Journalistic practice and media production away from home (in exile): The case of *Wazema* Radio

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Acknowledgement

My deepest gratitude goes to my supervisor, Terje Skjerdal, who consistently allowed this study to be my own piece, while at the same time stirring me in the right track whenever he believed I needed it. This wouldn't have been possible without your unreserved assistance and encouragement especially during the final days of submission.

My research participants from Wazema: Thank you for your passionate participation and input in the middle of your busy days and nights divided between commitment to Wazema, work and study.

My deepest appreciation goes to my wife Ruth and my daughters for their understanding. I can't thank you enough for encouraging me throughout my academic and integration experience. Juliya thank you for being a good girl and cheering your dad up. I am highly indebted to the encouragement of my friend Samuel Adamu who always makes my stay in Kristiansand a pleasant one.

A special mention goes to my friend Tesfaye Tariku for his constant encouragement and support.

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Abstract

Benefitting from the theories of alternative media and journalistic professionalism, this study tries to portray the lived professional experiences of Ethiopian journalists establishing and running an online radio named Wazema from their new destinations. The station is registered and operated from Sweden, but its contributors hail from the Ethiopian diaspora environment in various countries, and also from the homeland. Qualitative in-depth interviews with ten journalists and available document analysis are the methods of data collection.

The study asks how journalists consider their professional integrity as journalists in exile and how they use the digital medium to reach their audiences back in the homeland. It also tries to reflect on production and organizational opportunities and challenges met by the journalists.

Referring to their background in the homeland and their victimization as journalists, as well as their work at Wazema, the journalists regard their role as exile journalists with no reference to elements of activism. Most regard credibility as the most important journalistic element of their practice at Wazema followed by verification and independence, though at the same time they admit the challenge to prioritize one from the other.

Wazema journalists view the political reform in their homeland as facilitating their transition from exile media practitioners to founders and runners of independent mainstream media, provided the political change sustains in institutionalization and legal backing.

This investigation shows the role of exile media in aiding journalists on the run from authoritarian regimes, the use of local working journalists' identity to extract information in a media repressive regime as well as the role ordinary citizens play in smuggling information to journalists in exile.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Relevant Reflections on the Ethiopian Media Situation

Governments that have been in power in Ethiopia over the last hundred years have been applying stringent laws and mechanisms against the operation of the media (Reta, 2013). In relative terms since the 1991 change of government, private media outlets have been allowed constitutionally to operate in the country. However, practically the government has been trying to hamper the exercise of these rights by harassing media practitioners and enacting different laws that negatively impact freedom of the press **(**Shimeles. 2000; Skjerdal, 2010).

According to a country report by Freedom House**,** contrary to what is stipulated in the constitution of the country regarding freedom of the press, the 2005 criminal code has lots of provisions that restrict this right. Some of these restrictions that stand against freedom of the press include "restrictions on "obscene" communication, defamation, and criticism of public officials" (Freedom house, 2016).

The unfavourable press situation exacerbated in July 2009 when the government started implementing the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation. Superficially this law was meant to deter organizations that the Ethiopian government claims to be committing terrorist activities, mainly against groups like the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). But this law has been deliberately used against journalists by referring to the intentionally crafted languages and statements when it comes to defining who a terrorist is and what the acts are. Per this law one can get a 20 years' imprisonment for acts like "write, edit, print, publish, publicize, or disseminate" statements deemed to "encourage, support, or advance" terrorist acts. (Freedoms House, 2010; A Proclamation on Anti-Terrorism, 652/2009).

Over the years the stringent media environment created by the government has resulted in the closure of private media houses and the harassments and intimidation of journalists (Tronvoll 2010)**.** A number of journalists were prosecuted and sent to jail. For example, between the months of June and November 2011 alone, ten journalists were charged under the Anti-Terrorism Law (Sudan Tribune, 13 Nov 2011).

The year 2000 marks the beginning of providing internet services to individuals in Ethiopia though it was officially introduced two years earlier The service provision to date is monopolized by the sole state agency named Ethio Telecom (Freedom House, 2013).

According to a 2018 report by Freedom on the Net, internet access has shown slight improvement though considered as low. As of 2018 the country has a 15.4% internet penetration. (Freedom on the Net, 2018)

As a result of ongoing harassment and intimidation and for fear of imprisonment, many journalists fled the country in search of protection in neighbouring and other western countries. The runaways include those outstanding journalists the country had by any standard. Referring to reports by CPJ, a study (Chala, 2018) puts the number of journalists that forcedly left the country until 2016 at 163.

As is the case with journalists, audiences in Ethiopia have long shifted their attention and interest towards media outlets based abroad. The Voice of America (VOA) and Deutsche Welle (DW) are cases in point in this trend. There were also rebel groups during previous regimes like the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front -TPLF who have been airing their messages via radio before they assumed power in 1991. In the post-1991 period other opposition groups such as OLF and Ginbot 7 are known to have used foreign based radio transmissions to transmit contents back home.

Life in the host country won't be either easier for journalists. For most journalists their professional carrier ends up following their flight away from home. Getting asylum and work permits and eventually jobs will be the priority. According to a report by CPJ on exiled Zimbabwean journalists, it is difficult for exiled journalist to get jobs in media institutions in host countries because of the competitiveness of the market. Many of them took factory and service related jobs to just earn a living (CPJ, 2005). It seems the fate of Ethiopian journalists in exile is no different. After settling mostly in the United States, Europe and Canada, some have tried to engage themselves in journalistic activities attached to existing diaspora media outlets or establishing one in the countries of asylum.

There are of course international organizations that support journalists in difficult situations. Even getting the journalists back to their profession is not the priority given by these organizations that work for the safety of journalists. Understandably there are a host of problems exile journalists have to be helped with upon leaving their homeland. A note on the website of RSF (reporters without Borders) regarding its support to exile journalists reads as follows:

> *Every year, dozens of professional and citizen-journalists flee their countries to*
> *escape threats to their safety. Reporters Without Borders (RSF) tries to support*

them by providing financial and administrative assistance. RSF follows and supports their asylum applications and their attempts to find a new home. It also tries to help these heroes to forge a new role for themselves after being turned into anonymous refugees by forced departure. (Reporters Without Borders, 2014*).*

There are however some groups or individual journalists in exile who against all odds have managed to practice their profession in their new home covering issues that have to do with their homeland. Journalists from Zimbabwe (Moyo, 2007); Burma (Pidduck , 2012); and Iran (Mobasher, 2006) are cases in point.

It is against this background that this study tries to investigate the works of a group of Ethiopian exiled journalists in establishing and running a media channel from abroad. The channel, named *Wazema* Radio, is registered in Sweden and run by journalists based in Sweden, the USA, Kenya, Norway and Ethiopia.

1.2 Wazema Radio

Wazema Radio is an online media channel that is produced in audio and text formats by Ethiopian journalists living abroad. The team is composed of 15 journalists out of which twelve are in exile while the rest three are in Ethiopia doing undercover[1] reporting for *Wazema* Radio. The team is doing journalism for one outlet though the journalists live in different locations, namely Ethiopia, Kenya, Sweden, Norway and the United States.

Wazema Radio started operation in 2014 after being registered as a legal entity in Sweden (Appendix 4) where two of the founders live. It has a board at the top whose current members include 'renowned Swedish journalists, writers, and advocates of freedom of speech' (Appendix 4). All the staff members of *Wazema* Radio are former journalists and fled the country because of intimidation and fear of imprisonment. Two of them actually were sentenced in absentia while one of them has served prison terms before she left Ethiopia following her release in July 2015. Since 2015 *Wazema* Radio has been funded by a non-governmental organization named Centre for International Media Assistance at National Endowment for Democracy (CIMA-NED). Three of the journalists who are also the founders

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[1] These are reporters working on the ground in Ethiopia under difficult conditions. They don't have official accreditation to report on official events and to seek information from government organs. They feel insecure as it is illegal to practice journalism without official accreditation. The risk of detention and harassment is always a possibility for these journalists.

are non-paid staff while the rest twelve are paid. Based on social media generated data, the founders claim that 75-80 % of their current audience is in Ethiopia.

In 2016 *Wazema* launched a podcast in *Afan Oromo[2]* -a language with the largest number of native speakers in Ethiopia. Though it is run by one person and sometimes inconsistently, a number of productions have been produced so far. The programs are dubbed as *Tibbanaa, Sagantaa Marii,* and *Oduu Ijoo Har'aa Keessaa Tokko Tokko* dealing with reporting of current affairs and discussion on thematic issues. The objective of launching the program, according to the journalist in charge of the program,was to reach the Ormoo speaking audience that is located in the hotbed of the protest in Ethiopia at that time. He adds that reaching the youth is an important objective.

> *"The current generation in the Oromiya regional state is not that proficient in the Amharic language due to the academic and administrative policy in place since 1991 that demands the conduct of official business in Afan Oromo across the region. The youth in the region is the force behind the ongoing protest and change. So it is felt that the youth needs to get balanced coverage of events in the country in the language they understand." (wazema Afan Oromo producer, 28 April 2019).*

1.3 The Post-April Reforms

In April 2018, Ethiopia got a new prime minister amid calls and widespread protests for political change. The new Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed took significant steps in an unprecedented manner that has its impact on the media landscape as well. In its coverage of Ethiopia's recent developments towards democratization, *The Guardian* referred to the nation as one "led by a man who professes to believe deeply in freedom of expression"(The Guardian, Sep/25/2018). Abiy's government lifted bans on websites and blogs (over 200 of them were unblocked within the first month of the reform); freed political prisoners including jailed journalists and started amending the anti-terror law (Reporters Without Borders, June 25,2018-updated on June 26,2018). Diaspora media outlets that had been based only abroad, started their operation by opening offices inside Ethiopia[3]. Today there is an ease of doing journalism

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[2] The objective of my study is to investigate the production and professional aspects of *Wazema* from the perspective of its journalists. All journalists but one is engaged in the production of podcasts and texts in Amharic. Hence this research focuses on the Amharic wing only.

[3] Cases in point are Oromo Media Network (OMN) that inaugurated its office in Addis Ababa on July 05, 2018 as well as the Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio (ESAT) in February 2019.

in Ethiopia. This is a time marked by the opening of the massively controlled media sector (Schemm, 2019). The country got 110th place in the 2019 World Press Freedom Index which is remarkable as it improved 40 places up from its former place of 150th (Reporters Without Borders, 2019).

Considering the above listed and ongoing developments in Ethiopia, it cannot be business as usual for diaspora media outlets. This study therefore tries to ask the question whether Wazema Radio as one of the media outlets run from abroad by exile journalists will stay relevant as an alternative exile media irrespective of the developments at home or will it try to make adjustments content and operation wise. One of the puzzles in this regard is the issue of undercover reporters who operate from Ethiopia. There will be no point in working undercover in the current circumstances as the reporters will be allowed to do their job openly. But this scenario is dependent on the pertinent laws in Ethiopia that may require permit for journalists to work and the strategy adopted by *Wazema* on its future direction. There is also the issue of donors who have been supporting the scheme as an alternative to the stringent media situation at home. Will exile media outlets such as *Wazema* Radio buy the interest and support of donors for their survival? So this study has its part on a portrayal of these and associated points of departures that take effect as a result of ongoing reforms in Ethiopia.

1.4 Research Objective

Investigating the professional and organisational practice of Ethiopian exiled journalists from their countries of asylum with reference to challenges and prospects is the main purpose of this study.

1.5 Research Questions

Three major research questions with sub questions are designed for this study that relate to exile media production, journalistic professionalism and homeland political changes.

> **R.Q. #1**. What are the organizational and production features of *Wazema* Radio?
>> 1.1 How are they using the internet (new technology) to reach their audiences (in Ethiopia and in the Diaspora)?
>> 1.2 How is it different from mainstream media?
>> 1.3 What are the challenges of operating away from homeland? What part of it is the hardest?
> **R.Q. # 2**. How do journalists at *Wazema* Radio adhere to journalistic professionalism in their view?

2.1 In the mission statement and editorial document there are phrases like 'independent platform', 'professionalism' and 'credible reporting'. How do they reflect on this concept? How does it relate to journalistic professionalism?

2.2 What is that they regard as their utmost priority? Is it different than what they used to have back in Ethiopia?

2.3 What is the level of relevant education and experince of the journalists?

R.Q. # 3. What are the changes that Wazema Radio is undergoing because of the political reforms in Ethiopia?

3.1 Do they consider the time as convenient for moving back home to operate as a local media?

3.2 What operational and content related changes are to occur?

1.6 Significance of the study

This research will have its contribution in illustrating how Ethiopian exile journalists try to get involved in media production and how they keep their professional integrity. It seems research on the launch and production of media by runaway journalists from countries with no press freedom who currently live in the west is scant. It is more so when one tries to look at the journalistic practice and organizational aspects as told by the journalists themselves. So this will be an addition to the wealth of studies conducted on the subject so far. A consideration of the power of an exile media may also make the study itself worthy. Media researchers recognize the capacity of diaspora-run media outlets on challenging the media back in the homeland as well as on defining "an 'extraterritorial' public sphere with the view to influence local politics" (Skjerdal, 2009, p. 311). It is my conviction that the findings will add literature to the existing and limited resource in the fields of exile and diaspora media. It will be more so when it comes to Ethiopia.

1.7 Motivation

Most media related studies on Ethiopia tend to focus on the existing and mainstream media (print and broadcast) which are operating under the auspices of the government or the few so called 'private press' outlets that are based and run in the country. These studies in no doubt are important but they tend to overlook those relatively small sized and few alternative media schemes by individuals and groups of exiled journalists operating out of the country. Interestingly enough these small media schemes have their focus on the homeland where they

were evicted from. Considering the physical distance and the platform they usually use, they are unconstrained by government intervention. They are even considered to pause some challenge to the dominant media at home. It is however important to see their pattern of production and professional integrity which is the drive behind this study.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter is dominantly dedicated to a discussion of the theoretical concepts that guide my study. The issue of adherence to journalistic professionalism and belongingness to alternative media are the two key concepts that one can locate in the research questions of this study. I believe a detailed discussion of these concepts will help create a better understanding of the research questions. The first part of this chapter is also dedicated to a brief presentation of key but at times overlapping terms used in the discussion of alternative media. In this regard concepts of diaspora, immigrant and exile media are defined separately with their overlapping characteristics where relevant. In connection with the definition of the terms, a description of some studies on exile media are presented. The presentation is by no means exhaustive as it is only an attempt to show preceding research on the subject considering geographical and thematic proximity to my study.

