

Original Paper

Investigative Reporting Within Development Journalism in Ethiopia: What Triggers Amhara Radio to Reconcile It?

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Abstract

This study assesses the practice of investigative reporting within development journalism in Amhara radio. The study used quantitative and qualitative content analysis. Data was mainly collected through document analysis and semi-structured interviews. 1326 pieces of news were selected for content analysis by using multi-stage sampling, and 13 reporters, editors, and media managers were selected for interviews by using multi-stage sampling and purposive sampling. The finding shows that Amhara radio tries to reconcile investigative reporting within development journalism by maximizing the number of news stories that engage in investigative reporting. As per the findings, 28.4% of the news stories were devoted to investigating and criticizing the wrongdoings of the government; this is by far higher than the previous four years' average of 1.9%. However, the media didn't touch on the fundamental structural problems of the government in its investigative reporting, and there was also a lack of in-depth investigation into issues. The main factors that trigger the medium to engage in investigative reporting are media managers' and regional government's commitment, social media pressure, and the public protest movement against the government. Generally, with different challenges, Amhara Radio is striving to change history and become a model for other state-owned media in the country.

Keywords

Amhara-radio, Development-journalism, Ethiopia, Investigative-reporting, Radio, State-media

1. Introduction

The government of Ethiopia officially calls its state media's way of reporting "development journalism" (Government Communication Affairs Office of Ethiopia, 2012; Kidanu, 2017; Lencho, 2013; Zerai, 2013; Zikargae, 2016). The government of Ethiopia conceptualizes development journalism as journalism as state-controlled practices that praise and promote success for the sake of assuring the development of the country. In 2008, Ethiopian authorities presented a policy document which

prescribed that the media and journalists should play an active role in the country's development scheme (Terje, 2011). Similarly, the government of Ethiopia stated the following characteristics of developmental media as principles to be followed by the media: 1) The media should strive for rapid and sustainable development; 2) work for people's active, broad, and long-term participation in development; 3) build national consensus on key issues facing the country; 4) serve the masses and promote diversity; and 5) strive for the spread of essential values (Government Communication Affairs Office of Ethiopia, 2012).

Even though development journalism has been practiced in different national and regional state-owned media in Ethiopia, its acceptance as being part of journalism is still in doubt by both academia and practitioners. The very problem that still makes the concept and practice of development journalism vague in Ethiopia is the two opposing tensions that exist among academia and practitioners (Kidanu, 2017; Legesse, 2021; Lencho, 2013; Zerai, 2013; Zikargae, 2016). Seeing journalists' role as unequivocal supporters of national development and seeing journalists' role as critical evaluators of development are two opposing tensions. The ambiguity of the concept has created an opportunity for governments of different colors to justify a politicized media policy under the guise of a recognized journalism model. Media practitioners and managers think development journalism means talking about success stories and not engaging in investigative reporting (Kidanu, 2017; Lencho, 2013; Tabor, 2018; Terje, 2011; Zikargae, 2016); and the political inclination of the state media and a lack of public participation by the public are also problems of the practice (Bezabih, 2019; Dirbaba, 2009; Dirbaba, 2014; Terje, 2011).

Additionally, internal influences like socio-economic constraints or poverty, political influence, and journalists' associated problems (professional limitations, lack of shared journalistic values, lack of confidence, conspiring with corrupt elite, and low status of the profession) affect the conceptual understanding and practice of effective development journalism in Ethiopia (Bezabih, 2019; Lencho, 2013). The practice has also been criticized for its interventionist stance that is used to suppress investigative journalism and favors the elite more than ordinary people, which generally comes to be known as "government-say-so journalism" (Terje, 2011). Because of all this, the extent of the success of development journalism in Ethiopia is too low (Tabor, 2018). As a journalistic practice, specifically the application of investigative reporting roles in development journalism, and generally, the above challenges are the most prominent challenges for the practice of development journalism in Ethiopia.

