



**Human Rights Violation Reporting Experience in Ethiopia: The
Case of Addis Zemen and Ethiopis in Comparative perspective**

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Advisor: Arka Abota (PhD)

**A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School of Journalism and
Communication of Addis Ababa University**

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Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts
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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Beyene Wolde, entitled Human Rights Violation Reporting Experience in Ethiopia: The Case of Addis Zemen and Ethiopis in Comparative perspective and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication (Multimedia) complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Abstract

This research attempted to examine the status of Addis Zemen and Ethiopis in human rights violations reporting, which is a means to the promotion and protection of these rights. The two newspapers were chosen to examine the practices in government and private media institutions. In order to examine the role that the newspapers played in reporting human rights violation, the researcher employed qualitative research method. In-depth interview was conducted with 6 purposively selected journalists while selected articles from both newspapers were also analyzed. Data which were gathered from primary and secondary sources were comparatively analyzed. The study revealed that there were significant differences in reporting human rights violation in the country. Ethiopis was far better than Addis Zemen in humanitarian crisis reporting. Major causes for human rights violation got attention in every week's publication of Ethiopis. However, Addis Zemen refrained from reporting humanitarian crisis. The other difference which was found by the study is that almost all Ethiopis's articles on the issue were critical of government; however Addis Zemen's were pro government. Many stories in Addis Zemen sourced government officials, however victims in Ethiopis.

Key words: human rights, violations, media, Addis Zemen, Ethiops, framing

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List of Abbreviations

AU	African Union
CPJ	Committee to Protect Journalists
EBA	Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority
EHRC	Ethiopian Human Rights Commission
EHRCO	Ethiopian Human Rights Council
EPA	Ethiopian Press Agency
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Democratic Front
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
ICCPR	the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICHRP	International Council on Human Rights Policy
HRW	Then Human Rights Watch
OAU	Organization of African Union
PDRE	People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
SEPDEM	Southern Ethiopia People Democratic Movement
SNNPR	Southern Nations Nationalities and people's Region
TPLF	Tigri People Liberation Front
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nation

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Chapter one

Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Issues of human rights have become the most sensitive in world communication. As far as media are tools for communication, they have a responsibility to aware the public about human rights through promoting them and reporting various violations of human rights. Media play a significant role in finding and exposing violations of human rights.

In Ethiopia after Abiy Ahmed became the Prime Minister in April 2018, different conflicts caused a breach of human rights. Therefore, this study aimed at examining how Addis Zemen (daily Amharic) and Ethiopis (weekly Amharic) newspapers covered the issues of human rights from 1 July 2019- 31 December 2019, in a comparative perspective.

Human rights issues have become a prominent feature of media coverage and usage. The term human rights have become more visible due to the increase in violations, since the 1990s (Balabanova, 2005: 1). Therefore, media play an important role to promote human rights through different media platforms (Gies, 2015:91).

The UN Charter, which was adopted in 1945, was the foundation for human rights. It states in the preamble that the people of the UN determined to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and nations large and small. The charter declared members of the UN have to protect and promote human rights (Article 1). The formal codification of UDHR and the two international human rights covenants: ICCPR and ICESCR (Balabanova, 2015: 16-17).

After the UN, OAU later changed to AU also adopted the African Charter on Human Rights in 1981 and interred in to force in 1986. It vividly affirmed in its preamble that the sources of fundamental human rights are the attributes of human beings, which justify their national and international protection and on the other hand, the reality and respect of people's rights should necessarily guarantee human rights. The Charter under article 1 proclaims that the member states of OAU shall recognize the rights, duties, and freedoms enshrined in it and shall undertake to adopt legislative or other measures to give effect on them (African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, 1981:1).

In the Ethiopian context, the first constitution was adopted in 1931, during Emperor Hile Selassie I and it was revised in 1955. The former was a document of 55 articles, but it stated nothing of human rights, rather it granted exclusive power to the emperor. However, the later revised constitution introduced the concept of rights under chapter three (Rights and Duties of the People). For example article 38 reads, “there shall be no discrimination among Ethiopian subjects concerning the enjoyment of all civil rights.” The Derg constitution (1987) also included the issues of human rights under chapter seven, Fundamental Freedoms, Rights, and Duties of Citizens. Article 50, for instance, granted citizens the right to elect and to be elected. But, constitutions in both regimes did not incorporate international treaties like UDHR.

On the contrary, the current FDRE constitution, which was adopted in 1995, includes human rights from articles 14 to 28. It declares that every person has the inviolable and inalienable right to life, the security of person and liberty (Article 14). Article 9 reads “all international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the law of the land.” This tells us that UDHR and the two international covenants: ICCPR and ICESCR, which Ethiopia joined in 1993, are enshrined in the constitution.

The media should play a watchdog role, a check on the power of the state, to report government misconduct and expose abuses of public authority. It is believed that media can influence legislators and other policy developers to consider human rights during policy formulation. Hence, as to Balabanova (2015: 35) free and open media for the promotion and protection of human rights is recognized in the UDHR. It states that everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; which is affirmed in article 19 of the ICCPR.

The constitution of Ethiopia proclaims freedom of the press. Article 29(4) reads “*in the interest of the free flow of information, ideas and opinions which are essential to the functioning of a democratic order, the press shall, as an institution, enjoy legal protection to ensure its operational independence and its capacity to entertain diverse opinions.*” Sub article 5 also asserts any media financed by or under the control of the state shall be operated in a manner ensuring its capacity to entertain diversity in the expression of opinion.

The historical development of the media in Ethiopia goes back to the early years of Christianity when Geez became the dominant medium (Nigusie, 2014: 75). Nigusie quoted Getachew that the written form of communication started when the Geez alphabet came into being as early as the

fourth century of the Axumite era. At that time the Geez was the medium of politics, culture, and religion.

Currently, there are various broadcast, print, and online media. However, for this study, Addis Zemen and Ethiopis are selected. Addis Zemen started its publication on May 5, 1941. It had been a weekly newspaper until 1957. But after sixteen years, it became a daily publication. Currently, it has a monthly distribution of more than 10,700 newspapers. On the other hand, Ethiopis got its license in August 2018 and started its publication in September 2018. It is published every Saturday, and the monthly publication reaches more than 6000 (EBA documentation: January 6, 2020).

Although media have centuries-long ages in Ethiopia, they have encountered different constraints in delivering their duties including in exposing human rights violations. As long as the researcher's experience and observation are concerned, their reporting is mainly based on the officials' sources. Most of the time journalists do not go to the grass-root level to gather their information. Besides, the government's watch on their publication hindered them from doing so. Lack of journalists' knowledge of human rights is also another problem.

Thus, this study analyzed how the newspapers (Addis Zemen and Ethiopis) reported human rights violations starting from July 1, 2019- December 31, 2019, in a comparative perspective.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Media are powerful in building democracy as well as well being of the people. Their watchdog role helps them to protect public interest against abuse and creates public awareness. In Ethiopia, it is not visible that media are defending the public interest. Especially, there is a wider gap in exposing human rights violations. Studies show that there is a paradox between what the government talks about press freedom and the reality on the ground. Dawit (2019:72) stated that government-owned media have not been concurred their independence, yet. They, instead of being a voice for the voiceless, remained to be mouthpiece and government's agenda setters. As to (Dewit, 2019:73), one of the state-owned newspaper Addis Zemen has not been out of the government's surveillance. Journalists also do not have the freedom to do their job based on the ethics that their profession demands. There is also censorship and higher officials' pressure. In connection with this, one can understand that human rights reporting is still in a trap.

The government's relation with the private press is not as smooth. Accordingly, its rough relation caused the closure of private press, in the 1990s. And many journalists were accused and detained

for publishing “false information” (Tadesse cited in Dawit, 2019:4). Of course, those journalists who had been in jail were released. But the mistrust between the government and the private press has not been settled.

Regarding Ethiopis, as it is a private newspaper, the working environment is not as such convenient in reporting issues of human rights so long as the researcher’s observation is concerned.

There are various signals of human rights violations that the government could not control in recent times after Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed came to power. People were killed, tortured, kidnapped, and arbitrarily detained. There were also internal displacements of about over two million citizens and various levels of conflicts that caused the death of dozens of citizens. These atrocious human rights violations in the country were not reported despite the existence of nominal media freedom of expression proclamation. Accordingly, it is important to study how much the aforementioned human rights violations have got the proper attention of media. Therefore, the study tried to analyze the experiences of Addis Zemen and Ethiopis Human rights violations reporting in a comparative perspective.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

The overall objective of the study is to comparatively analyze the experience of Addis Zemen and Ethiopis newspapers in human rights violations reporting.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

In particular, this study attempt to:

- Comparatively, analyze how both newspapers cover human rights violations;
- Investigate whether the media legal frameworks and editorial policies of both newspapers have a role in covering human rights issues;
- Analyze the challenges that both Addis Zemen and Ethiopis face in reporting issues of human rights violation;
- Elucidate solutions for the problem in reporting human rights violations, which would help the newspapers to perform their task properly.

1.4. Research Questions

1. How do Addis Zemen and Ethiopis cover human rights violation issues?

2. How much the legal framework of the media and editorial policies of both newspapers are favorable to perform their tasks?
3. What are the challenges of media in reporting human rights violations?
4. How the challenges would be mitigated and human rights issues get appropriate attention?

1.5. Significance of the Study

The study shows the limitations of the newspapers in reporting human rights violations that would help the news organizations to fill their gaps. It also reveals the government's pressure on journalism practice and policy problems. Therefore, it will help both Addis Zemen and Ethiopis to evaluate their journalism practice in human rights issues and to take corrective measures. The study will also have a tremendous contribution to the promotion and protection of human rights. It has an immense contribution to further studies on the field of journalism, and will help policymakers in the field as an input resource. On top of that, the study will help other researchers who wish to conduct their study on a similar or related topic as a baseline.

1.6. Scope of the Study

The political and legal grounds of Ethiopia have been a challenge for the media, especially in giving attention to human rights violations and criticizing the government evil deeds. The scope of the study is the period from July- December 2019, human rights violation coverage of Addis Zemen and Ethiopis.

1.7. Limitations of the Study

The researcher could not administer focus group discussion due to the state of emergency which was declared due to the COVID-19 pandemic, but issues that would be discussed in focus group discussion were covered during face to face interview. Besides this, the pandemic caused the closure of libraries and limited the use of available resources. The unwillingness of the news organizations to access their editorial policies was also another limitation. However, the researcher, finally found the editorial policy of Addis Zemen indirectly from staff, but unsuccessful in the case of Ethiopis.

1.8. Structure of the Study

The research is organized into five chapters. The first chapter is the introduction part. The literature review is in the second chapter, and the third chapter is dedicated to research methodology. Data presentation, analysis, and interpretation in chapter four, and chapter five is given to conclusion and recommendations.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1. The Concept of Human Rights

2.1.1. What is Human Rights?

Human rights is inherent to all human beings, regardless of race, sex, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, or any other differences. These rights comprise the right to life and liberty, freedom from slavery and torture, freedom of opinion and expression, the right to work and education, and many others. Everyone is entitled to these rights, without discrimination (UN, 2015:2). In the words of Mother Teresa, as stated in Balabanova (2015:15) ‘Human rights are not a privilege conferred by government. They are every human being’s entitlement under his or her humanity.’ From Mother Teresa’s perspective, she said, human rights are the natural-born rights of every person, and they are equal to everyone because every individual has these rights equally and may ask for them irrespective of who they are, what they do, or where they live.

According to Brinkley, as quoted in Papademas (2004:4) Tomas Jefferson, the third president of the USA (1801-1809) declared that “all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with such absolute rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” Being a member of a human being grants these basic rights. Moreover, the forging of a new nation carried with it an entitlement to certain basic human rights and freedoms, and the notion of citizenship is rendered meaningless if these are not present (Papademas, 2004:4).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is a baseline in talking of human rights. The United Nations General Assembly proclaimed it in Paris on 10 December 1948. It was considered a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations. The Declaration incorporates, for the first time, fundamental human rights to be universally protected. Since its adoption, the UDHR has inspired the constitutions of many newly independent States and many new democracies (United Nations). This would imply that nations of the world have incorporated the principles of UDHR in their law of the land. After UDHR, the General Assembly of the UN adopted two covenants: ICCPR and ICESCR in 1966.

The UDHR, ICCPR with its two optional protocols (on the complaints procedure and the death penalty) and ICESCR are together called the International Bill of Human Rights (wikipedia.org, 2020); the two covenants entered into force in 1976 after a sufficient number of countries had ratified them.

This International Bill of Human Rights (Papadamas, 2011:13) deals with such issues as rights to life, freedom of speech, religion, and voting. It also deals with issues such as food, education, health, and shelter. At the close of the second millennium, well over 135 nations had ratified these covenants. In addition to the International Bill of Rights, the United Nations has adopted treaties concerning human rights. These include genocide and torture, refugees and refugee status, discrimination against women, and the rights of children.

2.1.2. Why Human Rights is Important?

The Second World War marked the violations of human rights that led to issues of human rights to become international politics. It was in 1948, the UDHR proclaimed by the UN, which has become the most important document of what should be considered the standard for basic equality and human dignity. The idea of human rights is one of the most prominent in Western political rhetoric today (Milne, 1986:1). Talk of human rights can today be supported by such documents as the United Nations UDHR of 1948 together with later covenants which supplement it, and by the European nowadays, the signification of human rights to the people makes them important. The following are the importance of human rights as stated by Human Rights Careers (HUMAN RIGHTS CAREERS):

- **Human rights ensure people's basic needs met:** everyone has the right to access these basic needs like food and water, clothes, shelter, and medicine. By including these in a person's basic human rights, everyone has a baseline level of dignity. Unfortunately, there are still millions of people out there who don't have these necessities, but saying it's a matter of human rights allows activists and others to work towards.
- **Human rights protect vulnerable groups from abuse:** the Declaration of Human Rights was created largely because of the Holocaust and the horrors of WWII. During that time, the most vulnerable in society were targeted along with the Jewish population, including those with disabilities and LGBT. Organizations advocating for human rights focus on

members of society, who were most open to abuse from power holders, instead of ignoring them.

