



**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND LANGUAGE STUDIES**

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION

**THE APPRAISAL OF PRACTICING MEDIA FREEDOM OF
EXPRESSION IN LIGHT OF 590/2008: THE CASE OF THE
ETHIOPIAN HERALD NEWSPAPER**

By

TEKLEHAYMANOT GEBREAYEZGI

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND
COMMUNICATION PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTERS OF ART IN
JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION(MULTIMEDIA JOURNALISM)**

SEPTEMBER, 2021

ADDIS ABAB, ETHIOPIA

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This is to certify that the thesis proposed by Teklehaymanot Gebreayezgi a The Appraisal of Practicing Media Freedom of Expression in Light of Proclamation 590/2008: The case of Ethiopian Herald Newspaper, and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of master of art in Journalism and communication (Multimedia Journalism) compiles with regulations of the university, and meets the accepted standards concerning originality and quality. This certifies that the master's thesis of Teklehaymanot Gebreayezgi.

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Chair of Department/Graduate Coordinator

Declaration

I, Teklehaymanot Gebreayezgi, declare that this thesis is titled a Comparative Study of Media Freedom of Expression in Light of Proclamation 590/2008: The case of Ethiopian Herald and the Ethiopian Reporter Newspapers is my original work. I have carried out independently guiding with references and suggestions of the researcher advisor. And, it has not been presented in any university, at least to my knowledge. All the sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Teklehaymanot Gebreayezgi -----

(The Researcher) Signature

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to those who sacrifice themselves and devote their capacity for the sake of democracy and media freedom of expression.

Abbreviations and Acronym

E1- Editor one
E2- Editor two
E3-Editor three
E4- Editor four
E5-Editor five
E6-Editor six
E7-Editor seven
J1-Journalist one
J2-Journalist two
-J3-Journalist three
J4-journalist four
J5-Journalist
G1j1-Group one Journalist one
G1j2-Group one journalist two
G2j1-Group two journalist one
J8-journalist
JHR -Journalist for Human Rights
ISPs-Internet service providers
ICCPR -International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
UDHR - Universal Declaration of Human Rights
ISPs -Internet service providers
IHRP- International Human Rights Program
IHRP -International Human Rights Program
UN SR -United Nations Special Rapporteur
ECHR -European Convention on Human Rights
IACtHR - Inter-American Court of Human Rights
IACtHR -Inter-American Court of Human Rights
ESSACHESS -Strategic Litigation Against Public Participation
CISPA-Cyber Intelligence Sharing and Protection Act
IMS-Centre for Law and Democracy International Media Support

Abstract

The researcher conducted a study on The Appraisal of Practicing Media Freedom of Expression in Light of Proclamation 590/2008: The case of Ethiopian Herald Newspaper. The study emphasized how the practice of freedom of expression is applied in the newspaper in light of proclamation 590/2008. And to reach out or destine the findings, the study used different methods. In addition to this, the researcher used methodology embraced the case study of under the research design to further get a deep understanding, underpinning conducting research, as well as to conduct the purposive sampling. There were primary and secondary data incorporated in the study. These data were administered under the qualitative methods. Under the primary data, focus group interviews with journalists of the newspaper, interviews with editors of the same newspaper were involved in the study. The sampling size of the journalists was fifteen from the Ethiopian Herald newspaper, and all the seven editors of Ethiopian Herald newspaper were included in the primary study. In the secondary data, editorial policies and codes of conduct of the newspaper were administered in line with the Proclamation 590/2008. The main objective of this study was to understand how press freedom is practiced in the newspapers in light of the national government administration. The results indicated that journalists and editors were under the circumstances of being abandoned and left unguaranteed by the Proclamation 590/2008, and the Ethiopian government. The study also found that journalists were jailed, intimidated, and grabbed their recording materials by officials. Even, organizations that gave journalists information were given warnings by the Prime Minister's office for exposing information. The editorial policy of the Ethiopian Herald did not work on its mission and purpose. Journalists of these media were found censored by the name of being assigned to work on "reporting on image building of the nation", prohibiting other governmental criticisms. Accordingly, authoritarian press theory was conveniently administered with this research findings.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Freedom of expression is the road map of journalism that determines the limited and permitted laws of journalism while exercising the roles of watchdog. Freedom of expression is vital to journalists when they devote themselves to serve the public and the government. Press freedom helps journalists reach information without biasing and deregulation information to the targeted audience. And there is also a bridle that controls and guides journalists, which is a limitation. This limitation helps journalists regulate and balance the information they cast to the audience.

1.1. Background of the Study

Most scholars often argue the beginning of the press is associated with the time of emperor Menelik II. However, the researcher would like to argue that the beginning of the press should not be restricted to the reign of Emperor Menelik II. If press or media refers only to newspapers, the case may work true, but apart from that, if the press refers to pamphlets and books, the case would be traced to the time of Siant Yared in the 5th Century (Negussie, 2014:80).

Ellene, Mesfin, and Alemayehu (2003) were cited in Nigussie(2014:80), argued that the first newspaper was started being published in 1890 with the coming of a four-page weekly newspaper named “Amero”, which means “intelligence”. The flag of the newspaper then was given by the emperor to show the desire of the king for knowledge or the development of the country. The first written constitution of Ethiopia in 1931, had very limited provisions on human rights and nothing on freedom of expression. During the 17 years of Mengistu's rule, the government-and party owned publications Meskerem ("September"), Serto Ader, ("Proletariat"), and the pre-Derg Yezareyitu Ethiopia ("Ethiopia Today") were published in addition to the Addis Zemen and the Ethiopian Herald.

After the Ethiopian constitution was revised in 1955, press freedom indicating article was included in though it was not down to earth. Under its article 41, it reads, “Freedom of speech and the press is guaranteed throughout the Empire following the law”, Kaleb(2019:122). Andargachew (2017:2-3) stated that under the Derg, publications and press organizations were tightly controlled. The Derg violently suppressed any opposition or independent opinion.

Newspapers were official propaganda organs and of poor journalistic quality (Amnesty International, 1998:2). The third Ethiopian constitution revised in 1987 appeared to guarantee a right to expression, as mentioned under its article 47: Ethiopians are guaranteed freedom of speech, press, assembly, peaceful administration, and association. However, the fourth revised constitution in 1995, broadly mentions the free press, under its article 29: Rights of thought, opinion, and expression. Freedom of the press was an obvious right to be granted by the Ethiopian Transitional Government (later: Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, EPRDF) when it came to power in 1991. The Press Freedom Bill was proclaimed in October 1992 and guaranteed the right to private ownership of the press and declared the abolishment of censorship (Terje, 2009:48).

In 1991, the Transitional Government adopted a Stated owned Media Proclamation 6/1991, which focuses on the use of mass media by the government, use of mass media by the organization, use of the mass media, interpretation of the proclamation, and inapplicable laws. Then after a year, the proclamation 6/1991 was repealed by the proclamation 34/ 1992, which directs press proclamation. This proclamation concentrates on press freedom, the purpose of the press, right access to information, and media registration, which later had been amended by the press Proclamation 75/1997. However, before this year, there was another Ethiopian Radio and Television proclamation 114/ 1994. And another Broadcasting Proclamation 178/1999 was later on adopted, mainly tends to the freedom and licensing broadcast media. And in 2007, an amended Broadcasting Service Proclamation 533/2007 was adopted (Andargachew, 2017:324-286).

In other ways, Freedom of the Mass Media and Access to Information Proclamation 590/2008 was adopted in 2008. This proclamation under its article 4: Freedom of Mass Media states that 1/ Freedom of the mass media is constitutionally guaranteed. Censorship in any form is Prohibited; 2/ Restrictions on the freedom of the mass; media shall only be made by-laws issued under the Constitution; 3/ All public bodies shall have regard to the right of the mass media, in fulfilling its public function, too: a) seek, receive and impart news information) express opinion or criticism on various issues or; c) participates in the process of forming public opinion through other means. However, as there is a democracy, there is also a system to regulate the media.

There are limitations of the media press freedom of expression for security, confidentiality, and stability of a nation or publics (Proclamation 590/2008:9).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The Ethiopian press proclamations have been reparable since the proclamation 6/1991 to date. The practice of press freedom has also been varied up on every proclamation that is adopted. The press freedom destiny is determined by every emerged proclamation that is provided, and its opportunity of being practiced. And there have been press freedom limitations to curd the freely released information, and control the safety, securities, and morals of the people of the country. According to the report of Freedom House report (2009:98), a Process to foreign broadcasts has occasionally been restricted in Ethiopia. This pattern Continued into 2008 with the jamming of Deutsche Welle and Voice of America (VOA) signals, though the government denies blocking the stations.

The journalists' fear and then self-censoring in their report in The Ethiopian Herald can be described as pressure from editors, executive bodies, and the law. The pressure can also be both verbal and non-verbal criticism. An informant from the government-owned newspaper noted that it has become a routine practice that reporter make decisions about which issues get reported and which issues do not get reported without consulting their editors (Mulatu, 2017:122).

In August 2008, Amare Aregawi, editor of the English- and Amharic language weekly Reporter [founder and general manager of Media and Communications Center], was imprisoned for an article on a labor dispute at a government-run brewery in Gonder. He also received anonymous threats after running a series of articles alleging that associates of billionaire businessman Sheikh Mohammed Hussein al-Amoudi had mismanaged his investments. On October 31, Aregawi was severely beaten outside his bureau and house(Freedom House, 2009:96).

An editor in the Ethiopian Herald newspaper supports this and explains that there is no editorial freedom left on issues that are considered to be of national importance. Self-censorship is well established among both junior and senior workers in the organization and does not stand out as a censorship activity since it is routine and the limited framing of each news item can usually be justified within the concept of journalistic liberty in the Ethiopian context ((Terje, 2008:191).

From the above scholars stated, the researcher got clues that journalists ,editor and the press responsible bodies are harassed, imprisoned, censored and deprived of practicing press freedom. Therefore, this study went on to appraise whether journalists, editors, and managers of Ethiopian Herald newspapers experienced censorship, refraining from practicing press freedom, threats, and harassments targeted by the Ethiopian government during the practices of the press freedom in the house and outdoor(in the field reports). The researcher also went on to comprehend why the press proclamation 590/2008 could not save and be the guarantee of the media or journalists. As well as, the reason behind why the journalists were harassed during their day-to-day activities.

1.3. Research objectives

1.3.1. General objective

The overall aim of this study was to critically analyze the root cause of constraining the practice of media freedom of expression in light of the proclamation 590/2008 in Ethiopian Herald newspaper.

1.3.2. Specific objective

Under the above-mentioned general objective, the researcher aimed to realize the below listed specific objectives:

- To know the overview of Ethiopian Herald editors ‘experiences of press freedom in their in-house media
- To study how the Proclamation 590/2008safeguardsthe press.
- To understand the interactions between the Proclamation 590/2008 and International Press Laws
- To comprehend how the journalists explain the editorial policies of their media and practices of press freedom in their outdoor activities.
- To analyze how press freedom is applicable and inclusive in the editorial policy of the Ethiopian Herald.

1.4. Research Questions

The following research questions were that the researcher answered in his analysis part:

1. How do the editors of the Ethiopian Herald newspaper explain press freedom practices?
2. What are the justifications that the Proclamation 590/2008 protects the press?
3. How convenient is the Proclamation 590/2008 with international conventions of media press freedom?
4. How do journalists assert to the practices of editorial policy of their media, and press freedom in their outdoor activities?
5. How is press freedom inclusively applied within the editorial policy of the newspaper?

1.5. Scope of the Research

Ethiopia has repealed proclamations 6/1991, 34/1992, 178/1999, and 533/2007, and adopted proclamation 590/2008 which was on service since 2021. All these proclamations have their historical back-shadowing the practice of Ethiopian press freedom. Some of the proclamations, 178/1999 and 533/2007, are passed by being criticized more highly. And that why is a respectively repealed proclamation has been made ever since. However, this research could not at a time assess all the Ethiopian proclamations adopted and repealed. Therefore, this study specifically focused on the practices of press freedom over the proclamation 590/2008 in the print media: Ethiopian Herald newspaper. However, the researcher understood that after this study was completed, but yet submitted to, a new Ethiopian Media Proclamation 1238/2021 was adopted. The researcher went on to partially assess if there were easements to press freedom constraints might have experienced in the Proclamation 590/2008.

1.6. Significance of the study

This thesis is expected to come up with guidelines, references, and remedies for those media, the study targeted.

And some of the significances that expected to give a solution to problematically raised issues; it is also a significant to scientific groups and research group references. This study can further add up additional academic knowledge bank, and help media organizations take remedies over the

would-be recommendations. This study is also expected to come up with untested findings ever since.

1.7. Limitations of the study

Factors that caused an impact on the content of the research are: after the study was finalized in light of Proclamation 590/2008, new media Proclamation 1238/2021 emerged, which repealed the former proclamation. And this limited the researcher to interview the media bodies in relation to the later proclamation. For the new proclamation was lately emerged after the study was completed in line with Proclamation 590/2008, the researcher could not reach out and flashback to review and prepare questions for the editors and journalists. And all those caused limitations faced the study. However, the researcher extensively and wisely, as far as possible, the new proclamation was complemented in the conclusion part, supposedly included to fill gaps might have been practiced in the former proclamation. withstanding all those challenges, the study was conducted optimistically.

1.8. Structure of the Study

This study consists of the structure of the whole parts of the research, are chapter one: Proposal that consists of the introduction, statement of the problem, general and specific objectives, as well as research questions, are included; Chapter two: Review of Literature; introduction, definitions of press freedom, international and national expressive topics about the press freedom; Chapter three: Methodology: introduction, research design, qualitative approach sampling size, primary and secondary data, validity and reliability; Chapter four Analyses and interpretations for the gathered data of primary and secondary data; Chapter five Conclusion and Recommendation.

CHAPTER 2: Literature Review

2.1. Freedom of Expression

Freedom of opinion and expression are basic rights of every human being. The right to seek information, the right to give information, the right to publish information and the right speak gives a glimpse of democracy in any other country, because democracy is the backbone of all any nations' policy and strategy, likewise to pertain constitution. This is the big role of media are expected to mediate in. To be as watch dog of the public, there must be freedom of expression in practice. Freedom of expression is the Indispensable for individual dignity and fulfillment; they also constitute essential foundations for democracy, rule of law, peace, stability, sustainable inclusive development, and participation in public affairs. States should respect, protect and promote the rights to freedom of opinion and expression. Freedom of the press is the bedrock for the flourishing of democracy usually it is considered as the fourth branch of government.

Freedom of the press is now universally recognized as an essential ingredient of a durable and fully democratic order. It is white and black; the test of democracy relies on freedom of criticism. Freedom of expression, including the right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas, either orally, in writing or print, in the form of art, or through any other form of communication, including across frontiers, is an essential and undeniable human right and an indispensable component of democracy (The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights -African Commission,2019:5)

“Freedom of the press is the right to speak, broadcast, or publish without prior restraint by or permission of the government, but with limited legal accountability after publication for violations of law. It may also encompass legal guarantees of (i) reasonable access to information about government, business, and people; (ii) a right of reply or correction; (iii) a limited right of access to the media; and (iv) some special protections for journalist,” (Stevenson, 1994:4).

McQuail (2000) argues that the concept of media freedom covers both the degree of freedom enjoyed by the media and the degree of freedom and access of citizens to media content.

“The essential norm is that media should have certain independence, adequate to save from harm, free and open public expression of ideas and information. The second part of the issue raises the question of diversity of state run media and private media should equally participate in promoting media freedom of expression down to earth that oppose and support both sides of the government and the public media in industries,”McQuail, 2000, 144-145).

The United Nations (UN) has endorsed and promoted the philosophy of free press for the past decades, although the definition of the free press may well be less than universal. In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the UN asserts the rights of each individual in the world “to know, to impart, and to discuss”. Each of these is an element in a doctrine of free expression, but each is also capable of being interpreted in many ways. The spirit of free expression is contained in Article 19 of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) states: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. Universally, this freedom of expression is also in European Union, Africa Union and also Ethiopia as a nation consented this law to practice in the nation.

The free press is the very basis of democracy. But there had been persistent opposition to freedom of the press and all democratic movements from the government all over the world. Freedom of the press, as it is today, is the result of few centuries of hard-won fight in the name of the people. The freedom of the press is the freedom of individuals to express them through the medium of the press. This freedom (of press) is fundamental to the life of an individual in the democratic polity (Weibull, 2018:50)

William Blackstone (1769:80) states “The liberty of the press is indeed essential to the nature of a free state, but this consists in laying no previous restraints upon publications in freedom from censure for criminal matter when published. Every freeman has an undoubted right to lay what sentiments he pleases before the public is to destroy his freedom of the press; but if he publishes what is improper, mischievous, or illegal he must take a consequence for his temerity.”