2.1 Highlight of Concepts and Pertinent Studies

As evident from the title of this study, exile media is the interest and focus of the investigation. My audit of some scholarly works on the theme of journalism practice by people living away from their homeland however reveals frequent use of terms such as exile, diaspora and immigrant as prefixes to journalism or media. It seems the coining of the terms and their connotations have a lot more to do with the geographical and legal status of the individuals who are involved in the profession than the essence of the media. As such different researchers have used the terms in a way they think fits their studies.

It seems however imperative that this study must dedicate a section for a brief discussion of the definitions of some concepts and terms that are believed to have related and even overlapping meanings with exile media or exile journalism as indicated in the title of the study. It needs also to be noted that all the three terms (diaspora, immigrant and exile media)fall under the traits and concepts of alternative media which is discussed in the forthcoming discussion (2.3) under this chapter.

2.1.1 Diaspora Media

In one of his studies Terje Skjerdal (2009) defines diaspora media based on the functions they render. Accordingly, he identifies diaspora media as the ones that keep the diaspora community informed about their homeland, that play a role of cohesion among the diaspora

in what he calls as 'in their new location'. Skjerdal also mentions a role of creating awareness among the host community about the diaspora as another role of the diaspora media (Skjerdal, 2009). In this respect it is the functional aspect of the media that makes it to be grouped as a diaspora media. On the other hand, there are scholars that try to define the concept based on who runs the media and who the target audiences are. In this regard Bozdag, Hepp, & Suna (2012, p.97) define the concept saying, "We understand diasporic media as the media that are produced by and for migrants and deal with issues that are of specific interest for the members of diasporic communities."

2.1.2 Immigrant Media

According to a study by Endalkachew Chala (2018), media products that include periodicals in Ethiopian languages and community radios that are produced with issues on 'the concerns and interest of immigrant populations' from Ethiopia are grouped as immigrant media or ethnic press. It seems, in this case, it is rather their dealing with the 'concerns and interests of immigrants' that qualified them as immigrant media.

One scholar who uses the term immigrant journalism or media is Shumow (2012) who did an investigation into the Venezuelan media based in South Florida, USA. These media outlets according to him are the ones that deal with 'local issues' encountered by the expanding Venezuelan immigrants in South Florida. He observes that the contents of these media outlets are also hugely influenced by the developments happening in the homeland, i.e. Venezuela. In this case Shumow's reference to immigrant media combine at least two major characters, namely encounters by immigrants in their host country and contents being influenced by developments at home. In another study Shumow (2014) defines three models of immigrant journalism still with reference to Venezuelan immigrant media in the USA. In so doing he identifies the three categories as "Oppositional, Market-driven or hybrid, and Immigrant or community" (2014, p.1077). These names are appropriate to tell the different role that the outlets may have. A research by Hickerson and Gustafson (2016, p. 956) considers one of immigrant press' role as serving as "a catalyst to assimilation". This also regards immigrant media as dealing mainly with issues related to the immigrants in their host country.

2.1.3 Exile Media

There are studies that define exile media in terms of the services they render. A report on exile media describes three roles for exile media: they share information that is prevented by their

governments to reach people in their homeland; they have the role of informing their respective diaspora about happenings in the homeland; and they serve as sources of information for international media about events in their homeland (Fojo Media Institute, 2011). Another study puts exile media as **"media in exile (out of-country news outlets feeding independent information into the country of origin)"** (Cook, 2016, p. 514). This refers to media that are based abroad but with the capacity of availing information that is independent. This definition tends to attach quality of information that exile media provide as describing them best more than other features. Clare Cook explains more the attributes of exile media as the ones unable to function in their homeland due to insecurity that come because of the content they produced. Cook (2016) regards the displacement of exile media from country of origin either as forced or made by choice. She adds also one important signifier of exile media which is resource saying, "finances are particularly fragile" (2016, p. 515).

As explained in the subsequent chapters, the fact that *Wazema* is launched and run by journalists in exile and its overall characteristics make it fall in the category of exile media and its journalists as exile journalists.

Literature on alternative media[4] has a long history which calls for a separate study than this piece for a review. However, narrowing the scope to the study of exile media makes it applicable and manageable as far as the focus and interest of this study is concerned. Danielle Batist's (2010) study on a Zimbabwean exile radio based in London tries to show the challenges of running a radio station from exile. Batist's study refers to the radio named SW Radio Africa as one of diaspora media outlets that air programs from abroad to Zimbabwe using a shortwave transmission. Beside narrating the problems, the journalists are facing, the article sheds light on how they use technologies such as mobile phones and the internet for reaching audiences in the diaspora and at home in Zimbabwe. The study has also an interesting discussion on the role of the journalists working for SW Radio Africa where they put their role as both activists and journalists.

Moyo's (2007) work is a portrayal of the effort by the Zimbabwean diaspora via the use of digital media to counter the mainstream media's view of the government. In this work he investigated news websites based outside of Zimbabwe to see their contribution to ongoing scholarly dialogue concerning the crisis in that country.

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[4] The following may be listed as some of the outstanding works on the subject; Atton,2002; Coyer & Fountain, 2007; Bailey, Cammaert & Carpentier, 2007; Fuchs, 2010; Downing, 2003.

Referring to a list of studies, Skjerdal (2009) claims that a good amount of research on diaspora media focus on sociological aspects of the media. He however reminds us of the fact that the studies after the mid-1990s have centered on the adoption of media and the capacity of new media in forming a real public sphere beyond national borders.

Yusha'u Muhammad in his study of online journalism and the diasporic media in West Africa (Mabweazara, 2014) puts three main reasons for the significant role of West Africans in the diaspora in the development of online media. One of the reasons is their interest in what transpires in their respective homelands. The diaspora want to keep themselves informed about the happenings in their countries. The other motive has to do with the maladministration in the home nations and the will on the part of the diaspora to expose and challenge that. To this end they found the internet to be the preferred medium as it is beyond the control of governments. Additionally, the fact that they live and operate from another country gives them the privilege of escaping possible persecution.

Ndlovu's (2014) work on Zimbabwean diasporic radio stations puts uncomfortable political situation in the homeland as the main cause for the establishment of diasporic radios. Ndlovu thus credit these media for creating an 'oppositional discourse' among the audience in the home land and stand against the existing prominent ideology. The study mentions in its conclusion the fact that even though the diasporic media channels are few and resource deficient, they provide the public in an oppressive regime with an alternative channel of supplying information about democratic discourses.

Works on Ethiopian media based abroad and run by a an entirely runaway team of journalists (like the case with *Wazema*) seems lacking. However, there are studies conducted by scholars mostly on Ethiopian diasporic media. Donald Levine (2011) credits Ethiopia's diaspora when they use electronic media for keeping the link going with the country of origin and its contribution in shaping what he calls 'Ethiopia's nationhood'.

A study by Terje Skjerdal (2011) is a result of content analysis of selected Ethiopian diaspora sites supplemented by interview with respective journalists. The objective is to find out how the editors consider themselves regarding professionalism as well as how the contents relate to journalistic values. Among others the study reflects on how the political situation at home dictates the performance of the online media and journalists alike.

A recent work by Endalkachew Chala (2018) provides a detailed account of the genesis and impact of two major diaspora media outlets, namely ESAT and OMN. It shows how Ethiopian media outlets based abroad have come to have an important role in influencing the political situation of the homeland. The study gives an account of how the two media outlets use social media and satellite transmission to gather information, forge relations with sources and disseminate unfiltered information to the homeland public.

2.2 Journalistic Professionalism Theory

In his article entitled "Farewell to Journalism? Time for rethinking", Robert McChesney (2002) claims that there is a broad understanding among journalism academics and in 'democratic theory' as to what constitutes what he calls "healthy journalism". As to McChesney and the scholars he refers to (like Christians et al., 2009), four major categories of services are expected from the profession of journalism.

> *1. It must provide a rigorous account of people who are in power and people who wish to be in power, in the government, corporate and nonprofit sectors.*
> *2. It must regard the information needs of all people as legitimate. If anything, it should favor those without property, as those with wealth invariably have the means to get the information they need to run society.*
> *3. It must have a plausible method to separate truth from lies, or at least to prevent liars from being unaccountable and leading nations into catastrophes particularly wars, economic crises and communal discord.*
> *4. It must produce a wide range of informed opinions on the most important issues of our times not only the transitory concerns of the moment, but also challenges that loom on the horizon. These issues cannot be determined primarily by what people in power are talking about. Journalism must provide the nation's early warning system, so problems can be anticipated, studied, debated and addressed before they grow to crisis proportions. (*McChesney, 2012: 614).

Regarding entirely fulfilling the requirements listed, McChesney says expecting every media outlet to fulfil each and every set of these duties will be far from realistic. He however underlines the fact that 'media systems' in general need to work bearing in mind that this kind of journalism is the ideal one for the public *(*McChesney, 2012).

Another author in the field of journalism, Brian McNair, stresses the presence of ethical norms which journalists adhere to as one of the basic components of journalistic professionalism (McNair[5], 1998). He argues that having journalistic values is an important element that helps

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[5] Brian McNair's book 'The Sociology of Journalism' has actually its major focus on the impact of journalistic media and the factors that shape journalistic work. I have used some of his arguments in places where I believed would support my exploration as what makes journalistic professionalism.

to put a clear demarcation between which output belongs to journalism or not. McNair in particular refers to the issue of sources having an important place in journalistic practice. Making sure that a certain journalistic output has come from 'accredited sources' is the key for realizing what McNair calls 'believable journalism' (McNair, 1998).

Brian McNair in another study (2005) puts objectivity as the central element of professional journalism despite the fact that journalism has gone through various transformations and challenges that affected some of its defining traits.

> The commodity status of journalism, then, need not produce declining standards, if high standards of objectivity are the market standard. On the contrary, as the information marketplace has become more competitive in recent years, the commercial value of reliably accurate information increases, not decreases, and old-fashioned objectivity remains a key marketing tool for global news brands like the BBC and CNN. (McNair, 2005).

A range of scholarly discussions regarding the things that make journalistic professionalism provide us with an array of yardstick that define the trade. It is also evident from their arguments that many studies come to a consensus regarding some of the characteristic features of the profession. The same is true with the scholars quoted in this study, like McChesney who refers to it as 'healthy journalism' and McNair who brands it as 'believable journalism'.

A more convenient and comprehensive model for journalistic professionalism is yet to come from the work of Mark Deuze (2005). His approach to the subject becomes more applicable when one observes his basic argument that comes from the notion that there exists a common 'occupational ideology among news-workers which functions to self-legitimize their position in society' (Deuze, 2005, p. 446). He further strengthens this idea of communality citing other scholars in the field (like Russo, 1998) who indicated the fact that journalists' allegiance is more to the profession itself than the media outlet or the institution they work for which resulted in the prevalence of similarities universally.

It is therefore based on such arguments that Deuze put forward his summary of a set of important attributes of journalistic professionalism. His model comes with five classifications calling them *'five ideal-typical traits or values'*.

- Public service: journalists provide a public service (as watchdogs or 'newshounds', active collectors and disseminators of information);
- Objectivity: journalists are impartial, neutral, objective, fair and (thus) credible;
- Autonomy: journalists must be autonomous, free and independent in their work;

- Immediacy: journalists have a sense of immediacy, actuality and speed (inherent in the concept of 'news');
- Ethics: journalists have a sense of ethics, validity and legitimacy (Deuze,2005, p. 447)

Accordingly, in this study I use mainly these sets of typical traits when assessing journalistic professionalism with regard to *Wazema* Radio which is one of the research questions of the study. On top of the above arguments, Deuze's model becomes more fitting to my study as one finds out that it has been applied by scholars (for example Skjerdal, 2011) who have conducted a study on diaspora journalism previously. Referred by many as the 'professional model' (Curran 1991, p.27; Mancini, 2000, p.265; Tunstall cited in Mancini, 1977), this approach is considered a widely deliberated and popular model. Scholars such Mancini (2000) however advise us from considering the points listed under the model as fitting to journalism practice everywhere and refrain from strictly applying all when discussing about journalistic professionalism.

2.3 Alternative Media Theory

Existing studies on alternative media acknowledge the absence of a uniform definition to the term alternative media itself (Abel, R.,1996; Atton, 2001; Ndlela, 2010; Moyo, 2007). In his study of the Zimbabwean diaspora and new media, Moyo recognizes the divergent meanings to the term, but suggests us to ask the basic question of "alternative to what?" when dealing with alternative media (Moyo, 2007). In the same token Atton (2002) wonders whether we have to adopt the term "'alternative' as a catch-all for anything that isn't available at our local news agents?". In a related tone, Downing (1990, p.181) puts alternative media as "politically dissident media that offer radical alternatives to mainstream debate". Nick Couldry and James Curran (2003, p. 7) on the other hand define alternative media as working "to challenge central concentration of media resources". Moyo (2007) has the following explanation about this definition.

> "these media are *alternative* not simply because they are *non-mainstream,* but because they position themselves in opposition to the mainstream, challenging both structural media concentration and the dominant discourse(content) that it produces" (Moyo, 2007, p.87).