The author of this study conceptualizes development journalism in contradiction with the perception of the government of Ethiopia. Unlike the government of Ethiopia, the author of this study conceptualizes development journalism as seeing journalists as critical evaluators of development. The author didn't see investigative reporting and development journalism as opposed approaches; rather, one is a supplementary component of the other. Hence, investigative reporting is one component of development journalism. This stand of the author is conceptually similar to most of the academia of the country (Kidanu, 2017; Legesse, 2021; Lencho, 2013; Zerai, 2013; Zikargae, 2016); but differs from

the view of practitioners and the government of Ethiopia.

Amhara Radio, part of Amhara mass media agency, is among the regional state-owned media in Ethiopia that currently uses development journalism as a model of journalism. This station is located in Bahir Dar, the capital city of the Amhara National Regional State. Even though the radio is owned by the Amhara national regional state, with a population of 21,492, 000 (Central Statistical Agency, 2021); it serves as one of the state media in Ethiopia. All the criticisms and challenges regarding the practice of development journalism in Ethiopia are also visible on Amhara radio. Most of the roles of Amhara radio's news were advocating the good will of the government by reporting success-oriented stories (Gessese, 2014; Mohammed, 2021), ignoring the investigative role of reporting news where only 1.9 percent of the information was engaged in constructively criticizing the government (Gessese, 2014). This undermines the public's right to criticize the government's wrongdoing. In this regard, the main challenge was not the media policy of the agency; instead, it was due to the unwritten policy of media managers. This is because few of the editorial policies of Amhara mass media agency are involved in investigative reporting by constructively criticizing issues related to lack of good governance (maladjustment), anti-ethical issues, corruption, and abuse of government power; and more importantly, being a voice for all legal political parties to play a crucial role in democratization by reporting any political activities and views of opposing political parties (Amhara Mass Media Agency, 2010).

Despite the common pitfalls of Ethiopian media in general, and Amhara radio in particular, different people and scholars believe that in recent years, Amhara radio has shown improvement and confidence in engaging in the media's investigative reporting role (Personal communication, February 2, 2018; Personal communication, February 6, 2018). This study tries to prove or disprove this hypothetical judgment by comparing and contrasting with the study done by the same author conducted in 2014. Hence, the general objective of this research is to assess the investigative reporting role of Amhara Radio within the policy of development journalism. Investigative reporting and constructively criticizing the wrongdoings of the government constitute the conceptual framework of this study.

2. Methods of the Study

The study uses both content analysis and interviews. Considering the advantages of qualitative and quantitative content analysis as proposed by Macnamara, the study uses both quantitative and qualitative content analysis (Macnamara, 2005). A quantitative content analysis is implemented to identify the investigative reporting role of the radio news. On the other hand, qualitative content analysis is used on detailed texts of investigative reporting news to identify the way the news is presented, treated, elaborated, and sourced. Regarding the population of the study, there are two types. The first and the major one is news stories transmitted by Amhara radio; the second is media-related personals (like reporters, editors, media managers, and government officials). As far as this study is concerned, both multi-stage sampling and purposive sampling techniques are employed to select samples from different kinds of the population. A multi-stage sampling of proportional stratified

sampling and a systematic random sampling technique are implemented to select news from the people of the study.

As it is shown below in Table 1, the researcher stratifies a list of news into six based on a month (from July 8, 2017, up to July 7, 2018). The starting day of the 2017 fiscal year, which is the day on which the researcher counts back from the start of this study, is July 8, 2017. 7 February, 2018 is the end day of the semi-annual fiscal year of Ethiopia. Then, the researcher conducted systematic sampling within each stratum to select 1/3 of the sampled news from each month and each day (stratum). Therefore, the researcher selects 1/3 of the sample frame news: 1326 news items for content analysis (from a 3,978 sample frame). Additionally, for the content analysis, 540 (75%) were selected among 720 headlines to test its investigative reporting role.

