

Monitoring of the Ethiopian media's coverage of the 21 June elections campaign

I- Introduction

The June 2021 parliamentary elections were a crucial moment in the long process of democratization in Ethiopia. It was hoped that the elections would help consolidate the rules of democracy and pluralism and bring the much-needed changes to ensure a better future for the country.

General elections were held on 21 June 2021 to elect representatives to the House of People. The elections, which were originally scheduled for 29 August 2020, were delayed due to the COVID-19 situation. In May 2020, the incumbent House of Peoples' Representatives voted to postpone the elections to 2021. At the end of December 2020, the National Election Board of Ethiopia (NEBE)¹ declared that the elections would be held on 5 June 2021, before being delayed again until 21 June. This was the first multiparty election in Ethiopia since 2005.

In light of the elections held and the forthcoming election of Sept 30th, CECOE established a media monitoring unit in partnership with European Centre for Electoral Support (ECES). The main task of the unit was focused on monitoring the media's coverage before, during and after the elections as well as capacity-building of media in electoral reporting. Several media training had place before the elections in benefit of dozens of Ethiopian journalists.

The CECOE emerged in May 2019. The main rational were the political space opening up due to the ongoing political and economic reform underway in the country as well as the need to actively take part in the upcoming 2020 national elections. Interim Coordinating Committee (ICC) emerged with the mandate to organize the Coalition of Ethiopian Civil Society Organizations for Election. The ICC comprises the Ethiopian Civil Society Forum (ECSF), Inter-Africa Group (IAG), Ethiopian Lawyers Association (ELA), Coalition of Christian Relief and Development Associations (CCRDA), Network of Ethiopian Women's Associations (NEWA), Ethiopian Civic and Voters

¹ The National Election Board of Ethiopia (NEBE) is an autonomous government agency which supervises the national elections of Ethiopia. The NEBE was established by Proclamation number 64/1992, and answers to the House of Peoples' Representatives.

Education Actors and Federation of Ethiopian National Associations of Persons with Disabilities (FENAPD).

The consortium carried out media monitoring elections between 1 May and 15 June 2021 with a supervision of experienced ECES's expert in media support, elections, monitoring and training.

With a media monitoring unit in Addis, employing a total of 9 Ethiopian media monitors, monitoring continued after the campaign to assess post-election coverage and media coverage during the campaign.

The media included in the sample were selected according to a number of criteria including territorial reach, estimated audience/circulation and Ethiopian ownership and/or registration in Ethio. The monitoring of elections and political coverage was based on both quantitative and qualitative analysis and it aimed to observe and assess the extent to which media provided fair and balanced coverage of politicians and other stakeholders. During the election and post-election periods, the project also monitored hate speech or inflammatory language — either reported on or originating from the media themselves — to assess whether the media acted as agents of pacification or rather contributed to increase any potential tensions related to the elections. In order to understand and interpret the performance of the media, the monitors also observed the use of social media by political actors during the campaign

The importance of media monitoring during an election campaign

The media play a vital role in the conduct of a democratic election. It allows voters to have access to all the information they need to make an informed and conscious choice at the time of voting, and at the same time allows political actors to express their views and present their political programmes. This is why the international standards usually used to describe elections as "free and fair" include "fair access to the media by parties and candidates" and "impartial" media coverage of the electoral process. The monitoring methodology applied to the media must take into consideration the legislative and regulatory texts relating to the organisation and coverage of elections - in order to analyse in an objective and impartial manner the coverage of the electoral campaign and its different actors. The analysis is a team effort, in which all observers should strive to follow the same methodology to ensure consistency of results. This systematic work makes it possible to generate various statistical data that are indispensable for assessing the degree of responsibility and objectivity with which the media have fulfilled their information mission. Ultimately, monitoring allows for an assessment of the role of the media in ensuring a free, transparent and fair electoral process.

II- Methodology

Media monitoring makes it possible to follow and analyse, according to an appropriate methodology and on the basis of objective indicators and criteria, the way in which the media - all categories taken together: radio, television and the written press - ensure an independent, impartial, responsible and equitable treatment of the electoral event and its actors. It aims to produce *reports* based on proven, credible and observed facts on the media coverage of each event during the electoral process: the distribution of the slots of the political actors, the content of the messages delivered, the comments made, the tone used and the topics addressed.

In doing this, the media monitors take into account the basic rights of each of the three actors:

Voters' rights to receive information;

voters have the right to be informed about political alternatives and candidates' platforms in order to be able to make an informed choice.

Candidates' rights to impart information;

candidates and parties have the right to communicate their platforms and their views. To that end, they have a right of unimpeded access to the media on a non-discriminatory basis in order to inform the electorate about their policies and opinions on matters of public interest.

The media's right to freedom of expression.

The media enjoy the freedom to inform the public about an election campaign and to express their opinions on issues of public interest. They also cover all relevant election-related issues and play an active role in informing voters by offering them a diverse range of views, which include those of journalists and political analysts free to criticise politicians for their platforms or their performances. At the same time, they have a duty to inform voters in a correct, accurate, transparent, and balanced manner.

This monitoring work is carried out by media analysts with different titles and levels of intervention. Nine observers (monitors), boys and girls, were selected on the basis of preestablished criteria. Having received the required training by media monitoring experts, they will work during the entire election process under the permanent supervision of a media monitoring expert. Once the data has been collected, systematically reported and analysed, it is entered into a database and analysed from a quantitative point of view (in terms of coverage space and time), which will translate the results into graphs and tables, and from a qualitative point of view, which will allow the political coverage of the media to be reported.

Monitoring sample

Our sample consists of 7 media outlets:

The selection was made according to the media's audience, the legal status and the linguistic diversity.

Public Televisions: ETV + ETV languages (only from 2 to 4 pm), Amhara Media C and OBN TV.

Private Televisions: Fana BC, Walta and OBS

Time slots for media recording: From 6 -11 Pm + for ETV languages from 2 to 4 pm

Observation methodology:

Monitoring aims to quantify and qualify time dedicated to candidates and political parties by the media.

1/The quantitative analysis measures the total amount of space and time devoted to coverage of selected monitored subjects or topics (e.g. elections) by the media. The analysis also evaluates whether the information about selected monitored subjects is positive, negative, or neutral in its content.

QUANTITATIVE

Codification of the time dedicated to candidates and political parties by the media. The quantitative analysis measures the total amount of space and time devoted to coverage of selected monitored subjects by the media.

The analysis also evaluates whether the information about selected monitored subjects is positive, negative, or neutral in its content.

QUALITATIVE

Systematic collection of non numeric observations concerning aspects of the coverage that cannot be retrieved by numbers

e.g.

- ■Journalist style
- Opinion polls
- ■Media biases
- Voter Education

2/Qualitative analysis aims at assessing elements of the coverage that

cannot be fully observed though quantitative methods.