William Blackstone (1769:80) added that to subject the press to the restrictive power of licenser is to subject all freedom of sentiments to the injustice of one man and make him the illogical and infallible judge of all controverted points in learning, religion, and government. But to punish

any dangerous or offensive writings, which, when published, shall, on a fair and impartial trial, be adjudged on a pernicious tendency, is necessary for the preservation of peace and good order, of government and religion, the only solid foundation of liberty.

In America, press freedom is often defined as the right to speak, print, or broadcast with no prior restraint and minimum legal accountability afterward. This can be extended to include certain elements of public access, such as freedom of information laws, open public meetings, and records accessibility statutes. Even in democratic nations, there is no agreement about the fine points of press freedom. Freedom of the press is always considered with limited legal accountability after publication for violations of law. It may also include legal guarantees of (i) reasonable access to information without frontier; (ii) a right of correction; (iii) a limited right of access to the media; and (iv) some special protections for journalists (Eva, 1997:33).

Katie (2016:89) also defines freedom of information as the right to gather, transmit and publish news anywhere and everywhere without fetters. As such it is an essential factor in any serious effort to promote the peace and progress of the world.

In sum, freedom of expression can never be taken for granted. It must continually be reasoned and given substance in each era of change. The nub of the issue concerns how the relationship between the right to express one's views and the responsibility it entails is defined and operationalized. Expressions and responsibility are intimately related; they are one reason why the bounds of freedom of expression are an issue in public discourse (Weibull, 2018:60).

The Centre for Law and Democracy International Media Support (IMS,2014:7) stated the importance of press freedom of expression includes the right to impart information and ideas access in line with considering the media limitations by law. The right to express one's own take in not only speech that is generally accepted or is respectful in tone but also controversial or offensive speech. The right to freedom of expression includes not only the right to pass on information and ideas but also the right to 'seek' and 'receive' information from others. In other words, freedom of expression makes possible every citizen not only to contribute to the public participation but also to have access to a broad range of information and viewpoints.

2.2. Global Emergence of Freedom of Expression

Media freedom of expression is the internationally accepted order as a form of law that the consented global countries are supposed to abide by the adopted convention. When the internationally adopted freedom of expression convention is considered to be practiced in different countries, the local law/ domestic media law is expected to be drafted within the internationally accepted principles and legal conventions. So, there will not be two hands to abide by international conventional freedom of expression and violate the domestic freedom of expression (Gedion, 2010:98).

Free expression traces back to Socrates and Plato. In 399BC Socrates speaks to a jury at his trial: 'If you offered to let me off this time on condition, I am not any longer to speak my mind... I should say to you, "Men of Athens, I shall obey the Gods rather than you." And Socrates died of respecting his right to freedom of expression than remained silenced (<https://www.theguardian.com/media/2006/feb/05/religion.news>).

The concept of freedom of expression developed more fully during the past 400 years. The modern history of freedom of the press began in England during the 16th and 17th centuries as printing developed. When William Caxton set up the first British Printing Press in 1476, his printing pursuits were restricted by his imagination and ability. No laws were governing what he could not print –he was completely free. However, between 1476 and 1776, the British government used several means to restrict the press in England after seditious libel laws were used to punish those who criticized the government or leading party, and it did not matter whether the criticism was truthful or not (Don, 2011:133).

According to David (1983:70), the English Bill of Rights was enacted in 1689, which stated: "That the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament.

And later in 1791, the First Amendment of the US constitution was ratified. The struggle since 1791 to define the meaning of freedom of expression is the power of the state to limit criticism or published attacks on the government; the power of the state to use taxation to censor the press; and the power of government to forbid the publications of idea or information it believes to be harmful (Don., 2011:77).

The First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, part of the 1791 Bill of Rights states: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances” (US Constitution Bill of Rights 1791).

The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, subsequently adopted in 1948 by the United Nations General Assembly, protects freedom of expression in Article 19, which was stated in the above that it aligns as everyone has the right to impart-this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and without borders.

The IMS (2014:7) also stated that freedom of expression imposes both negative and positive obligations on the State. In its negative aspect, the right places an obligation on States not to interfere with the exercise of the right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas, except as permitted under international law. When the right to freedom of expression applies regardless of frontiers, it means that it protects the right to access information from abroad, whether in the form of broadcasting, newspapers, the Internet, or speaking to someone in another country.

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which was drafted in 1992, provides for more detailed protection of freedom of expression at the international level within the article of Article 19. It states: “(1) everyone shall have the proper to carry opinions without interference. (2) Everyone shall have the proper to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to hunt, receive and impart information and ideas of all types, notwithstanding frontiers, either orally, in writing, or print, in the sort of art, or through the other media of his choice.

”The cornerstone of freedom of expression protection in Europe is Article 10 of the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). This guarantees freedom of expression as an element of the regional human rights treaty for the Council of Europe region (including non-EU countries, like Turkey and Russia). Article 10 of the ECHR provides: “(1) everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include the liberty to carry opinions and to receive and impart information and concepts without interference by public authority and no matter frontiers. this text shall not prevent States from requiring the licensing of broadcasting, television or

cinema enterprises,” (European Convention on Human Rights, 1953). According to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (“Banjul Charter, 1981), the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR; also referred to as the “Banjul Charter”) adopted in 1981 and entered into force in 1986, articulates the proper to freedom of expression under Article 9. The article simply states that each individual shall have the right to receive information; every individual shall have the right to express and disseminate his opinions within the law.

International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965) under Article 5 states: “Racial and ethnic minorities equally should not be discriminated against and have equal access to airing their views and sharing information of concern. Media also have accountability to encourage a culture of tolerance and ensure that their putting on air do not become a vehicle for spreading hatred and contempt of minority groups. Violations of the treaty can be raised with the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.”

In addition to this, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) (Article 13) elaborates as freedom of imparting establishes not only children’s precise to freedom of appearance on any public square and media but also their right to have their views heard and to be given due weight in matters concerning them. States should take positive measures to ensure that children are given effective opportunities to provide input into public judgment distressing them, for example in the areas of education, health, and prevention of crime. Violations of these rights can be taken up with the Committee on the Rights of the Child.

2.3. Restrictions on Freedom of Expression

Press freedom is necessary for journalists when it is controlled in account of knowing the limits of freedom, which is dependent on what to do and not do. Especially, to have press freedom of disciplined and media ethical practice, it is necessary to apply limitations to press freedom.

The limitations of freedom of expression include those that States are required to prohibit at the domestic level: child pornography; direct and public incitement to commit genocide; the advocacy of national, racial, or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility, or violence; and incitement to terrorism. Expressions may include such things as offense, defamation, and slander. And some expressions are those that may raise concern, but are

not criminally or civilly punishable, according to international standards. Here below, there are internationally communal agreements that reached some restrictions of freedom of expression for curbing social, economic, and political crises while practicing freedom of expression (International Human Rights Program (IHRP), 2015:30)

2.3.1. Restrictions Outlined in ICCPR Article 19(3)

The right to freedom of expression is universally recognized as a limited right, as it carries with it several duties and responsibilities. Each of the UN-based treaties that outline the right to freedom of expression in the context of their subject matters also outlines restrictions on freedom of expression. Article 19(3) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) states: It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary: (a) for the respect of the rights or reputation of others; (b) for the protection of national security or public order (order public), or of public health or morals.

Frank (2011:30), in the special report provided by the UN, shows that the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression distinguish between three levels of harmful expression: These are an expression that constitutes an offense under international law and can be prosecuted criminally; an expression that may justify a restriction and a civil suit; and expression that does not give rise to criminal or civil sanctions, but still raises concerns in terms of tolerance, civility, and respect for others.

2.3.2. The Three-Part Test for Restricting Freedom of Expression

The International Human Rights Program (IHRP) states that article 19(3) of the ICCPR outlines a cumulative three-part test that must be passed for the legitimate and legal restriction of the right to the freedom of expression. The test dictates that any restriction must: Be provided by law; ; Pursue one of the legitimate grounds for restriction: respect of the rights or reputation of others; protection of national security or public order, or public health or morals; and be “necessary” to achieve one of the goals. Fundamentally, any restriction or limitation must not undermine or jeopardize the right to freedom of expression itself. Additionally, restrictions must be consistent with other rights found in the ICCPR and the fundamental principles found in the UDHR.

Therefore, “the relationship between the right and the limitation/restriction or between the rule and the exception must not be reversed.”

A. Freedom of expression provided by law means that the restriction is outlined in the State’s domestic legislation. The UN Special Rapporteur (UN SR) has detailed several criteria that such laws must fulfill.

91 First, any legislation that restricts this right must be applied by an independent body, free of any political, commercial, or other unwarranted influences, and is also able to provide safeguards against abuse, in addition to space for challenges and remedies “against its abusive application.” These laws must be accessible, precisely worded, and unambiguous; meaning they are understood by all and apply equally to everyone. They must also be compatible with international human rights law; they cannot be arbitrary or unreasonable, nor can they be used as a method for political censorship. Finally, the laws must clearly “set out the remedy against or mechanisms for challenging the illegal or abusive application of that limitation or restriction, “including judicial review by an independent court or tribunal.

B. Respect for the Rights or Reputations of Others: Such restrictions or limitations include expression that States are required to prohibit, such as the advocacy of national, racial, or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility, or violence. It also encompasses expression that is not punishable criminally but may justify restriction through civil suit – primarily, defamation. However, it is important to note that the UN SR cautions against the criminalization of defamation: “criminalization can be counter-effective and the threat of harsh sanctions exert a significant chilling effect on the right to freedom of expression. “The “chilling effect” refers to a situation where the exercise of a right is discouraged; in this case, where criminal penalties of the exercise of free expression may lead to self-censorship and the ultimate non-performance of this right.

C. Protection of National Security or Public Order: The restriction or limitation of freedom of expression in the interest of national security or public order is legitimate; however, it is also the legitimate aim perhaps most vulnerable to abuse. Where courts are left to determine what

constitutes a threat to national security, they have generally afforded a large degree of deference to the State.

The restriction or limitation put on the right to freedom of expression must be necessary and proportionate to achieving one of the goals outlined as a legitimate ground for restriction. This means that the restriction must be no more than required to achieve that aim, and proportional to that goal. Necessary, here, means that there are no other options to achieve the stated goal apart from restricting or limiting freedom of expression. Within “necessary” is the fact that the restriction or limitation is based on one of the grounds outlined in Article 19(3) of the ICCPR, and should “address a pressing public or social need” that has to be met “to prevent the violation of a legal right that is protected to an even greater extent.”

General Comment No. 34 reaffirms the significance of necessity and proportionality. When a State petitions a legitimate ground to restrict or limit freedom of expression, they must specifically demonstrate the “precise nature of the threat” to these grounds, as well as “the necessity and the proportionality of the specific action taken, in particular by establishing a direct and immediate connection between the expression and the threat. “In determining whether a restriction on the right to freedom of expression is necessary, the ECtHR interprets this part of the restriction test under Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) strictly: any restriction “must be narrowly interpreted and the necessity for any restrictions must be convincingly established.”

First, there is an assessment of whether or not there is a “pressing” or “substantial need” for the restriction or limitation. Second, there is a rational-connection test, whereby the restriction of the right must be rationally connected to protecting the interest at stake. As the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACtHR) notes, “If there are various options to [protect the legitimate interest], that which least restricts the right protected must be selected.” Additionally, the restriction should be as narrowly defined as possible as not to include expression or information that is not within the scope of the interest. Third, there is a proportionality test, where the benefit of protecting the interest must outweigh the harm caused by restricting freedom of expression or information, otherwise, such a restriction would not justifiably be in the public interest.

2.3.3. States of Emergency under ICCPR Article 4

The Journalist for Human Rights (JHR) elaborates that in states of emergency, “States are permitted to momentarily defer certain rights, including the right to liberty of imparting.” However, the suspensions must be under Article 4 of the ICCPR, and General Comment No. 29 of the Human Rights Committee, which outlines the interpretation of Article 4. Article 4(1) states: In times of public emergency which threatens the life of the nation and the existence of which is officially proclaimed, the States Parties to the present Covenant may take measures derogating from their obligations under the present Covenant to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation, provided that such measures are not inconsistent with their other obligations under international law and do not involve prejudice solely on the ground of race, color, sex, language, religion or social basics.

According to Journalist for Human Rights (JHR, 2015:50), and General Comment No. 29 remarks, for a state party to implement a policy incompatible with the ICCPR, they must demonstrate that the state of emergency constitutes: a threat to the life of the nation and that derogation is a proportionate response to the bullying. While there are some provisions that States are prohibited from acting contrary to the right to life; exclusion of torture or cruel, inhumane, and degrading punishment, or of medical experimentation without consent; or article 18, freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, amongst others), the right to freedom of expression is not one of these necessities. However, the state of emergency is invalid if it is declared to restrict the right to freedom of expression and by extension preventing criticism of those in power. In the case of violations of human rights or humanitarian law, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACtHR) has stated that States cannot use the protection of national security or public order as grounds to refuse to provide the judicial or other authorities information required as part of an ongoing investigation or proceeding.

2.3.4. The Scope of Protecting the Right to Freedom of Expression

The right to freedom of expression is both individual and collective and imposes both positive and negative obligations on States. As noted within the foundational case from the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), *Lingens v Austria*: “freedom of expression... constitutes one

among the essential foundations of a democratic society and one amongst the basic conditions for its progress and each individual's self-fulfillment.

However, Toby (2010:88) mentions that this right isn't absolute and may be subject to legitimate restrictions and limitations. It's supported by and can inherit conflict with the opposite rights that are protected by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) or other treaties and conventions, including the proper to a good trial, the proper to freedom of conscience and religion, and therefore the right to privacy.

When these interests inherit conflict, they need to be weighed and balanced in light of the encompassing context. Generally, as expressed in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and repeated within the human rights treaties that guarantee freedom of expression, the proper is protective of three interrelated elements: the right to hold opinions without interference, the proper to hunt and receive information, and (c) the proper to impart information and ideas of every kind through any media and regardless of limits.

The Right to carry Opinions without Interference: As explained within the UN Human Rights Committee's General Comment No. 34 on Freedom of Expression, the proper to carry opinions without interference includes the right to vary an opinion whenever and for whatever reason. This includes all types of opinion: political, scientific, historic, moral, or religious.

No exceptions or restrictions are allowed, and therefore the criminalization of holding an opinion is always fundamentally incompatible with Article 19, paragraph 1. Harassment, intimidation, or stigmatization of a private or the arrest, detention, trial, or imprisonments of an individual for their opinion(s) are all incompatible with the paragraph. Despite the broad interpretation generally Comment No. 34, the proper to carry opinions has been subject to limitations insofar as the expression of that opinion infringes on one among the legitimate grounds for restriction (Monica, 2004:30).

The Right to hunt and Receive Information: the right to hunt and receive is a component of the public's right to access information. It includes access to communications of each form that are

capable of transmission to others, subject to the provisions in the ICCPR's Article 19(3) and Article 20, which prohibits propaganda for war and therefore the advocacy of national, racial, or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility.

The Right to Impart Information and concepts of all kinds through Any Media and no matter Frontiers: As outlined in general Comment No. 34, the kinds of information and concepts which will be imparted are extensive. These include but aren't limited to political discourse, commentary on one's affairs and public affairs, canvassing, discussion of human rights, journalism, cultural and artistic expression, teaching, religious discourse, and in some cases may include commercial advertising.

Forms of dissemination include all forms and modes of audio-visual, electronic, and internet-based expression, also as spoken, written, and linguistic communication and non-verbal expression like images and objects of art. Written sorts of expression include but aren't limited to print legal submissions. Finally, as articulated within this right, all people are liberal to impart information and concepts of all types through any media, no matter frontiers. This suggests that the proper applies no matter State boundaries and borders.

There's an individual right to freedom of expression also as a collective right. Individuals are liberal to hold opinions, share information and concepts, and search out and receive information. Within this is often also a collective right to access information that's of public interest. States, therefore, should both promote, by creating a legal and social environment during which the exercise of this right is possible, and protect, by preventing the interference with the exercise of freedom of expression and access to information. The State can also have an obligation to restrict or limit freedom of expression (The Global Principles on National Security and also the Right to Information).

2.4. Challenges of Freedom of Expression

According to the journal ESSACHESS (2012:30), there are many challenges in practicing press freedom in the world. And some of the challenges are mentioned below.

