

**An Assessment of Status of Afaan Oromo Print Media in Ethiopia: Challenges and
Prospects**

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**A Thesis Submitted to the School of Journalism and Communication
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts (Journalism and Communication)**

Addis Ababa University

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

July 2012

Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Chalchisa Gemechu Kuma, entitled: *An Assessment of Status of Afan Oromo Print Media in Ethiopia: Challenges and Prospects* and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Masters of Arts (Journalism and Communication) complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepts standards with respect to originality and quality.

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To:

My Mother **Dandane Abdi** who had been aspirating to see my success, but couldn't.

Though you passed, your effort to direct me on the right track to my future life and the mental freedom you provided me will live with me forever.

Abstract

Ethiopia has a large population that has to be informed properly in order to achieve strong socio-economical and political establishment in the country. Thus the country has to establish and encourage independent and diversified mass media as many as they can satisfy the information need of these large and diversified ethnic groups. But there is a condition in which such practice is not functional in the country. Even the majorities Oromoms are not represented in the press of the country. The main objective of the study is to assess the position of Afaan Oromoo Print Media in Ethiopia and to identify major factors that hinder the growth of the media. Data were qualitatively collected through in-depth personal interviews and questionnaires with open ended questions. Interviews were conducted with editors- in- chief of both the government owned and previous private owned Afaan Oromoo print media while questionnaires were distributed to audiences and journalists of Afaan Oromoo Mass Media that are selected through snowball sampling method. Therefore, study concluded that Afaan Oromoo Print media are insufficient to satisfy the information need of Oromo people. There are only three print media that are owned by the government and there is no private print media that are published in language in the country. Different factors like political, economic, professional and social challenges were ascribed for the less development of the media.

Acknowledgment

My first gratitude goes to Almighty God who has helped me up to the end of this study. Secondly, I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Negeri Lencho, for his assistance and his dedication to read and direct my entire study. I am also thankful to instructor Abera Degefa for his help and his constructive advice to keep me on the right track for the success of this study. Lastly, I would like to thank all my friends and others who assisted me and provided me with the necessary materials for my study.

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Chapter One

I. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Mass media are the most important channels that carry information and ideas around the world. They play a major role in building bridge to connect different parts of a society (Mcquail, 1987). They also facilitate the flow of expression of diverse opinions, cultures, languages and groups in any given society in relation to various representations. Independent and professional local media can produce content that reflect diversity within and between societies; also provides sufficient space for issues that introduce social change.

As cited by Compaine (1981) in Dennis and Merrill (1984) locally owned press would supposedly provide greater access to diverse opinion than fewer controlling an identical number of media outlets. Dennis and Merrill (1984) also share similar idea that democracy is best served by diversity in the communication market place, that a variety of competing voice provides the public with multiplicity of information and opinions on which to base its decision. Diversified media ownership provides more opportunities for the free flow of information on public affairs; people's free expression through the mass media; cultural expression, particularly in vernacular languages use, and the arts; popular participation in public affairs discussion; political pluralism, and public demands for transparency ([http:// www.unesco.org/webworld](http://www.unesco.org/webworld)).

Given an equal access to wealth and power, certain communities and individuals are less privileged than others. Citizens in the democratic society must be informed, for that society to serve and develop. Without adequate information, effective participation in the political press would be virtually

impossible and citizens would be at the mercy of their government and media owners (Feder, 1978, Nyamjoh, 2005).

The press can serve the interest of the general public, if and only if the government of the given society is democratic and the press is made free from interferences of the government with the activities of press. The free press provides a vital checking function on government action and possible business. It enables individuals to learn growth, and realize their autonomy; the social system function well when the spaces are made for people to decent or blow off contests publicly. But in some developing countries such space has not been given yet (Napoli, 2007).

Ethiopia is one of the developing countries that have had democratic government very recent. The press of the county have mostly owned by succeeding authoritarian rulers. Freedom of the press in Ethiopia was legally guaranteed since 1991; the proper sense of media has come to exist during this period. The press law which was issued in 1992 and recently revised emphasizes the existence of free press which is vital to mounting the democratization process in the country. The 1995 Ethiopian Constitution article 29, also guarantees this freedom. Consequently, a large number of newspapers and other journalistic outputs have been published for national and local circulation (Mekuria, 2005, and Brihanu 2009). However, as Ministry of Information (2006) shows, of large number of news papers and magazines flourished following the proclamation of 1992, only few were published in other language than Amharic.

Selection of the language can play a crucial role in the creation of informed and aware community with the pages of the press. Media enable the local society to express themselves and participate actively in national affairs where as these communities are well represented and given the chance to their own media that serve through their indigenous languages (Colemon and Russ, 2010).

Ethiopia is known for its language diversity. There are more than 80 languages in the country. As a result, the country is expected to establish as many presses as the language differ (Misrak, 2009). But the reality is inverse, even the biggest language (in terms of number of users) Afaan Oromoo is not represented in the press as it should satisfy the needs of its speakers.

1.2 Statements of the Problem

In developing countries like Ethiopia where the democratization process is on its infant stage, the task of achieving a free and democratic press for sustainable development is very important. The existence of free and independent press is very crucial to speed up the process. To develop media as a vital source of information is to enable and support democracy in Ethiopia by strengthening freedom of expression and respecting human rights. The promotion of democracy depends among other factors on the active involvement of the media. The effective operation of media depends on the respect for human rights and respect for freedom of expression. Freedom of expression is possible only through free and independent press (Aadland and Roe, 2000).

Press is the vehicles of communication that enables communities to identify themselves in part of multiethnic state and government. In the meantime, these communities are expected to have their own press in their own language. This has a vital contribution to maintain peace and security among the states and to encourage the participation of the communities in all aspects of sustainable development and democratization process (ibid). Ethiopia has to develop free and independent press well suited for its own society and that enables them to get open and equal opportunity to participate in political, social and economic affairs. However this idea is guaranteed by the constitution of the country. For instance, Article five sub-articles one (1) of 1995 Constitution of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia says

“All Ethiopian language shall enjoy equal state recognition”. In addition, article 29 of the constitution guarantees freedom of expression.

This provision must be respected in Ethiopia where more than 80 ethnic groups with different languages and culture living together. Despite the language diversity, it seems that the nations in the country were not given equal opportunity. Afaan Oromoo which is spoken by large number of people was not represented in the press (Shemelis, 2000). For example, of 73,587,533 total population of the country about 24,907,381 people speak Afaan Oromoo as a mother tongue while about 21,144,113; people speak Amharic as a mother tongue. It is assumed that there is no Afaan Oromoo private newspaper and magazine and the government owned media are also insufficient to satisfy the information need of Oromos. On the other hand their circulation seems limited to the government officials. This may affects the constitutional right of the people to be informed and strengthen the hunger of the public for the alternative source of information. There might not be legal barriers, but there might be factors that hinder the development of the media. Therefore, this study attempts to assess the status of Afaan Oromoo print media in Ethiopia and ways of addressing the problem.

1.3. Objective of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

The general objective of this research was to assess the state of Afaan Oromo Print Media in Ethiopia and to identify possible challenges that affect the development of the media.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

The Specific objectives of this study were to:

- Examine the state of Afaan Oromoo print Media in Ethiopia.
- Identify factors that hinder the development of Afaan Oromo print medium.
- Study how print media that are owned by government accessible to the public.
- Show the gaps created due to insufficient supply of Afaan Oromoo Print Media.

1.4 Research Questions

The study attempted to answer the following basic questions:

1. Do the available Afaan Oromo Print Media satisfy the demand of the Oromo people?
2. What are the major factors that hinder the development of Afaan Oromo Print Media?
3. How can the problems, if any, be solved

1.5. Significance of the Study

Researches that have been conducted on Afaan Oromoo print media are very few. This gap appears to be the major challenge in enhancing and advancing the media. Therefore, this research can be used as a reference for farther study in the area. It is difficult to study everything in this research. Therefore, it may help as a base for others to conduct further research in the area. It is also hoped to contribute towards enhancing an academic understanding of media in Afan Oromoo. In addition, media practitioners, policy makers, media owners, and academicians may benefit from this study.

1.6. Scope of the Study

This study is limited to assess the status of Afaan Oromoo Print Media, particularly news papers and Magazines; both state owned and private medium. The major emphasis will be given to how these media are practiced and possible challenges of the media.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

Shortage of time and financial problem were the major challenges to success of this study. On the other hand as this study is new, there were few adequate literatures in the area. It was challenging to get both primary and secondary sources to the study. Thus, this is additional challenge of the study. However, overcoming all the limitation, the researcher has done his best to make the study successful and achieve its objective.

1.7 Organization of the study

The study consists of five chapters. Chapter one presents a general background of the study, research objectives and significance of the study research questions, limitations and organization of the study. Chapter two presents history of press in Ethiopian in general and Afaan Oromoo print media in particular. Various related literatures and theories have been presented.

Chapter three is dedicated to a discussion of the research methods employed in the study. The methods, procedures and sampling techniques employed in the research are the corpus of the third chapter. Chapter four discusses the core findings of the study in line with the introductory chapters and the theoretical perspectives in chapter two. The chapter forwards the results of the data gathered through in-depth interviews and document analysis. The last chapter, chapter five, focuses on the conclusion and suggested recommendations based on the outcome of the research.

Chapter Two

2. Review of Related Literature

2.1. The Concept of Mass Communication

The term 'mass communication' refers to the field of inquiry of various means by which individuals and entities disseminate information through mass media to a large and diversified communities at the same time. Whereas the term 'mass' denotes greater volume of population and reception of messages, communication refers to the process in which these diversified public exchange and transmit experience, knowledge and values among themselves and with external bodies.

