism became popular with African governments in the 1970s and 1980s as a way to utilize the media for national growth. Various leaders willingly adopted the model and adjusted it to their system of governance, be it military, autocratic ruler, one-party democracy or multiparty system. In Ethiopia as Skjerdal(2011) explained the concept of developmental journalism was first introduced in the editorial policies of various state media institutions (ENA 2003; ERTA 2004) and has more recently been explicated in great detail in a draft policy document specifically dedicated to development journalism (EPA, 2008 cited in Skjerdal,2011) .

According to Skjerdal (2011) development journalism has attracted considerable hostility over the years, however. The practice has been blamed for promoting political agendas instead of people's interests. The strong dependency on the state, especially in African versions of development journalism, has roused worries from press freedom organizations. Redefined versions of development journalism, however, claim to promote national interests while at the same time safeguarding independent reporting (Skjerdal, 2011).

As it explained by Skjerdal (2011) the policy document (EPA, 2008) was mainly produced on higher management level, contrasting the process of previous editorial policy documents which gave ample opportunity for all journalists in the media organizations to give comments. In its implementation also problems are observed in his study. The implementation of development journalism in Ethiopia appears to repeat some of the troubles of development journalism elsewhere. The concerns are mainly of three types. First, the ambiguity of development journalism is a persisting problem. In principle, the framework encourages both promotional and investigative stories. In effect, however, journalists perceive sympathetic reporting to be the only style accepted by the owner. Secondly, the policy becomes politicized on its way to the newsroom. As far as the journalists are concerned, there are only certain issues that are allowed

to be reported on; only a certain form of language that is accepted; and only certain sources that should be consulted – and they are all pro-government. Thirdly, and ironically, implementation of development journalism turns out to be marked by top-down directives rather than participation from below. In the Ethiopian case, both the policy document and journalists speak warmly of the importance of people-driven journalism; but ultimately, it is leaders and managers who frame the nature and extent of such participation. Broadcasting journalists disclose how they pretend to care for public participation in the programmes by including a majority of voices which support the government's cause, while supplementing with a few dissident voices for the sake of credibility (Skjerdal, 2011).

2.1.5. Media in Africa

Various scholars argue as the practice of journalism has a problem in Africa in general. These Problems may arise through different ways. There might be government censorship or / and lack of qualified journalists in the continent. African journalism lacks both the power of self-determination and the power to shape the universal concepts that are 'deaf-and-dumb to the peculiarities of journalism in and on Africa' (Nyamnjoh, 2005). Besides, according to Kasoma(1997) the rate of truth telling in Africa's newspapers, particularly those behaving as political oppositions, is extremely low. The newspapers are full of exaggeration; basing their reports on flimsy hear-say; making headlines cry 'wolf'; quoting sources out of context; not giving people against whom allegations are made a fair hearing.

As researches conducted so far show, most journalists in Africa in general practice self-censorship. This can be done for various reasons. Media analysts and studies show that the problem is particularly rife in Africa, where democratic and open governments are still in stages of infancy and the key watchdog role of media as accountable to the public is undeveloped. As Solomon (2005) notes, "Due to the deep-rooted problem of self-censorship, the journalists in government media in Africa seems unable to be accountable to the public." Since journalists and Other media practitioners are aware of the pre-established working environment of the media institution, they commit self-censorship. It is during this time journalists forget to serve the interest of the public. It is possible to infer similar problems on the practice of journalism in Ethiopia as researched by the following researchers (Birhanu, 2009; Gudeta, 2008; Hallelujah and Skjerdal, 2009). According to them, Ethiopian journalism lacks competent, creative,

courageous, critical and investigative journalists. Regarding the practice of the profession in Ethiopia, there are irresponsible journalists who do not contribute to the welfare of the society (Gudeta, 2008). Journalists of the state owned media magnify the speeches of government officials neglecting their responsibility of providing balanced information to the public. According to Nebyu (2008) journalists do this mainly for political reasons: fear of bosses, editors and government officials. This hampers the practice of journalism in the country. As a result the role of media and the professional performance of Ethiopian journalists were criticized.

In viewing Ethiopian journalism, other scholars comment that beyond the lack of professionalism, there are lots of problems that journalists face in exercising the profession.

Being a journalist in a transitional society like Ethiopia is not easy. Resources are few, there's not much of a living in it, and you face hostility from the authorities. At the same time, the ethical choices are particularly tough, and the consequences of doing a good, or a bad, job can be far-reaching (Kruger, 2005). As studies showed about Ethiopian media institutions, journalists in the state media are in conflict with different professional practices, especially the 'watchdog' and 'investigative' role of journalism. Due to different reasons, Ethiopian journalists exercise a 'hybrid' journalism form. This means that journalists cannot fully exercise critical journalism only, but also development journalism as well.

One scholar said the following about Ethiopian broadcasting corporation (former ERTA): The board of the ERTA is selected by the government. Most of the top managers are members of the ruling party and all staff members are government employees. As a consequence editorial independence of the state broadcaster is limited. News bulletins are essentially bulletins about government activities. The coverage does not reflect diverse views, but is usually one-sided, lacks depth and falls short of journalistic ethics (Merike Le Pelly, 2010).

2.1.6. Media in Ethiopia

The first provisional radio station in Ethiopia was inaugurated in 1933 in a contract signed with an Italian company. The Italians handed over the installation in 1935 but retrieved it soon thereafter following the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1936. Short-wave broadcasting was resumed in 1953 and by 1970 *Radio Ethiopia* operated from three locations and broadcast in six languages. The World Federation of Lutheran Churches broadcaster, *Radio Voice of the Gospel*, began in 1963 (Adonay, 2016). Skjerdal explained the new era for the Ethiopian media was

simultaneously a new era for censorship. After liberation in 1941, a censorship board was established under the Press and Information Office in the Ministry of the Pen. The board had seven members and was responsible for pre-censoring all news for radio and newspapers. There were detailed guidelines to go by. For instance, any event which could damage the reputation of the empire, such as famine, drought, unemployment and inflation, would not be covered (Skjerdal, 2012). One important exception for independent broadcasting was granted for Radio Voice of the Gospel (RVOG). On air in 1963, RVOG produced religious and current affairs programmes in numerous African languages and transmitted its content throughout the continent and to the Middle East and Asia (Lundgren, 1983; Tamrat, 2008, cited in Adonay, 2016).

On the other hand, the first television signals in Ethiopia were distributed on a closed circuit in Africa Hall in Addis Ababa in May 1963 on occasion of the first meeting of the Organization of African Unity. ETV (now EBC) began permanent broadcasting on 2 November 1964.

During the Imperial era mass media in general and television in particular, were under the hands of the government. In short, media governance during the Ethiopian Empire served to manifest imperial immunity and also circumscribe the perimeter out of which the media were legally bounded not to encroach. The years of the Dergue regime (1974-91), on the other hand, have unequivocally been portrayed as a dark chapter in the history of Ethiopian media and journalism. The regime turned all media outlets into propaganda channels and effectively forbade any opening for professional independence. The newsroom environment was marked by fear and anxiety (Skejrdal, 2012). The Ethiopian official media were reclosed in socialist attire. Soon thereafter, in March 1976, the Dergue reintroduced censorship, far more severe than during the empire. The media were ‘nationalized’ and put directly under the new Ministry of Information and National Guidance. One significant progress concerning the Ethiopian media during the Dergue regime was the introduction of color television in 1984. However, there were virtually no media that allowed stating or reporting anything rather than the Workers’ Party of Ethiopia (WPE) and its “sisterly” socialist countries.

Skejrdal argued that, the media situation during EPRDF, or in the post-1991 Ethiopia, is significantly different from that of the two previous regimes, especially with regard to formal media policy and openings for independent journalism. However, there are also signs of lasting constraints, particularly on the informal level (Skejrdal, 2012).

The 1992 press law marked a significant step forward in Ethiopian media policy at the time. It guaranteed, perhaps unprecedentedly, a number of rights associated with a free media society. Two principals were deemed particularly important: the abolishment of pre-publication censorship, and the right for any Ethiopian citizen to open a media outlet, and thereby scrapping severest restrictions for media activity in the previous regimes (See Proclamation No.34/1992) . In private broadcasting media realm, Fana Broadcasting Corporate S. Co. stands as the Nation's first commercial National Broadcaster. It used to be a clandestine anti-Dergue Voice of Liberation (Voice of EPRDF) before its establishment as "Radio Fana S. Co." in 1994(See www.fanabc.com/HomePage)

The broadcasting proclamation of 1999, which is criticized for its restrictive clauses, was replaced by Broadcasting Service Proclamation No.533/2007.This show an improvement in broadcasting regulation. Consequently, the first two licenses for private radio stations were awarded for Sheger FM and Zami FM, alongside formal registration of Radio Fana which had operated semi-officially since November 1994.

Skejrdal compared the previous two regimes with the post-1991 Ethiopia media and witnessed what he calls "selective liberalization". Liberalization is evident in formal regulation, where it is easily observed by outsiders, and in areas where the risk of losing control with the flow of information for the government is less(Skejrdal,2012).

In the post-1991 Ethiopian broadcasting media history, and apart from the partial liberalization processes, one vividly noticeable issue is the frequent structural adjustment of the sole national/State television. Hence, in 2009 ETV has merged with Radio Ethiopia and dubbed as ERTA. This new structure introduced an organizational chart where journalistic work is shared. Again, ERTA was restructured and renamed EBC, with a motto *Voice of Diversity and Renaissance*, in 2014 by Proclamation No. 858/2014. As it is mentioned in the preamble of the Proclamation ,the reasons for restructuring ERTA were: to enable EBC to provide its service in a more efficient, quality and competent way; to provide Ethiopia Radio and Television its own institutional and procedural freedom and thereby ensure civic participation and common benefit of the society and promote free expression of ideologies and views among the society; and also to cope-up with the growth and renovation from time to time of the broadcasting service technology. EBC's basic objectives, are: first, broadcasting main and current issues happening in

Ethiopia and abroad as well as educational and entertainment events on the radio, television and website, and secondly, creating national consensus; supporting all national efforts made to protect and promote national identity and dignity, diversity, tolerance and democratic unity. (See article 5 of Proclamation No. 858/2014). EBC has now 3 channels named EBC1, 2 and 3, 2 FMs-Fm Addis 97.1 and FM 104.7, which can also be accessed by satellite transmission.

EBC's Editorial Policy Document outlined its working principles and values as: fairness; diversity; populism; transparency and accountability; accuracy; equitability; reliability; competitiveness; editorial independence; secularism, and team spirit. (See EBC's Editorial Policy, Part 3, and July 2014) To sum up, though Ethiopia's broadcast media sphere has shown some laudable progress in the post-1991 period, the media is still languishing in both in-built and external restrictions that, in one way or the other, impinge on the media content. As Skejrdal's (2012) study reveals, journalists in both the private media industry and the state media sense a strong undercurrent of unofficial policy delimiting their professional space. In relation to the broadcast media, Meseret argue that the ruling party—EPRDF used both radio and television, on a more substantive level to strengthen its power by disseminating massive propaganda against members of the defunct regime...(Meseret, 2013).

Meseret (2013) clearly points out that under the current regime, one may notice apparent changes made in the broadcasting sector in relation to physical infrastructure and organizational restructuring than in press freedom. Moreover, he asserts that though a lot of work has been done as to reaching the population with their own local language and stronger signal and dozens of radio and television transmitters are being built as part of the GTP, both radio and television programs remain heavily censored by authorities, causing journalists to censor themselves, too. In a word the stations continue to be faithful mouthpieces of the government'. Unfavorable working atmosphere, shortage of skilled manpower, unethical and unprofessional reporting, low morale in the working place, low level of journalistic training or the existence of unqualified journalists, and tight control from above are among the major challenges that the state owned media face during this regime (ibid). On how the government media is losing its publics, Meseret(2013) concludes: The big picture is that the government media only changed masters, not their press philosophy in any fundamental way. This made them lose public trust as in the past.

2.2. Concept of Public Policy

Since the term “Policy” is very much shifty in the sense that it changes in meaning in accordance with the different contexts or point of views used, there is no agreement on the exact definition of public policy. Anderson(2003)for instance, viewed public policy as whatever governments choose to do or not to do. Osman (2001) also refers ‘Policy’ in its simplest sense as a broad statement that reflects future goals and aspirations and provides guidelines for carrying out those goals. Similarly, Geurts(2001) defined public policy as ‘a choice that government makes in response to a political issue or a public problem.’ The term ‘public policy’ used in this context always refers to the decisions and actions of government and the intentions that determine those decisions and actions.

In another term “Public policy is the broad framework of ideas and values within which decisions are taken and action or inaction is pursued by governments in relation to some issue or problem” (Brooks, 1989). In this manner, public policy will be considered as a choice or decision made by government that guides consequent actions in similar circumstances. In general, the term policy designates the behavior of some actors or set of actors, such as an official, a governmental agency, or a legislature, in an area of different activities. This definition of policy will be utilized in this study. Public policies emerge in response to policy demands, or those claims for action or inaction on some public issue made by other actors—private citizens, group representatives, or legislators and other public officials—upon government officials and agencies. In response to policy demands, public officials make decisions that give content and direction to public policy. These decisions may enact statutes, issue executive orders or edicts, promulgate administrative rules, or make judicial interpretations of laws (Anderson, 2003).

Policy statements usually are formal expressions or articulations of public policy. Among these are legislative statutes, executive orders and decrees, administrative rules and regulations, and court opinions, as well as statements and speeches by public officials indicating the government's intentions and goals and what will be done to realize them. Policy statements are sometimes notably ambiguous (Anderson, 2003). A policy includes not only the decision to adopt a law or make a rule on some topic but also the subsequent decisions that are intended to enforce or implement the law or rule (Anderson, 2003). Smith (2003) cited in Biruk (2014) policy issues have no apparent fixed origin. They may originate from the media or from public opinion, from

parliament or political parties, from international organizations, from government departments, or from public authorities and agencies. However, policy issues can be divided into two categories: those already on the public policy agenda, and those that are not. If an issue is already on the public-policy agenda, it has a sufficiently high profile, and a formal process is likely to be in place. If an issue is not on the public-policy agenda, the job of the stakeholders/community is to provide information and education, and to take other steps to raise awareness and get it on the agenda.