- **Human rights enable people to stand against societal corruption:** The concept of human rights allows people to speak when they experience abuse and corruption. This is why rights like the right to assemble are very important. The concept of human rights equips people and tells them that they deserve dignity from society, whether it is the government or their working area. When they don't receive it, they can stand up.
- **Human rights encourage freedom of speech and expression:** While similar to what is mentioned above, being able to speak freely without fear of brutal reprisal is more expansive. It encompasses ideas and forms of expression that not everyone will like or agree with, but no one should ever feel like they are going to be in danger. It goes both ways, too, and prevents people who want to argue with certain ideas expressed in their community.
- **Human rights give people the freedom to exercise their religion or not exercise any:** Religious upheaval and subjugation occur over and over again all across history, from the Crusades to the Holocaust to modern terrorism in the name of religion. Human rights recognize the importance of a person's religion and spiritual beliefs, and let them exercise in peace. The freedom of not holding religion is also a human right.
- **Human rights encourage equal work opportunities:** The right to work and make a living enables people to thrive in their society. Without acknowledging that the work atmosphere can be unfair or downright repressive, people discover themselves continuing abuse or inadequate opportunities. The concept of human rights provides a guide for how workers should be treated and encourages equal opportunity.
- **Human rights give people access to education:** Education is vital for various reasons and is crucial for societies where poverty is common. Organizations and governments concerned with human rights provide access to schooling, supplies, and more to halt the series of poverty. Considering education as a human right means, everyone can get access, not just the privileged.
- **Human rights defend the environment:** The bond between human rights and ecology is becoming stronger because of climate change and its effect on people. We live in the world,

we need the land, so it makes sense that what happens to the environment impacts humanity. The right to fresh air, water, and clean soil is as important as the other rights.

- **Human rights give a universal standard that holds governments responsible:** When the UDHR was released; it had a dual purpose: provide a guideline for the future and force the world to acknowledge that during WWII, human rights had been violated on a considerable scale. With a standard for what is a human right, governments can be held accountable for their actions.

2.2. Brief History of Human Rights Development

Every person, by virtue of humanity, is entitled to certain natural rights is the recurring theme throughout the history of mankind (Alfredsson et al, cited in Seble, 2011:11). This idea can be drawn back to thousands of years to landmark past documents. These include the Code of Hammurabi, Magna Charta, the French Declaration on the Rights of Man and the Citizen, and the American Bill of Rights. The Code of Hammurabi, the first codification of laws that contains a reference to individual rights about 4000 years ago, protects the people from illogical persecution and penalty. Although the document is considered as barbaric by today's human rights standards, it is a sign that the concept of human rights existed even in times immemorial (Seble, 2011:11).

In Papademas (2011:7), The Magna Carta (1215), English Bill of Rights (1689), The French Declaration of The Rights of Man and Citizen (1789), The First 10 Amendments of The United States Constitution called The Bill of Rights (1789), The Pax Romana (27 BC), and The Pax Britannica (1880) are stated as documents dealing with individual Rights. According to Papademas (2011:7), they were not fair and equitable in their outlooks. They expelled certain groups like women, people of color, and specific religious and class groups.

King John promised to the people of England in the Magna Carta (1215) that in addition to good governance, peace to God's church and people, repression of violence in men of all status, and justice and pity in all judgments. It guaranteed the freedom of the English church from royal interference, protected the property and inheritance rights of underage heirs and widows, limited taxes, establishing standing and roving courts to deal with criminal and civil issues, and forbade officials to steal from citizens (McKechnie, 1914: 32 and 95).

However, ICHRP (2002: 23) states that the language of human rights can be traced back to the Western Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. Political scholars explained the idea that citizens exercise certain rights, primarily of a civil or political nature, with the state. Such theories found their expression in two major documents that emerged from the revolutionary disorder of the late eighteenth century: the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789) and the American Bill of Rights (1791) (Beitz, 2003:36).

The concern for human rights has never stopped. Papademas stated that the League of Nations tried to voice about people who were oppressed and who were denied basic human rights, before the First World War (2011:10) though it could not achieve any progress. But, the concern for human rights became overwhelmingly preponderant after World War II. The end of the war was a typical time for the formulation of modern international human rights law. She also stated, after World War II and the cultural genocide of six million Jews by the avowed megalomaniac Adolph Hitler and the Nazis, as well as the killing of several Gypsies and homosexuals, the concern for human rights got more attention.

These concerns were crucial to the drafting of the Charter of the United Nations at the San Francisco meeting in 1945. The United Nations established a Commission on Human Rights, and members of the UN pledged to uphold an agenda of human rights. The Commission had the accountability of drafting a document describing basic human rights and freedoms as proclaimed in the United Nations Charter. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was adopted in December of 1948. According to the words of Flowers, as stated in Papademas (2011:11), the UDHR is today referred to as the International Magna Carta.

2.3. The Human Rights Framework under International Declarations

2.3.1. The Charter of the United Nations

The Charter's preamble reads, "*Members of the UN committed to reiterate trust in basic human rights, in the dignity and value of the human being, in the equal rights of men and women and countries.*" They also committed to establishing a situation under which justice and respect for the responsibilities emanating from treaties and other sources of global law can be maintained and to

advance social development and better standards of life in better freedom (UN, 1945:2). Thus, as to article 1(1) of the Charter, its purpose is to maintain peace and security in the world.

Article 2(4) of the UN Charter stated that member states shall abstain in their international relationships from the threat or use of power against the territorial integrity or sovereignty of any state or in any other way contradictory with the objectives of the UN. This is supported by article 51 which reaffirmed “nothing in the Charter shall harm the innate right of a person or communal self-protection in an armed assault occurs against a member.” It signifies the key goal of the UN which is maintaining peace and security in the world. This gives an insight that a world of peace and security guarantees to protect the violation of human rights.

The Charter also emphasized issues of human rights and the role of the organization in the promotion of human rights. Article 1(3) of the Charter describes that it intended at global collaboration to solve international problems of economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character and to promote respect for human rights and essential freedoms for all without any racial, sexual, language, or religious difference. The article emphasizes that the promotion of human rights is fundamental in finding a resolution for international problems about peace and security (Seble, 2011:20), article 13 of the Charter, which recommends the General Assembly to instigate studies and suggestions on issues that facilitate in achieving the objectives of UN, includes the advancement of human rights and basic freedoms as one of the issues the General Assembly shall take initiations for.

Issues of human rights have got further attention in article 55. It underlines in article 55(c) that the UN shall promote worldwide respect for, and observance of, human rights and essential freedoms for all without division as to race, sex, language, or religion. It is believed that the promotion of human rights by the UN shall establish stability and well being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations. To achieve the objectives set by the UN, the Charter in article 56 pledges member states, their cooperation with the organization. Besides, article 1(6) notes “the organization shall ensure states which are not members of the UN act in accordance with these principles.”

2.3.2. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)

It is asserted in the preamble of the UDHR is that acknowledgment of the innate dignity and equal and indisputable rights of the human family is the basis of freedom, justice, and peace of the world. Article 1 of the Declaration provides the inspiring character of the instrument by stating that “All human beings are born free and equal. They are endowed with rationale and conscience and should work towards one another in the spirit of brotherhood” (UN, 2015:4). This pioneering article is a grand reflection of what the Declaration stands for. The preamble also proclaims that rights under the Declaration are a common standard of achievement for all people and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping the declaration in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respects to these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective acceptance and observance, both among the peoples of members of the UN and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

As (Seble, 2011:21) quoted Virc, UDHR in general aims at:

- the promotion of the dignity and equal rights of all the ordinary people in the world.
- the promotion of freedom, justice, and peace in the world.
- the promotion of freedom of expression for the common people in the world.
- the promotion of friendly relations between people in the world.
- the promotion of equal rights between men and women in the world.
- the promotion of social improvement and enhanced standards of livelihood of ordinary people in the world.

The promotion of rights has been vested upon the United Nations Commission which was later replaced by the Council of Human Rights in 2006. The Declaration under article 26 declares the importance of education. It gives everyone the right to education. The education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality. This affirms how the UDHR a safeguard for human rights that are given to all human beings. That means, everyone across the world has the right to claim those rights contained in UDHR.

Besides the UN Charter and UDHR, many regions around the world have adopted their own Bill of Rights. For example, in 1981, some African states created their Charter of Human and Peoples Rights. And in 1990, the Muslim States created the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights on Islam.

China, North Korea, and some other Asian states are becoming more committed to Human Rights, though recognizing that the track-record of these Asian states is not good.

2.3.3. International Covenants

Both ICESCR and ICCPR which are adopted in 1967 proclaimed the principles of the Charter of the UN. They recognize the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world. They also asserted that human rights derive from the inherent dignity of the human person. Besides, the covenants reaffirmed that these rights can only be achieved if conditions are created. And, in both covenants the obligation of states in the Charter of the UN to promote universal respect for, and observance of human rights and freedoms has given emphasis.

2.3.3 (a) Economic, social, and cultural rights

The International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights entered into force in 1976. The human rights that the Covenant seeks to promote and protect include:

- the right to work in just and conducive situations;
- the right to social security, to a sufficient standard of living and the highest possible standards of physical and mental wellness;
- the right to education and the enjoyment of the benefits of cultural freedom and scientific progress.

2.3.3 (b) Civil and political rights

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its first non-compulsory protocol enacted in 1976. The second not obligatory protocol was adopted in 1989. The Covenant deals with such rights as freedom of movement; equality before the law; the right to a just trial and presumption of innocence; freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; freedom of opinion and expression; peaceful gathering; freedom of association; participation in public issues and elections; and protection of minority rights. It bans arbitrary deprivation of life; torture, cruel or humiliating treatment or sentence; slavery and forced labor; arbitrary arrest or imprisonment; arbitrary interference with privacy; war propaganda; discrimination; and advocacy of racial or religious hatred.

2.4. The Human Rights in Regional and National Declarations

2.4.1. African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights

The Charter in its preamble stipulates freedom, equality, justice, and dignity are necessary objectives for the attainment of the rightful aspirations of the African people. It also recognized the African states' cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the people of the continent. The African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights considers both Charter of the UN and UDHR, and declares a duty on states to promote and protect human and people's rights. And article 1 of the Charter proclaims that the member states shall recognize the rights, duties, and freedoms enshrined in the Charter and shall undertake to adopt legislative or other measures to give effect on them.

Article 2 of the Charter also states that every individual shall be entitled to the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms recognized and guaranteed without distinction of any kind such as race, ethnic group, color, sex, language, religion, political or any other view, national and social basis, fortune, birth or other difference. The Charter includes the establishment of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights. As clearly stated in article 45 is that the Commission was established to promote human and people's rights and ensure their protection in Africa.

2.4.2. Human Rights under National Declarations

The concept of constitution emerged in 1931, when the first constitution was adopted, during the imperial regime of Haile Selassie I. It was revised in 1955. The first was a declaration of 55 articles, but it stated nothing of human rights, rather it guaranteed exclusive power to the Emperor. However, the revised constitution introduced the concept of rights under chapter three (Rights and Duties of the People). For example, article 38 reads, "there shall be no discrimination among Ethiopian subjects with respect to the enjoyment of all civil rights." The problem here with the constitution is citizens were considered as the subjects of the Emperor. The constitution under article 41 declared freedom of speech and the press by the law.

The Derg constitution (1987) also included the issues of human rights under chapter seven in the title of Fundamental Freedoms, Rights, and Duties of Citizens. Article 50 of the constitution, for instance, guaranteed citizens the right to elect and to be elected. In addition to this, the constitution confirmed freedom of speech, under article 47 (1). It reads "Ethiopians are guaranteed freedom of speech, press, assembly, peaceful demonstration, and association." Article 47 (2) of the

constitution also declared that the state shall provide the necessary material and moral support for the exercise of these rights. However, in both regimes, international declarations like UDHR were not incorporated.

On the contrary, the current FDRE constitution which was adopted in 1995 includes human rights from articles 14 to 28. The constitution under article 14 declares every person has an inviolable and inalienable right to life, the security of person, and liberty. Article 9 reads all international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the law of the land. This tells us that UDHR and the two international covenants: ICCPR and ICESCR, which Ethiopia joined in 1993, are components of the constitution.

The FDRE constitution also proclaims freedom of the press. Article 29, sub-article 4, reads “in the interest of the free flow of information, ideas and opinions which are essential to the functioning of a democratic order, the press shall, as an institution, enjoy legal protection to ensure its operational independence and its capacity to entertain diverse opinions.” Article 29(5) of it also asserts any media financed by or under the control of the State shall be operated in a manner ensuring its capacity to entertain diversity in the expression of opinion.

2.5. Other Laws

2.5.1. Freedom of Mass Media and Access to Information Proclamation

The HPRE released Proclamation No. 590/2008 of the freedom of the mass media and access to information proclamation to assure freedom for the media. The proclamation reaffirmed freedom of expression and of the mass media which are guaranteed by the FDRE constitution. It proclaimed that the freedom shall not be deprived, except some restrictions by-laws to secure and preserve the wellbeing of the youth, and national security. The proclamation also proves “the role of the mass media in ensuring respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms guaranteed by the constitution, and promoting peace, democracy, equality, and justice.” It declares the freedom of mass media under article four:

1. If the freedom of mass media is constitutionally guaranteed, censorship in any form is prohibited.
2. Restrictions on the mass media shall only be made by laws issued per the constitution.

And, it demands all public bodies to regard the right of the mass media, in fulfilling its public function.

2.6.2. Anti-Terrorism Proclamation

The FDRE government declared anti-terrorism law in 2009. The proclamation No.652/2009 was enforced to safeguard the right of the people to live in peace, freedom, and security has to be protected, at all times, from the threat of terrorism. It has been open for criticism and hasn't won the acceptance of many. Restriction related to media (freedom of expression) is included in the anti-terrorism law. Article 6 reads: who so ever publishes or causes the publication of a statement that is likely to be understood by some or all of the members of the public to whom it is published as a direct or indirect encouragement or another inducement to them to the commission or preparation or instigation of an act of terrorism is punishable with rigorous imprisonment from 10 to 20 years.

And under article 19, the proclamation grants police the power to arrest any person without a court warrant, whom he/she reasonably suspects to have committed or is committing a terrorist act as provided under this proclamation. On top of that, the National Intelligence Security Service has been given unlimited power upon court warrant to gather information under article 14. As clearly stipulated in article 14(1) (a) is that the Intelligence can intercept or conduct surveillance on the telephone, fax, radio, internet, electronic, postal, and similar communications of a person suspected of terrorism. However, since the work of media is highly dependent on gathering newsworthy information from different sources and disseminating it through published or electronic format, the proclamation said nothing about media. Bonde (2018:6) stated that “the legislation does not mention protection of media specifically such as ensuring the right of media and journalists to report on the opposition and non-violent or violent groups, their right to protect the anonymity of sources, or distinguish between this and reflection and incitement to violence.”