2.4.1. Information Control

The most immediate practice in controlling communication flows is to curtail access to information. WikiLeaks has highlighted this problem by making information public that either governments or businesses have wished to conceal. The state's interest in preventing its citizens from accessing information that is collected about them or in their name has been significant, and even where new laws have been set in place to expand access to information, political pressures quickly emerged to reduce their scope and re-introduce limits.

Whereas filtering is typically initiated by governments, private forms of censorship have equally expanded. These include libel threats and restrictive uses of anti-defamation law, for example by companies against critical reporting on their activities and business practices, and what is termed SLAP (Strategic Litigation Against Public Participation) (ESSACHESS, 2012:45)). In countries such as the UK, strict libel laws have become a key tool for businesses (and celebrities) to prevent investigative reporting. Although WikiLeaks became famous due to its fight against state secrets, some of its earlier scoops, such as the revelation on a toxic waste dump off the African coast by a British company, concerning information that had been banned from being published for libel reasons.

2.4.2. Access to Infrastructure

The debate on net neutrality – initiated in the US and increasingly spreading to other jurisdictions has highlighted the role of network providers as potential gatekeepers who have an interest in favoring the content and applications of some information sources and services over others, and who might block access to disfavored sites or require payment. This provides particular challenges for non-commercial content and small businesses and oppositional and dissident news sources, but it may affect all media organizations as network providers may favor particular business partners (ibid)

More crudely, governments are increasingly considering physical restrictions of online access for certain users. So-called ‘three strikes’ rules are now widely discussed and have been implemented in countries like France. They restrict people’s access to the Internet in cases where they have been found to repeatedly violate, for example, intellectual property law by

downloading copyrighted content. In the US, content owners and Internet service providers (ISPs) have agreed to the Copyright Alert System, a 'six strike plan that includes sending educational alerts and potentially hijacking browsers and slowing or temporarily blocking the Internet service of users accused of copyright breaching. The mechanism bypasses governmental and judicial oversight and therefore puts both the definition of and the punishment for, copyright infringement in the hands of content owners and ISPs (Flaim, 2012:55).

2.4.3. Critical Resources and Applications

Online publications and services typically require a broader set of resources, such as funding, and an infrastructure that allows them to generate access and use those resources. Actors that can block access to such infrastructure and thus cut off critical resources constitute important gatekeepers.

Their role became particularly apparent in December 2010 when Amazon, PayPal, and others closed the services they had previously provided for WikiLeaks, depriving the leaks platform of its domain name and of access to necessary funds in the middle of a major release that required both. This 'denial of service', as Benkler (2011:73) has put it, propelled the providers of critical services into the spotlight of the debate on WikiLeaks and on freedom of expression. It helped clarify and perhaps revise our understanding of so-called 'cloud' services which – despite the beautiful picture of a floating data cloud that is accessible always and everywhere – exert significant power in allowing and disallowing access to information and services, and control the gates that enable Internet users to participate in increasingly cloud-based communication exchanges. Further, the actions by Amazon, Paypal, etc. demonstrated the vulnerability of these services to political interventions, as they coincided with pressure from members of the US political elite.

2.4.4. Surveillance

State reactions to the Arab Spring have highlighted the increasing governmental practices of social media surveillance to generate information on protesters and dissidents. In Tunisia and Iran, authorities have used Facebook to scrape user data. Syrian opposition supporters were targeted using Trojans – programs that covertly install spying software onto the infected computer – and phishing attacks which steal YouTube and Facebook login credentials. In one

case, the malware was included in the software that would purportedly offer Skype encryption and thereby allow anonymous communication. When installed, it allowed the attacker to capture webcam activity, record keystrokes, and steal passwords (Villeneuve, 2012:51). Many of the necessary technical tools and services have been provided by technology companies in the West, as projects such as WikiLeaks' Spy files and Bugged Planet have shown.⁹the dramatic expansion of digitally mediated surveillance and data retention. The ubiquity of electronic communication, the capacity of the state to gather and process information about its citizens and the resources and activities within its space is growing by orders of magnitude” ESSACHESS (2012:30).

These opportunities are increasingly exploited, and new legal frameworks allowing for broad and systematic surveillance have been implemented in some countries, and are being discussed in others. Current examples include the European Data Retention Directive, the proposed 'lawful access' legislation in Canada, and the proposed Cyber Intelligence Sharing and Protection Act (CISPA) in the US, CISPA, if adopted, would allow government and businesses to monitor private communication, share users' private information, and effectively suspend any privacy considerations in the name of a vaguely defined notion of 'cyber security (Lee 2012:44).

2.4.5. Physical Repression

Finally, a much cruder yet persistent threat to free online expression encompasses criminalization, physical violence, imprisonment, and other forms of direct physical repression. The imprisonment of bloggers in the Arab world has repeatedly demonstrated these 'non-digital and non-mediated restrictions to freedom of expression. In post-Mubarak Egypt, thousands of dissidents continue to be tried in military courts, among them numerous bloggers and social media users, and critical comments of the military, other authorities, and religion have been punished with prison sentences (York, 2011:31).

Globally, Internet activists who provide communications infrastructure for social movements or publish oppositional content have been subject to police operations such as house raids or have been incriminated through the use of anti-terrorism legislation. Servers and other technical infrastructure have been seized, often it is questionable justifications (Hintz, 2009). In a recent example, in April 2012, US Federal authorities removed a server that was operated by the European Counter Network (ECN), the oldest independent ISP in Europe, from a collocation

facility shared by the alternative non-profit Internet organizations like Rise Networks and May First/People Link in New York City.

2.5. Theoretical Framework

2.5.1. Authoritarian Press Theory

There are five press theories in journalism school. These press theories are Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility, Development, and Communist theories. The Authoritarian theory and Libertarian Press theory were pulled out to be incorporated in this study, appropriately belonged to the research topic or title.

Media in authoritarian systems are not permitted to print, electronic media, or webcast anything the government feels might undermine its authority. Content that threatens or challenges the existing political system and its values is strictly prohibited. Anyone who violates the rules is subject to harsh punishment, including imprisonment, expulsion, or even death.

The government uses the media not only to inform the public of important events but also to shape public opinion in support of its policies. Although ownership of media can be private or public, media professionals are not permitted to have editorial independence within their organizations (John and Shawn, 2011:458-460)

The authoritarian government has been ruthless in controlling the press through arrests, torture, arson, and imprisonment, along with more subtle methods such as controlling the availability of supplies (Ralph 2014: 364).

Countries where press control is complete, examples: the Soviet Union and its satellites, China, Yugoslavia, Portugal, Spain, countries where political criticism by the press is formally possible but where censorship operates. Examples: Colombia, Egypt, Syria. Countries where special press laws or other discriminatory legislation expose editors to arrest and persecution are mentioned as examples, in the modern world: the Union of South Africa, Iran, Pakistan, India, Iraq, Lebanon. Countries where unofficial methods discourage press opposition. Examples: Turkey, Argentina, Indonesia (Fred,2011:35).

Fred (2011:36) also added that authoritarian governments gave equally definite answers to the problem of controlling and regulating the newer electronic media of mass communication, radio and television broadcasting. Two factors dictated state policy on these media. First, the general principles of authoritarianism provided a solid basis for regulation. Media must further the interests of the government and must help to advance the cultural and political objectives of the central authority. The second factor was the nature of the media as electronic communication. All types of media required the use of print media and electromagnetic waves, of which the supply was limited. These channels were the property of the state; consequently, their use was subject to state control.

According to Joseph (1999:499), the characters of this press theory are public dissent, and criticism is considered harmful to both government and the people are not tolerated. Authoritarians used various mechanisms to force compliance of the press, including licensing, censorship of materials before publication, the granting of exclusive printing rights to favored elements of the press, and the swift, harsh punishment of government critics.

Fred, et al (2011:32) emphasized that authoritarian press theory is practiced in countries where press control is complete; where political criticism by the press is formally possible but where censorship operates; where special press laws or other discriminatory legislation; expose editors to arrest and persecution; where unofficial methods discourage press opposition.

2.5.2. The liberal theory

The liberal theory of the media also referred to as the free press or free media theory emerged in opposition to the authoritarian theory. Its origin is related to the liberation of the printed press from official state control back in the 17th century. At present, this theory is deemed a major principle behind the pressing mandate in liberal democracies. Milton was the forerunner of the liberal theory of the media; in his “Areopagitica” of 1644, he addressed free speech, in his conviction that individuals were capable of discovering the truth if they were offered such an opportunity. Milton promoted a market of ideas (in its symbolic meaning) where people could exchange ideas and values and propagate them, popularize and make choices.

All the ideas and values, including also false ones defying generally defended truths, posing a threat to the existing system of knowledge and values, should have the same right of being held and preached. False ideas or those alternatives to generally accepted ones, submitted for discussion on the market of ideas, may only contribute to pursuing the truth rather than denying it. As Milton wrote, “Truth is in the field, we do injuriously, by licensing and prohibiting, to misdoubt their strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; whoever knew Truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter?” The truth is so strong that “...She needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensing to make her victorious; those are the shifts and the defenses that error uses against her power” (Milton, 1644:50).

Free access of all citizens to the media is a prerequisite for substantiating the free media theory, both in the process of collecting information and publishing one’s opinions. This theory appeals for total freedom of all publications from any forms of preventive censorship exercised by a third party; for publishing and disseminating information by anyone, without applying for a permit; no penalties for authors of publications attacking the government, public officials, or political parties, unlike in the case of attacking individuals or endangering public safety; for equal protection of all publications, irrespective of the degree of truth in them, because they are a matter of opinions and convictions to which everyone is entitled; for no limitations whatsoever of gleaning information in legal ways, or limitations of the information flow across national borders; for a wide range of journalists’ professional autonomy as part of media institutions (Piontek, 2011:166).

The liberal theory in its classical form was not the main source of inspiration for the solutions offered in the new democracies where, from the very beginning, the concept of public media was favored. In this concept, the media have important statutory obligations to the society, oftentimes necessitating limitations to the freedom of publication, or (to some extent) enforcing publication of content that was not the editors’ autonomous choice. What is more, the media completely independent of the government do not create equal opportunities for all users to freely express their opinions, chiefly favoring the media owners. There is a concern that this may result in undesired phenomena like red tape, commercialization, lowering the standards of all media

operations, a lack of balance between entertainment and information, which fail to cement a rational society or pursuing the truth (Dorota, 2016:5).

The experiences from the American media market (relatively the most liberal in its approach) have resulted in the emergence of the theory of the social responsibility of the media which was to oppose the aforementioned negative trends. Following this theory, because of their social importance, the media should combine three basic rules resulting from the assumptions of liberalism, observed in the process of mass communication: the right of the media to independence and autonomy from the authorities, people's right to individual freedom and choice and the media's obligations to the society and its institutions (e.g. political institutions). According to the theory, this can be achieved in two ways: by developing public, yet independent institutions managing electronic media, or by further developing professionalism as a way of maintaining higher standards of operations, and the development of media self-regulation in the form, for example, of ethical associations (Dorota, 2016:5).

The libertarian theory is based on principles: people want to know the truth and be guided by it; the only way to arrive at the truth is for ideas to be freely and openly discussed; different people will have different opinions, and everyone must be allowed to develop their own (Ralph, 2005:400).

John and Shawn (2004:514) added that the libertarian theory, criticism of the government and its policies are accepted and even encouraged. There are no restrictions on the import or export of media messages across the national border.

In its most fundamental form, the liberal theory says that an individual is free in publishing what he/she sees fit. This is an extension of other individuals' rights from a liberal point of view that is the right to holding and expressing opinions, freedom of assembly, and association. Free media are perceived as an important, indeed an altogether basic element of a free and rational society, because they are the best tool for pursuing the truth and exposing evil and deceit, owing to the ability to present competitive or alternative viewpoints. Free media are diverse, reflecting the pluralism of opinions in society, and therefore ensure that there will be room for presenting each opinion or viewpoint, as well as defending it. People are capable of differentiating lies from the truth; owing to independent media, individuals on the lookout for the truth exchange ideas in a free market, abiding by the same rules as other markets. Free access of all citizens to the media is

a prerequisite for substantiating the free media theory, both in the process of collecting information and publishing one's opinions (Örnebring and Jänsson, 2016:240)

This theory appeals for total freedom of all publications from any forms of preventive censorship exercised by a third party; for publishing and disseminating information by anyone, without applying for a permit; no penalties for authors of publications attacking the government, public officials, or political parties, unlike in the case of attacking individuals or endangering public safety; for equal protection of all publications, irrespective of the degree of truth in them, because they are a matter of opinions and convictions to which everyone is entitled; for no limitations whatsoever of gleaning information in legal ways, or limitations of the information flow across national borders; for a wide range of journalists' professional autonomy as part of media institutions (Piontek, 2011).

2.6. Historical Background of Ethiopian Press Freedom

Ethiopian press freedom was historically and situationally appeared to practice. The printing press was started thousands of years; however, it is not to dare speak the press freedom was legitimately practiced. But, the beginning of hope to practice press freedom was early on considered encouraging.

Ethiopian Press is traced to thousands of years. Ayele(2018:3) narrated about the press media, "The art of printing first entered Ethiopia through Goa (India). In a letter to St. Ignatius of Loyola, dated 30 April 1556, Father Gaspar Caleza speaks of a ship carrying a printing press setting sail for Abyssinia from Portugal, to help missionary work in Abyssinia. Circumstances prevented this printing press from leaving India, and consequently, printing was initiated in the country."

However, the clear press freedom that was brought to practices in modern time is stated to appear in 1863 to 1902. Menychle (2019:2-3) mentioned the Ethiopian press freedom, regardless of how far it was free, but he went back to bring back the historical views of it, *"Like, in many African countries, attempts in publishing works have first been made by foreign missionaries. The first printing press was brought into the country in 1863 at the Red Sea port of Massawa by Lazarist Father named Lorenzo Biancheri. Following this,*

more printing presses come in different parts of the country such as in Keren in 1879 by Egyptian MENYCHLE MESERET ABEBE Lazarist Fathers; in Meenkulo in 1885 by Italians; another printing in Meenkulo by Swedish Evangelical Mission in 1895; in Harar in 1901 by French Franciscan a Catholic Mission named Father Marie Bernard.”

The <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/4753d3b00.pdf> also reminds the history of press freedom, especially, the printing press that came to reality, by stating it, “ LeSemeurd’Ethiopie and Aimerro (literally translated to mean Intelligence)were followed by Le Courier d’Ethiopie (1913-1920) and Yetwor Ware (War News), which was issued the Italian mission from 1916 to 1918. Berhanena Selam (Light and Peace) was founded in 1925 but folded in 1936 with the Italian invasion. Addis Zemen (New Era) began circulating in 1941 followed by the English language daily, Ethiopian Herald that started in 1945.”

(1932), “*Il Notziario*” in Italian (1933); “*Kesate Berhan*” Journal (1935); “*Atbiya Kokeb*” (“Star of the Morning”) (1935); “*Banderachen*” (“Our Flag”) newspaper (1941); “*Addis Zemen*” (“New Era”) in Amharic, “*Yeethiopia Dimts*” (“The Voice of Ethiopia”) in Amharic and English, “The Ethiopian Herald” in English, “*Sandak Alamachen*” “Our Flag” in Amharic and Arabic; “*Il Lunedì del Medio Oriente*” in Italian, and “*L’Ethiopie d’Aujourd’hui*” in French and Amharic (1941) (Mocria et al 2003: 29; Pankhurst 27-08-04).

Wondwosen (2009:88-89) paraphrased his articles as From 1923–1936, Ethiopia had six publications: Aithiopicos Kosmos (in the Greek language, 1925), meaning Ethiopian World in; and other print media published in French language were: L’Ethiopie Commerciale in French (1932), Atbia Kokab (The Morning Star) which later published in Amharic in 1934. and others more were published in Amharic language: from 1934–1936, Ye-Ethiopia Demts (Voice of Ethiopia) i. Ye-Ethiopia Demts was silenced by the Italian aggression on Ethiopia and was reissued in 1958. In the three decades after liberation, between 1941–1974, many legal measures that encouraged the growth of the print media in Ethiopia were taken.

The major ones among these, were: the decrees of 1942 and 1944, the Revised Constitution of 1955, the Penal Code of 1957, the draft constitution which was presented to the country’s

highest constitutional assembly in July 1974, and a decree, which was published in Addis Zemen in March 1975 (Megabit was cited in Wondwosen,2009:88.).