According to Gerston (1997), issues to remain on the public policy agenda are expected to meet one or more of three criteria. It must have sufficient scope (a significant number of people or communities are affected), intensity (the magnitude of the impact is high) and/or time (it has been an issue over a long period). As Anderson (2003) explained, people are affected in the course of their daily lives directly and indirectly, obviously and subtly, by an extensive array of public policies. Public policies in a modern, complex society are ever-present.

They grant advantages and disadvantages, cause pleasure, irritation, and pain, and collectively have important consequences for our well-being and happiness. They constitute a significant portion of our environment. This being so, we should know something about public policies, including how they are formed, budgeted, implemented, and evaluated. There are also scientific, professional, and political reasons for studying public policies and policymaking (Anderson, 2003).

2.2.1. Public policy making process

The process of policy-making has been defined as the process by which governments translate their political vision into programmes and actions to deliver 'outcomes' or desired change in the real world. Moreover, Geurts (2001), has asserted that the main process of policymaking consists of four 'phases': initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation. The process starts by setting an agenda based on an issue or previous decision and ends by handing over the implemented policy to an execution and enforcement layer. It includes identifying the problem, formulating a solution, identifying different alternatives, selecting from those alternatives on the basis of their impact and laying them down in some type of statement or law. The stages of policy-making are conceived as evolving in a chronological order—first, problems are defined and put on the agenda, next. Policies are developed, adopted and implemented; and, finally these

policies will be assessed against their effectiveness and efficiency and either terminated or restarted.(Jack, Rabin,and Robert, 2007) .

Problem identification and agenda setting: Policy-making presupposes the recognition of a policy problem. Problem recognition itself requires that a social problem has been defined as such and that the necessity of state intervention has been expressed. The second step would be that the recognized problem is actually put on the agenda for serious consideration of public action (agenda-setting). The agenda is nothing more than “the list of subjects or problems to which governmental officials, and people outside the government closely associated with those officials, are paying some serious attention at any given time” (Kingdom, 1995). The focus here is on how the problems that may become the targets of public policies are identified and specified. Why only some problems, out of all that exist, receive consideration by policy-makers requires an examination of agenda setting; that is, how governmental bodies decide what problems to address. What is a public problem? Why does some condition or matter become a public problem? How does a problem get on a governmental agenda? Why do some problems not achieve agenda status? According to Cobb (1976), there are three different ways in which a policy agenda can be set within a particular policymaking system; the three policy initiation models. Namely, the outside-initiative, mobilization and inside initiation models. The scholar stated that the outside-initiative model refers to a situation where citizens and groups gain broad public support and get an issue onto the formal agenda; the mobilization model describes a situation, in which initiatives of government need to be placed on the public agenda for successful implementation; and in the inside initiation model, influential groups with access to decision makers present policy proposals, which are broadly supported by particular interest groups but only marginally by the public.

Formulation and Adoption: During this stage of the policy cycle, expressed problems, proposals, and demands are transformed into government programs. Policy formulation and adoption includes the definition of objectives— what should be achieved with the policy—and the consideration of different action alternatives. The formulation stages encompasses the creation, identification, or borrowing of proposed courses of action, often called alternatives or options, for resolving or ameliorating public problems. Who participates in policy formulation? How are alternatives for dealing with a problem developed? Are there difficulties and biases in

formulating policy proposals? Moreover, Hai (2000) maintains that it is part of the pre-decision phase of policymaking including crafting the goals and priorities and options, costs and benefits of each option, externalities of each option. It involves identifying a set of policy alternatives and public policy tools to address a problem as a result that a prepared set of solutions is done for the final solutions from which decision makers actually choose by judging the feasibility, political acceptance, costs and benefits. Adoption stages also involve deciding which proposed alternative, including taking no action, will be used to handle a problem.

Implementation: Here attention is on what is done to carry into effect or apply adopted policies. The decision on a specific course of action and the adoption of a program does not guarantee that the action on the ground will strictly follow policy makers' aims and objectives. The stage of execution or enforcement of a policy by the responsible institutions and organizations is referred to as implementation. Policy implementation is broadly defined as "what happens between the establishment of an apparent intention on the part of the government to do something, or to stop doing something, and the ultimate impact in the world of action" (O'Toole 2000, cited in Jack, Rabin, and Robert, 2007). This stage is critical as political and administrative action at the frontline are hardly ever perfectly controllable by objectives, programs, laws, and the like (Hogwood and Gunn 1984 cited in Jack, Rabin, and Robert, 2007). Therefore, policies and their intentions will very often be changed or even distorted; its execution delayed or even blocked altogether. Moreover, further development or elaboration of policies will occur in the course of their administration. Who is involved? What, if anything, is done to enforce or apply a policy? How does implementation help shape or determine the content of policy?

Evaluation: this entails activities intended to determine what a policy is accomplishing, whether it is achieving its goals, and whether it has other consequences. Who is involved? Who is advantaged and disadvantaged by a policy? What are the consequences of policy evaluation? Are there demands for changes in or repeal of the policy? Are new problems identified? Is the policy process restarted because of evaluation? (Anderson, 2003). Within this simplified framework, the formation and implementation of policies are seen as political in that they involve conflict and struggle among individuals and groups, officials and agencies, with conflicting ideas, interests, values, and information on public policy issues. Policymaking is "political"; it involves

"politics." That is, its features include conflict, negotiation, the exercise of power, bargaining, and compromise and sometimes such nefarious practices as deception and bribery. There is no good reason to resist or disparage this conclusion, or to imitate those who derogate policies that they do not like with such statements as, "It's nothing but politics." Although it is sometimes implied or even asserted that if enough analysis were done, if enough facts and data were gathered, all "right-thinking" people would agree on the appropriate course of action to handle a problem, this is not the way the world works. Quite reasonable people can disagree on policy issues because they have differing interests, values, and affiliations. Politics is the way a democratic society resolves such differences (Anderson, 2003)

2.2.2. Public policy making in developing country

According to Mulugeta (2005) governments in most Third World states have taken upon themselves a crucial role in guiding the course of social and economic development. Policymaking is highly centralized and often involves more extensive issues of economic and social development. Along with, the scholar states that policies are made regardless of the consent and contributions of the larger segment of population who would be affected by them. The scholar underscored that socio-economic reforms and 'democratization initiatives' that have over the past few decades been taking place in most of the developing countries did little to promote the public's interest in the public policymaking process. In fact, many of the commendable policy goals set out in the various public policies failed either because of the absence of balance between policymaking polity and policy-receiving societal entity and/or owing to the absence of capacity that societal forces could have marshaled to effectively countervail the overbearing power of policy elites in developing countries. In the absence of organized political opposition, independent trade unions, interest groups, and free media, involvement in policy-making is largely restricted to upper echelons of the political and bureaucratic system. This small circle "tends to make decisions on the basis of intuition, ideology or a process of give and take. They have little appreciation of how technical policy analysis can feed into the decision-making process. Consequently the ruling circle has not articulated much demand for policy relevant studies" (Gulhati, 1990 cited in Biruk 2014).

Regimes in developing countries have very narrow circles of policy participants, which make participation limited. Forms of democratic institutions such as elections and parliaments are

either non-existent or are manipulated in favor of policy elites. In some situations when participation has to be induced, prior decisions and understanding may have been reached among elites to mobilize support from ‘apathetic masses’ to bolster their positions with respect to an advocated policy issue (Mulugeta, 2005). Interest groups, private initiatives and civil society groups are fragmented and lack the capacity to articulate their interests. In some instances, when these forces are active, the mechanisms of wielding influence through formal policymaking institutions tends to be weak and/or channels of communications are absent. For the most part, policy elites encourage public participation to ensure support for themselves and their policy initiatives. It is thus highly unlikely that public demand will have any effect on the policymaking process (Mulugeta, 2005). Despite the fact that elections are the most basic means of participation in the policymaking process, they afford the electorate little opportunity to express their choice of government; neither do they empower them to pressure parties and candidates seeking their votes to offer attractive policy packages (Mulugeta, 2005).

As Mulugeta (2005) maintained that the result has, therefore, been that the bulk of the population in the developing world is excluded from the policymaking process.

2.2.3. Policy making process in Ethiopia

According to Mulugeta (2005), enormous policymaking power in Ethiopia is vested in the executive .And he explain how public policy is passed in contemporary Ethiopia.

"In the Ethiopian context; the machinery of the legislative process starts rolling from the premises of the executive and is concluded with the seal of approval in the parliament building. To begin with, each ministry is empowered to initiate and/or formulate laws and policies. Every ministry can, however, initiate and formulate laws and policies in line with procedures and modalities spelt out by the Prime Minister’s Office (PMO, 2003 cited in Mulugeta 2005). Accordingly, each minister requests the Cabinet Affairs Minister in the PMO for the specific legislation and/or policy that his ministry tends to propose, and have the former incorporated into the legislative program which often comes at the beginning of the Ethiopian calendar year in September. The Legal Advisory Group, based in the PMO, sets up the programs and prioritizes them in light of the urgency and importance that they are accorded, and mostly priorities are set based on the information ascertained from executive government agencies (*ibid.*). If the former is satisfied about their urgency and seriousness, the Legal Affairs Department of the ministry can

propose a new law or modification of an old one draft and sends it to Cabinet Affairs Minister/Legal Advisory Group. The Cabinet Affairs Minister presents it to the next CoM plenary session, if it is satisfied with the formalities and technical trustworthiness of the legislation (*ibid*). Following a first reading of the legislation under consideration, the CoM may well refer it to one of the relevant standing committees.

At all stages of the clearance points that the draft legislation passes through, each (i.e. the ministry initiating the law, the Legal Affairs Advisory Group, the relevant standing committee that the law is referred to, and the CoM) should make sure that the bill does not conflict with the constitution, other laws and the international laws that the country has ratified (*ibid.*). The plenary session of the CoM decides whether a draft bill should be sent to HPR. And finally it approved by HPR. Hence, by default or design, the executive, essentially the Prime Minister, Prime Minister's Office and the Council of Ministers, have over-arching roles in public policymaking in Ethiopia" Mulugeta (2005).

2.3. The contribution of media for public policy making

A truly democratic society requires citizen participation. If they do their jobs well, the media keep citizens engaged in the business of governance and prompt them to take action. As a tool for information dissemination, the media aid the public in making informed choices, such as whom to vote for and which policies should be endorsed and which, opposed. Media are the public's largest source of information on public policy, and they are the single largest catalogue of political information, covering everything from administrative proceedings, policy change, public opinion, to political scandal. Media have both direct and indirect influences on policy, and can, at various times, serve as a contributor to policy, a conduit of policy information, and a mirror to the policy process. Although the scholarly literature acknowledges media's role in the policy process, particularly their ability to affect policymakers directly, systematically push policy alternatives, or influence public opinion, the literature often omits a critical role for media: reflecting the policy process (Lawlor, 2013).

Eilders (2001) cited in Soroka et al (2009) argued, Politicians are affected by media in the same way as ordinary citizens. They rely on media cues to prioritize information and to disseminate public opinion. Legislators, like voters, cannot pay attention to all issues at a given time; their attention is finite, and therefore they tend to focus on key issues that are beneficial to their

constituents, country and indeed, their own career. Michelle Wolfe, Bryan D. Jones & Frank (2013) also explained the strong effect of media on policy by saying, "We know a great deal about how the media affects public opinion, but we know little about how the media directly affects policy. We know even less about the linkage between the public, media, and policy. This is where political communication and policy studies have their greatest difference: Media studies for the most part concentrate on the public, whereas policy studies focus on government agendas. Yet the media has the capacity to influence both." We have a greater understanding of the role of subsystems, policy communities, and interest groups in setting the agenda than we do about parties, the public, and the media.

To the extent that policy scholars have examined media effects and public opinion, they tend to find complex causal interactions, with feedback effects and multiple contingencies (ibid). U.S. television journalist Bill Moyers in the early 1990s, as it cited by Sheila (2004), media should draw citizens to the public square and "provide a culture of community conversation by activating inquiry on serious public issues." In new democracies, the expectation is that the media would help build a civic culture and a tradition of discussion and debate which was not possible during the period of authoritarian rule.

The well-known contemporary thinker, Amartya Sen outlined the need for "transparency guarantees" such as a free press and the free flow of information. Information and critical public discussions are obviously important requirements of good public policy. Sen sees the media as a watchdog not just against corruption but also against disaster. "There has never been a famine in a functioning multiparty democracy," he added. "A free press and the practice of democracy contribute greatly to bringing out information that can have an enormous impact on policies for famine prevention... a free press and an active political opposition constitutes the best early-warning system a country threatened by famine could have." Since the late 1990s, donor countries and multilateral organizations have also been preaching the virtues of a free press not just in ensuring good and accountable governance but also as a tool for poverty reduction, popular empowerment and national reconciliation (Sheila, 2004).

In the other hand, policymaking is a political process which is affected by various social and economic factors (Hofferbert, 1974). And media systems play an integral role in shaping the social context in which policies are developed. Through the media, citizens learn how

government policies will affect them, and governments gain feedback on their policies and programs. Media systems act as the primary channels between those who might want to influence policy and the policymakers " controlling the scope of political discourse and regulating the flow of information. Textbook policymaking follows an orderly sequence where problems are identified, solutions devised, policies adopted, implemented, and lastly evaluated (Mazamaniaan&Sabatier,1989). The media is deeply involved in each of these policy stages. As Soroka et al(2009) argued, the impact of media is rarely so constrained, however. Our argument here, in short, is that media matter, not just at the beginning but throughout the policy process.