On the other hand, multi-stage sampling of purposive sampling and systematic random sampling techniques are employed to select reporters and editors for interviews. First, the researcher purposively identifies those reporters who are assigned to live agenda, short, and detailed news formats and whose working experience is greater than six years. The year helps the researcher compare and contrast the previous and current status of the medium to engage in investigative reporting. After respondents are identified, sample frames are selected by using purposive sampling. Then, a systematic random sampling technique is employed to select reporters and editors. A purposive sampling technique is employed to select respondents who are leading the organization. Among 43 reporters who are assigned to the news department of Amhara radio, 14 reporters who fulfill the above criteria are selected. Seven reporters (50%) are selected. And among six editors who satisfy the selection criteria, three of them (50%) are selected for the interview. Finally, three media managers are interviewed. Generally, 13 respondents were interviewed to answer most of the research questions in this study.

Table 1. Population, Sample Frame and Sample of the Study

No	Month	Total number of transmitted news (1)	Number of Excluded news (2)	Number of news 3 = (1-2)	Number of Repeated news (4)	Sample frame news 5= (3 - 4)	Number of selected sample news
1	July	1950	1063	887	303	584	195
2	August	2183	913	1270	457	813	271
3	September	2068	1045	1023	353	670	223
4	October	2075	1055	1020	349	671	224
5	November	1981	1023	958	330	628	209
6	December	2163	1201	962	350	612	204
Total		12,420	6,300	6,120	2142	3978	1326

The coding book was prepared by the following three major coding categories: frequency, source of the news, and news format. Two coders did the coding using SPSS. Cohen's kappa metric was used, and the average inter-coder reliability was 0.97. As shown below in Table 2, 0.97, 0.973, and 0.968 are percent of agreement for the number of investigative news, dominant sources used, and news format within the dominant sources, respectively. The interview guide was structured basically to answer the why part of the quantitative data gathered using content analysis. Two interview guides were prepared for reporters and media managers.

Table 2. Inter Coder Reliability

	Percent Agreement	Cohen's Kappa	N Agreements	N Disagreements	N Cases	N Decisions
Number of Investigative News	97%	0	1286	40	1326	2652
Dominant Sources Used	97.3%	-0.014	1290	36	1326	2652
News Format <u>With in the Dominant Sources</u>	96.8%	-0.016	1283	43	1326	2652

3. Major Findings and Discussions

3.1 The Rise of Frequency of Investigative Role of Development Journalism

There is a fundamentally increasing trend in the frequency of investigative reporting news content when compared with a study conducted four years ago. For four years, only 1.9% of the news was focused on the investigative reporting role of the medium (Gessese, 2014). But currently, as Table 3 indicates below, among the 1326 news items selected for analysis, 376 (28.4%) are engaged in investigative reporting. From the very beginning, development journalism conceptually emphasizes advocating the country's development process rather than criticizing the government through investigative reporting. And practically, in non-democratic countries like Ethiopia, state media are "loyal to the government." On the contrary, Amhara radio gave more than 1/4 of the air time to the news portion of the medium for investigating and criticizing the wrongdoings of the government. When we compare it with a study conducted four years ago, there is a significant change. As similar to the suggestion by Banda (2007), Galtung and Vincent (1992), and Wimmer and Wolf (2005), Amhara radio tries to reconcile investigative reporting within development journalism by maximizing the number of journalists that engage in the investigative reporting role of the medium.

Table 3. Comparison of Investigative Reporting News by Year

Year	Non-Investigative Reporting		Investigative Reporting	
	Number of News	Percentage/From total News	Number of News	Percentage/From total News
2014	1060	98.1%	20	1.9%
2018	950	71.6%	376	28.4%

