

**THE PERCEPTION OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS ON
THE FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION - ARTICLE 29(2)
AND
THE BROADCASTING PROCLAMATION No. 533 ARTICLE
23/2007 IN FOCUS**

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION**

**PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION**




**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA
JUNE, 2012**

Addis Ababa University
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The Perception of Religious Institutions on the Freedom of Expression - Article 29(2)
and the Broadcasting Proclamation no. 533 Article 23/2007 in Focus

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Addis Ababa University 2012

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to investigate the perception of religious organizations on the freedom of expression - Article 29 (2) and the broadcasting proclamation No. 533 Article 23/2007 in focus. The researcher employed qualitative methodology with individual in-depth interviews and focus group discussions as data gathering tools. The theoretical framework employed was political economy theory of mass communication. Despite the fact that the Freedom of the Press has been granted as per Article 29 sub article 2 of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, the Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority has not allowed religious institutions to own broadcast stations for religious purposes. This research is designed to address the issue of this phenomenon, that is, the religious institutions have not been able to secure the permission to broadcast as per the provisions of the Constitution.

The overall finding of this study shows the perception of religious organizations on freedom of expression Article 29 sub article 2 and the broadcasting proclamation No. 533 Article 23/2007 is that they didn't observe the two articles as adversaries. Though the proclamation seems contradictory to that of the constitutional right given, since it is done for the safety of the nation, and for peaceful coexistence of the general public because religion is Parisian and if it is allowed there may be attacking one to another, they didn't oppose the restriction and it could not be a barrier for their right to freedom of religious broadcasting. While, with insignificant exceptions; said, while the main objective of religion is to promote positive values to the society, why it is considered as a threat, it raises a question on the blanket prohibition and it is a barrier for our right to the freedom of religious broadcasting.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I would like to thank the Almighty God for helping me to complete this study by guiding me throughout the process of doing the research. I would also like to thank my advisor, Dr. Gebremedhin Simon, for his constructive comments and fatherly guidance throughout the work of this research.

I would also like to express my heartfelt thanks to my parents who have made countless efforts throughout the course of my life. In fact, their love and support helped me to pursue the course of a successful life. I would also like to thank my wife Werkalem Aregaw and my-in-laws for their support.

I owe my special thanks to the religious leaders and the media practitioners and experts who provided me with all the materials and information I needed. Similarly, my acknowledgements go to my friends Melaku Kahsu, Haile Nega, Mebrahten Gebremariam, Bereket Yeheyish and *Gash* Befrdu Weldeamanuel.

This Thesis is dedicated to

The late Atsibha Kabsay, my brother,

And

My first new born daughter, Soliana Gebru.

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List of Abbreviation and Acronyms

AAU	Addis Ababa University
EPRDF	The Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front
EBA	The Ethiopian Broadcasting Agency/Authority
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
RVOG	Radio Voice of the Gospel
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Right
EOC	The Ethiopian Orthodox Church
FCC	Federal Communication Commission
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
HRW	Human Rights Watch
AfC/ACHPR	The African Charter on Human and Peoples rights
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ITC	Information Telecommunication Commission
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
DPFEA	Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression in Africa
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
AmC/ACHR	American Convention on Human Rights

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

In Ethiopia, the legal recognition of freedom of expression and the press dates back to the 1955 revised constitution. However, it did not bring any change to the realization of the right of speech, freedom of expression and of the press until the end of the reign of the dictatorial Derg regime. In this regard it is difficult to talk much more about the Media freedom and its law since it didn't proceed from documentation except its practice. Therefore, we could conclude that it is only after the coming into power of the 1991 transitional government charter that the freedom of the press started to be realized (Mohammed 2009).

The coming of the new democratic political system brought about the emergence of the new private media in Ethiopia. It is right after the coming to power of the Ethiopian people's revolutionary democratic front (EPRDF) that the private media mushroomed in to the Ethiopian media scene unlike ever before (Mohammed, 2009:41).

Besides, it is right after the transitional government, the freedom of the press enacted in the proclamation number of No 34/1992, which is the first proclamation ever. After this press proclamation was brought in to force, the 1995 constitution of the FDRE clearly stated press freedom as a basic democratic right of the people of Ethiopia. And further goes to consider all international agreements that the country signed to be as part and parcel of the law of the land (Ibid:42).

Following the promulgation of the press law, the print media owned by private organizations, religious institutions and by the government began mushrooming.

According to the data obtained from the Ministry of Information at that time of writing this report, from July 2001 to July 2002 (one Ethiopian fiscal year), a total of 235 print media outlets were registered at the federal ministry of information, of which 205 were private news papers 14 were owned by religions organizations, seven were owned by political organizations and nine were owned by the government (<http://www.article19.org>).

Here, political system which could influence political economy of the mass media could be looked at in two perspectives, since; ownership of the mass media could fall either in the hands of the governments or in giant media moguls. For example, media can be monopolized by governments in a dictatorship system of governance and by giant media moguls' in the democratic ones. Because there is no neat divide between commercial and political power.

To this effect, Street J. (2001:104) argued that "in a global economy, the state occupies only a peripheral role, and that what is true for economic policy is also true for communication policy". Similarly, John Downing et al, (1995:161) contends as media policy becomes an important part of the political agenda particularly to the broadcasting which leads to the widespread re- regulation for new commercial operators and public broadcasting. And this is really happened in Ethiopia viewing the three consecutive regimes.

While the new political system has brought to the emergence of many private and religious organizations of print media outlets, it doesn't allow opening a religious broadcast media station in contrary to the emperor regime.

As Tamrat (2008) studied, during the emperor, religious broadcasting mainly evangelical concern was open for the over sea's evangelicals of Protestant church. The religious broadcasting was in the Ethiopian calling 'Yemisrach Dimts Radio or Bisirate Wengel' goes to the establishment of Radio Voice of Gospel (RVOG) established and operated by the Lutheran World Federation (LWF).

However, Yemisrach Dimts Radio was nationalized by the military government soon after the old empire of Ethiopia was collapsed, and was named it 'radio voice of revolutionary Ethiopia.' And later, following the fall of Derg regime in 1991 the present government renamed it 'Radio Ethiopia' (ibid: 2).

The FDRE constitution clearly states that every one has the right to receive or impart information through any media of his choice in Article 29 sub article 2 of the FDRE constitution. Besides, the Universal Declaration of Human right (UDHR) and other international and regional declarations on freedom of expression clearly expressed and ensure that international guarantee of freedom of expression to every one and regardless of frontiers even in licensing. And blanket prohibition on certain groups, such as religious bodies and foreigners, receiving licenses contravene these rules.

Even though the Ethiopian constitution and the international provisions guaranteed freedom of expression and freedom of the mass media, the Ethiopian religious institutions have been broadcasting their religious programs either from America, Europe or African countries such as South Africa. For instance, the Ethiopian Orthodox church (EOC) which I mostly and nearly knew is broadcasting religious matters from the USA. Until now the Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority that is the agency has not issued any religious broadcast station in the country while issuing a private owned broadcast radio stations. It is pointed out that Ethiopian Orthodox Church has been using both electronic and web communication under the name of the Mahibere Kidusan. Even if the *Senodos* did not give permission to electronic media in Addis Ababa there are more than three radio programs transmitting from America. This is because the media law does not allow broadcasting service for the religious institutions within the country.

There are controversies still on the importance of media law. Some say media law is indispensable in ensuring journalists aware in the laws of the countries in which they work. Others say media law is unnecessary and opens the door for prior censorship in the media industry. Hence, "Some democratic countries have laws to ensure journalists access to public information, while others limit what information can be published or aired. To ensure that journalists are able to provide information for the public; many countries have established legal protections for the sake of a free press not for issuing the license of suspending or revoking" (Deborah Potter, 2006: 60).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Ethiopia, in the post Derg regime, has not only introduced a new constitution that fits in the international level but also ratified basic international agreements pertinent to freedom of expression including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights(UDHR), International Covenant on Human Rights, the African charter on human rights and people's rights etc. And at the same time she gave equal recognition to all religions.

With the downfall of the Derg in 1991, and the establishment of a federal republic, the state officially detached from matters of religion and religions also cease to interfere in state affairs. Ethiopian Muslims, Christians and other denominations finally achieved a sense of equality unparalleled in their previous history. The FDRE constitution of 1995 guaranteed equal status to all citizens and to all forms of religious denominations (Berhane, 2009).

There is no problem of licensing in the print media outlet in the Ethiopian context even for the religious organizations. However, it is difficult to get license being a private organization especially a religious institution in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Broadcasting Proclamation which was enacted in the 1999 providing the power for the establishment of Ethiopian Broadcasting Agency as an autonomous Federal Administrative Agency with various powers and duties, including to issue, suspend, and revoke broadcasting licenses has not issued any religions broad cast station in a decade of history (<http://www.article19.org>).

Even the new broadcast law proclamation of the 2007 does not provide religious institutions with broadcasting service license. Due to this, the Ethiopian religious institutions are broadcasting programs of religious matters from abroad and they are expanding their broadband to the overseas as well and their plan targets to establish the broadcast media outside Ethiopia.

On the one hand practicing religion like most activities of the social world has rapidly changed and influenced by the rapidly changing information and communication technology of the day. Today the principal communication tool for connecting people with the world has radically shifted more to electronic media.

On the other hand, the emperor's regime was the time that church (orthodox) and the state were the two faces of the one coin. Besides, freedom of the mass media was not practically guaranteed. Therefore, how could the emperor allow broadcasting for the emerging religion as advocated by the protestant church? If this happened at that time why not now in the time which freedom of expression and the media is guaranteed constitutionally? If this is the logic what is the reason and the rational behind that hinders the Ethiopian religious institutions to access the broadcast media? What is the perception of the religious institutions towards this and the freedom of expression?

Basically this media is very indispensable for countries like Ethiopia where most of the citizens are influenced by religion and are illiterate that could not use the print media.

Besides, incorporation of the forms and structures of this media has helped churches to accomplish their main purposes, mainly evangelical and social concern.

Along this line, Gross Berg et al (1998:3) further reinforced that “human being have always lived in a world of communication, but we live in a world of media communication, where we can travel great distances and across centuries, all in the confront of our own living rooms.”

Therefore, the critical element of this study is examining and investigating the perceptions of the religious institutions on freedom of expression and the Ethiopian broadcasting proclamation with regard to the relevant international legal frameworks for the freedom of expression and experiences of other countries in relation to religious communication.

III. Research Questions

The following questions are the core points this study tried to answer:

1. Do the religious media practitioners view the media law of the country as a barrier or an opportunity for exercising their right of freedom of expression?
2. What is the rational of the media law for the difference between the broadcast and the print?
3. What is the role of the religious expression in the public sphere?
4. What are the perceptions of the religious institutions towards the freedom of expression and the broadcasting proclamation?

IV. Objective of the Study

The general objective of this study is to find out why the Ethiopian media law doesn't allow broadcast media for the religious institutions.

It also specifically aims to:-

1. Explore why they (the religious institutions) do not access the broadcast media.
2. Investigate the perception of the religious institutions towards freedom of expression and the broadcasting proclamation.
3. Examine whether there is a difference of ideas for freedom of expression from the point view of politics and religion.

V. Significance of the Study

This study will be significant to the religious institutions to initiate them deal with the authority and will be significant to know the stance of the institutions on freedom of expression in respect to their religion. And hopefully it will be significant being as a highlight for other researchers who want to deal their study in this area. On top of this, the study will be vitally important for the broadcasting authority, policy makers and arbitrators for knowing the right based claims of the religious institutions.

VI. Scope of the Study

This study is delimited and confined to the perception of religious institutions on freedom of expression article 29 (2) of the Ethiopian constitution in relation to the broadcasting

proclamation of 2007 article 23 number 533. Besides it is confined to the perceptions of the four big religious institutions namely Orthodox, Islam, Catholic, and Mekane Eyesus from the protestant religion.

VII. Organization of the Study

This study is organized in to five chapters. The first chapter talks about the background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, objective of the study, significance of the study, scope of the study and limitations of the study. And the second chapter talks about the review of literature related to the study. Then the third chapter talks the design of the study i.e. the methodology such as the data gathering techniques and other related things. The fourth chapter talks the data gathered from the respondents and the analysis part. And finally the last chapter i.e. chapter five talks the concluding marks and the recommendation.

Chapter Two

Review of Related Literature

Introduction

This chapter sets out to explore the basic concept of freedom of expression and the possibilities on its limitations and discusses the theoretical background for this area of study as well as related and pertinent literatures on the issue of freedom of expression. It also deals with some of the major factors that put the broadcast media different over the print in regulating it. It also assesses the role of religion and its media in the public sphere and the ownership patters of it regarding the political economy of the mass media.