Referring to another researcher (Enzensberger, 1976), Atton puts alternative media as something that has 'a politically emancipatory use of the media'.(Atton, 2001:2). According to this definition alternative media has three aspects, namely 'interactivity between audience and creators'; 'collective production; and a concern with everyday life and ordinary needs of the people'. From the Korean experience, Woo-Young (2005, p. 927) says that alternative media

denote firstly a move by 'new media' to take over the role of 'existing media' and secondly, "a more proactive attempt to transform society by generating counter-arguments that negate the mainstream order". To add more features to what signifies alternative media, Downing in his preface of the book (2000) lists a number of traits. Some of them relate to the fact that they are small in size, with less funding, thus grabbing less attention at their inception, but he says "the target of great anger or fear or ridicule from on high, or even within the general public, or both" (Downing, 2000, preface xi). While trying to set a sort of criteria as to what signifies alternative media, Atton (2002; quoted in Bozdag et al, 2012, p. 103) says "alternative media should be non-profit oriented, encourage participation and offer the means for democratic communication to people who are normally excluded from media communication by challenging the prevailing hierarchy of access to news production".

In one of his studies on the Zimbabwean diasporic media, Moyo refers to alternative media as the ones "operating outside the ambit of state control and challenging the dominant media forms"(Moyo, 2007, p. 83). In consideration of the various explanations and arguments forwarded by scholars concerning alternative media, I benefit from the theory of alternative media to assess the production aspect of *Wazema* Radio in this study. In this regard I bear in mind what Atton proposes for a study of alternative media.

> Rather than attempt to define alternative media solely by content I propose a theoretical and a methodological framework that incorporates content as one element in an alternative media culture that is equally interested in the processes and relations that form around alternative media production (Atton, 2002, p.3)

In conformity with Atton's recommendation, I intend to give emphasis to the process of production and the relations that arise in that process as much as the content. Atton (2002, p. 27) in his work gives us what he calls '*a typology*' of alternative and radical media outlining a list of six characteristics. First on the list, according to Atton, has to do with content and he describes alternative and radical media as "politically radical, socially/culturally radical" as far as news values content wise are concerned. Educating and sensitizing the public in assisting any kind of public mass movement is also considered as the function of alternative media. Besides, alternative media are seen as standing against the status quo in a political or social setting. (Hamilton, 2000, p. 359). When comparing with mainstream media John Fiske, quoted in Atton (2001, p. 5-6), points out the choice of news items as a main departure. Here Fiske tells us how for example the alternative media looks at incidents such as 'repression of events'

by 'politizing' it. But he is in doubt as to the concern and appropriateness of the alternative media when it comes to the affair of the public.

In his detailed description of alternative media, Atton (2014, p 343) regards them as the ones giving the chance to those who are kept out from media production. He adds that this is providing the opportunity to what he deems 'democratic communication'. He considers this not as simple as giving a forum for extreme or divergent opinions. It is rather about allowing and creating the condition for others to take part in the process of inception, development and spread of ideas which would not be the case in mainstream media (Atton, 2014, p. 343).

Because of new media, audiences who were previously consumers of media products have now become participants of media production processes and creators of products. This phenomenon has provided a new possibility of articulation of ideas and modes of interaction among "activists, artists and other political and cultural groups" globally (Lievrouw ,2011, p. 2). The additional advantage of this phenomena is the fact that new media are affordable and can be strong weapons for challenging the dominant and mainstream culture (Lievrouw ,2011). Therefore, while inviting and enabling other sections of the society to participate and make use of new media, the phenomena has allowed journalists to do their job in a more innovative and efficient way than they used to do. This becomes more fitting to exiled journalists who are banned from practicing their profession at home and ready to involve in the trade from their new location with the support of new media.

Similarly, the alternative public sphere as opposed to the dominant public sphere is where the forms of alternative media operate. It allows the media to work in an atmosphere free of "parliamentary influence" whereby empowering the society to actively engage in dialogue on issues of political and social significance (Atton, 2002, p. 35).

Chapter 3. Methodology

This chapter deals with a presentation of my choice of methods for my investigation. I start with a discussion of qualitative research design and how it is relevant to this particular study. The data collection method employed during the research is also described in this chapter. This chapter also hosts issues like recruitment of participants, location, data management and data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

I opted for qualitative research methods based on recommendations of scholars such as Brennen (2012). Brennen suggests that the choice and the decision regarding qualitative research as a method need to give due consideration to the main questions of the study, the peculiar 'historical context' of the research questions, the choice of theory the researcher wants to employ (Brennen, 2012). One decides to employ qualitative methods when the goal of the research is to examine, understand and describe a phenomenon and also to study ideas, beliefs and human behaviors.

As evident from the presentation of my research questions, this study deals mainly with an examination of research participants' view and perception about journalistic professionalism and their production experiences operating an exile media. It is also believed that qualitative research methods provide more opportunity to the researcher to grab the subjective understanding of participants about an issue or topic. In qualitative approach the interview subjects will get more liberty to provide details of their viewpoint (Yilmaz, 2013). This method allows the research to employ phenomenological design to understand the lived-experiences of the participants - in this case the day-to-day engagement of journalists in an exile environment as well as those reporting from a repressive environment as individuals or in group (Neumann, 2012, Creswell, 2013).

3.2 Location Affecting Data Collection

The research participants reside in five different countries that are found in three continents, namely North America, Europe and Africa. This reality has its bearing on the selection of my data collection tool, considering factors such as logistics and time to reach all residing in the three continents[6]. The fact that the production process of *Wazema* Radio is conducted with an

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[6] A face to face interview with founders who live in Sweden was considered practical during the initial stage of this study. However, due to unavailability of funds for transport and logging for the researcher, all participants were interviewed via a Skype connection.

internet-based communication and technology makes them all accessible via VOIP. Face to face interviews with research participants is highly unlikely. Thus, I chose Skype connections to conduct the interview with my informants.

Using Skype for qualitative research interviews is considered worthwhile as it allows the participants to take part in the interview from divergent geographical locations as far as there is an internet connection. Also Skype requires less resources and time on the part of the researcher. Critics of this method say it has disadvantages, saying that "something of the rapport and richness of the interaction may be lost" (Lo Iacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016, p. 9). Still others undermine this problem arguing that Skype allows some people even to be more open "because they can stay in their own chosen environment". Asserting the method's appropriateness, Hanna (2012, quoted in Lo Iacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016) says "both the researcher and the researched are able to remain in a safe location without imposing on each other's personal space". Therefore except for the interviews made with the undercover reporters[7] based in Ethiopia all the interviews were made via Skype where I have recorded the discussions for a possible transcription.

3.3 Participants and Recruitment

The team of *Wazema* Radio, which is composed of 15 journalists, are the main research participants. So, the investigation is built on a series of 10 semi-structured individual interviews with journalists of *Wazema* Radio. The recruitment is based on a non-random method where I picked the interviewees based on the list provided by the executive editor & co-founder of *Wazema* Radio. In my selection I have considered a set of criteria such as location (from Ethiopia , Kenya , Sweden, USA and Norway), editorial position (editor and reporters), and gender (two of the three female journalists in the team have been interviewed), as well as repression experience (one of the informants has been jailed and one has been sentenced in absentia) and changing role of a journalist (a former anonymous reporter currently based in the US).

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[7] Due to the poor network condition in Ethiopia, it was difficult to make uninterrupted and clear conversation with my informants. Hence, I have used telephone interviews, WhatsApp and Skype connections for my interviews. Getting secure lines on the part of the interviewees was the other reason for challenging the means of communication.

Table 1 Interviewed research participants

No	Pseudonyms	Education	Journalistic Experince	Experince at Wazema	Position	Place of residence
1.	Helina	Journalism BA-Eth Law BA- Eth Journalism MA-USA	Radio, Government press, city radio, Magazine editor in Kenya , NGO in Ethiopia	-Since 2015 as anonymous Eth -from 2016 from USA	Producer- beat human rights issues	USA
2.	Beement	Literature & Journalism BA-Ethiopia	(5 years) radio from Junior to senior Reporter	3 years in USA	-Editor - Anchor	USA
3.	Eyob	Been half way in university journalism education Been to various journalism trainings	(19 years) reporter and editor private newspapers, owned and managed a newspaper but banned	4 years from Kenya	-Reporter	USA
4.	Gashaw	BA in Journalism and communication Diploma in communication - India	(11 years), city media, government affiliated media	2 years	-Reporter	USA
5.	Asfaw	MA in International Relations PhD in progress	(7 years) private English newspapers, Amharic weekly magazines contributor, DW radio correspondent	3 years	-Reporter/contributor	Kenya
6	Alamenew	BA in Journalism and communication	8 years	1 year	Undercover reporter	Ethiopia
7.	Alazar	BA in Journalism & communication, BA in Ethiopian languages and literature	6 years from reporter to editor Broadcast sector	18 months	Undercover reporter	Ethiopia
8.	Gutema	BA English language & Literature MA in Literature MA in performing Arts	Stage actor Ethiopia and Europe University teacher Ethiopia	Since 2016 as reporter and producer of *Afan Oromo* programs	Reporter & producer	Norway
9.	Aron	BA journalism, MA in International Development Studies MA in communication in progress	(20 years) State radio, government affiliated radio , Media affiliated NGO , Daily Nation, Mail & Guardian	From 2014 until now	Co-founder, Executive Editor not a salaried employee	USA
10.	Mussie	BA Political Science & International Relations MA in IR in progress, MA Journalism in progress	(18 years) Privet print media, private newspaper (founder, Editor-in-chief),	From 2014 until now	Co-founder, bored chairperson Not salaried	Sweden

3.4 Method of data collection

Being a qualitative research design this study employs two methods of data collection, namely in-depth interviews and document analysis. Scholars like Snow and Trom (2002, p. 151) recommend the use of varied qualitative research methods as a strength of a given study. This approach of using different methods is believed to compensate possible weaknesses of other tools used during data gathering (Blee & Taylor, 2002). In this case triangulation within qualitative approach is quite sensible. Therefore, in-depth individual interviews and analysis of available documents as well as a reference to relevant news items of *Wazema* are employed in this study. The document analysis is done to corroborate the findings from the qualitative interviews which in a way validate the research design in use (Yin, 2003). The document analysis is made on annual reports of *Wazema* Radio since its establishment, quarterly reports submitted to the donor and other editorial and organizational documents in the possession of *Wazema* Radio. References are also made to selected news reports (see Appendix 2) to corroborate specific and significant mentions noticed during the in-depth interviews.

Amongst the three widely used categories of interviews in research, namely structured, semi-structured and unstructured open-ended interviews, I opted for the semi-structured one. It presupposes the use of a pre-designed list of questions, but the fact that there is the freedom of flexibility as far as order of questions is concerned is an advantage for the investigation. More importantly the researcher is entitled to ask follow-up questions aimed at getting thorough information about the issue under discussion including asking for further explanations until the subject matter is addressed exhaustively by the respondent (Brennen, 2012). By the same token, I conducted semi-structured interviews with individuals who are related to the subject of study which is *Wazema* Radio based on an interview guide prepared prior to the interviews. My interviews with informants was made in Amharic which is the working language of *Wazema* and which all including myself the researcher are proficient enough. During the discussions there have been frequent use of professional terms and phrases or jargons in English by research participants which is understandable considering the experience and academic status of my informants. The quotes in this study are therefore put as direct speech and direct translations of the participants. Regarding the few cases of reference to particular news items produced by *Wazema* , I translated them to English in a summarized form after transcribing in Amharic. Overall an average of 90 minutes was used for the interviews with the exception of one case where it lasted for 40 minutes but again conducted for additional one hour ten days after. The

interviews with the undercover reporters from Ethiopia were conducted intermittently owing to network problems and security concerns on the side of the interviewees. As a result, we have to arrange three interview sessions with the one and two with the other. In all cases the same interview protocol was employed. As mentioned before I chose semi-structured interviews for the data collection as it is the most convenient one. They are not strictly framed structured questions with fixed number of questions (See Appendix 5). They are rather as what Berg (2007) puts "semi-structured" ones but are organized under defined sets of themes such as in many case issues related to production, professionalism, audience relation, post-April 2018.

I had to make repeated phone calls with informants before agreeing on the timing of the interview. The fact that I am an Ethiopian myself might be a cause for creating sense of uncertainty about my intentions. I start each interview with an introduction about myself and the purpose of my study though the participants have prior information regarding that. This is very vital for building trust about my intentions especially for those based in Ethiopia and Kenya.

3.5 Data Management and Data analysis

After working on the transcription of the interviews, I used the thematic networks technique to systemize and present findings following the suggestion by Attride-Atirling(2001). Beside on the transcripts, the key questions and issues indicated in the interview guide and the main research questions of the study are the ones that helped me organize the data as per this technique. The use of this model is considered as a strong tool for organizing and presenting qualitative analyses. According to Attride-Stirling, J. (2001), thematic networks help organize the taking out of what she refers to: *(i) lowest-order premises evident in the text (Basic Themes); (ii) categories of basic themes grouped together to summarize more abstract principles (Organizing Themes); and (iii) super-ordinate themes encapsulating the principal metaphors in the text as a whole (Global Themes) (*Attride-Stirling, J. ,2001, p.388).

Consequently, I used thematic network analysis when analyzing the data from the interviews. First I identified and picked coded texts from the interview transcriptions as they appear in the original data. Next I tried to group the codes based on their affinity and patterns. Then I created basic themes that associate with a group of codes. At a third stage I designed organizing themes from the categories of basic themes which are also described in the theoretical discussion of the study. For my global theme I used the three research questions of the study. I applied this

thematic network analysis based on Astride-Stirlling's (2001) model which is convenient for a qualitative research such as this one.

As an interview-based research the entire data used in this study has audio and video formats. All the data was kept on my personal computer which is password protected. The audio interviews were directly transcribed in to Amharic and translated in to English by myself. Each interview was anonymized after translation.

The following table demonstrate the contents of the themes organized based on thematic analysis.

