

INNOVATIONS

Content available on Google Scholar

Home Page: www.journal-innovations.com

An Intersection of Political economy, Regulation and Regulatory Bodies in the Ethiopian Media

Ayele Addis Ambelu¹; Dr. Adem Chanie Ali²; Dr. Terje Skjerdal³

¹ Phd Candidate and lecturer at Bahir Dar University, Woldia University

² Associate Professor in Journalism and Communication and Vice Dean of Humanities Faculty at Bahir Dar University

³ Associate Professor in Journalism at NLA University College, Kristi-ansand, Norway

Abstract

This article of the research tries to analyze and discuss an intersection of Ethiopian political economy with regulation and regulators of the state in the media. The research used qualitative type of methodology in purposive sampling of document analysis and in depth interview data gathering tools through analytical design of the research. The main finding of the research in the integration of the political economy, regulation and regulatory bodies' determine the type of information and the existence of a media environment in Ethiopia. An integration of Ethiopian political economy, regulation and regulatory bodies directly or indirectly regulate the freedom of expression (citizens), media institutions and journalists (professionals). They have over the years been used to restrict journalistic freedom. In Ethiopia as elsewhere, the key challenge is the implementation and interpretation of the laws, controlling the political system rather than their formulation. Nevertheless, it is necessary to reform this legislation to avoid that political changes again may lead to arbitrary interpretations of the legislation in a way which jeopardizes freedom of speech and undermines a vibrant media landscape.

Introduction

Media is the reflection of the prevailing political economy, regulation and regulatory bodies'. Hence the media in the world is in the service of the privileged that own and control the means of production. Therefore, the media serves the given political economy, regulation and regulatory bodies that try to perpetuate the system within the realm of multinational corporate institutions (Theodros and Mekuria, 2018).

Political economy plays a large role in determining the existence, nature and character of media in a country. Ibrahim (2010) argues that whatever the stated motive of establishing media, media is not a neutral agent in political economy and ideological rule of the system. Thus, the politics perform an ideological [political economy] function that helps, ultimately either to confer legitimacy on existing arrangements or to question or offer alternatives to the media system. This is one reason or system why the government controls the media (Ibrahim, 2010).

Davies and Lewis (1971) in their book 'Models of Political Analysis' argued that the analysis of the political economy and the regulation, and as a consequence, too little attention was given to general media framework of state. Another conception of politics as collective decision and action is given by Munck (2007) when he stated that the political economy interaction with regulation and regulatory bodies determined the shape, structure, nature and purpose of the media environment.

Notable among these are Laitin (2002) who has formulated a theory of regulation and regulatory bodies are the components of the political economy. However, other scholars have argued that the conception of politics as regulation. Indeed, the regulatory bodies are legitimate institutions to be in charge of the executives of political systems (Munck, 2004). This intersection creates the system of the country in general, specific sectors like media in particular. So, this study focuses on the interaction of the three forces of the political system (Political economy, regulation, and regulatory bodies) in the media. These forced interactions are not as incompatible as they might look.

Media is a reflection of the political economy structure and the regulation framework of the organization structure and work environment. Hence, the regulation and regulatory bodies are the result of the government system. The media of the developing world finds itself in the service of the privileged that own and control the means of production (Ansah 2001; Andrew, 2007). Therefore, the media tries to perpetuate the political economy of the state within the realm of government. As a result, the media is under the control of their establishment political system of reregulation and regulators arrangement.

The three forces help to choose the framework depending on research question and focus. As a result, the thematically defined political economy investigates the interrelations between political institutions and processes (regulation) and structures. On the other hand, according to Pye, the State as an independent actor or (at least) state structures matter for media and communication outcomes (1963). The State (political economy), as a special organization defines Monopoly of force within defined boundaries and ability to make binding decisions on issues which private actors can (laws and regulation) of the policy.

Blondel (1976, p.13) identifies the distinction between normative and distinctive political economy theory that is, the study of what ought to be versus the study of what actually occurs. Through the examination of internal and external trends in Ethiopian Broadcast media related regulation and regulators this study seeks to offer an insight on major principles of broadcast media political economy as references for Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC). As a study, regulation and regulators are significant since they show the interaction between political system controls in the media.

The problem here is that political economy behaviour is influenced by a range of structures and procedures (for example, the media work environment) which stretch out beyond the remit of legal rules. Hence, analysis is a document that has a variety of working rules; since this is the concern of this research, I would be concerned to focus its varieties. A common topic that runs through all these discussion is an attempt to answer the following research of questions:

- What are the intersections of the political economy with regulation and regulatory bodies in the media?
- What types of influences are occurring in the media?
- How does the political economy interact with regulation and regulatory bodies in the media?