Menychle(2019:5) further elaborated, *“The Derg used all the media for its political strategy, ‘as [an] arm of government propaganda in political, economic and social spheres. These nationalized media were dissolved under the press division of the Ministry of Information, losing their budgetary and internal affairs autonomy. Thus, they become increasingly partisan under the veil of serving ‘as the voice of the oppressed people of Ethiopia’. Linguistically speaking, the Amharic language was a dominant medium for both print and broadcast media of the time.*

Menychle(2019:5) also stated that only a few publications were published in other languages such as Hibret, a daily newspaper in Tigrigna, and Bariisaa, the only newspaper in Oromigna language. The print media mix of the time included: three dailies (Addis Zemen, The Ethiopian Herald, and Hibret), party papers like Serto Ader (The Worker), and ideological papers like Yekatit (February), Marxsawi Re’Iyot (The Marxist Ideology-originally founded by Prague based organization named World Marxist League) and Meskerem (September)

Ethiopian press freedom has been variably and impartially practiced. The formally came into practice when the Ethiopian press proclamation was endorsed by Proclamation 6/1991. After that Proclamations 34/1992, 113/1995, 114/1995, 178/1999, 533/2007, and 590/2008 came through.

The Proclamations of 113/1995, 114/1995, 178/1999, and 533/2007 all are broadcast proclamations. The researcher further emphasized the print media and press freedom proclamations related to the research title, which are discussed one by one below, how they have ever been practiced.

2.6.1. Mode of Application of State-Owned Mass Media Proclamation 6/1991

This proclamation was the first-ever legitimate proclamation that came to reality in 1991. And, this proclamation was the first-ever allowed media to practices press freedom. Under article 3, the responsibility and mandate of the media were put in a statement. The Proclamation was given responsibilities of serving the consolidation of the country’s peaceful, and democratic changes based on the Transitional Period. Propagate the principles

of the Charter to fulfill the objectives establishing the Transitional Government, and counter ideas opposing the Charter. Inform the public through news or programs, of the essence and execution of development activities carried by the government. And to transmit criticisms and complaints made against the government by different sections of the society, and invite the appropriate organs to respond to same.

The Proclamation 6/1991 article 5 stated, *“There shall be programs and newspapers columns whereby free public opinion and suggestions are to be forwarded through the mass. For except for insufficiency of time and space speech such operation and suggestion shall not be discriminated against due to differences in outlook. Opinions forwarded through free public opinion programs and newspaper columns shall avoid making unfounded incriminations or defamations shall rest with individual authors.”*

2.6.2. Press Proclamation 34/1992

Under this proclamation, there are points different from the Proclamation 6/1991. The Proclamation 34/1992/8 stated that the free practice of the press freedom and responsibility. Any press and its agent shall, without prejudice to right conformed by other laws, have the right to seek, obtain and report and information from ant government source of information. And the press shall have the right to disseminate news, information, and other products of the press in the procession.

However, this proclamation incorporated limitations rather than the 6/1991, by providing those below under article 8/ 1 and 2: information, designated as secret by the council of Representative or the Council of Minister; information which is secret under the other laws; unless the court decides otherwise, information relating to any case heard by a court in camera; information relating to a case pending before any court; and unless the person concerned consents, information which is private to a victim of a crime.

2.6.3. Freedom of the Mass Media and Access to Information Proclamation 590/2008

This proclamation elaborates the objectives of its to make it clear how it is practiced.

The objectives of this part of the Proclamation are: to give effect to the right of citizens to access, receive and impart information held by public bodies, subject to justifiable limits based on overriding public and private interests; to establish mechanisms and procedures to

give effect to that right in a manner which enables persons to obtain information as quickly, inexpensively and effortlessly as is reasonably possible; and to encourage and promote public participation, public empowerment, to foster a culture of transparency, accountability, and efficiency in the functions of public bodies and to encourage and promote good governance.

The proclamation emphasized that the press could exercise press freedom with free practices. Freedom of the mass media is constitutionally guaranteed. Censorship in any form is prohibited. Restrictions on the freedom of the mass media shall only be made by laws issued following the Constitution. All public bodies shall have regard to the right of the mass media, in fulfilling its public function, to a) seek, receive and impart news or information; b) express opinion or criticism on various issues or; c) participate in the process of forming public opinion through other means. Unless otherwise stipulated by express.

However, this proclamation was vested to all citizens, journalists or media, print, and broadcast. What makes this proclamation different from the above proclamations is that by having inclusive rights for all citizens, not only to the media. *The objectives of this part of the Proclamation are 1/ to give effect to the right of citizens to access, receive and impart information held by public bodies, subject to justifiable limits based on overriding public and private interests; 2/ to establish mechanisms and procedures to give effect to that right in a manner which enables persons to obtain information as quickly, inexpensively and effortlessly as is reasonably possible; and 3/ to encourage and promote public participation, public empowerment, to foster a culture of transparency, accountability, and efficiency in the functions of public bodies and to encourage and promote good governance.*

From those proclamations it is clearly understood that at every new proclamation was endorsed, there were different press freedom with on and off practices. Especially, the first two Proclamations 6/1991 and 34/1992 were with better hope of press freedom practices and encouraging. When the Proclamation 590/2008 was different mostly from the rest. It is because it is inclusive of media press freedom and permitting access to information to all Ethiopian citizens. The press freedom and the right to access information provided to citizens are separately included in this proclamation.

CHAPTER 3: Research Methodology

3.1. Research Methodology and Design

3.2. Methodology of Study

Research methodology is a guideway to systematically undertake the research problem. It is the science of studying how research is carried out. Essentially, the procedures by which researchers go about their work of describing, explaining, and predicting phenomena are called research methodology. It is also defined as the study of methods by which knowledge is gained. It aims to lay out the work plan of research (Kotharri,2004:6)).

Kothari(2004:45)in further elucidating research methodology states that research methodology considers the logic behind the methods we use in the context of our research study and explain why we are using a particular method or technique and why we are not using others so that research results are capable of being evaluated either by the researcher himself or by others.

Similarly, Sam (2012:11) defines methodology refers to more than a simple set of methods; rather it refers to the rationale and the philosophical assumptions that underlie a particular study relative to the scientific method. This is why scholarly literature often includes a section on the methodology of the researchers.

https://www.academia.edu/43187203/Chapter_3_Research_Methodology_and_Research_Metho
dadded that research methodology is a collective term for the structured process of conducting research. There are many diverse methodologies used in various types of research. And these kinds are usually considered to include research design, data gathering, and data analysis. Research methodology seeks to answer whya research study is undertaken, how the research problem is defined, in what way and why the hypothesis has been formulated, what data have been collected and what particular method has been adopted, why particular technique of analyzing data has been used and a host of similar other questions are usually answered when we talk of research methodology concerning a research problem or study. The research methodology constitutes the internal environment by understanding and identifying the right type of research, strategy, philosophy, time horizon, approaches, followed by the right procedures and techniques

based on his or her research work. Additionally, the research methodology acts as the nerve center because the entire research is bounded by it, and to perform good research work, the internal and external environment has to follow the right research methodology process.

The research methodology includes a philosophically coherent collection of theories, concepts, or ideas as they relate to a particular discipline or field of inquiry. There are three philosophical approaches: positivism, Interpretive and Critical social science studies (Lawrence, 2007:80). However, this study used interpretive social science purposes to develop an understanding of social life and discover how this research is constructively settled in having findings. And this approach shares the feelings and interpretations of the people are employed in this study and seeing things through their eyes.

Sam (2012:14) framed the importance of research methodology in research in that it helps a researcher design a research methodology for the problem chosen. One should note that even if the research method considered for two problems are the same the research methodology may be different. The researcher needs to know not only the research methods necessary for the research undertaken but also the methodology. It also helps a researcher needs to know which method is suitable for the chosen problem; what the order of accuracy of the result of a method; the efficiency of the method; considerations of these aspects constitute a research methodology. More precisely, research methods help a researcher get a solution to a problem. On the other hand, research methodology is concerned with the explanation of why a particular research study is undertaken; how to formulate a research problem; what types of data were collected; what particular method has been used; why a particular technique of analysis of data is used.

There are three approaches or types of methodology: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods. And this study used qualitative methodology. Qualitative Methodology: this often relies on interpretive or critical social science. It applies that the emphasis of conducting detailed examinations of cases that arise in the natural flow of social life. It presents authentic interpretations that are sensitive to specific social-historical contexts (Lawrence, 2006:150).

Some qualitative studies do not employ any explicit theory. However, the case can be made that no qualitative study begins from pure observation and that prior conceptual structure composed of theory and method provides the starting point for all observations (Schwandt and Riemen

cited in Geoffrey, David D., David 2005:100). Still, one sees qualitative studies that contain no explicit theoretical orientation, such as in phenomenology, in which inquirers attempt to build the essence of experience from participants. In these studies, the inquirer constructs a rich, detailed description of a central phenomenon.

Qualitative research involves studies that do not attempt to quantify their results through statistical summary or analysis. Qualitative studies typically involve interviews and observations without formal measurement. A case study, which is an in-depth examination of one person, is a form of qualitative research. Whereas quantitative research involves studies that make use of statistical analyses to obtain their findings. Key features include formal and systematic measurement and the use of statistics. And the mixed methodology is the hybrid of the two types of methodology (Geoffrey, David D and David 2005:100).

Therefore, the reason why this study deliberately and selectively chose qualitative methodology is that this problem focuses on interpretation, underpinning, and in-depth understanding as well as expressively framing why every method is used and how it is applied to finding the results beyond direct views of the gathered employed interviewees' expression and documents analysis.

3.3. Research Design

Research designs are types of inquiry within qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approach that provide specific direction for procedures in a research design. Others have called them strategies of inquiry (Denzin& Lincoln cited in John, 2014: 41).

A research design is the road map that you decide to follow during your research journey to find answers to your research questions as validly, objectively, accurately, and economically as possible. It is a procedural-cum-operational plan that details what and how different methods and procedures are to be applied during the research process. Kerlinger(cited in Ranjit, 2014:122)a research design is a plan, structure, and strategy of investigation so conceived as to obtain answers to research questions or problems.

The plan is the complete scheme or program of the research. It includes an outline of what the investigator will do from writing the hypotheses and their operational implications to the final analysis of data. According to Thyer (cited in Ranjit, 2014:122), a traditional research design is a blueprint or detailed plan for how a research study is to be completed – operationalizing

variables so they can be measured, selecting a sample of interest to study, collecting data to be used as a basis for testing hypotheses, and analyzing the results.

The significance of research design is to provide detailed information about who will constitute the study population; how the population study is identified; identifies a sample or the whole population is selected: If a sample is selected, how will it be contacted? And asks ahead of proceeding to action: What method of data collection will be used and why; In the case of an interview, where the responses will be returned; In the case of interviews, where it will be conducted; how ethical issues would be taken care of (Ranjit, 2014:124).

Under this research design, qualitative research design: A case study is employed here in this study. In a case study design the ‘case’ the researcher selects becomes the basis of a thorough, holistic, and in-depth exploration of the aspect(s) that the study wants to find out about. It is an approach ‘in which a particular instance or a few carefully selected cases are studied intensively’ (Gilbert cited in Ranjit, 2011:78).

In selecting a case study, it is vital to use purposive, or information-oriented sampling techniques. Because it is a very advantageous design when exploring a study area where the researcher wants to have an all-inclusive understanding of the situation, phenomenon, group, or community (Ranjit, 2011:79 and coursehero.com/file/p7i9so97/Study-designs). Research design is also the feature of the research in wider view that determines the general organization of the study area. The research is planned in a distinct way and generally recognized structure in a common practice of research.

Therefore, this researcher used multiple methods to collect data, and an important aspect of a case study, namely obtaining information from secondary records: gathering data through documents, primary data through in-depth interviewing: group interviews, face-to-face discussion.

3.4. Methods of Data collection

3.4.1. Data Collection

Data gathering is the process of collecting and measuring information of selected variables in an established systematic manner. Data are gathered through face-to-face interviews, telephone interviews, email interviews, questionnaire, focus group discussion. The systematically collected data helps a researcher gather relevant questions and evaluate outcomes. Data collection is an important factor of research in all fields of study of social sciences, humanities. Data collection methods vary by discipline, the emphasis on ensuring the accurate and honest collection is common (Geetanjali and Jayanth, 2019:131 and [Data Collection \(hhs.gov\)](https://www.hhs.gov/data-collection))

The significance of data collection or source is to get quality evidence that enables a researcher to analyze the formulation of convincing and credible answers to prove his/her hypothesis. Data collection starts after the finalization of a research problem, and accurate data collection is necessary for maintaining the truthfulness of research. Erroneous data causes consequences that embrace the inability to answer research questions truthfully and the inability to repeat and confirm the research(ibid).

Similarly, discussion over to the data collection, to decide the method of data collection a researcher should know the types of data when a researcher wants to decide which kind of data is required for research. Accordingly, the researcher can determine the method of data collection. To reduce the likelihood of errors occurring selection of appropriate data collection instruments (existing, modified, or newly developed) and delineated instructions for their correct use are needed. According to Geetanjali and Jayanth,(2019:132-134 and What Are the Methods of Data Collection? | How to Collect Data (lotame.com)), the data has been divided into two types: primary and secondary. Accordingly, they were discussed below.

3.4.2. Primary data:

The data which are collected fresh for the first time is called primary data. This may include a number of ways like face-to-face interviews, focus group discussions, telephone interviews; and so on Primary data can be collected from a large population and across wide geographical

coverage through emails and posts. The primary data is original and pertinent to the subject of the research to achieve high accuracy in research.

The researcher can get a realistic view of the topic under consideration from the primary data. Primary data are highly reliable because they are collected by the researcher or concerned and reliable party. Unstructured interview is a commonly used method of collecting information from people. According to Monette et al. (cited in Creswell and John, 2011:160), “An interview involves an interviewer reading questions to respondents and recording their answers.”

According to Creswell and John, (2011:166), “An interview is a verbal interchange, often face to face, though the telephone may be used, in which an interviewer tries to elicit information, beliefs or opinions from another person.” Any person-to-person interaction, either face to face or otherwise, between two or more individuals with a specific purpose in mind is called an interview.

The strength of unstructured interviews is they almost give complete freedom for the interviewer to generate ideas without inhibition. Therefore, this researcher also has complete freedom in terms of the wording the researcher uses and the way he explains questions to his respondents. The researcher formulates questions and raises issues on the spur of the moment, depending upon what occurs to the study in the context of the discussion. In qualitative research, the responses are used as descriptors, often in verbatim form, and can be integrated with the researcher’s arguments, the flow of writing, and sequence of logic.

This, in other words, means that there are several methods of collecting primary data; particularly this study uses an unstructured interview method to gather data from the journalists of the two media. And also conducting group discussions among the editors of the two newspapers is another method of primary data gathering. To make the data gathering method reliable and valid, there must be primary sources for ensuing and answering the research questions.

Under this primary data, unstructured interviews with editors and focus group discussions were conducted. The reasons that the researcher selected unstructured interview were the statement of the problem of this study is concerned to know why journalists and media managers were

imprisoned and harassed. To have in-depth discussion and analysis, it was duly selected to use the discussion with unstructured interviews with editors of the Ethiopian herald newspaper. The editors are in charge of seniors up to editor-in-chief of the newspapers. Likewise, focus group discussions with journalists were administered in this study. They are because used to have further details and underpinning discussions to reason out how journalists use press freedom practices in their in-house media and field report or scene.

3.4.3. Secondary Data

The data which has already been collected by someone else analyzed and statistically processed is called secondary data. Secondary data may be available in written, typed, or electronic forms. The researcher gains an initial insight into the research problem from secondary data. Secondary data can be of the internal or external type. If information is acquired within the organization where research is being carried out the data is called internal or in-house secondary data (Sharan and Elizabeth,2016:167).

When documents are included in a study, what is commonly referred to as public records, personal documents (online or offline), artifacts, and physical material usually are already present in the research setting. Public documents include actuarial records of births, deaths, and marriages, police records, court transcripts, agency records, association manuals, program documents, mass media, government documents, minutes of organizational meetings(*ibid*).

In contrast to public record sources of data, personal documents refer to any first-person narrative that describes an individual's actions, experiences, and beliefs. personal documents include diaries, letters, home videos, children's growth records, scrapbooks and photo albums, calendars, autobiographies, travel logs, and personal blogs. Film, video, photography, and web-based media are visual documents. Of course, these can be found within the categories of documents just discussed. That is, public records, personal documents, and popular cultural materials can all be in visual formats (Sharan and Elizabeth,2016:167).

According to these two scholars, secondary data is economical and faster to access. It gives a way to use the work of the best intellectuals all over the globe. It imparts a persuasion to the

researcher about the direction he/she should follow for the selected research topic. Secondary data adds value to the research study by preserving time, effort, and money.