Through all this one can reasonably assume that the media is a very powerful entity in the society. Without the media many people would not even know what is happening most of the time. In theory, the media provides an objective view of the policies put forth by the government, and allows people to formulate their own opinions. However, the media sometimes takes advantage of the power that it has by skewing facts and sometimes fails to report on both sides of an issue. Overall, the media does a fairly good job of presenting both sides of an issue.

Lawlor(2013) also argued mass media both affect and reflect public policy making and media content can therefore be an especially valuable tool for understanding both politics and public policymaking. Indeed, mass media are in the unique position of having a regular, marked impact on policy, but from outside the formal political sphere, often without even being recognized as a policy player (Soroka et al, 2009). According to Howlett and Ramesh (2003)in policy sub-system the actors and institutions exist in a mutually relationship. State actors are included: elected officials, appointed officials, business actors, labor, public, think-tank and research organizations, political parties, mass media, and interest group. They recognized media as one actor for public policy making process

2.3.1. Media for Agenda Setting

As Bennett &Entman (2001) argued, the media are now taking an active part in the public representation of politics by shaping the agenda of the political discourse and by contributing their own preferences in political controversies. Some authors even argue that the growing dominance of the media has led to the emergence of a new type of democracy – ‘media democracy’– where the media’s logic of operation is increasingly ‘colonising’ the political

process to the effect that political institutions are, at least to some extent, losing control over the course of politics (Meyer, 2002 cited in Bennett &Entman, 2001).

According to Weaver (1997), Media models of agenda-setting have focused mostly on the relationship between public opinion and media coverage rather than on the policymaking process itself but, clearly there is an underlying assumption in these studies that public opinion influences public policy. The media do not tell voters what to think, it does tell the public what issues to think about. As a consequence, the media may be able to establish boundaries or parameters of debate on policy issues (Cohen, 1963). Weaver and Elliott (1985) also find that newspapers do not mirror political reality; rather, they filter political activities to emphasize some issues and to minimize others. Moreover, the media plays an instrumental role in raising the salience of issues in the public (Iyengar and Kinder 1987). Salience levels of issues in the public arena may determine whether or not issues expand or contract on the government agenda. Agenda setting is the process whereby problems and, consequently, solutions gain or lose public and political attention (Birkland,2007). There are reasons to believe that an issue's position on the agenda is influenced by the availability of information and how it is applied to the policy problem (Kingdon, 1984). Media influence policymakers to prioritize issues over others; they also assist in transmitting the agenda from the policymakers to citizens (Walgrave et al, 2007).

In general term, the media's influence in the problem formulation and agenda setting stage is enormous. The nature of the media is to report things to the public. Because of this daily reporting the media can bring many types of things to the forefront. Sometimes the media even brings the issue to the forefront of the legislative body . This is crucial because when the media begins reporting on the issues of importance to the people the policy makers tend to start listening. This is what starts the ball rolling, so to speak. As it stated earlier Politicians are affected by media in the same way as ordinary citizens and they rely on media to prioritize information since they cannot pay attention to all issues at a given time and they tend to focus on key and important issues (seeSoroka et al. 2009).

In a similar manner Katrin&Sigrid(2007) argued that , like the general public policymakers are themselves consumers of media coverage and might be affected by the way in which the media report on current issues and events. And they explained it Using the case of gun control Callaghan & Schnell (2001) found that elite policy discourse was shaped by the way in which the

media framed the issue which eventually shaped the outcome of the decision making process. As it stated by Christian, Journalists and editors shape policy agendas by actively filtering issues, so that reporting conforms to their dominant news values - selecting what issues are covered and which sources are used. This tends to confine policy debate to the strict boundaries of current accepted wisdoms set by the major political parties or institutional policymakers (Christian, 2013).

McCombs and Shaw's (1972) cited in Soreka et al (2013), examines the media's role in focusing public attention on particular issues, concluding that the media can effectively "set" the public agenda by consistently and prominently featuring issues in their news coverage. Additionally, the possibility that media have a marked impact on the political agenda increases when there is heightened coverage of the same issue, at the same time, by different media outlets (Eilders 2000, 2001 cited in Soreka et al 2013).

2.3.2. Media for policy formulation and adoption

According to Hai, policy formulation clearly is a critical phase of the policy process which also is an explicit subject of policy design. The public policy formulation is part of the pre-decision phase of policy making including crafting the goals and priorities and options, costs and benefits of each option, externalities of each option. It involves identifying a set of policy alternatives and public policy tools to address a problem as a result that a prepared set of solutions is done for the final solutions from which decision makers actually choose by judging the feasibility, political acceptance, costs and benefits (Hai undated). Because of this nature policy formulation stages need a highest degree of participation by the involvement of businesses and civil society - consumers, private entrepreneurs, employees and citizens and community groups and NGOs. Specially for developing country if the Government are interested to improve the transparency, quality and effectiveness of their policies as well as establishing the legitimacy of the public policy (ibid).

Many political leaders, policy-makers and researchers believe that such forms of direct citizen participation can help democratize and rationalize the state, as well as provide politically marginalized populations with a say in policy (Houtzager, Gurza and Acharya, 2003 cited in Hai, undated). Since policy formulation is the stage in which the policy makers decided what to do

about the things on the agenda. The media's role in this stage is very important, and could be the most noticeable. During this stage the policy makers try to appeal to the people through the medium of the media. Politicians tell the media their ideas for a certain policy and then the media reports it to the people. This relationship is crucial in the process because it is how politicians tell if their policies are being well accepted by the people or if they are ineffective or if they make them look bad. During this stage of the process the media is also busy researching the details of policies put forth by policy makers. Then members of the media report these findings in a way that the people can understand what is going on. In the other hand, as it explained earlier media influence policymakers to prioritize issues over others and if the media reflect the interest of the people ,it plays a role on the formulation of a policy by helping policy makers to prioritize the public choices/interests. According to Dahl (1998), in democracy before policies and decisions are churned out, equal and effective opportunities have to be provided for all citizenry in order to make their voices heard concerning what the policies should be and what decisions should be made.

The legitimization and adoption stage of the policy making process mainly happens in the legislature and determines what will happen to a proposed policy. This includes executive orders, budgets, laws and appropriations, rules and regulations, and decisions and interpretations that have the effect of setting policy directions. Naturally, what happens to a policy is greatly determined by what kind of media coverage it has generated. If a proposed policy generates positive and steady publicity there is a good chance that policy will be enacted. However, if a proposed issue generates negative publicity or if the coverage of that issue decreases, that policy may not become enacted. Policy makers looking to round up support or to build opposition, for a proposed policy during this stage of the process may also choose to use the media. So politicians can use the media to press their policies through or use it to hamper the efforts of their opponents. The media can have another impact during this stage. For example, if a proposed policy contains a provision that will only help a few people while hurting many others, the media can report that and generate support for a change to the proposal. During this stage the media's influence can help gain support for policies, help to kill policies, or help protect people by exposing negative provisions within a propose policy(Christian, 2013).

2.3.3. Media for Policy Implementation

The media's role in the next step in the process is a little tricky. This step is the implementation and administration stage of the policy making process. This is the stage in which policies are put in to effect and used. In a liberal democracy as it stated by McChesney (2003), one of the fundamental roles of the media is to critically scrutinize governmental affairs: that is to act as a watchdog of government to ensure that the government can be held accountable by the public (Mc Chesney,2003). The media's role in implementation stage of the policy making process is one of a watchdog. Reporters often investigate how policies are being put into effect and report to the public. This type of media coverage can cause the administration of policies to change. And they make sure that the people know what exactly the policy makers are doing (christan,2013).

The mass media are often referred to as the fourth branch of government because of the power they wield and the oversight function they exercise. According to Sheila (2004) in both new and old democracies, the notion of the media as watchdog and not merely a passive recorder of events is widely accepted. Governments, it is argued, cannot be held accountable if citizens are ill informed about the actions of officials and institutions. The watchdog press is guardian of the public interest, warning citizens against those who are doing them harm. A fearless and effective watchdog is critical in fledgling democracies where institutions are weak and pummeled by political pressure. When legislatures, judiciaries and other oversight bodies are powerless against the mighty or are themselves corruptible, the media are often left as the only check against the abuse of power (Sheila,2004).

Media as the "Fourth Estate" or a coequal branch of government provides the check and balance without which governments cannot be effective. That's why Thomas Jefferson, explained how much media is important by arguing that only through the exchange of information and opinion through the press would the truth emerge. Thus the famous Jeffersonian declaration: "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without media or media without government, I should not hesitate to prefer the latter" (ibid).

2.3.4. Media for Policy Evaluation

The final stage in the policy making process is the evaluation stage. During this stage feedback is sought to determine the overall effectiveness of newly enacted policies. Policies are formally and informally evaluated by government agencies, by outside consultants, by interest groups, by the mass media, and by the public. The media's role here can be very important by holding the government accountable. The media is able to do this by showing what is going on, by researching policies, reporting studies on the policy, and allowing people to voice complaints about a policy. This is important because if it is found that a policy is not being effectively employed it can be changed so that it does work. Basically, in the evaluation stage the media provides the public and the actual policy makers with evidence regarding the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of policies.

2.4. The Role of Investigative Journalism for Policy Making Process

To boost the role of media on the overall policy making process investigative journalism should be promoted. As Katrin & Sigrid (2007), argued it can be assumed that media impact is stronger during agenda formation and implementation when the watchdog role encourages criticism and the search for policy failure. The job of the investigative journalist is to find something wrong and expose being as a positive force to change (Boyd 2001 cited in Katrin & Sigrid, 2007).

Ideally, the media should keep citizens engaged in the business of governance by informing, educating and mobilizing the public. According to Wilson (1996) cited in Dagim (2013) in countries where aggressive newspapers and advanced broadcasting systems exist, like America and Britain, democratic accountability works through the media than it works through the parliament. Curran (2005) separately points out the watchdog role of the media and explains it as one of the functions that democracy requires of the media. The monitorial function of the media is what most commonly referred to as 'watchdog role'. Bennett and Serrin (2005) put the definition of 'watchdog journalism' as, independent scrutiny by the press of the activities of government, business, and other public institutions, with an aim toward documenting, questioning, and investigating those activities, in order to provide publics and officials with timely information on issues of public concern. Similarly, Ansah (1988) contends that 'the press in its watchdog role should, as a matter not only of right but also of duty, expose and criticize

bureaucratic incompetence, corruption, abuse of power and the violation of human rights'. Ansah (1988) further explains that in a democratic society, if there is no such mechanism of regulating, monitoring, and evaluating the deeds of the government, 'there is a great likelihood of the government falling into complacency, unresponsiveness, and irresponsibility' (*ibid*). It is for this reason that the media have always been described as the fourth estate of the political realm that monitors power.

Truly speaking, the watchdog role requires the news media to provide a check on powerful sectors of society with the inclusion of leaders within the private and public domains. Journalists are expected to discharge their responsibility of guarding and protecting the public interest from incompetence, corruption, and misinformation. The available empirical evidence suggests that as much as the free press does indeed promote transparency in many countries, journalists often face serious constraints and obstacles in this regard, especially in autocracies (Odugbemi and Norris, 2010 cited in beferdu2012). A cardinal justification for press freedom is that free media will act as a watchdog over the government. In actual facts, one of the main justifications for freedom of the news media is that a lack of censorship will enable the news media to act as a watchdog over the government and thereby render the government more responsible and responsive (Woodring, 2009 cited in befirdu). Moreover, the news media exercise an indispensable investigative function on behalf of citizens as the "watchdogs" of government and no government will earn the trust of its citizenry without the assurance certified by a watchdog press. Apparently, every media organization doesn't fulfill this role, and in every country there are media who are more "lapdogs" than watchdogs (*ibid*).

New constitutions are written that provide guarantees of press freedom and the right to information, allowing journalists to report on areas that were previously taboo. In addition, democratically elected legislatures have enacted laws that allow both journalists and ordinary citizens much more access to information on government policy and the actions of politicians than in the past (Sheia,2004). To carry out this responsibility journalists need protection. As Sheila (2004) explained, it is obvious that at the most basic level, a free press — and investigative reporting — are possible only where journalists enjoy some protection. Fledgling democracies have constitutional and legal provisions to defend the press, but these do not always ensure that the media can report without fear or favor. The rights of journalists must be upheld by an independent judiciary and protected by the rule of law (Sheila, 2004) .In many places;

there is no shortage of journalists willing to take on this task. But many have neither the skills nor the training that investigative reporting requires. Moreover, news organizations may not be willing to put in the investment in time, resources for research and the development of reportorial talent that investigative journalism needs (ibid).

2.5. The role of media in policy making process: Empirical Evidence

Few studies have empirically examined the linkages among community sentiment, the media, and more *specific* policy actions. Several scholars have used narrative-based arguments supporting media and public influence on policies intended to prevent rare and horrific crimes against children. For instance, Zgoba(2004) cited in Sigillo and Sicafuse (2015) describes how sensationalized news stories of child abduction and murder incited a “moral panic” among the public, leading to the nationwide implementation of the AMBER Alert crime control system.

Jones (1999) and Filler (2001) discuss how increased media focus on child sexual assault, in particular the case of Megan Kanka and her activist parents, facilitated federal legislation for sex offender registration and notification laws.

Researchers have attempted to empirically link media coverage of child abduction to state wide adoption of the AMBER Alert system by conducting a content analysis of child abduction articles published in the *New York Times* between 2002 and 2003 (Muschert, Young-Spillers, & Carr, 2006). Over half of the articles analyzed focused on the sensationalized Elizabeth Smart abduction, and the vast majority reported on rare “stereo typical” abductions (i.e. children taken by a stranger rather than a family member). In these articles, any discussion of policy solutions to the stranger-child abduction problem focused exclusively on AMBER Alert. Thus, it was concluded that the media, rather than social scientific evidence, were primarily responsible for the spike in state wide adoption of AMBER Alert during 2002 and 2003. The researchers recognized the likelihood of multi directional relationships in this process, such as the probability that the media impacted community sentiment, which in turn motivated law makers to implement AMBER Alert, or the possibility that law makers directly relied on media cues when considering this legislation (Muschert et al. 2006cited in Sigillo andSicafuse ,2015).