The most common elements to be assessed are:

Journalistic style: Do journalists tend to mix opinions and facts when reporting? Do journalists try to provide the public with in-depth analysis and accurate information, or do they tend to report in a superficial and incomplete way?

Formats of the coverage used to cover the elections: Are there any examples of innovative election coverage? Have satirical programmes or articles been produced? Have the broadcast/print media produced any programme or article in the language(s) of national minorities? Are they dealing with national-minorities issues? Have the broadcast/print media produced any programme or article dealing with gender issues?

News omissions and distortions: Was any relevant piece of news omitted by the media

observed? Was information conveyed in an inaccurate or distorted manner?

Women: Did media outlet devoted coverage for women candidates or women issues? Was there any programmes targeting such issues as key component of the campaign? Did candidates and politicians (male or female) devoted some of their time or space to discuss women's issues and role as a part of their platform or campaign (both in editorial and advertising content)?

Voter education: Is there any specific campaign for voter education? Does it provide voters with correct and clear information on their right to vote and voting procedures? Does it target different audiences, particularly the disadvantaged or groups that are traditionally discriminated against? Is it focused on particular aspects or problems widespread in a specific country? Please pay a special attention to voter education targeting women and the youth.

Coverage of *election administration*: Is the activity of the electoral commission being covered? Are sensitive issues related to the administration of the election being covered? Is the coverage promoting confidence in the institutions and the electoral process, or is it undermining their legitimacy?

3/Monitoring of hate speech

Monitors will scrutinize how the media report Hate speech in the election campaign. This includes inflammatory language, call for violence, discrimination, derogatory language, etc... when they are communicated through the media.

Who are the political actors?

Individuals or group with a political role, a governmental role, a role within parties or within political forces

Criteria defining a political actor:

- Being a registered candidate
- Being a party leader/member/activist
- Being a member of the government (Ministers, President.)
- Being a member of Parliament
- Being a political party
- Being a coalition
- Being a member of the local administration (TBC).

III- Key findings

• OBN TV and ETV were the two media that covered the election campaign the most. Both media accounted for more than 58% of the total coverage.

- News bulletins were by far the most dominant programs. While there were very few interviews and talk shows.
- Very little space was devoted to voter education. Hence Citizens did not enjoy their rights to have information about the candidates, about the electoral law, about the voting procedure, when and where to vote
- In the news, the prosperity party and NEBE account for 75% of the news to the detriment of other parties and civil society organizations which received only 2% of the total news.
- The monitoring showed a blatant bias in media coverage. The ruling Prosperity Party had a large coverage exceeding 64% of the coverage.
- The media during this period paid particular attention to NEBE's activities and reported on its communication 9NEBe received 10 % of the coverage).
- 12 political parties participated in the debates organized by the TV channels. Prosperity party had the lion's share in the debates.
- The tone used to cover the political actors was mostly positive, although some negative and neutral reporting was observed, notably on Amhara TV (46% neutral and 18 negative) and Walta TV (38 % neutral and 10 % negative). The television stations that gave the most coverage to the prosperity Party showed the most positive coverage, confirming a clear bias in the coverage of elections and politics.
- Four themes dominated the election campaign, accounting for more than 80 percent of the coverage (campaign activities, election preparations, security and politics).
- Only 10% of the coverage was devoted to women political actors during the monitoring period. (The group is related to parties, institutions and civil society organisations).

IV- Media Landscape

Since 1991, the media landscape in Ethiopia has taken different forms and has continued to evolve. During the first decade, private newspapers and magazines were established, and TV and radio stations were not yet created. The first two private print media outlets that were established were "Tobiya" magazine and "Reporter" newspaper.

It was 1995 when the reporter newspaper was founded. And then "Addis Fortune" (English weekly newspaper), "Capital" (English Weekly Newspaper) came to the public. Before the EPRDF regime, which was in socialist Ethiopia, only government-owned newspapers were on the market. Addis Zemen (Amharic), Ethiopian Herald (English), Berrisa (Affan Oromo), Wogehata

(Tigrigna), and Al-alem (Arebic) newspapers were reaching out to the readers, and all of them are from the same publishing company.

On the TV and radio only public-owned Tv (which is the then ETV, now EBC), and the national radio (Ethiopia Radio) were the broadcasters.

The first decade was the rise for print media but not for the broadcast media. The print media was mushrooming until 2005. The year was when the 3rd national election took place. Back then, a lot of newspapers were coming out, and even in the Ethiopian media history, daily newspapers were also coming out. But the ending was not as pleasant as the beginning. After the election, magazines, and newspapers were forcefully shut down by the government, and journalists were thrown to jail. The spark of freedom of speech or media freedom went off, the media landscape was also very shallow.

The 2005 national election put the media landscape at stake and it remained the same for 13 years until the reformist government came to power. During the first days of the reformist government, the media landscape has shown improvement. But it couldn't go further as it was planned or supposed to be going. But on the contrary, the number of media print, broadcast, online, and digital media is alarmingly increasing. Unlike the first seasons of EPRDF, the print media was weakening from time to time. Due to this, in 10-year time from 2009 to 2019 about 260 newspapers and magazines were dissolved for different reasons. Politically related cases, access to information, and financial problem were the major obstacles to the dissolved print media. https://addismaleda.com/archives/2526

TV and Radio

Currently, there are 10 Radio channels on air. Until recently, there were 12 but for different reasons, they are Arki Radio 97.6 and Demtsi Woyane 102.2. Demsti Woyane was founded in 1979; during the armed struggle of TPLF. And the frequency mainly covers the area around Mekelle city; the capital of the Tigray region. It is now shut down by the respective authority because of misinformation and hate speech.

Four radio channels are set to join the media industry, they are in preparation.

In the annexes you will find detailed media tables and a mapping of Ethiopian media landscape.

V- Overview of the legal Framework

Summary of the provisions of the new media law (Proclamation No. 1238/2021) governing the work of the media during elections

Any broadcasting service should provide political parties or private candidates registered an equitable coverage during election periods, a balanced and comprehensive coverage of election campaigns by proportionally including the views of political parties and voters on news, analysis and discussion

Any broadcasting service licensee shall allocate free airtime for political parties or private candidates

In term of free airtime, the Media authority in collaboration with the NEBE shall allot specific amounts of free airtime to each party following four factors: The number of seats political parties have in the House of Peoples" Representatives and regional councils; The number of candidates political parties present for the election; The number of female or persons with disabilities candidates of political parties present for the election; and Equal allotment of airtime for all political parties participating in the election

The amount of airtime allotted to all political parties equally shall be conducted with the basic principle of providing voters with information they need to make their choices. The minimum airtime allocated to political parties shall be clearly determined.

The commercial broadcasting service and special public broadcasting service providers has the obligation of allocating free airtime to political parties but the amount shall be lower than public service broadcasting.