2.6. The Media and Human Rights

There are two main points of intersection between the world of media and human rights. One is the considerable degree of overlap of subject matter between the two areas. Much of reporting concerns matters that directly or indirectly has human rights content (ICHRP 2002:27); the other is the fact that freedom of the media itself is a human right. The media are regarded conventionally as one of the mechanisms by which citizens hold their governments to account. The press was regarded in the United States as the fourth branch of government or “estate”, holding the executive

accountable, the legislature, and the judiciary. Indeed, in the United States, the press was considered to be vital to the functioning of a free society, no less important than other state institutions (ICHRP 2002:27).

Media are in an ideal position to make people aware of their rights, investigate and expose violations and invite attention to the people and areas in need of protection of human rights and pursue their case till they achieve them (Knox cited in Seble 2011:29). In the field of humanitarian intervention news, media coverage of a given crisis has often been interpreted as a significant factor both in terms of affecting public opinion and in terms of influencing foreign policy in support of humanitarian operations (Balabanova, 2015: 19). As to Strömbäck coated in (Balabanova, 2015:34), media have an important duty to act as a “watchdog”, a check on the power of the state, to report government misconduct and expose abuses of public authority. In addition to these roles, the media in most advanced democracies could be expected to, act for inclusive discussions, “mobilize citizens” interest, engagement, and participation in public discussions, and foster public discussions.

They can take up the human rights agenda by publishing or broadcasting human rights programs (Nwankwo, 2011:14). Papademas (2011:60) states that mass media messages about human rights concerns in general, and particularly areas of conflict and war in which human rights violations (e.g., killing, unlawful detention, torture) occur are very important. Messages delivered by the mass media help audiences and other decision-makers understand key issues over which wars and conflict may occur and they justify such actions. Apodaca was quoted in Nwankwo (2012: 17) states; media can disseminate human rights information, mobilize human rights NGOs, strengthen popular participation in civil society, promote tolerance, and shine a light on government activity. These NGOs serve as monitors and sources of information for human rights stories.

Currently, according to Chandler et al quoted in (Balabanova, 2015:4) human rights have become part of high politics. It is because they are not just discussed during local and national elections but also serve as justifications for “humanitarian interventions” internationally. Many humanitarian crises of the 1990s which took place in Africa and South-Eastern Europe in particular pushed human rights to the foreground and contributed to the increased media coverage.

The media assume moral responsibilities (Shameem quoted in Seble, 2011:29) to:

- Promote awareness of human rights. Media have to inform and educate the public about their rights and suggest ways and means by which they can defend against violations and thus empowering them to defend their rights;
- Encourage experts to address and comment on the administration and legal affairs of the specific rights;
- Investigating and revealing human rights violations;
- Allow individuals and organizations, which are engaged in advocating and securing human rights. These encourage as well as motivate others to involve in human rights advocacy works.

2.6.1. Media Criticism in Human Rights Reporting

Unpredicted political crises in the world have brought issues of human rights to the front. The changes in the global geopolitical and media landscape also have affected the work of journalists, media content, and the news agenda, which would have an impact on how the media deal with the subject of human rights (Balabanova, 2015:5). The quality of reporting also affects human rights. The media tend to miss the historical, political, social, and local context of human rights stories (ICHRP 2002). And Internews (2012:62) identified that media fail to provide clear information about human rights, because of journalists' inadequate understanding of them. It also stated that sometimes the media themselves violate human rights by invading privacy. The News of the World phone-hacking scandal in the UK, perpetuating bias and stereotypes (e.g. in the reporting of immigration, asylum, and refugee issues), not calling governments to account, or even deepening an existing conflict shall be taken as best examples for media involvement in the violation of human rights.

Despite the increased frequency and salience of these topics in media coverage, many aspects remain under-reported, and the media have been roundly criticized for the manner in which they cover human rights. Human rights are still taken largely to mean political and civil rights, and the importance of economic, social, and cultural rights is ignored widely by the media (Balabanova, 2015:5). Some of the criticisms are:

- incomplete coverage of events;
- avoidance of labels that indicate human rights issues;

- rely on government version of events;
- avoidance of counter-arguments;
- failure to highlight patterns of abuse;
- dependence on official sources; and
- lack of investigative journalism.

2.7. Human Rights Violation Reports

Different both local and international human rights groups voice their concern on human rights conditions, in the given time frame (July 1 to December 31, 2019). These are EHRC, EHRCO, United States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, amnesty international, and CPJ. According to these organizations, various types of human rights have been violated. For example, the local human rights advocate EHRCO released a statement on July 18, 2019, regarding June 22 killings in Bahir Dar and Addis Ababa.

It states that even though Prime Minister Abiy promised his government's commitment to protecting human rights, it is deteriorating from time to time and reaches its critical stage. Citizens' movement from one place to the other and owning property becomes difficult. These caused the displacement of about 3 million citizens from their villages. Various identity-based conflicts, denial of freedom of expression, and killings of civilians have been observed.

As to the statement from EHRCO, after the death of six government officials in Bahir Dar and Addis Ababa, a wide range of imprisonment continued. Among those prisoners, political party leaders, members, and those who voice strong critics against government acts are found. The statement includes its concern on internet closure and the arbitrary plan to declare Sidama regional state by activists would cause human rights violations. It also declares that the prisoners do not appear at court; they are locked up behind dark cells and denied their right to be visited by their relatives.

The EHRC also declared in its statement on October 24, "Prisoners suspected in the killing of government officials stayed for three to four months without any charge in the name of investigation." And, both call upon the government to act according to the law. The independent rights group also released another statement on October 28, 2019. It reported that in Afambo, Afar seventeen people were killed and many others were physically injured by the attack of unknown militants, from October 12, 3 AM to October 13, 2019, 4 PM.

The statement by EHRCO also included what happened after Jawar Mohamed posted a message on his Facebook on October 23, 2019, midnight. As disclosed in the statement, he posted “Security members assigned to guard me are being lifted and my home is surrounded by security forces.” It arouses protests and quickly turned into conflict, in different parts of Oromiya. Around 67 people’s death, physical injury of hundreds of people, property distraction, and deterrence of citizens’ movement from place to place is recorded. However, EHRC declares the fatality reaches 80, on the statement released on October 29, 2019. A similar situation also appears in Diredawa. The statement confers that it was ethnicity and religion-based attack. It is repeatedly observed that Zone and District officials and security members could not protect citizens. The government also could not bring those who are involved in attacks to the law, the statement reveals.

The other report comes from the States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor in its Ethiopia human rights report 2019. It confirmed that the Sidama Zone police department reported 53 individuals were killed while 54 suffered bodily injuries in the violence on and after July 18. The death figures relied on data from hospitals that excluded those killed and buried in various localities (2019:3). In the wake of the June 22 killings in Bahir Dar and Addis Ababa, police reportedly arrested more than 300 activists, politicians, and journalists. They were kept in crowded, cold, and dark cells and only allowed to use the toilet once every 24 hours (2019:4).

The report by the bureau also reveals the presence of arbitrary arrest, which is prohibited by the constitution. It says Authorities detained persons arbitrarily, including activists, journalists, and opposition party members (2019:6). From the reports of the aforementioned organizations, it is clear that both CPR and ESCR are violated in Ethiopia. Citizens were forcefully evicted from their homes and villages, arbitrary detained, and humiliated. Besides these, there were attacks on civilians, ethnic discriminations, and people suffered from both human and capital devastations. All these are against the principles of human rights set by UDHR. According to (Inter-Parliamentary Union and UN, 2016: 21-23) basic human rights principles are:

- Human rights are universal and inalienable- they are universal because their base is every human being’s dignity irrespective of any differences. They apply equally to everybody and the same for everyone everywhere. Therefore, they are inalienable or inviolable.

- Indivisibility and interdependence- the breach in one of the human rights causes the failure in the other. This means, the respect of all rights together helps to sustainable peace and development. The opposite is true for instability, too. That is the reason why human rights are called indivisible and interdependent.
- The right to equality and the prohibition of discrimination- human rights are equal to everybody. Discrimination against any group is unacceptable in international and regional human rights treaties. Therefore, they are pillars to protect all human rights.

2.8. Media in Ethiopia

The history of media in Ethiopia can be traced back to the time of ancient kings, who started using the Awaj Negari, that is to say, news announcer (Nigusie, 2014:75). However, Dawit (2019:2) and Seble (2011: 4) state that the history of media in Ethiopia goes beyond a century. But, as to Nigusie a century history in media history is of the modern one that started during the time of Emperor Menilik II. Meseret agrees with Nigusie's narration. He argues that the traditional mass communication system of the Awaj Negari and the Negarit accomplishment gave way to the modern print and electronic media. Meseret also claims the Ethiopian media system is homegrown. He noted, "Unlike other African countries, it was not instituted by colonial powers" (Meseret, 2013:332).

Studies claim that the media system has not been improved. Nigusie (2014:76) says the media have remained to be propagators of government agenda. Meseret stressed that the media have stayed under strict pressure. The time when it enjoyed freedom was the last six months of the monarchy, in Ethiopian media history. However, freedom was taken away when Derg assumed power. Then, censorship and the measures against journalists led to the decline of journalism in the country (Meseret, 2014:335-337).

The media environment of Ethiopia is characterized by polarized reporting. The private media often negates the development efforts of the government and the government media mostly cover favorable news about its activities (Nigusie, 2014:76). Currently, there are various broadcast, print, and online media. But media freedom is still under question. The government continued in controlling the media, its control especially over the state-owned media is high (Dawit, 2019:73).

He claimed that they have remained to be the mouthpiece of the government and echo the government's agenda because of the pressure imposed by officials.

Among others, Addis Zemen and Ethiopis newspapers are on publication now. Addis Zemen started its publication on May 5, 1941. It had been a weekly newspaper until 1957. But after sixteen years, it became a daily publication. Currently, it has a monthly distribution of more than 10,700 newspapers. On the other hand, Ethiopis got its license in August 2018 and started its publication in September 2018. It is published every Saturday, and the monthly publication reaches more than 6000 (EBA documentation: January 6, 2020).

2.9. Critics on Ethiopian Media and Media Related Legislations

There is no doubt that media involvement in reporting or producing programs on human rights issues has an invaluable effect to promote and protect these rights. Promoting human rights is also a vital means to ensure their protection and respect (Seble, 2011:4). However, the Ethiopian media landscape has received many criticisms regards to changing the assumptions into effect. The media have served the wishes and whims of those in power (Nigusie, 2014: 74), due to the highly intertwined relations between the media and politics. He also stated that the professionalism of journalists, media management, and organization and independence of the media need to be improved. Meseret (2013:333) also shares that the last consecutive regimes used media for propaganda purposes. According to him, the monarchy used the media to build the image of the Emperor, Derg to preach the gains of the revolution and EPRDF to portray the ruling party in a favorable light.

Media during the military (Derg) regime have suffered a harsh time. Measures that Derg took against media stippled media progress. It eliminated popular publications like Menen and Addis Reporter, only to replace them with unappealing, hardcore Marxist periodicals such as Serto Ader and Yekatit Magazine. The successor EPRDF has added vital instruments such as the constitutional provision guarantee freedom of speech and the press (Article 29) as well as press law revised to include citizens' right of access to information. But when it comes to implementing what is enacted, EPRDF has a very poor scorecard (Meseret, 2013:35).

Studies in the field reviled, the media environment has not been favorable. Despite the FDRE constitution guaranteed freedom for the mass media, the existed related laws have in practice been interpreted to limit journalists' and media's right to expression (Bonde, 2018: 5). According to

Bonde, Ethiopian laws and proclamations directly or indirectly regulating the freedom of expression, media, and journalists have been applied to limit journalistic freedom notably and impose harsh and arbitrary penalties on media and journalists for many years.

Meseret (2013:337) also noted “EPRDF guarantees on the paper much wider latitude of press freedom than any of its predecessors. It has for the first time in the history of Ethiopian media, officially restricted pre-publication censorship. However, in practice, it is no better than its predecessors. Journalists are punished by citing the penal code in addition to the penalties stipulated in the press law.” He claims that the same thing happens in the case of the revised media law of 2008; journalists are punished citing the revised penal code of 2005.

As to Aster cited in (Seble, 2011:40), proclamation No. 590/2008 (Freedom of the Mass Media and Access to Information) has controversial provisions that are considered by some as contrary to its objective. The argument is that the limitations on the right to information and freedom of expression are the basis for the media disinclination to engage vigorously in human rights activities which in most cases require communication with government activities (Seble, 2011:40).

Similar to the mass media law, the criminal code and Anti- Terrorism law are also criticized for their restriction. Article 3 of the Proclamation defines “terrorist acts” as “Who so ever or a group intending to advance a political, religious or ideological cause by coercing the government, intimidating the public or section of the public, or destabilizing or destroying the basic political, constitutional or, economic or social institutions of the country....” It (Bonde, 2018:6) does not state protection of media specifically such as ensuring the right of media and journalists to report on the opposition and non-violent or violent groups, their right to protect the anonymity of sources or distinguish between this and reflection and incitement to violence.

Henok (2016:89) says Ethiopia is infamous for using its anti-terrorism legislation to silence political descents, critical voices, and journalists who express innocent concerns against national policies, laws, and their implementations. He also claimed that the proclamation failed to provide any safeguards that limit the misuse of executive power against freedom of expression. Since the media effectively undertake their informative, reporting, critiquing, and public watchdog role if and only if the confidentiality of their information and sources guaranteed, the government has to work towards achieving it, he suggested (2016:113).

However, (Sasahulh, undated and unpagged) in his comparative review of Ethiopian western anti-terrorism legislations argues though the definition of terrorist acts often gets criticized as "too broad" by western activists and local opposition politicians, the anti-terrorism laws of other democratic countries like Australia, Spain, France, and the UK show similar even broader definitions. He also states provisions regarding individuals who take part in a terrorist act at different stages or any form are frequently cited and criticized by Ethiopian politicians who have been charged for similar acts and their fans at home and abroad. But he says, "These provisions in the Ethiopian anti-terrorism law are no stronger than their counterparts in western laws."

2.10. Theoretical Framework

2.10.1 Framing Theory

The term framing has been defined by various scholars from different perspectives. However, our focus here is news framing. Entman (2007: 164) defines framing as "the process of selecting a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights relations among them to promote a particular interpretation," and according to Diana as quoted in (Betelhem, 2011:31), framing is a significant way in which the media stress some ideological perspectives over others and influence state salience by directing people's attention to some ideas while ignoring others. McQuel, (2010: 31) said that frame concerning news information has been used in place of terms such as a frame of reference, context, theme, or news angle. Therefore it helps to answer the question of how news information is presented or framed.