Code	Basic Theme	Organising Theme	Global themes
- Shaped by political and social situations at home - Audience type & location - Dominated by journalist's commentary -Proficient in technology -Home settings production - Dissected geographically -Homeland reporters not doing commentary -In-depth investigative reporting	Production formats	Organizational and Production features	**What are the organizational and production features of *Wazema* Radio**
-Collective production -Small in size -Less in funding -Non-profit orientation - In opposition to dominant media - Operating out of the reach of government control - Less interactivity between creators and audience/citizen participation -More democratic	Non-Mainstream		
-Education -Experience of journalists -Reasons for leaving homeland	Journalists' background	Journalistic Professionalism	**How do journalists at *Wazema* Radio adhere to Journalistic professionalism in their view**
- saving professional journalism in exile - providing platform for homeland journalists and informants - keeping journalistic practice for application backhome -Helping runaway Journalists	Objectives of Establishment		
-Journalist -Activist - public service - Expose	How Journalists regarded themselves		
-Balance -Credibility -Ethics	Utmost journalistic value/practice		

- Fact checking than immediacy			
-Trust -Big issues with small staff -Collection of best journalists	Main charcterstic of *Wazema*		
-Under cover journalists -Anonymous sources - Intermediaries	Attribution		
-Government response -Taking up of issues by other media -Recruitment base for renowned media	Impact as a sign of professionalism		
-Editorial policy -Editorial guidelines -Editorial session - A shared story development platform	In-house editorial procedures		
-Promising beginning -Lack of legalisation and institutionalisation -Only Rhetoric -Public come out of the shadow of fear and started to speak their mind	View on the political transition in the home land		**What are the changes that *Wazema* Radio is undergoing because of the political reforms in Ethiopia**
-Wait and see -Too much legal provision and financial requirement -Advantage of less investment on staff -Broadcasting from abroad a good idea from technological and economic point of view -Start with local media rerun -Opening offices under way -Making stand on its own feet in the country	*Wazema's* plan	**Wazema versus Political transition at home**	

3.6 Trustworthiness

As a means of assuring trustworthiness of the research, elements such as credibility, dependability and transferability need to be considered. Scholars like Graneheim and Lundman (2004) suggest that the proper use of data gathering methods in a research accounts for its credibility. Accordingly, in order to assert credibility of the research results, I used triangulation by employing in-depth interviews and document analysis. Moreover, the way the

researcher analyses data for the presentation of results is a valued element in credibility (Yilmaz, 2013). In this process I have opted for the use of thematic network analysis after observing a friend's qualitative research project that benefited from the model. In addition to my observation I have read a relevant article on how to do it (Attride-Stirling,2001).This I believe is important in raising the level of credibility of the study.

Dependability can be substantiated by providing full account of the study's research strategies, procedures and methods of data collection procedure techniques (Yilmaz, 2013). To that end I have tried to justify the choices of research strategy and techniques used in the data collection and analysis of the study. To ensure dependability every interview session was recorded after a consent by the interviewees. During presentation and analysis of the findings I have used the original sayings of the research participants. Besides I have used a pre-designed interview guide to make sure that all issues of investigation have been forwarded to the interviewee. The fact that the study benefits from a review of relevant research results as well as theoretical frameworks adds to the transferability of the research. Attempts are also made to present findings in relation to similar studies and show gaps.

3.7 Ethics and Ethical considerations

Initially to decide whether this study needs to be notified to the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD), I took the test on the home page and found out that it needs notification. This is due to the fact that I will be saving information about research participants electronically. Accordingly, I applied for the clearance and was finally granted permission before I started the data gathering. I also used a letter from NLA that explains about the objective of my study which I submitted to the executive editor of *Wazema*. Before each interview I take time explaining relevant ethical issues to the interviewee. Issues pertaining to the right to seek clarification and to withdrawal at any time of the interview and after the interview were also addressed. In all cases anonymity[8] was agreed, yet common factors were drawn out to preserve analytical relevance during the presentation of findings. I made it clear to my informants that this study may be published and that I will not be incorporating information that might identify him/her without permission. They were told that I use pseudonyms when working on the transcripts that will be linked to the real names through a code sheet. In addition, the code sheet

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[8] Two of the founders and one reporter / producer of Afaan Ormo have allowed me to use their identity details including names.

will be kept by me alone and password protected. Regarding the access to the interview data the informants were told that it will be the researcher(myself) and my supervisor (if the need arises) that can have the access. Some of my informants have agreed their identity to be revealed but for the sake of uniformity I decided to use pseudo names with relevant descriptions. I explain to the participants that the information will not be transferred to another party other than myself and it will not be used for other purposes than this particular study.

Chapter 4. Findings and Analysis

This chapter deals with a presentation of major findings of the study with pertinent analysis mainly based on what is stated in the chapter on the theoretical framework of this study (chapter 2). Here I make best use of the results of the thematic network analysis to classify the findings following the research questions and the interview guides of the study. Overall the discussion in this chapter falls under four major sub-headings. The first three subheadings are related to journalistic professionalism, to organizational and production aspects, and to Wazema's way forward in relation to the political reform in Ethiopia. These three issues are with direct relevance to the research questions of the study and are based on the thematic analysis described in chapter 3. Each organizing theme is classified with several basic themes and codes as described in table 2. In the presentations, attempts are made to discuss linked themes in one group and hence only some of the basic themes are used as subheadings. The fourth subheading in this chapter is dedicated to a discussion of issues that I consider uncommon[9] attributes of an exile media but which I found to be major characteristics of Wazema. Before the presentation of findings and analysis, I begin with a synopsis of Wazema's profile that would help create better understanding of the forthcoming discussion.

4. 1 Wazema's general features

Wazema is a small media venture with a staff of 15 journalists –five fulltime and 10 freelancers. Three of the journalists who are also the founders are non-paid staff. The freelancers however prefer to think that journalism is their fulltime engagement as they feel more associated and affiliated to what they do at Wazema than their other jobs or studies. Three of the staff members are undercover reporters compiling and sending stories on the ground from Ethiopia while the rest are journalists in exile. The team of journalists of Wazema is spread across three continents and five countries, namely the US, Sweden, Norway, Kenya and Ethiopia. Basically, Wazema has bi-weekly podcasts that are posted on the website. The length of one package is between 30 and 45 minutes and has a minimum of three separate segments with respective themes and contents. Wazema has also posts on social media platforms[10] of Facebook, YouTube and Twitter which they say are getting an increasing number of followers (see screenshots in Appendix 6). Beside the regular podcasts the staff posts updates of newsworthy contents as

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[9] These are a handful of features that are not commonly associated with exile media. These characteristics are however found to be major traits when it comes to the identity of *Wazema.*
[10] Followers of Wazema as of April 30, 2019 are 16,300 (16.3K) on Twitter, 196,104 on Facebook and 11,434 on YouTube.

they happen on the homepage and the social media platforms. Since 2017 the Wazema team launched a daily news-digest package that highlights the major newsworthy events of the day. It is posted for Wazema social media followers on Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. They named the package "LECHEKOLE", an Amharic term which literally means "for one who is in a hurry" [translation mine]. As of 2019 Wazema started a weekly episode focusing on historical events of the country portraying "the week in Ethiopian history" [my translation]. It runs for an average of 10 minutes.

The name 'Wazema' is an Amharic word which literally means "eve". The founders adopted this name considering its connotation of expressing the political situation of the country during the launching of Wazema. The founders agreed and adopted the name because they believed it signifies the prevailing and upcoming atmosphere of Ethiopia's political and media scene.

> *As the degree of the government's repression of free press increases day by day, we concluded that is a signal of a looming demise for the system. It was a system on the eve of collapse and so we named our media Wazema.* (Co-founder based in the US, personal interview)

To one of the founders who also first suggested the name, Wazema has meanings beyond indicating the prevailing political condition alone.

> T*he word has a combination of our sentiment in being homesick, hope in returning home, and our genuine urge to practice our profession. I also wanted it to be symbolic about our objectivity.* (Founding member, personal interview)

My discussion with the founders revealed that the idea behind the establishment of Wazema Radio is wider than just launching an online radio in exile. It envisages engaging in multi-platform media production and establishing a think-tank wing. The legal registration of the firm itself is made under the name "Wazema Ethiopia".

As evident from the subsequent presentations, all Wazema staff have been fulltime journalists before leaving their home country.

4. 2 Organizational and Production features

In accordance with the discussion in the literature review (chapter 2), exile media, in this case Wazema, falls in the category of alternative media. The following discussion thus reflects on the various traits attributed to alternative media with reference to selected quotes and opinions from the in-depth discussions I conducted with my informants.

4.2.1 Formats shaped by homeland reality

For the first three years of its launching, Wazema's style of presentation was dominated by a discussion format. According to the editor and reporters, this was meant to accommodate the divergent disputation and understandings of the volatile situation the country was in at that time.

> *For the first three years we were favoring the discussion format. It was a reflection of the situation on the ground. It was a time of polarization between a government that is killing its people and a protesting and dying public. We believed that these are the results of not discussing on our key issues openly. So the first step to do that needs to be conversation using platforms like the media* (Co-founder and executive editor, personal interview)

Eventually Wazema started to take the form of a radio magazine with different issues packed in. This decision was made after the producers found out that the number of followers in Ethiopia was far more than those in the diaspora. Thus they started to consider the reality of audiences in Ethiopia.

> *During the establishment of Wazema, we thought the diaspora is our target audience. That was an early assumption. But later we discovered that the diaspora is not our primary audience. As the digital platform provides us information on the audience status, we can easily understand where our audiences are. Over 75% of our audience is in Ethiopia. At around same time the political situation in Ethiopia started to change with divergent issues to be covered. On top of that we said our audiences at home have limited connectivity time as internet connection is expensive to follow our extended discussions. So, we decided to have shorter but informative presentations –that is a radio magazine format.* (Executive editor, personal interview)

Aligning with the reality of the homeland audience is also expressed in the nature and timing of posting productions. A US based Wazema journalist tasked with the assembling and anchoring of the news magazine package says the following:

> *We always consider our audience back home in what we do. For example, if you see the time I post our stories; it is in consideration of the audience in Ethiopia. I always post our stories during the day time in the Ethiopian time zone not the American one where I and most of the Ethiopian diaspora live. But I still believe that we have followers among the Ethiopians living abroad. We do present our stories in the forms of audio, video and text formats. The audio and video ones are more accessed by those living abroad. But we believe the text formats are easily accessed by our audience in Ethiopia as they are easy to access given the poor internet speed you have there.* (Wazema reporter based in the US, personal interview)

Shifting to a magazine format has also more to do with the fast-changing political environment of the time. It has been a period of political wrangling in the ruling party of the country followed by the resignation of the prime minister. The periods following the coming to power of the current prime minster have a series of reforms that have grabbed the attention of news channels in and out of Ethiopia.[11]

> *Several news worthy events started to take place back home within a day. At times it becomes difficult even for us journalists to get hold of each event. This also compelled us to have a magazine format so that we can have different issues reported and analyzed in a package.* (Wazema reporter based in US, personal interview)

A typical property of alternative media according to O'Sullivan (quoted in Atton, 2002) is their easy adaptability to changing situations whether in the form of production or content. According to the executive editor of Wazema*,* changing format and providing easy access to audiences in the homeland have brought positive feedback.

> *We also increased the number of news items that we post on the website in text format, so that people can easily read and get a glimpse at the day's major newsworthy events with even poor internet connection. We also introduced an application that can easily be downloaded and installed on mobile phones. The change into magazine format reduced their connectivity time by half and they are getting more information than opinion piece. We got encouraging results with this.* (Executive editor, personal interview)

4.2.2 Digital technology, home-based production

There are studies that demonstrate exiled journalists to be proficient in technology and social media use (Ristow, 2011, p. 14). The fact that these journalists are situated in countries with better technological and connectivity facilities may make their access to the services easy. But as to the producers of Wazema*,* there is the urge to upgrade the staff's competence in technology. One journalist with a radio background from Ethiopia and involved in editing and packaging of the segments of Wazema's podcasts, says she currently uses the same skills and techniques that she has been using over the last 8 years.

> *For example, I use Adobe for my editing work, but I know there are other better applications out there. I have this software with me from the days I started my first job back in Ethiopia as a journalist and it is on my laptop to this day. I feel that we need to*

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[11] BBC, 'Abiy Ahmed: Ethiopia's prime minister', 14 September 2018. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-43567007

be updated. The skills and knowledge most of us have is working on traditional media such as mainstream newspaper, radio or television. Currently we are working mostly on a different platform which is internet based. We need to have the skills of this new platform. If we get the relevant training, it increases our effectiveness and quality. (Wazema journalist, personal interview)

On the other hand, making best use of digital technology for collecting and producing contents from different continents, Wazema is entirely dependent on digital platforms. It is not only the media contents produced by Wazema that go beyond borders to reach audiences, the journalists are involved in the whole process of production from their countries of asylum stretched in three continents. Apart from the undercover reporters based in Ethiopia, all the reporters write commentaries and send their reports with own voices to be assembled and anchored by a journalist based in the US. Though not to a full-fledged level, editorial sessions and some consultations among staff are conducted with the support of such platforms.

The fact that the production aspects of exile media are handled with less sophistication as far as tools and infrastructures like offices and fancy studios are concerned is a common characteristic to the majority of them. A Wazema journalist gives an account of her experience as she does the editing at her apartment using her closet as a sound studio.

It happens sometimes that there will be a social event in the apartment where I live and I have to record my voice and do the editing the same day. That makes it noisy to do the recording as I do the whole stuff from my home. I am supposed to wait for things to get calm until late hours. This is common to all the reporters filing stories with their voices. They tell me at times that there is too much noise around and they have to wait for long. So I have to wait for that to package the final production. We need to go through all this. I remember a time when there was a never-ending party in my apartment and I had to go to my friend's place in another part of the town to record my voice and come back home to edit the final package. (Wazema journalist, personal interview)

Wazema owns some studio equipment including a sound mixer, recorders, laptops and external hard-drives even though these materials do not save the production from taking place from the residences of the journalists.

4.2.3 Challenges

As stated in the research question, one of the concerns of this study is identifying the challenges of operating an exile media channel as told by the journalists. Most of the challenges are associated to the geographical inconveniences that affect the news gathering and production of

Wazema. The journalists say they could have been more productive if at least a group of them were to live in one location. Even those living in one country like the US are not located in a nearby place to one another. One impact is the problem which it creates holding editorial sessions and organizing mentorship and training forums. Wazema staff argue that they miss the skills and knowledge transfer from the seasoned journalists to the junior ones because of location. But they say they use the benefits of digital technology which creates different platforms of communication.