There is no requirement from broadcasting service licensee o broadcast a political advertisement, but if they choose to do so, they may not discriminate against any political party or make or give any preference to any political party or subject any political party to any prejudice. Along the same logic, A broadcasting service licensee are not obliged to broadcast a political advertisement from political parties or individual candidates during an election period. However, when it chooses to do so, on its own free will, the message shall be duly approved by an authorized representative.

VI- The media monitoring results

A- Qualitative findings and analysis

Media agenda and format of coverage

Although election-related issues were often discussed, election preparations and political issues dominated the coverage. The current security situation in Tigray, including human rights in the region and the deteriorating, security situation in the Oromo region, the possible evolving threats to national security after the elections, the post-election scenario, and whether the elections provide solutions to the country's problems were also part of the news agenda. In addition to the above topics, other issues were also discussed, especially during the numerous debates organized during the campaign: Education, poverty, health, rule of law, building a democratic system and land policy.

As for the format of the coverage, news and debates were the dominant types of programs. Only a few reports, interviews and talk shows were aired during the campaign as shown by the quantitative data.

Regarding the debates, since the first day of the monitoring, May 3, eleven media outlets hosted more than 27 Debates in which the participant parties were given equal time to introduce their respective polices and to respond to questions. The format of the debates was set in a way that participants received similar questions except in the section where the political actors were given the opportunity to ask questions to each other.

Twelve parties, at least, participated in the debates. Parties that presented more candidates were given the opportunity to take part in many debates. Hence, Prosperity Party, Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice, Enat Party, National Movement of Amhara and Freedom and Equality Party received frequent appearance in major debates. The representatives of the Prosperity Party were absent from 4 debates although they had been invited to participate.

Ethics and deontology

The degree of respect for ethics and deontology differs from one media to another. Most of the media outlets observed were unbalanced in their coverage and not very respectful of good journalistic practices. The coverage, especially in the talk shows, was marked by similar views with the absence of alternative views on the topics covered, it was one-sided and no opposing viewpoints were included.

As for the hate speech, NEBE reminded NAMA, PP, EZEMA, OFC, and other parties of the law on the use of hate speech and incitement to violence, after noticing some of their social media posts containing violent messages. Facebook posts by the OLF, OFC, and their affiliates sometimes called on supporters not to participate in the process or referred to would-be voters as "traitors". Another narrative discredited the process as "fake elections".

Freedom and Equality and Balderas for True Democracy parties frequently accused the NEBE of bias toward the ruling party. The heightened rhetoric by Oromia and Tigray social media

platforms continued into election day, while allegations of intimidation, violence, and fraud, including doctored photos of results forms, circulated on election day and immediately after.

With regard to hate speech, on 23 April NEBE warned NAMA, PP, EZEMA, OFC and other parties after seeing some of their posts on social media and reminded them of the law on hate speech and incitement to violence. Facebook posts by the OLF, OFC and their affiliates sometimes called on their supporters to boycott the elections or called potential voters "traitors" in an attempt to discredit the process as a "fake election".

Violent rhetoric on social media platforms in Oromia and Tigray continued and intensified on election day, while allegations of intimidation, violence and fraud, including false photos of the results forms, circulated on E-day and in the following days.

Hate speech was also directed at the Prime Minister following an alleged audio file in which he appears, published by Kello Media on 31 May. The file quickly went viral. In the audio file, a voice supposedly of the Prime Minister could be heard declaring victory before D-Day.

Voter education

The weakest aspect of the media coverage if we dare say so, was the performance of media in term of voter education. Unfortunately, insignificant efforts were made to explain to the citizen, the process of voting. Hence, the citizen right to sufficient information allowing them to make an informed choice was not fully respected.

The coverage of the election administration (NEBE)

The activities of the electoral authorities received a great deal of media attention and coverage, as shown in the quantitative data. The voter registration process and the data provided by the NEBE were followed daily by the various media. However, the coverage of NEBE was not always neutral and positive. Examples of harsh criticism and negative coverage of NEBEs in some media outlets.

Government Advantage

Overall, the current government and the ruling party received the largest amount of media coverage during the campaign. This coverage highlighted the changes and reforms that the government has made in different parts of the country. Most of the criticism that the government and the Prosperity Party received occurred during the debates, when participants took the opportunity to criticize government policy.

Mobilization of women and people with disabilities were among the topics that were absent from the media, at least at the beginning of the campaign

In the 27 debates, only 25 (less than 20 %) participants were women, mostly from Prosperity Party, Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party and Freedom and Equality Party. Only one debate had "Women empowerment "as the main topic. It was the one host by Arts Tv on May 21st, in which six female political actors participated representing Prosperity (2), Enat (2), Ethiopia Citizens for Social Justice (1), and Freedom and equality party (1). The share of women's coverage during the campaign was increased by the coverage of NEBE's female members, including its spokesperson and president/ chairperson, Birtukan Mideksa.

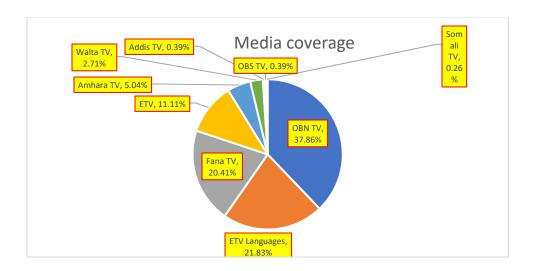
Worries and concerns of political parties and civil society organization concern about Women and persons with disabilities participation in the upcoming national election were reported by some media. According to some media reports, Ombudsman survey on election activities showed that a large number of polling stations were not suitable for the disable. The assessment showed that some polling stations were not accessible for the disabled.

B- Quantitative results

OBN TV and ETV were the two media that covered the election campaign the most. Both media accounted for more than 58% of the total coverage, while the three media Addis TV, OBS and Somali TV were very little active with a coverage that did not exceed 1% for each of the three media

Media	Coverage
OBN TV	37.86%
ETV	
Languages	21.83%
Fana TV	20.41%
ETV	11.11%
Amhara TV	5.04%
Walta TV	2.71%
Addis TV	0.39%
OBS TV	0.39%
Somali TV	0.26%
Grand Total	100.00%

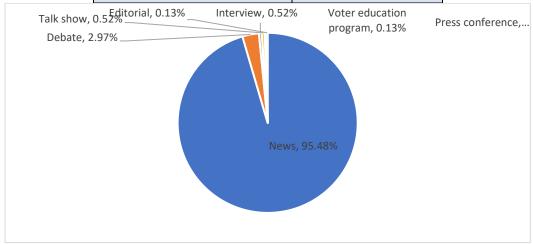
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Coverage by type of program