Limited research also has been conducted regarding the effects of media coverage on child welfare policy. Douglas (2009) cited in Sigilloand Sicafuse (2015) examined the relationships

between media coverage of child maltreatment fatalities in the USA and subsequent adoption of legislation intended to prevent such events. She found that media coverage significantly predicted subsequent preventative legislation (allowing for a 1-year time lag between media coverage and legislation).

Despite the lack of empirical evidence, sociological theory suggests that policies focusing on the well-being of children could be particularly susceptible to community sentiment and media influence. Manza and Cook (2002) propose a “contingent” view of the impact of public opinion on public policy, outlining the criteria optimizing political adherence to community sentiment. First, these researchers argue that the impact of community sentiment and media on public policy should increase with issue salience, a contention strongly supported by the extant literature (e.g, see Jones & Baumgartner, 2005; McCombs, 2004 ; Tan & Weaver, 2007). Second, they note that the distribution of public attitudes regarding a policy initiative (i.e. strong consistent “unimodal” attitudes vs. split, contentious “bimodal” attitudes) can impact policy makers ’incorporation of public sentiment, in addition to other concerns such as the cost and feasibility of a proposed policy and lobbyist or interest group influences. Third, they note the importance of Kingdon (1995) “window of opportunity” in facilitating policy implementation.

For example, “windows of opportunity” for political action often arise during sensationalized media coverage of injustices toward children, such as when Elizabeth Smart’s father made emotional pleas to legislators to adopt AMBER Alert, which were then widely broadcast by mainstream media outlets (Hulse, 2003). Many highly publicized child protection policies appear to meet these criteria. Issues related to child abduction, sexual assault, or murders are definitely on the public radar, either as a result or a cause of media coverage. Support for such policies is often widespread and unchallenged across the USA (Proctor, Badzinski, & Johnson, 2002 ;Sicafuse& Miller, 2012).

Specifically regarding food prices, Almánzar, Torero, and Grebmer (2013) find that mass media have an impact on commodities. They find that the media coverage of commodity prices is positively correlated with price movements, with volatility higher on days when there is higher media coverage. They find the effects are caused by the market mechanisms of supply and demand. Swinnen, McCluskey, and Francken (2005) find similar results, wherein media coverage of the food safety crisis increased the perceived risk of consuming associated products and in turn affected demand for the product.

They also cite a case in Belgium in which, government ministers were forced to resign due to their inability to address a food safety crisis. Going beyond price effects, Olper and Swinnen (2013) conducted an empirical study on the effect of media on agricultural policies wherein they found that an increase in share of informed voters and media penetration led to policies that benefit the majority more. They find that in poorer countries, greater media penetration led to a reduction in agricultural taxation. Voters rely on media products such as newspapers to decide on private action. The more precisely the news predicts or analyzes future policies, the more likely it is that readers will take correct private actions. But media can also indirectly affect government policies through behavioral patterns of the voters by how they provide information to citizens. A better-informed and more active electorate incentivizes the government to be more responsive to emergencies. Evidence has been found in the case study by Besley and Burgess (2000), in which Indian state governments' responsiveness in the context of a fall in food production was proved to be positively correlated with the local newspapers' circulation, using government responsiveness proxies of provision of food distribution and calamity relief expenditure. The global food policy agenda sets the stage for regional policy making, influencing policy Priorities for policy makers, when regional or local media report on global trends or the global food crisis.

Leading global experts weigh in on the issues facing the sector, exerting pressure on domestic policy makers when their opinions are reported in the media. A combination of these factors leads to the creation of a policy window that could result in policy makers' resorting to *panic policy making* to allay fears and guard their electoral turf. A variation of this approach is when local issue experts or think tanks release reports, publish opinion pieces in newspapers, or—through appointment of a special-purpose task force— provide evidence-based solutions. Ultimately, these may lead to ad hoc policies to check the immediate crisis, initiation of a long-term policy framework, or the revamping of food security systems. Here is evidence regarding the role of media in influencing public policies adopted in each of the countries.

2.5.1. Role of Media in Shaping the Policy Process

The food price crisis in the past several years has brought issues of food security, malnutrition, and hunger to the top of the global development agenda. Developing countries have had to protect their populations from the adverse effects of high food prices through carefully designed

policies and programs. In doing so, policy makers took several factors, both internal and external, into consideration (Chandra and Aggarwal, 2015).

Media have played a critical role in informing policy makers and the public about the causes and the consequences of the food price increase and helped to shape the debate on food policies. Media have also been criticized for sensationalizing the food crisis and exacerbating it, thus encouraging the extreme policy responses taken by these countries. While media continue to play an important role in shaping food policy in developing countries, little is known about the mechanisms through which they influence the debate and dialogue in the policy-making process (Chandra and Aggarwal, 2015).

2.5.1.1 Bangladesh

Bangladesh is a functioning democracy, having achieved independence relatively recently, in 1971, and having had a volatile political system ever since. Compared to other countries, Bangladesh has one of the highest population densities. Its dependence on the global food market is very high, making it a net importer of major food supplies. During the global food price crisis, Bangladesh was in an unstable political situation. The country was not successful in stabilizing food prices during the period in question. However, the role of the country's media in prompting the government to respond is worth examining (Raihan 2013, Bryan 2013).

2.5.1.2 Nature of Journalism and Role of Media in Food Policy in Bangladesh

The development of media in Bangladesh took an uneasy road. Bangladeshi media were completely nationalized in 1975 after the military took power, just 3 years into the country's independence. The strict control lasted for 16 years, until 1991, when the country eventually restored its democracy and freedom of expression was at last allowed. Media in this country have "become stronger, more vibrant and more of a voice for the people" ever since (Islam 2002).

In 2014, Freedom House assessed in its signature annual press report that the media environment in Bangladesh remains "relatively lively" but that still the "legal and regulatory framework allows for some restrictions." It is often suppressed by authorities under the name of safeguarding national security or sovereignty. Frequent crackdowns on bloggers and blocks of foreign-based social media websites also exacerbate the situation of Bangladesh media, especially the Internet-based ones (Chandra and Aggarwal, 2015).

Compared to television broadcasting and new media, the print press is generally allowed more

leeway. All print media in Bangladesh are privately owned, and many newspapers are susceptible to partisan inclination when covering political events. Media also can be controlled by business owners or criminal gangs. Physical attacks on and coercion of journalists made them practice self-censorship. But these impediments were more common concerning politically and religiously sensitive topics; economic and agricultural coverage was less affected.

In addition to being limited by government censorship and self-censorship, the impact of print media in Bangladesh is infringed on by the country's ethnic and linguistic diversity and the low literacy rate of the population. The literacy rate was less than 60 percent when the food crisis happened but showed a steady upward trajectory. The increasing literacy rate resulted in a proliferation of newspapers and periodicals in the country. But there is a clear division between the Bengali and English readership; since English readers are usually urban dwellers of elite status (mainly the middle-class and decision makers), they are assumed to be more influential in policy making (Chandra and Aggarwal, 2015).

2.5.1.3 How Did the Media Reports Influence Policy Makers?

Although the reports of the crisis in the media vary in content, the coverage was intense throughout and made some noticeable implications on the policy process:

a. Problem identification and agenda setting

Problem identification and priming an issue on the agenda is the start of the policy cycle. Bangladesh's media captured the impact of the price hike on the most vulnerable groups. This set the mood across the country, leading to expecting government measures to curb the upward price trend and navigating decision makers' attention to urgently address the problem.

b. Policy monitoring, evaluation, and debate

Policy implementations were closely observed and intensely covered by the media. Corruption activities and the government's inability to control prices were revealed. High-ranking officials were sacked at the height of the crisis in Bangladesh under the caretaker government. A newspaper in July 2008, *The Daily Star*, revealed the dysfunction of a task force that was launched to monitor the market price two months ago. Policy effectiveness also was open to media's evaluation and debate (Chandra and Aggarwal, 2015). For example, there were questions

about the effectiveness of tariff reduction or exemption on import grains in bringing down prices (Raihan 2013).

c. Information dissemination to smooth implementation

The policy-making process during the global food price crisis was divided into two periods, the first being under the caretaker government when parliament was absent and the normal decision-making ministries were dysfunctional. Next was when the normal policy process resumed after the general election in 2009. The media in Bangladesh checked the government's accountability during the time of political instability. It also kept the policy process as transparent as possible to safeguard the welfare of the poor. An open media environment exposed problems and prompted those at the helm of government to respond in a timely and responsible way, monitoring policy implementation and evaluation.

2.5.1.4. India

India is the most populous democracy in the world. It is also one of the biggest net exporters of staples. India has vibrant media, which play significant roles in identifying problems and providing solutions. Media have been well integrated into the policy process in India because of the press environment and institution of the country. Therefore, India cannot be neglected when discussing media's role in crisis decision making (Chandra and Aggarwal, 2015).

2.5.2. The Nature of Journalism and Role of Media in Agricultural Policy in India

India is a well-functioning democracy and has the highest degree of press freedom in South Asia per the Annual Reports on Press Freedom by Freedom House. Journalism in the country is rarely infringed on by regulations, and incidents of physical intimidation against journalists happened only with coverage of controversial or politically sensitive issues. There is one autonomous body that serves as a regulatory arm against complaints of misconduct and irresponsible reporting in print media, the Press Council of India, consisting of journalist groups, publishers, and politicians. Agriculture- and food-related issues are in the domain of economic life and are constantly monitored as important economic indicators to reflect living standards and inflation. Expert interpretation from the government, the academic sector, or investment banking are prevalent in news to add authority and professionalism to the reports (Chandra and Aggarwal, 2015)

2.5.3. How Did the Media Report the Food Price Crisis?

Indian media followed the market closely and captured the global food crisis from its onset. The dailies in India pay serious attention to the inflation of primary articles, especially cereals and edible oil. The government's countermeasures against overall price inflation were intensely covered and examined by experts from inside and outside the government. For instance, the export ban on rice in the first quarter of 2008 gave rise to concerns regarding a short fall in domestic wheat procurement for public distribution systems and safety nets targeted at households with incomes below the poverty line providing staples at highly subsidized prices. Columns from professional or academic sources were also common during the crisis to explain and analyze the ongoing trend of appeasing the national mood.

Authoritative sources were often cited in reports or directly authored columns for the newspapers. Government officials from the planning commission, the chief economist from the prime minister's economic advisory council, and senior fellows from well-recognized policy research institutes were common sources of the reports, evaluating the current policies and predicting market trends to guide stakeholders from both public and private sectors. The Indian media also held the government accountable by being the battle field for opposing parties. Specially, the print press is open to expertise from private and nonprofit sectors. Policy learning and reviewing can be seen in the Indian media

2.5.4. How Did the Media Reports Influence Policy Makers?

The vibrant press environment in India openly held the Indian government accountable for the price hike, forcing it to come up with more targeted policy instruments to eliminate the negative impacts on the population.

Safety net measures like increasing food stock sold at subsidized prices through the public distribution system and expanding the targeted group were widely used to fight the food price crisis. To a large extent, the opposition parties and the independent press perform similar functions of keeping checks and balances on the government in India, the biggest democracy in the world, through regular assessment of government's actions and policies in the parliament and outside. As is evident from the food policy monitor above, India's response to the food price crisis was in the form of export curbs as well as imposition of export tariffs from the outset of the

crisis to almost the end of the crisis. This was coupled with higher domestic price support for crops, periodic release of food stock through the public distribution systems during later half of 2010, and the provision of food subsidies throughout the crisis. Much of the response of the national government seems to be panic policy making wherein it took conservative steps to safeguard against any potential impact on domestic farmers and consumers in a price-sensitive economy (Chandra and Aggarwal,2015).

Chapter Three

3. Research Methodology

3.1. Research Method

The research methodology choice has been dependent up on the nature of the research problem and in line with the reality which the researcher was going to examine. Accordingly, a qualitative research methodology has been followed in this study. Hancock (1998) has advocated that a qualitative research is concerned with developing explanations of social phenomena. That is to say, it helps us to understand the world in which we live and why things are the way they are. Hence, the researcher has followed this methodology to provide a deeper understanding on contribution of media for policy making process with particular reference to Ethiopia broadcasting corporation.

3.2. Research Design

This study has utilized a case study design. The prime motive behind this decision was that the study design makes possible a convincing examination of the phenomenon under investigation by taking into account a case within its specific context. Case study is an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, programme or system in a ‘real life’ context (Simons, 2009). This study’s case analysis has been specifically conducted on EBC. The researcher has selected EBC since it’s a national media and its function as media organization. Moreover, the case was selected based on its expected significance to policy making process of the country and potential to generate rich information.

3.3. Sampling Design

The target population of this study was composed of government officials (primarily those working in EBC), EBC journalists, policy science academicians, political parties (both opposition and the ruling party), journalism and communication professionals and policy experts. A purposive sampling technique has been employed to identify the potential study participants from the study’s target population. This has been the case due to the large size and diversity of the target population, tendencies of vital information accumulation among certain

key stakeholders, and given the fact that the researcher will not be required to collect data from each and every one. So, the purposive sampling technique has made it easier for the researcher to select key informants based on important characteristic features like position, knowledge, and research characteristics of interest in the pre-identified study area. Overall, the choice of study participants has been highly dependent upon the research questions and specific aims to be addressed by this study simultaneously taking into account the issue of representativeness of the sample.