All Wazema staff must involve in extra jobs to make ends meet. This makes them over-stretched which they say compromise quality and reduce productivity.

> *My wish is to have this team of journalists at one place and see us fully engaged in the business of journalism. It would be nice if we can work for Wazema fulltime. We are compelled to dedicate our time and energy on jobs that are not related to our training and experience only for getting extra money to sustain us.* (A journalist based in the US with background in radio, personal interview)

The issue of resources is a major challenge for Wazema. It is a predicament for not having more journalist staff at home and summoning the exiled ones at a central working center. The executive editor finds Ethiopia to be cheaper when it comes to hiring journalists.

> *We can hire three reporters back in Ethiopia with the same amount of money we invest on one reporter here in the US. Right now we spend more than 90% of the resource on the journalistic activity like news gathering and personnel.* (Executive editor, personal interview)

For Wazema journalists the physical distance from the homeland makes them fall short of getting the observation and feeling they used to develop when they were practicing journalism on the ground in Ethiopia.

> *Regarding getting firsthand information, there is more advantage when one is in Ethiopia. Here you will be getting the information after it passed through different phases. Your emotional attachment is different as well. Your perception and reaction to events and problems is different when you are here. In addition to relying on the information you get from your sources, you check same from the social media platforms. It's after processing all these that you try to reach to what you think is reliable or accurate. This all has its impact on the story you do.* (Wazema reporter based in the US, personal interview)
>
> *It is always difficult to get the real feel of what is happening in the homeland when processing and presenting back information being based here. We have to depend on*

individuals on the ground or other platforms to feel and understand the situation. We are actually trying to make the reporters there to cover what happens there instead of a colleague who is abroad reporting on it as much as possible. (Wazema executive editor, personal interview)

There is nothing like being there and observing on the spot the situation. It has a difference when you yourself meet the sources and write the story. That seems a missing element in us who work from abroad though there are colleagues working and reporting on the ground. (Wazema reporter based in Kenya, personal interview)

4.2.4 Non-conformity with mainstream media

As much of the literature on the nature of alternative media points out (cf. chapter 2), the issue of challenging the mainstream media and testing the dominant way of doing things characterizes alternative media outlets. When comparing with mainstream media, Fiske (quoted in Atton, 2001) emphasizes the choice of news items as a main departure point. Wazema journalists argue that unlike the mainstream media that run after events with less in-depth analysis, Wazema is very selective and considers what has not been seen by the mainstream media.

We mostly do news analysis instead of news alone and we are good at investigating and uncovering issues of national significance which are kept hidden by the government and the mainstream media. (Wazema journalist in the US with extensive experience in private print media, personal interview)

We go to same events with other journalists working for mainstream media but the way they report it and the manner in which Wazema does a story with analysis will be totally different. They may report the event that day, but we do an in-depth investigative report based on that within a space of few days. Then it will be an issue of discussion even among us journalists. I just listen to the praises and rumors by my colleagues who don't know that I am behind that story. (Wazema undercover reporter from Ethiopia, personal interview)

What we have been doing in Ethiopia has been a public relations work for the government. That is what the media back home does. Even today they [the journalists] have boundaries when it comes to news selection and angle. There are lines they are told not to cross. I am in constant communication with my former colleagues who still work there. (Wazema journalist in exile with government affiliated media experience, personal interview)

In his study of Zimbabwean diasporic radio, Everette Ndlovu (2014) characterizes them as the ones countering the prevailing ideologies at home, attempting to lodge what he calls 'information warfare' against authoritarian leadership. He considers them as alternative media

that aim at making the voice of the unheard section of the society be heard by challenging authoritarian mainstream media channels which are run and owned by the government. In the same way, journalists of Wazema put one of the purposes of their duty as revealing the hidden truth which the audience would not get from the mainstream media. One of the undercover reporters from Ethiopia says it is the inability or disinterest of the mainstream media in the country that makes him report on issues that he believes the public deserves to know about.

> *They [the mainstream media] don't even try it. Even at this moment of relative freedom it is unthinkable that high profile issues that are thought to be offending the government will be covered by these media outlets. We cover issues of public interest and based on realities on the ground. We take time to evaluate and analyze our sources from different angles. We do not rush to report for sake of popularity. If they happen to cover such issues it will definitely be after the government officially started talking about it through a press statement.* (Wazema undercover reporter in Ethiopia, personal interview)

A Wazema journalist who has experience from the mainstream media when she lived in Ethiopia says most of the issues covered by *Wazema* are the ones that the local mainstream media dare not to report on.

> *At Wazema you are always ready to reveal the truth as far as you have the right and relevant information. This has not been what we used to do in Ethiopia.* (Wazema journalist, personal interview)

A similar reflection comes from a former mainstream government affiliated media journalist:

> *Even today my former colleagues are one of my sources of ideas for stories. They may have the access to information and sources but will not be allowed to air part of it which is usually the news worthy element. So they say this is something that Wazema can efficiently work on.* (Wazema journalist, personal interview)

Scholars who have studied alternative media find them to be more democratic, organizationally speaking. Their internal structure is much more democratic than what is the trend in the mainstream media (Downing, 2000; O'Sullivan quoted in Atton, 2002). Since all journalists of Wazema have previous experience in the mainstream media, they can give a good account of the difference they observe and experience. All agree that they see no internal hierarchy among the staff at Wazema, and communication is all horizontal.

In other news media, one of the areas where you observe hierarchy is editorial decision. The editor-in-chief or the executive editor is there to take or kill your story idea. Here at Wazema it is based on consensus. I share my idea with others through our shared Google platform and everybody tries to comment on and improve it. I only drop the idea or the story if I am convinced with the reasons. We all feel equally responsible for whatever is going to be covered by Wazema. (Journalist with background in government affiliated radio, personal interview).

Do I have a boss here? I have never thought of and felt that at Wazema. That feeling has actually been back home when I was working in local media. (A former government, private and later Wazema undercover journalist and now in the US, personal interview)

One journalist who has extensive radio experience taking roles ranging from reporter to editor, refers to an incident he was involved in while working in Ethiopia as how the degree of independence is different at Wazema.

I was once producing a topical issue program. It was about the constitution of the land. I did a kind of Vox pop talking to people on the street. One of my questions was to find out if people know how many articles the Ethiopian constitution has. Surprisingly over 95% of the children got it right while most of the adults interviewed were wrong. So, I produced and aired a news saying children have better knowledge than adults about the constitution. After it was aired I was summoned to the offices of the bosses and was told to refute what was aired and do another interview with selected adults to give the impression that adults are better aware of the constitution. Imagine this and compare it with what I am doing at Wazema. (Wazema journalist, personal interview)

4.2.5 In-depth investigative reporting

Media researchers such as Atton (2002) praise alternative media initiatives crediting them for thorough coverage and investigation. This character gives them their distinct feature "in a media culture that appears less and less interested in in-depth investigative reporting", concludes Atton (2002, p. 11).

There are stories that we consider to be impactful that may not be attractive to others. We concentrate on stories with much significance as we can not cover all stories considered to be worthy. We have seen the impact of the stories we have been covering so far. We know the impact when we see other media outlets following them after us. Secondly, we see the institutions and government bodies that were part of our stories responding to the issue. The response might be in the form of press statement or in action. (Wazema executive editor, personal interview)

We do detailed analysis to show what is there really behind the news coverage. We reflect on historical trends and future trends based on intellectual and evidence-based

analysis. There are some[audiences] who are interested in this approach and has the patience to follow. But most of the audience as I feel are interested in very brief and headline type of information like the one we started as LEHEKOLE package. I think this has much to do with the influence of social media which is fast and shallow information. It might also be because of the internet access and affordability in Ethiopia that allow audiences to be online for limited hours. (Wazema reporter from Kenya, personal interview).

Wazema journalists refer to a number of major investigative reports that they have done which later became top issues of media outlets. These are also reports that triggered government response (see Appendix 2).

> *I have been to press conferences prepared for counter arguing or confirming the issues that Wazema has extensively reported about. That is when other media outlets fully start covering the issues including the media I am affiliated with. The interesting thing is that they report it as if it is being discovered for the first time despite our [Wazema's] extensive coverage of the issue ahead of these events.* (Undercover journalist from Ethiopia, personal interview)

> *As a journalist I have developed a list of contacts and reliable informers in different private and government institutions. My official role as a journalist [other than Wazema] helps me to tap information from places that otherwise are difficult to access. I feel as I am accomplishing my duty as a journalist and a responsible citizen in supporting the public's right to know what transpires behind the scene with public funds and others. There is no way of getting that information out other than this.* (Wazema undercover journalist with seven years' experience in Ethiopia, personal interview)

To some journalists it is puzzling as to say which story is worthy of reporting these days as there are various platforms of information that try to influence the audience's choice.

> *Looking at how other media outlets are reporting, it is becoming difficult to determine which stories have relevance to issues on the ground these days. Is a particular issue considered relevant because it is high on social networks like Facebook? Most issues on FB are not there on the ground. There are also issues that politicians talk of and try to keep them top on the agenda but when you try to investigate them they have no base at the grassroots. They are not burning issues at the community level. It is always a challenge for us to assess and single out the relevant issues. Is it really the price of fuel that is more relevant to the public right now or the personal feud among politicians on FB? That is really a challenge. (Wazema journalist, personal interview)*

But she says Wazema's sticking to evidence-based investigative and analytical reports produced as a magazine format is the right way. Most journalists of Wazema are also of the

opinion that their reports get more followers because they cover issues of public interest and the ones that the mainstream media at home fail to do.

Overall, Wazema's characteristics in relation to the mainstream media in the homeland substantiate what Moyo demonstrates in his study of alternative media:

> *Alternative* not simply because they are *non-mainstream,* but because they position themselves in opposition to the mainstream, challenging both structural media concentration and the dominant discourse(content) that it produces. (Moyo, 2007, p. 87).

4.3 Journalistic professionalism

As explained in the literature review chapter of this study, a host of scholars have tried to theorize and define what a journalistic profession should encompass. Their arguments are intended to create a profession that allows to realize "healthy journalism" in McChesney's (2012) words, and a "believable journalism" as McNair (2005) puts it. Beside the works of these scholars, my study emphasizes the attributes suggested by Dueze (2007) as to what elements make the values of journalistic professionalism. As I considered in my discussion on theoretical framework, the viewpoints of scholarly works as to which elements make professional journalism use the same yardsticks for journalistic endeavor whether it be mainstream or alternative media. Accordingly, the discussion in this section relates to what journalists of Wazema think of their role as a journalist and what transpires at Wazema with analogy to issues described in the literature review.

4.3.1 Education and work experience of journalists

Although it is difficult to cite a study arguing that higher education in journalism should be a prerequisite for practicing professional journalism, the contribution of tertiary education in the field of media studies is believed to be a contributor to the professionalization of the practitioners. Studies acknowledge the important contribution of universities that provide journalism studies in the betterment of professional journalistic practice (Beacon et al., quoted in Bossio, 2011). Most of the participants in this study have journalism education at university level while those who have not been to journalism schools have been through a series of short-term journalism training schemes. Besides, all the research participants have relatively long journalism practice. The minimum years of journalism practice among them is 5 years while the maximum is 19 years. Reports confirm that not all journalists working in exile media outlets have journalism background. According to a CIMA report (Ristow, 2011, p. 4) a good number

of them are known to have started practicing journalism after their arrival in the country of asylum. But the reality with Wazema is different, where all the staff have journalistic background. When it comes to the recruitment of the undercover journalists, the founders of Wazema explain that they give emphasis to experience in journalism as one of the criteria.

> *Journalism experience is a requirement because we cannot afford and don't have the luxury of time to train junior or beginner journalist. Someone who can work independently, has good contacts and someone who can protect him/herself in situations is our benchmark.* (Executive editor, personal interview)

It is evident from the story of Wazema journalists in exile that their professional engagement in journalism is the main reason for leaving their homeland. All journalists of Wazema left their country as a result of pressure they faced in relation to their work as journalists.

> *We were informed that they are going to detain us because of what we are writing in our newspaper. The charge that was produced against me proves that. It was supporting terrorists which was based on fabrication. I was sentenced to 8 years of imprisonment in absentia. I am now pardoned following the enactment of the new amnesty law, though I still believe that I have not trespassed any law.* (Wazema founder based in Sweden, personal interview)

> *The newspaper I owned, and run was banned by the government. Then I continued working in the private media with a capacity of editor. It was while I was working with a weekly magazine that we were forced to flee to Kenya in 2014. They [government] closed our office, banned us from using our office and publishing the magazine. They also began filing of charges against us.* (Wazema reporter now in the US, personal interview)

> *I was an active contributor to newspapers though I work in offices as a civil servant. They [government] were not happy about it and started intimidation. Then I knew that they are going to detain me. So, I escaped to a neighboring country.* (Wazema reporter/contributor from Africa, personal interview)

One of the points of discussion with the research participants of this study is a description of their academic portfolio and work in journalism. Though not a must have element in the practice of journalism, pertinent education in the sector surely contributes to the professionalization of the individual as well as the product. In this regard scholars underline the contribution of higher learning institutions in nurturing professional journalistic practice through the provision of education and knowhow as to the ethical components of journalism (Bossio, 2011). Unlike what is prevalent with Wazema, scholars like Atton (2014, p. 341) describe alternative media as initiatives having the involvement of ordinary individuals without

qualification or education in the field of journalism. As indicated above, all the staff of Wazema have got both education and experience in the field of journalism (see Table 1).

4.3.2 Objective of establishment

The purpose of discussing the objective of Wazema here is to see how the motives behind the founding of Wazema give consideration to the points listed in the literature on journalistic professionalism. A look at the founding documents of Wazema as well as the discussions with its founders reveal that it was with an attempt to keep and save the practice of professional journalism in the Ethiopian media that called for the establishment of the media channel.