Therefore, mass communication is the process in which identified individuals and organizations transmit information through mass media to huge number and diversified people at the same time in which their collective interests would be equally represented in the mass media (Domink, 2009). Mass media are the powerful channel through which the public exchange information at a longer level.

Furthermore mass media are referred to as a powerful communication channel, typically differ in forms and functions, through which information from diversified sources is delivered to diversified society at the same time. By such communication human beings maintain their social institutions, each with their values and ways to behave not only form day to day, but also from generation to generation. Some critiques of mass culture and mass society, generally assumed that the development of mass communication had a largely negative impact on modern social life, creating a ground on homogenous culture which has imposed on individuals without challenging them (MacQuail, 2000).

Since their early establishment in Europe, mass media came under the control of secular and authoritarian rulers. The political climate of press has been changed following the evolution of the printing press that opened the door for the beginning of modern press. The press traveled a long way of fighting for its freedom. This was centered on the movements for democracy and people's right. It took until the end of 17th century to establish the concept of press free from government suppression. Since then the notion of media performance to affect and shape political process has been going throughout the world (Herbert and Elates, 1988).

According to Thomas and Naon (2004), it is accepted in different social political theories that media and communication system are very crucial in democratic society. The hope of establishing a democratic society is that the free flow of information is essential for communities to seek their rights and freedoms, so they intensified on the right of press to pursue the truth and publish it whether or not the government agrees or not with the truth. Such political changes occasioned by expecting power of the mass media in turn, had a farther impact on public attitudes about politics, the democratic system and their role with the system (Berkman and Kith, 1986).

Furthermore, mass media are more advantageous in playing a key role in motivating public debate, expression and provide forum on the public issues. In addition they are of increasingly economic significance. Whereas as media industry grows, they diversified and consolidated their power in the market in order to win competition in the market. Across different society with varying media systems, there is an increasing concern with the nature and quality of media output as well as the independence and diversity of media systems (Mcquaile, 2003).

The media can make available channels through which the separate voices, groups, and interests that make up the society can speak to their wider nations, express and safeguard their cultural diversity in pertinent way. The mass media are expected to present or reflect the prevailing difference of culture, opinion and social condition of the whole population. The availability of different media channels increase the quality of communication services by making opinions, information and cultural forms and ways of living more available, contributing to social change (ibid.).

2.2 Media Diversity

The origin of the value of diversity is deeply rooted in the Western version of modern society that refers to individualism, change, freedom of thought and freedom of movement. The concept of diversity thought to be envisioned in response to contemporary social diversity and division.

In media policy literature, McQuaile (1992), documented that there are three different types of diversity. First, social diversity, which denotes the variety of people in society's political, socio cultural and socio economic sphere. The second is media diversity which refers to the heterogeneity in the offering of media content in society. The last one is diversity of opinions in society. However, these three concepts are inter-related; other two are reflected and encouraged by media diversity. Media diversity refers to the variety of mass media (Source, Channel, message and audiences) in terms of pertinent difference in society.

It also shows the degree to which media content is heterogeneous. Mefuil 1992, and Nopoli 2007 share similar idea that the heterogeneity of media content refers to the supply of media content to media market exceeds the audience's actual conception of media content. The increase in media supply enhances the possibility for media consumers to choose from verity of media outputs and services.

The concept of media diversity refers to the heterogeneity on the level of contents, outlets and ownership. That can be referred to the extent in which media contents reflect and serve various interests and opinions of the public, or it can refer to the general diffusion of media power in society on the level of ownership, economic structure and political influence (Mcquail, 1992).

Diversity much more accentuated in political pluralism that frequently underlies the vesting of public interests in media diversity. From angle of political theory, diversity has come to acquire the concept that the media ought to function on behalf of neglected minorities and consumers' choice or against monopoly and restrictions of free follow of ideas. Some scholars suppose that media policy should promote diversity especially of expression, opinion and culture, where by maximizing opportunities for media freedom or by way intervention in the market place (**ibid**). Media diversity can be seen from different dimensions.

Thus, Mcquail (1992) categorizes media diversity in to three dimensions. The first one refer to political diversity that covers the controversial matters in society including labor and economic conflict, moral and legal issues and also any debatable issues. Democratic politics minted around public competition for popular support, in which the mass media play a key role. Geographical difference is the second dimension that describes the ethnic, religious or language difference with in the given society. These diversified societies identify their communication channels in order to serve their local needs as well as to help their integration into the wider society.

Under such atmosphere in order to meet these needs, the media should locally be owned and controlled by and there should be independent and competing channels. The last dimension is the socio- cultural diversity that includes the potential significance of sub- cultural differences based on gender,

generation and different types of interest. The strength and legitimacy of claims to separate prerequisite for socio-cultural minorities or the chance of them being satisfied by way of market force varies tremendously. The class difference, which may weaken poor socio-economic condition often, produces a marginalized identity (Mcquail, 1992).

According to Compbell, (2004), media diversity play a crucial role in providing a range of viewpoints, a restrictive of concentration of influence within too few hands and ensuring a range of groups within society access to media production. Thus one needs to recognize that any of constructing the difference against which diversity is analyzed or measured is itself an act of power.

2.3 Media Pluralism

The concept of pluralism in contemporary social thought derived from theories of mass society which developed as a critical response to totalitarianism. The idea of pluralism is more identified with the concept of liberal democracy in which many different interested groups are thought to compete for power and for access to resources. The pluralistic arrangement for mass media can be seen as essential means in limiting trends to centralized control and uniformity. Windhoek Declaration of 1991 article (III) describe pluralistic press as the end of monopolies of any kind and the existence of the greatest possible newspapers, magazines and periodicals reflecting the widest possible range of opinion within countries. This provides the focus for political participation and identification and also isolation of individuals from the oppressive power of control of state (Mequail, 2000; Berger, 2011).

An open and free media setting with different opinions and ideas is a key aspect in democratic society; media pluralism is considered highly important with regard to media policy. As clearly described in Windhoek Declaration article (I), the establishment, maintenance and fostering of independent,

pluralistic and free press is essential to development and maintenance of democracy in nation and for economic development (Berger, 2011).

The concept of pluralism is analyzed in two dimensions internal and external pluralism. The first reflects how social and political diversities are reflected in media content. It refers to the representation of different cultural groups in the mass media as different political opinions and point of views. External pluralism refers to the number of owners, media corporations, independent editorial boards, channels, titles or programs. It is also known as the plurality of media content suppliers (<http://www.web.mit.edu/commnforum>).

Free, independent and diversified media can only be achieved through not only many media products but by the diversity of ownership and control of media. The greater computation in media is translated into greater diversity. Diversity of suppliers refers to those heterogeneous independent organizations that are involved in media production and to common ownership as well. The more diversified supplies, the better for pluralism (Mequail 2000).

Freedom and pluralism are a precondition for exchange and an essential for democracy and cultural diversity. In pluralistic society all groups should have equal right and equal access to resources. The media supposed to promote democratic pluralism by emphasizing the bonds which combined individuals with their own culture and to larger society and general solidarity with humanity. To make media pluralism effective and sustainable in the interest of press freedom, it needs more initiatives from government. Windhoek Declaration Article (II) shares similar ideas that all funding should aim to encourage pluralism as well as independence. As a consequence the public media should be fined only where authorities guarantee a constitutional and effective freedom of information and expression and the independence of the press (Bergor, 2011 and Mcquial, 2000).

2.4 Media Ownership and Control

One helpful way of identifying the relationship between the government and media is along the dimensions of ownership and control. Since 16th century, scholars and philosophers have attempted to describe the relationship between government and the media and its implication regards to freedom and control (Bura and Dakis, 2009). As Osmawio quoted by Domink, 1999 expressed that media ownership can range from private to public. The public ownership refers to government ownership. The control system also can range from centralized to decentralize. Centralized control shows the concentration of the government ownership of media while decentralization control indicates the private ownership of media.

Many countries follow the mixed media ownership system. For instance some European countries like France, Denmark and Italy follow both systems. Some of the broadcasting media in these countries are publically owned but no single political or special interest group control their messages. On the other hand United States and many European countries follow the decentralized control system. Media in these countries are owned by private companies and there is little centralized control. However many countries of Africa and Latin America follow the centralized control private owned system. The media in these countries can be owned by private organizations, but firmly controlled by the government (Domink, 1999).

The conventional view of the proper relationship between the government and media is that the free press is generated by private institution independent from government censorship and control. Under such condition the thorny relationship between the government and private media does not exist. Meanwhile the press functions independently in health and feasible democratic political culture. The media system naturally relies on the democratic system in which the freedom of press is fully guaranteed (Thomas and Noi 2004).

In the country where suppress of the press is strong, relationship between government and the press tends be antagonistic or there is no free space for press to play its watchdog activities. Some scholars like Baran and Avis (2009) have developed various theories of press to articulate and explain this relationship. All theories however fall on the amount of control the government exerts over the media.

2.4.1 Authoritarian theory

The concept of authoritarian theory existed since 15th century in Europe. The media that operate under this theory can be either owned by public or by privately, should serve the interest of government in power. The prevailing belief of authoritarian system was that the ruling elites should guide the masses and the public dissent or criticisms, whereas any contention considered as harmful and were not permitted (Campbell, 2004).