Literature Review

In fact, studies of the political economy address by a number of scholars(Henock, 2018; Abdissa, 2017; Fojo, 2017;

contexts affecting the regulation and regulatory bodies. The Structure provides the key context for political economy roles even as it contends with different levels of governance. The Negri, 2015; Abdissa, 2015; Mekuria, 2015; Mesert, 2013, Sejerdal, 2012; Halieloya, 2005).

The political economics theory responds to all or any political systems of the media governance, management, structure, function, frame, and responsibilities. The core claim of

the theoretical framework is that the media and also the political relationship square measure formed by its location among a nexus of establishments. As is evident from the regulation school's varied classes and tiers of study and also the approaches of state theory among economics and normative media theory. Operating backwards from the activity of media governance and arrangement, in terms of levels of abstraction, these frames of study square measure printed below. economics is that the larger image of the form of government by the ruling party composing associated operative among fields/subsystems that square measure formed by institutional state is in itself an institutional type and in itself a key intermediary of the opposite institutional forms. it's the purpose at that institutional and institutional changes meet.

Methodology

The data analysis concerned sorting out themes within the codes that were generated within the preceding section. Additionally, following Yin's (2003) suggestion, the coded and collated extracts were scan along yet again to confirm that that they had been properly placed below the acceptable themes. This concerned integration and deciphering the information that unconcealed the most documents and in-depth interview participants' knowledge of EBC and its social science of the state within the media, regulation and restrictive body implication. It conjointly unconcealed their views on however they thought the world may be improved. Purposive sampling may be a non-probability sampling technique that's accustomed chooses participants whom the research worker believes that they'd be helpful to respondent the analysis queries (Babbie and Mcuton, 2001). Thus, the interviewees were those who ar adequately knowledgeable regarding the analysis space, which, within the case of broadcast media in Ethiopia.

Finding/ Data presentation

Synchronization of Ethiopian Media Future

The Ethiopian laws and proclamations, which directly or indirectly regulate the freedom of expression (citizens), media institutions and journalists (professionals), have over the years been used to restrict journalistic freedom. This is confirmed in numerous in-depth interviews and document analyses carried out by this research and others.

Currently, Ethiopian media has reflected the views of the central government in different languages than local ethnic groups. In Ethiopia as elsewhere, the key challenge is the implementation and interpretation of the laws rather than their formulation. Nevertheless, it is necessary to reform this legislation to avoid that political changes again may lead to arbitrary interpretations of the legislation in a way which jeopardizes freedom of speech and undermines a vibrant media landscape.

The recent basis for punishment of journalists and media has been found in the Anti-Terrorism law, the Freedom of the Mass Media and Access to Information law proclamation

number 590/2008, The Criminal Code of Ethiopia 2004 and others. These laws expose journalists to harassment and intimidation. Such a threatening environment has made many journalists and citizens flee the country.

The result of the study also depicts the following points: the government problem with media professionals is the wish to have all the information they provided to the media be reported, to have only the best practices be reported, their wish to have issues of discontent be suppressed, showing an attitude that issues should not to be raised and reported when there appear to be problems, the weak culture of the provision of information by the time they are needed and not having an organized information about the activities of their respective organizations ready at hand.

The regulation and regulatory result also exhibits the fundamental problems of media professionals in terms of precedence to be bureaucratic practice, capacity and professional deficit. In their response to in-depth interview questions in regard to the provision of information to the media in times of Ethiopian media production and reporting, participants said information is made available to the media after it is overdue. What we can understand from this is that the regulatory institutions of the media don't play a proactive role in the provision of information and also indicates that there is a gap in the provision of current information by appraising the problems experienced.

The response to the in-depth interview and the document analysis reveals, most of the participants put that availing information is not taken as a duty by the public relation department and they even want to be begged for it. Under a number of sanctions in the regulation and the in-depth interview informants also put that the government officials, communication experts responsible bodies count their provision of information as a favor and need gratitude in return (Interview A, 2019).

Because of the reason that all communication professionals especially the debutants, didn't have a sound knowledge on the Freedom of Mass Media, the following points are the ones mentioned by most of the participants: forgetting that the information in the hands of government is a public property and the public has the right of access to information, provision of information is an obligation, tying the provision of information with vested interest, not knowing the type information to be allowed or withheld /prohibited, impracticality of the protection put for journalists and their vulnerability to problems when coming across gaps. Moreover, the impracticability of the charter of citizens' access to information is raised as a problem.

The following are among the responses given by media professionals regarding communication professionals: taking the media not as a partner, but as fault finders and that work to expose, being fed up with their work, and waiting for instructions to come from their heads, limited capacity, not having an organized information, not having a

serving spirit, mistreating media professionals, reflecting the interest of the government only, wanting to have things claimed to have been accomplished but not reported by the media, knowing not the very essence of the profession, a situation of being tied with endless meetings, pestering the media to add or remove statements after giving away the information and not planning the work. Media laws are decreed for governments to control the media by the intended regulatory under the structure of political economy.

