# Jimma University

# **College of Social Sciences and Humanities**

# **Department of Media and Communication Studies**

Framing of the Ethio-Egypt Conflict on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) Water Filling: ETV and Al-Jazeera in Focus

By Meron Abebe

November, 2021

Jimma Ethiopia

Framing of the Ethio-Egypt Conflict on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) Water Filling: ETV and Al-Jazeera in Focus

# By Meron Abebe

**Principal Advisor: Getachew Tilahun (PhD)** 

Co-Advisor: Ashenafi Belay (PhD)

A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Media and Communication Studies in Partial Fulfillment for the Requirements of Masters of Arts in Broadcast Journalism

November, 2021 Jimma Ethiopia

# **Declaration**

This MA thesis (Framing of the Ethio-Egypt Conflict on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) Water Filling: ETV and Al-Jazeera in Focus) is an original report of my work, has been written by me, and has not been presented for any previous degree. I also confirm that all sources used for the study have been indicated clearly and acknowledged. Due references have been provided on all supporting literature and resources.

Candidate: <u>Meron Abebe</u>	
Signature:	Date:

# Jimma University

## **School of graduate studies**

This is to certify that the MA thesis prepared by Meron Abebe, entitled framing of the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the Grand Ethiopian renaissance dam's (GERD) water filling: ETV and Al-Jazeera in focus, and submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Broadcast Journalism complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards concerning originality and quality.

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Examiner 2:	_ Signature:	_ Date:
Principal Advisor:	Signature:	Date:
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## **Abstract**

News frames determine what is selected, what is excluded, and what is emphasized. This study examined how ETV and Aljazeera framed the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the GERD first-round water-filling on their television news coverage from January 15, 2020 to August 15, 2020. The research used both quantitative and qualitative methods as principal approaches to analyze the contents of the selected media news. Purposive sampling was used to choose the sampled news for the research. A total of 60 news stories were analyzed from both media. As a theoretical foundation for this study, framing theory was used. Based on the research questions and the theoretical framework of framing theory, the study reveals that the selected media outlets mostly framed the GERD water-filling in terms of conflict, human interest, economic consequences, mutual benefit, and attribution of responsibility frames. Comparatively, the most dominant frame for Al Jazeera was the conflict frame while the human interest frame was for ETV. The findings also revealed that the content framing of the word choice of Al Jazeera was neutral to Ethiopia and biased to Egypt. However, ETV was biased to Ethiopia. Diplomacy efforts and sovereignty rights were found to be the most frequently reported themes in both media. Government officials were used as key sources of information in both media while reporting on the GERD. Based on the findings, is the study recommended that the media should improve their conflict news framing in such a way that does not provoke or exacerbate the conflict.

Keywords: ETV, Al Jazeera, Framing, Conflict, GERD, Ethiopia, Egypt

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# **List of Acronyms and Abbreviations**

GERD Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam

IMF International Monetary Fund

IMS International Media Support

UNSC United Nations Security Council

USA United States of America

OAU Organization of African union

IHL International Humanitarian Law

BBC British Broadcasting Corporations

ETV Ethiopian Television

MoWIE Ministry of Water, Irrigation and Energy

WPE Workers- Party of Ethiopia

OECD Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development

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#### **CHAPTER ONE**

## 1. Introduction

#### 1.1 Background of Study

Darwin's classic "survival of the fittest" theory suggests a couple of things about the nature of conflict (Pruitt, Dean, et al, 2004). First, conflict is inevitable, and second, conflict results in the creation of a better species and social change. These brief introductory remarks remind our conflict is not inherently bad or good. However, the way we manage it might be constructive or destructive. A strong proponent and originator of peace journalism (PJ) Galtung (2009), defined conflict as a social system of actors with incompatibility of goals between the major actors in a community or institute.

Coser (2003) says that conflict is "a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power, and resources in which the opponents aim to neutralize, injure, or eliminate the rivals." Deutsch (1973), states that conflict exists whenever incompatible activities occur. An action that is incompatible with another action prevents, obstructs, interferes with, injures, or in some way makes it less likely or less effective. Cottle (2006), has defined conflict as a struggle of opposing interests, which can be either objectively or subjectively perceived and manifested, or that can be latent, caused by differences in either the economy, the political structure, the social attitudes, or the cultural outlooks of groups. He emphasized that conflict is mobilized by those with different thoughts, feelings, or interests (Cottle, 2006).