This study conducted document analysis to explore the guiding principles of the two organizations. To further strengthen data analysis and interpretation over to the primary, the secondary data was incorporated to reason out behind the data. The document is the written editorial policy and code of conduct in 2002 (which was not revised up to 2021) of the media: The Ethiopian Herald newspaper. The reason that the researcher wanted to use those documents is to know how these were appropriately or inappropriately paralleled to the press law practiced in Ethiopia, especially, in line with the Proclamation 5909/2008. Therefore, this study gathered secondary data from the editorial policy and code of conduct of the newspaper, Proclamation 5909/2008 and international press law (mentioned within ICCPR and International Human Rights Program-IHRP) within the study. The reasons that the researcher used these documents are to know how these documents are interfaced and interchanged meant in to be applied globally and locally. And also, to understand whether the press freedom transparency and universal press freedom practices are legal due processed. By so doing, the researcher gathered invaluable data to collaborate with the primary data.

3.5. Sampling Method and Sampling Size

3.5.1. Sampling Method

Sampling is an indispensable technique of behavioral research; the research work cannot be undertaken without the use of sampling. The study of the total population is not possible and it is also impracticable. The practical limitation: cost, time, and other factors which are usually operative in the situation stand in the way of studying the total population. The concept of sampling has been introduced to make the research findings economical and accurate. The research design is based on the sampling of the study. A good research design provides information concerning the selection of the sample population treatments and controls to be imposed (Yogesh, 2006:95).

According to [types_of_sampling.pdf \(weebly.com\)](#), “ *simple random sample is one in which each element of the population has an equal and independent chance of being included in a sample selected by randomization method is known as a simple random sample.* “

Randomization is a method of sampling in which each individual of the population has an equal chance or probability of selection of the individuals for constituting a sample. The choice of one individual is in no way tied with another. The individuals of a sample are independently drawn from the population. All members of the population have essentially the same probability of being selected (Yogesh, 2006:95).

According to [Non-Probability Sampling Techniques Pdf \(studieducation.org\)](#), non-probability sampling is associated with case study research design and qualitative research. The nonprobability and case studies tend to focus on small samples and are intended to examine a real-life phenomenon, not to make statistical inferences concerning the wider population. The above link shows that a sample of participants in non-probability tends to a clear rationale is needed for the inclusion of some cases or individuals rather than others.

The purposive sampling is selected by some arbitrary method because it is known to be representative of the total population, or it is known that it will produce well-matched groups. It is also the with sound judgement about the purpose of an inquiry, researchers could purposively select suitable cases for a study and organize the information effectively. The idea is to pick out the sample about some criterion, which is considered important for the particular study. This method is appropriate when the study places distinct stress upon the control of certain specific variables. The worth of purposive sampling is to have restored regulator of noteworthy variables, sample groups data can be easily matched and homogeneity of subjects used in the sample ([types_of_sampling.pdf \(weebly.com\)](#)).

Therefore, the study used the purposive sampling method in its discussion. The reason why the researcher used purposive sampling is that the editors and journalists were professionally and closely attached to the study topic and research problem. They are expected to give details about press freedom practices. They are also aware of their profession related to press freedom.

Especially, the press Proclamation 590/2008 was endorsed most particularly referred to the journalists are regulated and directed by this proclamation.

3.5.2. Sampling size

A sample size is in most instances, a sampling size is splashing out some population number from the whole population. In some studies, the researchers would like to make some claim about generalizability — that is, how much, how well, or how closely the findings from the current sample apply to the entire population (Scott, Deirdre, 2009:48).

<https://uniprojectmaterials.com/view-blog/how-to-calculate-a-reliable-sample-size-using-taro-yamane-method>. According to the Yamane Sampling, sampling size to know the total population and calculate the sampling size population taken into consideration of research, a given formula is taken for having sampling size. Thus, the sampling size of Yamane: $n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$

Where n signifies the sampling size N signifies the population under study, e signifies the margin error. Therefore, this study considers the formula stated above. And the researcher gathered information about the current number of journalists in the study areas: The Ethiopian Herald Newspaper. The total number of journalists of the organizations is 22; there were 15 journalists, and 7 editors. The total population size of this study is, therefore, 22. Thus, the researcher proceeds to calculate the sampling size in the way stated below.

$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(0.05)^2}$, Therefore, $n = \frac{22}{1 + 22(0.05)^2}$, $n = \frac{22}{1 + 22(.0025)}$, $n = \frac{22}{1.0825} = 31$

Therefore, this study considers taking 31 sampling sizes of the study areas. Although the scientific sampling size yielded 31, yet the researcher took all of the total population sizes to minimize the margin errors.

This researcher also needed to identify carefully the issues for the discussion providing every opportunity for additional relevant ones to emerge. As a researcher, it is better to get the consent of the participants to embark on the process of recording the discussion. Under the primary data collection, the researcher used group discussions with journalists from both print media.

The Ethiopian Herald newspaper, there were fifteen journalists in the period of this interview was conducted. And ten of the fifteen were employed for this study. The reason that this study

used ten out of fifteen journalists, the five journalists' interviews were similar to the ten journalists. That is why the study used ten of the fifteen journalists. And this reason also happened to the selection of seven editors out of ten editors of the Ethiopian Herald newspaper.

Therefore, seven editors from Ethiopian Herald were selected for face-to-face interview for having in-depth and underpinning study. And the fifteen journalists were included in the interview methodology. The ten were supposedly adequately considered for analyzing and discussion section. Under the administration of face-to-face interview, that is to say, editors were involved in the interview discussions. The reason that all the editors were taken for interview administering under this study, is that to have adequate evidenced information as far as the editors they are supposed to be experiencing and practicing the press projects and news production. And seven out of ten editors were administered for the face-to-face interview.

3.6. Data Interpretation and Analysis

To be able to analyze the researcher's data must first of all have gathered data from primary and secondary. This might be a transcript from an interview or focus group discussion, a series of written answers on an open-ended questionnaire, or field notes or memos written by the researcher. It is useful to write memos and notes as soon as the researcher begins to collect data as this helps to focus mindfully and alert to significant points which may be coming from the data. For those at the highly qualitative end of the continuum, data analysis tends to be an ongoing process, taking place throughout the data collection process. The researcher thinks about and reflects upon the emerging themes, adapting and changing the methods if required (Catherine, 2009::116). Qualitative data are in the form of text, written words, phrases, or symbols describing or representing people, actions, and events in social life.

Therefore, this researcher classified the data sources into similarities, differences, or coding systems to simply and analyze the data. This study passed a judgment, to use reasoning, and to reach a conclusion based on evidence. Here, the researcher carefully examined the interpretive approach and information to reach conclusion-based reasoning and simplifying the complexity in the data. The group interviews and documents analysis were set apart and coded so that the researcher would clearly label the data. The interviews with editors of newspaper were discussed

under one topic; likewise, Journalists' responses were also presented and analyzed under one umbrella. The secondary data, document analyses were interpreted and discussed under a similar section. That is because to supposedly administer the gathered primary and secondary data and bring them all together to the discussion part.

3.7. Establishing the Validity and Reliability of a Research Instrument

3.7.1. Reliability

The concept of reliability about a research instrument has a similar meaning: if a research tool is consistent and stable, hence predictable and accurate, it is said to be reliable. The greater the degree of consistency and stability in an instrument, the greater its reliability is. Therefore, a scale or test is reliable to the extent that repeat measurements made by it under constant conditions will give the same result' (Moser & Kalton as cited in Ranjit 2011: 248).

When the researcher collects the same set of information more than once using the same instrument and gets the same or similar results under the same or similar conditions, an instrument is considered to be reliable. 'Error' is a reflection of an instrument's unreliability. Therefore, reliability is the degree of accuracy or precision in the measurements made by a research instrument.

Reliability relates to the consistency of a measure. A participant completing an instrument meant to measure motivation should have approximately the same responses each time the test is completed. Although it is not possible to give an exact calculation of reliability, an estimate of reliability can be achieved through different measures (Heale and Twycross, 2020:1).

A slight ambiguity in the wording of questions or statements can affect the reliability of a research instrument as respondents may interpret the questions differently at different times, resulting in different responses in the case of an instrument being used in an interview, any change in the physical setting at the time of the repeated interview may affect the responses given by a respondent, which may affect reliability.

This study takes precaution not to have any ambiguous questions and approaches to the respondents. The interviewees were asked to sit in their bureau so they would tell their views freely. During the interviews, there were not that caused effects on the result. And the document

and interviewees were official objects and persons expectedly selected to give legal information, as well.

3.7.2. Validity

Heale and Twycross (2020:1) define validity is defined as the extent to which a concept is accurately measured in a quantitative study. Heale and Twycross also stated that three types of validities show in their ways of being applied. One is content validity: The extent to which a research instrument accurately measures all aspects of a construct. It helps to know whether the instrument covers the entire domain related to the variable or the construct it was designed to measure. The second construct validity is used when a research instrument (tool) measures the intended construct. The last type of validity Criterion validity is the extent to which a research instrument is related to other instruments that measure the same variables.

Validity is also stated that the extent to which the results of a study can be generalized from a sample to a population. Recall that a sample should be an accurate representation of a population, while data is gathered because the total population may not be available. An externally valid instrument helps obtain population generalizability or the degree to which a sample represents the population. Therefore, the sampling data that when it is collected has to be gone through how effective and actually the population it represents (<https://researchrundowns.com/quantitative-methods/instrument-validity-reliability/>).

Therefore, this study predictably took caution not to miss or have more errors while gathering instruments of analysis using validity.

3.8. Ethical Considerations of Research

Unavoidably, to advance knowledge in this manner it is often necessary to imagine upon the rights of individuals. The sources of information of one's researcher have rights to be kept remained not mentioning their names, respectfully asking them to give information voluntarily. Because participants who involve in all studies with human participants involve some degree of risk. Asking them somewhat intrusive or provocative questions may cause to much more severe effects on participants' emotional well-being. These risks present researchers with an ethical

dilemma regarding the degree to which participants should be placed at risk in the name of scientific progress (Geoffrey, et al 2005:248-254).

(Geoffrey, et al 2005:248-254) added that Participants can consent; they are free from coercion, they comprehend the risks and benefits involved; researchers should minimize menace and harm, guarantee that risks do not pointedly consider potential advantages, use apt study designs, and guarantee participants. The researcher believes that persons are treated in an ethical manner, not only by respecting their decisions and protecting from any attach or harm, their sources have to be kept safe and guaranteed. Such treatment falls under the principle of generosity.

CHAPTER 4: Data Analysis and Interpretation

In chapter three, there were discussions about the primary and secondary data that were supposedly expressed to be processed into the implementation, to show where the analysis would fall on in this chapter. Unstructured interviews with editors, focus group discussions with journalists, and document of editorial policy of the print media have been discussed and analyzed inclusively under this chapter.

The interviews with editors were interviewed in the open-ended interviews are discussed below. Likewise, interviews with journalists of the newspaper were administered into focus group discussion. Under the secondary data, the analyzing part was documented analyzing consisted of editorial policy of the Ethiopian Herald newspaper in line with the Ethiopian Press proclamation 590/2008. All those were discussed in up next phases. All the data were coded and separately discussed following their similarities. That is to say, editors under one discussing part, journalists were also under one separated discussion part and the last one is the documents analyses were also presented and interpreted under this chapter.

4.1. Interview: Open-ended interview

4.1.1. How the Editors of the Ethiopian Herald Newspaper explain Press Freedom Practices in Ethiopia

Primary data with open-ended interviews (unstructured interviews) was conducted with editors of Ethiopian Herald newspaper. In the first discussion, editors who were classified under the assignments of news editor, copy editor, assistant editor, desk editor were interviewed. The interviewed editors were ten, according to the methodological approach in chapter three. For their privacy and confidentiality, their names were not necessarily displayed in this discussion. And codes were given to them, instead. Like editor one is represented by “e1” and editor two by

“e2”...The editors were asked how freely, editorially, and professionally they edited the press content provided by journalists. The above interrogation was presented to The Reporter editors, and their responses are discussed below.

The Editors of the Ethiopian Herald newspaper were also interviewed under this sub-topic interrogation. The researcher needed additional primary data gathering for the study would further have shreds of evidence and justifications for there would be reliable and unbiased findings. Hence, the Ethiopian Herald newspaper’s editors were purposively selected for open-ended interviews or face-to-face interviews. The editors were then given chances to know that confidentiality was kept safe. And all their names were not mentioned and included in this discussion. The researcher finally coded their names by giving them the following forms were given.

E1(Editor one) suggested: “First of all, the Ethiopian Herald newspaper is mainly targeted at creating a good image. And we strive for creating good images for foreigners. We believe that our readers are foreigners and international diplomats. And when I edit the content of the article run for publication, it is because of considering the editorial policy. Of course, I am regulated by the editorial policy that mostly allows us to write and edit based on the national good image. Therefore, I don’t freely edit field reports because we the editors are limited not by the public interest but by the editorial policy.” He added, “Creating a good image ‘by itself ‘is censorship. Because journalists are not allowed to report what is ethically allowed. Our freedom is limited in the name of good image creating. We are not practically allowed to come up with maladministering reports, but mostly the image creating issues.”

The editor (e1) provided two points: the Ethiopian Herald mainly targeted at creating a good image, and “in the name of good image”, there is censorship. The researcher asked for clarifying why he stated two ideas left seeking clear answers. He responded that even if the main target, according to editorial policy, is to create good images, it should not have been reporting merely developmental issues, but also should have been solved the bad sides that don’t allow to have good images, such as maladministration. He further explained, “Therefore, we do not feel secured while editing issues. Yet, the issues are not simply up to be published by us, but lastly, the editor in chief (the vice manager) is there always to prove articles and news stories. If there is

a political criticism, the editor in chief, who is politically appointed, cannot allow getting it published.”

The e1 said,” We have of course a brief conference before every article is run to publication. And we review it together with reporters and editor-in-chief. However, everyone is ahead self-censored to provide with arguable issues to the table round.”

When e2 answers added up to the raised issue,” we edit and report freely. We discuss every article before its publication date is up. We are not of course that to decide articles up to publication, but the vice manager of the organization.” He added that the editorial policy is workable. I don’t have a problem to fight back to report hard issues, nor do I focus on complicated issues, but loose matters”, he added.

This indicates that to know whether the editorial policy of the Ethiopian Herald Newspaper is workable or not, the editor seems to be focusing on living in only his monthly salary. He does not care much more about the principle of the “watchdog” of the public. The researcher asked the e2 why he doesn’t much care about the voice of the voiceless, and he said,” why do I get tired of nothing, I mean what I don’t bring a meaningful change? I have to pass appreciating of freedom is persistently practiced in the media house.”

When editor three (e3) continued answering a similar question, “The reporter comes up with his idea on he was given the assignment to write about. And lastly, we follow up to know whether the earlier assignment was achieved or not. We are considered to be editors of news, programs, and the like. But we’re not the last who issue the articles are viable and amenable for publications, but the vice manager.” He additionally stated that whether the editorial policy allows or not, every article is approved by the editor-in-chief. If the editor-in-chief doesn’t allow every article for publication, it is lastly void. The researcher further asked that the criteria that the editor in chief used to approve articles are valid or invalid before being published. The editor clarified that the editor is not mostly guided by the editorial policy, but by checking if the articles criticizing the government are lastly ineligibly to be published. Yet, articles with creating a good image about the government are approved to be published.

The Freedom of the Mass Media and Access to Information Proclamation 590/2008 article 6 shows that the editor-in-chief is solely to decide which article is up to publication. Article 6/1,2

and 3 read like this:^{1/} *The mandate of the editor in chief designated by the publisher encompasses the power to supervise the publication of the periodical and determine the contents thereof in such a way that nothing may be printed therein against his will. Any practice or agreement that restricts this power shall be null and void.*

The Proclamation 590/2008 article 6/2 also read like this:^{2/} *Where the editor-in-chief of a mass media does not, for any reason, have full legal capacity, another editor-in-chief who has full legal capacity shall be appointed.*^{3/} *The editor-in-chief who has been appointed following sub-article (2) of this article shall have legal responsibility for the content of the mass media outlet and shall, notwithstanding the provisions of sub-article (1) of this Article, have the power to veto the publication of any material.* According to article 6/3, the editor-in-chief is appointed, not assigned professionally.