An Intersection and Integration of Political Economy in Media

A critical analysis of existing political economy, regulation and regulators on media systems in Ethiopia countries indicates a number of disquieting elements. First, the regulations made through pronouncements of the political economy or leaders' direction. The government political economy, regulators and regulations have been hurriedly drawn up or announced as a reaction to some events or response to one problem or another generated by a particular function of the media. The general approach to political economy, regulators and regulations in Ethiopia is piecemeal, compartmentalized and sometimes conflicting with professed goals of the media.

Simultaneously, the political economy of the state is made to suppress criticisms of government and national issues. There are numerous instances when media facilities, the political power and the media in Ethiopian media have been consciously utilized by the ruling government political statuesque, building the party, an enterprise which does necessarily promote development.

Moreover, although in their speeches and pronouncements national leaders and government officials in Ethiopia make reference to the significance of media systems in the nation's development, little efforts have been made by political leaders and the political system to incorporate public media strategies and processes into national development planning. Most 10-year or 5-year development plans in Ethiopia give only minimal or no attention to media systems. Public media and access of information utilization is yet to be recognized as a priority area in the national policies, strategies and development frameworks. Among the political economy and decision makers there seems to be low awareness of the need for a comprehensive political economy to incorporate media processes and strategies and utilization of information in planning for development.

The justification underlying these moves showed the potential of increasing regulatory bodies and regulation power of the government. These integration created as the Ethiopian government moved to become a decision maker and shaper in the emerging Ethiopian Broadcasting environment. However, in the case of Ethiopian media, programs were

accompanied by strict regulation regarding production, access to information and broadcasting.

An intersection and Integration of Political Economy, Regulation, Regulatory Bodies in Ethiopian Media

The main intersection points of Ethiopian media determinant forces of political economy, regulation and regulatory bodies are the following.

Political Economy Effects	Regulation Effects	Regulatory Effects	Integration points	Total effects
Shape the organization structure	Structuralize and determine the function	Appointed the officials	Government oriented media	Propagate the party policies nationally
Shape the working culture	Determine the function and purpose of the media	Monitor the activity of the media	Monopolize media	Censorship and governance intervention
Determine the ideology of the state	Determine the ideology of the media	keep an eye on the media ideology	Ideological oriented media	Part members media
Determine the political economy of the state as Democratic Development state	Advocate and establish the scope as a development advocacy environment	Inspect the work environment belongs to the political economy or statuesque	Setting the model; Development Journalism approach or development communication	Multiple ways of restriction and limited criticism
Giving direction the living taught	Direction in the part of the rule	Legitimize or follow up the implementation of the policy or guideline	Control the law of the land tightened laws	Confusion communication; Public/state media
Control the regulation and regulatory	Control the work environment	Administer the media	Media Cartel	Media Capture

The above integration points showed the political economy and regulation captured by the media system. On the whole, the broadcast media in Ethiopia provides service mainly to the political, administrative. These dominant characteristics of the broadcast media infrastructure, coupled with the essentially synchronic political economy patterns and processes in Ethiopian societies, hinder the effective participation of the population in discussing and making decisions on significant national issues. The gaps and disparities in the distribution of media facilities and systems are detrimental for media development. Yet the democratic development state political economy of Ethiopia has been systematically evolved or consistently implemented in Ethiopia to develop media and communication facilities.

The political economy factors determine the media practices, professionalism, and overall societal functions of media and these factors will all exist in media regulation and regulatory bodies. Regulations directly and indirectly define the context for journalistic practice as well as the institutional and regulatory framework for the production of journalistic content.

The regulatory bodies are to establish technical and professional standards and to develop the practical regulation of the media. To achieve appropriate measures for this 61 different types of regulatory bodies and the Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority set more than 35 standards and 130 regulations.

There are a number of gaps in the regulation, regulatory bodies and the political economy approaches to ensure the freedom of the media. For this reason, the political economy, regulation and regulatory bodies control the media system in a number of ways via technology, license, type of media, and nature of content. For instance, the tight form of media environment has been schism about political or religious programmes that have been uplinked to free-to-air satellite distribution Directly to Home and licensed outside Ethiopia, but have been perceived as inciting to conflict, and have had parts of their programming produced inside Ethiopia without being licensed here. Legally, there is no possibility for Ethiopian Broadcast Authority (EBA) to require regulation of the content except supported by other regulators and jam the media. It is exactly the "The medium is the message" model that was used with a satellite channel, the communication medium itself (Mcluhan, 1967). The satellite link and licensing were in Cairo, Kenya or Dubai, while the programme production took place in Ethiopia with only a registration as NGO with the tax authorities. This EBA's restriction on international free-to-air satellite transmission has been a space of ownership regulation and regulatory mechanism of monopolization.