3.4. Data Collection Methods

In this research, primary and secondary data have been employed. Questionnaires and interviews have been used to collect primary data. The interview guides and questionnaires have been semi-structured, which enabled the researcher to understand the rationale behind the answers of the respondents. Secondary data required for the case analyses has been acquired by reviewing different books and published or unpublished written documents.

3.5. Data Presentation and Analysis

In this part of the paper the practical role of media for policy making in Ethiopia has been discussed taking the case study of EBC. Accordingly, the data collected through questionnaires and interviews from EBC officials, journalists, policy experts, political parties and, from media and policy academicians are presented and analyzed. Writing down or transcribing the in-depth key informant interviews, questionnaires and document review annotations have been the first action of the researcher in the data analysis phase of this study. After transcription, the researcher has started labeling every item of information so that differences and similarities among the items will be easy to recognize. And finally, those data from interviews, questionnaires and document reviews has been analyzed with the manner of answering the research questions and to address objectives of the study.

3.6. Ethical Considerations

Throughout the study, the researcher has provided an appropriate focus for ethical issues like other kinds of scientific researches. Namely:- everyone who has participated in this study has been freely consented; personal identities has been kept confidential; moral standards has been applied to decisions made in planning, conducting and reporting of the results; and there has been

no deliberate misrepresentation of the purpose of the study and overstatement or understatement of the findings. Moreover, the research has been conducted following all the necessary steps to make it methodologically thorough as much as possible; all kinds of results and findings whether good or bad have been reported.

Chapter Four

4. Data Presentation and Analysis

4.1 Data Presentation

4.1.1. Presentation of Data (Questionnaires)

In the first place I have prepared 30 questionnaires holding 19 questions for all EBC news room reporters. Since journalists are only 30 in the news room, and the number is manageable, the researcher let all news room correspondents participate. By doing these, the researcher employed census. And the researcher was successful and able to present all 30 questionnaires.

According to Gans (2004), news is information which is transmitted from sources to audiences, with journalists -who are both employees of bureaucratic commercial organizations and members of a profession - summarizing, refining, and altering what becomes available to them from sources in order to become the information suitable for their audiences and people can satisfy their intrinsic need of knowing of what is happening through news. Other scholars approach news from the role it plays in enhancing democracy. “News is the most powerful media outlet that can make a significant contribution to building a democratic society by depicting a reasonably true picture of what is going on, creating what should be a close correspondence between the ‘world outside’ and the ‘pictures in our heads’ (Defleur and Dennis,1981). Because of this power full nature of news, the researcher interested to focus on news coverage in EBC and purposely selected news room journalists to participate in.

In relation to this, during the collection of data through questionnaire there were challenges that some respondents were not voluntary to fill the questionnaire and some questions weren’t addressed by the respondents, because of time constraint and sensitiveness of the research topic.

4.1.2. Presentation of Data (Interview)

In this method of data collection, as it already mentioned in the proposal of this paper, in depth interviews have been conducted with the help of the question guideline developed by the researcher to facilitate open-ended but structured interviews. Those structured questions during the interview process were depending on the interviewee's status and the knowledge that he/she has acquired and contribute to address the research questions posed in the proposal of this paper.

This study approached four ministry level governmental organizations (Ministry of Health, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Trade, and Ministry of Water, Electricity and Irrigation) which the researcher thinks; they should have a strong connection in terms of their significance to the public.

Job description and the types of interview questions presented to the interviewees are annexed at the end of this paper so we can refer the full information there. For the purpose of presenting the interviewed data's the number of persons and the status of the interviewees are stated below:-

- i. From EBC, Six persons are interviewed of which three are investigative journalists, two officials and two are from "the parliament" TV program producers.
- ii. Four academicians two from journalism and communication and two are public policy academicians.
- iii. Six policy experts (from four different ministerial organizations) who practically working on policy department are included in order to address its communication with media.
- iv. Four politicians two from opposition parties (one from "semayawi party" and one from "kinjit" and two from the ruling party.

4.2. Data Analysis and Interpretation

In this part of the paper, the data collected through interview and questionnaires are analyzed and interpreted in order to evaluate and discuss the contribution of media for policy making process in Ethiopia; the case of EBC.

4.2.1. Awareness Level of Journalists for Media Contribution to Policy Making Process

As professionals of the media, many people including journalist do often have poor level of knowhow on impacts of the media in its role of policy making. In fact, in one or the other way, the media play an irreplaceable role in shaping and colorizing every policy making process of a given country. Wolfe, Bryan & Frank (2013) strengthened this idea by saying,

"We know a great deal about how the media affects public opinion, but we know little about how the media directly affects policy. We know even less about the linkage between the public, media, and policy. This is where political communication and policy studies have their greatest difference: Media studies for the most part concentrate on the public, whereas policy studies focus on government agendas. Yet the media has the capacity to influence both".

Asked if the media can potentially contribute in the making of policy, 27 of those 30 respondents of EBC news room said, they know nothing of roles that the media play in affecting a policy of a country.

This implies that they are not only with less know how of what the media they are part of can meaningfully influence the personality of a country with regard to policy making, but also their distance from the profession and failures acting in accordance with. But media are the public's largest source of information on public policy, and they are the single largest catalogue of political information, covering everything from administrative proceedings, policy change, public opinion, to political scandal (Lawlor, 2013).

As one of the officials in the EBC the researcher talked to, things would go the other way round if efforts were made to consolidate interest of the public –interests which could alert policy makers to think of alternatives .It, by extension does mean, the media did not what was expected from it as a center responsible to set agendas, yet it tried to make some sort of programs which brought the attention and involvement of concerned bodies –a clue to witness the power of the media in policy making he said.

Generally the responses gained from the media circle of EBC shows that, there seems no clear understanding of the asset the media carry to contribute as an input to be employed by policy

makers. Unfortunately however, dozens of journalists do not know influences they can introduce in national affairs as journalists; they are often noticed spending their time performing some routine tasks instead of covering serious issues of national significances.

4.2.2. Level of Government Interference on EBC

According to Sheila (2004), media can play a positive role only if there is an enabling situation that allows them to do so. They need the requisite skills for the kind of in-depth reporting that a new democracy requires. There should also be mechanisms to ensure they are held accountable to the public and that ethical and professional standards are upheld. Media independence is guaranteed if they are free from intervention of media owners and the state, and operate in a competitive environment. Efforts to help the media should also be directed toward: the protection of press rights, enhancing media accountability, building media capacity and democratizing media access.

As many of journalists whom the researcher approached to collect information, there is a clear interference from government in media. Amazingly all 30(100%) respondents responded "yes". for the question, "do you think there is an influence from government on your work?"This shows that the government interference on EBC is high and evident. Senior officials running the media are members of the ruling party, so they lack the confidence to welcome reports criticizing the regime, instead prefer to praise and applause everything they experience even failures .The circle is so powerful to misguide the media, the way it reports. Either due to a direct interference of government officials or because of the indirect threats particularly of party members, respondents said, order journalists what to do and don't to do.

Here under are clues to witness interferences of the government as has been responded by the participants:

- i. Incapability of making criticism, mainly fearing not to expose even little failures of the government
- ii. A tendency of reporting only success stories to please governmental bodies
- iii. There are some heads of sectors that make a call directory to EBC to orient direction of reporting and sometimes force journalists to cancel reports if they think they potentially affect the image of the government.

- iv. If they feel news is opposite to the interest of the government, they deny reports from being televised.
- v. Journalists are oriented ahead of field trips and told what to report and whom to talk to, a systematic style of controlling journalists to act in accordance with the ideology of the ruling party, rejecting principles of journalistic ethics and principles.
- vi. Thinking news can meaningfully magnify the good image of the government; officials often prioritize news than programs and news in depth.

Additionally, some heads of sectors sometimes threat journalists, respondents said, if they come up with any report which they think can risk the status of the ruling party. They unprofessionally order to act against journalism on ranges of reports. Respondents said that both the media and the government would be benefited if there were enabling contexts letting journalists to act as per guides of journalistic ethics and principles, not by forceful words of the leadership.

No journalist is allowed to report serious national issues, or may not have sufficient time to do so for he or she is busy attending routine events to come up with news. This indirectly is meant they can't cover agendas of national importance such as producing news analysis, news in depth and documentaries, which can alert policy makers to rethink new national strategies and policy. Even worse, as one correspondent, no comments and criticisms are welcomed if officials think the coverage have against the interest of the government no matter credible the contents are. Any report criticizing the policy is completely rejected as 'EPRDF' by its nature is dogmatic; perhaps because of misperception of its members what criticism is meant to a given country. EBC, respondents continued, mix up professionalism with the theory of the party all along the way in the works of the media. Meseret, confirmed the existence of government influence on EBC, he explained, "in Ethiopia state media, both radio and television programs remain heavily censored by authorities, causing journalists to censor themselves, too. In a word the stations continue to be faithful mouthpieces of the government". But Schultz (1994) argued that the primary values journalists should bring to reporting are impartiality, audience responsiveness and political independence.

True that a media need to be independent from any interference to act in accordance with ethics and principles, otherwise its role of being the 4th estate might be a mere narrative ,let alone to employ its power of influencing in the policy making of a country. Additionally, in order for

the media to have a direct influence on policymaking, a few conditions are necessary: politicians have to receive and internalize the media's message, politicians' preferences have to be subject to change, and media have to put out conflicting, dissenting or alternative information to the policy status quo (Lawlor, 2013).

This partial reporting, government interference and lack of confidence to welcome critics directly has made EBC fail exploit its opportunity and responsibility of reporting and making serious issues of national significances, but rather waste time on minor and trivial matters of no big national importance, block to utilize its power on policy making process of the country.

4.2.3. Investigative Journalism in EBC

To what extent does the media's influence differ across different stages of the policy process that is policy agenda formation, policy definition and implementation? It can be assumed that media impact is stronger during agenda formation and implementation when the watchdog role encourages criticism and the search for policy failure (Votmer&Koch-Baumgarten 2007). According to Christen (2013),the media's role in implementation stage of the policy making process is one of a watchdog. Reporters often investigate how policies are being put into effect and report to the public. This type of media coverage can cause the administration of policies to change. And they make sure that the people know what exactly the policy makers are doing. In one or the other way investigative journalism should be promoted to boost the contribution of media on the overall policy making.

In the other way during the evaluation stage feedback is sought to determine the overall effectiveness of newly enacted policies. Policies are formally and informally evaluated by government agencies, by outside consultants, by interest groups, by the mass media, and by the public. The media's role here can be very important by holding the government accountable (Christen, 2013). The media is able to do this by showing what is going on, by researching policies, reporting studies on the policy, and allowing people to voice complaints about a policy. This is important because if it is found that a policy is not being effectively employed it can be changed so that it does work. This media contribution on policy evaluation also highly required the practice of investigative journalism.

But despite promising beginning it has, EBC lags behind in taking the lead in investigative journalism compared with its long history of responsibility as a national media. Among all 30 news room participants 27(90%) responded for weak implementation of investigative journalism in EBC. Only 2 (6.67%) respondents responded for "moderate". In addition to news room reporters, the researcher closely talk to three journalists of EBC to dig out the role of investigative works, reactions investigative journalists have gone through. As to their observation EBC has not fully committed to help investigative journalism boom, and further suggested the role it could play in policy making. Efforts need to implement investigative work to uncover rent seeking mentality and corruption and maladministration, rather than always echoing success stories of the government, they continued. It's the role of the media to crosscheck and make check and balance prevail in a given country. It's to mean a must to closely follow up if policies and strategies are on the right track which is the role of investigative journalism, but EBC in this case has not yet carries out the courage to help it act accordingly. Admittedly, attempts were made to expose wrong doings such as the mentality of rent seeking, yet remain a lot.

As journalists from news room of EBC confirmed, it rarely has come up with investigative news, it rather waste its time covering daily routines ignoring the role of watch dogging and articulate the interests of the public.

There are only five journalists assigned to work out on investigative journalism, which is almost none compared to its benefit it can offer to contain bad governances and wrong doings. But not only their number, but also no one specialized in investigative journalism to better run the sector, which collectively are making it fail to act accordingly.

One of the respondents told the researcher that, together with many other factors, failures to obey codes of ethics and principles to their part are blamed for the poor status of investigative journalism of EBC. Some officials denied giving information, referring their paradoxical codes of ethics such as confidentiality and honesty.

EBC, in short, has not yet fully considered investigative as part of its package, commented respondents. For instance, one of EBC's 'Aynachin'- a program pioneer in investigative journalism in the history of the media has nearly stopped to be televised. It's therefore safe to

conclude that EBC is not in the position and passion to professionally carry out investigative journalism.

After all, investigative journalism is becoming a rare phenomenon in the country, and journalists in the file in question do not have legal protection. By its nature, investigative journalism not only need the skill and passion, but may lead one to conflicts of interests with the subject it potentially approach to deal with. For it may publicize corrupts, journalists may be risked as the result of their coverage. This idea also strengthen by Sheila, by saying, it is obvious that at the most basic level, a free press and investigative reporting are possible only where journalists enjoy some protection. Fledgling democracies have constitutional and legal provisions to defend the press, but these do not always ensure that the media can report without fear or favor. The rights of journalists must be upheld by an independent judiciary and protected by the rule of law (Sheila, 2004). Despite the sector needs a special attention, support and training, EBC has failed to act accordingly. As an investigative journalist may face complications and consequences due to their reports, they prefer not to disclose mismanagement and corrupt said correspondents. Informants too decline to grant information fearing threats and consequences.

Here under are additional factors which respondents think are hindering to fully implement investigative journalism

- i. Uncooperative nature of governmental organizations to provide information
- ii. Poor confidence of EBC-failure to force organizations to defend journalists from threats, which lead program cancellations
- iii. Lack of trainings
- iv. Failure to consider profession and professionalism
- v. The lengthy time which the broadcasting proclamation granted to governmental organizations to offer information to information seekers

As many of departments' heads of EBC are politically appointed ones, they think that investigative journalism may potentially expose constraints of the government, so often deny creating enabling environment to the media. It's very hard for EBC investigative journalists to run their routine business of reporting independently and professionally. After all, it's not a matter of belittling the posture of the government and exposing its personality, it

maladministration and mentality of rent seeking become agendas of the media, they are rather constructive to drive the country forward. It's the role of the media to track how officials are acting in their respective posts and fields.