The Authoritarians used shocking techniques to control compliance of the press, including licensing, censorship of materials before publication, the granting of exclusive printing rights to holders strength of the press and the suit, harsh punishment of government critics. This was the line taken by most European monarchies since the invention of print press by Gutenberg; the serious restriction was placed on publications through most of the 17th and 18th centuries.

2.4.2 Libertarian Theory

Libertarian theory is totally opposite to authoritarian theory. This theory assumes that human beings are rational and capable of making their own decisions and the government exists to serve the individuals. The people with opposing viewpoints will be heard; the media will present all points of view, in what is commonly called market place of ideas. It emphasizes that all competing ideas should be introduced to the public and the public will choose the best idea from the market place without government intervention.

The libertarian approach to journalism owes most to the political ideology of liberalism and also to feature Christian ideology. The common citizens have a freedom to hear all sides of issues in order to distinguish truth from falsehood. Any government restriction on the freedom of expression imposed on the right of citizens is totally intolerable. In general, the media under such theory must be free from control of government (Baran and Douis 2009).

2.4.3 Soviet Communist Theory

This theory suggests that the government owns and operates the mass media and all employees were government employees, expected to serve the government's interest. Their purpose is to support the Marxist system and to achieve the goals of the state as expressed through the communist party. The government control comes before media published or broadcasted; people who controlled the media could exercise prior restraint. The communist approach to the press work best in closed society where information is tightly controlled by the government. Nowadays, this theory is found in few countries like China, Cuba and Northern Korea (ibid.).

2.4.4 Social Responsibility Theory

Social responsibility theory recognizes the concept of a libertarian press, but prescribes what the media should do. This approach deems that the press has the right to criticize the government and other institutions, but it also has responsibility to preserve democracy by properly informing the public and by responding to society's needs and interest. The control of media content under such theory should place in the hands of media practitioners who are expected to act in the public interest. Owners and managers of the mass media must be trusted to regulate themselves and act professionally. The government should interfere only when the need is greater and the risks are high and then only carefully. Media should do this by prioritizing cultural pluralism and by becoming the voice of all the people not just elite groups or groups that had dominated national regional or local.

The right to freedom of expression under this approach is not absolute; it is conditional upon acceptance of this social duty or obligation. Individuals are also not allowed to deliberately lie, libel, and slander or defame other individuals. The media enjoys greater protection when it covers the affairs

of public officials. This public must prove actual spite to successfully win their defamation claims (Baran and Davis, 2009).

2.4.5 Development Theory

Media development theory is other normative theory that calls for government and media to work in partnership to ensure that media assist in the planned development of a given society. Most developing countries have implemented the development theory. However, some Westerners believe that development media theory is an updated version of authoritarian theory and the media can't gain the power to criticize the government policies and their failures. Under this theory, the media can be privately owned, but usually owned by the government. The government mobilizes the media to serve national goals in economic and social development. Some of the goals the media are expected to achieve comprise political integration, literacy, economy, self sufficiency, and the education of health. However, many third world countries advocate the development approach; but changing economic and political conditions have made it less widespread.

2.5 Freedom of the press

The concept of freedom of press refers to the right to communicate ideas opinions and information through any media without any interference of third body. Freedom of press is a part of freedom of expression. Freedom of expression includes freedom of press grow together with the enlightenment. As a universal principle, it found its way into the Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. Article (19) of the Declaration states that everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, this right includes freedom to hold opinion and to seek, receive and import information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers (Buerghenthal and et al, 2002).

International standards supply guarantees of free expression. For instance the European Convention on Human Rights article (10) with similar content makes a strong protection of these freedoms. The exercise of these freedoms may be subject to some formalities, conditions, restriction or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in democratic society. These limitations includes the interest of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for prevention of disorder or crime for the protection of health, for protection of the reputation or rights of others, for preventing disclose of information received maintaining the genuine and neutrality of judiciary (Buland, 2005).

However their details differ, many international documents, conventions and treaties recognize freedom of expression as fundamental right. National constitutions of democratic nations also frequently guarantee these freedoms. Democracy is associated with free press which is considered as cornerstone of democratization. The free media's role to gather and disseminate information to ensure that the elected government work for its people; open access to information that ensures quality of good governance.

While press freedom ensures independence of information, a plurality of media actors will enhance the possibilities that each voice would have access to the public sphere. It is also universally accepted fact that the right to seek and receive information as well as to engage in free expression on issues of concern without fear of harassment and punishment is a cornerstone for the existence of democracy. Even today many democratic countries fully recognize such basic freedoms. But in much of the world nations the leaders see mass media as only tools of propaganda and directly censor the contents of mass media in line with their own political interest (ibid.).

2.5.1 Prior Restraint

Prior restraint is any burden placed on communication prior to its dissemination. When a court or government body prevents a person from speaking or publishing; it is called prior restraint which refers to a predetermined judicial prohibition of a specific expression. This restraint prevents an expression from being published. Some scholars like Permbler and Calvert 2005 argue that all persons may speak, write and publish freely, being responsible for the absence of liberty, therefore any prior restraint on publication of information or ideas is legally invalid, though prohibition against prior restraint don't necessarily protect the press from subsequent punishment. In general, without exceptional justification by the law, prior restraint is considered as an extraordinary measures or remedy that can be seen as interference with freedom of expression (Robertson and Nieot, 2002).

2.5.2 Censorship

The word censorship comes from Latin word censor during the Roman times; the censor had duties to count the citizens and to supervise their morals. Therefore censorship is the control of speech and other forms of human expression often by government intervention. Censorship is commonly applied to acts which occur in public circumstances and most formally involves suppression of ideas by predetermining the expression. In this sense what is censored may range from specific word to entire concepts.

Consequently censorship is regarded as a typical features of dictatorships and other authoritarian political intention some thinkers understand censorship to include other attempt to suppress points of view or the exploitation of negative propaganda, media manipulation, and disinformation. These methods tend to work by disseminating proffered information by regulating open discourse to marginal forms and by preventing other idea from obtaining a receptive audience suppression of access to the means of dissemination of ideas can function (Permbler and Calvert, 2005).

2.6 Factors Affecting the Development of Media

Performance of mass media is not the same in all nations of the world. Since every nation is different, the media system varies from nation to nation; their performance is also determined by the nation's difference. The performance of media is affected by different factors with varying degrees in different conditions. However one factor only may not be vibrant factors that affect the development of the mass media, different factors interdependently claimed to be major factors. Amongst political, economical and social factors and the main factors that are attributed to hinders the development of media.

2.6.1 Economic Factor

The economic performance of mass media is determined by nation's economic philosophy, structure and conditions. For instance the capitalist nations are more likely to allow the media to be profit oriented, while communist countries have less advertisement in their media. Media economics refers to the business operations and financial activities of firms producing and selling outputs in various media enterprises (Alexander and etal, 1998).

The production, dissemination and presentation of mass media require great expense and frequently generate enormous profit; it needs huge amount of money to run the mass media organization. Money is a potent influence on the media development. In commercial media the loss of revenue can be an important consideration in controlling the media content. The pressure can be brought to bear by advertisers, by the editorial policy of media, by the economic structure of the organization and by audiences (ibid.).

The economic condition also determines how audience gains access to media. Price of the media is the main factor for the audience to have access to the media. The development of media is influenced by the economic condition of the countries. A poor country with starving people can only support media to

survive because mass communication is very valuable asset to the complex economic process (Croteau and Hoynes, 2001).

2.6.2 Political Factors

The development of mass media is affected among other factors by the country's political structure and attitudes. The amount and nature of control over mass media are determined by the nature and structure of the government in power. The nation's political philosophies and goals considered to be a powerful factor influencing the function of media. The political power often might be a physical as well as philosophical pressure. The political power established the laws under which media institutions must operate. These laws may be repressive or permissive depending on the political atmosphere of a given society. Therefore the press can function well under the condition where the freedom of expression and human rights are respected and guaranteed by the government in power in a given country. Such condition is unthinkable in the authoritarian states where media are forced to serve the interest of the government in power (ibid.).

2.6.3 Social Factors

Nations of the world have their own ways of evaluating and accepting what is important for them and not. Behaviors of these nations are influenced by their social laws, taboos, norms, values and attitudes. All these cultural traits and social characteristics are important in the development of the media system. Diversity of cultural or social factors deeply influences media development. This includes specialization, regions, race relationship labor organization and education. Every society is a mixture of stability and change the resulting conflict involves and affects the development of media system.

2.7 An Overview of Print Media in Ethiopia

Ethiopia is one of the African countries that have developed their own written literature long ago. Though, the country has developed its written literature long ago, the introduction of journalism to the country is very recent. The idea of journalism has started to function and operate in the country's media profile since, 1901, when the first hand-written periodical called 'Aemiro' was established. Despite the fact that the country has, long lasting literature history, most of the publication before Aemeero were predominantly on religious subject matter than journalism. Aemero was the first Amharic periodical which was owned by Emperor Minilek and used to serve as a mouth-piece of the Emperor (Shimalis, 2000).

Following Aemero a few newspapers emerged between 1912 and 1918, though most of them focused on palace and church. After this early time, the publication in the country increased with major changes. The first printing press called Berhaninna Selam printing press in 1923 and the first weekly newspaper called Berhanina Selam in 1925 were established by the then ruler. The development of the press in Ethiopia was interrupted for five years (1935-1941) as a result of the country's occupation by Italian.

During this time, the press in the country was demolished and was serving as a mouth piece of the fascist. Some nations like Oromos were given the opportunity to use their language as a medium of communication for official purpose and even were represented in the mass media of the country. After liberation from Italian occupation Emperor Haille Silassie returning from exile proclaimed that the use of any other language for any communication purposes other than Amharic language was forbidden (**ibid**).