Gamson and Modigliani stated in Matthes and Kohring (2008:264) also explained frames as a major organizing idea or storyline that elicit connotation to a certain event, Gitlin (1980: 6) it is a principle of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters. It can be generalized from the above definitions that there is no specific meaning to the term. However, a widely accepted definition is stipulated by Entman (1993: 52) "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a certain problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described."

If these elements are understood as variables, each of them can have several categories in content analysis. A problem definition can consist of an issue and relevant actors that discuss the problem. A causal interpretation is an attribution of failure or success regarding a specific outcome. An assessment can be positive, negative, or neutral and can refer to different objects. Finally, a treatment recommendation can include a call for or against a certain action.

McQuel, (2010: 31) further discussed “frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies.”

In the news presenting and comprehending perspective, concepts of framing are generalized into media frames and individual frames. Entman (1991:7) described individual frames as “information-processing schemata” of individuals and media frames as “attributes of the news itself.” He explained individual frames as “mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals processing of information” (1993: 53). However, the media frame is a central organizing idea or storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events.

Diana cited in (Betelhem, 2011: 31) explained that media framing is used to describe the process by which information and entertainment are packaged by the media: newspapers, magazines, radio and television network stations, and the internet before being presented to the audience. This process includes factors such as the amount of exposure given to a story, where it is placed the positive or negative tone it conveys, and it accompanying headlines, photographs, or other visual and auditory effects.

Oso (2017) also explain frames are abstractions that work to organize or structure message meaning. The theory suggests that how something is presented to the audience (called “the frame”) influences the selection of people to make about how to process the information. As to Oso framing focuses:

- a) To establish a cognitive shortcut,
- b) Oversimplified news,
- c) Distract the public from important issues,
- d) Limit the ability of the audience to think outside the box,
- e) Activation of magic bullet effect of cognitively shaped audience.

According to Entman as stated in Oso, it is difficult to identify the nature of framing. He identifies five popular ways of framing news stories that help to discover framing in the news: conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality, and responsibility frames. As to Semetoke and Valkenburg these news framings are:

- Conflict frame emphasizes in a conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of capturing audience attention. The media draw on a few central frames for reporting a range of issues and that conflict was the most common in the handful of frames in U.S. news they identified (Neuman et al cited in Semetoke and Valkunburg, 2000:95).
- The human interest frame brings a human face or an emotional angle to produce a news story. Framing news in human interest terms is one way to attain this. Such a frame refers to an attempt to personalize the news, dramatize or “emotionalize” the news, to grasp and retain audience interest.
- Economic consequences frame presents an event, problem, or issue in terms of economical consequences.
- Morality frame puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of religious doctrine or moral prescriptions. Neuman et al quoted in Semetko and Valkenburg (2000:96) due to the professional standard of objectivity, journalists often refer to moral frames indirectly—through quotation or inference, for instance—by having someone else raise the question. A newspaper could, for example, use the views of an interest group to raise questions concerning sexually transmitted diseases. Such a story may include moral messages or propose specific social prescriptions about how to act.
- Responsibility frame presents an issue to attribute responsibility for its cause or resolution. Although the presence of a responsibility frame in the news has not been measured clearly, the U.S. news media have been credited with (or blamed for) shaping public understanding of who is responsible for causing or solving key social problems, such as poverty.

In general framing focuses on how media draws the public’s eye to specific topics- setting agenda, and then it takes a step further to create a frame, through which the audience will comprehend such information. It is commonly a mind full choice by sources, reporters, journalists, and/or editors (Oso, 2017). The news frames reveal the “persistent selection, emphasis, and exclusion of informative details (Gitlin, 1980: 7), McQuel (2010:32) also states framing is a way of giving some

overall interpretation to isolated items of fact. It is almost unavoidable for journalists to do this and in so doing to depart from pure objectivity and to introduce some unintended bias.

2.10.2 Agenda- Setting

The term agenda setting was coined by McCombs and Shaw (McQuel, 2010: 146); it is the idea of what the public thinks about is set by the media. The amount of time spent on an issue and the information relayed in a news story, along with the story's position, determines how much a reader learns and the amount of importance placed on the issue (study.com, 2016 Jan 31). McCombs (2010:17) notes, the picture in peoples' minds about the outside world are significantly influenced by the mass media, both what those pictures are about and what those pictures are. He summarized that the news media have a substantial influence on the content of the public agenda, and the phrase "setting the agenda" has become commonplace in discussions of journalism and public opinion. Thus, aspects of issues selected for attention by the media influence the public's perception of these issues.

McQuel (2010:446), also states, the idea of agenda-setting is that the news media indicate to the public what the main issues of the day are and this is reflected in what the public perceives as the main issues. In the original, traditional domains of agenda-setting, the salience of public issues, there is considerable evidence that the shifting salience of issues on the media agenda often is the basis for public opinion about the overall performance in the office of a public leader (McCombs, 2011:17). Cohen quoted in Williams (2003:181), in a study of the media and foreign policy in the United States claimed the news may not be successful in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling them what to think about. The power to push people into thinking about certain kinds of issues became known as agenda-setting.

This power of media has been supported by McCombs and Shaw's (1972) study. They developed the hypothesis in a researchable form in their examination of the news coverage of the 1968 US presidential election campaign. In their examination of contents of political news coverage, they found that a high level of relationship between the amount of attention given to a particular issue in the media and the level of importance assigned to issues by people in the community who were exposed to the media (Fleur and Rokeach cited in Williams 2003, 181- 183).

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

3.1. Research Methodology and Design

3.1.1. Methodology

It is the philosophy of the general principle which will guide your research. It is the overall approach to studying your topic and includes issues you need to think about such as the constraints, dilemmas, and ethical choices within your research (Dawson, 2007:16). Kothari (2004:8) also defines research methodology as a way to systematically solve the research problem. It may be understood as a science of studying how research is done. In addition to this, the methodology is the broad term used to refer to the research design, methods, approaches, and procedures in an investigator that is well planned to find out something.

Thus, one can deduce that methodology is a roadmap of research. There are qualitative, quantitative and mixed methodologies. However, this study is employed the qualitative one.

3.1. 2. Qualitative Research Method

Qualitative research is a system for exploring and understanding the meaning of individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involves rising questions and procedures, data typically gathered in the participants setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data (Creswell, 2014:32). Jackson (2010: 101) described that qualitative research focuses on phenomena that occur in natural settings, and the data are analyzed without the use of statistics. In a qualitative study, the researcher gathers data through studying documents, observing behavior, and interviewing participants.

3.1.3. Research Design

Kothari explained it as a conceptual structure within which research is conducted; it includes the plan for the collection and analysis of data. Therefore, it helps the smooth sailing of research works, in that way making research as efficient as possible. Based on their popularity across the social and health sciences researches, there are five qualitative research designs: narrative, phenomenology, ethnography, case study, and grounded theory. In the research designs, researchers might study individuals (narrative, phenomenology); explore processes, activities, and

events (case study, grounded theory); or learn about the broad culture sharing behavior of individuals or groups (ethnography) (Creswell, 2014: 236).

Case studies are a plan of inquiry in which the researcher explores in depth a program, happening, activity, method, or one or more individuals. Cases are limited by time and activity, and researchers gather detailed data using various data collection methods over a sustained period (Stake 1995 cited in Creswell, 2009: 46). Jackson (2010:102) also described a case study as an in-depth study of one or more individuals, groups, social settings, or events in the hope of revealing things that are true of all of us.

This study is a case study. Two newspapers are selected to undertake a comparative case study of human rights violation reporting. The Ethiopian Addis Zemen is a daily publication in Amharic language and government-owned. The Ethiopis is a weekly published in the Amharic language too, and it is privately owned. Human rights are an important issue in every country and reporting their violation is an ethical issue in journalism. Hence, a qualitative data collection design was employed to gather the necessary data from the two newspapers, and interviewees.

3.2. Data Sources and Collection Mechanisms

3.2.1. Secondary Source Data

Secondary source data is the data that has been collected in the past but made available for others to use (formplus Blog, 2020, Jan 15). As to Kothari (2004:125), secondary data means data that are already available i.e., they refer to the data which have already been collected and analyzed before. It is easily accessible than primary sources of data since it can be available on different platforms such as published, electronic, and internet which can be accessed by the researcher.

Secondary source data may either be published data or unpublished data. Published data can be found in (a) multiple publications of governments; (b) publications of foreign governments or international organizations; (c) scientific and trade journals; (d) books, magazines, and newspapers; (e) reports and publications of various associations; (f) reports prepared by research scholars in different fields; and (g) public proceedings and statistics, historical documents, and other sources of published information.

Thus, not less than thirty published materials including books, articles, and government archival documents; constitutions, anti-terrorism proclamation, Freedom of the Mass Media and Access to Information proclamation and human rights institutions report are used as published secondary source data. In addition to these unpublished sources are also used. The sources of unpublished data are many; they may be found in diaries, letters, unpublished biographies, and autobiographies and also may be available with scholars and research staff, trade associations, labor offices, and other public/ private individuals and organizations. In this regard, research papers, and human rights institutions press releases are used as unpublished secondary sources in a literature review, and as a reference in the analysis part.

3.2.1.2. Primary Sources

A primary data source is original data, which is one, in which the data are collected firsthand by the researcher. It is often reliable, authentic, and objective in as much as it was collected to address a particular research problem. Primary data is accurate compared to secondary data.

The data is not subjected to personal bias and as such the authenticity can be trusted. In this case, the researcher has full control over the data collected through the primary source (formplus Blog, 2020, Jan 15). Primary data is gathered by a researcher from first-hand sources, through methods like surveys, interviews, or experiments. Therefore, we use primary sources to get data from “the horse’s mouth” and increase the degree of accuracy. Primary source data are gathered by employing different methods of which face- to- face interview, focus group discussion and personal observation are the most familiar ones to mention. However face to face interview and content analysis are employed in this study.

3.2.1.2.1 Face to Face Interview

There are different types of interviews of which an in-depth face-to-face interview is the most used in qualitative research methodology. It is designed to discover underlying motives and desires and is often used in motivational research (Kothari, 1990: 110). It allows the interviewees to talk freely about what they deem important, with little directional influence from the researcher (Dawson, 2010:28-29). The questions are more unstructured and free-flowing. Thus, an in-depth interview was conducted with the editor in chief and editor from Ethiopia, and with the deputy editor, editor, and two reporters of Addis Zemen. Besides this, thirty news and articles (from both newspapers) which are related to human rights violation are taken as primary source data for this study.

3.3. Data Sampling Technique

Researchers collect data from different sources or informants. The data may be taken from the population or representative sample. Population/ Universe is the fullest of cases from which the sample is selected (Saunders et al, 2009:212). As Kothari (2004:55) “When the field of inquiry is large, it becomes hard to implement it. Due to this reason, it is possible to obtain sufficiently accurate results by studying only part of that population which is called a sample. Sampling is choosing a smaller, more manageable number of informants to take part in their research.

In many qualitative types of research, the ability to generalize their work to the whole research population is not the goal. Instead, they might seek to describe or explain what is happening within a smaller group of people (Dawson, 2010: 49-50). From this one can define sampling as a set of individuals chosen from a population, usually intended to represent the population in a research study. Therefore, there are probability and non probability sampling from which the later is applied for this study.

3.3.1 Non-Probability Samplings Method

Non-probability sampling is also called deliberate sampling, purposive sampling, and judgment sampling. In this type of sampling, items for the sample are selected deliberately by the researcher and as to (Saunders et al, 2009:237) the sample size is dependent on the research question(s) and objectives. And the acceptable sample is a sample that fulfills the desired efficiency, representativeness, reliability, and flexibility. Therefore, purposive sampling is used in this study as it is suitable in a very small sample like in case study research.

Standing from these perspectives, editor in chief of Ethiopis and deputy editor of Addis Zemen were interviewed. two editors from both newspapers, and two journalists of Addis Zemen who contribute to human rights issues columns purposefully chosen for an in-depth interview. In the same way, a total of twenty five news and articles (Twelve from Addis Zemen and Thirteen from Ethiopis) are purposively chosen for the analysis.

3.4. Data Presentation, Analysis, and Findings

As Creswell (2009: 183-189) stated that data analysis is a process involving continual reflection about the data. Qualitative data analysis is conducted concurrently with gathering data, making interpretations, and writing reports. He also says “qualitative data analysis involves open-ended data based on asking general questions and analyze from the information supplied by participants.” As to him, data analysis ended up with data interpretation which is also called the meaning of the data. The interpretation could be a meaning derived from a comparison of the findings with information obtained from the literature or theories.

The data gathered from both primary and secondary sources analyzed in the descriptive method (thematically). Contents from each newspaper were analyzed separately. To analyze the content, headlines of the articles were taken both in English and Amharic. By taking parts of the stories, the researcher described the themes of the entire stories. Responses of the interviewee are also analyzed in separate tiles. Finally, comparisons are made out of the findings in the summary.

Chapter Four

Data Presentation, Analysis, and Findings

4. Introduction

This chapter presents data gathered from primary and secondary sources. All the data were analyzed based on the theoretical framework and the research questions. The news and articles, which were published in Addis Zemen and Ethiopis Newspapers, related to human rights violations in the given time frame were intensively reviewed and analyzed. The study is aimed at analyzing how Addis Zemen and Ethiopis report human rights violations, which is a means to the promotion and protection of these rights.

4.1. Editorial Policies of Addis Zemen and Ethiopis

Established in 1941, Addis Zemen is a government-owned Newspaper. It is one of the newspapers governed under Ethiopian News Agency (EPA). The Ethiopian Herald (English), Berissa (Affan Oromo), Alalem (Arabic), and Zemen magazine are EPA's publications. All including Addis Zemen are ruled by a single editorial policy, which has 41 articles. The researcher asked to access the policy but was denied by the authorities of Addis Zemen that is against the 2008 media law. The law under its article 11(1) asserts that "All persons have the right to seek, obtain and communicate any information held by public bodies, except as expressly provided for by this Proclamation." The undergoing amendment of the editorial policy was their reason for the denial. Even though they were told that the situation would be stated in the study, they did not allow.

As clearly stated in editorial policy, the primary goal of the agency is to elucidate the concept of government, proclamations, and policies of the government. Besides harmonizing the relationship between the public and the government is also its goal. Article five of the editorial policy advocates for development journalism. Of the 41 articles, there is no article, which promotes human rights. However, the democracy development coverage directive (article 14.2.4.1), stated that issues of democracy, human rights, and supremacy of the law will be seen with special attention. And it proclaimed that "news and columns published by the agency shall consider gender equality. It gives equivalent attention to women's affairs." It also states that the agency's coverage focuses on the country's social development strategies and policies.