The last 29 years, the Ethiopian media landscape was characterised by polarization in media ownership, professional journalists, model of media (ideology), media associations and ethnicity. This polarization of the media comes from the political economy of one party dominance, federal form of ethnic based structure, ownership orientation and restrictive

nature of laws. Today, associations each representing mainly public or privately employed journalists are in operation, but they organise few activities and are unable to protect journalists' interests. The journalists do not support each other and negotiate in their professionalism standards. Because of the political economy, regulation and regulatory bodies are influenced in ownership, institution, management, model, and ideological orientation. However, the nature of government structure that arranges ethnicity oriented media and government structure can attract more ethnic based association media members unless the level of activities changes.

Furthermore, the main problems of Ethiopian media for professionals are the political economy, rules, and regulatory bodies are not given enough grant to substantiate their association and fight for their rights. To skip out a number of regulations, drafting and ratifying professional based common Codes of Conduct are not practicable. Because of this, the journalists' codes of ethics are rarely actively upheld.

The system has not created the complaints mechanism in place, which is capable of processing complaints from citizens, from organisations, or from public authorities. The government form of financial restriction and freedom of assembly is an obstacle of the media freedom activities. One of the Proclamations to Provide for the Registration on Charity Societies and organization the regulatory authority prevents the journalist associations' from receiving funding and support from abroad and let them rely on the very limited membership fees. Without access to financial means, the associations are unable to attain a level of activity that would make them useful for the members and allow them to become important media actors.

The main implications of the current political economy, regulation and regulatory bodies of Ethiopia are represented in seven ways. These are by medium (print, electronic, bloggers/online), by ownership/institution (community, private, foreign correspondents and government/public, media owners), by profession (sport, environment, health, science etc), by ethnicity (Amhara and oromia), by issue advocacy (women), by policy (Media council), by status (Ethiopian editors gild, reporters) association. Some are not still formally registered. However, there are scattered national associations for commercial, for community radios, online media or production houses, except public broadcasters.

The main intersection of political economy, regulation and regulatory bodies created dependence on media structure. The pro-dependency institutional arrangement nature of the political economy of the state eroded the editorial independence of the media, increasing self censorship of journalists. The impact will be present in the power of politics via silencing the media.

In the structure of the media board of directors, the defined roles and the guidelines for EBA can guarantee the transparent and equal allocation of frequencies to media outlets

that fulfill specific requirements concerning social responsibility and holding licensees to account.

Media content based on a single source does not provide balanced and professional information or inspire political debate. It risks indeed being propagandized instead of informative. Access to Information regulation (590/2008), the 1995 constitution and Ethiopian Institution of the Ombudsman as a regulatory practice has significant importance for citizens and for media. Media, editors and journalists face unwillingness from Government, public relations officers, or civil servants to supply information. It is a big obstacle to the production of good media products.

The Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation and similar regional public service media can perform important roles by reaching all groups of citizens with their news broadcasts and serve as platforms for dialogue across all interests. A public service broadcaster, whose board and management is dependent will become more imbalanced and distrusted in a higher audience share. These enabling environments serve only as a platform for dialogue between owners or affiliation interests. In the specific Ethiopian media context, the structural, professional and ethical implications show covering local issues irresponsibly in content dependency that leads to the media mistrust and division.

To meet the requirements of the media industry, the democratic development political economy of the state designed developmental journalism approach in the media. This model of implementation reflects political communication standards with regards to the media aim, function, and the practical production for print, broadcast and online media as well as management of the media organisations. The direction of generalist form of journalists training and adjustment will disable specialized training for journalists to produce specialized issue types of reporting such as election, investigative, social or court reporting. In the light of the journalist's approach arranges more in a generalist than to a specialist. This type of professional arrangement will also enable media managers to adjust the political basis of their entity or transform their media outlet into a political apparatus.

Both regulation and political economy interdependently define the media' strategy and plan. In the Current reform, it is discussed to form an umbrella organisation for both journalist associations. When more media managers and journalist associations have been selected, they may also become party members and loyal to the political system and efficient in executing the media regulation and standards. Furthermore, members close to the government have infiltrated the associations. The media associations create fear of journalism advocacy. Journalistic practice in Ethiopia has highly heterogeneous ethical and professional standards and is characterised by considerable self-censorship. For this reason, professional capacity and ethical standards are very weak due to the influence of the political economy.