Conflict is an ever-existing happening that appears so far as human beings are alive in life. As human beings are distinct in their interests, conflict is inevitable to happen. It is a dispute resulting from the presence of incompatibility of interests and goals of people. Conflict can also be defined as a situation where two or more individuals or groups try to pursue resources or goals which they believe they cannot share (Goretti, 2007).

According to the international media support (IMS) handbook, conflict sensitive journalism (reporting) is a part of the safety and protection training mechanism that IMS offers to journalists working in conflict zones. The mass media play an important role in conflict resolution by giving their significance in the dissemination of information shaping of perceptions, and setting agenda,

how information is framed plays a crucial role in molding public opinion. News frames determine what is selected, what is excluded, and what is emphasized. It is through the process of framing that factors that support one's position are selected and highlighted. Identifying media frames is, therefore, essential to understanding the media and how public opinion is shaped. Frames give a different meaning than would have been the case had the subject not been placed within such a frame (Joseph, 2014).

Conflict over natural resources can lead to, increase, or maintain violence in many ways. It should be, emphasized that natural resource conflict is frequently part of and exacerbates a deeper fight in society over political, economic, cultural, or religious problems. Water shortage is a source of violence in many areas of the world, for example, in China (Shandong and Guangdong Provinces 2000), Ethiopia (2006), India (2004), Kenya (2005), and Yemen (1999), conflict has occurred over water resource.

Ethiopia has 123 billion cubic meters of annually available water resources, the highest amount in the entire Eastern Nile basin region (Yacob, 2007). Despite this abundant physical availability of water, however, the country is faced with water scarcity (Swain, 2004). Therefore, unlike the traditionally perceived view where water scarcity is considered as the problem of arid and semiarid countries, today this understanding has changed. Because as Kulindwa and Lein (2008) put it: "water scarcity is a term linking the availability of water with use, implying that regions with ample available water resources may face water scarcity. Water scarcity is the result of the interplay between resource availability, consumption patterns, and the (mismanagement of the resources." Thus, the abundant availability of water resources per se cannot guarantee sufficient water accessibility.

As noted above, Ethiopia has been facing 'water scarcity' repeatedly most probably as a result of lack of capacity to use the available water, poor water management, and partly climatic changes. This in turn impeded the socio-economic development of the country to a larger extent. As a result, it is estimated that around half of the Ethiopian population lives in "absolute poverty" (Gebremedhin, 2006). In light of this, one reasonable suggestion stated that "It is not the number of water resources available that determines poverty levels in a country, however the effectiveness of how you use those resources" (Yohannes, 2008). To tackle the issue of poverty sustainably, as the Ministry of Water, Irrigation and Energy stressed, the country gives more

emphasis to the building of multipurpose projects such as irrigation and hydropower (MoWIE, 2001).

Ethiopia is one of the developing countries in East Africa that is giving emphasis and striving for development programs and projects one of which is a mega electric power construction on Blue Nile *Abay*. *Abay* River is the major source of Nile River. The Nile is the longest trans-boundary river in the world with two major Tributaries; the Blue Nile (*Abay - Ethiopian name to Blue Nile*) originating from Lake *Tana* (Ethiopia) and the White Nile from Lake Victoria. There are eleven East African countries through which the Nile River passes. These countries which are classified as lower and upper riparian countries have the interest to use the river for development purposes (Allan, 2001). Egypt is a lower riparian nation that utilized the Nile River for a long time. Consequently, Egypt has gained from the Nile economically and politically (Belay, 2014). On the other hand, upper riparian countries including Ethiopia, which is a major contributor of the river, are limited to the use it Kinfe (2007), as cited in Muez (2012).

Considering its positive and transformative impact on development, Ethiopia introduced its strategic plans to build a hydro-electric dam on the Blue Nile. The construction of the dam, which is believed to significantly contribute to Ethiopia's economic development, began in 2011. For various political and economic reasons, the lower riparian countries, namely Egypt and Sudan, have attempted everything in their capacity to abort this mega development project. That has made the GERD project on the Blue Nile (*Abay*) a source of conflict between Egypt, the Sudan, and Ethiopia Kinfe (2007), as cited in Muez (2012).