However, Ethiopis has acquired its license on September 22, 2018. Ethiopis came into being in 1992. But, due to the government's measure, it was closed and Eskindir Nega, the manager was jailed. However, after Abiy Ahmed, the Prime Minister of the FDRE came to power, the government freed prisoners. Eskindr was among the released journalists and reestablished his newspaper. It has a motto of truth, balance, persistence, and siding with the public. Standing from this basis, presenting true and factual information to the public is its main goal, said Beniam Ali, editor in chief.

Ethiopis covers all kinds of issues without siding with any individual or group, he added. As to Beniam, national issues have given priority. Although he did not allow access to the editorial policy of the newspaper, he informed that human rights issues are a priority to Ethiopis and incorporated in the policy. Unavailability of both the softcopy and hardcopy formats during data collection was the reason for denial to access to the editorial policy. He said, "We attend, and published when government and groups violate those rights."

The weekly Amharic Ethiopis publishes editorials (ርዕስ አንቀጽ), news (ዜና), interviews (አትኩሮት), opinions (ከምሁራን መድረክ) and news analysis (ወቅታዊ) on various kinds of issues. And it dedicates the pages for different columns. In the same way the daily Amharic Newspaper Addis Zemen also publishes news, articles, and interviews on different issues. The newspaper classified the pages for different columns. Amongst, editorial (ርዕስ አንቀጽ), news (ዜና), free thought (opinion) (ነጻ ሀሳብ), guest (interview) (አንግዳ), columns are chosen. These are prioritized because human rights issues are raised most in. Hence, a total of twenty five; three editorials, five news and two interviews from each newspapers, and two opinions from Addis Zemen and one from Ethiopis, and one news analysis are selected and analyzed.

4.2. Content Analysis

4.2.1. Editorials

Addis Zemen	Ethiopia
The attack shall not delay our development (የተፈፀመው ጥቃት ከልማታችን አያዘናጋንም) on July 1, 2019	Those who burn chapels are betrayers (ቤተ እምነቶችን የሚያቃጥሉ ከሀዲዎች ናቸው) on July 28, 2019
The rule of law must be respected (የሕግ የበላይነት ይከበር) on November 2, 2019	We should go out in the street in a peaceful way to be a voice for prisoners of conscience (ለህሊና እስረኞች በሰላማዊ መንገድ ድምጻችንን ልናሰማላቸው ይገባል) on September 28, 2019
The merger news awaited in yearning (የውህደቱ ዜና በናፍቆት ይጠበቃል) on November 16, 2019	Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s statement is irresponsible and unbalanced (የጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዐቢይ አህመድ መግለጫ ኃላፊነትና ሚዛናዊነት የጎደለው ነው) on 10 November 2019

Table 4.1 Editorials of the newspapers

4.2.1.1 Editorials in Addis Zemen

The editorial headline of Addis Zemen on 1 July 2019 is “The attack shall not delay our development” (የተፈፀመው ጥቃት ከልማታችን አያዘናጋንም). Its publication came after the June 22, 2019 assassination of Amhara Regional State higher officials in Bahirdar and Chief of National Defense Force with his retired military general friend in Addis Ababa. The editorial describes the government’s effort to transform social, economic, and political sectors following the “reform”. It discusses measures taken by the government to improve the governance system, to combat corruption, to harmonize national unity, and achievements in the diplomatic sector.

The editorial testifies that the government has done a lot in leading the country’s growth to the next step. It adds the government’s work on different developmental and good governance sectors are in good progress. Finally, it recommends that every citizen take part in protecting these good efforts of the government by turning faces towards development, but not back to what happened a week earlier in Bahirdar and Addis Ababa.

“The rule of law must be respected” (የሕግ የበላይነት ይከበር) is the editorial on 2 November 2019. It is published after ten days of chaos broke out in Addis Ababa and Oromiya Regional State. The editorial begins by describing various internal conflicts in different parts of the country, including

in the Capital City. It is stated that those conflicts caused many deaths; millions of internal displacement and various human rights violations. These are not a recent phenomenon but inherited by the present administration, from the past. The effects of the unrest observed a week before were mentioned. The newspaper, in its editorial states, that between 70 up to 80 citizens were killed, based on Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (EHRC) information dated October 29, 2019. Since situations turn to the worst through time, it calls upon the government to prove the supremacy of the law.

The title of another editorial article on 16 November, 2019 is, “The merger news awaited in yearning” (የውህደቱ ዜና በናፍቆት ይጠበቃል). It discusses the expected merger between EPRDF and other regional parties. It says, “The current federal system is a cure for centuries’ problem of the country. However, the practice widens differences than maintaining unity between citizens and limits their movement from one place to the other.” The article further describes that as EPRDF leads a great country and people to secure united Ethiopia, its unity must be assured first.

It accuses the EPRDF which is a coalition of four parties from Tigray, Amhara, Oromiya, and SNNPR for leading the country for 28 years alone. The other parties of Gambela, Benshangul Gumuz, Afar, Sumale, and Hareri regional parties were simply implementers of decisions made by EPRDF. Though they administer their respective regional states, they do not have a right to decide on the national major issues. Due to these reasons, Addis Zemen believes the merger of the parties is timely, what Ethiopia and its people need, and needs to be accelerated.

The first edition has been chosen, because the reason for, its title was a cause for various human rights violations as the literature revealed. As a press release by EHRCO on July 18, 2019, and Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2019 by the United States Department of State, during the time of the article publication, there was an arbitrary arrest and mistreatment of prisoners. For that matter, the deceased themselves were victims of human rights violations. Their right to life which is stipulated in, among other international and regional declarations, as well as in the FDRE Constitution was deprived.

The Constitution in its article 14 reads, “Every person has the inviolable and inalienable right to life, the security of person and liberty.” However, Addis Zemen failed to give attention to the then humanitarian crises and by siding with the government, which is against the ethics of journalism.

Of course, the editorial article does not mention any human rights violations but tried to divert the readers' attention from focusing on activities following the officials' assassination. It is published in human interest frame by providing example of officials who were killed.

The second editorial article encompasses that lack of law and order in the country causes deprivation in civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. Even though the article mentions violations in human rights, it curses the former administration for all the problems and guards the present administration. Prognostic framing is used in the article. As Snow and Benford stated in Betelhem (2011:40) prognostic framing refers to the recommendation of a solution to the problem. Finally, the article suggests the government maintain the supremacy of the law to protect human rights.

The third editorial article describes how the previous administration suppressed the political rights of citizens in “developing” regions. The EPRDF has been accused of breaching those rights of citizens for the last 28 years, which the current officials repeatedly and bluntly uttered it. And, they planned to merge all regional leading parties so as to have equal participation in Ethiopia's political affairs. The only party that opposed the merger was TPLF for which, as too many previous studies Addis Zemen was a right hand before Premier Abiy Ahmed assumed power. The editorial article is presented in human interest frame by describing how citizens in “developing” regions were marginalized from the central politics.

As the newspaper usually has done from the time of the imperial regime, it hammers the former leading party and showed its loyalty to the current administration. In the study's timeframe, there is no news or articles that published the TPLF voice. However, the newspaper utilizes every single opportunity to criticize and to draw horror of TPLF. This can enable us to understand how Addis Zemen is the propaganda machine of the government, and how it prevaricate the existing facts.

4.2.1.2. Editorials in Ethiopis

The first selected editorial from Ethiopis for analysis published on 28 July 2019. The title is “Those who burn chapels are betrayers” (ቤተ እምነቶችን የሚያቃጥሉ ከሀዲዎች ናቸው). Ethiopis published it after July 18's numerous deaths and injuries, and property damage in Sidama. It is reported that in Hawasa, Tula, Leku, and Yirgalem hospitals, not less than 25 victims died. Besides, there were people killed by the police shot, there were also civilians who lost their lives because of their

identity, according to Ethiopis reports. In addition to all these destructions, churches became a point of target. The protest in Sidama Zone against the government’s delay to respond to the Sidama Regional State claim was cause for these all distractions. And Ethiopis questions, how burning churches can answer political questions. And the newspaper states, by any measurement those involved in the attack must be prosecuted.

Ethiopis on 28 September 2019 published an editorial article with the title “We should go out in the street in a peaceful way to be a voice for prisoners of conscience” (ለህሊና እስረኞች በሰላማዊ መንገድ ድምጻችንን ለናሰማላቸው ይገባል). The article describes prisoners who are suspects of murdering government officials in Bahirdar and Addis Ababa on June 22, 2019. According to Ethiopis, these prisoners spent three months under investigation in prison. They are suspected of terrorism acts, but what the police investigate is a completely unrelated matter. As they told the court what the police asked them is “Why do not you support the Prime Minister and Mayor of Addis Ababa? Why do you be an obstacle for them? Why you become a member of Addis Abeba Baladera Council?”

Besides, it reveals the mistreatment in prison. A victim named Takele Bekele told Ethiopis that even it is difficult to get medication by quoting his own experience. He was locked up in a two dark and cold room for 33 days. He was allowed only once to go to the bathroom a day for fifteen days. Takele complains that he is a nerve patient and told to get medical treatment in selected hospitals at his own cost after once the police bureau is covered for his medication.

Ethiopis concludes that all these indicate the government’s position to frighten the public not to criticize its bad doings. Therefore, although the prisoners are personally affected, it’s the problem of the whole country, Ethiopis says. Due to this, it calls upon the public to stand on the side of the prisoners and to go out in street in a peaceful way to have voices heard.

The other editorial article chosen for analysis is published on 10 November 2019. Its title is “Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s statement is irresponsible and unbalanced” (የጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዐቢይ አህመድ መግለጫ ኃላፊነትና ሚዛናዊነት የጎደለው ነው). Ethiopis condemned the Prime Minister’s late report after eleven days since 86 people died of brutal attacks. On top of that, it criticizes him for including the number of deaths by religion and ethnicity. Besides, since the data are compiled by Oromiya

Regional Government, it is not trusted, Ethiopis says. Moreover, it accuses the Oromiya authorities have been involved in a religious and ethnic attack in the region for the past three years. It calls upon the international community to consider the genocidal act in Oromiya Regional State. Therefore, the Prime Minister's statistics labeled as mistaken since the officials are not neutral. Eighty-six citizens were killed, because of the government's trial of lifting Jawar Mohamed's (an activist) security guards. This was a result of not a conflict, but of an attack. Ethiopis further explained that on the attack of October 23, 2019; Lorries were used to transport attacking groups from place to place, there was a command chain, there were food and water supply, and assailants were armed with machetes, and military weapons with the undercover of Oromiya Regional State officials. However, the victims were not organized, unarmed, and did not have either legal or authorities' protection. Finally, the newspaper argued that the Prime Minister's speech has the potential to ignite another conflict since he listed the number of deceased by their ethnicity and fifty of them are Oromos.

The first editorial article of Ethiopis was published in the morality frame type by denouncing the immoral act of those who burned churches. The editorial exposed how citizens were suffering, supported by statistical data. In the article, Ethiopis disclosed and criticized the crisis. In addition to this, the newspaper in its editorial urges the government to contain the peace and security of the people. From the article, we can understand that the civil, political, and cultural rights of people in Sidama were violated. In the second editorial publication, the newspaper described how prisoners whom it called "prisoners of conscience" are suffering and held unlawfully. It argued that they are not criminals rather they are victims of arbitrary detention. Besides, it disclosed the partiality of the police to the government, especially to Abiy and Takele. It generalized that imprisonment was an act of silencing citizens from criticizing the government. And, it took advantage to call for a peaceful demonstration against the government's measure. Such reporting shows, the media's role as being a voice for the voiceless.

In the attribution of responsibility frame editorial of the third article above picked its pen on Prime Minister Abiy. It criticized the Prime Minister for his late report after citizens' death in Oromiya and for the wrong statistics he used. Ethiopis said that there was officials' direct participation in the attack, which had an ethnic and religious basis. Ethiopis generalized Abiy's report after the

death of 86, after six months Federal Police Commission confirmed that the deceased number reached 97 due to chaos in different parts of Oromiya would escalate the problem than freezing the situation. In general, the above three editorial articles signify the watchdog role of the newspaper, Ethiopis. Besides, it voices up for prisoners, who reportedly were mistreated in prison.

4.2.2. News

Addis Zemen	Ethiopis
The federal system is said to expose citizens to human rights violations (የፌዴራል ስርአቱ የተተገበረበት መንገድ ዜጎችን ለሰብአዊ መብት ጥሰት አጋልጧል ተባለ) on November 2, 2019	Life Killed Churches have been burned (ሕይወት ጠፍቷል፤ አብያተ ክርስቲያናት ተቃጥለዋል) on July 28, 2019
The hospital, which has been built for nearly 300,000 citizens in the city of Mukuturi, is not providing proper services is in controversy” (በመከፈሉ ከተማ ከ300 ሺ ለሚበልጡ ዜጎች የተገነባው ሆስፒታል በውዝግብ ተገቢውን አገልግሎት እየሰጠ አይደለም ተባለ) on November 30, 2019	Ethiopis’s Journalists Misganaw Getachew and Adam Wujira accusation of terrorism() on August 18, 2019
Cooperative effort with neighboring countries on going to prevent human trafficking” (በሰው የመንገድ ወንጀልን ለመከላከል ከጎረቤት ሃገራት ጋር በቅንጅት እየተሰራ ነው) 14 December, 2019	We out loud our suppressed voice to Ethiopian citizens (የታፈነ ጩኸታችንን ለኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ እናሰማለን) on November 5, 2019
More than 250 suspects under arrest (ከ250 በላይ ተጠርጣሪዎች በቁጥጥር ስር ውለዋል) December 21, 2019	Addis Credit and Saving Institution’s job announcement pauses complain (የአዲስ ብድርና ቁጠባ ተቋም የስራ ማስታወቂያ ቅሬታ ቀረበበት) on November 13, 2019
Reconstruction in Addis forces residents to live in a plastic house for five years (የልማት ተነሿዎች ለአምስት ዓመታት ያህል በላስቲክ ቤት ውስጥ እየኖሩ ነው) on September 21, 2019	EHRC urges the government to prosecute those who participated in Oromiya riot (በኦሮሚያ በተከሰተው ሁከት የተሳተፉ እንዲጠየቁ የሰብዓዊ መብቶች ኮሚሽን ጠየቀ) on October 23, 2019

Table 4.2 News stories

4.2.2.1 News in Addis Zemen

The news in Addis Zemen with the title “The federal system is said to expose citizens to human rights violations” (የፌዴራል ስርአቱ የተተገበረበት መንገድ ዜጎችን ለሰብአዊ መብት ጥሰት አጋልጧል ተባለ) was published on 2 November 2019. The news is produced from the exclusive interview with Chief of EHRC, Daniel Bekele. As he expressed, the federal system has made citizens vulnerable to human rights violations, which is a problem in the federal system of government. He also pointed out that the structure of the political party may be another factor, and that the focus on identity has also led to conflict. In particular, recent conflicts are associated with identity issues and environmental and border issues: this is my area, this area is not yours, and your boundaries are there”, he added.