The 1955 Revised Constitution of Haile Sellassie also has strengthened this proclamation. The inspiration of one language (Amharic) one religion (Orthodox) and one country (Ethiopia) started to proliferate throughout the country and Amharic was proclaimed as official language of the country since that time. Following this proclamation Amharic print media has shown significant change in terms of the number of periodical produced and the size of circulation. Addis Zeman and Ethiopian Herald (Amharic and English) newspapers were issued in 1941 and 1943 both of which became dailies after 1958. Even though English language was represented in the country's media, using any other language for any purpose was legally forbidden during this time.

Although some changes were made, in terms of number of press, press ownership and control during this period remained the same with that of the era of Emperor Minilek. Media diversity and freedom of the press was ridiculous during these regimes (Tesfaye, 2000; Shimalis 2000).

The Imperial regime was replaced by the socialist Derg since 1974. The period of the Derg (1974-1989) was characterized by the total government control of medial and the flow of information. The press during this period were expected and enforced to serve the ideology of socialist propaganda. Critics against the Derg policies and socialist ideology were utterly forbidden. Although few attempts were made, diversity of nation and nationalities were not respected and their rights were not equally respected. The domination of Amharic language continued during that time. Amharic language was made the official language while others were forbidden (Population media center, 2006).

Barissa was the only Afaan Oromo newspaper established during Derg era. The Oromos, the majority ethnic group in the country were not represented in the country's mass media. Even then, there were

many publications in Amharic. In general, both the monarchical and the dictatorial regimes were intolerant of the expression of regional ethnic sentiment. The possibility that the languages of the country needed to be fostered and encouraged remained impossible during these regimes (Bahiru, 2008).

Since 1991, the history of the press in Ethiopia has changed. The idea of democracy started to flourish in the country. Freedom of expression and freedom of press were guaranteed by the constitution and the press laws. For example article 29 of the 1995 Constitution and the 1992 Press Proclamation which was revised in 1998 assured these freedoms without any interference of third body. Moreover, the issuance of these press laws has opened a new chapter in the country's media profile. Nations and nationalities of the country were given opportunity to have their own means of communication in their own language. Following these legal measures, a number of print media have ushered. However, many of them were not long lasting and disappeared after short time of regular publication (Negussive, 2008).

According to Bahiru (2008), the adoption of regional language as a medium of formal instruction introduced a significant change in the sphere of linguistic representation. However the problem of domination of Amharic in the country has not yet been fully resolved. Amharic remained the working language of federal government; the linguistically based regions have been given the freedom of choosing their working languages as well as the medium of instruction at a primary level. This has a possible effect on the development of minorities' languages and the growth of mass media in their language. This circumstance is not different in case of Afaan Oromo.

2.8 Historical Background of Afaan Oromoo Mass Media

Oromo is one of the largest nations in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. Afaan Oromo which is the mother tongue of Oromo people is widely spoken in Ethiopia as well as in the Horn of Africa. The language is rich in oral tradition and this oral tradition has been preserved for a long time through oral tradition from generation to generation (Ayalew, 2005).

As Tesfaye (2001:127) documented, although not published and publicized “the writing of history of Oromo since the second half of 20th century was flourishing in volumes. However the history of Oromo language mass media has not been given such opportunities”. In spite of the numerical size of Oromo people in Ethiopia the beginning of using the language for education and mass media was very recent.

According to Ethiopian language policies of the imperial regimes teaching, preaching, broadcasting, and publishing, printing as well as singing in organized musical and cultural bands in Oromo language was forbidden. After his restoration, Emperor Haile Selassie imposed a strict language policy that discouraged the use of Ethnic languages for written or formal purpose except Amharic. Consequently the use of Oromo language for court proceedings and the other public officials was forbidden even if those involved knew to other language other than Oromo (Tesfaye, 2001:128).

The history of Afaan Oromo language mass media can be traced back to the period of Italian occupation of Ethiopia. Mekuria, 1996 documented that, during this time Oromo language was employed in radio broadcast and in office of administration next to Italian language. However the transmission was immediately closed down with the restoration of the Emperor, because the media have been considered as major obstacle to Abyssinian linguistic homogenization and its nation - building project.

Even though using Afaan Oromo for mass media and any other purpose in Ethiopia was forbidden, some attempts were made to open the media outside the country. For instance Radio broadcasting in Afaan Oromoo started in Cairo in 1956, then in Mogadishu in 1960s and in Kenya in 1963. However the transmission of Afaan

Oromo Radio broadcast in Egypt was closed down after six month regular transformation. Emperor Haile Silassie's submission of petition repeatedly to the Egyptian Government to stop the transmission on the one hand and external pressure like Egyptian problem with westerns on the other hand were the major factors for closing down of the transmission. In 1960s it was transferred to Harar by the effort of Ayyub Abuba Kir who had been exiled from Ethiopia and was assassinated later. The radio was occupied by the Emperor Hile Silassie and has remained under the control of Ethiopian Radio (Mekuria 1997; Tesfaye, 2001).

The promotion of Amharic as a national language has been consistent policy of the various successive Ethiopian regimes at least during the last fifty years. Amharic language was imposed on the other ethnic and linguistic without taking into account their feelings and interests. This one language one nation policy of the country's regimes also greatly hampered Oromo education for many years.

Furthermore in order to avoid competition with Amharic and subsequently achieve linguistic homogenization in Ethiopia, the use of other ethnic languages for publishing, teaching preaching and administrative purpose was forbidden. In spite of its significance as a language of wider communication Afaan Oromoo (with the exception for oral communication) has been until very recently one of the prohibited language in Ethiopia. Restrictions on its use have been minimized since the fall of the military regime in 1991 and Afaan Oromo has become a medium of instruction, administration and mass communication (Mekuria, 1997:375).

Following the downfall of imperial regime, Derg promised equal treatment and tried to encourage the development of languages and cultures of all people in the country. However, after a short period of time the promise was disallowed and all mass media in the country were totally put under the censorship of the government and were forced to serve ideology of socialist. The promise of the Derg has shown some light to Oromo people. Barisa News paper, the only Afaan Oromo newspaper and the first private news paper in Ethiopia was established on September 2, 1976. It quickly gained popularity among literate Oromos who were able to engage in political conscious for their identity. However, after its six months regular publication was prohibited in 1976 and nationalized in 1972 to serve the government propaganda and continued to serve the interest of the government until now (Tefaye, 2001).

After 1991, it was not only the educated class but the entire Oromo nation which became overwhelmed by an exciting sense of restored dignity and self confidence a sense of cultural and linguistic activities which began to appear and as promises of political self- determination was made. Many books have been published, plays have been written and staged and so many books have been printed and distributed in Afaan Oromoo language inside the country. Oromo literature is fast growing not only as a medium of communication but also as a means to establish Oromo identity firmly. In addition to Barisa Newspaper Kalaacha Oromia and Oromia Newspapers which are owned by the government were established after 1992 (Mekuria 1996). However they are not popular and not long lived. Some private newspapers like Finfine post bilingual (Afan Oromo and English) Newspaper and Urjii Newspaper and also magazines like Gadaa, Yoom ,Harsadee, and etc were established following the 1992 press proclamation of the country.

There is no clear reason for their disappearance. Nowadays there are only three news papers (Barissa, Kalacha Oromia and Oromia) in Afaan Oromoo. All are owned by government, the first is by the Federal government and later two are owned by Oromia regional state government. With the exception of some, which appear sometimes off and on, there is no private newspaper in Afaan Oromoo in the market nowadays.

Chapter Three

3. Research Methodology

The study was a kind of exploratory research; with the purpose to gain background information and better understanding and clarify major factors that affect the development of Afaan Oromoo press; particularly print media (Newspapers and magazines). The principal research method employed in this research was qualitative because the data mainly focused on qualitative rather than quantitative data.

Quantitative research emphasizes careful and detailed description of social practices in an attempt to understand how participants experience and explain their world. Thus this type of research try to answer questions like how social system operate, how individuals relate to one another and how they interpret their own and others' behavior (Jackson 1998). Therefore qualitative research method is found to be appropriate to get necessary data in this research. Primary and secondary sources are the main source of data to this research.

3.1. Primary Data

Primary data obtained from key informants and documents that show first hand information concerning the issue were emphasized in the research. The primary sources were journalists of previous private Afaan Oromoo news papers and magazines, journalists of Oromia mass media, editor- in – chief of government newspapers in Afaan Oromoo (Barisa, Oromia and kalacha oromia) and legal documents. This data help to indicate the position of Afan Oromoo print media in Ethiopia nowadays and explored main challenges of the media were explored deeply based on the information gained from primary

sources. Tools designed to collect the primary data were semi- structured individual in-depth interviews and questionnaires with open ended questions.

3.2. Secondary Data

Secondary data were collected from secondary sources. These sources facilitated the research by adding some information to the primary sources. However, primary sources have more credibility; secondary sources also had their own help in conducting a research. The secondary sources of this research were the 1995 FDRE constitution, press laws, different data from concerned bodies and international human rights instruments consists of such materials as books and commentaries on the Ethiopian press. These sources were referred carefully.

3.3. Data Collection Methods

The techniques of data gathering were carefully selected. These techniques must be relevant to the source of data. Thus, in depth interview and questionnaire were the tools that are used to conduct this research.