Although many debates took place during the campaign, news remained by far the most dominant programme. There were very few interviews and talk shows, and very little space was devoted to voter education. whereas during an election campaign voter education is necessary because people need to know their rights, to have information about the candidates, about the electoral law, about the voting procedure, when and where to vote

Type of Program	Total
News	95.48%
Debate	2.97%
Interview	0.52%
Talk show	0.52%
Press conference	0.26%
Voter education program	0.13%
Editorial	0.13%
Grand Total	100.00%

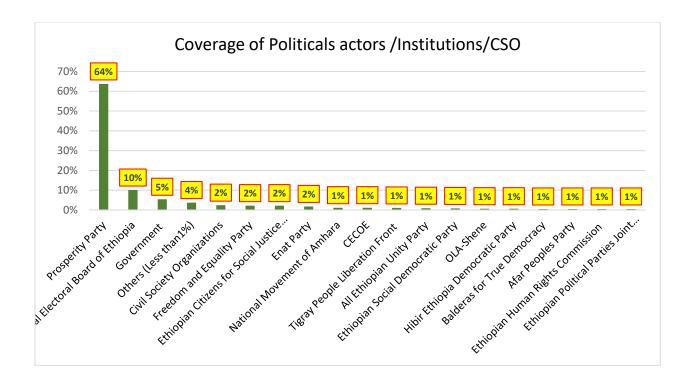


- Coverage of the Political actors in all media and all programs

The figures show a blatant bias in media coverage. Almost two thirds of the coverage of candidates' activities and political life during the observation period was devoted to one political party, in this case the ruling Prosperity Party. However, the media during this period paid particular attention to NEBE's activities and reported on its communication.

Political	
	Coverage
Actors/Institutions/Organizations	Coverage
Prosperity Party	64%
National Electoral Board of Ethiopia	10%
Government	5%
Others (Less than1%)	4%
Civil Society Organizations	2%
Freedom and Equality Party	2%
Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice	
Party	2%
Enat Party	2%
National Movement of Amhara	1%
CECOE	1%
Tigray People Liberation Front	1%
All Ethiopian Unity Party	1%
Ethiopian Social Democratic Party	1%
OLA-Shene	1%
Hibir Ethiopia Democratic Party	1%
Balderas for True Democracy	1%
Afar Peoples Party	1%
Ethiopian Human Rights Commission	1%
Ethiopian Political Parties Joint	
Council	1%
Grand Total	100%

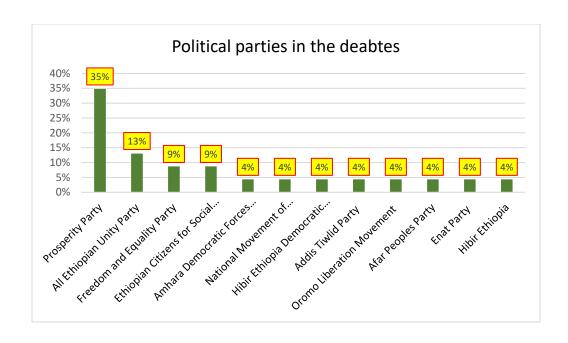
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Political parties in the debates

The following table shows that 12 political parties participated in the debates organized by the TV channels. It can be seen that even in the debates and although it was absent in at least 4 debates, prosperity party had the lion's share in the debates

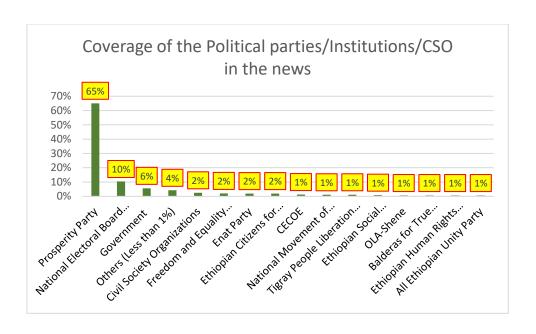
Political party	Coverage
Prosperity Party	35%
All Ethiopian Unity Party	13%
Freedom and Equality Party	9%
Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party	9%
Amhara Democratic Forces Movement	4%
National Movement of Amhara	4%
Hibir Ethiopia Democratic Party	4%
Addis Tiwlid Party	4%
Oromo Liberation Movement	4%
Afar Peoples Party	4%
Enat Party	4%
Hibir Ethiopia	4%
Grand Total	100%



Coverage of political actors/ institution/CSO in the News

In the news, the prosperity party and NEBE account for 75% of the news to the detriment of other parties and civil society organizations which received only 2% of the total news.

Row Labels	Count of Affiliation
Prosperity Party	65%
National Electoral Board of Ethiopia	10%
Government	6%
Others (Less than 1%)	4%
Civil Society Organizations	2%
Freedom and Equality Party	2%
Enat Party	2%
Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice	
Party	2%
CECOE	1%
National Movement of Amhara	1%
Tigray People Liberation Front	1%
Ethiopian Social Democratic Party	1%
OLA-Shene	1%
Balderas for True Democracy	1%
Ethiopian Human Rights Commission	1%
All Ethiopian Unity Party	1%
Grand Total	100%



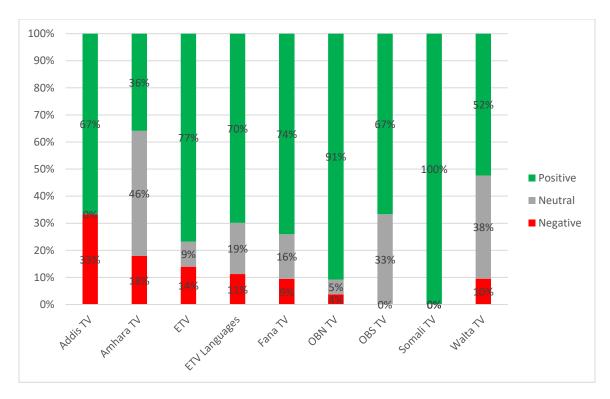
Tone of the coverage

The tone used to cover the political actors was mostly positive, although some negative and neutral reporting was observed, notably on Amhara TV (46% neutral and 18 negative) and Walta TV (38 % neutral and 10 % negative).

In addition, the television stations that gave the most coverage to the prosperity Party showed the most positive coverage, confirming a clear bias in the coverage of elections and politics.