2.1 Highlighting Freedom of Expression

According to Dennis E. et al, (1984:3) there is a lack of agreement about what is meant by freedom of the press. And this is similar to freedom of expression since the one can represent the other. Yet, Encyclopedia of International Media and Communication define freedom of the press as follows:

Freedom of the press is a right that is granted to individuals under the law involving the right to receive and transmit information in any medium of mass communication without undue or unreasonable government or other interference (Johnston, 2003:95).

Besides, Freedom of the press and freedom of speech are related but they are not one and the same. There can be distinctions and even contradictions between them. Human Rights Watch for this argues that “Freedom of expression not only protects explicit speech, understandable through words, but also symbolic expression, which may consist not only of the artistic expressions. For example the American convention on human rights of its

Freedom of expression was considered to be the corner stone of a system of freedoms that includes freedom of conscience, that is, the right to hold opinions or religious or other beliefs, as well as the right to assembly, demonstration and petition (Ibid: XI).

Propositions formulated during this period are today widely accepted as essential to the notion of democracy. These include the idea that neither political and religious authorities nor judges are competent to determine the goodness or validity of ideas or opinions, which must compete freely; also, that the protection of free expression is meaningless if it does not also extend to ideas or opinions that are generally abhorred (Ibid).

At the same time, while recognizing the need for a politically organized society, whose institutions must necessarily rely on a public force capable of maintaining order and enforcing the law, liberal thought harbored a fundamental distrust of the state. For this reason, freedom of expression was conceived not only in its creative dimension but also in its preventive role as an indispensable instrument for keeping the power of the state under the critical control of its citizens.

2.1.2 The Importance of Freedom of Speech

The concept of freedom of speech is central to realize democracy and implement mass communication. Henceforth, the below listed and detailed ideas constitute the importance of speech freedom.

1. Is a prerequisite for the search of the truth

According to John Milton, while defending in religious dogmas, “freedom of expression is as a prerequisite for the already discovered truth to thrive and for undiscovered truth to be discovered.” He argued that censorship will be “primarily to the discouragement of all learning, and the stop of truth not only by the dis-exercising and blunting our abilities in what we know already, but by hindering and cropping the discovery that might be yet further made both in religious and civil wisdom” (www.ajolznfb :202)

2. Is a prerequisite for self-governance

Another traditionally influential rationale of freedom of expression is the one expounded by A. Meiklejohn argued on the protection of free speech that is justified since it is a prerequisite for self governance. Proponents of this view claim that democracy, as a system of self governance requires that citizens be well informed of issues of public interest so they could make informed and intelligent decisions taking in to account all available alternatives (Ibid)

3. Is a prerequisite for personal development

As Scanlon concludes, the other line of reasoning that is adopted to justify the protection of speech is one that makes human autonomy, personal development and fulfillment contingent on a person’s freedom to express one’s self as well as make independent choices of what is right and wrong, what is good taste and bad taste. The argument goes, without such freedom, human being cannot fully develop their personality and be autonomous moral agents with self respect. Therefore, regardless of whether or not freedom of expression helps in the search for truth and in addition to the utility of

freedom of expression in facilitating democratic governance, free speech is seen as something that is justified because it makes autonomous personal development and fulfillment possible (Ibid).

In its social context, freedom of speech ensures that citizens have the information they need to participate actively in civic life, and contributes to non-violent conflict resolution Meikle John 1965, Cohen-Almagor, 2001 (www.jou.sagepub.com:237).

In terms of international jurisprudence, freedom of expression is not only fundamentally important in its own right and for functioning of democracy; it is also crucial to fulfillment of all other rights. Bound up, with freedom of expression is media freedom. The UDHR doesn't specifically mention the media in article 19, since the media of a country is one of the main tools through which different publics speak to each other, it is generally assumed to be entitled to the individual right to free of expression.

To this extent, Hugo black (1942) in *Wag Man*. (1991 :) explained, Freedom to speak and write about public questions is as important to the life of our government as is the health to the human body. In fact, this privilege is the heart of government if that heart weakened, the result is debilitation; if it stilled, and the result is death, stressing how much it is valuable.

2.1.3 Broadcast Speech and why Broadcasters are treated differently from other media?

Almost every where in the world there is no refusals of giving licenses to the runners of print media outlets of the private sector. But, there is even in the US in regulating the broadcasting sector unlike the print one. "Under the first amendment to the US constitution it would be unthinkable for the government to try to restrict the number of news papers allowed to exist in one area. But under the new federal communication act, the only people who can start radio station (and now a TV station) are those who have been granted a governmental license" (Wag man, 1991:128).

"The twin concepts of scarcity and economic efficiency are at the heart of the rationale behind government regulation of broadcasting. The electronic spectrum is physically limited. Any body can buy paper and a printing press, since we can't ran out of either. But there is only a finite No of broadcast frequencies available, and two people cannot broadcast on the same frequency at the same time. Because of this scarcity and the need to impose order, economic efficiency demands that the government in the name of all citizens "own" the electronic spectrum, and parcel it out to private citizens (broadcasters) who act as the public trustees of a frequency" (Wag Man, 1991:128-129).

Unlike other modes of expression, radio inherently is not available to all. Because its unique characteristic and that is why, unlike other modes of expression, it is subject to governmental regulation... the right of free speech does not include, however, the right to sue the facilities of radio without a license (Ibid).

In the other dimension, Broadcasting is by far the most important source of information as well as of entertainment, for most people in countries around the world. High level of illiteracy along with difficulty of distributing news papers mean that broadcasting is the only media which is accessible for many people. For the poor, news papers may be prohibitively expensive, and some people simply find it easier and more enjoyable to watch or listen to the news than to read (www.article19.org:1).

As a result of its centrality as a source of information news, and its growing profitability, governments and dominant commercial interests have historically sought to control broadcasting. Frequently, the public broadcaster repartees largely as a mouth piece of government rather than serving the public interest. In many countries, broadcasting was until recently a state monopoly, a situation which still pertains in some states. In other countries, private broadcasting is becoming increasingly important and varieties of mechanisms have been used to try to control it. Governments have exerted control through the licensing process while commercial interests have sought to monopolize the broadcasting sector and to focus on low quality but profitable programming.

2.1.4 Possible Areas for Limitation of Freedom of Expression

None of the fundamental freedoms, including freedom of expression, is absolute. Of all fundamental freedoms, that of expression is the most elaborated one in international norms and jurisprudence. It may also go to restrictions and/or limitations sometimes it has juridical value in its content. But these limitations and/restrictions must clearly put in all the general international and national bills and laws for better understanding.

Freedom does not simply mean "free from." To be free from everything-free form other people, free from laws, free from morality, free from thought free from emotion is to be nothing (Dennis E et al, 1984:11).

“If expression is considered to possess societal value, it must be considered constitutionally protected unless; it will be conflicted with other laws social values or constitutional guarantees” (Wag man 1991:103).

One can ask, if there exists under the 1st amendment the right to speak, can there also be found under the same amendment a constitutionally protected right not to speak? The Supreme Court of the United States has said yes, in situations where none speech is a form of communication (Ibid).

Although there are advocates who argue against any form of restriction on freedom of expression, under international law, freedom of expression is not absolute and may be subject to restrictions in accordance with law. However any limitations must remain within strictly defined parameters. Article 19(3) of the ICCPR lays down the conditions, which may restriction on freedom of expression, must meet:

The existence of the rights provided in paragraph two this article carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions. But these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary:

- a) For respect of the rights or reputations of others;
- b) For the protection of national security or of public order, public health or morals.

Article 9(2) of the African charter and human and peoples' right also for sees the possibility of restriction, providing: "every individual shall have the right to express and disseminate his opinions within the law." Article 10(2) of the ACHPR also recognizes

that freedom of expression may, in certain prescribed circumstances, be limited (www.article19.org: 11).

However, these laws and the international jurisprudence, any restrictions on freedom of expression must meet a strict three-part test. These tests which have been confirmed by these bodies require any restriction on freedom of expression:

- a) Shall be prescribed by law
- b) Shall be to serve a legitimate aim
- c) Shall be necessary in a democratic society to secure the legitimate aim (Ibid).

But, this does not mean that national law cannot set aside the international laws for the restrictions of freedom of expression. Countries can set laws of their own environment. But, this law should not be in contrary to the international laws and laws make the protection of freedom of expression in effective. Of course, it is nowhere near this simple. No state, whatever, its constitution, tolerates complete freedom of expression; all states operate codes which provide for restrictions on the content of videos, films, and television programs. What freedom means, and what limits should apply to it, form part of an endlessly evolving political debate (street J, 2001).

2.1.5 General Principles for the Right to Freedom of Expression and Media Diversity and Pluralism

Even though states and some commercial maximizing interested groups control the media and freedom of expression, internationally freedom of expression is fully guaranteed under the international principle for freedom of expression.

According to one none governmental organization in British writes on the rights bill of article 19:

Every one has the right to freedom of expression, which includes the freedom to seek, receive , and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, orally, in print, in the form of art, through the broadcast media or through any other media of his or her choice.

This right includes:

1. The right to freedom of expression including both the right of broadcasters to be free of state, political or commercial interference and the right of the public to maximize diversity of information and ideas in broadcasting (www.article19.org:2)
2. Besides, broadcast content should never be subject to prior censorship either by the government or by regulatory bodies. Any sanctions for breach of regulatory rules relating to content should be applied only after the material in question has been broadcast.

However, it is usual to experience not only censoring the content to broadcast or applied to airwave priorly before broadcasted but also censoring through refusing to give the license to private investors which is another means of prior censorship.

2.1.5.1 Eligibility of Licensing

“Strictly enough, there should be no blanket prohibition on awarding broadcasting licenses to applicants based on either their form or nature, except in relation to political parties, where a ban may be legitimate. In particular applicants should not be required to have a particular legal form, such as incorporation. Nor should certain type of applicants, such as religious bodies be subject to a blanket ban on receiving licenses. Instead the regulatory body should have the power to make licensing decisions on a cases-by-case basis” (Ibid: 2).

2.1.5.2 Media diversity and Pluralism

Diversity stands very close to freedom as a key concept in any discussion of media theory. Glasser in McQuail (2000) presupposes most generally that the more, and the more different, channels of public communication, there carrying the maximum variety of (changing) content the greatest variety of audiences the better.

Again the UK organization writes on the principle of broadcasting in principle (3) for promoting diversity in article 19 briefed into the following:

1. Diversity implies pluralism of broadcasting organization, of ownership of these organizations, and of voices, view points and languages with in broadcast programming. In particular, diversity implies the existence of a wide range of independent broadcasters and programming that represents and reflects society as a whole.
2. The state has an obligation to take positive measures to promote the places in a manner which ensures maximum diversity. It also has an obligation to refrain from imposing restrictions on broadcasters which unnecessarily limit the over all growth and development of the sector.

Effective measures should be put in place to prevent undue concentration, and to promote diversity, of ownership both with in broadcast sector and of ownership both with in broadcaster sector and between broadcasting and other media sectors. Such measures should take into account the need for broadcasting sector as whole to develop and for broadcasting services to be economically viable (Ibid: 3)

One of the obstacles to pluralism is the monopoly or interference of the state in communication media. However, control of the communication media by private groups may affect freedom of the press as much as interference by the state (HRW, 1998 :).

“An important aspect of state’s positive obligation to promote freedom of expression and of the media is the need to promote pluralism with in and to ensure equal access of all to

the media. Accordingly, the declaration of principles on freedom of expression in Africa recognizes the obligation of the authorities to take positive measures with a view to promoting diversity” (Ibid: 8).

The principles on freedom and pluralism of the media are also recognized in the European Union Charter of fundamental rights and in the jurisprudence of the European court of human rights and the inter-American court of human right.

The inter-American court of human right for example has stated: “it is the mass media that make the exercise of freedom of expression a reality.” It further held that freedom of expression requires “the communication media (to be) potentially open to all without discrimination or, more precisely, that there be no individuals or groups that are excluded from access to such media” (Ibid).

Therefore, as the forgoing comparative human rights analysis indicates, the right to respect for freedom and pluralism of the media is fully recognized under international law.

2.2 Theoretical Framework of the Study

The theoretical foundation of this study is laid down on the perspective of political economy theory of the mass media. Because in one way or another ownership of the mass media are influenced either by the economic consumption or the political control of governments or commercial interest groups.