3.4. Interviews

Interview is one of the main tools of data collection. The main concern to select the interviews is so as to insure the views and opinions of different bodies concerned with the issues under study. Individual in depth interviews were the most widely used and the most fundamental research techniques for every good research. It is a very good way of accessing people's perceptions, meanings, definitions of situation and construction of reality. Interviews enable researcher to obtain information that can't be gained by observation and to record people's perception of their world and description and explanation of events in their environment (Jacson 1999). Therefore, individual in depth interview is employed to

gain the primary data from editor-in-chief of government newspapers in Afaan Oromoo (Kelecha Oromi and Berisa), journalists of former private news papers and magazines in Afan Oromo, and legal documents. These respondents are key informants that have first hand information concerned with the issues of the study. Therefore, semi structured interview is appropriate to be used in this study to gain qualitative data that will be essential to the study.

3.5. Questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed to obtain data from journalists of Oromia Mass Media organizations and readers (audiences). Semi- structured questionnaires were thought to be appropriate to collect primary data to this study. The questionnaires mainly with open ended questions allowed respondents to state their answer in the way they saw appropriate in their own perception and in their own words. Questionnaires were distributed to 80 selected respondents.

Thirty (30) questionnaires were distributed to journalist of Oromia mass media namely, Oromia Radio and Television Organization, Barisa and kallacha Ormia Newspapers. While fifty (50) questionnaires were distributed to audiences who are workers at Oromia Bureaus at a regional level namely Oromia Cultural and Truism Bureau, Oromia Finance Bureau, Higher Court of Oromia and Oromia Educational Bureau. Because the news papers are distributed to officials working in Oromia and these bureaus are thought to be closer to reading these newspapers than others. Bureaus were selected purposely while respondents are selected by snowball sampling method.

3.6. Data Presentation method

Data collected through various methods had to be presented in an understandable and meaningful ways. Data were presented through narration in order to describe the responses of people concerning an issue. The finding will be expressed in organized forms to help readers understand the general state of Afaan Oromoo print media in Ethiopia and major challenges affecting the development of the media. Data is collected from both primary and secondary sources. The presentation was put every respondent's opinions as reflection so that readers will identify the agreement and disagreement of reflections on the issue.

Chapter Four

Data Presentation and Analysis

In this chapter, data obtained qualitatively through interviews and questionnaires were presented and analyzed. The presentation of the findings of the study was based on the objectives of the study discussed in chapter one of this study and in relation with arguments raised in the related literature review. The subsequent analysis tried to emphasize the question whether Afaan Oromo print media were available as they satisfy the need of Oromo people and their vibrant challenges. The questionnaires were distributed to 80 respondents select through snowball sampling technique. The respondents were journalists of Oromia mass media organizations and readers (audiences) from some selected bureaus of Orornia Region. Interview was delivered to editor- in- chief of the government newspapers and journalists of previous Afaan Oromo print media.

4.1. Status of Afaan Oromo Print Media in Ethiopia

Almost all respondents involved in the study (journalists, reader and editors-in-chief) agreed that the availability of Afaan Oromo print media is lows as satisfy the information need of Oromo people. Oromo people are the largest ethnic group in Ethiopia and Afaan Oromoo is spoken by majority people in the country. However, there are only three government owned newspapers and no private newspaper and magazine that are published in Afaan Oromoo.

As data gained from central statistics Agency shows that Afaan Oromo is spoken as a mother tongue throughout the country. But there are only a few print media that are published in the language. To justify this conclusion the following table presents comparatively the regions of the country where Afaan Oromoo and Amharic languages are spoken as a mother tongue.

Table1. Regions in which Afaan Oromoo and Amharic languages are spoken as a mother tongue

No	Region	Total population	Mother tongue	
			Afaan Oromoo	Amharic
1	Tigray	4,320,273	3794	131810
2	Afar	1320273	5552	95047
3	Amhara	17221976	456601	16014580
4	Oromia	26993993	23495364	2452306
5	Somalia	4445219	22696	29738
6	Benshangul Gumuz	784345	138772	176170
7	Southern Nation, Nationalities and People	14929558	207777	195606
8	Gambela	307096	14901	34119
9	Harari	183415	104263	50503
10	Addis Ababa	2739551	293741	1944775
11	Dire Dawa	341834	163920	19459
	Total	73,587,533	24,907,381	21,144,113

Source: CSA the 2007 population and Housing census of Ethiopia table 3.1.

The data shows that Afaan Oromo is the largest language that is spoken by the language number of the people. Though, it has not been preferred as the federal working language. Nowadays there is no independent Afaan Oromoo newspaper and magazines that are regularly published. There are only three newspapers that are owned by the government namely Kalcha Oromia, Oromia and Barissa. The first two are owned by Oromia regional government while the last one (Barisa) is owned by federal government.

As data from Ethiopian Broadcast Authority show until January 2012, there are only 23 private news paper and 21 magazines in the market. Seven news papers are published in English language, one news paper is bi-language (Amharic and English) and fifteen of them are published in Amharic while there is no in Afaan Oromo. The following table shows lists of newspapers and magazines that are available in the country until last January 2012.

Table2. List of Periodicals Circulated in the Month of January 2012

No	Name of Press	Language	Schedule	Average No. of Circulation
1	The Reporter	English	Weekly	3238
	Reporter	Amharic	Biweekly	20217
2	Fitih	Amharic	Weekly	19750
3	The Sub Saharan Informer	English	Weekly	1200
4	Press Digest	Amharic	Weekly	240
5	The Daily Monitor	Amharic	Daily	1562
6	Addis Admas	Amharic	Weekly	14875
7	Fortune	Amharic	Weekly	8000
8	Medical	Amharic	Weekly	2175
9	World Sport	Amharic	Weekly	6075
10	League Sport	Amharic	Weekly	3000
11	Ethio Sport	Amharic	Weekly	10000

12	Hatric	Amharic	Weekly	3525
13	Inter Sport	Amharic	Weekly	6440
14	Za-ganares	Amharic	Weekly	3575
15	Selfia	Amharic	Weekly	6000
16	Capital	English	Weekly	5500
17	Sendek	Amharic	Weekly	1000
18	Alkduse	Amharic	Weekly	1700
19	Sawtul Eslam	Amharic	Weekly	3775
20	FanotNetsanet	Amharic	Weekly	1652
21	Ethio Channal	Amharic	Biweekly	2550
22	Negadras	Amharic	Weekly	1000
23	Mesenazerya	Amharic	Weekly	1100

Magazines

No	Name of Press	Language	Schedule	Average No of Circulation
1	Addis Times	Amharic	Monthly	4000
2	Adiss Guday	Amharic	Every 15 Days	18000
3	Alislam	Amharic	Monthly	4000
4	Arhibu	Amharic	Monthly	3000
5	Best sport	Amharic	Monthly	4000
6	Ebony	Amharic	Monthly	4000
7	Einku	Amharic	Monthly	10000
8	Fact	Amharic	Monthly	1000
9	Fashion	Amharic	Monthly	1500
10	Kalkidan	Amharic	Monthly	14000
11	Konjo	Amharic	Every 15 Days	5000
12	Kum Neger	Amharic	Monthly	15000
13	Life	Amharic	Monthly	12000
14	Liya	Amharic	Monthly	4000
15	Lomi	Amharic	Every 15 Days	12000

16	Marki	Amharic	Every 15 Days	3500
17	Muhaze	Amharic & English	Monthly	500
18	National Construction	Amharic	Monthly	3000
19	Nigest	Amharic	Monthly	4500
20	Pharmanet	Amharic	Monthly	1S000
21	Zoma	Amharic	Monthly	300

Source: Ethiopian Broadcast Authority

All most all respondents reflected that, beside unavailability of independent press, the government owned papers are insufficient in reaching the whole Oromo people. They are very limited in circulation and number of copies. Whereas their circulation also limited to government officials. Some editors –in-chief of government print media were interviewed that attributed financial problem for inadequacy of these newspapers to reach the public (Egl: 15/03/2012).

According to these interviewees as a result of financial problem the publications are not circulated beyond very near regions of Oromia Zones like Showa, Eastern Wellega, Arsi and etc. Furthermore Oromia Newspaper which is owned by party (OPDO) and its target audience is the member of the party is thought to be covering the biggest circulation in country. But, it couldn't reach even half of its members. For example nowadays more than one hundred thousand copies are published every two weeks, while the member of the party are thought to be more than two million.

However the interviewees accredit financial problem for the limitation of government newspapers to reach the public, respondents of questionnaires notified that the publications are not needed by the readers. Due to poor quality and their biased report on supporting government policies the publications

are not needed by majority of Oromo people. As a result of this the newspapers' circulation are limited to government officials. According to these respondents, though they have do not interest to read these publications the government officials are enforced to buy them.

On the other hand Barissa newspaper, which is owned by the federal government, hardly exists. Evidences shows that although its objective is not different from other presses that are owned by government, it has been facing a greater challenge and its publication is very low while compared to Amharic publications (Addis Zemen and Ethiopian Herald). These newspapers are under the control of Ethiopian Press Agency, though they are not equally encouraged. The following table is evident for the above mentioned argument.