				Grand
Row Labels	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total
Addis TV	33%	0%	67%	100%
Amhara TV	18%	46%	36%	100%
ETV	14%	9%	77%	100%
ETV				
Languages	11%	19%	70%	100%
Fana TV	9%	16%	74%	100%
OBN TV	4%	5%	91%	100%
OBS TV	0%	33%	67%	100%
Somali TV	0%	0%	100%	100%
Walta TV	10%	38%	52%	100%
Grand Total	9%	14%	77%	100%

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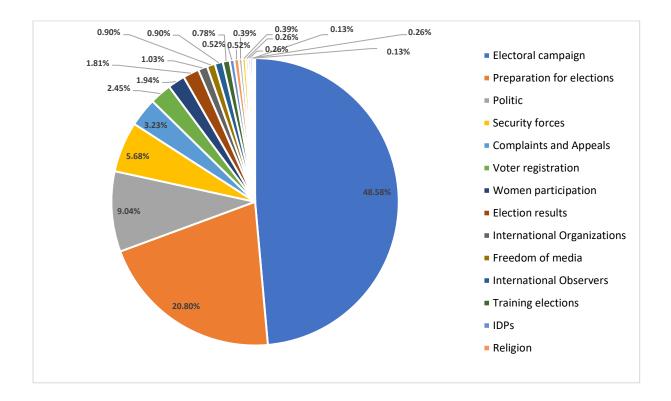


Coverage by Topics

Four themes dominated the election campaign, accounting for more than 80 percent of the coverage (campaign activities, election preparations, security and politics). The media coverage did not give enough importance to the economy and health issues, whereas in this particular period these two issues should have been debated by the political actors and covered by the media.

Row Labels	Count of Topic
Electoral campaign	48.58%
Preparation for elections	20.80%
Politic	9.04%
Security forces	5.68%
Complaints and Appeals	3.23%
Voter registration	2.45%
Women participation	1.94%
Election results	1.81%
International Organizations	1.03%
Freedom of media	0.90%
International Observers	0.90%
Training elections	0.78%
IDPs	0.52%
Religion	0.52%
Economy	0.39%

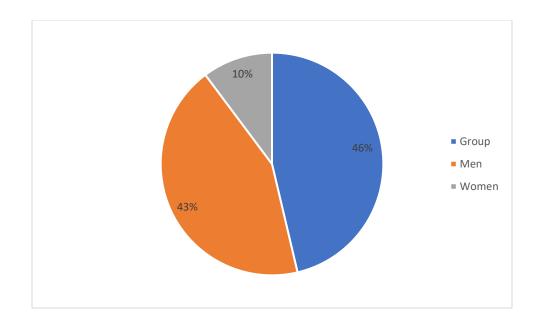
National observers	0.39%
Covid	0.26%
Health	0.26%
Disabled persons	0.26%
Freedom of expression	0.13%
Voter education	0.13%
Grand Total	100.00%



- Coverage of political actors by gender

Only 10% of the coverage was devoted to women political actors during the monitoring period. (The group is related to parties, institutions and civil society organisations).

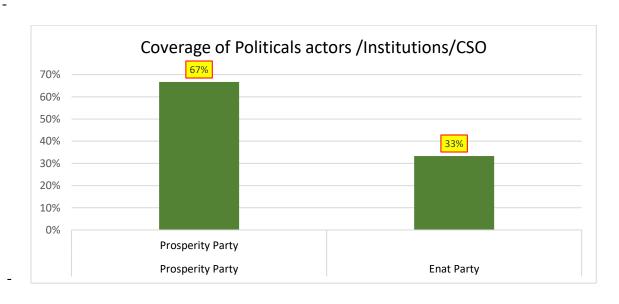
Row Labels	% from total
Group	46%
Men	43%
Women	10%
Total	100%



Coverage by media

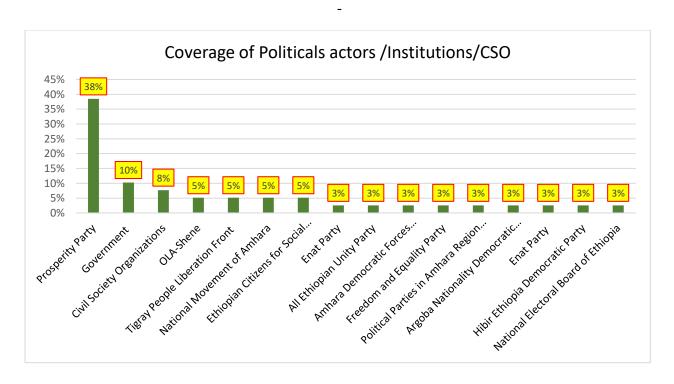
- Addis TV

Political	
Actors/Institutions/Organizations	Coverage
Prosperity Party	67%
Enat Party	33%
Grand Total	100%

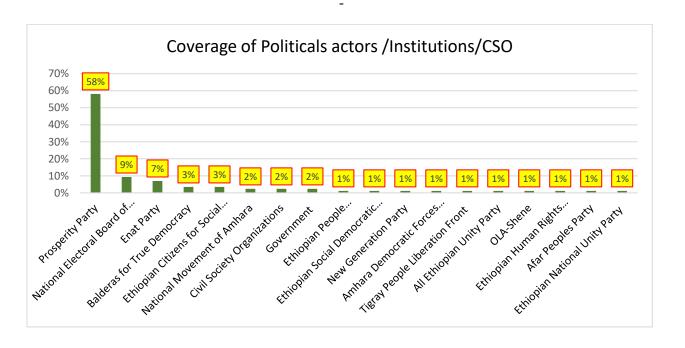


Amhara TV

Political	
Actors/Institutions/Organizations	Coverage
Prosperity Party	38%
Government	10%
Civil Society Organizations	8%
OLA-Shene	5%
Tigray People Liberation Front	5%
National Movement of Amhara	5%
Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party	5%
Enat Party	3%
All Ethiopian Unity Party	3%
Amhara Democratic Forces Movement	3%
Freedom and Equality Party	3%
Political Parties in Amhara Region Joint	
Council	3%
Argoba Nationality Democratic Movement	3%
Enat Party	3%
Hibir Ethiopia Democratic Party	3%
National Electoral Board of Ethiopia	3%
Grand Total	100%

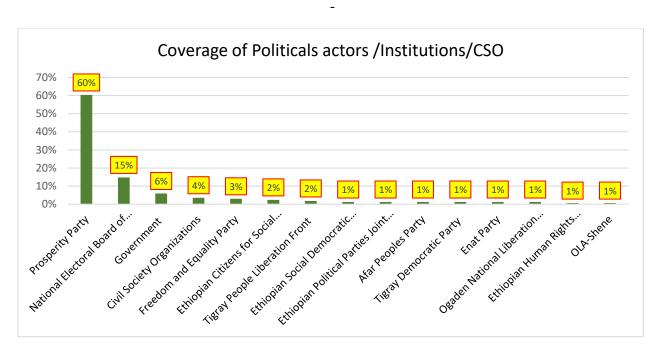


Political	
Actors/Institutions/Organizations	Coverage
Prosperity Party	58%
National Electoral Board of Ethiopia	9%
Enat Party	7%
Balderas for True Democracy	3%
Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party	3%
National Movement of Amhara	2%
Civil Society Organizations	2%
Government	2%
Ethiopian People Revolutionary Party	1%
Ethiopian Social Democratic Party	1%
New Generation Party	1%
Amhara Democratic Forces Movement	1%
Tigray People Liberation Front	1%
All Ethiopian Unity Party	1%
OLA-Shene	1%
Ethiopian Human Rights Commission	1%
Afar Peoples Party	1%