As Graham sees on his critique of the political economy of communication, political economy is an area of study that focuses on mass media industry structures, emphasizing the effects of ownership on political systems. For others it is the study of various movements in what might be called the “commodity” cycle in mass media: production, distribution, exchange, and consumption. Still for others, it is only one or two of these moments, the most prominent of those being distribution and consumption (www.philgraham.net)

More elaborately, Graham defines political economy as the study “how the values of all kinds are produced, distributed, exchanged, and consumed (the economic), how power is produced, distributed, exchanged, and exercised (the politics); and how the aspects of the social world are related at any given place and time in history” (Ibid: 2-3).

And as Innis in this similar citation says, obviously, the root of political economy of communication is the concept of ‘knowledge monopolies’ in which certain privileged groups such as (priests , kings, bureaucrats, soldiers, scientists) etc have enjoyed a monopoly of access to certain kinds of knowledge in history. By separating

communication “content” and technological form, Innis further provides a means for seeing how new media can sustain, erode, or otherwise transform various kinds of civilizations throughout history based on the types of technologies used to maintain ‘knowledge monopolies’.

Contemporarily, Mc. Chesney in this similar citation also identified two main dimensions in ‘political economy of communication’:

First it addresses the nature of the relationship between media communication systems on the one hand and the broader social structure of society on the other hand. In other words, it examines how media and communication systems and content reinforce, challenge or influence the existing class and social relations. It does this with particular interest in how economic factors influence politics and social relations. Second, the political economy of communication looks especially at how ownership, support mechanisms (e.g. advertising) and government policies influence media behavior and content. This line of inquiry emphasizes structural factors and the labor process in the production, distribution, and consumption of communication.

Coming to ownership, the liberalist, revolutionaries and Marxist democracies have their own ideological perspective. For instance, radical libertarian would argue on which the mass media would operate as follows “the media should be free to publish and broadcast what they wish, that sovereign, rational consumers should determine their fate. The government should have no role in the media, except perhaps to foster and encourage their economic success and to referee frequency allocations, as it does in broad casting and cellular communications” (Gross berg et al, 1998:394).

On the other side, a rational Marxist, either of a cultural or political economic stripe, would argue the opposite that media should be created and owned by the public with the state or government saving the necessary function of allocating the means to produce media to the people (Ibid).

Coming to Ethiopia, the incumbent government follows the revolutionary democracy system and the ownership of the mass media are characterized basically by this ideology. As Ministry of information disclosed on a book entitled “*በኢትዮጵያ የዲሞክራሲ ስርዓት ግንባታ ጉዳዮች*.” it argues “whereas media play a pivotal role in the democratic system, different bodies may be participant in the stakeholder. And government is the main actor of this, particularly in the electronic media. Especially, in developing countries like Ethiopia the other stakeholders have their own limitations. Therefore, government has to participate broadly in the electronic media in a better way than the developed nations. Of course, there is no other option than advancing this to secure the democratization process” (Ministry of Information, 2002:112).

Thus, this indicates that political economy of the mass media is entertained in a manner of the country’s ideology and policy it follows.

2.2.1 Libertarian and Social Responsibility Theories: Their Perspectives on Freedom of Expression

The two theories have similar perspective towards freedom of expression, but they also differ on the way they approach and sense it. “Questions about the proper role and

function of media are as old as the media themselves, and systematic approaches to their answers are referred to as formative theory of the media (Gross berg et al, 1998:375).”

From the perspective of libertarian theory freedom of expression is a natural right, a right which man is born with, a right which no one could take away. Under social responsibility however, freedom of expression is grounded on the duty of the individual to his thought, and conscience, it is a moral right. "Freedom of expression is not something which one claims for selfish ends. It is closely bound up with his mental existence and growth thought to claim"(Siebert et al, 1984: 96).

The libertarian press emerged from the idea that as the public is very capable of accepting or rejecting what is true or false; media should be free from any government intervention. Social responsibility theory on the contrary suggests prescribing the free media what to do and not to do, to the best of the public (Mohammed, 2009). Thus, social responsibility theory is emerged from the short comings of libertarian theory.

2.2.2 Media Ownership Patters and Arguments

The three fundamental forces in the history of the mass media have been politics, technology, and commerce.

Traditionally, media and political science scholars have suggested that freedom of the press in any given society is a function to the relevant country's political ecology. Classic trends in this respect include the social responsibility model (Siebert et al, 1963) and the

development media model (McQuail, 1994). In some recent models, however, focus is shifted from government to economy. Literature, especially of the type originating in the political economics school, argues that nowadays, media owners financial interests endanger freedom of the press more than political institutions do Picard, 1985, Under Wood, 1993 etc (<http://www.ajol:>).

Thomson in Tomaselli et al (2001:16) also argued that internationally, some academics have pointed out that “with transformation of media organizations into large scale committal organizations, freedom of expression has been confronted by a new threat, a threat stemming not from excessive use of state power, but rather from the unhindered growth of media organizations as concerns. But, he outlined that this view does not presuppose that the free market approach, to economic activity is the best of guarantor of freedom of expression, since un regulated market may develop in a way which effectively reduces diversity and limits the capacity of most individuals to make their views heard.”

For example, Traditionally, African broadcasting has been considered part of the civil service; as a result, its autonomy has been seriously proscribed by state and government interference, and mainly used as propaganda and arms of ruling elites. However, since 1992, and in the wake of democratizing and privatizing impulses stemming from the post-apartheid transition, South African governments have begun to regulate the airwaves, permitting private satellite transmission via both encryption and free to air broadcasting, in addition to public service and commercial channels. However, the methods of implementing regulation and privatization have had a significant impact on

developments. National states have all sorts of ways of ensuring compliance and control. They are ensured via the ruling party, to influencing personal appointments, through to outright censorship (Tomaselli et al, 2001)

As Graham in Tomaselli et al (2001) writes, recent trends in media and communication have included a growing concentration of media ownership including technological convergence between telecommunications and broadcasting and the elevation of information as a fundamental consistent of economic development. Governments have placed the future of their communication and information industries at the top of their political agenda and in the formation of economic and industrial policy.

And at the enterprise level, the pattern of ownership gradual discredited and the effectiveness of the media consequently much diminished and tantamount to total control, although some improvements have been there since 1990s in the private owned media due to economic liberalization (Hayden, 2002:17-18).

From the early day's independence until recently, it was common for African governments to claim that centralism was necessarily the better of the two models for purposes of nation building. It was justified as less wasteful of the limited resources, and as guaranteeing the political stability badly needed for rapid development. Generally they claimed that once their countries had become more mature and stable, they would loosen their hold over broadcasting and the other media; just as colonies is saw the importance

of the free and private initiative in broadcasting only when colonization came (or was about to come) to its end (Nyamnjoh,2005:48).

Since the 1990s, however, African scholars and media activist have joined the bandwagon of debates on media ownership and control, increasingly informed by and largely focused on the effects of globalization and neo liberalism on media scenarios the world over. And governments have largely surrender to the pressures and rhetoric's advocating liberalization, even if only cosmetically in certain cases. Almost everywhere, old patterns are giving way to new configurations at a phenomenal place. National, state owned, public service media systems are yielding to commercial media characterized by increasing concentration of ownership and control through takeovers, mergers and globalism (Nyaminjoh, 2005:49-50).

Of course, the important development point in the 1990s is the enactment of constitutional provisions that facilitate the development of privately owned media in African countries. For instance, as Kunz in Hayden (2002:60) explained, governments much as those in Ethiopia, Benin, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe, which had introduced a Marxist-Leninist economic system, have replaced "socialism" with a free market and unlimited privation and investment in the media sector.

In most of Africa, the other threats to a free, open and participatory media system and society are as much from repressive government as from the interests to rich nations,

international financial institutions and communication multinationals (Nyaminjoh,2005:50).

Nowhere in this partnership can collusion be better illustrated than in the relationship between African governments and the World Bank and IMF. As Barman in Nyaminjoh (2005:52) states, both institutions have preferred to the rhetoric of what they called it 'uncritical and idealized models of liberal democracy, the market and civil society' to the reality of even an imperfect democracy.

In Kenya for example, the hardship brought about by the world bank and IMF in the 1980s and early 1990s gave birth to popular songs of protest by ordinary people seeking to free themselves from 'dominant illusions' through the nostalgic recreation of 'exemplary heroes and leaders' as embodiments of popular values and public virtues (Nyaminjoh,2005:52-53).

Unlike the African countries however, media ownership system of the western nations is the most liberal and highly privatized. Thus, it falls under the most few media giant persons we call them media moguls.

A 'media mogul' we define as a person who opens and operates major media companies, who takes entrepreneurial risks, and who conducts these media business in a personal or eccentric style (Tenstall, 1991:105).

Moguls, has not only the financial power but also have political power. Street J. (2001:133) for example explained that "people think of Rupert Murdoch as powerful, in the sense not only that he is the head of a major corporation, but also that his power is not confined the commercial decisions and to weighing up purely economic costs and

benefits. Murdoch is assumed to wield political power, to use his power to influence what his papers, say what voters think and what government do. And this is really happening even currently.”

The world is revolving by these media moguls, such as: Maxwell, Rupert Murdoch, Berlusconi, Berlusconi. Debt was the most obvious and difficult problem for a number of media moguls as their political economy. Given that they have shown rapid growth and personal control as part of the definition of mogul Dom it follows that bank debt was also a common mogul problem. Financial pundits and other commentators thought the 1980s point to the high risks involved in funding acquisition via debt, rather than by issuing shares. The moguls took the risks in order to retain the control (Tunstall, 1991:212-213).

And like the centralized media ownership system is influenced by government political control, the privatized media of the western nations is also influencing and circulating under these few media moguls. Politically and economically, directly or indirectly the views of the world is flowing from one circumstance. Though, media moguls differ in certain characteristics.

In contrary to the conglomerates, and or moguls interest, Tannsjo in street J. (2001:262-263) argues by saying that of a democratic order is one which seeks to enhance the growth of knowledge, cultural pluralism and access, it cannot afford to allow an unfettered right to private ownership of media. The threat to democracy, by this account, comes not from the state but from the mass media themselves. Private ownership

necessarily limits access, and in pursuit of its interests it will seek to control and limit the supply of knowledge and information; it will create an undemocratic media.

According to him, this has two consequences. The first is that private ownership leads to the creation of media monopolies; the second is that these monopolies come to treat news as a commodity. Whose value is determined by the operation of the market? There are two consequences that work directly against the growth of knowledge (News is not valued for its contribution to knowledge and understanding) but for its commercial value: its ability to deliver audiences to advertisers, there are also work against the principles of pluralism and open access because monopoly control by its nature restricts access (Ibid).

Tannstø is not alone in drawing these conclusions over the problems for democracy of private ownership. Kean similarly, argues that information needs to remain a public good not a private commodity in a democracy. He writes, friends of the "liberty of the press" must recognize that communication markets restrict freedom of communication by generating barriers to entry, a monopoly and restrictions upon choice, and by shifting the prevailing definition of information from that of a public good to that of a privately appropriable commodity. In short it must be concluded that there is a structural contradiction between freedom of communication and unlimited freedom of the market. The effects of the market are felt not just in news and current affairs, but on entertainment too. Philip Green in a similar situation ends his critique for the decline of American popular culture with this claim. The free market can never produce anything but a free culture.

Kean, Tannsjo, Green, all concludes that regulation of ownership is necessary for media to fulfill their democratic role. This is not a matter of ownership and control, but rather a matter of putting all media under political democratic control. And whatever it is all systems share the political economic values of the nation where they function while categorizing the theories of the press.

2.3 Media laws and Freedom of Expression

Media law is an indispensable aspect of freedom of expression for abiding journalists to know their boundaries. However, as Street J. cited in Meron (2006) “One of the greatest dangers to freedom of expression in several transitional democracies in Africa has been the introduction of media laws that has been used to effectively curb the media's ability to report freely.”

The media didn't operate in a vacuum, but are extensively dependent on how the political system at large is constituted. African countries have carried out constitutional reforms with regard to the party system and the division of power between the various branches of government (Hayden, 2002:56).

One of the first amendments in the constitutional set up of African polities in the 1990s refers to the introduction of multi-party politics which the establishment of this is as part of the reformation of the political system at large, and was an important step also towards greater freedom of expression (Hayden, 2002).

“Virtually every country on the African continent has made constitutional reforms guaranteeing freedom of expression, including special legislation safeguarding freedom of the media” (Hayden, 2002f:57).