Here is a different perception which one of the investigative journalists told the researcher;

“Investigative journalism is what our country needs most, but can't be translated with political will and strong decision of concerned bodies. So long as the journalist best knows what his responsibility is, he or she will never be afraid of consequences of report overages. True that, where there is an independent media, a journalist will feel free to act professionally. Same is true for party members that unless they don't have poor knowledge of the media; its benefit and principle, they never decline to act soundly and accordingly”.

And, therefore, because of the collective factors, EBC has done only a little of its potential and responsibility in practicing investigative journalism, failed to fulfill its responsibility as a fourth estate of government. As the result of it, the media in question failed to follow up policy performances namely in digging out failures.

4.2.4. The Role of EBC in problem identification and agenda setting

According to the explanation of Birkland (2007), agenda setting is the process whereby problems and, consequently, solutions gain or lose public and political attention. Kingdon (1984) contends there are reasons to believe that an issue's position on the agenda is influenced by the availability of information and how it is applied to the policy problem. And media influence policymakers to prioritize issues over others; they also assist in transmitting the agenda from the policymakers to citizens (Walgrave et al, 2007 cited in Soroka et. al 2009). In general term, the media's influence in the problem formulation and agenda setting stage is enormous since the nature of the media is reporting things to the public, from public to policy makers as well. And with this daily reporting the media can bring many types of things to the forefront. Sometimes even brings the issue to the forefront of the legislative body. This is because; when the media begins reporting on the issues of importance to the people the policy makers tend to start listening. These media responsibility require active participation of the general public and the media should give enough attention for problems and interest of the community.

According to Weaver (1997) cited in Michal & Bryan 2007, Media models of agenda-setting have focused mostly on the relationship between public opinion and media coverage rather than on the policymaking process itself but, clearly there is an underlying assumption in these studies that public opinion influences public policy.

It's bold written in dozens of accounts that the media is with an ample opportunity and power to change the course of a country, mainly via its role of agenda setting. It has the potential to dig out socio economic problems and public interests, which in turn can alert policy makers to rethink best policies and alternatives. As Katrin & Sigrid (2007) argued, like the general public policymakers are themselves consumers of media coverage and might be affected by the way in which the media report on current issues and events. Also agenda in policy making process is nothing more than "the list of subjects or problems to which governmental officials, and people outside the government closely associated with those officials, are paying some serious attention at any given time" (Kingdom, 1995).

But compared with many benefits the media potentially has to help policy makers, EBC as national media centre has done almost nothing in agenda setting and searching for alternative ways, its priority is offering news coverage as 30 of EBC News Room journalist said, failing to entertain some other serious affairs and fail to participate the mass public.

Asked why EBC has failed to meet interest of the public and involved them, respondents reacted as follows.

- i. With a misperceived knowledge of developmental journalism, many journalists and the leadership always tend to echo and narrate only success stories of the government, giving no meaning to complaints and interest of the public.
- ii. Because many of EBC officials and some journalists are members of the ruling party, they always tend to read, hear and report only positive reports of the government, acting to show their loyalty to a thought they stand for, mostly exaggerating performances. There is a misconception that, respondents continued, if failures are reported the fame of the government will be defamed and rejected by the public.
- iii. As if there is a clash of interest between the public and the government, concerned bodies of EBC often have no the moral courage to confidently let journalists report what they experience in their day to day lives as journalists.

- iv. Even worse, they underestimate the public, so always act to impose what they think to the public ,respondents added, and reports of EBC are not research based rather they are born of the leadership as an order.
- v. Carelessness of journalists and lack of independent media council which can wisely approach interests of the public and came up with new concern.

The findings reveal that EBC gives more coverage from the government interest's news stories. As a result most portraits of EBC are deal with positive tone which is concerned with success and development stories. On contrary, the watchdog responsibility of media is disregarded in EBC. Here is one respondents answer for way EBC filed to entertain public problems and interest;

“In the first place, to do a critical investigative reporting you need to have journalistic independence. And when follows you need to select news and source of the news by yourself. However, in EBC both news and its sources are selected by our bosses who are parts of the government. The source we contact is also parts of the government. So, there is no way in EBC to do critical reporting. Sometimes when you bring critical news, they can edit it the way they want it.”

To wrap up EBC as a media center which have failed to treat interest of the public ,and let no public involvement ,rather spend echoing only success stories of the government ,forgetting its role to bridge the public with the government and vice versa, so could not contribute to policy makers.

Policymaking follows an orderly sequence where problems are identified, solutions devised, policies adopted, implemented and lastly evaluated. In reality, according to Christian (2013), the policy process is more fluid, where policies are formed through the struggle of ideas of various advocacy coalitions. The policies, on which the media focuses can, and often does, play an important role in determining the focal issues for policymakers. As Lawlor (2013) argued, media is an instrument through which policy information is circulated, refined and understood. Especially media have indirect effect on policy through its coverage for public opinion since public opinion impacts government decisions and policy outcomes. Pritchard (1992); Cook et al (1983) cited in Lawlor (2013) argued, the relationship between public opinion and policy is bidirectional, with media as the intervening actor. Media advertises politicians' positions, and feeds back information by aggregating public opinion. And because the media's issue attention

cycle is notably short, politicians can react almost immediately to positive or negative opinion by changing their stance. In some senses, politicians are able to adjust their behavior like a thermostat, having near-immediate feedback from media.

But according to the finding, in EBC though, sometimes critical reporting is given coverage, but they are not the way the government name is mentioned negatively. This shows as the media is working or giving coverage for news story which doesn't affect any government officials. This means EBC is serving the interest of the government rather than focusing on the problem of the society.

Generally, EBC, as a media organization filed to represent public interest. Media with no moral courage and professionalism to let the public actively participate and complaints by no means could not set agendas, forcing policy makers to use its input, nor does EBC as it is incapable of tabling interests of the public.

4.2.5. EBC versus journalistic principles

For a journalist to act according to principles and journalistic ethics, he or she needs to be free of external factors such as from pressures of government bodies. Otherwise, it irrelevant and its profit is loss of money, resource and time to boast of media institutions and theories. When, we weigh the way EBC is running in accordance with journalistic principles, it appeared almost opposite to the theory as 27 of the 30 respondents confirmed no journalistic principles are implemented in EBC. Journalists have the following views toward implementation of journalism principles in EBC.

1). **Journalism's first obligation is to the truth**, Kovach and Rosenstein (2001) say, respect for truth and public's right to information is fundamental principles of journalism. Journalism's first obligation is to the truth. This "journalistic truth" is a process that begins with the professional discipline of assembling and verifying facts. But EBC as media organization practically doesn't let journalists to publicize information. Even worse, journalists do not have the right which issues to report, reporters said.

One of the respondents who is an official told the researcher, however, EBC never makes fake news. In fact, he said, we might not be balanced, but due to our journalists routine of targeting only officials, it sounds as if we are excluding interests of the public. That is why many feel that

EBC as a cemetery of fake news, he added. In fact, the profession requires to equally treating thoughts and views of different parties and cross checking opposite sides is significant too, if not the media lacks credibility.

2) Its first loyalty is to citizens: According to Kovach and Rosenstein (2001), journalists are the people's surrogate or speakers, cover issues which are in the public interest. This means since journalism loyalty is to citizens, news production should consist of the interest and participations of audience's. But as information gathered has indicated, EBC is not trusted to the general public. Interviewees told the researcher, that EBC is a media sided with the government, not with the public. The media mainly worries for the good image of the government and always work hard to narrate success stories of the ruling party, said respondents confidently.

3) Independent: This is the pillar of journalistic principle. According to this principle of journalism, media practitioners must maintain independence from those they cover. Kovach and Rosenstein(2001) thought, independence is an underlying requirement of journalism, a cornerstone of its reliability.EBC, however, is acting opposite to the theory and the principles of journalism, according to respondents. They further said that the interference of the government is highly noticed, calling it the servant and mouth of the government with a poor confidence to report failures of performances.

4) Its essence is a discipline of verification: it is a principle that requires journalists should rely on a professional discipline for verifying information, seeking out multiple witnesses, disclosing as much as possible about sources, or asking various sides for comment of treating different views and opposing ideas. EBC, however, has no the confidence to welcome only government officials, not reactions of with contradicting thoughts.

5) Independent monitoring of power: As it explained by Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstein (2001), Journalism has an unusual capacity to serve as watchdog over those whose power and position most affects citizens. This implies that the press should recognize where powerful institutions are working effectively or not. Is a theory which a journalist needs to follow, disclosing mismanagement of government officials to check how performances are tacking? It's a check and balance principle Which EBC failed to translate as respondents confidently said.

6) Public criticism and compromise: The news media are the common carriers of public discussion, and this responsibility forms a basis for public special privileges (Kovach and Rosenstein, 2001). This is a principle which allows the media to bridge the public with the government, setting enabling environment to bring thoughts, complaints and grievances directly from the lion's mouth. EBC has contributed nothing in this case. Filled to exploit its opportunity of serving the public does mean it has nothing to do with public interest.

4.2.6. Communication between media and policy makers

As to Ethiopian policy making philosophy, every office of a ministry has its own policy department. The department has a role to identify socio economic problems and work accordingly to find out and suggest feasible solutions of national significance. Also responsible to follow up plan execution, generate ideas potentially can be included in packages of strategies to be considered by policy makers, and has the duty to closely evaluate status how policies and strategies are implemented.

This study approached four ministry level governmental organizations which the researcher thinks; they should have a strong connection in terms of their significance to the public. This aimed at finding clues if media productions have helped policy makers think ways to contain socio economic problems and public's interest as the result of the media coverage. But opposite to the reality, no ministries employed media coverage suggestion to make their policy, so has had no role in playing its duty, said six of my respondents. They further said they had no opportunity to have connections with EBC to consult on policy making. Some visited the media to have coverage of policy they came up, which is a clear indication how EBC failed to translate its role of generating ideas of policy, but just operate and follow the steps of others.

Many of the respondents the researcher approached told me that if EBC closely worked with circles of the policy expert in generating ideas of national significance and public opinion and, follow its implementation of the ongoing policy and strategy, there would be far better achievements. Unfortunately, however, EBC by its nature is event oriented something which is often looking for calls of organizations with sources of news.

The media has never ever engaged in finding solutions to socio economic problems, but wait for calls from contact persons to make its own routine works of media, even worse, the journalists

directly reach the PR of the organization not policy and research departments. So there is no a link between the media and policy experts in the specific organization, which need a media coverage, so most of the time coverage are reported according to the interest of the institution, not according to the reality and experts practical achievement. This shows that, there is a mix up between journalism and works of public relations.

Generally, trend has made EBC not only waste time on irrelevant news, but equally forced it not to critically dig out information of national values. In fact, there are programs which have caused policy makers think the other way round. For instance, as one of my respondent from EBC officials told me, due to a frequent program about the problem of fertilizers distribution in the country, policy makers have come up with a newly thought solution. This indicates how powerful the media is in attracting the attention of policy makers, an opportunity which EBC declined to fully exploit.

In the other way, policies are formally and informally evaluated by government agencies, by outside consultants, by interest groups, by the mass media, and by the public. According to Christian (2013), The media is able to do this by showing what is going on, by researching policies, reporting studies on the policy, and allowing people to voice complaints about a policy. This is important because if it is found that a policy is not being effectively employed it can be changed so that it does work. Basically, in the evaluation stage the media provides the public and the actual policy makers with evidence regarding the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of policies. But respondents said that, they had no opportunity to have connections with EBC to discuss on any policy issue.

4.2.7. EBC and The legislature

The legitimating and adoption stage of the policy making process mainly happens in the legislature and determines what will happen to a proposed policy. This includes executive orders, budgets, laws and appropriations, rules and regulations, and decisions and interpretations that have the effect of setting policy directions. Naturally, according to (Christian, 2013) what happens to a policy is greatly determined by what kind of media coverage it has generated. If a proposed policy generates positive and steady publicity there is a good chance that policy will be enacted and implemented well. However, if a proposed issue generates negative publicity or if

the coverage of that issue decreases, that policy may not become enacted. Policy makers looking to round up support or to build opposition, for a proposed policy during this stage of the process may also choose to use the media. So politicians can use the media to press their policies through or use it to hamper the efforts of their opponents. The media can have another impact during this stage. For example, if a proposed policy contains a provision that will only help a few people while hurting many others, the media can report that and generate support for a change to the proposal. During this stage the media's influence can help gain support for policies, help to kill policies, or help protect people by exposing negative provisions within a propose policy(Christian, 2013). Even though the Ethiopian policy making system due its top-down nature are not fit for such kind of media interference the general public needs to closely know the parliament. The way it operates and acts for it's the highest entity in the hierarchy of the political structure of the country.EBC as a national media has an irreplaceable role in narrating ways the parliament is running, it value and nature. Half of the respondents said the media (EBC) is acting accordingly, citing the following points.

- i. Requesting of news coverage from the parliament gets priority
- ii. Several journalists are allowed to make reports and coverage as the parliament tables its plan execution reports.
- iii. Supervisions made by the standing committee of the parliament are often reported by EBC.

Legislatures need to have means of engaging and influencing to the general public to their business. The participation of the general public in the activities of the legislature in person is, naturally, represented by small number of people. To bridge the gap there is the need for broadcast media. Power (2006) strengthened this idea he said, because parliamentary outreach will ever physically touch only a small proportion of the population, the second main element of engagement strategies is the mass broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings through radio and television, which dramatically widens the potential audience(power 2006).