One of the news published on 30 November 2019, is entitled “The hospital, which has been built for nearly 300,000 citizens in the city of Mukuturi, is not providing proper services is in controversy” (በመከጠሪ ከተማ ከ300 ሺ ለሚበልጡ ዜጎች የተገነባው ሆስፒታል በውዝግብ ተገቢውን አገልግሎት እየሰጠ አይደለም ተባለ). It is stated that the plan to complete the hospital’s construction was in two years, but it took six years. The delay in the completion was a misunderstanding between the client and the contractor. Due to these defects in the construction, it has not been handed over. Around three hundred thousand citizens live in Muketuri, who were expecting health service of Muketuri Hospital failed to access to proper health service. But both the client and the contractor claim that they deliver their responsibility, and blame each other. In between, dwellers' right to access proper health care falls in danger.

The headline of one of the news on 14 December 2019 is “Cooperative effort with neighboring countries on going to prevent human trafficking” (በሰው የመነገድ ወንጀልን ለመከላከል ከጎረቤት ሃገራት ጋር በቅንጅት እየተሰራ ነው). It describes how human trafficking spreads and affects citizens’ lives. According to Ato Zinabu Tunu who is a Public Relations Director of the Federal Attorney General, many crimes related to human trafficking are committed. Because of this, many death, and both physical and mental injuries were reported. As to the director, traffickers stretch their chain from villages to border areas. And, it is reported that about 128 illegal human traffickers were arrested and given a verdict. However, the verdict is not proportionate to the crime committed against humanity. That is why illegal human trafficking increases more from time to time than decreases.

On 21 December 2019, the publication reads “More than 250 suspects under arrest” (ከ250 በላይ ተጠርጣሪዎች በቁጥጥር ስር ውለዋል). The news is published following the Federal General Attorney’s press release. It describes the fatalities after three months of conflicts in some parts of Oromiya and Federal Universities. Inhuman killings, different level physical injuries, and both public and private property distractions are recorded. In addition to this, six suspects of involving in clamors from Woldya, Wolo, and Debrebrhan Universities were arrested.

One of the news on 21 September 2019, states that “Reconstruction in Addis forces residents to live in a plastic house for five years” (የልማት ተነሿዎች ለአምስት ዓመታት ያህል በላስቲክ ቤት ውስጥ እየኖሩ ነው). This elaborates on what happens to residents in the heart of Addis Ababa, Amerika Gibi. It reported the residents fear that officials warned them that the government has planned to demolish plastic houses. Five years before, they were living in their houses that were knocked down for development purposes. The plastic house dwellers resisted and argued that before the knockdown, they were told to get a substitution. But, it is not practical. As to Weyzero Rahma Tadese, she was nine months pregnant when her house was demolished. It forced her to give birth and raise her child in the plastic made house. The other resident who registered as a person in acute poverty and live for more than 25 years, denied her right to get a substitution house.

Relatively speaking, the newspaper entertains diversified ideas from different places in the news than other columns. Believing that there is a wide range of human rights violations, Addis Zemen interviewed the chief of EHRC about the cause for the chaos and human rights crisis in the country. Throughout the entire study time, no victims’ voice from vulnerable areas of displacement and conflict was included. As it will be discussed in interview analysis, Addis Zemen is highly dependent on government and official press releases, in the notion of not to aggravate the situation. Hence, the first news is presented in a prognostic frame as it implies a solution to the problem. The second news is framed in diagnostic type, which is considered as investigative reporting. The report disclosed the social right abuse against Muketuri residents because of inappropriate management of the hospital construction. Such kind of reporting should be continuously practiced. In that way, only the media can play their watchdog role.

The next two news stories have relied on the government body's press releases. In the news, Addis Zemen reported the consequence of the human rights crisis and the arrest of the suspects for involving in crimes that caused human rights at risk. The final news is a type of investigative reporting about socially deprived dwellers in Addis Ababa. This is the only news that Addis zemen produced by interviewing the victims from the selected news stories. Even though the track record of the newspaper proves that it is the voice of the government, it should develop hearing as a media from the grass-root level. This time only, the newspaper can maintain its role as a voice for the voiceless than truckling to the government.

4.2.2.2 News in Ethiopis

Ethiopis, on 28 July 2019's edition incorporates the case of Sidama in its news with the title "Life Killed Churches have been burned" (ሕይወት ጠፍቷል፤ ኦብያተ ክርስቲያናት ተቃጥለዋል). It describes the fatalities of the clash on 18 July and measures that are taken. After the clash, the Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (SEPDM) has suspended top officials of Sidama and Hadiya Zone. According to Ethiopis, leaders of Sidama and Awassa were suspended for their role in the clashes, in Hawassa town and rural areas of Sidama. According to a statement issued by the EPRDF, the leaders of Hadia Zone were suspended in connection with activities that endanger the peace and security of the people in the zone.

As of July 18, 2019 clash, individuals' homes, businesses, and churches have been distracted in Hawassa, Aleta Wondo, Hagere Selam, Wondo Genet, and other areas of Sidama Zone. It reports, the number of casualties in this attack has varied, but it has been estimated by more than 30. An unknown number of people, including father and son, were killed. Houses and churches were burned. More than 400 residential and commercial buildings have been set ablaze, and not less than 3 churches have been burned. Residents also fled to neighboring areas to risk their lives.

One of the news on 18 August 2019 is about Ethipis's Journalist Misganaw Getachew and Adam Wujira accusation of terrorism. As to Ethiopis both of them are arrested while they were secretly recording in the compound of Federal First Instance Court, Arada Branch. And the newspaper condemns their arrest by coating international trends of taking a record from the compound. In the court, police were asked "since they are arrested for their secret recording, how it could be related to terrorism?" and answered, "They are suspected of the June 22 coup."

On 5 November 2019, Ethiopis published news from a message that came from prison. “We out loud our suppressed voice to Ethiopian citizens” (የታፈነ ጩኸታችንን ለኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ እናሰማለን). The message has been sent by six prisoners, who claimed their arrest is illegal. They explain that they are jailed, because of the book entitled “The Hijacked Revolution”, which was published last July 2019. Two prisoners for the same reason were released for a bail of thirty thousand birrs. They make clear that, however, the rest of them suffered from an atrocious detainment. They say it is unlawful to jail them for the published book in a country that has a law for press freedom. All this shows they say, that “Unexpectedly the country is going back to the old system.”

According to them, they are accused of terrorism, and three crimes are included, Ethiopis reports. These are: attempt to evict the Prime Minister from his power, trying to mislead the nation, and cooperation with the extremist terrorist group, “the Shene”. But they disclose themselves as civilian taxpayer businessmen. In their two months' stay in prison, they visited court five times, and the problem was always the judges were changed. They concluded their message by, the terrorism law instead of being a tool to protect peaceful citizens, now it becomes a gag and scaremonger to civilians.

“Addis Credit and Saving Institution’s job announcement pauses complain” (የአዲስ ብድርና ቁጠባ ተቋም የስራ ማስታወቂያ ቅሬታ ቀረበበት) is news on 13 November 2019. It was internal announcements and speaking, writing, and reading in Oromifa is a mandatory prerequisite to be a candidate. The compliant told Ethiopis that an institution, which is governed by the Addis Ababa City Administration and requesting Oromifa language as mandatory is both unfair and partial.

The news published on 3 November 2019, is from the EHRC statement, which is released after the cause of 86 death riot in Oromiya. It has the title “EHRC urges the government to prosecute those who participated in Oromiya riot” (በአሮሚያ በተከሰተው ሁከት የተሳተፉ እንዲጠየቁ የሰብአዊ መብቶች ኮሚሽን ጠየቀ). It asks all participants, either directly or indirectly should be questioned by the law. The commission says, the riot that begins on October 23, 2019, caused many deaths, physical injuries, and property damages. On top of that, it put the supremacy of the law under question and basic human rights at high risk. The commission reveals about seventy to eighty people died. Of the deceased, ten of them are killed by police bullets.

Ethiopia covered on 28 July 2019, the same topic with the editorial in the news about Sidama Crisis. The news is produced in conflict frame type. It included all the casualties of the July 18, 2019 clash in Sidama Zone. The next news is about detained staff journalists of Ethiopia. It is produced in the human interest frame, which is most common next to the conflict frame in the news story. It stated that their detention is unlawful. In a similar frame type Ethiopia published news from the message of prisoners, on November 5, 2019. It would be considered an exemplary role of being a voice for the voiceless. As stated above in the news, the prisoners were arrested for the publication of a book entitled “The Hijacked Struggle” and they are accused of terrorist acts. This can be one indicator of how the anti-terrorism law helps the government to silence critics and to violate freedom of speech, which is guaranteed by the FDRE Constitution.

The other news also revealed an ethnically framed vacancy announcement in a public financial institution in the capital city. In the prognostic frame type news on November 3, 2019, Ethiopia published about the Oromiya riot that caused 86 (later confirmed 97) civilians death starting from October 23, 2019. The news was published from the EHRC’s press release.

4.4. Feature

Addis Zemen	Ethiopia
Parties can only claim the government position and lead the people when there are people and the country (ፓርቲዎች ነገ መንግሥት ሆነው ሕዝብን መምራት የሚችሉት ሕዝብና ሀገር ሲኖሩ ብቻ ነው) on August 31, 2019	Young men (Qeros), with machete and stick, encircled us in a strike (ገጆራና ዱላ የያዙ ወጣቶች (ቁርዎች) በአድማ ወጥተው ከበቡን) on
If the political crisis is not resolved, the human rights situation will not improve (የፖለቲካ ቀውስ መፍትሄ ካላገኘ የሰብዓዊ መብት አያያዝ ሁኔታው አይሻሻልም) on November 2, 2019	Nationalists play a dangerous gamble in a religion (ብሔርተኞች ሀይማኖትን እንደማቀጣጠያ በመጠቀም አደገኛ ቁማር እየተጫወቱ ነው) on September 29, 2019
	Households are living in tents for months on July 14, 2019

Table 4.3 Interviews

4.4.1. Features in Addis Zemen

The guest column presents news of guests interviewed on different issues. The interviewee on 31 August 2019 was Girma Bekele, Deputy Chair Person of Ethiopian Political Parties' Joint Council. The title of the article is "Parties can only claim the government position and lead the people when there are people and the country" (ፓርቲዎች ነገ መንግሥት ሆነው ሕዝብን መምራት የሚችሉት ሕዝብና ሀገር ሲኖሩ ብቻ ነው). The interview does not merely focus on human rights. The entire discussion is about the political activities of the country. In the interview, Ato Girma comments on the new proclamation of political parties' registration and electoral code of ethics. Despite political parties commented on the proposed proclamation, it is approved without including any suggested options. He said, as a joint council, they would discuss the proclamation for the second time by incorporating the parties' concern before the House of People's Representative approves it. He also complains that the Council commented on 15 articles that need amendment. But, the house approves by ignoring their voice, he adds. And he questions the Electoral Board's institutional freedom and independence.

Another interview was conducted with Daniel Bekele, Chief of EHRC on November 2, 2019. He said, if the political crisis is not resolved, the human rights situation will not improve," (የፖለቲካ ቀውስ መፍትሄ ካላገኘ የሰብዓዊ መብት አያያዝ ሁኔታው አይሻሻልም). He describes many human rights conditions have improved throughout the current "transitional" government, which has been in power since part of a year. Especially the release of political prisoners, the expansion of the political space for any citizen; it is a good idea that the oppressive laws are amended and that other laws are being reformed. As to him, freedom of expression is celebrated in a far better and different way. The chief also raises his concern about detained people by Addis Ababa Police Commission. Among the detainees, three of them are journalists. He explains, although the government suspects them for crime, it appears that much of their interrogation is related to their job. He adds it is dangerous if others' detention linked to their formal political or civil society works.

The guest column is left for interview with political elites or "senior" citizens. Sometimes it invites scholars from different fields of study, but the theme of every publication revolves around the political situation of the country. In the first interview, Addis Zemen could not flee from the reality of what the interviewee told. He explained, even political parties have been denied their political

rights. The interview was not entirely on human rights issues. However, it is extracted from the interview.

4.4.2. Features in Ethiopis

“Young men (Qeros), with machete and stick, encircled us in a strike” (ገጅራና ዱላ የያዙ ወጣቶች (ቁራዎች) በአድማ ወጥተው ከበቡን), this interview is gathered from the displaced residents of Kolfe. The complainee told Ethiopis that the youths came to their houses at night. They did not even get time to flee their property. “As soon as they came, they demolished our houses, and we could do nothing because they were armed,” they said. Ethiopis reports that they could do some arrangements if assailants come during the day, but they come at night like a thief. Besides the material distraction, they beat young men. They are seriously beaten until they could not walk. “While the young men (qeros) demolish the houses, we asked them to take out our properties, but they refused,” the victims complain.

Ethiopis on 29 September 2019 conducted an interview with Ato Mohamed Ali, a lawyer, on the countries current issue. The interview is entitled “Nationalists play a dangerous gamble in a religion” (ብሔርተኞች ሀይማኖትን እንደማቀጣጠያ በመጠቀም አደገኛ ቁማር እየተጫወቱ ነው). He describes the current “reformist” government could not maintain law and order. As to Mohamed Ethiopia become open to extremist nationalists. Due to this in different parts of the country, many tragic crimes are committed. Many civilians killed including religious institution fathers and elders, females raped, many are physically injured, and properties distracted and robbed. Thus, the administration could not maintain law and order, he concludes.

Ethiopis publishes issues that need public attention. It reported about citizens who were displaced from their homes in Legetafo Legedade on 14 July 2019. 3,550 Households are living in tents for months, it reports. They sheltered in six churches. There were a clash months before when police tried to evacuate them from the churches. That causes the abortion of a woman after a tear gas shot by police. And now, they are told suspects of the said coup in Bahir Dar and Addis Ababa on June 23, 2019. The complaints said:

The first Complainant, “We come from Legetafo Legedadi. We were housed in a plastic house for about 5 months. We have not stopped complaining to all government bodies of our problem. But

we did not find anyone who could hear us and ask us. We are in 6 sheltered camps at Holy Savior, St. Mike, St. John, and St. Gabriel churches.”