For example, Ethiopia has made dramatic constitutional reform which guarantees and safeguards the freedom of expression and overall environment of the media in the 1990s new political transition. The Ethiopian constitution can be a reprehensive of the rest African countries in the democratic right of article 29(2) states like this:

Everyone has the right freedom of expression without any interference. This right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information, and ideas or all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any media of his choice." FDRE Constitution (1995:148). And are 29(3), "freedom of the press and other mass media and freedom of artistic creativity is guaranteed.

But, as Ogbondah (2003:62) indicates, "laws do not mean much of those who are supposed to adhere to them do not do so, nor if the legal acts are contradictory or ambiguous. Thus, creating the way for the authorities to evade their responsibilities toward the public or take arbitrary actions against perceived wrong doers. Therefore, it is necessary to high light how far the constitutional promise is really fulfilled".

The one and only proposition which is both absolute and undeniable in media law is that thought is free, and hence communicating with one self via messages and images in the brain-pan cannot, however subversive or obscene, be interdicted. But communicate that message to anyone else, whether in a bottle cast on to the waves or in an e-mail silently sliding form a computer on the other side of the world, and the thought, thus emitted becomes subject to interception by a network of laws designed to jam or distort in the interests of states or corporation.

For instance, an important change effected by the 1990 in America broadcasting act is to provide much greater a freedom of evangelical broadcasting. There is no ban to religious groups obtaining licenses cable or satellite channels or local radio stations, although the ITC will doubtlessly disqualify cults or religious extremists if it considers them "in appropriate." Having obtained license religious groups will be permitted to editorialize by propagating their faith, so long as they do not exploit the susceptibilities of the audience or abuse the religious believes for others. Advertising by religious organizations is new permitted on mainstream channels subject to a strict code which excludes advertisements that play on fear, expression categories vulnerable viewers (such as the elderly bereaved) or proselytize doctrine or denigrate other faiths or philosophies of life. No advertisement may include an appeal for funds (although special dispensation may be given to religious charities that assist human causes). The object is to avoid the hell-fire preaching, mass emotional appeal and dubious fund raising motives that characterize American televangelism (Robertson, 2002).

In many ways, the broadcasting and cable industries are unique among the mass media. They face almost all of the same legal problems as the print media. But they must deal with a variety of special legal producers; tool like publishers, broadcasters may be sued for libel, in vision of privacy, or copy right on fragment. Likewise, they share the problems of adding and anti in trust regulations and of restriction on their access to information (Over beck, 1985).

Thus, this means that in addition the variety of legal problems and limitations such as on the case of defamatory cases, invasion of privacy faces the print media it is also facing the problem of regulation which is a guest for the print media.

2.4 The Role of Religion and its Media in the Public Sphere

The role of religion and the religious media it can play in the public sphere is still debatable among scholars, theology men and states. Some of them agreed on the wide importance the religious voices and expressions and some of them refuses the religious voices and religious expressions hold in the public sphere. However, from the notion of freedom of expression, any ideas have not to be censored by government rather the expressions have to host many critics for the better exercising of democracy. Religious expressions have also entertained and opened to the public as of other expressions.

In some countries, there is an expectation that religion can be treated as robustly as any other subject, and be just as open to debate as a political issue. In other countries, particularly where there is a State religion or the majority of the population are religiously observant, such debate or critical comment would be considered unacceptable and arouse feelings of serious offence. It is therefore necessary to take these issues into consideration issues when setting content standards. Freedom of expression has to be balanced against the potential offence to public sensibilities (<http://portal.unesco.org:50>).

To this effect, David Hollinger in Berhane 2009 argues, religious ideas offered as justifications for public policy should be open to critical debate, and no longer left

unchallenged. According to him any religiously motivated public debate should face the pressure and scrutiny of democratic debate.

Lovin in Birhane (2009), briefed that religion can offer insight full critics of the harmful traits of human being, such as materialism, hyper individualism, consumerism and acquisitiveness. Religion can also serve as a means of filling the voids of secular philosophy, (especially at times when the political environment so corrupts), by injecting a number of moral ingredients, such as discipline, generosity, forgiveness, service, hope and endurance. One of the scholars in this camp, Patel calls for active involvement of religion in public life, founded on principles of religious pluralism. He argues religious voices, in all their peculiarities have a legitimate and important role to play in public debate.

Patel also argues that when 'liberals' and moderates avoid public discussion of religion and morality, they inevitably create a vacuum to be occupied by extremists; that can take this advantage to obtain disproportionate influence and power (Ibid).

Religious media can play an indispensable role in prompting the moral good values of the society by building ethical behaviors of their follows, in bringing nationality, unity and solidity and articulating pro-democracy demands and even they may struggle for respecting the human right issues, combating malefaction activities such as corruption and political harassments in their country using the responsibility and acceptance they have.

For instance, when the Zimbabwe state sought to more strictly control organized opposition and regime criticism in the 1980's churches were largely able to weather the worst of the pressure and harassment directed at other civil society groups. Media was the case for Christian churches in South Africa under a partied, the exceptional level of public respect for church leaders in societies with large numbers of practicing or supportive members gave Zimbabwean religious leaders a degree of influence and status which Mug Abe regime could not easily ignore or suppress. It is hard, and politically risky to try to destroy the institutional structure or sever international ties of solidarity of organized religions to ban church services and monitor or censor sermon content.

As Chiembu contends in Tomaselli et al (2002:107) Church leaders form many different denominations, particularly Catholics, via the monthly Moto, with a circulation of 27,000, plays a significant role in articulating pro-democracy demands and providing support for groups seeking political changes). Religious leaders did not have access to state media, nor did they try in any deliberate way to use commercial media for humanitarian or social causes. Hence, Moto was out spoken in its editorial critics of the state on human rights violations, particularly related to alleged Zimbabwean rights violations, particularly related to alleged Zimbabwe national army atrocities against civilians in mutable land in the 1980's, land policy and corruption. Motto also intermittently served as a vehicle for political democratization and system reform proposals of other civil society groups. The fact that it is written in English and has limited, urban based circulation, restricts its impact.

In addition to their evangelical service and social concern however, religious channels interfere in the political agenda of a given nation. For instance, a study held by Cambridge University in the Arab's religious broadcasting shows that as religious channels become political tools to the extent that they promote particular visions of social and political order, such as gender roles, class hierarchies, and thus either preserve or challenge the status quo. Besides, pressures particularly in religious programs are not simply arguing over the rightness and wrongness of particular ideas but they are also claiming and contesting the authority to speak for Islam (Cambridge University, 2010:6-7).

One clear example is in Egyptian religious channels that the preachers were not directly confronting the state, their popularity and ability to mobilize youth and speak to their concerns but also the state could see them as a political threat (ibid :36).

2.5 Religions Communication in Africa

“Apart from the welcome re birth of the independence press, Africa, during the 1990s, saw the increasing establishment of the community as well as church press. Although distinct, the two were, in some cases, one and the same press. Some times the church was responsible for setting up a community press” (Kasoma, 2000:98).

In Zambia for example out of the seven new radio stations which were operating by October 1990, five belong to the Christian churches, mainly the catholic church, one was a women's station started and supported by UNESCO and the last one was a private

station run commercially by Zambian advertising firm. This situation was not any unique to Zambia but was also common to some other countries (Ibid).

It was obvious that if this trend continued, there would be a time when the community and church press would rival the government press as main stream media in many African countries. The involvement of the church in the press in African was by the close of 1990s deeper than merely at the level of ownership. The use of the press for evangelizing or church profaned was noticeable almost every where on the continent. With reference to television, in particular, televangelism, as discussed earlier became daily feature of programming for not only church owned stations but also government television stations.

In some countries, such as Zambia, the broadcast time devoted to televangelism particularly during weekend constituted about half of the total air time. The churches of course, paid for the time they used fro televangelism on the government stations. The government TVs well – come the income which beefed up their major budgets. The influence of the churches in the press on Africa during the first decade of the 2000s as increased rather than deceasing both at the level of ownership as well as content.

2.6 Historical Background of Religious Broadcasting in Ethiopia

Despite the fact that currently there is no religious broadcasting in Ethiopia, there was a religious radio during the imperialist regime. According to Tamrat (2008) Christian broadcasting in Ethiopia goes back to the establishment of radio voice of the gospel

(RVOG) in 1963. RAVOG was to be owned and operated by the LWF, Lutheran churches and missionary societies in North America, Germany and Nordic countries provided financial support. In Ethiopia the name of the radio was literally called “Bisrate Wengel by Ortodox or Yemisrach Dimths Radio by Mekene Eyesus” meaning “voice of good tiding”. Except the difference in language the meaning is the same.

According to Siting Lundgren (1983), Shibru (1990), LWFBS; RVOG report (1957-1963) cited in Tamrat (2008: 28), LWF selected Ethiopia to establish RVOG for three main reasons:

First, the project aimed to serve Asia and East Africa; and Ethiopia is a logical direction for the radio project.

Second, in contrast to a rapidly changing situation, Ethiopia at the end of 1950s’ seemed a remarkable and stable country than others.

Third, Ethiopia had an old Christian tradition and culture beginning from the 4th century and Christianity had maintained its position as the official religion of the country through/ for centuries. That is why the committee found the risk involved in Ethiopia was still considered smaller than any were else in Africa. However, the downfall of RVOG followed the collapse of the aged old empire of Ethiopia. On the 11th march 1974 when Mengustu Hailemariam’s military government nationalized RVOG station by sending its troops to occupy the station (Tamrat 2008).

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This study is designed with the core aim to investigate the perceptions of religious institutions on freedom of expression, and to explore the rationale behind the ownership inaccessibility of the broadcast media to the religious institutions. It looks into what the constitution and the broadcasting proclamation says. This all would be looked at with regard to the international and regional bills of freedom of expression that Ethiopia also ratified and signed as part and parcel of the law of the land.

Therefore, this chapter is designed to the discussion of methodology, the process of data gathering and its techniques, selection of the data sources, and finally how the analysis of the data gathered would be done.

3.2 Research Design

In its general sense, the methodology employed in this study is broadly qualitative based on individual in-depth interviews and focus group discussion which are primary sources and primary aims to know the informants views, perceptions on the issues raised in their contexts and experiences.

“Qualitative methodology requires researchers to analyze the topics of their study through sense-making tools that help them understand how people make sense of their experiences” (Richard West et al, 2000: 60). Besides, research studies which are

qualitative are designed to discover what can be learned from some experiences of people about an inquiry that researchers also make rhetorical appeal or reasoned argument for their findings.

3.3 Data gathering techniques and Subjects of the study

3.3.1 Subjects of the study and Sampling

Currently there are many religious institutions and their denominations registered in Ethiopia. Therefore, out of these many religious institutions and their denominations, only four religious institutions are selected as sample of the study. These are Orthodox, Islam, Catholic, and Mekane EYesus (from the protestant religion) which are cited according to their consecutive history.

The study applied purposive sampling method to select these four religions institutions. Because, as Baxter and Babbie writes (2004:164), purposive sampling is a type of non-probability sampling in which the researcher uses his or her judgment in the selection of sample members based on his or her prior knowledge.

Besides, as is mentioned above there are quite many religious institutions and quite many denominations particularly in the protestant religion. And it is difficult to reach them due to financial and time constraints. Hence, these four religious institutions are selected mainly for tactical reasons. As far as Mekane Eyesus church is concerned, though there are many denominations in the protestant church, the church Mekane Eyesus was member of the RVOG radio of LWF in the emperor region. That is why it is selected from the other ones.

And except, the two later ones, orthodox and Islam have long history and highest number of followers than the other. Therefore, Catholic and Mekane Eyesus are selected based on their fast movement shown and number of followers they comprise in their history than the other unmentioned denominations and they are entered to Ethiopia long before the unmentioned denominations .

3.3.2 Data gathering techniques

The researcher undertook individual in-depth interviews with the various religious fathers and media practitioners in the religious institutions that represent the institutions. Similar technique, in-depth interview, is employed with experts and with the Ethiopian broadcasting authority. In addition, the researcher conducted focus groups discussion with Mahibere Kidusan media practitioners of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and Yemisrach Dimts radio journalists of Mekane Eyesus church.

3.3.3 In-depth interview

In-depth interviews are very important in the field of research in their effectiveness giving human face to research problems. They are effective for getting people to talk about their personal feelings, opinions, and experiences.

Besides, “In depth-interview typically last between one and three hours. Thus, researchers interested in obtaining rich and thick description than collecting information from hundreds of respondents” (Richard west et al, 2000:65). Further in depth interviews are generally conducted in person that is very preferable.