This politically appointed person is there to control the medium as there should not be articles that criticize the government or the leading party. This politically appointed editor-in-chief could be the benevolent national leading party. And also, he has been given the power to filter as any article is not published against his will. This maybe to serve the leading party. In the Ethiopian context, when a person is politically appointed, he or she is expected to be loyal to her/his leading party, rather than to the people. Therefore, the whole proclamation Freedom of the Mass Media and Access to Information Proclamation 590/2008 is in the hand of the editor-in-chief, but not dependable the prior given proclamation. And, this shows that every governmental medium is led by not the law and proclamation but by a person appointed to keep the political party safe not as of being the watchdog of the public.

Another editor 4(e4) said that this is a governmental medium that mainly focuses on creating a good image. He added, “That’s why we are not that much worried which article is complicated to publish. The journalists are told to come up with creating a good image for foreigner readership.” And he was asked that even if the English version is supposedly published for foreigners, it is also necessary to consider the Ethiopian Diasporas need to know what is badly and well happening in their country.

He responded,” It should have been so, but we are unable to go beyond the editorial policy.”

Therefore, the Ethiopian Herald is politically instrumentalized in the name of ‘good image creating’ evidencing that it mostly reports developmental and diplomat issues. When an e5 responded to the prior given suggestion,” We freely edit news and program. As you may know, the Ethiopian Herald Newspaper is mainly focused on publishing foreign issues or local good image reports to promote to foreign countries. There is no way to weigh the practice of press freedom.”

He also said,” We are working based on what the media gave us instruction to do with the principles of image creating reports. We work within the limitations we are ordered. We first believe that these limitations should be due respected. Working for business or your livelihood, and working for the public are the two opposite sides.”

He was also asked if he edited news stories and programs freely. He said, “I live for my own life. And I get a monthly salary. So, still, I do not have any questions. I was told to give prior attention to the editorial policy to serving my profession. And I accepted it. Why do I now complain about this? This place is not worthy exercising freedom of expression, but where you get your monthly salary.”

He finally stated that the editors freely exercise and abide by the limitations. And the editors are bound by the editorial policy. Here, it could be understood that editors accepted the constraints of press freedom, and dwell for their livelihoods regardless of the press obscurity, and fighting back. And they were not as coping up with their citizenry responsibility for not serving their people heartfelt.

Other e6 answered the aforementioned question that when journalists come up with stories, there is a conference room that editors and journalists with unpublished stories all together sit for discussing the would-be published stories. And the editors comment and give directions in the way the article would be published.

He added,” However, the editor-in-chief is always there as of being a gatekeeper over screening the stories with correcting and critiquing the government. And, of course, the journalists do not mostly fight back and give backlashes over they are forced to write beyond the publics’ interests and professional journalism is expected for.”

The editor further stated that the journalists and editors know that “image-building about Ethiopia to the foreigners” is the demarcation of the right to free press expression or press freedom. Yet, the image-building principle of the organization is not stated up to what is extended and limited. In other words, image building is another mechanism that deprives journalists of expressing their rights.

The last “e7” expressed his understanding of the press freedom practices in his organization. He said, “What we write is always considered in line with situational politics or with the leading party. When we tried to report any local conflict, the editor-in-chief did not pass articles up to publication; he rather favors of the leading party or to which the leading party appointed him to stay on power.”

The e7 stated that editors were forced to write the positive sides of the leading party, not the publics’ interests. His reaction shows that the journalists are there to act instead, the activities of public relations. Like a private organization’s PR stands for attracting customers, and builds good image about the organization and products, so do the journalists call for promoting the good sides of the organization and the government while people are living with their problems calling solutions to be addressed by the government and any other organs.

4.1.2. The Justifications that the Proclamation 590/2008 protects the Press

The researcher went to assess to know that how workable and limiting was the Proclamation 590/2008 was in the Ethiopian Herald newspaper practices.

The editors of the Ethiopian Herald newspaper were asked or interviewed how far the proclamation is workable, to know whether there were bottlenecked problems of exercising press freedom in the mid of their day-to-day activities. The seven editors were found divided into two, in terms of their comprehensiveness and apprehensiveness over the reactions they gave.

Most of the editors (4 editors) responded that they do not have the chance to distinguish the proclamation and the editorial policy which is which.

“The proclamation is workable and enables us to practice as far as possible; however, the proclamation remains suspended when it is eventually crookedly meant and taken into

consideration of miscarriage of its practices. The editor-in-chief is the one who decides articles are up to publication, though we are also the ones who contribute to let the press pass through the path of democracy.”

The four editors believe that they have not reached there to practice the press freedom Proclamation (590/2008) due to they have a dichotomized practices between press freedom and the editorial policy. The journalists were told that they were there to report about the government activities and creating good images towards the outside, neglecting to look inward.

Another editor 6 said,” The managing director or editor-in-chief is more influential than the proclamation. There are no other governmental organs that sustain the practices of the press. The editor-in-chief or the general manager’s commandment itself is a proclamation there to control the journalists’ reports at his wills.”

The other three editors have reflected their stands upon the practices of the press. They said that they do not know Proclamation 590/2008 in detail. The researcher asked them why they did not know the proclamation, and they responded, “The manager is the proclamation. No need of knowing a paper proclamation is expectedly practiced not by the permission of the law but by the will of the manager.” They added, “It doesn’t mean we are loose to know the proclamation, but we do not concernedly tend to read through the proclamation due to the counterincentive press freedom practices in this bureau.”

Another editor reflected his experience, too, “Political or professional criticism was being considered as a crime in the last years. Even publishers were accountable for what the newspaper or magazine published issues that would criticize the government or the leading party.”The editor added,” Let alone free information we would get from the officers, they rather threaten us how we get their addresses when we call them.”

“Some stockholders and persons attempt to bargain over omitting some issues that will get them criticized and accountable for. Unless we listen to them and implement what they order us to do so, they threaten us saying we will kill you, beat you. And this is the result of lack of legal protection of journalists,” the editor reflected his experience.

Finally, he said,” We know the limitations and national treasors, and we do not touch those lines. The concerned bodies do not advocate the law but for their reputation and escaping from irresponsibility they might have committed. If the press freedom proclamation is not a guarantee for the journalists, it is of no use. When the proclamation is not down to earth, it is a documented paper.”

The proclamation (5090/2008) permitted and gave responsibility for the Public Relations officers of governmental organizations to either give or refuse for any information inquiring was sought.

The editor said, “The information is in the hands of the PRs that the proclamation granted them to give information to the information seekers; however, the PR officers are under the political pressures, then after they do not give you, rather they hide the information; otherwise, they bureaucratize it till the journalists get tired of asking information again or forced to quit asking for. And this shows that the presence of press proclamation is not guaranteeing.’

Therefore, the editors claimed that journalists were exposed to be beggars of information from officers. Journalists should not have been obliged to lobby information by making the officers befriend so they would give them information. The editor added that friendship/diplomacy was the means of getting information best considered to be “their press freedom proclamation” that led them to the information accessibility because asking information formally would not guarantee journalists for information ease of access. And the proclamation (590/2008) could not protect journalists from any deliberate or untargeted threats faced to the journalists. Not because the proclamation does not have articles for protecting journalists, but lacked being implemented.

The third editor reflected on the ease of information access according to the press proclamation. “Governmental officials deprive you of what you ask them to give information. We the journalists try to reproach them so that they will give us information. We are not given or we don’t get information by the due process and legal enforcement which is stated in the Proclamation 590/2008 but by the help of reproaching or appeasing officers.”

The editor underlined his ideas, “Some officials try to give us misleading information deliberately because they want us to be defamed, and this is an act of big revenge for them after we are forced to apologize to the misled information we published. Society itself doesn’t know

the way they give information; rather they get away from giving information because they saw the government dismaying and disrespecting journalists.”

The editor recalled what happened to him when he was out to fields for reporting stories and said, “I was banned from field reporting issues by the community and some local leaders. After my cameraman was grabbed his electronic materials, was taken to prison. The society on looking was afraid of being graphed in another day. They taught that journalism is a crime when a policeman beat and grabbed journalists in front of society. We can say that the proclamation left of no attention for.”

The fourth and sixth editors similarly supported the above-mentioned perspectives and experience. “We appease and reproach officials ahead so that they would give us information although it is their mandate to give information based on the Proclamation 590/2008. The proclamation is not protectable enough to journalists against any external fallibility.”

They went on insisting on his ideas, “The information is in the hands of government public relation officers that are expected to bequeath information that is south by journalists. The chance of getting information depends on the public relations officers’ willingness or unwillingness. Otherwise, the Proclamation (pro.590/2008) is not dependable enough to protect journalists against informational refusals or reluctance.”

The editor said that, including the experience of editors and journalists, there were challenges of gathering information for what parliament, the lower house, endorsed proclamation expected to guarantee journalists left unpracticed. Even the public relations officers themselves were not professionally qualified enough to keep the proclamation implemented. The public relations officers were politically appointed. Thus, when journalists seek information that was all about government expositive information, they did not give such information so they were there to protect the government from any criticisms.

The last editor of this question broadly elaborated the way that journalists experience gathering information. Journalists are forced to lobby politicians, officers, and the like so they would give them information. “Nonetheless, the proclamation can no longer protect us against undue consequences. Therefore, the Proclamation 590/2008 doesn’t dependably protect us against tortures, punishments and so because those who are political leaders and officers are not

accountable for, they are reluctant to give information, while there is no legal due enforcement to keep the media freedom of expression implemented,' he added.

According to the editor, when political leaders beat a journalist and grab his/her documents, no organization protects him or her. There is no guarantee to save the life of a journalist. And this caused constitutionally unbridled political leaders and officers.

Lastly, one editor whispered to the researcher by saying, “When we report any political conflicts, even for thinking of being in search of resolution over the politically heated parade on the street, we are denied using our press freedom practices. The manager responded to us by saying that it is not good for the national image creating; rather, better to report as those protesters do not represent the mass.”

When summarized, some of the editors' morals, in their press freedom practices, are counterincentive or are not upheld. Press freedom expression is not guaranteed in this organization-Ethiopian Herald. Some of the journalists have lost hope in the press freedom permitted by the constitution- Proclamation No. 590/2008. Still, the chance is given to the editor-in-chief to share and to deny freedom of expression towards the journalists within the Ethiopian Herald newspaper.

4.2. Focus Group Discussions

4.2.1. The Assertions of Journalists on the Practices of Editorial Policies of their Media, and Press Freedom in their outdoor Activities

The researcher conducted this thesis during the Corona- pandemic, where national citizens were had to abide by maintaining social distance, to prevent the communicable and contagious pandemic disease.

The researcher was in dilemma to conduct group discussion during the COVID-19. By hook or by crook, the researcher coped up it to make up to the group discussion in the Ethiopian Herald newspaper. There were ten journalists from the Ethiopian Herald Newspaper who were interviewed in focus group discussion. The interview was conducted an unstructured interview with journalists of the Ethiopian Herald newspaper.

To make the focus group discussion transparent and keep their privacy safe, codes for the journalists were given in the running down analysis.

As stated in chapter three, the Ethiopian Herald Journalists were fifteen in population size. And the researcher took all the population sizes of the journalists; however, since there were repetitive responses after conducting interviews/focus groups for fifteen journalists, ten journalists were deliberately eligible for focus group discussion, and five were left for minimizing clichéd ideas.

The ten journalists were grouped into two sections to have a controllable discussion, and to prevent the Covid19 case. Likewise, they are named group one and group two. Each group was composed of five journalists. And a journalist of the two groups was given a code of g1j1, g2j1... That is to say, g1j1 implies g1=group1, j1=journalist1 with the first turn he/she took.

After having finalized the discussion, the two groups were collaborated into one flow of discussion. The journalists responded by how they practice press freedom in their in-house media.

One of the group one journalist (g1j1) responded to the above question,” we are told by the editors and chief editors to only report about creating image building for foreigners, Diasporas.” The journalist stated that even if a journalist tries to report national problems exposure to proceed to a solution of it, it is not positively considered by the chief editors and general manager.

Another journalist two of group one (g1j2) reversely to the journalist one, responded,” Creating a good image is not called refraining from practicing press freedom, but it is the direction of the media, abided by the editorial policy.”

The journalist also continued saying,” Therefore, informing about the positive side of our country to foreigners can attract them to visit for tourism and investment matters.” Lastly, the journalist with the second turn, said,” But, one thing must not be forgotten is that we have to either work the work of PRs or leave the job because this medium has already set up its editorial policy for only serving people reside in abroad and local.” This last idea of journalist two (g1j2)

implies the journalists have two options: either to choose what the media order them with lesser freedom, or leave their job for their total freedom-seeking.

The group discussion went on being heated. The third journalist (g1j3) took a turn to respond to the question. The journalist stated that there were problems with practicing press freedom from both the media in-house and outdoor. When the journalist elaborated the in-house problems faced him, when they(journalists) try to balance stories from government and the people, they are told to tend to report what was positively stated by the government, the public, and nongovernment bodies. The g1j3 also said,” when we are out to field, we mostly caused to bureaucracy to get a simple response sought from the people. Be it about development, or be it about maladministration, the responsible bodies turn their back to us. And it is difficult to summon them to justice due to time consumption, delays, reluctance, and bureaucracy- and all these make you not to get them/irresponsible bodies subpoenaed to justice.”

The fourth journalist in group one (g1j4), in turn, said that press freedom is in the hands of the editors and executive. There is one direction given in the editorial conference from the editors are directly ordered by the editor in chief who is the benevolent government. He added, “It is cliché to report the same issue all over the time, mostly on the positive sides. That is the task of PR expert should do is we are working similarly on it.”

The last fifth journalist in group one (g1j5) took a turn up to answer the question. “I do not fight for freedom, but survival. When I try to practice the press freedom enactment, there is no a fitting room for me, except causes my job to stop or fire me. I do not want to lie to you. The editors order us and we do it accordingly, not according to what the law of press allows.”

The journalist further stated there must be a system that fits all. We all journalists and editors must be principled or regulated by the same law. No law treats all the media workers the same. There must not be orders that come from only top-down, but also bottom-up communication.

Like a given code to each of group one journalists, it is similarly applied, too, in group two. In group two, face-to-face discussion, all were participating freely, but one participant, who was discussed below, privately whispered the researcher. Group two similarly went on forwarding their views and experience in their media house. Journalist one in group two (g2j1) headed to the discussion. The journalist stated, “We all are directed from one way to implement what we are

told about conducting diplomat issues, mainly targeted at attracting foreigners. We do not either analyze politics against the leading party or national and international politics or go through national economic issues on failure. No room for criticism. If so, no room, too, for the press freedom practice. No one objects us practicing the press freedom reporting on the good sides of articles are immediately published.”

Another journalist two further stated, “We freely practice the diplomat journalism. And, we work in place of public relations experts, in creating good images of the nation. When we see it interim of journalism practice, it is not the journalism we are practicing in this media. We are practicing the activities of PR roles.”

In the third row placed journalist forwarded his ideas,” We are working upon the media would like to attract investors in this nation. And the media is highly concerned about this issue. I do not think so it is the journalism profession we are working through. It is in the interests of the media are there for the mouthpiece of national top leaders.”

When another journalist four responded,” Our work is guided by the media principles or seek to achieve. Then, who is wrong with this, us or the media? Because the media already shaped its way to be out of political issues in Ethiopia, except issues that support the national interests or leading party are raised safely and brought to publication. And, this medium is not the place we practice a journalistic profession, but, the benevolent journalism or the government says so media.”

The fifth journalist discussed in the face-to-face group discussion was different from the above-mentioned one. But after the discussion was over, an interviewee told the researcher his personal experience by saying,” Based on the national political dichotomy, when I, for example, come up with political or economic reports, the editors directly hast generalize that I oppose the government. The editors also closely and carefully edit our issues for we report is supposed might be biased since we are unlikely considered to be attached to one political party. Everything I report about good governance, the editors also designate me as a supporter of TPLF for I am from the Tigray region. This is another censorship caused by stereotype.”

Another raised question was provided to the journalists was how their stories or articles were screened for publication by the gatekeepers. The five journalists of group one continued

responding. One journalist (g2j1) expressed his experience that journalists get direction from the bureau before they go out to the field. The direction given for us is at the editorial conference, then, accordingly, the journalists further communicate with their editors for follow-ups.

Another journalist two (g21j2) stated that the editorial policy is another way to help journalists let their articles up to publishing. “However, I am not confirming that articles that are run for being published are there to ensure press freedom.”

Here, the rest other three journalists have the same responses. They said that creating a good image or articles that consist of the positive side about government, has a high probability of being published. They further mentioned that good images for this country are very vital; however, almost all the month-long reports on the good side of an issue, will not remember the citizens or the voiceless. Reports must be balanced, keeping the national image right.