Among 376 news items, which focus on investigative reporting, the most frequently reported news issues are the government's problem of delivering basic infrastructure in the regional state, 169 news items (44.9%). Lack of drinking water, electric power, and roads are the typical examples frequently investigated by the media. The media reported all these infrastructure-related problems of the people by comparing and contrasting them with the development plans of the government (both the regional and federal government). The second frequently reported investigative news is service delivery related to good governance problems in the government, at 112 news (29.8%). The media frequently investigated the poor delivery of the civil servants of the government by highly associated with the leaders' role, like lack of land for housing, lack of sugar and food oil in the market, the problem of compensation fees for taken land, and soon. This shows the medium focuses on primary needs such as food and housing, and secondary needs such as energy sources and electricity, as proposed by Romano (2005); Wimmer and Wolf (2005); and Xu (2009); but ignores tertiary needs such as cultural diversity, recognition, and dignity. The rest of the investigative news focuses on industry and revenue, 36 (9.6%); trade and investment, 28 (7.5%); good governance and democracy development issues, 18 (4.8%); and other news categories, 13 (3.5%).

Though there is significant progress in the frequency of investigative news stories, the medium still didn't want to touch the fundamental structural problem of the government. Investigating and reporting on the government's structural crisis, such as the government's system, the democratic nature of the government, and others, are inaccessible areas of the medium. Except for the news on July 20, 2017, which investigates and reports on the complaint of the "Blue Party", an opposing party of the country and regional state, about the illegal arrestment of their members in Debre Markos city (as seen in appendix 1), almost all the investigative news stories focus on infrastructure and service delivery problems of the government.

Often, investigative projects document how a system doesn't work properly. For comparison purposes, the reporter needs to find out how a good system operates. The investigative reporting lacks in-depth screening of the issue and ignores the core systematic problem (an example as seen in appendix 2 and 3). For instance, the media report complains to the people about the poor and insufficient distribution of food oil by the government from the service delivery angle; the structural problem is the economic and political ideology of the government. Most reporters complain that they don't get enough time from

their editors to develop ambitious investigative reports. For instance,

Informant 7: When I try to prepare news that focuses on investigative or constructive criticism issues, I want to make frequent calls to different sources and I also want to see things in-depth. But my editor forces me to finalize and broadcast the news urgently. This mostly happens when I am out of Bahir Dar city on fieldwork. And I know that the investigative reporting part of my news lacks critical critics. (Personal communication, March 12, 2018)

This major finding of the study shows that there is no need to reconcile the concept and practice of development journalism and investigative reporting; instead, they are supplementary components of one another (Kidanu, 2017; Legesse, 2021; Lencho, 2013; Mwaffisi, 1991; Romano, 2005; Zerai, 2013; Zikargae, 2016). Generally, Amhara Radio engages in the investigative role of development journalism, unlike other state media in Ethiopia. Despite this progress, the investigative news stories show that the medium perceives development as mere economic elements of development (like infrastructure) by dominantly ignoring a whole range of economic and social development (justice, democracy, equality, peace, and security) roles of development journalism, proposed by Romano (2005); Wimmer and Wolf (2005); and Xu, (2009).

3.2 Dominant Sources Used in News Stories

As indicated below by Table 4, from 1326 news selected for analysis, 561 news (42.3%) of the news is sourced from government officials' press releases or conferences, and 411 news (31%) is also used in meetings or events as a source of the news. It shows that 972 (73.3%) of the news was sourced from the government side. When compared to Gessese (2014)'s previous study, it falls from 80.4% to 73.3%. Prior to four years, more than 99% of investigative news was primarily sourced from ordinary people. Of course, many studies have shown that journalists mainly rely on official sources (Waltzer, 1982; Warnock & Gaag, 2002). For example, eighty percent of stories were generated by publicity releases provided to media outlets (Warren, 1995); in the Amhara radio context, it is government officials' press releases or conferences and other meeting or event-based news sources. On the other hand, in this study, among 376 investigative news stories published in the medium, the dominant source used by the reporters was ordinary people (89.9%), followed by government officials as balancing or countering complaints of the people. 20 (5.3%) and 5 (1.3%) were from other sources.