Similarly, in-depth interview is an important tool in the elaboration of data concerning respondents' feeling and opinion, as well as value. And with its qualitative nature, in depth interview go hand in hand with different data gathering tools (Mohammed, 2009:37).

Hence, unstructured and semi-structured in-depth interview is conducted. Here, unstructured interview helps respondents to give their opinions freely and openly. And unstructured interview will be conducted to strengthen the data will be gathered by focus group discussion. As Deacon et al (1999) points out that semi structured interview gives less concerns for standardization and control and give much space to active and open ended dialogue.

3.3.4 Focus Group Discussion

As David Morgan in Pamela Mykut et al (2004) points out that focus group discussion is purposively important bringing several different perspectives into contact. And the purpose of group interview is to bring several different perspectives into contact about the focus of the inequality in an open and emergent process.

Accordingly, with in this period of time a total of four religious fathers, four media practitioners (one from each religious institution) and media experts and with the broadcasting authority public relation expert are interviewed thoroughly. And two focus group discussions are conducted with Mahibere Kidusan media practitioners of Ethiopian Orthodox Church and Yemisrach Dimts radio journalists of the protestant Mekane Eyesus church as mentioned earlier.

The reason why I could not held focus group discussion in the four religious institutions is first, the two religious institutions namely Islam and the Catholic have not an organized media of their own; second, why I could not gather all of them in one place because they are not voluntary for different reasons.

3.4 Data Presentation and Analysis

Having employed a qualitative study method; the researcher has attempted to discuss the result of the data acquired through interview and focus group discussion in an explanatory and interpretative way. Besides, the analysis is made in relation to the international and regional which are universally agreed rights on the right to freedom of expression by member states, the 1991 Ethiopian constitution and the 2007 FDRE's broadcasting proclamation.

Chapter Four

Data Presentation and Analysis

Introduction

As highlighted in the previous chapters, this study is aimed to analyze the perceptions of religious institutions on freedom of expression of article 29 (2) and of the broadcasting proclamation number 533's article 23/2007 in focus, particularly from the inaccessibility of the religious organizations to the broadcast media. Thus, this chapter discusses the data collected through individual in-depth interviews and focus group discussion, and analyzes the findings of the study answering the basic research questions raised.

4.1 Constitutional Framework of the Ethiopian Broadcasting

Proclamation

Before 1991, mass media institutions in Ethiopia were under the centralized control of the governments and were reorganized as instruments of propaganda and being as a mouth piece of the ideology. This was only abolished following the over throw of the military government. In this regard the following statement strengthened it as follows:

With the coming into power of the new government in May 1991, it appeared that promoting respect for freedom of expression would be prioritized. This was manifested first by the transitional period charter, which provided respect for individual human rights at large and for freedom of expression in particular (<http://www.article19.org>).

As a result, in 1992, a press law was promulgated which continues to be in force. The press law focuses primarily on the print media leaving the allocation and utilization of radio waves to be determined by law that was promulgated in June 1999 (Ibid).

Following this, freedom of expression has got recognition by the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE). Hence, the constitution officially declared freedom of expression as democratic right in its article 29.

Article 29 of the FDRE constitution guarantees the right of thought, opinion, freedom of expression and the press in the following terms:

(2) Everyone has the right to freedom of expression without interference. this right shall include freedom to seek and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or print, in the form of art or through any media of his/her choice.

(3) Freedom of the press and other mass media and freedom of artistic creativity is guaranteed. [...]

(6) Legal limitations can be laid down in order present the well being of the youth, and honor and reputation of individuals [...].

The constitution further provides: All international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the “law of the land,” and that “the fundamental rights and freedoms” shall be interpreted in a manner confronting to the principles of the Universal Declarations of Human Rights and International Covenants Human Rights and international instruments adopted by Ethiopia.

Ato Leulseged, forwarded his idea on why does the international agreement ratified by Ethiopia sometimes are not applied as follows:

Laws can be laid down limitations for the freedoms guaranteed in constitution if found necessary. And article 29 (6) talks about this. Therefore, there is no contradiction in this perspective. Because, the broadcast media by its nature is very reachable at a time and its negative impact is very high and it is not easy to control as is the print one. We can remember the Genocide in Rwanda. The media (broadcast) aggravated the violence and has claimed millions of lives at a time. Therefore, if the government believes that this is necessary for the public order, the reputation of individuals, and the safety of the nation and of the youth, it is possible to make or lay down limitations on the freedoms protected by the constitution. Even though Ethiopia accepted the international agreements, when found necessary, it is possible to control some aspects of the medium.

Similarly, this idea is reflected in the Ethiopian evangelical Mekaneyes church Yemisrach Dimist Radio journalist. One journalist, on this issue contends in the following terms: - “though it seems contradictory, the government has the right to supplant the law by another law and the article 29 (6) is basically referred to this. But now the law has to be reread and my stance is this” (Focus group discussion, January 21, 2012).

All the religious fathers and media practitioners taken for this study agree on the limitation of freedom of expression and of the mass media. Mekane yesus YD radio journalists also agree on the limitation. However, according one participant of the focus group discussion:

Audiences have the ability to reject a given media before anybody limits it. Freedom of expression has to be with limitation but the audience can exclude one mass media simply by hearing the truth and the contents. For example we know one media in US become out of market recently because it has broadcasted doomsday (የጌታ ምፅኦት) will be in the next

week which is not happened and incredible (Focus group discussion, January 21, 2012).

This idea is similar to that of the libertarian theorists that as the public or audiences are very capable of accepting or rejecting what is true or false; media should be free from any government intervention or any other body. This means no need of restrictions and or limitations since audiences can do this. But the question is do all audiences have the same capability of accepting or rejecting what is true or false? This is very debatable.

AS Aba Hailemarim(phD) writes in Yehaymanot Tekamat Dimts magazine (2004:17)

however, **“መብቶች እና ነፃነቶች ፋይዳ አላቸው።። ፋይዳቸው ግን ፍፁም አይደለም።። የማነኛውም ሰው መብት የተወሰነ ነው።። ቢያንስ በሌሎች ሰዎች ነፃነት ላይ ተፅእኖ እስካላመጣ ነው።። ጭቆና ያበደ ስርዓት ሲሆን ስርዓት አልበኝነት ደግሞ ያበደ ነፃነት ነው”** meaning: Rights and freedoms do have purposes. Such purposes, however, are not absolute. Rights do have limitations, too: at least they should not create problem on the freedom of others. Dictatorship/oppression/ is a disordered governance system, and lawlessness is a disordered freedom.

Besides, w/o Rahel Abiy contends as follows:

The restriction seems contradictory to that of the constitutional right, but if it is for the protection of the public order, it is right. When our consciousness develops, I think this will be revised. I believe that media ownership has to be free but this has not to be now on our context. This has to be when our awareness, tolerance has developed. We have to know our audience? Otherwise for whom do we open the owner ship if we do not know our audience (Personal interview, january24, 2012)?

According to her, such limitations are related with the development of human personality of the country and as we do not reach in the level of entertaining such issues the existence of such limitations are indispensable.

4.2 The Broadcasting Proclamation

The Ethiopian Broadcasting Agency, now Authority is an autonomous federal regulatory body established according to EBA NO 178 11999 now EBA NO 533/2007 with various powers and duties, including to issue, suspend, and revoke broadcasting licenses and with the main objective of ensuring the expansion of high standard, prompt and reliable broadcasting service which contributes to the political, social and economical development of the country.

Since, this study is confined and specified to the perception of religious institution on freedom of expression and the broadcasting proclamation; it is going to focus on the broadcast services issuing mainly the religious institutions in accordance with the constitutional guarantee on freedom of expression and to the implication of the religious institutions. But first let's begin with the general of the broad cast proclamation no 533 (2007). The broad casting proclamation in its introduction states like this:

“WHEREAS, broad casting service play a significant role in the political, economical and social development of the country by providing information, education and entertainment programs to the public;

WHEREAS, broadcasting service plays a major role in exercising the basic constitutional rights such as freedom of expression access to information and the right to elect and be elected;

WHEREAS, it is essential to ensure proper and fair utilization of the limited radio wave wealth of the country;

WHEREAS, it has been found essential clearly define the rights and obligations of persons who undertake the broadcasting service;

WHEREAS, to these ends, it has become necessary to revise the existing law on broadcasting services;

These all are the reasons given for the revision of the previous law by the new broadcasting law. Coming to lists, the proclamation under its article 23 mentioned certain types of bodies not to be issued in the broadcasting service license. In this proclamation eight bodies are not issued in the broadcasting service license which they were three in the previous one.

Religious originations are one of the bodies excluded from getting the issuance of broadcasting service license. The Ethiopian broadcasting proclamation no 533/2007 article 23 lists in the following terms stating:

The following bodies may not be issued with broadcasting service licenses in its English version and the following bodies are not issued with broadcasting service licenses

(የሚከተሉት አካላት የብሮድካስት አገልግሎት ፍቃድ አይሰጣቸውም) in its Amharic version which may create some ambiguity. The following bodies are amongst which:

1. A body that is not conferred with a legal personality
2. Without prejudice to the provisions of other laws regarding foreign nationals of Ethiopian origins, an organization
 - a. not incorporated in Ethiopia or
 - b. in which its capital or its management control is held by foreign national
3. An organization of a political organization or of which a political organization is a share holder or a member of a political organizations supreme leadership is a share holder or member of its management at any level
4. Religious organizations [...], etc.

Though the authority has visioning to expand, promote diversified, reachable and responsible mass media in the country; because as mentioned in the introduction the broadcasting service plays a significant role in the political, economic and social development of the country by providing information education and entertainment and the broadcasting service plays a major role in exercising the constitutional rights such as freedom of expression and access to information and the right to elect and be elected and because of this it has stood to revise the previous law which is 1999 proclamation, the number of bodies which are excluded from getting the broadcasting service license are increased and this is against their promise and the democratic right written in the constitution.

Besides, it is against the international principles for freedom of expression where blanket ban or prohibition of licensing is unreasonable such as to the religious organizations. And, Ethiopia has ratified and signed these international covenants to be part and parcel of the law of the land. Though they are not binding documents and are not able to restrict countries from having their own domestic laws, they are morally binding. And this is clearly put in the Ethiopian constitution article 13(2). The article describes: “The fundamental rights and freedoms specified in this chapter shall be interpreted in a manner of confronting the principles of the universal declaration of human rights international covenants on human rights and international instruments adopted by Ethiopia.”

4.3 The Need for Broadcast Regulation and Licensing

There is always a certificate of licensing and regulating the broadcasting media everywhere in the world unlike the print one.

In this regard, Overback (2006: 427) discusses on why governments needs to regulate the broadcast media and why licensing is necessary on the rationale of the scarcity of the resource and frequencies stating “only a limited number of frequencies are available and the number of stations that may transmit at one time without causing interference is also limited.” He further discusses that such a trend of issuing licenses to broadcasters is a must to secure a proper utilization of frequencies mentioning the licensing experience in the United States; a broadcaster must get a license from the Federal Communication Commission (a broad cast media regulatory body in the country) before going on the air and must renew it periodically.”

However, according to Ato Liulseged, in the Ethiopian context, broadcast regulation is seen from the point view of audience coverage and the consequence that will bring in the safety of the general public and the nation. It is not because the spectrum (resource) is scarce. Of course, the broadcast spectrum is limited and that is why the International Telecom Union (ITU) is approving after Ethio-telecom accepts the request of opening a broadcast media. This is because in order not to create interferences in the frequencies/waves. But in the Ethiopian context regulation is made for the purpose of public safety and national security. The resource scarcity is not counted as a main reason for regulating the broadcasting media.

Hayden (2002:8) describes governments has got to use to control the media in the perceived interests of national unity and development. As Hayden further notes, the legacy of the efforts to control the media in the interest of national development continued to influence the media situation in Africa.

However, for Daniel Kibret, the difference of regulating the broadcast and the print is worthless. According to him:

Uprisings or unrests are raised by the existing situation not by the broadcast media. For example, when the Tunisian youth burnt himself, only few people have watched the event but the uprising has reached the whole nation due to the existing situation. Speaking loudly being in the mount of Enteto and broadcasting through radio or TV is the same if the existing situation is bad. People can not raise uprisings simply by hearing somebody is burning him self.

Mahibere kidusan, journalists agree by the presence of a regulatory body that issues, revokes, and suspends the license and controls the process of the media but there has not

to be a regulatory body that restricts the ownership of broadcast media. Because restriction by itself creates threat since banning something is a threat. (Focus group discussion, January 17, 2012).