Similarly, forwards were reflected by group two under this discussion. Under this interrogation, most of the journalists came up with intercept opinions, that all articles must include the diplomat and attracting foreigners’ interests; and also issues that go against the government. One of the journalists of group two particularly said,” Mostly, any developmental issues and benevolent governmental issues are highly welcomed up to publications.”

The last interrogation was raised to the journalists was how workable the institutional editorial policy was about their daily careers. The journalists one and two in the group one discussion, commonly agreed that as there are good sides to the editorial policy of the Ethiopian Herald Newspaper; however, it lacks room for press freedom implementation. When they added, journalists have the right to report and gather information without frontiers, but there were challenges that the editors and the general managers do not deliver orders not up on the editorial policy, but also upon their interests, as well as their top national political leaders’ interests.

The journalist one emphasized, “There must be any sustainable solutions to meddle and implement the press freedom, and we all the journalists and our leaders must equally be treated by every law or decree, to contribute our responsibilities based on the common guidelines, or system that would fit for all.”

The rest three journalists believe, the editorial policy they are abided by, were not aware of it. Mostly they are oriented by the media responsible bodies about the editorial policy orally.

Especially, journalist four (g2j4) said,” For example, I have not yet read the editorial policy. So, I cannot judge it. Even, there are no means that would let me know about it since we are led by oral orientation and upon the interest of coordinators. But it does not mean that all that we are ordered is by force. What matters is, the media house should be administered by a system for all.”

The researcher understood the responders’ opinions reflected that some journalists in this discussion do not contemplate that how far they practice press freedom in the media house. They rather focus on being concerned about their daily bread matters. They did not backlash for whatever instructions were given by top-down. They willy-nilly accept what they are told to do accordingly, for the sake of their job persistence. The press freedom practice is retailed like goods to the journalists through the wills of the media managers or executives. The press freedom practice is destined by the will of the media coordinators, as well.

The other group two similarly forwarded their reflections over the editorial policy and press freedom in their in-house media. Under the last discussion, the five journalists were dichotomized for the different opinions were gathered. The three journalists strongly believe that the editorial policy was naturally endorsed to serve journalists with equal treatment; however, what still matters is the implementation of it.

The other two journalists strongly opposed the opinions of the three journalists, with the different opinions reflecting that if there were a good editorial policy that would bind all the media house workers together, everyone would ask why it is not still put into action when press proclamation is violated. They also added that when the editors and managers do not implement the editorial policy and the Proclamation 590/2008, but the journalists are reliably to implement it, that is called likely feudalism. One of the two said,” One should not be denied that the editorial policy is importantly supposed to serve all the institutional workers equally. And it somewhat serves journalists and managers in a good way. What matters is that journalists are abided by the interests of coordinators, like editors and managers’ interests rather than by the principles of the editorial policy.”

Other of the three journalists emphasized,” Either to implement or not, it is up to the media experts to backlash the traverse’s activities. I believe that the editorial policy is mostly acceptable, but lacks implementation. It is seen being manipulated and disused by some organizational influential responsible bodies. And that is why it is supposed to be meant of no use.”

In the focus group discussion, there were drawn analyses, the journalists emphasized as there are hindering ways to practice press freedom. The hindering was harassment, subject to intimidation, defamation, limiting freedom of expression by official bodies over to constitutionally limited faced the journalists. The journalists of Ethiopian Herald confessed that they are regulated and controlled not by the editorial policies and code of conduct, a well as through the media proclamation but by extra-legal limitations and using power beyond legally limit and vested, like the editor in chief controls the content upon his wills is in favors of government. In other word, the journalists claimed and murmured that the outdoor press freedom practice panicked them. The journalists said that journalism is considered a fault finder. There is no national guarantee for journalists when threats and intimidation are set on them.

Journalists from the Ethiopian Herald faced with information gathering struggle. The governmental bodies close their doors for criticisms and correction. But the journalists are eventually deprived practicing of press freedom by being censored in the name of creating a good image. The journalists tied up from in-house media up to outdoor. The editorial policy systematically deprives and censors the journalists to merely focus on being benevolent government by having no room for criticism reports gathered by journalists.

4.3. Document analysis

4.3.1. The convenience of the Proclamation 590/2008 with International Conventions of Media Press Freedom

To remind that most of the international conventional freedom of expression consents on the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which was drafted in 1992, provides for more detailed protection of freedom of expression at the international level in the article of Article 19. *It states: (1) Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without*

interference. (2) Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive 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 other media of his choice.

The Proclamation 590/2008 is laterally emancipated and incorporated elements from the international media freedom of expression under article 4/1-4 is similarly stated Freedom of the mass media is constitutionally guaranteed. Censorship in any form is prohibited. Restrictions on the freedom of the mass media shall only be made by laws issued in accordance with the Constitution. All public bodies shall have regard to the right of the mass media, in fulfilling its public function, to: a) seek, receive and impart news or information; b) express opinion or criticism on various issues; c) participate in the process of forming public opinion through other means. Unless otherwise stipulated by express provisions of laws enacted in accordance with sub article (2) of this Article, administrative measures that impair freedom of the mass media are forbidden.

There are entangling approaches of the two national and international press laws, the practices of press freedom in the Ethiopian Herald and in the Ethiopia was found unimplemented. The shreds of evidence withdrawn from journalists, editors and the down to earth press freedom of the Proclamation 590/2008 show that the practices of the press freedom in Ethiopia have remained failed to be guaranteeing and undependable for the press.

The international press law demonstrates that the limitations of freedom of expression include those that States are required to prohibit at the domestic level: child pornography; direct and public incitement to commit genocide; the advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence; and incitement to terrorism. Expressions may include such things as defamation, libel and slander. And some expressions are those that may raise concern, but are not criminally or civilly punishable, according to international standards. Here below, there are internationally communal agreements reached some restrictions of freedom of expression for curbing social, economic and political crises while practicing freedom of expression (International Human Rights Program (IHRP), 2015:30).

However, there are some unlikely to international press law limitations included in the Proclamation 590/2008. Documents of cabinet are prohibited to give it up to third party. And also, the limitations included in the Proclamation 590/2008 are not proportionally uttered, and

considerably evitable to journalists or media. But the proclamation alludes or mentions “a person” not media as mentioned below.

Under the articles 17 up to 29, there are exempted information or limitations lied in. The public relation officer shall refuse a request for information if the requested information contains; a) trade secrets of a third party; b) financial, commercial, scientific or technical information that would be likely to endanger the life or physical safety of an individual. And also, information that impairs a person through betrayal of security of building structure or system, including computer communication system, a means of transport or any other property structure or system; an alleged offender whose prosecution is under preparation, and yet instituted or whose prosecution is pending. Information relating to military operation, exercises, military tactics or strategy undertaken in preparation of hostilities, relating to the quantity, characteristics, capacity, power, vulnerabilities is prohibited. Information or recorded data that has been submitted to the cabinet for its consideration or is proposed by a head of the public body to be so submitted, being a document that was brought into existence for the purpose of submission for consideration by the cabinet; b) an official document of a cabinet; c) a document that is a copy of, or a part of, or contains an extract from, the document referred to in sub-article is forbidden.

The researcher asked editors of the Ethiopian Herald if proclamation No. 590/2008 went with likely the above international press convention. Five of the editors said that no matter how similar or different the Ethiopian press freedom proclamation from the international convention is, but what matters is that proclamation without implementation, and a solely decided by the politically appointed editor-in-chief is not reliable to practice the press right, and unthinkable to compare it with international conventional press freedom.

Most of the editors reflected those ideas that the proclamation of Ethiopian press freedom was not considerably taken into protecting journalists’ rights. They added that it is not the only way of having a well-crafted proclamation theoretically cohesive with international press law, but getting the media proclamation implemented is betterment.

One of the five editors described his views,” It is not the matter of having proclamation with good articles declaring, but walking the articles. And there must be a national system equally

serving citizens would be equal in front of the law. Everyone must be responsible for upon the law or given proclamation.”

Another editor similarly demonstrated his suggestions that what should have been secluded in the proclamation is included. The editor referred to the Proclamation 590/2008, particularly to the article 6/1 which read: *The mandate of the editor in chief designated by the publisher encompasses the power to supervise the publication of the periodical and to determine the contents thereof in such a way that nothing may be printed therein against his will. Any practice or agreement that restricts this power shall be null and void.* What the international convention allows the press freedom to be practiced meetly, laid in the will of editor in chief either to publish and unpublished articles. The opportunity of practicing press freedom is vested for him. And whatever the Proclamation 590/2008 embraces the international press law, eventually, the press freedom is decided by one person, the editor in chief, in the government media. And this impairs the press freedom practices.

The editor in chief is the last to decide the fate of the press freedom in letting the articles pass to be published and unpublished. Publishing or not publishing articles must have been decided by the editorial status quo in addition to the responsibility of the editor in chief to regulating content. Otherwise, he/she should not be the sole decision-maker over the fate of press freedom.

Another editor in chief of The Reporter was asked to know the role of his editorship in the press. And he responded,” I am not politically appointed like government media managers, but responsibly assigned to keep the balance between the ethical profession and mitigate articles with carrying conflict of interest or dilemma. There is no any means I solely finish up or makeup article, but decided up to roundtables in the presence of editorial professional journalists and editors,” he added,” The government media editor in chief is politically appointed, and given the power to manipulate the power he/she is given in”...*nothing may be printed therein against his will.* ”

This article is rampaged to encourage editor in chief to decide any content upon his will. This shows indirectly, the government media editor in chief is there to keep the interest of the leading party by he was politically appointed, not upon the journalistic profession- that is when he controls every content in the interest of his appointer.”

What the researcher understood from the above underpinning expressions is some journalists were not reliable on proclamation No. 5909/2008 was there not mostly to protect the journalists from their day-to-day activity when challenges faced them. And some other editors mentioned that as there was a professional gap apprehension, and disregarding the international press laws.

In private media, the editor in chief is professionally assigned to run the contents within the law and editorial policy. The fate of every feature and news story is decided in the presence of a table round, editorial conference. Thus, the editorially decided articles are amenable to pass them up to publication. Although there are national and international press laws supposedly permissible for media freedom of expression, yet, down to earth, journalists and editors asserted that they are always forced to reproach officers to give information. Because the officers of any stockholders are not reliable to the media proclamation or law, but they serve their responsibility through their wills. And the Proclamation no 590/2008 is not a guarantee and dependable to journalists, but left unimplemented and exposed to be toothless.

Reversely, the editors of Ethiopian Herald newspapers did not believe in running articles solely published for creating good images. The editors did not accept the editorial policy with only allowing journalists to report image-building articles, and limiting the journalistic professional ethics. They even lost hope in maintaining their profession in the presence of the editorial policy panicking the press freedom.

Editors ratified that reporting stories only about good images about the nation is not the nature of journalism and free press practicing, but the duties and responsibilities of PR expertise. These media are overshadowed from inside to outside press freedom practicing. The federal government directly dipped its hands in suspending the press freedom in the Ethiopian Herald through the hands or wills of its politically appointed editor in chief to selectively publish articles to signify benevolent government and to omit them that disclose criticisms.

Media, of course, have the responsibility of creating good images for their nation, but when the door of criticism is closed, the room for press freedom is left ineffectual. Likewise, the editor-in-chief is solely to decide whether articles are published or left unpolished through his consent in the government media, like the Ethiopian Herald newspaper. Mostly, articles are not brought up

to the editorial conference to be decided by the members of it, though they are provided thereat, by the daily and conditional directions are given by the editor in chief.

The Proclamation 590/ 2008 equally gives the private and government editors in chief power to publish articles upon only their wills. No article is published and cast against their wills. In state-run media, the editor-in-chief is politically appointed. And this editor in chief, in a nation without the practice of national system and consensus, consciously falls in dilemma to side to government. When he takes sides to the government, the stories that pass through his wills are not secured to entertain press freedom but may encourage propaganda.

Other insisted and claimed points withdrawn from the editors, were underlined. The editors reflected their experiences that governmentally assigned and appointed bodies, as well as non-government bodies, threatened journalists for they were asked to give information available in their office. Likewise, the government or else do not entertain their/ its weak sides to be readdressed because they are afraid of materializations would cause them either by being sucked or punished of irresponsibility they might have committed. Therefore, no room for entertaining press freedom regardless of how much media proclamation is flawlessly endorsed and availed for, for there is always a defense mechanism that exists rather than transparently and riskily coping up with vested responsibilities.

4.3.2. How Press Freedom is inclusively applied within the Editorial Policy of the Newspaper

The editorial policies of Ethiopian is additional data to further strengthen analysis to know how far the press freedom of expression is practiced within the media house.

In the primary data, interviews with editors, and focus group interviews with journalists of newspaper were conducted. And, in the interviews, there were some problematic claims about the editorial policies of the newspapers of the Ethiopian Herald.

Some inquiries quoted from the focus group interviews of the Ethiopian Herald Newspaper were raised and quoted below for further initiating discussion in the document analysis. Most of the Ethiopian Herald interviewed journalists agreed in this quoted statement, *“We all are directed from one way to implement what we are told about conducting diplomat issues, mainly targeted*

at attracting foreigners. We do not either analyze politics against a leading party or national and international politics or go through national economic issues on failure and remedies. “

Other journalists claim the editorial policy has a substance of indicating features of practicing press freedom but lacks implementation. The appraising reviews over comprehending the editorial policies of the two newspapers were directed through gauging their presence of objective of the Editorial Policy, pursuing updated proclamation of press freedom, the scope of the press freedom practice, and the editing contents system the editorial policies applied by, just below.

The researcher came to assess the editorial policies of both the newspapers how far put into action up-on the gauging methods in the above paragraph. It was started by the Editorial Policy of the Ethiopian Press Agency. The media reflect its media freedom emphasis from its objectives. The objectives are expected to target allowing the practices of press freedom. Accordingly, the researcher further appraised to know that the editorial policy of the Ethiopian Herald newspaper was criticized for having ordered the in-house journalists with achieving a mostly good image, disregarding articles with criticizing the government.

The objectives of the Ethiopian press Agency were written in Amharic Version:

“...በተሽለ የሥራ ጥራት እና ቅልጥፍና በመመራት ህብረተሰቡን ውጤታማ በመሆን መንገድ ለማገልገል፣ግልፅና ተጠያቂነት ያለበት፣ጥራትና በቃት ያለው ኤዲቶሪያል አመራር ሁኔታን ለመፍጠር፣በግለሰቦች ስሜትና ፍላጎት የማይዋገቅ ሙያዊ የሥራ አፈፃፀም መለኪያና ደረጃ አንዲኖር ለማስቻል” (2002:6)::

The Amharic version is translated into English:

“... The objectives are creating for better effectiveness and efficiency to manage the society for their fruitful ways of lives; ensuring responsibility and transparency, creating editorial with effectiveness and efficiency conditions, enabling professional based evaluation and abstaining from conflict of interests.” (2002:6).

The editorial policy embraced elements that would allow journalists to practice by prioritizing the profession-based evaluation with wishing to have transparency and responsibility in the mid of reporting. This is theoretically sounded; however, the journalists of the Ethiopian Herald

claimed that illegally unwritten orders and instructions from the editor-in-chief are by which journalists are controlled and deprived of practicing press freedom, most particularly focusing on creating good images of the government.

The editorial policy of the Ethiopian Herald newspaper was composed of national ideals [Policy and Strategy of the nation], a founding proclamation of it, the Proclamation of press law, and national consensus (2002:7).

Here, the composures are encouraging for bolstering diversified formation of press practices. But, when the Ethiopian Press freedom cited the Proclamation of press freedom (Pro.34/1992) in its editorial policy, it used a proclamation, which after its other three proclamations were consecutively repealed. And this longstanding repealed proclamation (34/1992) would not ever have been replaced and updated in the period of Proclamations 178/1999, 533/2007, and 590/2008.

Therefore, managing media with longstanding repealed proclamation-incorporated editorial policy is unfair and irresponsible. Even, the editorial policy itself was reformed for service in 1995 E.C., or 2002 G.C., which is much lagged and outdated.

Another gauging method taken into account was to learn how far the scope of the press freedom practice was proliferated. The editorial policy of the Ethiopian Herald incorporated International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), Universal Human Rights, and Ethiopian Constitution article 29 (2002:17). This proclamation included the media ethics and rule and regulations for journalists to regulate journalists in a media house (2002:93). This editorial policy widened its press freedom margin, almost journalistic professional principles and ethics were incorporated under the editorial policy.

Although the Ethiopian Herald incorporated international press law that bolsters press freedom expression, yet, in the media house, journalists and editors are governed by self-interests and untraversed management and power by the editor in chief and general manager of the media. Journalists are censored in this media through the method of using 'reporting on creating good images of the government' by itself became another way of depriving the press freedom of practicing.