The political coalition party (EPRDF) is practically the only party represented in the federal parliament, the government, and the regional councils and at the regional executive levels. Since the management of the vast majority of the media is also members of this political party it is not surprising that the media has not attempted or been able to keep the political power accountable for its decisions and actions. Managers of the media repeatedly confirm that the political executive level has not enforced access to information, has restricted media coverage, and have enforced media regulations more harshly than the formalities described in the laws.

Intersections Points of Ethiopian Media Environment in the space of Political system

The working spaces of the media are determined by the three integrated forces. These are Political economy, Regulation and Regulators. As a result these integrated political driven forces are formatting the working space of the media and journalists. A number of laws, declarations and directives were governing the activities of Ethiopian media in general, broadcast media in particular. In addition to the legal corpus providing for the freedom of the media as well as its overseeing authorities, there are several political documents that integrate the shape of media laws as a regulation and institution as a regulatory body.

The orientation of the political economy of the government is a method of controlling media pluralism, ownership, broadcaster's freedom as well as promotion of government sponsored agenda in the media. Today, the largest client by far – the Government and state institutions - allocate the vast majority of its fiancé or advertisement influence in the media system of the country. The allocation of public advertisements should be more transparent and be based on professional calculations.

In the case of Ethiopian broadcast media, controlling media ownership is the other way of protecting the political economy. Clear and specified requirements to the broadcast media renderers to provide elements of government owned public media service content is a means to ensure that the public media contribute to the development of Ethiopian political economy and not entirely follow the economic logic. Nationally defined rules on protecting the public from media harm content is also in accordance with political economy standards. Examples are policy, strategy, directive, letters, speeches or messaging as well as leaders' attitude-biased stereotyping in both media reporting and for example in institutional activities. The orientation of the media defined the affiliation standards. In this case, the political economy point of reference clarifies the party and political linkage of the media (EBC) works.

Multiple ways of influence including, high form of government censoring in ownership, technology, institution, profession is the major means of controlling the broadcast media development in the country. Ethiopian media can be seen as contributing to the

development democracy of political economy considered to live the ideological or frameworks of the media arena in developmental media philosophy. Moreover, Ethiopian media programme, content and formats comply with government standards to stand with the government mission, vision and objectives. Although EBC will stimulate domestic media production and content diversification in language, culture and geographical converge. At the same time, regulatory bodies inspect the content of EBC through agenda setting, framing, gatekeeping and priming in the plan of the ruling government activities. Consequently, content inspection is one form of censorship accomplished by the Ethiopian Broadcast Authority regulators.

Ideological control of the political economy existed in the capacity building of the journalists. Professional support and training should be encouraged to help develop and transform the broadcast media sector. A state monopoly - the Ethiopian Broadcast Corporation (EBC) - works with new rules for the broadcast sector and journalism models with online distribution and possible local broadcast versions are a means of media controlling in Ethiopia.

Hence, the major integration of the Ethiopian Political economy, Regulation and Regulators in Ethiopian broadcast media (EBC) are follows;

1. The integration determine the Developmental Democratic state political economy the model of the media as a Development Journalism Approach;
2. The integration determine the ideology of the journalists as a development communicators;
3. The integration establish the media structure in aligned with the political structure;
4. The media management system assigned in a powerful regulatory and loyal appointments;
5. The integration settle in the integrate internal regulation with the national political economy and regulators;
6. The political economy define the function of the media;
7. The integration gives the legal basis for restrictions to the freedom of the media;
8. The integration rendering certain actions punishable by law; or The integration set penalties;
9. The integration works in protecting or defending the press;
10. The integration describe the legal bases – rights and obligations – for media's activities;
11. The integration establish regulatory body power;
12. The integration establish the working environment of the media;
13. The integration handle the organisation competencies;

14. The integration agree on basic principles of professional conduct;
15. The integration protecting citizens from any danger;
16. The integration created the restricted political spots;
17. The integration legitimize grants for political system;
18. The integration ensure mass media work environment';
19. The integration facilitate the Access of information;
20. The integration legitimize ownership of the media;
21. The integration determine the activates of journalists and licensing;
22. The integration determine regulatory institutions orientation;
23. The integration create Self-Regulation System;
24. The integration sets Criminal Provisions;
25. The integration classified the type of data and nature of distribution.

These intersections are constituted elements of political economy, regulation and regulators of the media. The legal system establishes authorities and institutions that control as a body of the media. As a result, regulation and regulatory bodies are monitoring the media function. Policy and strategies are given direction for the media and it governs the state political economy. This integration was created in 101 ways of media environment controlling the sphere. The censoring mechanisms control the journalist and the media institutions in the sum integration of the three forces or main determinants of the system of the country. These forces are an indicator of the performance of the given sector soft and hard power. In the case of EBC, the influences are intuitional (structure, arrangement, philosophy) and professional (the day to day activities) in the internal and external regulations, regulators and the political economy of the state.