Therefore, it can be said that the need for broadcast regulation and licensing are for many different reasons. Though the reasons are different from country to country; it may be for two reasons mainly for using the scarce and limited resource which is the broadcast to use frequencies in a proper and manageable way and for the protection of public safety and national security. Besides it may be a fear of the broadcast media because it is very influential in reaching very distant area at a time and they want to use for building their power in the name of development and public order. Of course public order is a reason even in the international level. That is why; licensing is taken as a means of regulation for the broad cast media.

Thus, it is possible to conclude that internationally the right of broadcasting is guaranteed for broadcasters for the maximum diversity of ideas and information except it is regulated for the sake of national security, public health, and / moral and due to the limited capability of the resource.

4.4 Reasons of Excluding Religious Institutions from Issuing

Broadcasting Service License

Even though banning blanket prohibition of religious organizations is unreasonable in the international principles on freedom of expression, and even the Ethiopian constitution guaranteed freedom of expression to everyone and through any media of his or her choice, the Ethiopian broadcasting proclamation prohibited religious organizations from establishing and running the broadcast media by excluding from the broadcasting service license the issuance.

Ato Leulseged Weldehana, Public Relations Expert in the Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority, responds for the reasons of excluding the religious organization from issuance.

According to him, though the reasons are many, the following are the core ones:

First, in Ethiopia, there are many religious institutions. Some of them are very big while the rest are very small and poor. In case the rich may own the media and the poor will out of this. Second, the country's main issue is not the matter of religion. The country is very poor and we want to eradicate poverty and to create a developed Ethiopia. We have to prioritize things which comes first and which comes next. These things like religious media are secondary things which may be fulfilled in the future (personal interview, January 21, 2012).

But Daniel Kibret (Blogger, Author, Editor and Researcher in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church) opposes the idea though he is in between of opposing and supporting the restriction:

Ethiopians are religions men. When we read any kind of report released on this issue, it ensures that 90% of the people are religious and everybody describes himself as a religious man. Therefore, religion has a big role in Ethiopia in all grounds such as politics, economy, social and cultural activities. And it is inevitable participating on these kinds of activities. Developmental attitudes, civilization, etc. excluding religion is impossible. Besides, if there are developments in the freedom of the press in Ethiopia

and does not include the religious organizations, it is difficult to say that freedom of expression is fully protected. Because, if we let him you can express your ideas but not in the broadcast media and if religion is the main concern of Ethiopians one can easily conclude that the main concern is discriminated (personal interview January 24, 2012).

Daniel's argument like that of the Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression in Africa that it says: "The guarantee of freedom of expression applies with particular force to the media, including the broadcast media and public service broadcasters. Indeed the right to freedom of expression and peoples, right to seek and receive information can not have a meaningful application unless the media plays its key role in a democratic society in print as well as other media outlets" (<http://www.article19.org:8>).

And the third reason for excluding them is that the difference among the religious organizations on many things. The broadcast media is very reachable in a time for different areas and if the religious organizations could not narrow the difference among them, allowing the broadcast service license is leading the nation into unnecessary situation considering the consciousness level of the people of the nation. And, of course, these things are fulfilled when there will be tolerance, agreements and respecting each other. We did not mention the reasons because a proclamation has to be general when declared (Leulseged, personal interview, January 21, 2012).

But, according to one charitable organization of the UK writes on article 19, the refusals of issuing a license must explained and be reviewed by the judiciary. "Any refusal to issue a license should be accompanied by written reasons and should be subject to judicial review" ([www.article 19.org:10](http://www.article19.org:10)).

In this regard, a Commonwealth Expert Group Meeting convened in June, 2002 to develop “Guidelines of Best Practice to Promote Freedom of Expression, Assembly and Association,” briefed that “freedom of expression has to be subjected to limitations in the interests of the rights of others and of larger society. However, the need to ensure that the limitations regime is not abused by State authorities is addressed by most of the instruments. Freedom of expression guarantees, therefore, to have put in place “limitations on limitations” (<http://www.thecommonwealth.org:10-11>).

According Ato Leulseged, the religious exclusion is very similar to that of the political reason. In our sense we have nothing that we have reached in a consensus. For example, in countries like America, South Africa they have reached for many things in a consensus. For instance, in democracy, structure of government no body can't raise a question. But in our case we haven't reached in consensus to the following things such as federalism, unitary, liberal, social, revolutionary etc which system of government has to be implemented. Therefore permitting the broadcast media having these differences is aggravating the differences rather than narrowing them.

As Andergachew (2007) writes in Tamirat (2008:57), “despite the proclamation did not give detail reason for the prohibition, it seems that the reason for the denied of license to these bodies, particularly to religious and political parties, is the concern that they are partisan and cannot, therefore, use the radio or television out lets to broadcast objectively.”

Daniel Kibret on this also argues that it has own its own reason when restricting. Sometimes religion is very sensitive in countries like Ethiopia. Religious issues may be sensitive than the political issues. Therefore, permitting to alleviate the sensitiveness is very critical and we have to differentiate this first. But what is easy is making the organization i.e. the owner to be responsible than searching a responsible body. We have to make a conducive environment for that. And he suggested, the restriction brings three problems:

- 1: It will make the people not to have opinion that is not founded based on knowledge,
- 2: It will make the people not understand one to the other because of the lack of enough knowledge,
- 3: It closes the stage on the national issues for discussion for instance, on the issue of population growth, terrorism, begging etc. from the religious angle.

Therefore, this means that media pluralism is very important for many things. It helps ideas, views and opinions to be worked on from different perspectives and directions. Development is the result of pluralism of ideas and this is very important for developing countries such as Ethiopia.

Likewise, Keane in Street J. (2001:254) argued that people have to be free to follow their conscience and able to test their convictions against their rival claims, thereby

strengthening their faith. In the same citation Mill also noted that “knowledge of the world depends upon constant cross examination conventional wisdom. Only with the public demonstration of diversity and difference could ideas flourish and people cultivate their individual character.

The religious institutions have different reactions and reflections to the constitution and the proclamation, even in interpretation. For instance, Sheik Ahmed Sheik Abdulahi Chelo, the Islamic Affairs Supreme Council president, has totally rejected the permission of broadcast media to the religious institutions. He has expressed his support to the restriction in the following manner:

The permission is unacceptable, we are underdeveloped country and permitting to underdeveloped country like us is like intending to injure your self. Its negative impact will be worst than its positive impact. Particularly this may be a door for terrorists who have not a religious awareness, who have different aim and want to destabilize the peaceful coexistence of the nation. That is why the permission becomes totally irrelevant and the restriction is as an opportunity for us as an institution. Besides, we believe that the importance of media in spreading religion is not to that much extent. In our case religion has to be expanded through preaching going down to the area and the individual. This has its own value what we call it Hijira. It is not through disseminating the information by the media for instance sitting in your own room (personal interview, January 12, 2012).

Similarly, Ato Abdu Delbar, public relation officer and editor of Hijira magazine of the Ethiopian Islamic Affairs Supreme Council, has supported the restriction. Abdu Delbar in similar stand states that though it is important, broadcast media is very sensitive. Therefore other things taking in to account, if you permit it sometimes they may not talk about religious matter. Even if we all are Ethiopians, it is very dangerous; we can think

the Rwanda's case. If there is a lack of consciousness, the problem becomes worse, the consequence can even be worst (personal interview, January 13, 2012).

In addition, he further interprets that the constitutional freedom says to everyone though it seems contradictory. He explains as follows:

I think it doesn't contradict with the proclamation; we have to differentiate an institution from an individual. And I think it is restricted to prevent from its potential negative impacts. If you have a society which is rich in information it is good to allow it; but if not it is very good to reserve it for the sake of public order. Let alone permitting a broadcast media at large, even there is a problem of permitting a student to pray in a school. Though I am a Muslim I don't support such kinds activities in a school, if you permit for instance for Muslims, what about the others? So, the school may be another place which is out of learning and teaching process. Therefore, care has to be taken (Abdu Delbar, personal interview, January 13, 2012).

According to the respondents the handicap for the restriction is not the government's interest to limit freedom of expression rather it is the development of the people's consciousness. Their threat is since the consciousness of the society is less there may be attacking and suing one to the other among the religious institutions and it will badly affect the peaceful coexistence of the society and the country's national security.

Abune Samuel, head of Development and Christian Inter aid Commission in the Orthodox Church on his part says:

We had a radio called Bistrate Wengel (ብስራተ ወንጌል) in the reign of the emperor. And informally we have asked the government to return as a property. But they refused it. And again it comes in proclamation that restricts this. And we did not ask since. Of course you cannot bring an individual and an institution in one manner. If the constitution say everyone, for instance as an individual I am a religious father, I have right

to preach but as an institution we have to differentiate from the individual (personal interview, January 17, 2012).

Though they interpreted in this way, for instance Commonwealth Expert Group Meeting convened in June 2002 to develop “Guidelines of Best Practice to Promote Freedom of Expression, Assembly and Association” reviewed in article 19 elaborated in this manner: “The right is guaranteed to “everyone” and not only to “citizens”. The right can be invoked, therefore, not only by natural persons but also by juridical persons such as media organizations” (<http://www.thecommonwealth.org> :10)

Abune Samuel further notes:

For we are weaker in management and finance than other religious institutions, because we don't have sources of institutions that provide us with capital and our primary source of income is our followers, the restriction may be an opportunity while this is changeable gradually. However, if it is opened and we get the capacity to open, it is very valuable especially for us, because, we have a resource which is untouched. If the church works in one thing, the world can benefit from which. For instance, if we open one channel in the National Geography and create a relation with them, we will promote and work on the monasteries and heritage area from year to year showing new things. For instance, **መጽሐፍ ኒኖክ** (the book of Enoch) which talks about the space is found in Ethiopia. But the foreigners translate it to their own language and they are advancing their intellectual exercise for space science and they soar to the space. Besides, there are many books, in our monasteries, that talk about the stars. This shows that we have extensive resource that is to be invested in the media which is very important to change the image of Ethiopia and to develop our tourism sector.

Contrary to this, Mahibere Kidusan journalists said that the church has the capacity to launch the broadcast media. Every institution has its own means of income generation. If there is plan, there is enough capacity to do this. Arrangement is enough. There is trained man power and enough money. The problem is in organizing the two and realizing it.

Otherwise, the church has a full capacity not only for opening a broadcast media but also for other investment (Mahibere kidusan, focus group discussion, January 17, 2012).

There is a gap between Abune Samuel and the focus group discussion of the Orthodox Church not only in the restriction of the broadcast media but also in the capacity of the church. There is an opposition for the restriction and vice-versa. And this shows that there is a difference in understanding the church's interest and capacity.

Ato Wakshuma, electronic head of Yemisrach Dimts Radio however says:

I don't support the restriction. The reason of the ban may be a fear. The fear is if we open the broadcast media, the majority of the people who cannot read and write can influence us in negative ways. But, we, as a religious media, as Christian how can we influence government in a negative way. Rather we can support the government to build the nation together. Because, the bible says the government is given from God. As a Christian I have to cooperate and appreciate the governments' deeds in our media. Even now using the TWR radio, we are teaching the people to cooperate the government for good works, with the kebele, the localities and in general with the government. We can influence the people positively and work for better. For instance, where is the solution for corruption? The solution is in the bible. We have the source documents and remedies for negative thoughts, illegalities, injustice, crime etc. but the government loses the opportunity to use it (personal interview January 11, 2012).

According to him this means that this means that while the main objective of religion is to promote positive values to the society, why it is considered as a threat? So, it raises a question on the blanket prohibition. Wakshuma further states:

Derg confiscated our radio; similarly, the confiscation was repeated by the restriction, in the present government when it comes in proclamation on that does not allow the religious institution investing on the broadcast media. How is it different from that of the Derg? Of course, we are approaching the government to reread, rewrite, emphasize and to rework

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the law again. Because, our aim is to help the people and the government and we need it to facilitate our day to day activities.

However, Ato Wakshuma further expressed his view in the impact of media and the importance of the media law in the following way:

In fact, I understand and I accept media is sensitive and I accept the importance of media law. If it is not handled in a proper manner, media is more than a weapon which destructs many things in a minute. But, the law should not be in this manner. The present media law should be improved. There should be law, but the law must permit to run in our own line. We know the runners run in their line. If there is no law, the country may be in a chaos. Therefore, the patent should have to give with responsibility and limitation. Otherwise, banning is not the solution.