Media, especially investigative journalism is an important tool for the proper functioning of the legislature because it can create the necessary communication interface among the legislators, the executive officials and the general public and they can influence each other using it. Beetham explains the role of media relating to the parliamentary function as follows:

"The media constitute the key means for informing citizens about public affairs, and a key channel of communication between parliament and public. In their investigative role, the media have always been seen as a 'watchdog' against all kinds of abuse. How well they fulfill these functions is vital for the quality of democratic life. Given the tendency for these functions to become distorted, whether by executive partiality in a government-controlled system, or by powerful economic interests in a commercialized one, parliament has a key democratic role in setting an appropriate legal framework for the media, to ensure both their independence and their diversity"(Beetham,2006).

However, EBC journalists can easily access to activities of the parliament they are not allowed to act freely, rather are oriented how to report their business and told what to do and what don't, and whom they like to approach for interview is not their right.

No media coverage is made unless the parliament permits the media (EBC) to do so, and the media broadcasts only issues which the parliament want to publicize, denying benefit of the general public.

Beside, EBC has a weekly program on parliament known as "the parliament", whose major aim is entertaining and educating the citizens about the parliament and its activities. But as respondents told me nothing new is covered by the media, but a carbon copy of the way the media acts in other news coverage. It's a program in which circles of the parliament echoes their own feelings and success, rejecting demands of the public .In fact it sometimes attempts to cover regular sessions of the parliament such as supervisions the standing committee, policies and newly drafted and declared proclamations, but still lacks to welcome thoughts and freedoms of journalists to operate their business independently.

The Parliament therefore, has deprived of the right of the public to access free and independent media and information. No journalist is allowed to act on his or her own with regard to reporting, such as coming up with criticism is unthinkable. Despite EBC is lucky enough to make productions out of the parliament and its activities, journalists are expected not to be critics of what they actually experience in their business, they rather are forced to praise and laud even what they don't really have come up through. As the parliament is controlled by purely by the

ruling party, a different thought has no room in the session of the parliament itself and in the media too, no media coverage unless it is appraisal.

Those journalists who make productions for the program, the parliament, often seen coming up with routine works of Media News coverage, instead of having analyses and professional criticism. This directly reflects pressures imposed on the media by the parliament to independently act, which in its turn makes the media fail to exploit its opportunity of generating ideas and policies with national significance. Nearly all the points I raised both in the questionnaire and interview show me that journalists of EBC are working under pressures of politics, so that can't obey journalistic ethics and principles, rather spend their time with self-censorship, trying to save oneself from complications of news coverage and accountability no matter they operate their business spotlessly. This makes journalists lose confidence and moral and professional courage to produce credible and feasible programs of socio economic and political affairs with of national importance.

4.2.8. Practice of Developmental Journalism in EBC

According to Skjerdal(2011),development journalism became popular with African governments in the 1970s and 1980s as a way to utilize the media for national growth. Various leaders willingly adopted the model and adjusted it to their system of governance, be it military, autocratic, one-party democracy or multiparty style. And development journalism has attracted considerable hostility over the years. The practice has been blamed for promoting political agendas instead of people's interests. The strong dependency on the state, especially in African versions of development journalism, has roused worries from press freedom organizations. Redefined versions of development journalism, however, claim to promote national interests while at the same time safeguarding independent reporting (ibid).

According to Domatob and Hall 1983 and, Banda 2007, cited in Skjerdal (2011), implementation of development journalism in Ethiopia appears to repeat some of the troubles of development journalism elsewhere. The concerns are mainly of three types. First, the ambiguity of development journalism is a persisting problem. In principle, the framework encourages both promotional and investigative stories. In effect, however, journalists perceive sympathetic reporting to be the only style accepted by the owner. Secondly, the policy becomes politicized on

its way to the newsroom. As far as the journalists are concerned, there are only certain issues that are allowed to be reported on; only a certain form of language that is accepted; and only certain sources that should be consulted – and they are all pro-government. Thirdly, and ironically, implementation of development journalism turns out to be marked by top-down directives rather than participation from below. This is in great contrast to old and new theories of development journalism.

Developmental journalism is blamed for failures EBC today is experiencing, but it's a misconception of the discipline that has made some in the media circle consider it responsible for the personality of EBC today. In fact, with the exception of the two journalists who responded to the questioner, all reacted that developmental journalism is not being treated and perceived the right way in EBC.

Asked to cite witnesses if developmental journalism is really implemented, the two respondents have had nothing to challenge their stance which favors the prevalence and the right way of implementing developmental journalism in Ethiopia. Those on the opposite, however, have the following narratives to witness their debate on the failures of the subject matter particularly in the circles of EBC.

- i. Some EBC journalists do not know what developmental journalism really is, sometimes think that trying to expose minor failures of the government is safe enough for the developmental journalism to be carried out, a misconception they hold of the discipline.
- ii. Some party members use developmental journalism as pretext to cover their poor performance, hiding what should be publicized through media outlets.
- iii. There is a misunderstanding that developmental journalism does mean always to loudly and echo great deeds and success stories of the government, which is completely wrong. You don't forget that having credible media coverage too is equally significant in developmental journalism.
- iv. Developmental journalism equally treats failures and constraints experienced in a process, does not mean it needs always to stick to achievements of governments. Even though EBC insists as it is implementing developmental journalism, there are no proofs to be witnessed in its media coverage, rather it fears to evaluate strategies, follow up performance of governments and criticize weaknesses which the field requires.

In fact, some scholars say that developmental journalism by its nature is suit to be abused, a conclusion almost half of participants of this research paper including the paper write favors. In this connection. Skjerdal(2011), conclude that, journalists in Ethiopian state media are challenged when they try to convert developmental journalism framework into actual media practice. The problems are threefold: ambiguity of development journalism as concept and practice; political inclination of the state media; and lack of participation by the public Skjerdal(2011).

Generally, based on the finding of this study we can say that EBC is not properly implementing developmental journalism.

4.2.9. Views of political parties and academicians towards EBC's contribution on policy making process of the country.

Scholars of journalism and political analysts agree that the media has an irreplaceable role for a country to produce feasible policy, thereby follow up performances of plans and strategies. But for a media to achieve such a great duty of national significance, it needs to be free from interference and pressure of government, letting journalist act independently. But, in its current status, EBC, is not in a position and morally and professionally fit enough to fully translate journalism principle in to practice, it makes failed EBC to act accordingly. A scholar of policy who this researcher approached is it's to fool oneself to expect EBC to be exercise media role and contributing to policy making in context where the interference of the government is clearly visible along with the poor courage of the media itself to act accordingly. Infact, the loyalty of EBC towards obeying orders of official is bold seeable in news coverage and programs where journalist attend events to report interests of officials, denying vices and interests of the public.

For the national media center, EBC, to be center of excellence, respondents said, it needs to independently act; setting an enabling environment for the circle to be able to generate agendas of national's significance, evaluating performances and activities of the government. If not EBC needs to be a spokesperson of the ruling party, putting its responsibility of serving citizens.

And official from The Blue Party whom this researcher approached said, not even a single interview or any media briefing have had media coverage from EBC. He further said it's unthinkable to get a room from the media for the party to reach the general public in publicizing

its political program, to alert the ruling party .EBC is under complete control of the ruling party, so impossible to get the opportunity to make counters to those defamatory remarks of the ruling party against opposition parties.EBC is now being exploited by the government, not the public and ranges of opposition political parties, a failure of EBC as a public media to equally entertain differences. But in principle ,mass media gives citizens the necessary information for "effective political participation" and provides a forum for "debate on public issues" and it helps governments circulate vital information about public services--and government accomplishments--while providing opportunities for opposition parties to criticize government and propose alternative policies(Fletcher & Taras, 1984) .

In relation to the broadcast media, Meseret contends that the ruling party, EPRDF used both radio and television, on a more substantive level, to strengthen its power by disseminating massive propaganda against members of the defunct regime (Meseret, 2012).

The other member of opposition party whom the researcher talked to reacted, questioning himself, saying—where does EBC get the courage and confidence to open its gate to different thoughts in a context totally controlled by the ruling party?

The other scholar of journalism whom talked to the researcher on the agenda said that, for the media to fully act as the fourth estate, it should be free from pressures of government and its interferences .In an environment where there is a party to order what to do and don't, it's a night mare to fully carry out journalism, he continued.

Some other scholar also had say on failures of EBC to exploit its opportunity, blaming it's for losing courage to fully serve the public as national media. She further said that the public denied its support to EBC for the media is acting against the will of the public, always favoring needs and orders of the ruling party. The way EBC doesn't allow opposing ideas to broadcast, no room for failures to address and to suggest issues of national significance, she continued.

The maladministration of EBC results from the nature of the ruling party said a member of opposition party. Lack of enabling environment for independent media and the undemocratic nature of the government has forced EBC to fail from exploiting its responsibility as a fourth estate. It is if and only if democratic culture is prevailed and professional rights are secured. And multi-party system should be practiced as a base for democracy. Hanitzsch&Hoxha (2014) also,

argued that the more suppressive/undemocratic the political system is, the more influences it exerts on the media.

Some members of the ruling party whom the researcher talked to said, despite EBC is some times acts against realities and interests of the public, the media is trying its level best to implement developmental journalism. The government shouldn't blame for failures to implement developmental journalism, but the media itself, they further said. Someone from the Blue Party on his part said the nature of the system does not allow stakeholders operating in the media to act for the good of the discipline, it's rather is full of problems to hold back progresses of journalism, giving no professional rights to journalist.

Additionally, many of the policies and strategies are not born out of the will and interest of the public and not research based, they rather are imported from abroad to be tested, respondents said. This contributed for the incapability of EBC together with its poor performance and poor professional ethics and poor moral courage.

Many professionals who work in policy making departments of federal level offices said inputs and references included in national policy making do come mostly from senior officials, not generated by professional research and the public, top down approach.

As findings of policy professionals reveal, Ethiopia needs a newly formed and framed independent media which can follow up and study how policy is formulated, thereby identifying constraints faced. On the other hand, three of the government organs namely the legislative, executives and judiciary need to be independent for the media to boom. He further said that EBC as the channel of communication could not defend itself from interference of government and operate freely; letting different and opposing thought have equal rights to be aired, issues which do have national significance.

Respondents in their reflection drew conclusions why EBC could not act actively to contribute its share in the policy making process of the country. Here under are reasons they framed as factors hindering EBC from success.

- i. The current leadership style denied EBC the opportunity it has to create democratically advanced generation, refusing the professional rights of journalists to freely operate their

business. No individual or a member of an opposition party is permitted to employ their right of using EBC to broadcast thoughts.

- ii. Denial of the ruling party to welcome critics and criticism. No room for citizens to come up with different ideas in regard to policies and strategies of the country. In fact, EBC itself can't go out of the track of the principle of the party and interest of the government.
- iii. Failure of EBC to fully implement investigative journalism. Respondents blamed EBC for poor professional environment, with no confidence to let its journalists act freely in a context free from pressures of officials. Respondents cited benefits developmental journalism can introduce the nation to identify constraints of plan execution, to alert the government from any potential risks, to fight back rent seekers and rent seeking mentality.
- iv. EBC, however, is acting to opposite to journalistic ethics and principles plus against the will and interests of the general public, they pointed out, it is often seen narrating achievements of the government and its success stories, forgetting its duty of identifying problems and setting agendas of national significance.
- v. The nature of developmental journalism to be easily abused and the misconception EBC and its circle hold of too are blamed for the personality of the media today. Accordingly, EBC, respondents said that, misquoted and abused developmental journalism as a pretext to challenge criticism it is facing from its critics and from the public.
- vi. Shortages of genuine journalists of in-depth professional knowledge in policy making who can fight for the practicality of the media together with EBC's poor journalistic ethics and principle has made the media not to win hearts of its audiences.
- vii. Journalist of EBC are bound of self-censorship, fearing consequences of making criticism over serious national issues, despite there is no room to do so, made journalists do nothing visible. As a result, they try to entertain routine news coverage and productions which can meet only interests of their immediate bosses and orders of government officials, said respondents.

Most of the respondents of this research paper came to terms that EBC has now gained no positive feedback and trust from the public due to its poor attention it offers to the audience, so not many people including scholars preferred it to voice idea though and often decline to take part in its program, fearing its loyalty only to officials, which collectively has made EBC

contribute nothing to policy making. Credibility is the most important issue in journalism. In order to achieve and keep credibility, journalists are supposed to present issues from multi angles so that the public confidence towards journalists develop. Once media lose their credibility, it is tough to re achieve. Public trust is an essential requirement for journalists, as the editor of the SA Sunday Independent, Jovial Rantao, argues:

Credibility is the life blood of our profession as journalists. Credibility is to us what oxygen is to human body. Without it, we are nothing. Without it, not one person will believe a single word that we write. One of the basic tenets of our profession is to ensure that the credibility of the information we gather on a daily basis is unquestionable. (Cited in Kruger, 2004).

So, in order to have credibility from the public, journalists are supposed to present different views in a fair and balanced manner.

In relation to these Meseret (2013), concluded, unfavorable working atmosphere, shortage of skilled manpower, unethical and unprofessional reporting, low morale in the working place, low level of journalistic training or the existence of unqualified journalists, and tight control from above are among the major challenges that the state owned media face during this regime. And this study also proved that EBC stile faced those stated challenges.

Chapter Five

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusions

The study has vividly proven failures of EBC as a national media center to serve the country. As the result, frame works of this paper, which aimed at exploring roles of the media in policy making, has revealed. EBC's poor reaction the profession of journalism has cost it to lose public trust, let alone coming up with generating ideas of national significance.

As a national media, it had to act in coming up with ranges of vital ideas which can be considered by policy makers, but it acted the other way round, lacking the professional ethics and principles-something which made trend.

EBC has to favor the public and it needs to strongly defend journalistic principles and has serve fairly both the public and the government bridging them to communicate .Has to identify complaints of the public and need let their voice be heard by the government, and the vice versa.