Although when we compare ordinary people's sources in all news stories with the previous study, there is progress from 10.4% (Gessese, 2014) to 25.5%, the medium still devotes most of its air time as a government channel for communication. Still, more than 73.3 percent of the sources of the news are either government officials' interviews or events organized by the government, contradicting the principle of development journalism (Galtung & Vincent, 1992; Mwaffisi, 1991; Romano, 2005; Xu, 2009). The medium still didn't significantly escape from serving as the propaganda machine of the government or the ruling party, as clearly criticized in development journalism by academia in the area (Gessese, 2014; Mohammed, 2021). Similarly, Amhara radio disvalues empowering ordinary people to improve their own lives and communities through the role of development journalism (Chiyamwaka,

2009; Lencho, 2013; Wimmer & Wolf, 2005; Xu, 2009; Zerai, 2013), and development journalism should allow people to talk (Galtung & Vincent, 1992) by ignoring its investigative news stories.

Table 4. Cross Tabulating of Source of the News

Dominant Sources of the News	2014			2018		
	Non Investigative	Investigative	Total	Non Investigative	Investigative	Total
Government Officials	476	-	476	541	20	561
Press Release or Conference Meeting or Event Based	389	-	389	398	13	411
Ordinary People	3	20	23	-	338	338
Professionals	112	-	112	8	-	8
Others	80	-	80	3	5	8
Total	1060 (98.1%)	20 (1.9%)	1080	950 (71.6%)	376 (28.4%)	1326

The other problem that affects the quality of the news is that Woreda and Zone government communication affairs offices serve as reporters for Amhara Radio, although this office is the spokesperson of the government and, at the same time, the ruling party (Woreda and Zone are local-level administrative units of Ethiopia). From 1329 selected news, 159 news (12% of the news in the medium) is reported by the government communication affairs office; PR-driven journalism (Mohammed, 2021) comes here. The underlining point is that the government communication office serves as a reporter, not as a source of news; this is against the basic principles of journalism (example as seen in appendix 7 and 8). The media managers and a few reporters confirm this problem, but they associate it with two main reasons. As a result, they are compelled to rely on the government's communication affairs office and its experts as reporters. The other reason is for the sake of giving a relatively equal chance to Zones and Woredas of the region (Personal communication, 5 March, 2018). Similarly, according to Informant 5, the board, management, and other government officials directly or indirectly forced them to use the government communication affairs office as a reporter for different reasons. (Personal communication, March 7, 2018).

News Format With in the Dominant Sources: The Contradicting Indicator of the Medium

The news format of the news is the other tool of analysis that helps to analyze the findings by cross-tabulating them with the role of the news. Amhara radio's news formats which help to position the news in Amhara radio are "Live Agenda". It is a news format in which the anchor raises one news agenda and calls for some responsible person, and that person is responsible for the news agenda.

“Detail News,” which has detailed emphasis by using sound bites and elaboration of the issue, Short News, a news format positioned last with sound bites and a detailed explanation, and Headline, are also news formats that help to cross-tabulate in this part of the analysis.

As Table 5 below shows, among the three news formats, most of the investigative news stories were positioned as detailed news. Among all the 742 details of news from Amhara Radio, 300 (40.4%) focus on investigative reporting. And among 376 investigative news stories, 300 (79.8%) of them were positioned in the detailed news format of the medium. This quantitative result is interpreted with a contradicting implication by the respondents of this study. Media managers and government officials express this relatively high percentage of detailed news shows. Amhara radio gives due attention to investigative reporting by allocating the highest minute of air time, detailed news time, for investigative reporting. On the contrary, most reporters and editors perceive this from the media managers’ and government officials’ perspective. Most of them believe that the media assigned investigative news stories in detailed news format for the sake of balancing the investigative stories with the sayings of government officials, “we are trying to fulfill the demand of the public..., we are planning to do this to do that..., this is an exaggerated problem.”

Table 5. Cross Tabulation of Investigative Reporting and News Format

News Format	2018		
	Non Investigative	Investigative	Total
Live Agenda	139	21	160
Detail News	442	300	742
Short News	369	55	424
Total	950 (71.6%)	376 (28.4%)	1326
Headline	522	18	540

Live agenda news and short news, as shown above in Table 5, gives 13% of its air time for investigative reporting, 21 and 55 news stories for the live agenda and short news format, respectively. According to informant 3, although the number of investigative news stories in the live agenda format seems small (13%), it is a dramatic beginning of the medium because 21 investigative news stories were formatted in the “sensitive” live agenda time mostly dedicated to success-oriented stories. He also added that, since the informants of the investigative news are spoken live, their probability of insulting the government is higher; previously, such kinds of information were not allowed to have a position in this news format.