Kes Dereje Jemberu, vice president of Mekene Eyesus church also says, “once open a time we have raised the question to government but the time was not appropriate to host such kinds of questions. Of course, we are the same in all societal activities even though we differ in the dogma of religion. The importance of media is very high. But if it is misused it is very harmful. Therefore, the limitation has to be for these harmful ones not for the good ones. Of course, we understand the government’s apprehension since this is very problematic particularly for developing countries, like Ethiopia, which have quite different religions. Therefore, care is necessary. We have to create a conducive environment for it on how we could do; first we have to have regulatory methods by making a council from the government and the religious institutions before allowing” (Personal interview, January 22, 2012).

Still Kes Dereje doesn’t oppose the restriction completely as of the other religious fathers. May be could it be the load or the responsibility and accountability of the

religious fathers and the media practitioners carry to the difference of their impression? Is it because the religious fathers have high responsibility and accountability on their institution and they are more concerned to the safety of the nation, welfare of the society, their followers and the institution?

Kes Dereje on the proclamation says it cannot be a barrier if law experts did not give another meaning by saying, “We are transmitting from abroad though this restricted our communication potentials since it is not in our country. We are circulating the money that we get from aid to abroad. That is returning it. The message that we are transmitting it is the same even if it would be here. But it was better when we circulate and invest it in our country (personal interview January 22, 2012).

Mekanne Eyesus journalists share the view that the church’s paying huge money to foreigners but the money comes from them: foreign donors. Therefore, she is returning the money rather than investing and circulating it in our country. Besides, if other African countries are allowing legal practice of religious broadcasting, why is that then Ethiopia remains with such still restrictive legal frameworks? Broadcast media is opened here in our neighbors such as Kenya, Tanzania etc even in other countries if they do not have their own media they took an airtime by renting from government media. Therefore, what is wrong in Ethiopia? Is it because that we are less aware and less conscious than our neighbors? (Focus group discussion, January 18, 2012).

However, this is not only the problem of the government; it is also the problem of the religious institutions' representatives. They don't want to be prophetic life and prophetic voice in religious affairs. They did not push the government to open the door. When did they ask the government? When did they talk about its importance? This indicates that this made the government overlook the issue. For instance, when we see the case of financial institutions, there was only one governmental bank. Investors push the government via their rigorous demand for investment in the sector, and they finally managed to establish and run private banks. We were forced to opening our account book in governmental bank in a queue, but now we are opening our account books without waiting any line and that is interesting (Mekane Eyesus focus group discussion, January 18, 2012).

In addition, there was a religious radio station in the emperor regime. Is that because we were more conscious and more aware at that time than we are now? This is very surprising. The law makers are rather less aware that did not know the country background, they believe in fear, griped in fear. Generally, we do not cancel our travel by plane for fear of air crash. The same is true for this. If we do not tried to do so, how can we make it progress? A patient will be healthy gradually when he begins eating. Therefore we have to formulate a limitation line and use it.

In this line of thought, Glenwood Blank, in his united evangelical action article entitled "Shall the NCC control religious broadcasting?" insisted that the NCC policy was un-American an un-Christian un-American because it was violated constitutionally

generated freedoms of speech and religions, and un-Christian because it would mean that the true Christian faith would no longer be broadcast over radio and television (Schultze, 1990:87).

We have to develop the culture of hosting criticisms against religious issues rather. Of course, there are criticisms against ones religion even in news papers, magazine CD, cassette etc, but we treat them. Therefore, cultures of treating criticisms are developed when the media developed. For instance, our foot ball will develop when our media develop (Mekane yesus focus group discussion, January 18, 2012)

Mahibre Kidusan media (focus group discussion) journalists have also the same reflection to that of Mekane yesus one. But they share the fear of others stating like this.

Terrorism is the subject of the day and the broadcast media is easily accessible and reachable at a time that is why people fear especially in Ethiopia where the people have a firm stance in religious matters and the media that will create at violent times is very dangerous. But this is not good solution rather practicing it is the remedy of it. It has to be opened with limitations. Because, fear by itself has its own negative impact it will bring for the next future.

The following are the methods of limiting according their implication:

1st. The controlling methods that the broadcasting Authority well set out,

2nd. The religious media editorial policy and,

3rd. Journalistic principles.

AS the group pointed out, certain limitations were put by the monarchial Ethiopian government with regard to the content and type of programs which originated from RVOG while allowing.

“No program originating from the federation shall;

1. Involve the station in political questions’
2. Constitute an attack on the Ethiopia orthodox church;
3. Constitute an attack upon any organized church, mission or body;
4. Attack or deny the evangelical Christian faith;
5. Contradict generally accepted codes of Christian morality;
6. Involve in commercials advertising” Tamirat (2008:39) writes Siting Lundgren (1983).

Besides the law has to be reread and revised and rectify. Because the time that when the law declared is incompatible with the existing social consciousness. And, indirectly we are transmitting our message from abroad sending our money this is also another big problem we are borrowing money from others and contrary we are sending. What does it mean it is because the restriction is unconstitutional and a barrier to our right (Mahibere Kidusan, focus group discussion, January 17, 2012).

And it is not expected only to develop in agriculture. Development is multidimensional. Our neighbors can be an exemplary for us. We have to express our ideas through our own choice media without offending others. and our church teaches that but when we express our ideas it is not expected to be selective .for instance we have to criticize government

for a better initiation we have to transcend the line of the fear, we have to do a lot on this, ownership has to be free but there has to be also a body legally he can issue, revoke, and suspend this.

However, Kahsay gebreziabher, sub-editor of *Zenabetekristsian* newspaper in the Orthodox Church supports the ban of religious institutions from outlining the broad cast media. Ato Kahsay expressed his support in this manner:

I see the restriction in positive sides standing from the consciousness that we have in our context. Our consciousness and development to permit is not expected and allowed to do that, because, if it is permitted, there will be people that use this for negative purpose by the cover of the right of freedom of expression and this will enter the country for unremitting war. For instance we are hosting some fundamentalism indicators and we have hosted it in the print media. This shows that how much we are under developed in the profession. And broadcast media can not easily control if aired and we can raise the Rwanda case. The media can be destructive. Therefore the restriction does not limit the freedom of religion but to save from destruction. And that is why I accepted the ban positively. In this case, ownership has to be governmental there are many religious institutions so, for whom do you permit? It is very difficult (Personal interview, january29, 2012).

But our radio, Bisrat Wengel, (ብሰራተ ወንጌል) and Mekane Eyesus radio (Yemisrach Dimts (የምስራች ድምፅ) were not to be banned from service. Derg confiscated them. And we have been returning our property that the Derg confiscated. Therefore, what is wrong with this? It is like a property. On the other hand why the EPRDF was using Radio Fana? When we asked him his answer is it was even when we were at the jungle and ours' is in the emperor regime. It is immoral. At the same time, though it is restricted here in our country, indirectly

others are transmitting their messages from abroad. This is permitting for the rich and prohibiting for the poor. This has to be looked by the government (personal interview January 17, 2012).

Although, the Ethiopian broadcast law does not allow religious organizations to run their own radio station, the production of religious programs in the country is not prohibited for instance, currently YD radio broadcasts social and spiritual programs from a broad in six Ethiopians language languages all programs are produced in Ethiopia and transmitted from South Africa, via trans world radio station (Tamirat, 2008:2).

Ato Leulseged has a response for the religions programs which are transmitting from abroad. The reason why we are not jamming the religious programmers transmitting from abroad is if they are transmitted in satellite because, we do not have the technology to jam it.

But, the religious programs are not only transmitting by satellite. Therefore, his response is not right. Besides we are looking instabilities in the Islamic followers and the government is explaining his threat that the instability is began by the users of the overseas media of the Middle East. Therefore, can the government sit silencing his hands and legs looking such kind of instabilities in the country because there is no technology that jams the programs transmits by the satellite? Rather the government has to set the controlling methods.

According to Ato Kabsay, exercising the right of freedom of expression is a constitutional right. But there is a deceiving of the right of freedom of expression for unnecessary purposes, for example, for agitating the masses for violence. We have experienced such kinds of discrepancies here in our case because of our background to the profession and for democracy made as not to report the facts and not to tolerate ideas and viewpoints. We had planted a bad plant even in the first press law. Because our people were shouted down, they were leashed not to express their ideas, not to host different viewpoints for centuries, and if you unleash the shouted mouse, it comes with negative consequences and this has happened in the near past. Therefore, we had to limit the freedom and we had to formulate the guidelines for the media.

W/o Rahel Abyi, reporter and editor of *Fikrina Selam* newspaper in the Catholic Church, also supports the restriction. W/o Rahel, in a similar stand of Ato Kabsay, describes it like this:

As a religious institution, in accessing the broadcast media, it has its own impact on evangelism where everyone needs evangelism to hear in his room due to globalization's impact. But, in our case, its restriction is valuable than its permission. Our consciousness has to be developed to some extent in order to permit it. The government has its own reason when he prohibits. He has to protect the safety of the public. And I think he did it. Otherwise, there is religious freedom (Personal interview, January 24, 2012).

Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the practitioners from the side of Orthodox and Catholic strongly supported the restriction as the religious fathers stress that restricting is better than allowing as it is made for the safety of the nation and for the peaceful coexistence of citizens.

4.5 Freedom of Expression from a Religious Perspective

Freedom of expression is a fundamental inalienable and inviolable human right which is given naturally simply because, you are human being and it is also a democratic right coming to what you are going to express because what you express could not be offend others' right. Though it is not differentiated from the real world, religious teaching by itself allow everybody to express his/her ideals freely but it also teaches that what you express could not be offend, irritate, sad others morality. For instance, Abune Samuel elaborates like this:

When you related to the word of God man has to express his feelings freely. And when do you relate this to real world system it is determined by the message what you are transmit. Sometimes someone will be guilty by what he/she has express. But, in religion no one can sue you because of expressing something it may be offensive. But when I say this, I don't mean that there is no limitation in the teaching of religion for offensive messages. There is a verse in the gospel that says "እይገእ ዓብይ ነገር እም አፍክሙ" meaning: let no arrogance comes from your mouth.

Similarly, the media expert argues like this:

From religious perspective, there is freedom of trying to understand anything you want and trying to tell others whatever you have understand and there is in the bible it says "ኩሉ አመክሩ ወሰናዩ አፅንኡ" meaning: Test all things; hold fast what is good. In religion it is the greatest search for truth to understand the different mystery of life and in your search you have freedom of searching whatever way you think is right and the same time you have the right of speaking and responsibility of sharing what even you have understood from your guest for truth. So, in religion, there is this freedom of knowing and let him others know what you have understood. But, it try to see from political point of view, it is mostly related with the governing political party because of some of the expressions or the broadcasted messages challenged the authority of the political party or endanger somehow the life existence of that political party, it will banned, so from the politics point of view, there is normally despise of staying in power. So, there might be very consciousness about what is been expressed (broadcasted) because they related with their own existence (political). So, there is less freedom especially in under developed nations like Ethiopia. Because there is a fear of political

struggle throughout our history so, the politicians are very cautious about what is to be expressed and what is to be kept hidden or not to be expressed. But if you go to the religious institutions they are not very much concerned in their immediate existence they are in fact concerned in their religious authority as well but their life is not depend very limited (anonymous personal interview, January 26, 2012).

He also added that ears exist especially, if the religious leaders have good understanding of what is meant by religion or spirituality, they can quest they will be open to accept any ideas from any one and reflect on that to give their ears to different messages opinions and give their ideas to reflect on that. Another important thing from the bible is “ለሚጠይቁትሁ ጥያቄ ለመመለስ የተዘጋጁትሁ ሁኑ::” meaning: always *be* ready to *give* a defense to everyone who asks you in principle religious is always ready to listen to any opinions be it negative or positive from all directions. This tells it gives freedom of expression. So, he underlined that there is fundamental difference (anonymous personal interview, January 26, 2012).

W/o Rahel also said that freedom of expression is a human right which is given naturally from God. The right has given for church by God so that believers can express their feelings freely. But what you express whether it is bad or good has its own morality. In religion even though no one can sue the teaching by itself is morally binding.

Though they said there is more freedom to express every thing you want in the religion than in the polices there is always condemning if you try to express and take another side or different perspective or something different from the usual one they called him heresies and even they may discriminated you from your social life.

4.6 The Role of Religious Media in the Public Sphere

There is a general agreement that the government should not censor public debate about politics at least not without good reason. When it comes to religion vis-à-vis public discourse: to what idea should citizens aspire in political debate? There is a wide debate among governments, scholars of theology and academics on what religion and the religious media can play in the public sphere. For example, some have argued that “religiously motivated political debate should be allowed in the public sphere, others argue for the complete exclusion of religious voices. Still others contend that on the public debate, an ideal of political morality should mirror the freedom of expression, to all provided religious reasons are subject to equal scrutiny as any other civic reason” (Berhane, 2009).