In the analysis of an in-depth interview, informants and primary documents assured that Ethiopian media law has been implemented to have more political influence than respect and protect the rights of journalists, media and citizens. As an indication of this, more than 120 internal and external laws were applied on the work of Ethiopian journalists. In addition to the implementation of the proclamation, many problems associated with limiting free expression and accesses of information in the country are now being observed by regulatory bodies and the government.

The Impact or Influence of the political economy, regulation and regulatory bodies in the Media

Under the impact of the three powerful forces, integration governmental type of information dominated the existing communication environment. Under those circumstances media suppression is increased and an obstacle of media freedom. There are a number of media accountability systems in Ethiopia. These are, direct government control, indirect political control, independent but stifled and independent. Many laws governing the media in the country are regulated directly or indirectly. These include: Media and Freedom of Information Proclamation 590/2000; Broadcasting Service

Proclamation No. 533/1999; Criminal Law Proclamation No. 412/2001; Computer Criminal Proclamation No. 958/2008, Charities and Civil Society Proclamation No. 621 / 2001; Advertising Proclamation No. 759/2004, Investment Proclamation No. 849/2006; Government Communication Affairs Establishment Council of Ministers Regulation No. 158/2001; Re-establishment of the Network Security Agency Proclamation No. 808/2005, Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation Establishment No. 858/2014, News Service Establishment Media Act, and the Ethiopian Press Agency are investing proclamation. There are many other rules and guidelines available.

The Criminal Code from 2004 opens for long prison sentences to journalists in case of alleged defamation. The Anti-Terrorism Proclamation from 2009 and the state of emergency law from 2005 and 2016 only vaguely define the concept of terrorism. It lacks protection of the right of media and journalists to report on the opposition and non-violent or violent groups, and their right to protect the anonymity of their sources.

The Ethiopian broadcast media had been severely weakened in institutional orientation and professional orientation due to regulation and regulatory influences under the number laws and inspection mechanisms. Constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and information had been eroded by laws and directives. Although these clear constitutional provisions several articles in the existing subsidiary media-related laws have in practice been interpreted so as to limit journalists' and media's right to expression.

In spite of articles of improvement, the Mass Media Law from 2008 contains a range of restrictive paragraphs. It also stresses that defamation crime against "constitutionally mandated legislators, executives and judiciaries will be a matter of the government and prosecutor even if the person against whom they were committed chooses not to press charge" and contain broad discretionary provisions.

Interestingly, the Broadcasting Proclamation No. 533/2007 preamble (extra-legal part) refers to the Ethiopian broadcast media's "significant role in the political, economic and social development of the country" (Broadcasting Service Proclamation, 2007) Preamble one shedding light on the specific developmental functions the legislator intends to vest in the media. On the other hand, however, the Broadcasting Proclamation No. 533/2007 recognizes its "major role in exercising the basic constitutional rights such as freedom of expression [and] access to information [...]."

The aforementioned "code of conduct" which is established by the Broadcast Service Proclamation for the media primarily aims at upholding professional and ethical standards on the one hand, and at protecting basic constitutional rights to individuals and groups on the other hand. Particularly the provisions protecting the individual from unjustified accusations, slander, or attacks can be deemed vital for a state that takes individual liberty and rights seriously. Those provisions averting inter ethnic conflict are essential legal

prerequisites for a multicultural ethnic and multicultural religious state such as Ethiopia to function peacefully and without discrimination. Nevertheless, the public broadcaster Ethiopian broadcast media is frequently the first not to adhere to the said professional and ethical standards by reporting in a biased and partial way, under the omission of facts, and by spreading prejudice and stigmatizing individuals and organisations representing opinions deviating from the official "discourse".

Besides setting up the institutional framework for the media environment, the Broadcast Service Proclamation describes ethical and professional principles ("code of conduct") the media ought to adhere to. These principles intend to assure that "different and balanced viewpoints" are represented in the programming at large as well as that these contents be accurate, ascertained, and impartial, in particular as regards news coverage (Broadcast Service Proclamation, 2007, Art. 30 (1-3)).

On the other hand, aired programmes must respect fundamental interpersonal rights as guaranteed in the constitution, such as a person's dignity, belief, or liberty. This safeguards approach towards the individual is taken up on a broader scale when the law prohibits "maliciously accusing or defaming individuals, nations/nationalities, peoples or organizations" and instigating dissention or war among them (Art. 30 (4a-e)). These provisions of the Broadcast Service Proclamation are consistent with the provisions against defamation in the Criminal Code of Ethiopia. Fairly vaguely formulated, another paragraph specifically protects the "children's well-being" by prohibiting potentially harmful contents to be broadcast at certain times (Art. 31).