Table 3 List of Yearly Report on distribution size of Addis Zemen, Ethiopia Herald and Barisa Newspapers

Year	Name of newspapers and their circulation rate par year		
	Addis Zeme	Ethiopian Herald	Barisa
1997	981,000	664,500	18,600
1998	4,631,000	2,115,000	104,000
1999	4,768,00	2,636,800	102,000
2000	4,139,475	2,815,100	108,000
2001	4,762,550	2,769,450	104,000
2002	4,843,600	2,997,600	104,000
2003	5,756,400	5,040,400	102,000
2004	6,706,4000	2,626,005	104,000
2005	6,194,500	3,416,100	106,000

2006	6,620,600	3,248,700	106,000
2007	3,650,000	2,512,000	96,5000
2008	3,709,900	2,512,200	669,760
2009	3,812,400	2,569,900	754,400
1010	4,031,000	2,596,200	863,282
2011	4,240,000	2,008,400	486,000

Source: Ethiopian Press Agency

This table shows that though the target audience of Barisa newspaper is Oromo people which are the largest ethnic group in the country, it has been hardly satisfying the need people.

For example, as inserted by the interviewees when Barissa was established by private owners in 1974, 30 thousand to 40 thousand copies were used to publish every two weeks. However it was nationalized after one year regular publication and its publication was reduced to five thousand copies. Though, there were some improvements after the downfall of the Derg, nowadays about five thousand (5000) copies are published per week (Eg2:26/03/2012).

This implies that however different changes were made on media ownership and control and also freedom of the press was guaranteed by legal provisions of the country Barisa newspaper is not equally treat. Though other factors like low demand of the readers for this newspaper and poor quality of the publication are claimed for short coming of this news paper, financial problem is one of the major challenges of this news paper. Since the objective of this news paper is different form Addis Zemen and Ethiopian Heral and also all of them are subsidized by the government, how it face financial challenge. It seems that the newspaper only exiting to show that Oromo people are represented in the country's media. Under such setting, media diversity is barely functional in the country's press.

In general, though Afaan Oromo is spoken by majority people of the country, it is not represented in the country's media. As audience respondents reflected that Oromo people have high demand for alternative source of information, but there is no publication to satisfy this demand. Print media in the language scarcely exists. Most of respondents to this study agreed that, unfavorable political environment; economic problem and social pressure are amongst the major challenges affecting growth of Afaan Oromo print media.

4.2. Challenges of Afaan Oromo Print Media

The data obtained from the subjects of this study pointed to various factors as hindrance to the flourishing of Oromo print media. These challenges, categorized in topolitical, economic, social, and professional, are presented as under.

4.2.1. Political Challenge

Majority of participants of this study believed, political problem is one of the major challenges to Afaan Oromoo print media. However the problem is common to the whole press in the country, most of the respondents perceived that there is no favorable political environment for freedom of the press. According to the respondents, though explicit legal restriction is rare, there is implicit pressure on Afaan Oromo print media in general and independent press in particular.

As respondent from private print media journalist reflected that, independent presses are not recognized by the government. "*Rakkoo inni guddaan mootummaa bira jiru, beekumtii si hin kennu, sihin jajjabeessu*" (EP1: 2/03/2012), which means the big problem lies with the government it does not give you recognition and it does not encourage you. It discourages the press by using different mechanisms. Conversely the constitution of the country reveals that the press should be encouraged by

the government. For instance Article 29 sub-articles 4 of the 1995 Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia says:

“In the interest of the 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”.

But, accord respondents from private newspapers and magazines; this right is not respected in the country. The government hampers the press in different ways. This idea is not accepted by the government, they accuse private press as they are not responsible to the public.

However respondents reflected their opinion in different ways, for general understanding the pressure lies under denial of access to government information flow, lack of recognition of the independent press, influence of party's politics, and absence of proper implementation of the press law.

4.2.1.1. Problem with Denial of Access to Government Information Flow

To serve the public need of information, the press should be able to obtain information concerning government bodies. Article 27 of 1995 Ethiopian Constitution guaranties the freedom to get access to any information source. In addition, article 19 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Right (UDHR) to which Ethiopia is a signatory, guarantees the freedom to gather, organize and disseminate any information without any interference of other bodies. These provisional laws, with the exception of those prohibited by the law; guaranties the freedom of access to government information. However this condition seems not fully respected in Ethiopia.

Majority of respondents agreed that, though the problem is similar for every independent press in the country, lack of access to the government information flow is amongst the challenges of Afan Oromo; print media. According to the respondents from private press the government officials mostly refuse to

give information to private press invoking the term national security. Additionally private presses are considered as the supporters of opposition parties thus they were not allowed to participate in government conferences.

Consequently, they are compelled to report by using anonymous source that may have a legal drawback on the reporters. Thus if the press are not reporting updated and accurate reporting they will be out of the market. The respondents asserted that, when the government closes its door to the press organizations, it is very difficult for the press to grown. Afaan Oromoo private print presses are the hard hit of this circumstance. However this idea is not accepted by the government. Respondents from government side were not agreed with the above ideas; they said that everybody has a right to gate information in accordance with laws. However, majority of participants of this study agreed that private presses are less accessible for the government flow of information.

4.2.1.2. Thorny Relationship between the Government and Private Press

In case of the relationship between the government and private Afaan Oromoo print media, respondents witnessed that, there was a big hostility between the government on power and independent press.

According to interviewees from private press, journalists of private press had seen as enemies by the government officials. Consequently, whatever the private press reported; even the balanced reporting about the government; the government never trusts them. According to interviewees from government media, independent presses are irresponsible and they strongly support opposition parties. They reject any fair reporting regarding government and its officials; whilst government officials mostly are unable to be critical on the critics. Likewise, providing information to private press and also even reading their publication is seen as a crime. ^{Ep2}

Majority of audience respondents reflected that, even if they have interest to reading private publication in their language, most of Oromo government officials very hesitant to read the publications. Rather they prefer to read other publications published in other languages like Amharic and English. Because those who read Amharic publication are seen as rational on one hand and they don't trust the publication on the other hand.

On the other side, independent presses were blamed of supporting the opposition parties. Some even strongly committed to writing stories against the government policies. They have been observed while actively demonizing the government and its officials. And also there journalists have shown a tendency to distrust open source and are more willing to report based on what is whispered in the coffee house. Consequently, they have been stricken by the government and even enforced to be closed down from their early beginning. ^{Eg2.} Thus this condition is aggravated by both sides in the thorny relationship. However, the outcome is harsher for private (independent) press than the government owned presses. It also affected the right of Oromo people to be informed.

4.2.1.3. Ruling party and the media

In line with the shortcoming of alternative source of information, almost all of the respondents reflected that the government owned print media are very poor in quality, in design and content. They are not needed by the readers; as a result their circulation limited to government officials and these officials enforced to by them. On the other hand there is no private publication that can satisfy information need of the public.

“Mootummann midiyan akka kan ummataa ta’e dagatee jira. Midiyaallee jiran to’annaa isaa jala oolchee akka fedhii siyaasa isaa qofa guutan dhiibba irran gaha. Fedhiin ummataa maxxanssaalee

kanneen keessatti hin mel'atu.Qabata gaazexxessummaa misoomaa jedhuun ummata gowoomssaa jira” (Ep3, 29/03.2012).

That means the government has forgotten that as these media are public media. It monopolizes the press and enforces them to serve as a medium of its propaganda. Their publications mostly focus on information that supports the politics of the ruling party. The interest of the public is not reflected in these publications. Rather the government only to confuse the public by the term “development journalism” and try to publish its propaganda to confuse the public in order to get acceptance from Oromo people.

This implies that the press in the country is not free to serve the interest of the public. In addition there is no public and private owned media in the country. There is only few ruling party owned press. Furthermore as inserted by respondents from Oromia mass media, journalist of these press are not free to report any reality observed against the government officials and editors- in- chief of these media are appointed by the government for similar purpose. Thus, the reporters of these media operate like spoke-persons for particular political views rather than as a journalist. As a result self- censorship is widely observed among these journalists because they prefer to preserve their job and they are afraid of not to be put in to jail. ^{EP2}

In addition the respondents said that the intrusion of the press law has been commonly observed. Though, the constitution and press proclamation of the country comparatively guarantees the freedom of expression and independence of the press the government is blamed for improper implementation of press laws.

On the other hand respondents from private press witnessed that there are circumstances when contents of Afaan Oromo private print media are misinterpreted. According to these interviewees, whatever issues published about opposition parties' leaders, even their personal profile, and the government officials are not critical. They interpret stories of the private publication as they are against government policies and forbid their circulation. Although it is difficult to say the private presses were critical about accuracy of their publications.

“Maxxanssileen dhunffaa mataa isaanii rakko qabu, jalqaba yeroo gabaatti bahan yaada mootummaa falmu qabatanii dhiyaatu.... Kanibiroon ammoo maxxansaleen isaa kan ogummaa irratti hundaaye miti..... (EP2:21/03/12). This means the private press themselves have a problem. From their very beginning, they have been observed coming up with stories that contradict the ruling party's ideology. Their publication focused on sensational stories and more exaggerated reporting. They are not balanced and investigated.

This gap opens the way for the government to harass these media more easily. This is one of the reasons why most of print media were closed after very short time regular circulation. Under such circumstances it is difficult for the independent press to survive. It is also difficult to expect that the press laws will be properly implemented.

4.2.2. Economic Challenge

According to Alexander and Elites; 1998, economic problem is the serious ordeal that challenges the survival of the press organization. Under this context, economic problem is thought to be the main challenge that has been faced by print media. It was claimed to be the serious challenge for both government owned and independent press that are published in Afaan Oromoo. Amongst different economic challenges, circulation problem, increment of the printing price, lack of advertisement and

low initial budget were the major challenges that were identified by the study. However problems are not different for other print media in the country. As forwarded by the respondents, lack of investment in the area, and the public's lack of financial capacity to buy newspapers because of poverty were additional challenge of the press.