> *It was a time when independent reporting and professionalism became very much weakened. Those at home were bounded with fear and those outside the country were working taking sides and becoming the voices of opposition against the system in Ethiopia. By considering journalism as a weapon of struggle – they were using it as a tool of campaign. So in this situation what we felt and thought of was the need for balanced and accurate information provision that never compromises truth.* (Co-founder and executive editor, personal interview)

The co-founder and current board chairperson of Wazema underlines the abundance of suppressed information of public interest in the homeland as one of the reasons behind the launching of Wazema.

> *There are journalists at home who have the access to information with significant public interest but couldn't get the medium to publish/air. These applies also to informants who want to share sensitive but significant information to independent and responsible media outlets. The absence of media that is independent which they trust locally calls for media outlets such as ours.* (Co-founder and executive editor, personal interview)

The other major objective behind the establishment of Wazema is the desire of the founders to keep the profession rolling despite the challenges of leading a new life in their countries of asylum so that they can pursue the practice on their return home.

> *We are journalists in exile and it is unlikely that we practice our profession in the local media of the host countries. So, by establishing a media outlet, we can at least keep journalism afresh in us. It is an opportunity to keep our profession going even being engaged in other professions as asylee/immigrants. If we happened to be moving back to our homeland, we can still be journalists.* (Wazema executive editor, personal interview)

This conviction of Wazema's founders is shared by scholars in the field too. Experts in the area of international journalism regard the significance of practicing exile journalism in "nurturing a structure of independent journalism that someday could be re-established at home" (Ristow 2011, p. 4). The issue of giving the chance to those excluded from participating in the media as put by Atton (see chapter two) may have its point on the ordinary people who are not journalists or have the access to involve in media production. But I consider his point to be applicable to those journalists banned from practicing their profession as well. In his detailed description of alternative media, Atton (2014) regards alternative media as the ones giving the chance to those who are kept out from media production. He says this is providing the opportunity to what he calls 'democratic communication'. He considers this not as simple as giving a forum for extreme or divergent opinions. It is rather about allowing and creating the condition for others to take part in the process of inception, development and spread of ideas which would not be the case in the mainstream media (Atton, 2014, p. 343).

As to the description made by McChesney (2012), where he lists the services of professional journalism, he underlines the importance of not focusing on events alone but to see beyond what has been reported as news. His study also mentions the responsibility to foresee phenomena and dwell on them before they turn out to be catastrophic. In this regard professional journalism does not only follow and echo what those 'in power' try to communicate.

The executive editor of Wazema remembers Wazema's reporting of the internal displacement among the Gedeo people in the Southern part of Ethiopia before it became a huge humanitarian issue globally.[12]

> *For example, if you take the issue of Gedeos which is now high on the agenda, we have covered it exactly a year ago. We believed it was a big issue by then though not as big as it is today. So, we see trends and inform on possible threats in the human rights sector.* (Executive editor, personal interview)

In his discussion about what he calls 'believable journalism' McNair (1998) recommends having 'accredited sources' as a measure of professionalism in Journalism. Responding to

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[12] Here is a report by *The Guardian* about the crisis a year after Wazema's reporting of the issue. https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/mar/14/shadow-falls-over-ethiopia-reforms-warningsof-crisis-ignored-abiy-ahmed

questions as to what values of journalism stand out in *Wazema,* all journalists mention the attention and care given to the authenticity of sources and balance as a one of the strengths of their work.

> *There are a number of cases where we put stories on hold for the sake of getting more verification, but another media brakes the news amidst our investigation. We don't regret that at all. We did what should be done in professional terms.* (Wazema undercover journalist from Ethiopia, personal interview).

One Wazema journalist in the US who mostly covers human rights issues, however, considers prioritizing the values as having a difficulty. She recommends positioning a story from the angle of the vulnerable as a better option.

> *Some say we need to focus on accuracy and balance for example. But I say we need to focus on all elements. For example, if I am reporting on a big governmental development project focusing on the income and benefits it brings to the public but without mentioning the displacement of the people as a result of it; that is not journalism. The issue of balance in journalism always puzzles me much. How do you strike the balance after claiming that journalism is about balance. From which side of the story are going to see it? You have to put the story in to context which helps to avoid a - "he said"" she said"- style of reporting. You need to show the issue from the side of the public who is the powerless and try to create understanding of the situation.* (Wazema journalist based in the US, personal interview)

Responding to questions as to what they think is the defining characteristics of Wazema, most of the journalists gave nearly corresponding replies.

> *The trust we have in the audience* (Wazema journalist in the US, personal interview)
> *It's an agglomeration of the best exile journalists of Ethiopia. The other noticeable thing is that Wazema can also standout for its exclusivity. We don't focus on breaking news. We have sources that share us exclusive insider information because they think that we can do a better job and also because they trust us more.* (Wazema journalist with radio experience, personal interview)

> *Focus on news analysis* (Wazema journalist in the US with extensive print media experience, personal interview)

> *Exclusive reporting and credibility* (Wazema executive producer, personal interview)

> *Trust by the audience and trusted by its [Wazema's] sources* (Undercover journalist from Ethiopia, personal interview)

> *Originality and reliability in what we report* (Co-founder based in Sweden, personal interview)

Independence of journalists is one of the pillars that is prescribed by Duez's (2005) five popular 'traits' of professional journalism. He demands journalists to be independent, free and autonomous in what they do. Regarding immediacy as one of the ideal values of professionalism as suggested by Duez (2005), Wazema considers fact-checking and scrutiny to take priority because of its nature as an exile media and its style. In relation to that, all journalists of Wazema believe that they have developed trust among the audience mainly because they use credible sources.

4.3.3 How journalists regard themselves

The question as to how the journalists regard themselves when it comes to journalistic professionalism is a focal point of the discussions with the research participants. In this regard, a number of questions believed to touch upon journalistic professionalism issues are forwarded to participants (see Appendix 5). It is to be noted here that preceding discussions have directly or indirectly touched some issue of journalists' view of themselves concerning journalistic professionalism.

In his study on the the Ethiopian diasporic online community, Skjerdal (2011) finds the practitioners to defend and admit their activism role while at the same time considering themselves as journalists. One of the excuses they present is the repressive political situation in the homeland. On the other hand, all of my participants argue against the concept of 'activist journalism', saying that one has to be either a journalist or activist, not both. None of my participants from Wazema wants to be branded as an activist or an activist journalist.

> *If we are talking about journalism, there should be no mention of activism. There should be no element of activism in journalism. If we are talking about journalism-it should be journalism. They are two separate things. They belong to different categories. Journalism is journalism – like any other profession a physician is a physician. It's a profession. The fact that the issue of activism came in the world of journalism is because journalism became incapable of defending itself- it could not safeguard its territories (*Wazema executive editor, personal interview*)*

> *I consider myself as a journalist. There is this established attitude among most people in Ethiopia that media outlets based abroad are oppositional to the government. It might be because of the audience's experience seeing the diaspora media doing more activism than journalism for long time. I don't want to comment on whether that is right or wrong. This has been the trend before Wazema's launch. But what Wazema did after its establishment is doing professional journalism. Though we are based abroad and have the independence to do whatever we like; we have been reporting based on credible sources. I have never considered myself an activist and I don't believe that Wazema is an activist media. I am working at Wazema for the very reason that it has*

the same stand as what I believe regarding journalism. We do practice professional journalism and respect the rules of journalism here. (Wazema journalist in the US with private electronic media experience, personal interview)

To another Wazema journalist who currently studies journalism at higher level, the fact that she has the education and experience in journalism makes her a journalist, not an activist. On top of that, she argues that a journalist's stance in defense of press freedom need not qualify the person as an activist.

I highly consider myself as a journalist. That is because of my experience as a journalist. I am also studying journalism. Some people may consider me an activist when they see my stance on certain issues. I tell them that is not it. I do not believe that defending press freedom will by no means erode my identity as a journalist. I demand the government to respect the rights of journalists and freedom of speech because I want to do my job. I think this reality is making the way slippery slope. For being able to work as a journalist, it at least requires the existence of freedom of speech. (Wazema journalist, personal interview)

The argument of Wazema journalists is also in contrast with Batist's (2010) study on a Zimbabwean exile radio station based in London. His finding reveals that journalists working for the SW Radio Africa define their role as both journalists and activists placing themselves in the political situation in Zimbabwe.

4.3.4 Use of insider sources

It seems that the sources of information for Wazema's stories have immensely contributed to its credibility. The editors at the media channel have developed strong contacts with insider sources in the government circle back in Ethiopia.

This trend is not peculiar to Ethiopia or Wazema. An exile Zimbabwean newspaper named *The Zimbabwean* benefits from its undercover contacts with political elites in the country. Its founder Milf Mbanaga (2008) writes,

In addition, through the years there have been numerous "leaks" from disgruntled intelligence and military officers. It might surprise some to learn that many government officials at all levels have been keen to provide us with information. On some occasions, even cabinet ministers are eager to be our Deep Throat. (Mbanaga, 15 September 2008).

Wazema's sources are of two types, depending on the type of line of communication they forge: The ones who are known and contacted by the undercover journalists, and those who have their

communication with editors and reporters abroad. The undercover reporters use their existing sources or newly identified sources to compile and send their stories abroad.

> *There is an unwritten pact between myself and my sources that I will not be using their identity or hints leading to their identification. In exchange they will provide me reliable information which is to be verified as per Wazema's rules.* (Wazema undercover reporter from Ethiopia, personal interview)

> *I just go to a press conference or any high profile official event using my identity as a journalist. My interest there is not to write a story related to the event for Wazema. I may do something for the station I represent there. But my main purpose to be there is to get to know key people, take contacts and get them for working stories they may have links or information.* (Wazema undercover reporter from Ethiopia, personal interview)

The second category of Wazema's anonymous sources are those who have the acquittance or ongoing contact with the exiled journalists. These are in no way known to the undercover reporters. But they might be given assignments to conduct verifications on the information provided by these sources. The contacts between the journalists abroad and the sources in the homeland takes place using different electronic and second party (see 2.8) assisted channels.

4.3.5 Impact as a sign of professionalism

Participants of this study cite some cases as a justification of Wazema's journalistic professionalism. Overall their arguments relate to what they say are the impact of the stories carried by Wazema. One is related to the response by the government bodies and other institutions that come up with explanations or measures directly related to the stories uncovered by Wazema.

> *We usually report issues based on reliable and high placed sources. Just few days or may be a week after our coverage, we see high level decisions and measures applied affecting the situation we reported on. We have witnessed the system responding to our reporting.* (Wazema executive editor, personal interview)

The executive editor refers to one incident where he was approached by a government investigation team seeking information about the story and evidence Wazema exposed in one of its podcasts. For Wazema it tells them that they are taken seriously at home.

> *After we have conducted a series of investigative reporting on the Commercial and Development banks of Ethiopia, we were approached by a national investigation team set up to work on the issues we reported about. I agreed to cooperate with them as far as it is in line with the professional integrity and ethical standards of the profession. The thing that amazed us was the fact that they were talking to me (over the phone between Ethiopia and US) holding and referring to copies of Wazema's stories. So, this*

implies that it is not our visual/physical presence that makes Wazema's relevance but what we actually do. And that is a measure of our professionalism. (Executive editor, personal interview)

Wazema journalists also point to the absence of any incidence of blunder in their reporting since their establishment as a mark of their professional integrity.

We may make mistakes of figures in texts we post, and they usually get corrected immediately as the readers will be telling us. We have not met with an embarrassing mistake or committed major blunder to my knowledge so far. That must be a combination of luck and more commitment to professional and responsible reporting on the part of our colleagues. (Executive editor, personal interview)

I usually follow home based and diaspora media outlets as they are also one of my sources for story ideas. It is common for most of these outlets to commit mistakes and apologize next time or see others blaming them for their disinformation. I have not seen such things happening in Wazema. (Wazema reporter from Kenya, personal interview)

The fact that other media outlets adopt stories from Wazema is also considered by the Wazema team as a sign of professional success. Here it is difficult to regard this as a sign of professionalism since a follow up or in-depth reporting would not guarantee the integrity of the reporting.

Some of former Wazema journalists now work in other media outlets. The executive editor says proudly that Wazema has become a recruitment ground for major news outlets. He lists the Voice of America (VOA), Deutsche Welle Radio and BBC News Amharic where Wazema's former staff are working now.

4.4 Wazema and the political transition at home

In foregoing discussions (1.3) the question as to how relevant Wazema will stay as an exile media channel in connection with the political transformation in Ethiopia is asked. The founders of Wazema say that preparations are underway to move the major operations of Wazema to the homeland. This has also been part of their dialogue with the funding agency Centre for International Media Assistance at National Endowment for Democracy (CIMA-NED).

We have discussed with them [CIMA-NED] about the political transition in Ethiopia and our role in the transition. One of our key activities in that regard is strengthening

our presence and activity in Ethiopia. By the way working on the ground is part of our plan and that was why we started using undercover reporters much earlier than the reform. Our donors are interested in the plan. As to me there is no reason to be entirely based abroad if there is space to practice real journalism back home. (Executive editor and co-founder, personal interview)

Concerning the fate of the support they get from CIMA-NED, if Wazema ceases to exist as an exile media venture, the executive editor argues that they have not been receiving the support for the sole reason that Wazema is an exile media channel.

> *The support is a competitive opportunity and proposal based. We have been getting the support through competition every year. The fact that we are exile media is not the sole reason for our being selected for the support. For sure it is one of the reasons. As they focus more on what we do than our feature as an exile media, they will be continuing their support. That is the understanding we have.* (Executive editor, personal interview)

Meanwhile Wazema has its plan of making its presence in the local media in the near future. One of the co-founders who has recently been to Ethiopia for the first time since his exile in 2009, says:

> *Rerunning Wazema's productions on local FM stations for about the first one year until we deal with and finalize the registration process and other logistical issues is our plan. After that we want to make the main production center there.* (Wazema co-founder, personal interview)

> *It doesn't mean that the founders and reporters who are now based abroad will move to Ethiopia for good. We definitely increase and strengthen our presence in Ethiopia. You don't have to settle in Ethiopia permanently to run a media there. The basic thing is making sure that we have the legal and institutional guarantee to practice professional journalism there.* (Wazema co-founder, personal interview)

For one of the reporters who has a political science background and has experience with conducting analysis of the political situation in the Horn region, it seems too early to completely stop operating from abroad and move back home although there are improvements to freedom of expression.