At least, governments especially in the third world countries try to exclude religious voices in order not to be heard in the public sphere. They don't want the interference of religious institutions in the political arena of their respective nation.

Eboo Patel in (Birhane, 2009:38) contests the assumption that, when religion appears in the public politics, division and chaos ensue; in his view the solution to the problem of divisive religious voices in public life is not excluding religious at all. The answer is he said, allowing greater participation of diverse religious voices, guided by principles of religious pluralism. According to him religious pluralism creates enabling environment

for democratic scrutiny of religious voices, while encouraging their expression toward the goal of a common vibrant society.

Hence, the role of religion in the public sphere is best explained by the role of the religious media it plays in the public sphere as it is explained in excluding the religious institutions from owning the broadcast media refusing to give the license by governments. And it is measure by the service it gives to the public sphere.

Even though states want the silence of religious institutions in interference of the political agenda of a given nation, they want to use them as a means of peaceful institutions so as to work in this area and to preach peace for their fellows to protect the welfare of the society and national security. However, religious institutions and academics want to expand the role of religion and religious media in the public sphere more beyond than evangelism and peace making activities. The idea of religious institutions in the Ethiopian context is not different from this. All the religious fathers, practitioners of the media / experts except Sheik Ahmedin, in similar stand agreed that the role of religious media could be beyond evangelism.

For instance, according to Daniel Kibret, the role of religious media in the public sphere could be:

First, serving the institutions thought that it is representing for. It represents and reflects the one thought that is the institutions thought. Usually, the role of the media (thought freedom) is struggling for thoughts in order not to be left without representation because; these thoughts are very indispensable to the world. The thoughts have to be represented, to be heard, has to get the chance to be heard to be listened. Second, relating the

religious fundamental faith to the carnal and spiritual, celestial and terrestrial such as politics, economy, and socio cultural and developmental activities being as a bridge not as adversaries (Personal interview, January 24, 2012).

Along this line, anonymous said that there are so many social and psychological issues they can help to alleviate because the government itself can not deal with all the societal and psychological problems of the society. So, the institutions they are given the chance to broadcast can help the people alleviating its social, psychological distresses and problems. So, I think it is time that it has to be allowed and have its own contribution in the human development of the country to develop the consciousness of the society. (Anonymous, personal interview, January 26, 2012).

W/o Rahel Abyi, also remarks that the role of religious media is not only in evangelism. The role of the media has to be in mobilizing the followers to the developmental activities because; the vision of church is building a developed society and of the country, helping the poor. There is no evangelism better than this. Besides it has to be the preacher of peace and our church's' social teaching commands us to do this. It commands us to practice and we have to show it in work by reporting it. We teach and preach tolerance, respect ion etc. We teach and preach tolerance respecting each other and inter religious institutions in our media.

Aba Abera, in his part comments that religious media has to be the base working on culture, from where it originates, it has to go to the rural area. Because, development begins in culture, the media has to be exemplary by promoting our culture in order the

globalization not to dominate our thinking. We do not to teach the photo copy cultures. Look the African leaders, who come to Addis for meeting they dress their own cultural dressing; this is the result of their media.

Ato Wakshuma mentioning his media's experience says that:

We broadcast 60% of social issues and 40% of bible messages in our programs. We teach in our programs how to live in harmony, peace, in a clean environment, how can we produce a good harvest to develop, to broke out the yoke of poverty, we teach the importance of hard working and how much stealing and begging is bad. Because the bible says "the one who does not like to work let him not to eat." This is constitutional and biblical. Therefore, the fear and threat of the government that comes from the religious media is miscalculated and the law becomes barrier rather than opportunity (Personal interview, January 11, 2012).

To conclude, in the Ethiopian context, though, almost the religious institutions agreed on the ban of the religious institutions from owning the broadcast spectrum, fearing the consequence it will brought, they however agreed that the role of their institution and the media has to be beyond evangelism to their fellows and to the public sphere and they need the improvements to the next future.

Chapter Five

Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

This study is conducted to examine the perception of religious institutions on freedom of expression article 29 (2) and the broadcasting proclamation number 533 article 23 (200) in focus. Thus, 11 in-depth interviews with the religious fathers, media practitioners/experts, the broadcasting authority; and two focus group discussions with two religious institutions media practitioners have been conducted to this effect. It has been tried to explore the perception of the religious fathers, media practitioners, experts and their respective outlooks, on the one hand; and the response of the broadcasting authority for the binding document on the reason why they do that, on the other. Besides, this study has tried to see this issue with international provisions given for freedom of expression and the necessity of regulating the broadcasts media.

The right of broadcasting is only restricted for the right or reputation or the respect of others, for the protection of national security, public order or public health or morals. And the need for broadcast regulation is mainly for two reasons; one for the proper utilization of frequencies which are scarce and limited sources of the nation and for the protection of the public health, national security. Otherwise, governments have an obligation to secure freedom of expression in their respective nations to expand and promote specially the broad cast media where it does not differentiate the illiterate and literate one. However this has been potentially limited particularly by undemocratic governments.

The blanket prohibition of licensing particularly for the religious bodies is unreasonable and unacceptable. However, the Ethiopian broadcast proclamation prohibits religious organization from issuing broadcasting license. And there is an ambiguity in the proclamation it says the following bodies may not be issued with broadcasting service licenses in its English version and the following bodies are not issued with broadcasting service licenses (የሚከተሉት አካላት የብሮድካስት አገልግሎት ፍቃድ አይሰጣቸውም) in its Amharic version which may create some ambiguity.

Ethiopia as a signatory state to the international provisions has recognized and guaranteed the right to freedom of expression in her constitution. And she has promised to make the provisions ratified as an integral part of the law of the land and the fundamental rights and freedoms are interpreted in manners of confronting the international agreements. The Ethiopian broadcasting proclamation, however, does not allow religious organizations to have their own broadcast media. And this is not as its vision that the authority aims to bring the diversified and developed broadcast media industry in the country that contributes to the multifaceted development of the nation: economic, political and socio-cultural, etc. developments. According the Authority in the Ethiopian case regulation is made mainly because the negative impact of the media that will bring in the peaceful coexistence of the public in general and the nation in particular not because the resource is limited while the expert say the peaceful coexistence is not polluted because you are broadcasting rather by the existing bad situation.

According to the authority, the reason of excluding the religious organizations from the broadcasting service license is because there are many religious institutions and hence they may lead into unhealthy competition. Some of which are very big and very rich while some of them are small and poor and if it is opened, the rich may have access to the media while the poor doesn't and this resulted as unfair distribution of resource and not needed by the authority. Besides, these kinds of things are counted as secondary options/necessities by the authority as the country's main target is development and eradicating poverty. The last but not the least reason given is the differences among the religious institutions and the level of consciousness and culture of hosting criticisms on the general public. Hence, since it is done for the safe guard of the society, it does not contradict with the constitutional right.

With regard to the focus group discussion some says audiences have the ability to reject a given media before anybody limits it. Freedom of expression has to be with limitation but the audience can exclude one mass media simply by hearing the truth and the contents. Thus, no need of restriction while others said this has to be restricted since it protects the healthy situation of the country learning from the previous bad plant we have planted in the first press law since the consensus of the society is not that much developed to host criticisms due to the bad history we had experienced in our history.

Generally seeing, almost all the religious institutions share the fear of the authority except few journalists in the focus group discussion and one media practitioner. And they do not see the law as a barrier for their right to freedom of expression. However, they underlined

in the stance that it has to be opened since there are improvements in the consciousness of the society and the role of the religious media play in solving the societal problems, helping and encouraging, mobilizing the society for development agenda. This according to them is possible to make hand in hand with government for national development goal even with better influence than the secular media using the legacy, acceptance, on their followers. However, one religious organization, that is Islam totally rejects the importance of the media and completely agreed by the restriction. But here, there is some differences in interpreting the constitutional right among the respondents for the term “everyone” where it may include the organizations and some difference between the religious fathers and the practitioners in need of the broadcasting.

The religious teaching encourages everyone to search for the truth, to express his feelings and morally to do the good things. Hence, there is better freedom in the religion than in the political arena and they recommend that the authority has to formulate the guidelines, controlling methods for the future instead of total restriction from using the media and the some respondents advice the authority to open the religious broadcasting rather than the complete restriction for fear of something since fearing an air crash cancels using of airplane and development by its very definition is multidimensional and we have to develop not only in agriculture but also in all dimensions.

5.2 Recommendations

After having analyzed the perceptions, views and implications of the respondents, the researcher have come up with the following recommendations standing from the right

based claims of their responses on freedom of expression and the broadcasting proclamation from the angle of the right of religious broadcasting. Hence, the researcher recommended that:

- The religious organizations and the government have to reach to the common consensus so that the government has to open the broadcasting spectrum and the religious organizations not to misuse while using so that the religious media can play a pivotal role in the public sphere and the religious organizations can assist the government and the people such as on the areas that the government can not reach
- The government has to set out the controlling methods or the “limitations” for the limited areas rather than complete prohibition
- They have to establish media council that will represent the government and the religious organizations
- The religious organizations have to work hand in hand with the government so that they can produce a disciplined society
- The religious organizations have to focus on their similarities rather than their differences while broadcasting.

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Appendix I

List of Key Informants

1. Abune Samuel : Head of Development and Christian Inter aid Commission in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church
2. Shek Ahmedin Shek Abdulahi Chelo : President of the Ethiopian Muslim Affairs Suprem Council
3. Kes Dereje Jemberu : Vice President of the Ethiopian Mekane yesus Church
4. Aba Abera Gebremariam : Head of Lideta Mariam Church in the Ethiopian Catholic Church
5. Daniel Kibret : Author, Blogger, Editor, and Researcher of history in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church
6. Kabsay Gebreegzianher : Author and Sub editor of Zenabetekristian newspaper in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church
7. Abdu Delbar : Public relation officer in the Ethiopian Muslim Affairs Supreme Council

8. Wakshuma Terefe : Electronic Haed of Yemisrach Dimts Radio in the Ethiopian Mekane yesus church
9. Rahel Abiy : Reporter editor of Fikrinaselam newspaper in the Ethiopian Catholic Church
10. Liulsege Weldehana : Public relation expert in Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority
11. Focus group discussion with Mahiber Kidusan Media and Audio visual staff members
12. Focus group discussion with Yemisrach Dimts Radio in the Ethiopian Mekane yesus Church journalists
13. Anonymous

Appendix II

Research Questions for the Broadcasting Authority

1. Why do the religious organizations excluded from issuing the broadcasting service license?
2. Why not the reason of excluding mentioned in the proclamation?
3. What is the rational of the media law for differentiating between the broadcast and the print?
4. Is there any similarity in issuing for religious and political organizations on broadcasting license?
5. How do you much the right to freedom of expression enshrined in the constitution and the exclusion made in the broadcasting proclamation?
6. Why Ethiopia has ratified and signed the international and regional conventions on freedom of expression?
7. Why do you not set out controlling methods rather?
8. How much your authority is committed to host different views, opinions, in general media pluralism in particular?

Appendix III

Research Questions for religious fathers

1. How do you look the article in the proclamation that excluded the religious organizations from getting broadcasting service license in relation to the right enshrined in the constitution?
2. Do you view the media law of the FDRE as a barrier or as an opportunity?
3. Do you question the government to open the broadcasting service for religious organizations?
4. Is there any difference on the idea of freedom of expression between the politics and the religious point of view?
5. What is your religious organization position towards freedom of expression?
6. What is the role of religious mass media to the general public?
7. Do you think that only the print media is enough for accomplishing your organizations aim?
8. What was your religious organizations role in opening the Radio Voice of the Gospel (RVOG) during the emperor?

Appendix V

Research Questions for Focus Group Discussion

1. How do you look the article in the proclamation that excluded the religious organizations from getting broadcasting service license in relation to the right enshrined in the constitution?
2. What is your implication on freedom of expression in the paper and the practice in Ethiopia?
3. Do you view the media law of the FDRE as a barrier or as an opportunity?
4. What is the role of religious mass media to the general public?
5. How much the broadcasting law affected for your right of religious expression and the mass media?
6. What do you suggest on how media ownership could it be?
7. How do you compromise against ideas, opinions, and criticisms flow from others?

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and all sources of materials used for this study have been appropriately acknowledged.

Name: Gebru Kahsay Kiflu

Signature:  _____

Date of Submission: 22/10/04 EC

Place of submission: Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia