

Framing of Human Trafficking in State Newspapers: The Case of Bekur Newspaper

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ABSTRACT

This study examines how Bekur a government newspaper framed human trafficking issues. The study opts the period of 18 months from September 2012 to February 201 employing framing theory as a main conceptual framework. The study used both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Content analysis was employed as a main research method. Content analysis was used to gather the data from the newspaper about the types of frames, the extent of stories, the location of stories, the themes of stories and the sources quoted. Two trained coders coded 48 stories that correspond to the criteria set by the researcher. In- depth interviews were also conducted with two journalists and an editor of the newspaper. An expert from the state labor and social affairs bureau was also included in the interview. The results of the study revealed that the newspaper used different types of frames in covering human trafficking. Accordingly, diagnostic and prognostic frames were predominantly used. On the other hand, conflict and economic frames were the least used frames. Further, external trafficking were the most frequently reported types of human trafficking. Concerning themes, consequence themes were highly used. Solution, legal issues and extent themes were employed to some extent. Causes and factors theme was the least used. In terms of sources, the newspaper dominantly used government officials. Victims, potential migrants and traffickers were used to a limited extent. The newspaper attributed the responsibility of alleviating the problem to the government. Over all, the newspaper confined its role largely to defining the problem.

Keywords: Culture, Poverty, Exploitation, Statistics, Sociology, Authority

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Not a recent phenomenon, human trafficking has caused concern and has been a global problem. International Labor Organization (ILO) has estimated that the minimum number of persons in forced labor, including sexual exploitation, as a result of trafficking at any given time is 2.5 million. Of these, 1.4 million are in Asia and the Pacific, 270,000 in industrialized countries, 250,000 in Latin America and the Caribbean, 230,000 in the Middle East and Northern Africa, 200,000 in countries with economies in transition and 130,000 in sub-Saharan countries (UNDOC, 2008). In addition, the United States Department of State (2006) estimates that about 600,000 to 800,000 people are trafficked annually across borders.

In Eastern Africa girls are trafficked for exploitation in domestic labor, forced prostitution and forced marriages. Trafficked boys are also exploited in areas such as farming, livestock, plantation work and fishing. Women are trafficked for domestic labor, forced prostitution and the hospitality industry, and men are trafficked mainly for manual and agriculture labor, construction work and criminal activities (UNDOC, 2008).

Media has a role in mobilizing public support and involvement to help prevent and combat trafficking (UNGIFT, 2013). How a story is framed influences how a problem is defined, what are determined to be causes of the problem and its consequences, and what solutions are seen as effective in alleviating the problem (Entman, 1993). In east African country Ethiopia Bekur is a government owned newspaper established in December 1995 (AMMA, 2013).

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Human trafficking is the biggest human rights challenge and a serious problem.

- Occurs - internal (rural to urban areas).
 - external (developing to more industrialized countries)
 - both documented and undocumented immigrants- forced labor or sexual exploitation (Aronowitz, 2009: 23).

The Most affected ones are the developing countries (ILO, 2005).

Ethiopia is among the most affected nations in Africa.

- Internal trafficking (children from rural to urban areas) - domestic servitude, commercial sexual exploitation, forced labor (street vending, begging and traditional weaving).

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- External trafficking (Young women across borders) - domestic servitude throughout the Middle East, Sudan and South Sudan. Many young women transit through Djibouti, Egypt, Somalia, Sudan, or Yemen as they emigrate seeking work.
- Face severe abuses - physical and sexual assault, denial of salary, sleep deprivation, withholding of passports, confinement, and murder (US State Department, 2013).

The public gets information about social problems mostly through the media (Kensicki, 2004: 54).

Media as a powerful tool in influencing public opinion: Media attention to and framing of a problem can greatly affect how the public interprets and how policymakers respond to social problems (Farrel and Fahy , 2009).

Local Researches

- Confined to the electronic media and its coverage. E.g. A study by Ephrem, (2008) on the coverage of human trafficking on the ‘enewaq’ programme of FM 97.1 Radio Station dealt with the coverage of human trafficking only. It did not investigate how the radio framed human trafficking issues.

Other Media Framing Researches

- Kefale, (2014) on the framing of road traffic accidents in Bekur newspaper indicated that diagnostic, responsibility and prognostic frames were dominantly used but the morality, empathy and economic frames were the least used.
- Bekur newspaper has got coverage of human trafficking during different times and sections of the newspaper.