> *I see changes related to laws. But there is lack of institutionalization. Institutions and officials are not yet ready to implement the changes. The trend of labelling the media as enemies of the state is still there. There is a problem of access to information. Journalists are not free to move/travel across the nation and report on events due mainly to the security problems here and there. There is no institutional guarantee. It is rather fragile.* (Wazema co-founder, personal interview)

Overall, *Wazema* journalists welcome the political transition in Ethiopia which also improves the press freedom, but they say it is too early to quit Wazema's presence and registration abroad and start full operation in Ethiopia. However, they say moving back home is the eventual goal.

4.5 Unexpected features

In my study of the production and journalistic professionalism features of Wazema, I based my investigation mainly on the literature on theoretical aspects and interviews with the journalists. In so doing I have tried to confirm some established assertions as well as divergence in terms of the theoretical framework. However, I have come across some attributes that seem not be common to exile media or to alternative media in the broader sense. The following brief discussion is a presentation of some of Wazema's features in that regard.

4.5.1 Aiding runaway/fleeing journalists in transit countries

An alarming increase of fleeing Ethiopian journalists was registered in 2014. More than 30 journalists escaped detention or harassment that year alone (Schilit, 2014). Ethiopia ranked second following Syria in the number of fleeing journalists between 2010 and 2015, when 57 registered journalists were forced to leave their homeland (CPJ, 2015). These were the periods when the inception and launching of Wazema took place and where the founders came up with ideas to assist their compatriots on the move. They had in mind supporting escapee journalists who were living in a state of uncertainty in neighboring countries, mainly Kenya. Creating a source of income and keeping the runaway journalists connected to the profession has been their target.

> *We believed that instead of supporting these journalists with handouts, it is better to provide them with job opportunities that at the same time allow them to practice the profession they very much know and like to do. We thought that makes their transition to a permanent settlement in other countries smother and less stressful. We have so far supported some. In short it is our interest to support exile journalists. We are successful in achieving this*. (Co-founder and executive editor, personal interview)

> *We all know how challenging life as an asylum seeker would be as we have passed through it. And the hardship is more so in neighboring countries. Financially you must rely on your friends and relatives abroad or families back home. If not, you have to be dependent on NGO handouts. We have seen fleeing journalists ending up either engaged in a totally different profession or joining the polarized media environment abroad. So, our intention was to provide a small source of income for these journalists and at the same time provide the platform for exercising their profession. In this regard,*

we have achieved good results where Wazema employed some escapee journalists in difficult conditions for consecutive years. This is a deliberate decision by us the founders who have been through those hurdles as runway journalists. We wanted to at least make the situation a little better for some of fellow journalists. (Co-founder and board chairperson, personal interview)

One of the journalists who has been in Kenya for almost four years until recently moving to the US says working for Wazema has kept him close to the profession in the middle of the challenges he faced every day.

My work for Wazema kept me going despite the severe conditions I was in as a refugee in Kenya. Finding myself working with the Wazema team whose works I hold in high regard was by itself rewarding. (Journalist who moved from Kenya to the US, personal interview)

The chances Wazema provided to journalists in transition is remarkable. I am a living witness to that. Wazema has tried to support journalists in exile by involving them in journalistic assignments. (Journalist based in Kenya, personal interview)

The following description by CPJ worker Nicole Schilit (2014) who has been to Nairobi, Kenya to visit fleeing Ethiopian journalists better expresses the situation they are in.

All of the journalists told us they needed financial support for basic living expenses. Despite being crammed into homes that feel temporary, and where up to three people share a room, the journalists struggle to afford rent and food. They have lost their incomes and, with the desire to keep a low profile and no means to start a publication, they do not know when they will be able to work again. (Schilit, 2014)

With this scheme a total of six journalists under difficult circumstances have got the financial means to live on and the chance to practice their profession as Wazema team members so far. Some of these journalists are still within the team while others have 'graduated' being transferred to countries of asylum in the USA and Europe. (Executive editor and founder, personal interview)

Even trying to work as a journalist from Kenya, if there was any opportunity, exposes oneself against attacks and intimidation by Ethiopian government agents who can easily cross the border to execute their mission. For Wazema reporters in Kenya working as openly as their colleagues in Europe and the US, entails a potential threat to oneself and their family back home of being a target of the Ethiopian security apparatus.

We used to call Kenya Ethiopia's fifteenth [13] regional state as far as the security network of the Ethiopian government is concerned. They can easily come and do whatever they like. They have abducted individuals and thrown them into jail back in Ethiopia. There were individuals who became targets of hit and run car accident. You might feel a little bit safer in Kenya, but the concerns are almost the same. The only comfortable thing we got in Kenya was the much better internet connection. (Wazema journalist moved from Kenya to US, personal interview)

This issue of safety is also shared by another journalist who has produced a first-hand information about reporting from exile (Girma, 2016).

4.5.2 Reliance on undercover stringers employed in media houses

As is the case with other exile media outlets, stories about the homeland dominate the reports of Wazema. However, Wazema journalists argue that making maximum use of reports gathered and produced by their own staff on the ground in Ethiopia makes them exceptional.

Although experience in journalism is a requirement for a person to be a stringer from Ethiopia, the person needs to be an active journalist who can use his identity to get access to potential areas of investigation.

What we normally do is to make sure that they are employed somewhere in media houses. We try not to make their employment in big media houses as it makes them too busy to work for Wazema. We think that might also make them easily identifiable. (Executive editor, personal interview)

These are reporters who work on the basis of anonymity and who in most cases use anonymous sources. To one of the undercover reporters it is better to make both actors anonymous for getting reliable but sensitive information.

Keeping the source and the journalist anonymous in this country's context rather helps for a better and credible reporting. The officials are willing to tell the truth and motivated to share information when they are guaranteed anonymity. (Wazema undercover reporter, personal interview)

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[13] Ethiopia has already 14 regional states and the connotation of adding Kenya as the15th is meant to show the degree of command and freedom the Ethiopian security forces enjoy in Kenya.

Here it is to be noted that the undercover reporters in Ethiopia do not know each other. This was done on purpose for the safety and security of the reporters themselves, according to the founders of Wazema.

4.5.3 The role of middle men/intermediaries

Beside hiring of undercover reporters, Wazema has volunteers[14] who assist and participate in identification and gathering of information. These are loyal audiences of *Wazema* who have developed contacts with the editor and reporters via the channel's email and comment section of the website. According to the journalists, these individuals are crucial when it comes to securing and sending confidential documents to the Wazema team abroad. They dedicate their time, resources (reaching contacts and duplicating documents) and their safety (some of the contacts they meet are high profile personalities). To the Wazema team, these individuals are good-hearted people who have strong belief in the free flow of information and who support the watchdog role of the media.

> *Using anonymous sources in repressive regimes makes the ones in the system who champion for change share information with the media like us. The officials we know don't want to directly share us information including credible documents. Similarly, our reporters(undercover) shouldn't be in contact with these officials and reveal their identity to get these pieces of information and materials. So other individuals (intermediaries)who are not journalists by profession take the assignment to contact the individuals and harness the information and send back to me. Then I send back the relevant information to the reporters on the ground for further investigation. This is how the cycle looks like. One of the best instances that may describe this is the stories we were reporting on the internal political strife of the ruling party EPRDF during the last few months immediately before the change. We were making use of insider information on issues that rose during the series of meetings, the squabbling among the different actors and so forth. The ones who were supplying us the insider information through our guys happened to be the officials today. (Executive editor, personal interview)*

The fact that these intermediary individuals who are in fact audiences of Wazema, may make Wazema to hold one of the characteristics of alternative media which is exactly interactivity with audiences. However, at the same time, the fact that these people are involved in the actual gathering of information distinguishes them from the common audience.

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[14] This term is used by the founders and journalists to refer to individuals who assist the information gathering process with their own free will, especially in Ethiopia.

4.6 Limitations of the study

This research project is to meet with unanticipated challenges during its progress. The fact that the journalists reside across three continents makes my communication with the research participants non-physical. An initial plan to travel to Stockholm –the closest location and where two of the journalists live – was aborted because of funding issues.

Though I used a combination of qualitative data collection, conducting focus group discussion with followers of Wazema would have strengthened the findings of the research. This could not materialize as the primary audiences of Wazema are thought to be in Ethiopia. My attempt to look for listeners in Bergen where I live did not materialize because of difficulties of recruitment.

Initially the research envisaged and secured the agreement of CIMA-NED, the funding agency of Wazema, for a possible interview with a focal person. But later the organization turned down the request referring to compliance procedures.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

This study attempted to portray the professional and organizational efforts of a group of Ethiopian exiled journalists who are running an internet-based radio – Wazema.

The organizational and production features of Wazema are found to be in conformity with most of the established characteristics of alternative media. But journalists have identified points of departure from what they have been practicing in the homeland such as better independence and resource deficiency. Contents and formats are more dictated by homeland realities. Guided by social media statistics and feedback, the producers of Wazema consider the homeland audience their primary audience and adjust their production formats considering the audiences internet access and affordability. Factors such as geographical location of journalists, training, and resources affect the organizational and production aspects of wazema. Moreover, the properties of Wazema are found out to be distinct from mainstream media while at the same time challenge their contents.

All journalists of Wazema are equipped with journalistic education and experience while their fleeing of the homeland is associated with the practice of their profession. Similarly, all journalistsly at Wazema strongly consider themselves as journalists and consider activism as a separate concept that cannot be blended with journalism. The Wazema team of journalists consider signs such as government response based on Wazema's report, reference by other media, as well as recruitment of staff by major outlets as symptoms of success and professionalism and of being taken serious by government and media.

Wazema journalists view the ongoing political reforms as promising and opening space for freedom of speech and the press. They however call for more legal and institutional reforms for the media to operate freely. Wazema plans to strengthen its base in Ethiopia starting with a rerun of podcasts via an FM station until Wazema establishes itself as a registered media in Ethiopia.

This study has identified some traits of Wazema's activity that are rarely found in similar media outlets. Rendering financial support to runaway journalists through employment is found to be one of the missions designed by the founders. Though the use of undercover reporters is not an uncommon practice by alternative media outlets, Wazema's precondition of making these reporters staff of a local media company makes it out of the ordinary. Wazema also claims to

benefit from the support of ordinary citizens in serving as conduits of sensitive information between anonymous sources and the exile journalists.

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Appendix 1 Partial View of Wazema Staff

Appendix 2 Sample news

Wazema Radio

ዋዜማ ራዲዮ

የቀድሞው ሜቴክ አውሮፕላን ገዝቶ ነበር፣ አሁን የት እንዳለ አልታወቀም

📅 *November 6, 2018*   💬 *0*

SHARE!   🐦 Tweet   👍 Like 1.9K   tumblr.   📌 Save

- ሁለት መቶ መኛሪያ ቤቶችን በድርጅቱ ገንዘብ ገዝቶ ለባለሰዖች ሰጥቷል
- ኢትዮ ጥላስቲክ ስልሳ ሚሊዮን ብር በለደባባይ ተዘርፏል

ዋዜማ ራዲዮ- የብረታ ብረትና ኢንጂነሪንግ ኮርፖሬሽን (ሜቴክ) በአዲስ መልክ እንዲዋቀርና በድርጅቱ ውስጥ የተፈፀመው ምዝበራ ተጣርቶ ተጠያቂ ግለሰቦች ሀግ ፊት እንዲቀርቡ ለማድረግ የሚያስችል ሌራ ምርመራ ከተጀመረ ስንብኋል። በከፍተኛ ምክር ተይዞ አየተካሄደ ያለው ምርመራ አኳን ግር የሚያስኙና አዳዲስ መረጃዎችን አግኝቷል። ምርመራው እንደቀጠለ ሲሆን በአስከሁን ምርመራ ሜቴክ የንገድ አውሮፕላን ይፋዊ ባልሆነ መንገድ መግዛቱን የሚያሳይ መረጃ ተገኝቷል።

የኢትዮጵያ ልማት ባንክ የተበላሽ የብድር መጠን 51.6 በመቶ (20 ቢሊየን ብር) ደረሰ

📅 *September 28, 2018*   💬 *0*

SHARE!   🐦 Tweet   👍 Like 655   tumblr.   📌 Save

ዋዜማ ራዲዮ- የኢትዮጵያ ልማት ባንክ ከሁለት ወራት በፊት የተሸከመው 40 በመቶ የተበላሽ የብድር መጠን አሁን 51.6 በመቶ (20ቢሊየን ብር) መድረሱን ዋዜማ ከባንኩ ምንጮች ያገኘችው መረጃ ያመለክታል። የባንኩ ኦዲተሮችም ስንባት ያለ አዝዝ በማጥቃ� የማረ2ጋ2ት ስራ ለማስፋት እየሞከሩ ነው። የዲይናንክ ቀዉ፣ ሀገ2ቱ የልማት ስራዎችን ለመረ8ም ቀርቻ መደበኛ የኢንሽ8ስተመንተ እንቅ8ቃ8ዎችን እንዲያስፈ8ም ስታ አለ።

ቀዉሱ የኢትዮጵያ ልማት ባንክ ከሰበሰው ብድር ውሱጥ የተበለሸውን ወይንም መመላስ አቀቢተሪ የሆነ8ውን እንዲ8ሁም ባልሟ8ቃዎቾ እደ8ሚ8ት የ non performing loan ምጠ8ነዉን ከሰበ8ው ብድር አ8ጻ8ር 51.6 በመቶ እንዲ8ሆ8ን

vp content/uploads/2018/09/DBE.jpg

Appendix 3 List of Wazema Board Members

1. **Mesfin Negash**- Wazema founder and Board Chair

Mesfin is known with his journalism excellence and human right activism. Since our establishment, he helped us to shape towards better journalism. He lend us all his services unreserved and voluntarily along with other board members.