The second complaint is a woman who aborts her pregnancy with a police assault. She said, We live in a tent for 3 months with 3,550 households. We are now in the hardest part of the winter. We want the government to pay attention to us, we do not oppose development. If the place is needed by the government for development, the government had to prioritize its citizens. For whom is the development? It is not for us? It is citizens that should get prior attention. Where shall we go? The government is next to God for its citizen. What we are lacking is a government body that could listen to citizens compliant. So far, in the Oromiya region, we have gone from district to Regional Government, we went to the Red Cross but we did find the door closed. The Ministry of Peace has said that you are not displaced. What are we, then?

The attention column releases different issues that the newspaper selected as they are worthy to get both public and government attention. The above article is chosen for this study as an indicator. It is published by interviewing citizens who have lost their property due to urban development in Legetafo and forced to live in the compound of churches in the human interest frame. The worst that we understand from the news is that there was no government body ready to solve their problem.

In the interview column, all citizens, elites, politicians can participate. It gives the opportunity to victims of various human rights violations by different conflicts and displacement due to urban development. In addition to this, politicians and elites also interviewed on the general situation of the country. The first selected story was published after victims of Kolfe who lost their houses and properties. This shows that how the peace and security of citizens even in the capital city became hard. It is presented in the human interest frame. The second conflict frame story condemns the government’s inability to maintain peace and order in the country. This caused the deprivation of all kinds of human rights, which are protected by local and international declarations.

4.5. Opinions

Addis Zemen	Ethiopia
Cities of Refuge...! (የመግፀኛ ከተሞች...!)	The new challenge of Ethiopian Orthodox Church (የኢትዮጵያ ኦርቶዶክስ ቤተክርስቲያን አዲስ ፈተና) on September 8, 2019
Will we overcome the priesthood challenge? (የቤተ ክህነትን ፈተና እንሻገረው ይሆን?) on October 26, 2019	

Table 4.4 Opinions

4.5.1 Opinions in Addis Zemen

In this part of the newspaper, the free idea of people on different issues is presented. There is a title of an article, “Cities of Refuge...!” (የመግፀኛ ከተሞች...!). It discusses how it becomes difficult to bring those authorities who are suspected of crimes, armed men and individuals, to court. Prosecution becomes challenging because cities and regions are becoming a hiding place for suspected criminals. The writer Kumlachew Abebe states that citizens have been killed and physically attacked due to their political difference. Therefore, the government should further strengthen its efforts to bring the suspects to law.

On 26 October 2019, Addis Zemen publishes an article entitled “Will we overcome the priesthood challenge?” (የቤተ ክህነትን ፈተና እንሻገረው ይሆን?). The writer Frew Abebe raises his concern on the problems that the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church suffered. His expression comes after the statement released by the church. In the clash observed in different areas, five priests were tragically killed and 9 churches were destroyed. The church complains regularly that the government could not give an adequate answer to the church’s request. The church’s disappointment against the Federal Police, who mistreat flock who wore green, yellow, and red-colored clothes also mentioned. Although Mesqel (Cross) is a nationally and internationally celebrated holiday and registered at the UNESCO as a world heritage. When celebrating in some parts of the country, security forces took unnecessary measures against Orthodox flocks. Firew states that the church requests the government officials not to intervene in religious matters, and to take appropriate measures on security members, who violated the rights of worshipers following the Constitution of the FDRE.

The opinion columns invite three contributors in every publication. While intensively seen into Addis Zemen, it seems that it creates a public sphere; which means, first of all, a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body (Haburmas quoted in Zelalem, 2017:23 198). However, the reality is far away from the nomenclature of the column. Every week, only three people are contributors to the free thought column. They mostly raise socio-cultural issues. Sometimes they raise human rights issues, but like the news and editorial articles, they are too hesitant, to raise the failure of the government. On top of that, most of the time, the articles are written in favor of the incumbent government.

The first edition of the column that is taken for the study expressed the deprivation of people's civil and political rights. And it recommends the government to bring those who, violate human rights and breach law to justice. The later article is a type of conflict frame. It described the worshipers' rights were violated by killing their priests, burning down their churches, and preventing them from celebrating their religious holidays, which is against international law and unconstitutional. It violates Article 18 of UDHR that reads "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship, and observance."

It is also stated in FDRE Constitution article 27(1) that "everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion. This right shall include the freedom to hold or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice, and the freedom, either individually or in community with others, and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice, and teaching." Hence, the article criticizes acts against a religious right that has been observed in the country.

4.5.2 Opinion in Ethiopis

Getachew Haile on September 8, 2019, writes about the challenges that face the Ethiopian Orthodox Church by the title "The new challenge of Ethiopian Orthodox Church" (የኢትዮጵያ ኦርቶዶክስ ቤተክርስቲያን አዲስ ፈተና). He discussed the problems related to distraction (burning) of

churches, the assassination of priests, and downgrading its history. Mostly, academicians who are living abroad and in Ethiopia contribute to this column. In the human interest frame, the article clearly states how the right of Orthodox folk has been violated.

4.6. News analysis

Ethiopia
Jawar and his outburst, “We have shown that we have the power and ability” (ጃዋር እና የጫረው ብጥብጥ፤ “እኛ ቁርዎች ጉልበትና አቅም እንዳለን አሳይተናል”) on October 27, 2019

Table 4.5 News analysis

Jawar and his outburst, “We have shown that we have the power and ability” (ጃዋር እና የጫረው ብጥብጥ፤ “እኛ ቁርዎች ጉልበትና አቅም እንዳለን አሳይተናል”). This is published on October 27, 2019, that discusses what happens after October 23, especially in different parts of the Oromiya Region. It reports about the situation from the beginning. Jawar Mohamed who lives in Addis Ababa has called his fans in fear of security threat in the mid-night. On his Facebook address, which has more than 1.5 million followers, wrote the following; “I am observing several militants around my house. What they are doing is against the law and they should have to retreat. If any damage happens during the self-defense action, the responsible body is who commands the force without any tangible reason and notification.” On the morning of Wednesday, October 24, he told the media that he was a target of a murder crime. Then, in different parts of Oromiya demonstrations take place, and people suffered different levels of damages. Among the damages, fatalities were also recorded.

In this part, the newspaper publishes recently observed events. The above story revealed the reason for the carnage in October, last year. In general, as far as the study concerned, Ethiopia gives attention to human rights issues. Besides, its continuous report of human rights issues shows that Ethiopia’s effort in agenda-setting. The limitation that is found from the contents under study is most stories are one-sided.

4.3. Frames used in the Stories

Entman (1991:7) notes that framing in media is not only related to the content of a story but also physical characteristics, particularly of repetition and location. Concerning this Ethiopia has more reports of human rights issues. And it is common in Ethiopia to see related issues on the front page.

However, it is not easy to find human rights issues stories in Addis Zemen and if so, most of the time located inside the pages. In comparative speaking, this study shows that Ethiopia gives more attention to human rights issues than Addis Zemen. Especially, if the human rights issue holds the government responsible, it has almost no coverage in the latter.

It is found that the newspapers employed various frames are used in covering issues of human rights violation. From the analyzed frames, the human interest frame was dominantly used in both newspapers. Addis zemen equally employed diagnostic, conflict and prognostic framings. The second mainly used frame in Ethiopia was conflict framing, while prognostic, morality and attribution of responsibility framings were also used in Ethiopia. But morality and attribution of responsibilities got the list attention.

4.3. Comparative Data Analysis and Findings

This study in the former part has presented the content of different news reported to the public audience by taking sensitive issues. The study has also conducted face- to- face interviews by giving similar questions for both respondents selected purposively from the journalists of the two newspapers. The data gathered from the mouths of the respondents are separately presented. Therefore, the same data are corroborated and analyzed to show how they unite and disunite regarding the reporting issues of human rights in our country which is nationally and internationally guaranteed. Lastly, the findings from the comparative analysis are presented.

4.3.1. Interview Presentation

4.3.1.2. Limitations in Reporting Human rights Violations

Interviewees from both newspapers spoke about the existing limitations in their respective newsrooms regarding reporting human rights violations. Respondent C (2019, May27) from Addis Zemen said that there are many limitations in the newspaper regarding human rights. It is not common to report/ publish human rights issues in Addis Zemen, especially if they are civil and political rights issues. During chaos and conflicts unless the government gives a press conference on the issue or unless other media outlets cover it, Addis Zemen does not publish. Besides, follow up stories are not published. Sometimes, when reporters are planning to work on human rights issues, they do not get permission. Therefore, speaking, Addis Zemen is highly loyal to the

government, the interviewee responded. Lack of job training on human rights is also a challenge for journalists as stated by the respondent.

While in the case of Ethiopia, respondent B (2019, June 8) said “One-sided (unbalanced) reporting is our limitation. It is not deliberate, but we do not have a choice since government bodies classified Ethiopia as anti-government, none of the government organizations give us the necessary information.” They get information from governmental organizations if there is only a press conference that is open for all media. And respondent A said that the limitations are more external which are coming from the government. He also said, “*It is not easy to gather information outside. Police officers snatch our materials like cameras, even they beat us. Informants also cringe to come to our office fearing that government agents would revenge them.*”

4.3.1.3. Legal Frameworks and Human Rights Reporting

With legal frameworks, almost all respondents answered they are not favorable to media. For instance, respondent B (2019, May 27) answered, “Addis Zemen does not dare to confront these laws. However, in general, the legal frameworks do not allow journalists to use their potential in reporting human rights violations.” The responses from Ethiopia are also not far from this. Respondent A (2019, June 5), for example, said that it is common for foreign media, for example, reporting about groups that are classified as terrorists by interviewing their leaders. “However, here in Ethiopia, it is strictly prohibited by the anti-terrorism proclamation. Not only that, publishing news or articles, which are against the government also punishable.” Therefore, most of the time reporters are forced to “self-censorship.”

The response of respondent B (2019, June 8) is:

Legal frameworks, especially the anti-terrorism and freedom of the mass media and access to information proclamations are tools to violation of human rights. Many journalists and citizens had been accused and jailed based on the earlier proclamation. The latter is also a technical violation of the right to access public information. Despite the proclamation is entitled “The Right to Access to Information,” the content is far away from guarantying the right. As to the proclamation, the power to give public information or to deny is vested on public relations directors.

The first respondent also added that “Legal frameworks hamper the development in journalism.” According to their response, even the Anti-Terrorism Law, which was ratified to protect the peace and security of citizens, is a threat to journalists and journalism in general. Many journalists were accused and sentenced based on this law. Therefore, “journalists ought to self-censorship.”

4.3.1.4 Human Rights and Editorial Policy of Addis Zemen and Ethiopis

The interviewees asked whether their Editorial Policy incorporates issues of human rights or not. The first respondents were from Addis zemen, and two of them said that it is included, however, the remaining two answered they have not accessed the editorial policy though they have worked for years in Addis Zemen. Respondent D (2019, May 29) replied, “Human rights issues are incorporated in the editorial policy. It grants us (journalists) to watch a crisis against human rights. Besides we are evaluated by our work performance on human rights issues.” But, respondent C (2019, May 25) opposes it and said, “I do not have any information whether the editorial policy includes human rights issues or not. I have never got the opportunity to read it in my seven years of experience, in this newsroom. No one has given it to me. It is found only in the hands of top-level staff members.” Whereas, respondent A (2019, June 5) from Ethiopis said, “Issue of human rights is one among the major concern of Ethiopis which are incorporated in the editorial policy. That is why we are dedicatedly worked on human rights violations.”

Responses gathered from respondents from both newspapers revealed that there is a limitation in the right to access to public information, which would highly impact on freedom of the press. The other commonly mentioned drawback is the lack of journalists on the job training on human rights issues. A response from one of the respondents from Addis Zemen can be taken as an example here. The respondent who has been staff for not less than seventeen years said “I have never seen training on human rights arranged for journalists.” Both parties state that since most journalists are from fields other than law, they might not have ample knowledge about human rights. However, a respondent from Ethiopis told there is a trend of hiring law graduates in their newsroom to deal with such matters.

4.3.1.4. Good Practices in Human Rights Violations Reporting in Addis Zemen and Ethiopis

Respondent A (2019, May 25) said “As Addis Zemen is a public media; its accountability is to the public. Whenever and whatever human rights violations have occurred, the reporting implies the solution. It does not cover human rights issues at the moment, fearing not to catalyze the problem. It is what is expected from responsible media.” He argues that human rights reporting is common, even though he could not remember even a single story. However, the remaining respondents believe the newspaper does not emphasize human rights issues. For instance, respondent B (2019, May 25) said, “I do not remember the human rights crisis report in our newspaper. Even though a wider range of human rights violations is observed in the country, we wait until the government says so. This could affirm that how much the newspaper is a voice and loyal to the government.”

In the case of Ethiopis, respondent A (2019, June 5) answered “We give special emphasis to report human rights violations. For example, we had consecutive reports of the human rights crisis after Jawar Mohamed’s facebook message in October. Our newspaper published the interview with victims and victim families even from Harer and Arsi. Besides the issues of displaced people from Addis Ababa and vicinity towns of the Oromiya region had been covered.” And respondent B (2019, June 8) mentioned the killing of civilians in Gonder by the National Defense Force, which the respondent called it government-backed human rights violation reported.

4.4. Comparative Analysis

The study was conducted to analyze how Addis Zemen and Ethiopis reported human rights violations. As to this comparative study, working on issues of human rights reporting is difficult in Ethiopia. Besides this, ownership showed a great influence on the professional performance of journalism. It is also learned that there is a polarity of media as studies in the past repeatedly suggested. Government-owned Addis Zemen highly engaged in voicing the government agenda, and ignored reporting human rights violations in the country due to various conflicts. Addis Zemen has to wait for the government’s go on light to publish such news. On the other side, Ethiopis has better coverage for human rights issues, and it is more critical on the government. When comparatively seen, the contents of the two newspapers do not seem about the same country at the same time.

The study also revealed that there is self-censorship in the newsrooms due to the fear of the government's reaction after the publication of a certain story. As to interviewees, the government's direct or indirect pressure is also a hurdle for working on human rights issues. The right to access public information also has become a core problem in journalism; especially an interviewee from Ethiopia said that they have completely been denied public information. This shows the agenda-setting role of the government to the media instead of they have to do it. It is also learned that journalists are arrested by police for their professional work. Based on the finding of the study, even though the government resounds of press freedom, the execution reveals the opposite.