The GERD is a hydropower project which is currently under construction. This project, however, triggers a mix of feelings. On the one hand, it creates hope among Ethiopians for a better future and breaks the psychology of impossibility both internally and externally by encouraging citizens to contribute to the project. In contrast, Ethiopia has become a subject of criticism from different parties, mainly Egypt and other groups who have a special interest in the region. Some criticize the project for environmental, social (such as displacement of people and inhabitants), economic and political reasons. According to Belay (2014), Egypt's hostile approach was followed by a war of words such as 'military confrontation', 'military attack' 'proxy war' and 'water war. Ethiopia's commitment to eradicate poverty was faced with resistance from Egypt, Sudan, and

groups with special interests. The tension developed into conflict. Following this Ethiopia and Egypt are now in conflict regarding the filling of the dam. The contention over the Blue Nile water has now attracted the attention of national and international media more than any time and they have been covering the growing debates over the GERD. In such tense conditions, there is no doubt that the actors of the conflict use the media as a tool to influence and shape public opinion.

Framing is a term that may be described in a variety of ways. The majority of definitions concentrate on the social text's selection, presentation, and meaning-making processes (Entman, 1993). It implies that the media, by filtering and molding, only reflect some aspects of the real world or the event. Framing is also known as second-level agenda-setting, which focuses on assigning the importance of an issue or occurrence in a media report that has an impact on public perception (McCombs, 2003).

According to (Joseph, 2014) technological developments over recent years have ensured that amongst the media the mainstream mass media will play a growing role in social and political processes, and in shaping perceptions and policies relating to domestic as well as international conflicts. Keeping in perspective the potential capability of the news media in situations of conflict and conflict resolution. The broadcast television is the most frequently used media for covering conflict issues, as it is the most powerful device because of its combined video and audio formats.

Whether the renaissance dam is, argued to be, a source of conflict or cooperation among the basin countries, certainly it has received a considerable media attention both nationally and internationally. ETV on the Ethiopian side has been reporting the project since its inauguration. Most of the leading global news networks such as Al Jazeera reported the event with a substantial coverage of Ethiopian and Egyptian government's perspectives (Belay, 2014). As stated above, the researcher notices that ETV and Al-Jazeera are two of the most engaged television channels in covering the Ethio-Egypt struggle over the Bule-Nile. They broadcast programs on GERD in a variety of formats such as news, documentary, studio discussion and others. It is against this background that the current study aims to investigate how Ethiopian Television (ETV) and Al-Jazeera framed the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's first phase water filling.

## 1.2. Statement of the problem.

The notion "if it bleeds, it leads," suggests media's attraction to conflict. Conflict is the most salient issue that is given proper attention by various media outlets. As scholars noted, media are imperative devices to mediate between conflicting groups through using various formats of reporting. The mainstream media plays a significant role in shaping perceptions and policies relating to national and international conflicts and keeping in perspective the potential capability of the news reporting in conflict and conflict resolution (Joseph, 2014).

The broadcast media plays a decisive role in reporting conflict issues because it is one of the primary and frequently used sources of information regarding conflicts. Media resolves conflicts to comprehend various strategies with the help of various actors such as policymakers, politicians, and experts to influence the decisions of the masses. However, the media by themselves may not be able to make peace; they can and, certainly should pave the way towards it (Joseph, 2014).

Since conflict is one of the news values that determine the newsworthiness of a certain story or event, media thrive on it and it attracts viewers, listeners, and readers to the media with the philosophy of "bad news is good news;" The greater the conflict, the greater the audience, and large audiences are vital to the financial success of media outlets (Gambhir, 2018).

Broadcast media is one of the tools which reports conflict news in a way that can either aggravate or settle disputes between the conflicting groups. The factors that can make media as machines of conflict intensification or resolution may be their way of news reporting. The media may report conflict news by using bargaining approaches to resolve the conflict between parties. However, ways that cannot contribute to resolving conflicts may also be used by media (Aslam, 2014; Melone et al., 2002). Conflict reporting needs greater analytical knowledge, depth of information, and skills to report on it without contributing to further violence and exacerbating tensions for further conflict, how the media frames the conflict can matter (Malek, 2013).

The issue of whether the GERD water filling has to be quick or lengthy is the cause for the exacerbation of the conflict between Ethiopia and Egypt. Although the politically assigned top managements from Ethiopia, Egypt, and Sudan have been talking about the time duration to be

taken to fill the dam, there was no conclusive agreement. In June 2020, by a video conference meeting Egypt has become willing to negotiate with Ethiopia on the reservoir of the dam. Consequently, America and the African Union have tried to moderate the three conflicting countries. Thus, the issue is becoming salient that got the space and air time of different national and international media. This is because the number of stories covered in the media is one of the indicators that an issue is considered to be a prominent and salient one by that particular medium (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Carroll & McCombs, 20c 03).