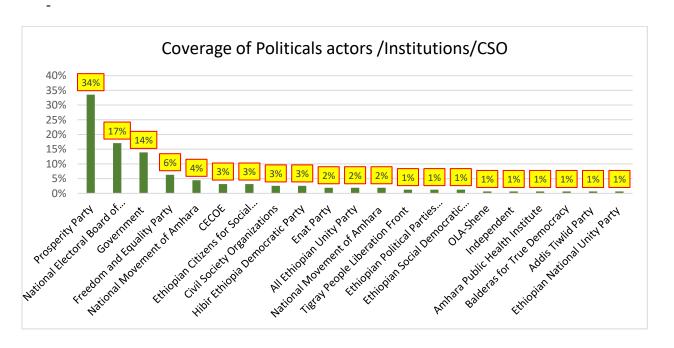
ETV language

Political	
Actors/Institutions/Organizations	Coverage
Prosperity Party	60%
National Electoral Board of Ethiopia	15%
Government	6%
Civil Society Organizations	4%
Freedom and Equality Party	3%
Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party	2%
Tigray People Liberation Front	2%
Ethiopian Social Democratic Party	1%
Ethiopian Political Parties Joint Council	1%
Afar Peoples Party	1%
Tigray Democratic Party	1%
Enat Party	1%
Ogaden National Liberation Front	1%
Ethiopian Human Rights Commission	1%
OLA-Shene	1%
Grand Total	100%



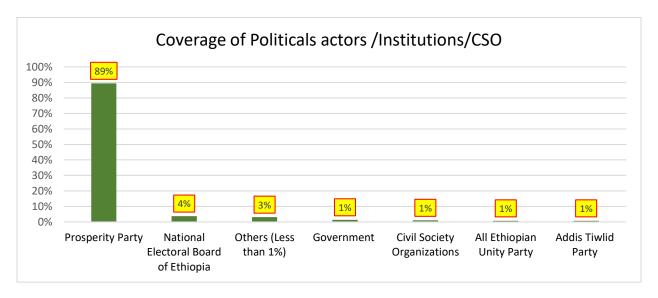
- Fana TV

Political	
Actors/Institutions/Organizations	Coverage
Prosperity Party	34%
National Electoral Board of Ethiopia	17%
Government	14%
Freedom and Equality Party	6%
National Movement of Amhara	4%
CECOE	3%
Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice Party	3%
Civil Society Organizations	3%
Hibir Ethiopia Democratic Party	3%
Enat Party	2%
All Ethiopian Unity Party	2%
National Movement of Amhara	2%
Tigray People Liberation Front	1%
Ethiopian Political Parties Joint Council	1%
Ethiopian Social Democratic Party	1%
OLA-Shene	1%
Independent	1%
Amhara Public Health Institute	1%
Balderas for True Democracy	1%
Addis Tiwlid Party	1%
Ethiopian National Unity Party	1%
Grand Total	100%



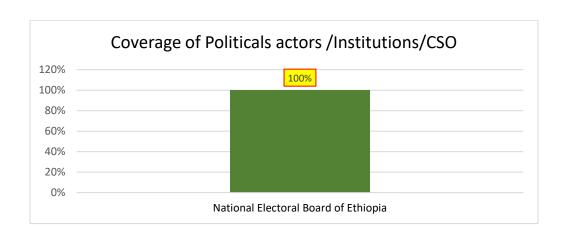
OBN TV

Political	
Actors/Institutions/Organizations	Coverage
Prosperity Party	89%
National Electoral Board of Ethiopia	4%
Others (Less than 1%)	3%
Government	1%
Civil Society Organizations	1%
All Ethiopian Unity Party	1%
Addis Tiwlid Party	1%
Grand Total	100%



- OBS TV

Political Actors/Institutions/Organizations	Coverage
National Electoral Board of Ethiopia	100%



VII- The use of social media networks (Facebook) during the electoral campaign

With nearly one-fifth of the population having access to the Internet, and 6,137,000 Facebook users in Ethiopia as of January 2020, according to recent data published by the website napoleoncat.com, even if Ethiopian internet penetration remains among the lowest in Africa, the use of social networks still is of paramount importance, especially in this electoral period.

Our analysis is focused on Facebook as the most used in Ethiopia and for being a free tool capable of reaching a large number of Internet users in a limited time and can be used for many tasks during an election campaign. Facebook's public pages serve as top-down channels for political actors, allowing them to bypass conventional media. The institutions like NEBE and EMA had Facebook pages in Amharic which were often updated allowing citizens to be informed.

In terms of popularity, the prime minister has the most popular page in Ethiopia, followed by EZEMA whose social media content was highly political in nature, and in in terms of ads, it was the only party that ran a significant number of ads (even during the official campaign silence period). The other parties increased their Facebook posts in the latter weeks of the campaign.

Between the beginning of the electoral campaign, the 15 February till the 30th April, the MMU-CECOE monitored the public Facebook pages of nine most popular political parties involved in the upcoming general elections of the 7 June. The main objective of the monitoring was to assess the importance of Facebook during the campaigns and to determine which topics and narratives were presented by political actors on their public Facebook accounts in the lead-up to the elections and which ones generated the highest level of engagement (comments, shares and reactions).

In total, during this period, the 9 parties published 1222 posts on Facebook, an average of 16 posts per day. This leads us to say that the political parties had a sustained activity on Facebook during the campaign period.

The highest number of posts during the monitoring period was posted by the ruling party Prosperity (374 posts), followed by the Balderas for True Democracy (292 posts) and Ethiopian Citizen for social justice (237 posts), then by national Amhara movement (151 posts). The rest of parties published less than 100 posts (Freedom and equality 76, Afar People's Party 50, Enat Party 17, Wolaita national movement 17, Ethiopia social democratic party 8). Our monitoring revealed that Facebook was an important communication platform during this period, with diverse content ranging from text to images and videos, without recurrent use of false information. Balderas for True Democracy published 35 videos while Prosperity party published 18 videos.

Political parties mainly used Facebook to broadcast election messages to motivate their voters by informing them about their campaign activities, their candidates using different formats including quotes from their leaders.

Posts published by Balderes for true democracy and National Amhara Movement generated the highest number of interactions. In the Top 100 posts with a higher engagement rate, no post from the Prosperity Party appears in the list despite the large number of fans who follow the ruling party's page.

Elections related messages and security are the two dominant topics during this period of the campaign. There were very few messages on social or economic issues. The situation in the country, marked by armed conflict, has cast a shadow over issues that are usually fertile ground for political actors to disseminate promises and propose solutions.