No research has been done so far on how the media (“Bekur”) frame of human trafficking issues. Accordingly, it is very difficult to know how the issue is covered and framed, how it is perceived by the people and how the media is reinforcing the government bodies to take some actions and decisions. Thus, the researcher understood conducting a research on how the newspaper framed human trafficking stories is highly important.

General Objective

- to assess the framing of human trafficking in Bekur newspaper.

Specific Objectives

1. to identify kinds of framing that are used by the newspaper while covering human trafficking stories.
2. to identify the extent of the newspaper's coverage of human trafficking in terms of number and types of stories.
3. to identify the types of human trafficking frequently covered in the newspaper.
4. to describe the main messages of the stories of human trafficking.
5. to explain the sources of the stories quoted on the human trafficking issues.
6. to investigate how the newspaper framed human trafficking.
7. to look into the functions of the newspaper performed regarding human Trafficking.

Research Questions

1. What kinds of framing do the media use when it is reporting human trafficking issues?
2. What is the extent of the newspaper's coverage of human trafficking?
3. Which types of human trafficking are covered more by the newspaper?
4. What are the main messages of the human trafficking stories?
5. What are the sources of the stories quoted on human trafficking?
6. How did the newspaper frame human trafficking?
7. What were the functions of the newspaper performed regarding human trafficking?

Significance of the Study

- to get information on how Bekur newspaper frame human trafficking issues.
- helpful for the media organization to see its strengths and weaknesses on framing of human trafficking issues.
- will be used as a source on how to improve portraying human trafficking issues.
- significant for the governmental and non-governmental organizations, which work on human trafficking issues.

Limitations of the Study

- The newspaper articles that were discovered may not reflect all the issues of human trafficking that occurred.
- Although it is better to study comparative analysis on the framing of human trafficking, this research is limited only to Bekur government newspaper. In addition to this, this study did not include the view of the readers.

Review of Related Literature

Human Trafficking: Definition and Overview

The UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Person, especially women and children that supplements the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (2000), known as the Palermo Protocol, defines trafficking in human beings in Article 3(a) as:

... the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

Human Trafficking in the Global Arena

Human trafficking is an international problem that has been reoccurring for decades. Some studies such as the IOM, (2008) state that 161 out of 192 countries are reported to be affected by human trafficking be it the source, transit and / or the destination country and it is a global epidemic and no town, country or state is immune to it. The US State Department (2007) estimates that globally 4-27 million people are trafficked each year. Approximately, 80 per cent of the victims are women and children, and 50 per cent are children under the age of 18 years. An estimated of 600,000 to 800,000 men, women and minors are trafficked across global borders every year (US State Department, 2006).

Push and Pull Factors Contributing to Human Trafficking

Tupman, (cited in Pearce, 2000) identified push and pull factors connected with immigration and incentives for trafficking of humans. Kruger, (2010) explains that push factors refer to risk factors in the source countries that intensify the vulnerability of victims. In other words, he notes that push factors are those circumstances that make victims want to leave their home communities.

On the other hand, Tupman, (cited in Pearce, 2000) states that the pull factors bringing people toward certain countries often in the west, are related to demand for cheap labor in a variety of areas, like domestic service, agricultural work and the sex industry. Kruger (2010) defines that pull factors refer to the demand side of human trafficking and relate to destination countries or locations. According to him, pull factors linked primarily to the luring promise of a better life, include anticipated better employment, educational and skills opportunities, political stability, an absence of armed conflict, and the hope of escaping from abuse, violence, discrimination, HIV/AIDS or the consequences of natural disasters. He believes that for victims, pull factors are the attraction of a perceived better life elsewhere, but without sufficient information about the risks.

Human Trafficking in Ethiopia

The Ethiopian Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (2013), which is largely responsible for migration issues, reported that it reviewed and approved 198,000 contracts for overseas employment, predominantly for domestic workers in 2012; a 50 per cent increase from 2011. According to the Ministry, this only represents part of the huge numbers of those migrating overseas with well placed sources claiming this is only 30 per cent - 40 per cent of the overall figure and irregular migration, including migration facilitated by illegal brokers, makes up the remaining 60-70 per cent .

According to the ILO (2011), poverty and lack of opportunities, unemployment and the unfavorable economic and social position of women, failure in educational endeavors, gender stereotypes, and the ‘culture of migration’ are critical factors behind migration and human trafficking in Ethiopia.

The US State Department Trafficking in Persons’ report, (2013: 165) highlights the problem of internal trafficking in Ethiopia as:

Ethiopia is a source and, to a lesser extent, a destination and transit country for men, women, and children who are subjected to forced labor and sex trafficking. Girls from Ethiopia’s rural areas are exploited in domestic servitude and, less frequently, prostitution within the country, while boys are subjected to forced labor in traditional weaving, herding, guarding, and street vending.

Pearson, (2003) points out that Ethiopia is mainly a source country for trafficking and young Ethiopian women are trafficked to Djibouti, Lebanon, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain for domestic labor. Besides, the US State Department report (2013) notes that Ethiopian girls are forced into domestic servitude and prostitution outside of Ethiopia, primarily in Djibouti and South Sudan, while Ethiopian boys are subjected to forced labor in Djibouti as shop assistants, errand boys, domestic workers, thieves, and street beggars.

Numbers of trafficked women are unknown but are estimated to be as large as 130,000 Ethiopian women and children in the Gulf States and the top destinations are Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and the United Arab Emirates. Women trafficked to the Middle East are generally between 20-30 years of age, and children as young as 13 are trafficked (IOM, cited in Fransen, 2009: 18). According to the study of IOM (2013), 400,000 – 500,000 persons trafficked each year to Saudi Arabia, Yemen, UAE and other countries.

Media and Human Trafficking

Since human trafficking is one of the most important societal issues, the media can play a significant role in creating awareness among the people. Media’s role is of critical importance in disseminating clear information on the reality of human trafficking, in order to foster a greater understanding of it and this is achieved by firstly having a clear understanding of human trafficking in all its nuanced complexities, and then reporting on it in a way that provides people with clear understanding of the issues involved, as well as informing them of their rights and equipping them with relevant information (Hamman, 2011).

Theory of Framing

Definitions of Framing and Media Framing

- ❖ Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in the communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman , 1993: 55).
- ❖ Media framing is based on the notion how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an impact on how the audience interprets the story (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007).

Locations of Framing

The most comprehensive empirical approach is offered by Tankard, (2001: 101) who suggests a list of 11 framing mechanism or focal points for identifying and measuring news frames. These are Headlines, Subheads, Photos, Photo captions, Leads, Source selection, Quotes selection, Pull quotes, Logos, Statistics and charts and Concluding statements and paragraphs.

Typology of Framing

Literatures have identified a handful of frames that occur commonly in the news. Neuman, Just, and Crigler (1992) discussed comprehensively several different types of frames dominantly used in U.S. news coverage: conflict, economic consequences, human impact, and morality. Based on these frames, Semekto and Valkunburg (2000) identified five generic frames: conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality and attribution of responsibility.

Factors Affecting Framing

Scheufele, (1999: 109) points out “ the external and internal factors that impact media framing include social norm and values, organizational pressure and constraint, pressures of interest groups, journalist routine and ideological or political orientations of journalists”. Van Dijk, (1985) suspected that the way news is framed in the mass media is a result of social and professional routines of journalists. In addition to this, Edelman (1993: 232) notes that the choice of frames often is “driven by ideology and prejudice”. Gamson and Modigliani, (1987: 168) assumed that “the formation of frames can be explained by an interaction of journalists norms and practices and the influence of interest groups.”

Criticism of Framing Theory

According to Scheufele (1999: 103), many of the limitations of media framing theory relates to its lack of a clear conceptual definition and generally applicable operation. In addition to this, Scheufele attributing the idea to Entman's (1993) 'scattered conceptualization' explains that the theory lacks consistency or common fundamental definition that shows how frames are fixed and become visible in a text as well as how it influences thinking. As a result, application of framing varies in different contexts and disciplines. In other words, framing may not commonly be applicable notion as a result of absence of clear explanation. Scheufele, (1999: 117-118) further notes that "even when researchers undertake experimental studies, they do not exactly show how and why news frames influence audiences' or readers' behavior, attitude and cognitive"

In spite of the fact that the use of framing theory is for a better explanation on how governmental newspapers like Bekur treat human trafficking issues, researchers use elements of framing theory to a very limited degree. This study has used this concept to study Bekur newspaper coverage and treatment of human trafficking issues for 18 months (from September 2012 – February 2014)

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

Research Methods (Both quantitative and qualitative)

This research has employed quantitative research method to gather data from the newspaper about the types of framing, extent of human trafficking stories, types of human trafficking, sources, themes etc. Furthermore, it has also used qualitative research methodology to collect data that complements the quantitative content analysis.

Data Collection Instruments (Content analysis and in -depth interviews)

Content analysis: the types of frames, extent of stories, location of stories, themes of stories, types of human trafficking, sources quoted and media functions.

In-depth interviews: as supplementary (how stories of human trafficking are framed, how the journalists and editor give salience to the issue and identify the overall interest, know-how on human trafficking problems and understand more about government strategies on human trafficking).

Sampling Techniques

Bekur newspaper was selected purposefully because it covers various themes such as political, social and economic issues. Human trafficking is the main concern of these and other themes. **Time Frame:** - stories published within 1 year and 6 months (September 2012 to February 2014) were selected so to get reasonably available recent data on human trafficking and assumption of getting higher number of stories where most of the critical issues concerning human trafficking would be raised in the media due to the citizens who were returned from Saudi Arabia to their country. Seventy two editions within the time period of 18 months were taken for the analysis.

Story Selection:- types of stories related to human trafficking such as news, features, editorials, interviews and poems (coding sheet, 48 stories written for 1 year and 6 months were selected and written stories that dealt with legal migration were excluded).

Journalists and Editor: - higher involvement in reporting and editing of the stories (the frequency of the names mentioned on the bi-line section and contacting the editors) were interviewed.

Expert: - works on human trafficking and related legal issues (Semi- structured and open- ended questions were prepared for the interview)

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Coding sheet was prepared (adapted from the previous studies of media coverage and framing) and the data that were collected by using content analysis were coded accordingly. In addition to this, the findings of the coded data were presented in terms of graphs with their analysis and discussions. The data that were collected by using in-depth interviews were discussed to enrich the results of the quantitative content analysis.

Analysis of Frames

The researcher has developed a range of similar questions relied on the review literatures by following the Semetko and Valkenburg's 'yes' or 'no' questions.

The Coding Process

List of questions were developed from the literature and the current issue of human trafficking in the global arena, national and regional levels. The questions that dealt with framing and the existence of a frame in the stories were adopted from previously made framing researches.

Reliability and Validity of Coding

Ole Holsti's formula, which is: $\text{Reliability} = \frac{2*m}{(N1+N2)}$ where; m is the number of coding decisions on which the two coders agreed. N1 and N2 are the total number of coding decisions by the first and second coder respectively (Tigist, 2007). Hence, the inter-coder reliability across all categories ranges from 90% to 100%.

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The Extent of the Newspaper's Coverage of Human Trafficking Issues

Out of 72 editions of the newspaper during the time period from September 2012 - February 2014, there were 48 stories that concerned issues of human trafficking and related issues. Of these, Feature- 23 (47.91%), News- 20 (41.67%), Editorial- 3 (6.25%), Interview- 2 (4.17%) and Poems were not employed.

The issue didn't get much coverage like agricultural and health issues (E.g. HIV/AIDS) because it doesn't have its own column, priority, lack of commitment, financial and human resources and professional constraints and the like.

In Kefale's, (2014) study, 16 stories were covered within one and half years. The newspaper provided more coverage to human trafficking than road traffic accidents. On the other hand, 48 stories that were portrayed by the newspaper might not be adequate when compared with the extent and prevalence of human trafficking in the country and in the region.

The extent of the problem is increasing at an alarming rate (US State Department, 2013 and interview with informants). It can be concluded from the discussion that though alarming and massive, the newspaper didn't give enough coverage to the problem.

Location of Human Trafficking Stories in the Newspaper

Of the analyzed stories, 2 (4.17 per cent) were appeared in the Front, 46 (95.83 per cent) in the inside pages. No stories appeared at the back page.

Informants

Only Hard news is covered on the front page. As human trafficking is not a recent phenomenon, it is covered mostly as feature at the inside pages mostly in 'Justice and Good Governance' column to show the process and consequences.

Over the last decade, human trafficking has become front-page news in Canadian media (Kuchynski , 2013: 78). Unlikely, the findings of this study indicate that only 4.17 per cent of the stories were located at the front pages while 95.83 per cent appeared at the inside page. It is assumed that when a story is published at the front page, it captures greater attention. So, it can be argued that covering only 4.17 per cent stories at the front page is a very small number.

The Distribution of Themes across the Newspaper per cent

The distribution of themes across the newspaper, Consequence themes - 33.3 per cent ,Solution – per cent 25 per cent ,Legal issues - 18.8 per cent,The extent and magnitude of human trafficking - 16.6 and Causes and Factors - 6.3 . per cent Despite a category ‘Other’ was included in the theme variable, no additional theme to this category was found.

Informants

Covering how the victims’ basic human rights were violated and showing clearly to the reader how the victims were physically, sexually and psychologically abused was the major theme on covering the issue. Stating the solutions on how to eliminate the problem was among the major themes of the newspaper. Covering legal issues helps for individuals who involved in the crime to refrain from their activity. Covering the extent/magnitude helps the readers to understand how much the problem is prevalent in the region. The newspaper didn’t cover much more stories which dealt with causes and factors of the problem. This is due to lack of attention and commitment.

Trafficking of women and young girls is accompanied by potentially lifelong and/or life-threatening health problems (Agrinet, 2004 and Bezabih, 2008). In reality, the consequence theme is essential in emphasizing the consequences of human trafficking in the country and throughout the region. Thus, covering such theme might help the people understand the consequences of the problem.

In order to combat and curb the criminal activity of human trafficking, deeply rooted in the society, it is vital for the media to intervene and bring the issue to the public (Martha, 2006 cited in Ephrem, 2008: 53- 54). Legal issue themes were important on clarifying the legal issues, passing important legislations which help on protecting the rights of the migrants and on bringing traffickers before the law. The media can also use their power and freedom to highlight social issues and exert a kind of subtle pressure on government to implement rules and fulfill its commitment to alleviate this social problem (Kern, 2004).

Making the extent and magnitude of human trafficking as a theme helps the readers to understand the extent and prevalence of the problem in the region. Using causes and factors as major theme helps to educate fully the public or

policymakers about the reasons for human trafficking (Gulati , 2010). However, the newspaper used this theme to a very lesser extent.

The Distribution of Types of Human Trafficking in the Newspaper

External trafficking was the highly mentioned in the stories and accounted for 95.83 per cent while internal trafficking was the least mentioned 4.17. per cent.

Informants

The newspaper focused on external trafficking because of its seriousness and consequences. Though the problem of internal trafficking is prevalent in the region, the government and the media primarily focus on external trafficking (Adelahu, Interview, 12 May 2014).

Although external trafficking is more serious, the government of Ethiopia should launch a campaign to increase awareness on internal trafficking at the local and regional levels (US State Department, 2013). The findings of this study indicate that almost all of the analyzed stories were focused on external trafficking. Therefore, it can be said that the newspaper overlooked internal trafficking.

Sources Identified and Quoted in the Analyzed Stories

The findings of this study indicate an extensively use of government officials and media channels as sources 24.14 per cent and 21.84 per cent respectively. Non- government organizations -9.2 per cent, Police officers, victims and community members contributed each 8.05 per cent of the sources used. Potential migrants, victim families/relatives/friends and experts on human trafficking and related legal issues were 6.9 per cent, 4.6 per cent and 3.45 per cent respectively. While, researches/researchers and traffickers were the least used sources and accounted for 2.3 per cent and 1.15. per cent Out of the mentioned category sources of the stories, others were employed for 2.3 per cent.

Informants

Obtaining information from government officials has been easy as they were easier to contact, and were more informed and credible. Experts and researchers were used to a very limited extent. This was due to lack of commitment and priority. Traffickers were the least used sources of stories because it was very difficult to contact them.

This finding is similar to Gulati's (2010) study of media representation of human trafficking in the US, Great Britain and Canada that found that information obtained from government officials and policymakers in the form of official press materials, personal interviews, or second-hand accounts was the most common source. It is also similar with Kefale's (2014) study on the framing of road traffic accidents in Bekur newspaper. However, it can be claimed that over-relying on official sources can result in downplaying other important and primary information providers such as victims, potential migrants and traffickers.

Interviewing victims and getting them to talk on the record is difficult. Many fear that their traffickers will harm them or their families if they discuss their ordeal or their traffickers, while others are ashamed of their experience

(Gallagher, 2006 and Haynes, 2004). Although victims are the center of the human trafficking problem and can be used as primary and reliable source of information, the newspaper failed to use them to a wider extent.