4.2.2.1. Circulation Problem

Almost all respondents agreed that Afaan Oromoo print media have very limited readership. Circulation size of these media is very few in the country. Compared to the number of Oromo people, the number of copies published is very few. According to interwees from both government and private press, there are no well organized distributors on one hand, and the existing few are not dedicated and negligent to distribute any publication that are published in the language on the other hand. As a result the publication is not reach the audience on time. In addition the publications are not needed by the readers.

Most of the respondents agreed that there is a condition in which the distributors are reluctant to distribute the publications. Sometimes the publications are not introduced to the market. "Gatii bay'ee baastee humna haaraadhaan yeroo ati dhuftu inni darbe iyyau hin is gurguramne..... dhukkee irra haxaawaa nutti deebisu (EP1: 21/03/12.)," This means, by paying a huge amount of money while you introduce new product (publication) with new potential, the previous was not sold. They were not introduced even to the market. They gave us dusty publication from the store. Beside few numbers of copies were published. They insist to assert poor quality of the publication and low readership of the publication for the delay of the distribution. The problem is easier for Amharic newspapers, because their circulation is limited to Addis Ababa. But difficult for Afaan Oromoo, majority of the Oromos live in rural areas. So it needs huge money to reach this people. But there are no such strong pres organizations that able to succeed in doing this.

Size of circulation is the backbone of print media organizations. Because the more circulation size of the press increased the more they reach large audience and attract the advertisers that are the main source of income for media houses. But if the publications were not reached the audience, there is no such opportunity for press to survive. So, under such discouraging circumstance how press organizations can stay alive; thus they enforced to withdraw from the market.

4.2.2.2.High Printing Cost

The respondents informed that the printing cost is increasing throughout time. The increment of this printing cost is accredited by the influence of increasing of inputs for publication like paper, point, and etc. which is resulted from the high inflation rate in the country. Therefore Afaan Oromo print press organizations are the hard hit of this problem. As a result they obligated to increase the selling price that leads them to lose their customers.

According to the respondents, though both the government owned and independent presses were suffering from this problem, it is harsher for independent presses which are most probably established with low initial capital. The increment of printing price (cost) has been shaking these print media market, which is their means of survival. As a result many have been forced to withdraw from the market.

4.2.2.3.Low Initial Budget and Lack of Advertisement Revenue

Different scholars agreed that promotion and advertisement is the vital means of generating income for media organizations. This income helps them to employ good professionals, to buy latest machineries and to increase number of copies which help them to be strong and competent with other media organization. The almost all respondents of the study said that the advertisement revenue gained by

Afaan Oromo printing press is very low. This hinders the media to be strong enough in all its activities.

Interviews made with previous journalist of private press asserted that, governments owned press are subsidized by the government. But the independent press which is established with low initial budget is challenged by this problem. Low initial budget prevents the independent press from penetrating the market and in order to get readability; that attracts the advertisers. And also it prevents them from hiring professional journalists and professional materials. In the absence of strong economy there are no qualified professionals, if there is no qualified journalist, no quality output; as a result that they are forced to lose their customers.

According to the respondents, these presses were forced to withdraw from the market after being starved of advertisement revenue which helps the organizations to be economically strong and capable. The respondents inserted that advertisers lost confidence on Afaan Oromo independent press. Since the government is not comfortable with the press, the advertisers are terrified to advertise their products on these presses. Consequently, many businessmen are not attracted to invest on press rather they prefer to invest on other business for the sake of their business security. Interviews conducted with journalist of private press witnessed that, low initial budget and lack of advertisement revenue were attributed to be amongst the economical challenge that were enforced many Afaan Oromo print media to withdraw from the market.

4.2.3. Social Challenge

Almost all respondent agreed that, social challenge is one of the factors that were attributed for the low development of Afaan Oromoo print media. Low literacy rate, relatively lack of infrastructures, lack of reading culture, lack of access to publication and less pledge of Oromo people to encourage their press

are amongst the social factors that hinder the growth of Afaan Oromo press; particularly printing press. The majority of Oromo live in rural areas where most of them are illiterate farmers. Whereas the literate farmer are not encouraged to read publications that are published in their language for two reasons. First one is absence of infrastructure like transportation, menaces of communication and lack of access to the publication. Lack of reading culture among Oromo people is thought to be the second reason that affects the growth of the medium. “Aadaan dubbisuu ummata keessatti baay’eexiqqaadha. Ergadubbistootni keenya umata ta’ee maxxanssaaleen keenya umata bira gahuu qaba” which means reading culture among the people is very poor. Since our target audience is Oromo people, our publication should reach them. To do so the public should have demand for the publication but not as such. Despite the fact, the Oromos who are the largest ethnic group in the country are expected to contribute a lot for the growth of publication in their language are blamed for less committed to do so.

As interviewees from private press asserted, the public are less confident to buy and read private print media because of fear of pressure from ruling party. In order to prevent their personal security and their job, most Oromo people in general, government officials in particular, abstained themselves from reading publications of private press organization. On the other hand they are not interested to read ruling party’ as a result of poor quality of the paper. This has negative drawback on the growth of the press. Mean while under such arrangement, it is difficult for entrepreneurs to engage the business of private press.^{EP3}

Lack of confidence and commitment of producers is another factor for many private presses. The producers were not truly devoted to their work and they were easily frustrated of challenges. The private press focuses on sensational more on exaggerated reporting. Conversely this has an effect on the professional ethics of journalism. It will be readily seen therefore that the circumstance or opportunities for the growth of Afaan Oromo print media is not promising.

4.2.4. Professional challenge

Afaan Oromo print media are blamed for their weakness to professionally satisfy the interest of their readers. Though, the introduction of journalism profession to the country is very recent; most of reporters that are dominant in the media stations joined the profession without having journalistic qualification. They are not aware of professional ethics and principles (Brihanu, 2009).

Different scholars like McQuaile (2006) documented that the ethical standard of journalism typically committed media practitioners to serve the public as effectively as possible. And also help to formalize important conception about the watchdog role of media. In this outset the media are envisioned as independent watchdogs, a social institution or fourth branch of the government; charged with making all other institutions to serve the public. The journalist are expected properly functioning media are needed to keep leaders honest and to empower the powerless with information they need to protect themselves against any thing that affect their interest either politically or economically. But there is a concern in which the watchdog becomes lapdog (MCQuail 2003).

Whereas this condition is not different in Afaan Oromo print media organizations. Watchdog activity of these press have been threatened by the government pressure for state owned press. Journalism profession is effectively function under the setting in which the government is committed to encourage the profession and the professionals are loyal to their professional ethics. But, the respondents reflected that this would be converse in Ethiopia. Journalists of state owed media are not allowed to implement their profession; rather they serve as the mouth piece of the government. While private press publish sensational stories in order to sell their papers. Beside majority of the reporters in both government owned and independent press are non professionals.

Thus non- professional journalists do not know how to save the media from bankruptcy, they don't know their rights and responsibilities, and they don't know how the media professionally serve the public and become competent. In addition non professional journalists unable to design variety of techniques to save the media from government attack, party's political manipulation and from any challenge that face their profession. This view was shared by audience, journalist and editor-in-chief from both government and independent print media.

The respondents share that most of the private print media was publishing sensational stories. They used to come up with excogitated critics of government policies from their early establishment and fail to balance the information they gained from anonymous source. This paves the way for the government to attack them. On the other hand the government owned print media are blamed for poor quality design and reporting redundant information that favor the ruling party. Consequently they do not need by the Oromo, though government officials are enforced to buy these publications. According to the respondents such professional gap seed one of the reasons for closedown of most of Afaan Oromo private print media.

In general, different factors were identified by the study that are attributed for the under growth of Afan Oromo print media. The press that are publish in the language hardly exist, there was very few government presses, while no private press that are regularly published in the language in the country. In addition the existing political condition might not be promising for the prospect of the press. Unless action will taken by both the government on power and the public, the consequence will be very harsh for the growth of the press on one hand and for the development of Afan Oromo on the other hand.

Chapter Five

Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusion

The study has been conducted to examine the status of Afaan Oromoo print media particularly newspapers and magazines and also to find out major challenges of the medium. The study witnessed that the status of Afaan Oromo print media is very low in Ethiopia, compared to the number of Oromoo people. Oromo people are the largest ethnic group in the country. Similarly, Afaan Oromoo is spoken as a mother tongue throughout the country. But there are a few publications in the language.

For example nowadays there is no private news papers and magazine that is published in Afaan Oromo. And there are only three government owned newspapers namely Bariisa, Kalacha Oromia and Oromia. These newspapers are limited to distribute to government officials, as a result of their poor quality and low demand from the readers. This entails that the growth of Afaan Oromo print media is in a hazardous circumstance on the one hand and Oromo people are starved of alternative source of information on the other hand.

The study observed that the number of active Afaan Oromo print media has inevitably gone down due to such factors as political, economic, social and professional pressure. Political pressure is one of the major challenges of the medium. This political pressure encompasses of denial to access to government information flow, mistrust between government and private press, party's politics manipulation of the press, improper implementation of press laws and less commitment of the government to encourage the press. The privately operating Afaan Oromo journalists were hampered by the fact that they cut off from government flow of information with the assertion that they are irresponsible for the public and are distrusted by the government. On the other hand journalists of government owned press are forced to publish stories that support government on power while the private

owned press organizations run to publish antigovernment stories by favoring the opposition party. Under such arrangement the private press is very vulnerable. This political pressure was attributed for the closedown for majority of Afaan Oromo print media.