From all 540 headline news stories, only 18 (3.4%) were engaged in investigative reporting; the majority of the rest (522, or 96.6%) were involved in non-investigative reporting roles of the medium (primarily for advocating the government and ruling party of the region/country). The progressive part

is that among 376 investigative reporting stories, 18 were formatted as headline news, but before four years, no investigative news stories were formatted as headline news (Gessese, 2014). Despite this progress, mostly when investigative news stories are formatted as short news, it mainly states the problems; on the contrary, when it becomes a headline, the news is stated on the side of the government's effort to tackle this problem. For instance, an investigative news story transmitted on August 8, 2017 (as seen in appendix 4) formatted as headline news stated that "Bahir Dar city trade, industry, and market development department announces that they are trying to minimize the market price inflation problem in the city." This story was selected and investigated by the reporter because of serious complaints made by the residences of the city against this government institution. However, when it was edited and rewritten by the editor, its headline became "on the side of the government effort."

That headline news focuses on investigative reporting; the medium tries to balance it by incorporating the government official's response into the headline. On the contrary, the news focuses on success stories; the medium didn't try to balance it in the headline by incorporating the other perspective of the public. For instance, on August 8, 2017, the media transmitted the following headline news: "residents of Gonder Zuria woreda of North Gondar zone complained that they are in serious trouble because of a water shortage." But the water, irrigation, and energy bureaus of the region stated that they are trying to solve this problem.

On the other hand, 87% of the live agenda news was sourced from government officials or events organized by the government. According to reporters and editors, it is because of the risk of "live" and since it is prime time news, it is expected to give the government a boost. The relatively detailed news format gives due attention to the sources of ordinary people, 253 (34%). Almost all the headline information is ready-made for government officials or events organized by the government, 522 (96.6%). Hence, although there are significant signs of progress in the medium within four years, essential news positions, like headlines, are still allocated to government officials for advocacy purposes. It shows prime news formats like live agenda news and headline news are set for success-oriented stories; they tend to see journalists' role as unequivocal supporters of national development (Chiyamwaka, 2009).

3.3 Triggering Factors of the Medium to Engage on Investigative Reporting

Media Managers' Commitment

Most reporters and editors believe that their commitment to investigative reporting comes from the intense initiation, interest, and leadership qualities of the former general manager of the agency (Amhara mass media agency), Mr. Seyum Mekonen. And he becomes a model for the current general manager of the medium to continue his efforts to improve the agency. In line with this, informant 11 explains that Mr. Seyum motivates us to believe in the public interest and stand for truth without aggravating the inter-ethnic conflict. He also creates a favorable working environment by providing relevant facilities and by giving incentives (Personal communication, March 21, 2018). Similarly, as stated by informant

10, the manager is the man who guarantees reporters' freedom from any external influence and gives confidence to his employees. This informant continues the explanation of the manager by saying that before his appointment in the medium, politicians tried to interfere with journalists' work by selecting and omitting news and contents. If any investigative type of reporting news is prepared and transmitted automatically, the journalist and his editor will be punished by the influence of politicians and other government officials (Personal communication, March 18, 2018).

Regional Government Commitment

Most reporters, editors, and media managers commonly agreed that the regional government, most specifically the president of the region, Mr. Gedu Andargachew, motivated and guaranteed to entertain the causes and interests of the people. For instance, informant 3 confirms that the president of the region "stopped the interventions of politicians," and he also gave serious direction for those government leaders to respond to any request from journalists (Personal communication, 6 March, 2018). Furthermore, informant 8 maintains that when a person or group of people comes to his office to complain of a malfunction in the local government, the president sends them to the media to expose their problem in the media (Personal communication, 14 March, 2018).