And, at the middle of these conflicting views, both the national and international media can play a great role in the political communication through supporting or opposing the agenda or by setting their agenda instead, by framing some aspects of the issue/GERD and make it more salient in their outlets. Even though the national and international media cover the GERD giving attention, it is important to examine the GERD media coverage and conflict reporting trends of national and international media. Recent studies that particularly address the reporting on GERD in the national and international media are few. In the search for this study, the researcher has come across two research reports directly related to GERD. One of the researchers is Muez (2012), who conducted a study to examine the national and international press coverage of Ethiopia's decision to construct the GERD project on the Nile River in three newspapers, namely Addis Zemen, Al-Ahram weekly, and Sudan Vision. The result of his study revealed that Addis Zemen provided an exceedingly considerable amount of coverage for the GERD project than Al-Ahram Weekly and Sudan Vision newspapers. Development and diplomacy are the frequently reported themes. Government officials were sources of information. The media generally covered the dam positively or neutrally.

The second study is Belay (2014). This study examines "The Reporter" private national circulation newspaper, salient frames pertain to the dam project, and how these frames reflect the Ethiopian government's dominant perspectives on Nile politics. The findings reveal that six dominant frames emerged inductively from the data that rendered certain aspects of the dam construction more salient than others. These are Development, National Image, Right, Victimhood, Mutual benefit, and War frames. The study also argues that The Reporter newspaper, mostly using official sources, engaged incautious and selective framing weighting certain aspect of the GERD more salient while excluding others to promote a particular

interpretation to the project that is consistent with its editorial agenda in corollary with the Ethiopian government interest and perspective on Nile politics.

The above mentioned two studies focused on newspapers and also they have not addressed the second round filling. The studies are also about the building/construction of the GERD. On the other hand, it is hard to find academic research papers conducted on the broadcast media pertaining to reporting the conflict on the GERD. As to the researcher's knowledge, in the Eastern Nile basin context, no research has been done to examine the conflict framing of the water filling of the huge dam construction on the Nile River. Thus, this knowledge gap attracted the researcher to conduct a study by taking a specific case (i.e., the GERD project focusing on conflict reporting trends about the GERD in the Broadcast media. Hence, the researcher's motivation to study how the media frame the conflict between Ethiopia and Egypt on the Renaissance Dam water filling emanates from such a gap through taking the cases of ETV and Al-Jazeera news about GERD water filling. These media outlets were also chosen based on the idea that, due to ideological differences, political orientations under which they operate, and the interests they represent, they would handle the dispute differently.

The researcher picked the issue of framing because according to Joseph (2014), news frames determine what is selected, what is excluded, and what is emphasized and how information is framed plays a crucial role in molding public opinion. Identifying media frames is, therefore, essential to understanding the media and how public opinion is shaped. Frames give a different meaning than would have been the case had the subject not been placed within such a frame. In these media, the researcher has seen the differences among the subjects of the study through analyzing the frames used, content framing, the sources quoted, the tone reflected and the themes addressed in each of their reporting.

#### 1.3 Research Objectives

#### 1.3.1 General objective

The general objective of the study is to assess comparatively the media framing of the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) first-round water filling taking ETV from national media and Aljazeera from the international media.

#### 1.3.2 Specific objectives

Specifically, the research is aimed at achieving the following research objectives.

- To identify the content framing of GERD first-round water filling reports in terms of word choice, types of story writing, and visual framing on ETV and Aljazeera;
- To compare the types of framing that are used by ETV and Aljazeera while covering GERD first-round water filling stories;
- To analyze the media's messages tone and emphasis of GERD first-round water filling reports of ETV and Aljazeera;
- To find out the predominant sources of the media for GERD first-round water filling stories attributed by ETV and Aljazeera;

# 1.4 Research Questions

- 1. How are content framings of ETV and Aljazeera GERD first-round water-filling news reports in terms of word choice, types of story writing, and visual framing?
- 2. What types of framing do ETV and Aljazeera use when they are covering GERD first-round water-filling stories?
- 3. How are the main messages of the media emphasized in terms tone in the GERD first-round water filling stories when they are presented by ETV and Aljazeera?
- 4. What are sources of stories quoted on GERD first-round water filling issues by ETV and Aljazeera?