Furthermore and following the preamble of the Broadcast Service Proclamation, every channel has to provide free airtime to political organisations competing in elections. In addition, political organisations have the right to have their programmes and objectives transmitted by regular advertisements. The details of this provision are regulated by an Ethiopian Broadcast Authority directive (Art. 43 (1-4)).

In this regard that airtime was granted to all competing political parties. However, taking a closer look at the mode of airtime allocation casts serious doubts on its fairness: "10 % for all parties equally; 40 % dependent on the number of seats in the House of Peoples' Representatives or the Regional Councils; 40 % based on the number of candidates fielded by the party; and 10 % for female candidates". Moreover, some campaign adverts objected, because they "did not meet the requirements set by [the] Ethiopian Broadcast Authority (EBA) and therefore could not be transmitted without revision". Thus, the EBA could serve as an additional filter for campaign messages. Considering the then already overpowering position of the Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) and its regional affiliates in the political system allows to conclude that the allocation of airtime to political parties did not follow principles that would enable the broader public to access diverse information and

opinions about the forthcoming elections.

Moreover, the Freedom of Mass Media Proclamation intends to apply to foreign mass media outlets as well, as far as they primarily focus on an Ethiopian audience by providing specifically tailored programming. The regulation affects in a number of ways the freedom of professionals and institution life of Ethiopian media. The anti terrorism proclamation share the biggest influence in journalists life of the country. The other black regulation and time of Ethiopian media is the state emergency proclamation ratified period. The internet played a decisive role in the spread of the protests. Consequently, there have been severe restrictions on the access to social media platforms allegedly used for sharing e. g. videos showing the violent suppression of protests. The measures undertaken by the government included a complete shutdown of the internet even before the State of Emergency's promulgation as well as interrupting, at times, mobile internet access altogether. This would happen in 2019 and 2020 even Ethiopia an award of world press freedom day. This would happen in 2019 and 2020 even Ethiopia an award of world press freedom day. The main regulation of internet disconnection communication is Intelligence National Security Agency, telecommunication (Ethiopian Communication Authority) and government.

The Ethiopian laws and proclamations regulating the freedom of expression, media and journalists directly or indirectly have been used to restrict journalistic freedom significantly and impose harsh and arbitrary sentences on media and journalists for many years. The Criminal Code 2004 has provided the basis for long prison sentences for many journalists. The most recent legislation used for sentencing journalists and media are the Anti-Terrorism, the Freedom of the Mass Media Proclamation no. 590/2008, and The Criminal of Ethiopia 2004. The criminal code proclamation gives the power to impose journalist's freedom for institutions and experts in different areas.

It is true that the power of regulatory bodies and regulations has been passed by the Ethiopian parliament and the appointed bodies of the organization are applying.

Conclusion & Recommendation

The recent basis for punishment of journalists and media has been found in the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation, the Freedom of the Mass Media Proclamation no. 590/2008, The Criminal Code of Ethiopia 2004 and others. These laws expose journalists to harassment and intimidation. Such a threatening environment has made many journalists and citizens flee the country.

The restrictive legislative paragraphs and practices should be replaced with a robust system of self-regulation which would be discussed in this chapter. In addition, reform of institutional authorities and responsibilities will inevitably lead to more changes in laws and regulation that are mentioned in this, next and previous chapters. The main recommendation of this research is recommend to Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation

transformed into a genuinely independent public service media responsible towards the public and the citizens, and the corporation functions independently. Its editorial independence and its board should be guaranteed full institutional autonomy without allowing for any political interference – also from the so-called “media committee” interference. Ethiopia is currently enjoying a period of leniency in the reform and political transition of some of its contested laws including media laws.

References

1. *Abdissa, Z.(2015). The Role of Development Journalism in Developmental States. A Paper Prepared for Presentation at a Workshop Organized by the Amhara Mass Media Agency.*
2. *Abdissa, Z.(2017).Political Economy Approach as Complementary to Cultural Studies Approach in the Study of Contemporary Mass Media. Ethiopian Journal of Languages and Literature Vol. XIII January 2017: .27-46.*
3. *Andrew Heywood (2007) Political ideologies: an introduction, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, c2007.*
4. *Ansah, P.A.V. (1991). 'The Legal and Political Framework for a Free and Pluralistic Press in Africa.' Working Document Prepared for the UN/UNESCO Seminar on Promoting an Independent and Pluralistic.*
5. *Armours. C. (1984). 1984 The BBC and the Development of Broadcasting in British Colonial Africa 1946-1956.- · African Affairs 83(332):359-402.*
6. *Criminal Code of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia 2004, The.Proclamation No. 414/2004. Cullum, Linda. Resources for Feminist Research. Toronto. Vol. 28 (1/2), Iss. 1/2; P.121.*
7. *Criminal Code of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia 2004, The.Proclamation No. 414/2004. Cullum, Linda. Resources for Feminist Research. Toronto. Vol. 28 (1/2), Iss. 1/2; P.121.*
8. *Davies and Lewis (1971). Models of Political Analysis. Davis, Alan (2006), 'A Road Map for Monitoring and Evaluation in the Media Development Sector', in Media Matters: Perspectives on Advancing Media and Development from the Global Forum for Media*