The media managers and reporters express the regional government's commitment through one incident as an example. The agency was seriously criticized and warned by the federal broadcast authorities in a letter. Within a few days, the regional government prepares a program through which the best reporters are awarded by the president. The majority of the reporters chosen for the award worked in investigative news and programs. By that time, the president of the region, Mr. Gedu Andargachew, in his speech, said that "Amhara Mass Media Agency is public media. Its final goal is to serve the truth. Please inform and educate the public. One thing that I want to give my advice on is being free and not being afraid of anyone but respecting the public and acting responsibly (Andargachew, 2018).

Social Media Pressure and Public Protest Movement against the Government

Different social media, especially Facebook, have become political media in the Ethiopian context. Reporters and media managers believe that people, especially the younger generation, are shifting their information needs from mainstream media to social media. Facebook indirectly forces Amhara Radio to implement investigative reporting within development journalism.

The researcher asks an interview question for the reporters and media managers: "Do you think that the public protest against the ruling party pulls your medium to be a voice for those sounds?" Informant 5 responds, "I believe that we are also part of the public." And our mode of preparing news has changed just after the 12 July, 2016 protest in Gondar and Bahir Dar cities of Amhara regional state (Personal communication, 10 March, 2018). Hence, most of the respondents, including a few media managers, strongly believe that the public protest in the region positively pulls them to shape their way of preparing news, serving the general needs, and engaging in the investigative role of the media.

4. Conclusion and Recommendations

Amhara radio attempts to reconcile investigative reporting within development journalism by increasing the number of news stories that engage in the medium's investigative reporting role. When we compare it with a study conducted four years ago, there is a significant change. The news format shows that compared with other national and regional state-owned media, Amhara Radio gives increasing attention to investigative stories. Investigative news stories are framed in live agenda, headline, and detailed news formats; this is a new history for Ethiopia's state-owned media. Different factors motivate and pull the medium and the reporters to give attention to investigative reporting. Media managers' and regional governments' commitment is the primary factor that provides initiation, motivation, and confidence to the reporters. Social media pressure and the public protest movement were the driving forces that pulled the government and, sequentially, the media to engage in the investigative reporting role of the medium. Hence, Amhara radio is among the media that entertains its practice by combining development journalists as willing partners of the government with investigative journalism and from participatory or emancipatory media with guardians of transparency.

Despite the above improvements, still, the medium didn't want to touch the fundamental structural problems of the government in its investigative reporting role like democracy, injustice, corruption, violation of human rights, and soon untouchable issues. There is also an unbalanced distribution in the news format arrangement; live agenda news and headline news were not proportionally assigned for investigative reporting. It shows prime news formats like live agenda news and headline news are set for success-oriented stories; they tend to see journalists' role as unequivocal supporters of national development. For so many reasons, reporters lack in-depth screening and reporting of issues. Though there has been an improvement in recent years, the sources are still government officials and events organized by the government. The medium still didn't significantly escape from serving as the propaganda machine of the government or the ruling party.

Within various challenges, the medium as a whole, and particularly media managers and reporters, are striving to change history and become a model for other state-owned media in the country. Amhara Radio sets a nexus between development journalism and investigative journalism. The medium shows that it is possible and feasible to reconcile the wrongly perceived need to not engage in investigative reporting within development journalism. This practical experience of Amhara radio can serve as an integrating model for other media that use development journalism as a model of reporting. Generally, to improve and strengthen this best experience of the medium, reporters should give adequate time to investigate things in an in-depth way. Reporters and editors need to get pieces of training related to the investigative reporting style of the news. The medium needs to touch on those "untouchable issues" that will increase the credibility of the medium. The regional government's commitment and support need to be momentarily maintained and improved, which will serve as a source of confidence for reporters, editors, and media managers. The federal government needs to avoid interference and discouragement of the

agency. Rather, they ought to promote them and maximize their experience for other regional and national state media.

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