In both newspapers, it is difficult to find the opposite or different ideas. In Ethiopia, most of the articles were critical. In professional evaluation, though ideas from different individuals are included, almost all are criticizing the government. It is rare to see government officials or pro-government ideas are entertained. It is the same in Addis Zemen that opposite ideas do not entertain. However, Ethiopia goes to the grass-root level and publishes the voice of victims of multiple human rights violations.

It was learned from the study that different types of framing were employed in the newspapers. Ethiopia dominantly used conflict framing followed by human interest framing in the articles; whereas, the prognostic frame was mostly used in Addis zemen. As the interviewee revealed that, human rights reporting is full of challenges. Among those challenges, unbalanced reporting, lack of journalists' awareness of human rights, and government pressures can be included. Those challenges prevented, especially Addis Zemen from working on human rights issues. However, the study showed that Ethiopia has better effort in reporting human rights violations in the presence of the mentioned challenges. The interviewees do not believe the legal frameworks of the country create a favorable environment, mainly the anti-terrorism, and the right to access to information proclamations. Of course, most of them have no detailed understanding of these proclamations. The other thing, which was found by the study, is that both organizations are reluctant to show their editorial policy, even for researchers.

4.5. Major Findings of the Study

The study findings revealed that the government oppresses the press in different mechanisms which makes reporting human rights issues challenge full. Especially, government-owned Addis Zemen is not daring to expose human rights violations, except for statements is given by government officials. Therefore this research has considerable significance in pointing the gap in human rights

issues reporting and the measures that the government should take to make the press work freely. Even though there were various types of violations in human rights, the government-owned Addis Zemen newspaper reported none of these crises.

On the contrary, Ethiopis has covered those crises frequently. It plays its agenda-setting role to protect and promote human rights violations, rather than following the government's press release on the issue. In general, what the study vividly revealed standing from the entire contents of both newspapers is that there is partisan reporting. That means Ethiopis is more critical, and rare to see reporting positive of the government. In complete opposite, Addis Zemen does not dare to publish critical stories on the government. Instead, it has remained to be a mouthpiece of the government. It is clear that how much partisan reporting in Ethiopia is a bottleneck for the nurture of journalism. The other problem based on the study is that despite the government speaks about press freedom, still it is under question. Journalists have been arrested for their professional work. Authors, publishers, and distributors were also under arrest due to a book under sale. But this is against the declaration of the FDRE Constitution under article 29. The article is about the Right of thought, opinion, and expression. Standing from the study findings, these rights are not being protected. The anti-terrorism law is also continued to be a threat to journalists. On top of that, access to public information has become so challenging. The combination of the mentioned constraints forced journalists to work for their daily bread than working based the principles of the profession. The cumulative factors of these problems exert pressure on journalism in general and journalists in particular. Unless the rights guaranteed by the Constitution are protected, the constitution is not more than a written document.

Lack of journalists' knowledge about human rights is also among the problems, which are obstacles against the proper coverage of those violations. The news organizations do not arrange on job trainings in the field. Unbalanced reporting or avoidance of counter argument, incomplete coverage of events, relay on government version of events, dependence on official sources and, lack of investigative journalism are also among the findings of the study. Besides this, the legal frameworks of the country are not safe for a healthy journalism. It is revealed that citizens' freedom of expression is still at risk. Finally, in western world civil and political rights issues are mostly reported. However in Ethiopian context social issues are dominantly covered than civil and political rights issues. This could imply that media democratization and media freedom have poor score card

Chapter Five

Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusion

Issues of human rights have become more salient after the end of the Second World War. Due to this, media have become significant means of finding and revealing violations of human rights. Standing from this, this research examined how Addis Zemen (daily Amharic) and Ethiopis (weekly Amharic) newspapers had reported issues of human rights from 1 July 2019 to 31 December 2019. During the study time, there were various violations against human rights across the nation.

However, it is claimed that local media gave attention to the situation below the expectation. Studies noted that the government's surveillance over the media limited the media's watchdog role. It is also revealed that the relationship between what the government promised and/ or talks about press freedom and the practice is paradoxical. Four research questions were formulated to answer human rights reporting practices in the two newspapers. Based on the questions first it is found out that Addis Zemen's reports are mainly relied on governmental sources. Always it reports positive of the government. However, Ethiopis listens from the grass root level, but does not support by counter balance.

Second, the legal frameworks are playing a negative role in the decline in journalism development. Journalists are not comfortably work on human reporting violations since there are threats from governmental bodies. In relation to their editorial policy, in Addis Zemen, even if issues of human rights are included, it is not clearly stipulated. In the same way, it is not clear whether Ethiopis has editorial policy. At the time of data collection the researcher could not access to it. Third, both encounter various challenges; self sensor ship, unable to gather information freely, unable to access public information, and of course financial constraint for the private one is significant.

Finally, unless these problems are solved, the newspapers in particular and media in general cannot perform their tasks properly. Therefore, tremendous effort is needed from the government side to strengthen the media. Thus, the research is believed to be an input to policymakers, and help other researchers on similar issues as a baseline.

The UN laid the foundation to maintain fundamental human rights across the world in its Charter of 1945. The UDHR also recognized that the inherent dignity and equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace of the world. In addition to these, ICESCR and ICCPR were also adopted in 1967 to further strengthen human rights. Following these declarations, different regional Bills of Rights were adopted. One of these is The African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights. It accepted the Charter of the United Nations and UDHR and declares a duty on states to promote and protect human rights. And the Charter proclaims that the member states shall recognize the rights, duties, and freedoms enshrined in the Charter and shall undertake to adopt legislative or other measures to give effect on them. It also includes the establishment of the African Commission on Human and People's Rights to promote human rights and ensure their protection in Africa.

Issues of human rights are also reviewed from a national perspective. The concept of human rights got slight attention during the Imperial regime in the revised constitution of 1955 and the 1987 constitution of the PDRE. However, the current constitution gives higher attention to human rights issues. Unlike the predecessors, the FDRE constitution affirms that all international agreements ratified by the Ethiopian government are an integral part of the law of the land. That means it recognizes, UDHR, ICCPR, and ICESCR as the country's law. Besides this, 15 articles (14-28) of the constitution are entire of human rights at the list on the paper.

Since issues of human rights become sensitive, they got media attention worldwide. Media play an important role in raising people's awareness of their rights. They investigate and expose human rights violations to the public attention. The media can also take up the human rights agenda by reporting human rights issues. Therefore, media have an important responsibility to play the role of "watchdog" a check on the power of the state, to report government misconduct, and expose abuse of public authority. Media in advanced democracies could be expected to act for inclusive discussion, mobilize citizens' interest, encouragement, and participation in public discussion.

The history of media in Ethiopia traced back to ancient times. They connect the beginning of traditional media with the ancient kings Awaj Negari system. This traditional mass communication system paved the way for modern print and electronic media. And studies also state that Ethiopia has its own homegrown media system, which was not instituted by colonial powers. But still, the

media development in the country is in a lower stage. They are remained to be the mouthpiece of the government and propagators of government agenda. The media environment is characterized by polarized reporting. Private media focus on negative reporting, while government media tend to cover pro-government news. In these all years, the media have a poor scorecard. Even if the FDRE constitution guaranteed freedom of mass media, other laws like the Anti- Terrorism law and Freedom of the Mass Media and Access to Information law criticized for limiting media freedom. The sum of these entire reasons limits the development of Ethiopian media practice.

This study discussed various human rights violations in different places in Ethiopia due to multiple kinds of reasons. It assessed how those violations were reported in the government-owned Addis Zemen newspaper and the private-owned Ethiopis newspaper, starting from July 1 through December 31, 2019. Addis Zemen is the oldest newspaper, which was established in 1941, and Ethiopis was established in 2018. From the newspapers, 30 articles were purposively chosen and qualitatively analyzed. The analysis was done based on the theoretical framework, research questions, and literature. Data were collected both from primary and secondary sources. In addition to analyzing the content of the stories, an in-depth interview was conducted with editors of both newspapers and reporters of Addis Zemen. However, because of the COVID-19 pandemic, focus group discussions were not managed.

Data from the newspapers and the respondents were presented and critically analyzed in a description. Based on the data and the nature of the content, two theoretical frameworks were selected for the study. Primarily framing theory and agenda-setting theory were used. As the finding revealed, the newspapers utilized different types of framing in their articles. The study found out that there are challenges that the newspapers have encountered at the time of making news related to human rights issues. Their main problem is unable to get information from the right officials unless they called for a press conference. The data gathered from informants and the newspaper content analyzed comparatively. It reveals that the existence of denial in public information makes human rights reporting difficult. Of the two newspapers, Addis Zemen (government-owned) has a better opportunity, however, Ethiopis (private) completely excluded, even from government officials' press conference.

The data analysis shows that Ethiopis had covered more human rights issues than Addis Zemen. It is found out that both newspapers have similar characteristics. Addis Zemen is highly dependent on government officials to cover human rights issues. On the contrary, Ethiopis gathered data or information for the story from victims. Most of its stories are critical of the government's works. But Addis Zemen focuses on positive reporting about the government. The other difference was, Ethiopis covers both local and international human bodies' reports, but Addis Zemen reported almost none, during the period. Besides these differences, there is a common problem in both newsrooms. They lack trained journalists in human rights, which added to the limitations in proper coverage.

5.2. Recommendations

Recommendations based on the study findings are suggested below.

Recommendations to Addis Zemen

- Based on the finding, there is a high level of administrative and government interference in news content, which is against press freedom and shall be stopped.
- It shall set its agenda than reflecting what the government set.
- Leaving events or violations of human rights unreported, because of fearing not to fan the situation is unacceptable and unprofessional since journalism has its principles to be followed in any reporting.
- It must refrain from its partisan role to the leading party, and needs to give equal opportunity to other political parties.

Recommendations to Ehtiopis

- Publishing human rights issues shall be strengthened, which would improve its agenda-setting role on the issue, creating awareness of human rights, and holding responsible bodies in violation of human rights accountable.
- Shall report the good practices of the government, instead of being always irrationally critical.
- Needs to balance its stories since balance is among the main principles of journalism and the motto of the newspaper too.
- Needs to start including the officials' voice on a complaint of people who claim their human rights are deprived, even for the sake of victims to get proper solutions.

- Should stand for the development and the good practice of journalism.

Recommendations to the government

- Shall enable all private and public media to work freely, and the media freedom must prevail in the country.
- Shall quit neutralizing critical private media from the system and blocking from accessing public information.
- Needs to help media institutions in the capacity building of journalists in human rights issues.
- Should stop mishandling of journalists who reveal government's or officials' wrongdoings.
- Shall maintain declarations in UDHR, OAUC, and FDRE Constitution that promote and all types of human rights.
- Expected to accelerate the amendments of legal frameworks that dragged the development of media.

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Appendix I

Questions to answer frame types

Attribution of responsibility frame

- Does the story suggest that government has the ability to alleviate the problem of human rights violation?
- Does the story suggest that the general community has the ability to alleviate the problem?

Conflict frame

- Does the item reflect disagreement between parties, individuals, or groups?
- Does the item reflect winners and losers?
- does the item refer to two or more sides of the problem?

Diagnostic frame

- Does the item employ an investigative effort?
- Does the item defined the problem?
- Does the item include ideas from different sides?

Economic consequence frame

- Is there reference to the financial cost/degree of expense involved, or financial losses or gain, now or in the future?
- Is there a reference to none- financial cost/ degree of expense involved, to non financial losses or gain, now or in the future?
- Is there reference to economic consequence of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?

Human interest frame

- Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?
- Does the item employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy caring?

- Does the item mention how individuals and groups are affected by the issue or problem?
- Does the item go into the private or personal lives of the actors?

Morality frame

- Does the item contain any moral message?
- Does the item make reference to morality, God or other religious texts?
- Does the item offer specific social prescription about how to behave?

Prognostic frame

- Does the item sort out the problem?
- Does the item suggest for solution?

Appendixes II

Dear respondent(s)

The following questions are qualitatively designed to gather primary data as supplementary information for my AM study entitled “Human Rights Violation Reporting Experience in Ethiopia: the Case of Addis Zemen and Ethiopis in a Comparative Perspective” at Addis Ababa University, School of Journalism and Communication. I promise that all data that you provide me orally would be cited anonymously to strictly maintain the law of secrecy and ethics of research. The true answers you give for my questions would determine the content and finding of my study that would benefit our country. Lastly but more importantly, I would like to thank you for your cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

Beyene Wolde

1. What are the major limitations in reporting human rights violation in regard to your newspaper?
2. How much dedicatedly did your newspaper reported human rights violation in Ethiopia at different times and can you give concrete instances?
3. How do you describe the legal frameworks of the country in relation to reporting issues of human rights?
4. How does your editorial policy incorporate issues of human rights?

የተከበራችሁ የመጠይቁ ተሳታፊዎች፡_

የሚከተሉት ጥያቄዎች በአዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ጋዜጠኝነትና ስነ-ግባቦት ትምህርት ቤት “Human Rights Violation Reporting Experience in Ethiopia: the Case of Addis Zemen and Ethiopis in a Comparative Perspective” በሚል ርዕስ ለማዘጋጀው የመመሪያ ጽሁፍ አጋዥ መረጃ ለመስብሰብ የተዘጋጁ ናቸው። የሚሰጡኝን የቃል መርጃ የጥናት ስነምግባር መርህን በመከተል ማንነትዎን ሳልጠቅስ የምጠቀም መሆኔን አረጋግጣለሁ። የሚሰጡኝ እውነተኛ መልስ ለአገራችን ሊጠቅም በሚችለው የዚህ ጥናት ይዘትና ግኝት ላይ ወሳኝ አስተዋፅዖ ይኖረዋል። ለጥቁዎቼ መልስ በመስጠት ለሚያደረጉልኝ ቀና ትብብር እጅግ አመሰግናለሁ።

በየን ወልዴ

1. እንደእናንተ ጋዜጣ የሰብአዊ መብቶች ዘገባ ላይ ያሉ ዋና ዋና ውስንነቶች ምንድን ናቸው?
2. ባለፈው አመት በተለያዩ ወቅቶች የተከሰቱ የሰብአዊ መብቶች ጥሰትን ምን ያህል ትኩረት ሰጥታችሁ ዘግባችኋል? ምሳሌዎችን መጥቀስ ይችላሉ?
3. የአገሪቱ የህግ ማዕቀፎች ከሰብአዊ መብቶች ዘገባ ጋር ያላቸው ግንኙነት እንዴት ይገልፁታል?
4. የጋዜጣችሁ የአርትዖት መመሪያ የሰብአዊ መብቶችን ጉዳይ አካትቷል?