Development, Internews Europe and the Global Forum for Media Development, pp.89–93 www.unesco.org

9. Fojo Media Institute (2017) *Feasibility study strengthening free, independent and professional Journalism in Ethiopia.*
10. Guillaneuf, R. (1975). 1975 *La presse en Cote d'Ivoire: La colonisation, l'aube de la decolonisation, 1906-1952. 2 tomes. These de 3ieme cycle. Universite de Paris 1.*
11. Halieloya, 2005 *Hallelujah L W. A Political History of the Private Press in Democratic Ethiopia 1991–2007. MA thesis, Addis Ababa University: 2008.*
12. Henok Semaegzer. (2018). *The Means and the End: The Role of Media for Democratization in Ethiopia. Mersa Media Institute.*
13. Ibrahim, A. (2010). *Media in the peace building process: Ethiopia and Iraq. In: Pippa Norris (ed), Public sentinel: news media & governance reform. Washington DC: The World Bank; 2010.*
14. Laitin, D. (2002). "Comparative Politics: The State of the Sub discipline." In Katsnelson & Milner, ed. *Political Science: State of the Discipline III . New York and London: W.W. Norton.*
15. Meseret Chekol Reta (2013): *The Quest for Press Freedom: One Hundred Years of History of the Media in Ethiopia.*
16. Munck, G. (2007). *Rejoinder: Visions of Comparative Politics: A Reply to Mahoney & Wibbels. Comparative Political Studies. 40(1) 45-47.*
17. *Negarit Gazeta (2001). Government Communication Affairs Establishment Council of Ministers Regulation No. 158/2001, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.*
18. *Negarit Gazeta (2005). Re-establishment of the Network Security Agency Proclamation No. 808/2005, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.*
19. *Negarit Gazeta (2007). A Proclamation on Broadcasting Service No. 533/2007. Federal Negarit Gazeta, 13th Year, No. 39.*
20. *Negarit Gazeta (2008). A Proclamation to Provide for Freedom of the Mass Media and Access to Information, No. 590/2008. Federal Negarit Gazeta, 14th Year, No. 64.*
21. *Negarit Gazeta (2008). The Proclamation No. 759/2012, Advertising Proclamation No. 759/2004, Addis Ababa. Ethiopia.*

22. *Negarit Gazeta (2009), A Proclamation on Anti-Terrorism, No. 652/2009. Federal Negarit Gazeta, 15th Year No. 57.*
23. *Negarit Gazeta (2009). A Proclamation on Anti-Terrorism, No. 652/2009. Federal Negarit Gazeta, 15th Year No. 57.*
24. *Negarit Gazeta (2014). Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation Establishment No. 858/2014, the Ethiopian Broadcast Corporation.*
25. *Negeri Lencho (2013 Communicating for Development and Democratization in Ethiopia: Journalistic Practices and Challenges. In Fekadu Beyene, Eba Mijena and Rageavendra HL, Wolega University, proceedings of the National Symposium: Establishing Enhancing and sustaining Quality Practices in Education. 2013.:122-137.*
26. *Negeri Lencho (2015). Communication for Development and Democratization: Journalistic Practices and Challenges. Lambert Academic Publishing, Germany*
27. *Nyamnjoh, Francis B (2005) Africa's media. Democracy and the politics of belonging. London: Zed Books.*
28. *Perret T. (2005). Le temps de journalistes : L'invention de la presse en Afrique francophone. Paris: Karthala.*
29. *Pye, L. (1963). Communications and Political Development. Princeton: Princeton University Press.*
30. *Redden, R., K. (1968). The Legal System of Ethiopia. The Michi Company, law Publisher Virginia.*
31. *Roskin, M.; Cord, R.; Medeiros, J. & Jones, W. (2006). Political Science: An Introduction (9th ed.). Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.*
32. *Schramm, W. and Daniel, L., eds. (1976). Communication and Change: The Last Ten Years and the Next. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.*
33. *Skjerdal, S. Terje (2012) Competing Loyalties: Journalism culture in the Ethiopian State Media. Doctoral Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PHD. University of Oslo: Faculty of Humanities: Department of Media and Communication.*
34. *Theodros Woudneh and Mekuria Mekasha, (2018) Assessment of the Legislative and Operational Environment, unpublished report, review by UNDP and GACO.*

35. Yin, Robert (2003), *Case Study Research: Design and Methods (3rd ed.)*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.