The Ethiopian Herald editorial policy put burdens on gatekeepers/editors for filtering contents of news and programs through three stages of editorships: Primary editor: filters repeated words, facts, and cliché ideas; Secondary editor: ensures sources, grammar, and intended messages; Tertiary Editor: Editor-in-chief is the last decision maker that shall pass the articles to publishing (2002:74-75).

Here is the game. The editor-in-chief is politically appointed, or who is the dependable to government. Proclamation 590/1 gives full power to the editor in chief, *“The mandate of the editor in chief designated by the publisher encompasses the power to supervise the publication of the periodical and to determine the contents thereof in such a way that nothing may be printed therein against his will. Any practice or agreement that restricts this power shall be null and void.”*

Therefore, the press freedom lastly rested on the hand/ will of the editor in chief. And, in the Ethiopian context, power appointment is granted by politically elected and a leading party, the editor in chief is therefore appointed politically. And this appointee will be biasing on selecting or screening issues for publishing, either for being a mouthpiece or protecting any political criticisms raised over to the government. The editor in chief is expected to fall in conflict of interest in between maintaining the interests of his appointer and the public interests. The editor in chief is the last decision maker either to pass articles to be published or deprive of.

Press freedom is expected to be emaciated. Here is when the press freedom is hanged up. To save the press from being emaciated, there should have been a communal measuring system that would allow all the journalists and the editors consciously brought in to formally and systematically built regulations, rather than the fate of press freedom rests on the wills of one person.

Meanwhile, the editorial policy instructed the foreign versions (English) producers to report everything about the people of Ethiopia's interest maintaining and image building issues are published (2002:27). Although the editorial policy included practicing the public interests have to be voiced over, but in action, it is remained silenced. Rather, reporting and publishing good images of the government pertained in the Ethiopian herald.

In addition to this, the Ethiopian Herald journalists who were interviewed in the above mostly claimed that unwritten orders and directions (out of the regulation of the editorial policy and code of conduct) were much reflected by the editors, and media managers while it is included that press freedom has to be allowed to practice in the editorial policy. The journalists further stated that they were mostly led by not editorial policy and code of conduct of their media, but oral orders and secluded professional ethics. Using those unwritten and using power beyond one's limits would create instructional confusion, deprival of press freedom practices, and using unlimited power. The editor in chief of the Ethiopian Herald is to omit criticisms about government and promote the good sides of the government.

Ethiopian Herald ought to filter information before once is handed over or passed, not for the sake of the professional responsibility, but fearing that government criticisms would take place. The Herald newspaper is the benevolent government. Under the Herald, stories are passed or screened through three stages of editors. It is not for running power-sharing/ responsibility decentralized. This shows that controlling the content through censorship.

CHAPTER 5: Conclusion and Recommendation

5.1. Conclusion

The researcher raised questions in chapter one as a study initiating or study millstone. There were proposed interrogations: whether the proclamation 590/2008 was reliable for guaranteeing media or journalists and to understand the press freedom constraints.

The researcher went on to study the press freedom practices by providing interviews for editors, focus group interviews for journalists, and documents analysis of The Reporter and Ethiopian Herald Newspapers were administered in chapter four.

The study showed that journalists and editors were, in their day-to-day experiences, left unsafe and unprotected when they were exposed to undue prisons, intimidations, and information reluctance by official organizations. The proclamation 590/2008 was not the guardian or a guaranteeing the journalists. The proclamation 590/2008 remained unimplemented.

Journalism has been reached an agreement on being considered a fault finder, where governmental and non-governmental authorities chased and unduly jailed journalists, and snatched their journalistic materials. In the mid of this, no urgent advocate was reached out to guarantee the journalists. The governmental officers and prime ministerial office were found the sources of deprivations of press freedom by giving warning calls to those governmental officers who gave journalists information-carrying political criticism and maladministration.

Information under governmental and nongovernmental bodies' available was not legitimately got because those who have information in their hands declined to give the journalists, and remained unquestioned and irresponsible. After all, the journalists started to reproach and appease the information holder bodies so they would give them sympathetically.

The Ethiopian Herald newspaper deliberately manipulated its editorial policy by providing directive approaches in the editorial policy to hold back on practicing press freedom. The newspaper censored its journalists ought to merely report good images of the nation declining the miscarriage of administration.

The Proclamation 590/2008 gave the editor-in-chief full power to control the media content, and as no article or cast is published against his will. *Press freedom should have not been entertained in the will or interest of the editor in chief but through the principles of media ethics and law or constitutional orders. Then, the editor-in-chief should be the person in charge of enforcing the proclamation. However, the proclamation is entertained in the willingness of the editor-in-chief. The press proclamation is dependent on the sole editor in chief interest. And in government media, the editor-in-chief is longstanding politically appointed. And this person is naturally the gatekeeper of depriving content with governmental criticisms and keeping in good images.*

In the Ethiopian Herald newspaper, journalists were treated with unofficial methods to lead the journalists out of the editorial policy. The journalists' stories were not suggested by the help of editorial policy, but editor's or editor in chief directions out of political criticisms. While having the editor in chief allowed to promote benevolent government activities in house media, in the outdoor, there were also governmental officers to threaten and intimidate journalists for they asked public information available in their hands. Those who intimidated and jailed journalists in the outdoor, but mostly to private media, caused bureaucracy and information reluctance.

The researcher withdrew shreds of evidence from the editors and journalists that in the Ethiopian Herald, the manager is the proclamation. No need of knowing a paper proclamation is expectedly practiced not by the permission of the law but by the will of him. Challenges that faced newspaper are the government authorities are not regulated by the law or proclamation, but reversely, the law or proclamation is regulated by their interests. And, the journalists are, hereby, regulated by the interests of the authorities.

In press theory, there are five theories. And the researcher realized the characters and intentions of the press to administer a theory behaved and belonged to this study result or finding. The authoritarian theory was pulled out to be incorporated in this study, appropriately belonged to. As stated in chapter two, under the theoretical framework, the press theories were discussed prospectively imagined the research finding would match it with. One of the two press theories (Libertarian theory and Authoritarian theory) Authoritarian Press Theory was finally found fitting with this study finding, which used in the literature part.

It is better to remind all about the theory to know how it is administered or used in this study found. The characters of Authoritarian Press Theory a republic dissent and criticisms are considered harmful to both government and the people are not tolerated. Authoritarians used various mechanisms to force compliance of the press, including licensing, censorship of materials before publication, the granting of exclusive printing rights to favored elements of the press, and the swift, harsh punishment of government critics.

Furthermore, the Authoritarian Press Theory is practiced in countries where press control is complete; where political criticism by the press is formally possible but where censorship operates; where special press laws or other discriminatory legislation; expose editors to arrest and persecution; where unofficial methods discourage press opposition.

Therefore, this study results appropriately assimilated with the Authoritarian Press Theory feature and practices. Because the journalists faced challenges of being jailed, harassed, refusing to disclosing and hardly receiving ease of accessibility of information from officers. And journalist's in-house media are regulated through the interests of their editors, not by legitimate code of conduct and editorial policy - all those experienced in both newspapers belong to the characters and actions of authoritarian press theory.

In the Ethiopian Herald newspaper, the editorial policy was not found the tool of the common ground rule of all the media workers. Rather, journalists were directed by an 'image building' system directly focused on aligning with strong sides of the government but remained unable to disclose the criticism of the government. In this media house, journalists and editors lost hope in practicing press freedom, use it for their lifestyle. The editorial policy has amenable parts of press freedom expressive but lacked implementation. The editorial policy was not composed of the Proclamation 5909/2008. And the Ethiopian Herald was incorporated from the oldest and first Ethiopian proclamation 34/1999, whereas The Reporter' was in the account of the proclamation 590/2008.

The researcher came off with its conclusions as down-to-earth media censorship, intimidation, and where information is skyrocketed to gather, and obtain through happened to the two newspapers. And the Ethiopian government and non-governmental organizations have been the

sources of materialization of the practice of authoritarianism. Therefore, this study found that the Ethiopian press freedom, through the researcher conducted the newspaper, is practiced under the Authoritarian Press Theory. The country with the constitution and media proclamation has become a threat to journalists and with no room for press freedom.

After this research was completed, yet submitted, another new proclamation that would repeal the old proclamation (590/2008) emerged. And the new Proclamation 1238/2021 was fortunately given attention and a partial expectation would come up with better modified over to the older proclamation which criticized the failures of being implemented, and unduly and solely, the fates of the press freedom, were granted to be decided by the wills of editor in chief.

The researcher went on to read between the lines of press freedom proclamation 590/2008 and Media Proclamation 1238/2021, to find another solution to correct the old one. Both the Proclamations have been incorporated and included as the media should be free within the law. For instance, the topics which indicate as the media should be free: Pro 590/2008/ article 4/1 read: Freedom of the mass media is constitutionally guaranteed. Censorship in any form is prohibited. However, the conclusion of the study has shown that journalists were intimidated, prisoned, and deprived of getting information from official organizations during the practice of Proclamation 590/2008.

The researcher looked into the period of exercising the new Proclamation 1238/2021. Likewise, in Proclamation 1238/2021 article 47/ 2 is also emphasized as the media should be free from governmental, political, or economic influence; and influence of those in control of the material and infrastructure resources essential for the production and dissemination of its publications and services. However, both the newer and older proclamations lacked being implemented.

In the structurally and unduly incorporated in the older Proclamation 590/2008, like to get access to information was primarily asked through the permission of Public Relations of official organizations, has been now removed in the new proclamation, and it can be directly got information from the concerned bodies. And advertisement was included in the former proclamation, but now excluded in the new one. Under the Proclamation 1238/2021/89, it is stated that the rights and obligations of the Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority established under the Broadcasting Service Proclamation No. 533/2007 are hereby transferred to the Media

Authority. The regulatory powers and duties vested in Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority as stipulated under the Advertisement Proclamation No. 759/2012 deals about advertisement are hereby transferred to the Authority. Under the new proclamation article 91, it is also stated that the Broadcasting Service Proclamation No. 533/2007 is hereby repealed.

However, the Proclamation 1238/2021 was not duly practiced similarly to that of the old Proclamation 590/2008. In the period of practicing the new proclamation, there were many journalists jailed, physically armed, and their media organizations were shut down by the government. This Proclamation entered into force on the date of publication in the Federal Negarit Gazette, on the 5th day of April 2021. However, after the new proclamation entered into action, on the 2nd day of July 2021, journalists were taken to custody for criticizing the government.

Stories that supported the evidence, Addis Standard, an online magazine, published a case about journalists who were beaten, harassed, and jailed,” *Addis Ababa, July 02/2021- Addis Standard learned that 12 journalists at two online media platforms were arrested in the last two days. The lawyer, Tadele Gebre, told Addis Standard that the 10 journalists, a cameraman alongside five members of the Awlo media staff, were arrested by federal police. Tadele also disclosed that Two journalists, Abebe Bayu and Yaye Sew Shimeles from Ethio-Forum, a YouTube-based news outlet were also arrested.*”

And further, CPJ (Committee to Protect Journalists) brought up evidence that journalists were harassed on 02 June 2021. *“The men handcuffed Abebe, threatened him with a pistol, covered his eyes, and punched him all over his body while they drove to the city’s outskirts, he said. They also warned him not to criticize the government, he told CPJ. On June 21, a group of unidentified men surrounded Abebe, a reporter, an analyst at the YouTube-based news outlet Ethio-Forum, outside a restaurant in Addis Ababa, the capital, and forced him into a car, according to news reports and the journalist, who spoke to CPJ in a phone interview.”*

Therefore, both the old Proclamation 590/2008 and the new Media Proclamation 1238/2021 have lacked implementations for the objectives they were endorsed to serve the media. The study also indicates that only keeping the proclamation repealed by another new one could not so far

bring an accreditable action to call press freedom practice, but mainly keeping the proclamation implemented was the most worthwhile for press freedom practice relief. The reason why the proclamations have not been implemented is that the government has been treating the media under the system of Authoritarian Press Theory. Once the government becomes an authoritarian, the dictatorship replaces democracy. And, when democracy is out of the playfield, the moisture of democracy evaporates.

Furthermost, on the topic of the editor-in-chief in the Pro 590/2008 article 6/1 Editor-in-chief read: The mandate of the editor in chief designated by the publisher encompasses the power to supervise the publication of the periodical and to determine the contents thereof in such a way that nothing may be printed therein against his will. Any practice or agreement that restricts this power shall be null and void. And, this has a meaning in the Government media, the editor-in-chief is longstanding politically appointed. And this person is naturally the gatekeeper of depriving content with governmental criticisms and casts good images to be published.

However, though the researcher hopefully expected the undue responsibilities of editor in chief were given to him, should be modified by the new proclamation, yet was kept continued as it was in the old proclamation. And is similarly mentioned in the Pro 1238/2021 article 51/1 and read: The editor-in-chief of a periodical or an online media has the mandate to supervise and determine the content of the periodical and ensure nothing is printed against his will. Any practice or agreement that restricts this power shall be null and void.

Therefore, the researcher cast a study that without implementing the media proclamation and vesting undue responsibilities given to the editor in chief, is nothing expected to flourish press freedom. The government and the nongovernmental authorities must also be bound to due respect the media proclamation and related articles involved in the national constitution.

5.2. Recommendation

The country of the constitution, like with articles 12/1 and 2 read: The conduct of affairs of government shall be transparent. Any public official or an elected representative is accountable for any failure in official duties. Similarly, the articles 29/1 and 2: Everyone has the right to hold opinions without interference. 2. Everyone has the right to freedom of expression without any interference. This right shall include freedom to seek, receive 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 choice. And also, the country with thoughtfully endorsed proclamation 590/2008 or with updated proclamation media proclamation 1238/2021, was lastly found exercising authoritarian press theory. Therefore, the researcher recommends all the media proclamation and media ethics should be meetly respected and implemented to get out of authoritarian press theory practices.

The government should be the implementer of the law, rather than worst and reversely manipulate and denying practicing the press law, and taking advantage in the name of the presence of constitution and media proclamation by silencing governmental criticisms and encouraging mostly the good sides of it (government).

What Journalists or media have lacked is law enforcement over to the media proclamation and constitution. Therefore, the media proclamation and constitution should be duly enforced and implemented. Journalists, editors, and media managers must equally be reliable to their editorial policy. The editorial policy must serve all equally the media personnel. Journalists' freedom and consciences must not be enslaved by the interests of editors and managers, but by legitimately treated, the editorial policy and media proclamation backed by the constitutions and media law.

The Ethiopian Herald newspapers should update their editorial policy in a new proclamation that is endorsed and enforced. the Ethiopian Herald lived with the oldest proclamation 34/1991 incorporated editorial policy should see it again. There must be due respect towards press freedom.

The Ethiopian Herald faced press freedom practicing censorship and leading media by the interests of the editors and managers, in the name of creating good image reporting, but

secluding the government criticisms, were the panicking to practice press freedom in house media and outdoor of the media. The media faced sundry challenges from the government organizations by violating the media law. This is maintained by respecting the press proclamation. Every feature news and stories have to be decided in the presence of editorial and media proclamation, not vested in the interests of editor in chief, editors and managers as well.

The researcher, as mentioned above, advisedly informs that any journalistic publishes and transmissions should not have been vested in the interests of the editor in chief, but granted in the journalism principles (honesty, independence, transparency, accuracy, balance, holding power accountable, and fairness and impartiality), and media ethics as well as being bound in the international and national laws. In addition to this, the editor in chief should have been the supervisor of principles of journalism, media proclamation, and constitution. Regrettably, the new proclamation also came up with repeating what the old proclamation did embrace the mandates of the editor in chief, which should have been expected to be updated and meetly encouraged to the press freedom practices.

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Appendix

A. Written questions for the editors

1. Are you professionally free while experiencing the press freedom?
2. Is the Proclamation 590/2008 dependable to protect the press from undue miscarriage?
3. Are there challenges that pester you in the in-house media?
4. Are there governmental influences intervening your press freedom?

B. Questions raised to the Journalists

1. How do you explain the press freedom practices in your media house?
2. How aware are you of your editorial policy functionality?
3. Is there justifiable editorship in your media house?

C. Literal measurements for analyzing documents of Editorial Policy of Ethiopian Herald, Proclamation 590/2008 and International Press Law (ICCPR and IHRP)

1. Objective of the Editorial Policy
2. Pursuing updated Proclamation of press freedom
3. Scope of the press freedom practice
4. The editorship of in-house media content
5. The entanglement of the national press law and international press law