With regard to election-related messages from political parties and politicians, most of them tend to focus on delivering narratives related to mobilizing voters, and elections issues in general.

The majority of the parties monitored did not make an effort to explain their political and economic programmes to their supporters. Overall, the messages lacked depth. Only a few political parties such as EZEMA did some live broadcasts answering questions from the public about their programmes.

VIII- The recommendations

The following is a summary of the main recommendations for improving media coverage and building media that can contribute to the democratic process. In short, media that respect their own ethics:

Towards the media

- The adoption of an editorial line.
- The implementation of an internal professional code of conduct during election campaigns, defining the rights and duties of journalists working in the media during election campaigns, including sanctions mechanisms, if necessary.
- The separation between administration and editorial staff in the media.
- The development of a clear programme and information strategy for election coverage.
- Respect for the electoral law and the decisions of the media regulatory bodies and the electoral administration.
- Training and refresher seminars on election coverage in the run-up to elections.

- During an election period, it is advisable to hold more editorial conferences (editorial meetings) in order to be alert to the risk of mistakes and transgressions by the journalists involved.
- Debates and talk shows should be encouraged and supported as these programmes have proven to provide relevant information during elections (this was the case during these elections with all the debates organised), as opposed to news bulletins (which dominated the coverage during these elections) that only last a few minutes on air. In such programmes, political parties and candidates are better able to express their political priorities, programmes and promises. For the upcoming elections in Ethiopia, it is crucial to include a wider range of media programme formats to inform the public and audiences of key messages.
- Media houses should collaborate with different institutes that work on media development.

Towards journalists

- The understanding of all laws, regulations, decisions and codes of ethics relating to campaign coverage. And ensuring their respect
- Strict observance of professional integrity and refusal to put oneself at the service of a party or a candidate during election campaigns.
- Enrolment in training sessions held regarding election coverage.
- Interest in the candidates' programmes should take precedence over their statements or side activities.

Towards the government and media authority

- The media authority should be more independent and better supported to be able to play its role, especially in supporting the media.
- The government should encourage the media sector to develop initiatives for private/community TV and radio stations to provide a range of independent programmes; licensing should also be done with more transparency.
- The media sector as a whole should be supported, by assessing and supporting the development of various aspects of the media sector: legal environment, protection of journalists, guidelines and system of self-regulation, creation of a viable organisational and market structure and a permanent independent media monitoring system.

- The establishment of a system for public access to information on circulation and sales and all relevant data concerning the press market.
- A permanent monitoring unit and not only during the election period, that should be
 placed under the aegis of the media authority, endowed with human and material
 resources and provided with a working methodology discussed and approved by all media
 actors.
- Regular follow ups of medias from the respective government authority how they are doing, sustaining, and what can be done for the future for the betterment of the media landscape.
- Equal access to the media should be clearly stated in the law, without ambiguity, and the criteria for proportionality in coverage should be well defined

Towards civil society organizations and journalists' unions

- The organisation of training and refresher sessions for journalists. Members of the print and electronic media monitoring units should receive regular training on appropriate techniques and, above all, on the methodologies to be followed during election campaigns.
- Tailor-made training initiatives for media professionals should be put in place before
 election periods. The training should be tailored to the needs of journalists in Ethiopia
 taking into account their linguistic and regional differences. In addition to training in
 event-specific reporting techniques, the training should emphasise impartiality and
 international standards on the role of the media in general and during elections in
 particular.
- The protection of journalists and media work against the administration's arbitrariness.
- Helping the media to develop their code of conduct
- Unions should be proactive in training journalists and protecting them when they are intimidated.

Towards political parties

- Making election programmes and documents available to journalists.
- Encourage candidates and party leaders to address the media.
- Political parties should be open for the media.

Annexes

Detailed media table and a mapping of Ethiopian media landscape:
Radio Channels

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Radio Channels in Red are no longer functional

There are 21 Tv channels are actively on air. In the last three years, six tv channels were revoked and dissolved. Oromia Media Network, Demtsi Woyane, and ENN Tv channel were revoked by the authority. On the other hand, LTV, Bisrat Tv, and Arki Tv channel declared bankruptcy and shut it down.

Six Tv channels are set to be functional soon.

TV Channels

የብሮድካስትአንልግሎትባለቤት	የጣቢያው-መጠሪያስም Name of the Station	ጣቢያውየሚ <i>ገ</i> ኝበትክ ልል	የባለቤትነትሁኔታ	የተቋቋመበትዓ.ም
አርኪብሮድካስቲ <i>ንግ</i>	አርኪቴሌቪዥን Arki Tv	አዲስ አበባ	የንባድ	9/2/2009

የብሮድካስትአንል <i>ግ</i> ሎትባለቤት	የጣቢያው-መጠሪያስም Name of the Station	ጣቢያውየሚገኝበትክ ልል	የባለቤትነትሁኔታ	የተቋቋመበትዓ.ም
ፋናብሮድካስቲንግ ኮርፖሬትአ.ጣ.	ፋና ቴሉቪዥን Fana Tv	አዲስ አበባ	የንባድ	9/2/2009
ዋልታየሚዲያናኮሙኒኬሽንኮርፖሬት አ.ማ.	ዋልታ ቴሌቪዥን Walta Tv	አዲስ አበባ	የንባድ	9/2/2009
ድምፂወያኔትግራይኃ/የተ/የግ/ማህበ ር	ድምጺወያነትግራይ ቴሌቪዢን Demtsi Woyane TV		የንግድ ሳተላይትቴሌቪዢን	24/4/2009
ኢ.ኤን.ኤን. <i>ኃ</i> .የተ.የባል ማ.	ኢ.ኤን.ኤን.ቴቪ ENN TV	አዲስ አበባ	የንግድ ሳተላይትቴሌቪዢን	23/05/2009
ሟርሴ መልቲሚዲያ ኃ/ የተ/ የባ/ ማህበር	<i>፪ ቲቪ ኢትዮጵያ</i> J Tv	አዲስ አበባ	<i>የንግድ</i> ሳተሳይትቴሌቪ <i>ጊ</i> ርን	12/4/2010
ኢቢኤስቴሌቪዥንኢትዮጵያ <i>ኃ</i> /የተ/የባ.ማህበር	ኢቢኤስ EBS	አዲስ አበባ	የንግድ ሳተላይትቴሌቪዢን	7/7/2010
ቱባሚ <i>ዲያ ኃ</i> /የተ/የግ/ማህበር	ናυ-ቲቪ Nahoo Tv	አዲስ አበባ	የንግድ ሳተላይትቴሌቪዢን	7/7/2010
ኤል ቲቪ ብሮድካስቲንግ ስርቪስ ኃ.የተ.የግ.ማህበር (LTV)	ኤልቲቪ LTV	አዲስ አበባ	<i>የንግድ</i> ሳተሳይትቴሌቪ <i>ዢን</i>	4/8/2010
አፍሪካ ሬኔሳንስ ቴሌቪዥን ሰርቪስስ አክሲዮን <i>ማጎ</i> በር	አርትስ Arts Tv	አዲስ አበባ	የንግድ ሳተላይትቴሌቪዢን	18/8/2010