2. **Belay Mekonen**- Ethiopian community leader in Sweden

3. **Kaj Schueler**- Known author and journalist in Sweden,

4. **Martin Schibbye**- Most known Swedish journalist, Human rights advocate, director of Black Spot project, former prisoner in Ethiopia during his investigative reporting in Ogaden region

5. **Åsa Steinsvik**- Coordinator of Stockholm Cultural center , former editor

6. **Urban Lofqvist**- Former coordinator of Reporters without Border in Sweden.

7. **Argaw Ashine**- Board secretary- Executive Editor -Founder

8. **Mezgebu Hailu**- Board Treasurer -Founder

Skatteverket

SKATTEKONTORET UPPSALA
751 97 UPPSALA

2014-11-05

WAZEMA ETHIOPIA
c/o ÅSA GRINSVEN
KULTURHUSET STADSTEATERN
BOX 164 12
103 27 STOCKHOLM

Meddelande

I Skatteverkets (SKV:s) organisationsnummerregister finns numera nedanstående
uppgift enligt detta meddelande. Skattekontoret ska kontaktas vid behov av Bevis om
tilldelat organisationsnummer, förfrågningar m.m.

Organisationsnummer	Juridisk form
802491-4908	51 IDEELLA FÖRENINGAR
Län	
01 STOCKHOLM	
Kommun	
80 STOCKHOLM	
Arglet	
NYREGISTRERAD 2014-11-05	

UPPLYSNINGAR

Här ges en kortfattad beskrivning av de uppgifter som registrerats. En utförligare beskrivning finns i broschyren "Organisationsnummer" (SKV 709) som kan hämtas eller rekvireras från skattekontoret på orten. Den kan också hämtas på www.skatteverket.se under "Blanketter & Broschyrer".

Kontroll av registrerade uppgifter
Var god kontrollera de registrerade uppgifterna. Om någon uppgift är felaktig ska den rättas. Anmälan görs lämpligen genom att rätta uppgifterna skrivs på meddelandet, som sedan skickas till skattekontoret. Anteckna då namn och telefonnummer på lämplig kontaktperson.

Organisationsnummer
Organisationsnummer är en identitetsbeteckning som enligt lag (SFS 1974:174) ska fastställas för juridiska personer (t.ex. aktiebolag) m.fl. Organisationsnummret används vid sidan av namnet som identitetsbeteckning i flera olika sammanhang. Anteckna därför ert organisationsnummer och uppge alltid numret vid korrespondens, bl.a. med företag och myndigheter.

Bevis
Bevis om tilldelat organisationsnummer kan - mot avgift - beställas hos skattekontoret.

Namn
Numret kan vara förkortat eller redigerat enligt de uppgifter som finns i AGB-systemet för beskattning.

You have been assigned an organization number. An organization number is an identity number which legal persons are assigned by law. Your organization number should be given next to your name when you get in touch with Swedish authorities and enterprises.

Koder för län, kommun
Här anges geografiska koder för den juridiska personens säte enligt Statistiska centralbyråns (SCB) norm. De geografiska koderna återfinns bl.a. på skattsedeln.

Juridisk form
För att man ska kunna särskilja olika typer av juridiska personer m.fl. som ingår i organisationsnummerregistret finns uppgift om juridisk form.

Tidpunkt för införande i registret respektive avregistrering
Organisationsnummerregistret innehåller uppgift om när den juridiska personen har blivit införd i eller avregistrerats ur registret.

Om ni har fått mer än ett organisationsnummer ska skattekontoret på orten alltid underrättas.

OBS! Anmälan om rättelser ska göras till skattekontoret.

Vid flyttning:
anmäl den nya postadressen!
Ring 020-97 90 90

Skatteverket

Er förening/stiftelse har nu blivit registrerad hos Skatteverket och blivit
tilldelad ett organisationsnummer.

Ni kommer nu att varje år få en inkomstdeklaration 3 som ska lämnas in till Skatteverket.
Räkenskapsåret styr när föreningens deklaration ska lämnas.

Räkenskapsårets utgång.	Utskick deklaration	Sista inlämningsdag
31/1, 28/2, 31/3, 30/4	September	1/11
31/5, 30/6	Oktober	15/12
31/7, 31/8	Januari	3/3
30/9, 31/10 30/11, 31/12	Februari	1/7

Deklarationen består dels av deklarationens framsida INK3, vilken alltid ska skrivas under
och lämnas in till Skatteverket.

På deklarationens bilagor INK3K, INK3R och INK3S ska den ideella föreningens-/stiftelsens
skattepliktiga verksamhet redovisas.

På bilagan INK3SU ska allmännyttiga ideella föreningar/allmännyttiga stiftelser redovisa
sin icke skattepliktiga verksamhet.

Lön, arvode eller andra ersättningar

Om ni betalar lön, arvode eller andra
ersättningar och förmåner, t ex
styrelsearvode på 1000 kr eller mer ska ni
arbetsgivarregistrera er. Detta görs på
blankett "Skatte- och avgiftsanmälan" SKV
4620.

Ni ska lämna kontrolluppgifter om ni har
betalat ut lön, arvode eller andra
ersättningar/förmåner som är skattepliktig
inkomst för mottagaren, t ex
styrelsearvode, över 99 kr. Läs mer i
broschyren "Kontrolluppgifter – lön,
förmåner m.m." (SKV304).

Moms för ideella föreningar

Ideella föreningar som inte är
allmännyttiga och som bedriver
näringsverksamhet är skattskyldiga till
moms på samma villkor som andra
näringsidkare.

Om en allmännyttig ideell förening är
skyldig att betala inkomstskatt för
näringsverksamhet ska den också deklarera
och betala moms på momspliktig
försäljning av varor och tjänster.

Adressändra

Skatteverket är angeläget att hålla
föreningens/stiftelsens uppgifter aktuella.
Ni ombeds därför alltid meddela oss om ni
får ändrad adress. Adressändring görs via
Svensk Adressändring på
www.adressandring.se alternativt 020-97
98 99 eller hos Skatteverket på blankett
SKV 2020.

Avregistrering

Om verksamheten upphör ska föreningens
organisationsnummer avregistreras från
Skatteverkets register över
organisationsnummer (blankett 2021).

BEVIS
om tilldelat organisationsnummer
Datum
2014-11-05

Postadress namn och adress
WAREMA ETHIOPIA
c/o ÅSA STRINSVIK
KULTURHUSET STADSTEATERN
BOX 164 12
103 27 STOCKHOLM

Organisationsnummer
802491-4908

Juridisk form
61 IDEELLA FÖRENINGAR

Namn
WAREMA ETHIOPIA

Adress
c/o ÅSA STRINSVIK
KULTURHUSET STADSTEATERN
BOX 164 12
103 27 STOCKHOLM

Registreringstidpunkt
2014-11-05

Län
STOCKHOLM

Kommun
STOCKHOLM

Expeditionsavgift
I tjänsten utan avgift

I Skatteverkets (SKV:s) organisationsnummerregister
har registrerats uppgifter enligt detta bevis.

Handläggare
HELENE AF SANDEBERG

Appendix 5 Interview Guide

Guide for In-depth Interview with the journalists[15] of *Wazema* Radio

I. PART ONE

1. Name _____
2. Position_____
3. Responsibility in the production of *Wazema* Radio_____
4. Country of Residence_____ Since when _____
5. Educational background _____
6. Experience in journalism _____

II. PART TWO – Pre-Wazema

1. Was journalism your full-time job when you were in Ethiopia?
2. Tell me what you were doing in Ethiopia
3. Can you give me a description of the circumstances that led you to leaving your homeland?

III. PART THREE – Production

1. For how long have you been involved in the production of *Wazema* Radio?
2. When and how did you start producing *Wazema* Radio? What were its objectives?
3. Where and what was your intended target audience?
4. Where and what are your actual target audiences now? (place and demographic group)
5. How do you get program/story ideas?
6. Are the issues nationwide or do you focus on specific areas of the nation?
7. What format do you commonly use while producing *Wazema* Radio (prioritize if you are using more than one format)
   a, Lecture /straight talk__ b, interviews/discussions__ c, drama__ d, music___
   e, jingles/slogans____ f, feature___ g, magazine (containing a number of issues in the form of interviews, music, straight talk…)__ h, infotainment __
8. What are the sources of the commentaries/scripts you air on *Wazema* Radio?Do you edit scripts/stories you take from other sources (newspapers, magazines, websites…) so that they can appeal to radio audience?
9. Do you make efforts to have sound bites of individuals (experts, laymen, government officials, opposition figures…)?
10. Do you think the issues you raise relate to the reality of the target audience?
11. How does *Wazema* Radio's content differ from the contents of mainstream media outlets in Ethiopia?
12. How do you get feedback about *Wazema* Radio?
13. What kind of comments do you frequently get?
14. What do you think is the main characteristics of *Wazema* Radio production wise? (for example small sized staff, …)

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[15] Questions in part 2 are changed when it comes to under-cover journalists working in Ethiopia

VI. PART FOUR – Professionalism

15. Have you ever participated in media related trainings since the launch of *Wazema* Radio? If so describe?
16. Do you think lack (if there is any) of training is affecting the performance of *Wazema* Radio?
17. Who decides on the contents of *Wazema* Radio?
18. Were there cases where you were forced to drop a story idea or an already produced program/s as a result of the 'editorial power/right' of the person or group of persons at *Wazema* Radio? Please mention
19. How do you describe your relationship with your donor/s ? - issue of Editorial independence?
20. Has there been any assessment such as audience research concerning *Wazema* Radio?
21. What do you do to keep the trust of your audiences?
22. How do you describe your role in the context of the press situation and democratization in Ethiopia? As a journalist, activist or both?
23. What is/are the most important element/s of journalistic practice to you? What journalistic values are important to you as a journalist? How about *Wazema* as a media outlet?
24. Considering the press freedom situation in Ethiopia, how much do you protect your sources in Ethiopia? How? Keeping them anonymous? how much is this accepted by the audience
25. What do you think is the main characteristics of *Wazema* Radio journalistic profession wise? (for example, editorial independence/control, being sensational…) UNIQUENESS
26.

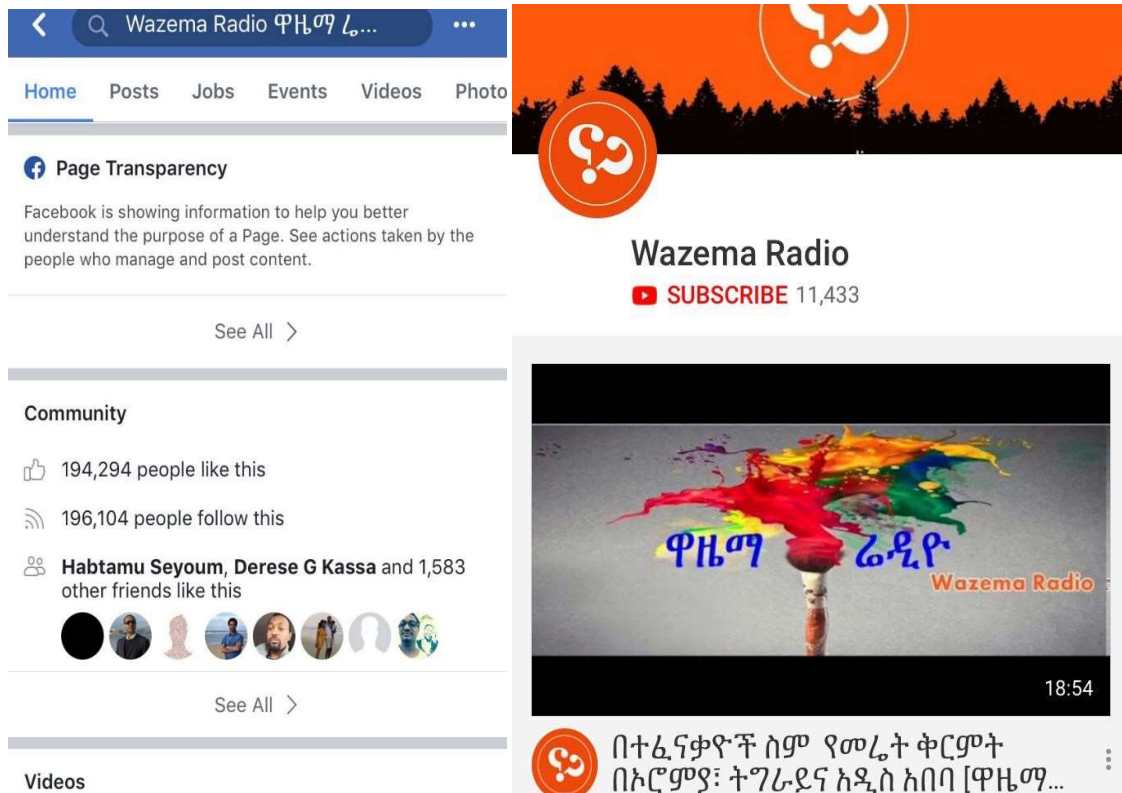## V. PART FIVE – Relationship with audience & other media
27. What keeps you connected with the audience?
28. Have you conducted audience survey? If so, when and what was the objective?
29. What are your most common audience feedbacks?
30. Do you follow other diaspora media outlets?
31. Do you have communication with other diaspora media outlets?
32. Which ones are your imagined/assumed competitors from the diaspora media outlets?

VI. PART SIX – Post-April 2018 Reforms
33. Do you think the reforms of April 2018 are changing the media freedom situation in Ethiopia?
34. When do you think you will end working as an exiled journalist? When do you think *Wazema* will stop its operation as an exile media? What do you think will follow after that?
35. How would *Wazema* change itself in line with the reforms in Ethiopia?
    a. Change in place of operation_____
    b. Change in mission statement_____
    c. Change in sector of engagement (print, broadcast…)_____

d.   Change in size/expansion (staff, commercial interest…) _____
e.   When is the change to come _____

Appendix 6 Screenshots of Wazema social media followers as of May 30, 2019