In case of economical challenge, the study identified that low circulation size, an increment of the printing cost; low initial budget and lack of advertisement revenue are amongst the major challenges of Afaan Oromo print media. Especially private presses are the fatalities of this economical pressure. Due to lack of well organized and dedicated distributors in the country, publications of Afaan Oromo are not reaching the public on time. However, there are few organized distributors; they are very disinclined to distribute publication in the language. This problem is observable both in government owned and private press. As a result of low initial budget, the press were starved of advertisement revenue that prevent them from increasing their number of copies and circulation size, hiring professionals and buying professional machineries.

Low literacy rate, poor reading habit, less allegiance of Oromos to strength their press and emotionality among Oromo people are the anticipated social challenges that hindered the growth Afaan Oromoo publications. The last challenge is professional challenge which has resulted from lack of professional journalist, less development of the profession in the country and interference of the government within the profession. Non professional journalists are overriding in both government owned and private press organization. As a result of this, quality output and professional ethical consideration within these media is very low. The governments owned presses have low readability due to their poor quality, layout and design and their propaganda oriented reporting. While the private owned press were closed down for their sensational story reporting and lack of professional techniques to prevent themselves from government attack. In general, political, economical, social and professional challenges are the vibrant factors for the under growth of Afaan Oromo print media.

5.2. Recommendations

On the basis of the findings of the study, the researcher would like to give the following recommendations.

- The government should respect the press laws and should protect the press organizations from direct or indirect political attack. The press requires legal protection which is usually settled through the press laws. Free and open mass media can play a significant role to bring peace, stability, justices to its people and also to mobilize the people to stand on the side of development. This will be possible if and only if there is political assurance and free determination of leadership. Otherwise the situation becomes harsh to the survival of the press, particularly independent press. Therefore the government should have to encourage the press and should create smooth relationship with the independent press. As well as it should encourage its officials to open their doors for independent press journalists and to be critically observe at the publications of the independent press.
- The main economical challenge of Afaan Oromo print media (both ruling party owned and independent) is circulation problem. Few distributors are monopolizing the market of the press and they are not loyal to their duty. Therefore in order to protect the monopoly of few distributors in the country, the government should organize and encourage alternative distributors. Beside the existing distributors should have to be loyal for their work and should equally serve their customers. The press organizations also should know what the distributors and audience need from them and should conduct need assessment regularly.
- Quality of journalistic work is highly dependent on the profession's ethics. Journalist of both ruling party owned and private Afaan Oromo print media are ignorant of the journalistic ethics.

They should have to know their rights and responsibilities. Therefore the journalists of these presses should submit themselves to the profession.

- Existence and growth of Afaan Oromo print media have vital advantage for Oromo people. The fate of this medium is in the hands of Oromos. So Oromo people in general and Oromo scholars, professionals, businessmen and Oromo officials in particular should be committed to encouraging the press. Along with this, there is Oromo proverb called “Sa’a abbaan gaafa cabse hormi ija jaamsa” which means if the owner break his/her cow’s horn, others will blind its eyes. Ironically unless the Oromos work hard to support the growth of their press, the result will be quite hard for the survival of the press.

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Appendix 1
Addis Ababa University Graduate Studies
School of Journalism and Communication
Addis Ababa

Questionnaire for Journalists

Dear respondent:

The main purpose of this questionnaire is to collect information concerning the status of Afaan Oromoo print media (newspapers and magazines) and their challenges and prospectives. Thus, I would like to ask you to give your genuine responses freely and honestly. Your response to the questionnaire has great contribution for the success of the research. Please, try to complete the whole question as much as possible. Think you for your cooperation.

N.B. For questions with alternative answers put 'X' mark in the box provided and for open ended questions write the answer on the give bank space.

Personal information

1. Marital status single Married
2. Education status Illiterate 9-10 Complete High School
 Diploma First Degree and above

Others please specify _____

General questions

3. How often do you read Afaan Oromo Newspapers/ magazines?
Twice a week weekly once a month other please specify

4. Where do you get the newspapers and magazines?
From street vendors from publishers everywhere I go
 At my office other please specify _____

5. Which news paper you have read ever?
 kalacha Oromia Oromia Barisa All

Others please specify _____

6. Do you agree that you can gain information you need from these newspapers?
A. Strongly agree B. Agree C. Disagree D. Strongly disagree

7. If your answer to question No. 6 is disagree what are your reasons?

8. How do you describe the message of Afaan Oromoo print media, can it address the audience?

9. Do contents of these newspapers reflect Oromo's local, social, political and culture issues? If not what are your reason

10. Do you think that the readers satisfied by these news papers?

A. Yes B. No

11. If your answer for question No. 10 No, what are their weakness

12. How do you note the status of Afaan Oromoo print media in compared to Amharic news papers?

13. What are the challenges of Afaan Oromoo print media have been facing more than one answer possible?

14. Do you know who have been producing the news paper?

A. Professional B. amateurs C. Volunteers D. I don't know

15. Do you think that Afaan Oromoo print media is reaching the whole society

17. Have you ever read any private Afaan Oromoo news paper before?

A. yes B. No

18. If your answer for question 17 yes, how do you compare with the government news papers _____

19. Do you think alternative print media like private newspapers are important for addressing the needs of Oromo people if so what is your comment?

20. What are the weaknesses of these newspapers

21. Are the news papers professionally produced, if so what is your reflection?

22. What is your general suggestion on Afaan Oromo print media

**Addis Ababa University Graduate Studies
School of Journalism and Communication
Addis Ababa**

Questionnaire for Audiences

Dear respondent:

The main purpose of this questionnaire is to collect information concerning the status of Afaan Oromoo print media (newspapers and magazines) and their challenges and prospectives. Thus, I would like to ask you to give your genuine responses freely and honestly. Your response to the questionnaire has great contribution for the success of the research. Please, try to complete the whole question as much as possible. Think you for your cooperation.

N.B. For questions with alternative answers put 'X' mark in the box provided and for open ended questions write the answer on the give bank space.

Personal information

1. Marital status single Married
2. Education status Illiterate 9-10 Complete High School
 Diploma First Degree and above
Others please specify _____

General questions

3. How often do you read Afaan Oromo Newspapers/ magazines?
Twice a week weekly once a month other please specify

4. Where do you get the newspapers and magazines?
From street vendors from publishers everywhere I go
 At my office other please specify _____
5. Which news paper you have read ever?
 kalacha Oromia Oromia Barisa All others please specify

6. Do you agree that you can gain information you need from these newspapers?
A. Strongly agree B. Agree C. Disagree D. Strongly disagree
7. If your answer to question No. 6 is disagree what are your reasons?

8. How do you describe the message of Afaan Oromoo print media, can it address the audience?

9. Do contents of these newspapers reflect Oromo's local, social, political and culture issues?
If not what are your reason

10. Do you think that the readers satisfied by these news papers?

A. Yes B. No

11 If your answer for question No. 10 No, what are their weakness

12 How do you note the status of Afaan Oromoo print media in compared to Amharic news papers?

13. What are the challenges of Afan Oromoo print media have been facing more than one answer possible?

14. Do you know who have been producing the news paper?

A. Professional B. amateurs C. Volunteers D. I don't know

15. Do you think that Afaan Oromoo print media is reaching the whole society

17. Have you ever read any private Afaan Oromoo news paper before?

A. yes B. No

18. If your answer for question 17 yes, how do you compare with the government news papers _____

19. Do you think alternative print media like private newspapers are important for addressing the needs of Oromo people if so what is your comment?

20. What is your general suggestion on Afaan Oromo print media

Appendix 2

Interview Guide Lines for Editor- in- chiefs

1. How do you describe the news papers you have been publishing?
2. Who are your target readers?
3. Do you think that the newspaper reaches the whole public if yes, how do you know, if not what are reasons?
4. If not what are the reasons?
5. Do you believe that the needs of Oromoo people are reflected in the news paper?
6. Are journalists professional?
7. How do you see the status of Afaan Oromoo print media in Ethiopia when compared to Amharic newspapers?
8. Do you think that alternative source of information like private newspapers is important to address needs of the Oromoo people?
9. Does change is important for Afan Oromoo print media?
10. How do you see the prospect of Afaan Oromoo print media?
11. What are your general comments about Afaan Oromo Print media?

Appendix 3

List of Interviewees

No	Name	Position	Date of Interview
1	Ato Daba Jinfa	Deputy Editor in chief of Kalacha Oromia Newspaper	26/03/2012
2	Ato Ibrahim Haji	Founder of Barisa and Segele Newspapers. Nowadays journalist at Fana Broadcasting corp....	26/03/2012
3	Ato Kalbassa Bekele	Founder of Yom Magazen	21/03/2012
4	Ato Sultan Muhammed	Editor in chief of Barisa Newspaper	26/03/2012
6	Ato Teferi Nigissie	Founder of Jima Yero Newspaper and Author	29/03/2012
7	Ato Tesfaye Regassa	Editor in chief of Oromia Newspaper	15/03/2012

Appendix 4

Codes

1. Eg1: First Editor-in chief of government newspaper
2. Eg2: Second Editor-in chief of government newspaper
3. Eg3: Third Editor-in chief of government newspaper
4. Eg1: First Editor-in chief of Private newspaper
5. Eg1: Second Editor-in chief of Private newspaper
6. Eg1: Third Editor-in chief of Private newspaper
7. Ar: Audience Respondents
8. Jr: Journalist Respondents