0.0004571.0104.70107	የጣቢያው <i>መ</i> ጠሪያስም	<i>ጣ</i> ቢያውየሚገኝበትክ	የባለቤትነትሁኔታ	aldd ma'i a m
የብሮድካስትአንልግሎትባለቤት	Name of the	ልል		የተቋቋመበትዓ.ም
	Station			•
ቢሚዲያ ፕሮግራም ፕሮዳክሽንናማስታወቂያ	ቃና ቴሌቭዥን	አዲስ አበባ	የንባድ ሳተላይትቴሌቪገርን	4/8/2010
<i>ኃ/</i> የተ/የግ/ጣህበር	Kana Tv			
አፍሪ ሽልዝ	አፍሪ ሽልዝ TV	አዲስ አበባ	የንባድ	1/9/2010
ትሬዲንግኃ.የተ.የግ.ማህበር	Afri Health TV			
አሻም <i>ሚዲያትሬዲንግ</i> አከሲዮን	አሻም ቴሌቭዥን	አዲስ አበባ	የንባድ	4/11/2010
ማህበር	Asham Tv			4,11,2010
አ.ቢ. ኤስ. መልቲሚዲያኃ.የተ. የግ.ጣህበር	አሮሚያ ብሮድካስቲንግ ሰርቪስ Oromia Broadcasting Service (OBS)	አዳማ	የንባድ	6/11/2010
ኦሮሚያ ሚዲያ ኔትወርክ ኃ.የተ.የግ.ማህበር	አርሚያ ሚዲያ ኔትወርክ (OMN) Oromia Media Network (OMN)	አዲስ አበባ	<i>የንባድ</i>	15/12/2010
<i>ሀ</i> ይ-አስ ልቲሚዲያእናኮሚዩኒኬሽን <i>ኃ</i> /የተ/የባ/ጣህበር	ቲቪ 9 TV 9	አዲስ አበባ	የንባድ	15/12/2010
አያያ መልቲሚዲያ ኃ/የተ/የግ/ማህበር	ብስራት ቴሌቪዥን Bisrat Television	አዲስ አበባ	የንባድ	23/1/2011
ባላንሩ <i>መ</i> ልቲሚ <i>ዲያ</i> ሴንተር አ.ማ.	ባላ <i>ገሩ</i> Balageru TV	<u>አዲስ አበባ</u>	የንባድ	29/1/2011

የብሮድካስትአንልግሎትባለቤት	የጣቢያውመጠሪያስም	<i>ጣ</i> ቢያውየሚ <i>ገኝ</i> በትክ	የባለቤትነትሁኔታ	0.1. фф. ლ0. ј. 0. ლ
	Name of the	ልል		የተቋቋመበትዓ.ም
	Station			•
ኢዲ ስቴላር ብሮድካስቲንግ ኃ/የተ/የግ/ጣህበር	አሀዱ ቲቪ	አዲስ አበባ	የንባድ	9/5/2011
	Ahadu TV			
የኢትዮጵያ ሳተላይት ቴሌቪዥንና ሬዲዮ ሚዲያ አ.ጣ.	ኢሳት	አዲስ አበባ	የንባድ	27/5/2011
	ESAT Tv			, ,
አሮሚያ ኒውስ ኔትወርክ <i>ኃ</i> /የተ/የግ/ጣህበር	አ ኤን ኤን (ONN)	አዲስ አበባ	የንባድ	ግንባት 12 ቀን
	Oromia News Network			2011 ዓ.ም
ሰባድ ሚዲያ ኃ/የተ/የግ/ጣህበር	ሮን ቲቪ	አዲስ አበባ	የንባድ	2007 00 10
	Rone TV			ማንቦት 26 ቀን 2011 ዓ.ም
ፊቅጦር ትሮዲንግ አክሲዮን ማ ህበር	บา๘ ชณี (Nation TV)	አዲስ አበባ	የንባድ	ሀምሌ 4 ቀን
	Hagoro TV			2011 ዓ.ም.
ጉል ሴስታ ትሬዲንግ ኃ.የተ.የግ.ጣህበር	ነበድ ቲቪ	ሰማሌ	የንባድ	
				<i>ሞ</i> ስከረም 26 <i>ቀ</i> ን
	Nebed TV			2012 ч.ж.
ፕሪይም ሚዲያ ኃ.የተ. የባል ጣ.	ፕራይም ሚዲያ	አዲስ አበባ	የንግድ	
				ፕር 12/2012ዓ.ም
	Prime Media			
ያ ቲቪ ሚዲያ አክሲዮን ማኅበር	ያ ቲቪ	አዳስ አበባ	የንባድ	ፕር 13 ቀን 2012 ዓ.ም.
	Ya TV			

የብሮድካስትአንልግሎትባለቤት	የጣቢያውመጠሪያስም Name of the Station	ጣቢያውየሚገኝበትክ ልል	የባለቤትነትሁኔታ	የተቋቋመበትዓ.ም
ዓባይ ሚዲያ ብሮድካስት ሰርቪስ ኃ.የተ. የባል ጣ.	ዓባይ ሚዲያ ቴሌቪዥን Abay Media Television	አዳስ አበባ	የንግድ	ፕር 15 ቀን 2012 ዓ.ም.
ስትሮንባ ሩትስ ኢትዮጵያ ብሮድካስቲንባ ሰርቪስ ኃ.የተ. የባል ጣ.	ኤስ.አር.ቲ. (SRT) SRT	አዳስ አበባ	የንባድ	የካቲት 12 <i>ቀ</i> ን 2012 ዓ.ም.
ሬንሬኔ ኢንቴግሬትድ ብሮድካስቲንግ አ/ጣ.	ሬንሬኔ ኢንቴግሬትድ (FIB)	አዲስ አበባ	የንባድ	ነሃሤ 13/2012
የኢትዮጵያ ልጆች ቴሌቪዥን አክሲዮን ማ.	የኢትዮጵያ ልጆች ቴሌቪዥን Ethiopia Lijoch Television	አዲስ አበባ	የንባድ	บ4C 22 2013
አይኮኒክ ሶሻል ሰርቪስስ ኃ.የተ.የባል ማ.	ላይፍ ቴሌቪዥን Life Tv	አዲስ አበባ	የንግድ	ሚያዝያ 2013

Those Tv channels in red color are either revoked or they are dissolved.