Though traffickers are the most essential elements involved in human trafficking issues, they were rarely used as sources of information. This finding is almost similar to Ephrem's, (2012) study of the coverage of human trafficking on 'Enewaq' programme of FM Addis 97.1. Radio Station. It can be argued that the newspaper focused more on secondary sources of information rather than primary sources like victims, potential migrants and traffickers.

Framing of Human Trafficking Issues by the Newspaper

Diagnostic and prognostic were the dominant frames within the analyzed stories and accounted for 12.76 per cent and 12.53 per cent respectively. Next, the educative/advocacy, solution and empathy frames accounted for 11.95 per cent, 11.84 per cent and 11.61 per cent respectively. The attribution of responsibility and human interest frames accounted for 10.92 per cent and 10.58 per cent respectively. On the other hand, the morality, economic and conflict frames were the least employed frames and accounted for 8.16, 6.09 and 3.56 per cent respectively.

Informants

The informants were not also conscious how the human trafficking stories were framed. The Intention was to achieve objectivity and accuracy (event-based reporting). The way human trafficking issues framed was affected by factors such as professional skills and deficient research habits in the media organization.

As to informants, combined forces of organized crime, luring promises of better life, ignorance or naivety, peer pressure and gender stereotype as major causes of human trafficking. Poverty is not the root cause of human trafficking.

Farrell and Fahy, (2009) and Gulati, (2011) both found that the American media made references to poverty as an important factor in human trafficking. Poverty and lack of opportunities, unemployment and the unfavorable economic and social position of women are critical factors behind migration and human trafficking in Ethiopia (ILO, 2011). The findings of the current study show that poverty is not among the root causes of human trafficking mentioned in the stories. Thus, the newspaper framed the causes of human trafficking from the perspective of the government interest and agenda.

The use of prognostic frame indicates that the newspaper attempted to focus on the consequences of the problem. Young women were most often mentioned among those people who encountered human trafficking. The finding is

similar to the study conducted by Farrel and Fahy (2009) and Bruckert and Parent (2002). Unlike Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) study, the responsibility frame was not most dominant frame in this study.

Human interest was dominant frame in Brunken, (2006), Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) and Moeller, (1999) studies. The findings of this study indicate that human interest frame was covered to a limited extent. Morality was the least used frame in Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) and Brunken, (2006) studies. Similarly, the findings of this study indicate that morality frame was used to a limited extent.

The newspaper seemed to ignore indicating the economic consequences of the problem. Conflict frame was dominant in Kamhawi, (2002) and Semetko and Valkenburg's, (2000) studies. The infrequent use of conflict frame might indicate the absence of accommodating opposing views in the newspaper.

Roles Performed by the Newspaper

Defining the problem was the highly performed role by the newspaper (33.57 per cent). Stated causes and suggested solutions roles accounted for 26.57 and 28.67 per cent respectively. Stories that provided moral evaluation were the least role performed by the newspaper and accounted for 11.19 per cent. By emphasizing the above media functions, the newspaper could have influenced more the public and policy makers concerning human trafficking issues.

Conclusions

- Human trafficking is seen more as feature and news in the newspaper.
- The coverage of human trafficking stories given by the newspaper can only be stated as minimal.
- Most of the stories were dominantly covered at the inside pages while only few stories were located at the front page.
- The majority of the stories dealt with consequence themes.
- A significant number of stories also dealt with solution, legal issues and extent and magnitude themes. On the other hand, causes and factors theme was the least employed theme among the others.
- External trafficking was the most dominantly reported types of human trafficking.
- Most of the stories were sourced from government officials and media channels.
- Victims, their families/relatives/friends, potential migrants and traffickers were less used as sources in the stories.
- Diagnostic and prognostic frames were the most predominantly used frames.
- Morality, economic and conflict frames were the least used frames.
- The main function of the media was defining the problem.

Recommendations

The newspaper must

- ❖ Give wider and continuous coverage by providing its own column and front page coverage.
- ❖ Cover internal trafficking as equal importance as it gives to the external one.
- ❖ Use primary information providers such as victims, potential migrants and traffickers for human trafficking stories.
- ❖ Frame the issue in a way that the public and policy makers respond to the problem.

- ❖ Include investigative pieces about the problem.
- ❖ Provide ongoing training programs to journalists on human trafficking.
- ❖ Work jointly with governmental, non-governmental and civil society members, working on human trafficking and other related issues.
- ❖ A clear and coherent migration policy that comprehensively addresses the issue of trafficking in persons.

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