Defending journalistic principles and professionalism, as everywhere else in the world, enables a media to play its share and duty of taking part in policy making, which can benefit both the government and the public. As findings and analysis of this paper reveal, the media is acting neither as a decisive organ with a role to contributed in generating ideas of national significance nor as the fourth estate .Even though the media is expected to be loyal the public ,EBC is on the opposite track, mainly due to pressures and interferences imposed by government officials, violating journalistic ethics and principles.

It's safe to conclude that EBC has failed to fairly welcome ranges of deferent thoughts, ideas, theories, programs and voices of intellectuals, political parties. The parliament too, which is said to be the highest point in the hierarchy of the political structure, should be blamed for EBC personality today for it has failed to reshape it. The poor communication of the media and the policy makers has a credit to take, leaving no room for journalists to employ their professional rights of generating ideas of national importance.

The study has a say that the public could not reach out and know what the parliament is really doing for failures' of EBC to come up with credible information about the subject matter. It's therefore, safe to conclude that EBC's nature and personality today can drive one to come to terms that it is unfit to be a symbol of national media with all its failures to serve the public genuinely.

5.2. Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations were made to improve the contribution of media for policy making process of the country in general, and EBC in particular.

- 1). Better to spot appoint media personnel basing their efficiency and academic performance and journalistic ethics and principles, not their loyalty to the ruling party
- 2)..Government should defend rights of the public and journalistic ethics and principles, treating voices fairly and equally
- 3). EBC should conduct an immediate measurement surely to reclaim public trust if it should keep going as a media center.
- 4). EBC should also strive to have a program which can better communicate the parliament with public, and should work genuinely to report right what the parliament and the government is doing, not orders of officials.
- 5). EBC should immediately quit echoing only achievements of the government, but also its failures too, and so should the government to face and welcome critics and challenge of professionals.
- 6). Opposition parties including scholars should have a room to fairly employ EBC as they do have voices to publicize, as the government does.
- 7).EBC should exhaustively employ investigative journalism, equipping it with highly skilled professionals of in the field and facilitating opportunities for journalist to have trainings.
- 8).Better if it can welcome experienced journalists who are having the expertise make analysis and set agendas of national significance.
- 9).EBC should have a strong communication with policy makers, playing its role as a national media to contribute to policy making.
- 10). Should reconsider its mentality and perception it holds of developmental journalism

- 11). should create enabling working environment for journalists to freely and confidently act their business as per the profession orders them, getting out of self-censorship
- 12). the government should be committed to create democratic culture and environment for the media to welcome different voices
- 13). Should let the public have its say so that government can easily communicate feelings and opposition parties' which in turn can attract hearts of policy makers
- 14). EBC should play its role of watchdog, evaluating and following up how the government is acting in policy translation.

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Appendix- A
Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies
Department of Public Management and Policy

Dear Respondents,

I am conducting a research on the topic ‘The contribution of media for policy making process in Ethiopia: the case of Ethiopia broadcasting corporation, EBC’. Accordingly, this questionnaire is intended to collect primary data concerned with this topic; to identify the actual roles they are playing, and to find out the challenges they face in pursuing their roles. The purpose of this research is to identify the actual contribution of media for policy making process of the country and to suggest some solution measures and to contribute supportive role to the better performance of the media in discharging of its responsibilities. For it is only when you provide your genuine answers to all the questions that the research outcome could be genuine and reliable, you are kindly requested to give your honest answers. I assure you that all the information you give in this questionnaire will only be used for the purpose of the research and will be kept secret. Thank you for your help!

Personal information of the respondent:

A. Sex___ male ___ female ___

B. Level of education___ diploma___ BA degree___ master’s degree and above___

C. Your stay in the organization: _____years

1).Do you know that your work, as a media practitioner can contribute a lot for the country policy making process?

A. yes

B. No

C. I don't know

2).please gives your reason for the answer of the above question?

3). For who EBC give attention in its media coverage?

A) For the public B) for journalists C) for government D) state if any.....

4).Do you think that investigative journalism are practiced in your media organization?

A) Sufficiently B) moderately C) poorly D) don't know

5). Can you justify your answer for the above question?

6).How do you weigh the degree of public participation and representation of public interest in EBC news coverage?

A) Very good B) good C) moderate D) weak

7). Can you justify your answer for the above question?

8).To what extent the basic element of journalism are practiced in EBC?

A) Very good B) good C) moderate D) weak

9). Can you justify your answer for the above question?

10). Where your idea for news are come from?

A). from public necessitate B) idea from journalist C) from EBC plan D) state if any.....

11). To what extent EBC, in its news coverage gives attention for problems of the general public?

A) Sufficiently B) moderately C) poorly D) don't know

12).Can you justify your answer for the above question?

13).Do you think there is an influence from government on your work?

- A) Yes B) Partially yes C) No D) don't know

14).Please justify your answer for the above question?

15). Do you think, the work and activity of the parliament obtain enough attention in your news coverage?

- A) Yes B) Partially yes C) No D) don't know

16. Please justify your answer for the above question?

17).Do you think that developmental journalism practiced as its exact principle in EBC?

- A) Yes B) Partially yes C) No D) don't know

18). Can you justify your answer for the above question?

19). Do you have an additional opinion or comment to add regarding the issues raised in this questioner? If yes, please write herein

below._____

መጠይቅ

አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ የህዝብ አስተዳደርና ልማት ጥናት

የህዝብ አስተዳደርና ፖሊሲ ትምህርት ክፍል

ወደ የመጠይቁ መላሽ :-

ይህ ጥናት በሀገሪቷ የፖሊሲ አወጣጥሂ ደረጃ ላይ የሚደፍ ደው ን አስተዋጽኦ በሚመለከት ኢ.ቢ.ሲ ንዋና ትኩረት አድርጎ የሚከናወነው። በመሆኑም እርሶዎ ተቋም የሚሰሩ ዜናዎች ለፖሊሲ አወጣጥሂ ደብዳቤ ምን መልኩ አስተዋጽኦ እያደረጉ እንደሆነና በስራቸው ወቅት የሚያጋጥሙ ችግሮችን ለመገምገም የሚረዳ መረጃ ዜና ክፍል ጋዜጠኞች ለመሰብሰብ ተከታይ መጠይቅ ተዘጋጅቷል።

የእርስዎ ትክክለኛ ምላሽ ምላሽ ለዚህ ጥናት መሳካት ከፍተኛ አስተዋጽኦ ስለሚያደርግ በመጠይቁ ለቀረቡት ጥያቄዎች ትክክለኛ ምላሽ ምን እንዲሰጡ አጥኚ ወይንም ህትና ይጠይቃል። የሚሰጧቸው ምላሾች ምላሽ ለዚህ ጥናት ብቻ የሚወሉ ከመሆናቸው ባሻገር በሚስጥር የሚያዙ መሆናቸውን አጥኚ ወይንም ለጋጣሚዎቻቸው ማለት ይቻላል።

ስለትብብርዎ ከልብ አመሰግናለሁ።

ክፍል አንድ

ለሚከተሉት ጥያቄዎች ፊት ለፊታቸው ባለቦታ ላይ የኤክስ ምልክት በማድረግ ምላሽ ምን ይስጡ።

ጾታ: ሴት ወንድ

የትምህርት ደረጃ: ዲፕሎማ ማስተርስና ከዝያታ

በተቋሙ የቆዩበት ጊዜ: ከ1-3 ከ3-5 ከ5-10 ከ10-15 ከ15 አመት በላይ

ክፍል ሁለት፡ ከዚህ ቀጥሎ የቀረቡትን ጥያቄዎችን እባክዎ በትኩረት ይመልሱ፡፡

1) በእርስዎ አረዳድሚ ድያወ በሀገሪቷ የፖሊሲ አወጣጥሂ ደትላይ እተዋጽኦ አያደርጋል ብለዉ ያምናሉ?

ሀ) አዎ ለ) አይደለም

2) እባክዎ ለጥያቄ ቁጥር "1" ምላሽ ያስገኙትን ደግሞ ለትንቢት ያስቀምጡ

3) በተቋሙ በብዛት የዜና ሽፋን የሚያገኙ ጉዳዮች የማንን ስሜትና ፍላጎት የሚያንጸባርቁ ናቸው?

ሀ) የህዝቡን ለ) የጋዜጠኞችን ሐ) የመንግስትን መ) ግልጽ አይደለም

4) በእርዎ ተቋም የምርመራ ጋዜጠኝነት በተገቢ መልኩ ተፈጻሚነው ብለዉ ያምናሉ?

ሀ) በቂ ነዉ ለ) በቂ አይደለም ሐ) ዝቅተኛ ነዉ መ) በተወሰነ መልኩ ተፈጻሚ ይደረጋል

5) እባክዎ ለጥያቄ ቁጥር "4" ምላሽ ያስገኙትን ደግሞ ለትንቢት ያስቀምጡ

6) በተቋሙ ህዝቡን በስፋት ያሳተፉና የህዝቡን ፍላጎት የሚያንጸባርቁ ዜናዎች እየተሰሩ ነው ብለዉ ያምናሉ?

ሀ) ይሰራሉ ለ) አይሰሩም

7) እባክዎ ለጥያቄ ቁጥር "4" ምላሽ ያስገኙትን ደግሞ ለትንቢት ያስቀምጡ

8) የጋዜጠኝነት መርሆች በተቋም ያስገኙትን ደግሞ ለትንቢት ያስቀምጡ?

ሀ) ከፍተኛ ለ) መካከለኛ ሐ) ዝቅተኛ መ) አላወቅም

9) እባክዎ ለጥያቄ ቁጥር "8" ምላሽ ያስገኙትን ደግሞ ለትንቢት ያስቀምጡ

10) በብዛት የዜና ምንጭ ምን ድንገት ነው?

- ሀ) ከህብረተሰቡ የሚገኙ ጥቆማዎች ለ) ተቋሙ የሚመርጣቸው ጉዳዮች
ሐ) ከጋዜጠኞች የሚፈልቁ ሀሳቦች መ) ሌላካለይ ገለጽ

11) ተቋሙ በህብረተሰቡ ለሚስተዋሉ ችግሮች ምን ያክል ትኩረት ሰጥቶ የዜና ሽፋን ይሰጣል?

- ሀ) ከፍተኛ ለ) መካከለኛ ሐ) ዝቅተኛ መ) አላውቅም

12) እባክዎ ለጥያቄቁጥር "11" ምላሽ ምን ያክል ትኩረት ይሰጣል?

13) በተቋሙ አሰራር ላይ የመንግስት ጫና / ጣልቃ ገብነት አለብለው ያምናሉ?

- ሀ) አሉ ለ) የለም ሐ) ግልጽ አይደለም መ) በተወሰነ መልኩ ብቻ አሉ

14) እባክዎ ለጥያቄቁጥር "13" ምላሽ ምን ያክል ትኩረት ይሰጣል?

15) የፓርላማ እንቅስቃሴና ተግባራት በዜና ክፍሉ ላይ በቂ ሽፋን እያገኙ ነው ብለው ያምናሉ?

- ሀ) በቂ ነው ለ) በቂ አይደለም ሐ) መካከለኛ ነው መ) አላውቅም

16) እባክዎ ለጥያቄቁጥር "15" ምላሽ ምን ያክል ትኩረት ይሰጣል?

17) በእርስዎ ተቋም ልማታዊ ጋዜጠኝነት በትክክል ተግባራዊ ይደረጋል ብለው ያምናሉ?

- ሀ) አዎ ለ) አላምንም

18) እባክዎ ለጥያቄቁጥር "17" ምላሽ ምን ያክል ትኩረት ይሰጣል?

እባክዎ ለጥያቄቁጥር "4" ምላሽ ምን ያክል ትኩረት ይሰጣል?

19) በዚህ ረጅም ጊዜ ውስጥ የሚከተሉት ሁሉንም አስተያየት ካለዎት

Appendix-B

Interview questions

For ministerial policy experts

1. Have you ever get an idea for your policy formulation from mass media especially from EBC?
2. What do you think is the contribution of the media for policy formulation?
3. How do you explain the relation between you and the media?
4. Do you have any recommendation on the matter?

➤ For media and policy academicians

1. What do you think is the role of the media on policy making?
2. What do you think is the contribution of EBC for the country's policy making process?
3. How did you describe the activities of EBC as an academician?
4. Do you have any recommendation on the matter?
5. How do evaluate the concept of developmental journalism from the context of EBC?

➤ For investigative journalists of EBC

1. How do you describe the state of investigative journalism in your organization?
2. What are the challenges you face in the execution of your task? If any
3. Anything you might add on this issue

➤ For " the parliament" TV program producers

1. How much is your program covering the activities of the parliament? Do you think you are delivering the decisions and activities of the parliament effectively to the public?
2. Do you think your program is produced in a manner that can make the parliamentarians to be accountable for the public?
3. Have you ever encountered a problem in executing your job?
4. Anything you might add on this issue

➤ **Question for EBC officials**

1. As a media organization, Do you think EBC is functioning as a forth government branch?
2. Do you think EBC have realized the participation of the public? Who is the focus of its job? (The public or the government?)
3. Do you think the government interferes in the media? If so to what extent?
4. What do you think is the role of the media in policy making process of the country? What are the activities of EBC in this regard?

➤ **Questions for opposition political party officials**

1. What do you think is the role of the media in one country policy making process? In this regard how do you evaluate EBC?
2. Have you ever used EBC for policy recommendation, criticizing the already implemented policies and to pass your message to the public?
3. How do you see the implementation of developmental journalism in the context of EBC?
4. Any recommendation on this matter

➤ **Questions for the ruling party officials**

1. What do you think is the role of the media in policy formulation?
2. As a media organization do you think EBC is contributing its share? How?
3. Do you think developmental journalism is perfectly implemented by EBC? How?
4. Any recommendation on this matter