#### 1.5. Significance of the study

This study has the following benefits: the comparative study of these two different media outlets could reveal ways in which the conflict is framed, presented, and reported. Thus, editors and journalists of the selected media houses will benefit from this study regarding how they should report conflict issues to bring peaceful, civilized dialogue among the two countries. In a broader sense, the study may help media professionals see the relationship between reporting and their influence on their audiences. The field of communication will get groundbreaking research for further studies related to media framing on conflict reporting. The study will also be significant through revealing the ways conflict reporting should base on national interest, meeting the diplomatic mission of a country, and ethics of media. This study reveals the nature of media

discourse over the issues of GERD from both sides, and in so doing contribute towards a better understanding the nature of the conflict. Furthermore, the study will be a foundation to bring ill-framed media discourse which escalates conflict among the two countries, turn these into ethical and well-framed media content. Besides, other researchers can use the study as a benchmark to conduct further investigation on media coverage of the conflict.

## 1.6 Delimitation of Study

The study is delimited to ETV and Al-Jazeera media's framing of the Ethio-Egypt conflict. Hence, it does not investigate the framing of the issue on print and social media. Furthermore, this study is limited to the framing of the GERD water filling on the selected media. Since it is not manageable to examine the ways of framing of all broadcast media in the given time, the researcher selected only ETV's and Al-Jazeera's seven-month coverage with the period starting from January 15, 2020 to August 15, 2020 kinds of frames, content framing used, the sources quoted, the tone reflected and the themes addressed in each of their reporting of the Ethio-Egypt conflict over the GERD first-round water filling to attain the objective of the study.

## 1.7 Limitation of Study

The study focused only on analyzing archive news stories regarding the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the GERD first-round water-filling. Documentary, studio discussions, news analysis, features, and other conventional reports from studio are not part of the study. If editors and reporters of the media interview had been included, it would have helped to know the journalist's ways of reporting the conflict issue and challenges they face while covering; however it was difficult to access Al Jazeera editors and reporters, and interviewing only ETV's editors and reporters make the study biased and one sided; thus, the study depends only on contents, and quite enough contents analysis is done to make sound enough the study's findings. Another limitation is that the study used one Ethiopia's national media ETV, and one international media, Al Jazeera. However, if the Egyptian broadcast media had been included in the study, it would have been more balanced. However, accessing Egypt media in Ethiopia is a complicated job as many of them are in Arabic. Despite such shortcomings, this study brings to light several significant points with the framing of the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the GERD first-round water-filling.

# 1.8 Organization of the study

This research study organized as follows: The first chapter comprises the general introduction of the research area and proposition for the research process. The second chapter presents the literature and theoretical reviews that inform the research area. The third chapter presents the methodological aspect of the research while the fourth chapter is dedicated for data analysis and presentation. The final chapter i.e. Chapter five presents the conclusion of the study and recommendations put forward.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2. INTRODUCTION

This part presents a review of various issues related to the topic. It discusses and reviews the media's positive and negative interventions and role in reporting conflicts regarding the issue of the Nile. Additionally, theoretical framework that is used in this study is also briefed.

#### 2.1 An overview of the Nile River

International rivers do not respect the national frontiers across which they flow or the political boundaries of countries (Swain, 2004; Kindiki, 2010). The term international or trans-boundary watercourse refers to the condition when rivers are shared at least between two or more riparian countries. In this context, according to Swain (2004) and Manson (2004), there are nearly 260 trans-boundary rivers worldwide and more than 40 percent of the world's population is directly dependent upon the freshwater of these rivers.

While in the African context, the continent has over 80 major trans-boundary rivers and lake basins (Okurut & Othero, 2010). Again, 90 percent of the continent's freshwater resources are contained in trans-boundary river basins and also more than 75 percent of Africa's population lives on these trans-boundary rivers. Hence, compared with other continents, African countries are by far the most interdependent on shared trans-boundary water resources (Van Wyk, 2010). The Nile River is one of the aforementioned international river basins, which is shared by at least ten African countries. In terms of its length, drainage area, and the number of riparian countries, the Nile River is one of the largest in the world with an area of 3.1 million km. The Nile Basin covers about 10% of Africa and 2.3% of the world's land surface. The Nile River is the longest in the world (Mohamoda, 2003).

The term Nile comes from the Greek word "Nelios", meaning River Valley. The Nile valley is one of the oldest places in the world where its ancient inhabitants began a cradle of civilization, thereby creating ancient polities and empires like the Pharaonic civilization of Egypt, the ancient Sudanese state of Merowe, and the Aksumite Empire of ancient Ethiopia, firmly rooted in the Nile basin (Yacob, 2007). The Nile water system consists of numerous tributaries and headwater

lakes. Lake Victoria in the equatorial region and Lake Tana in northwestern Ethiopia is the most significant natural reservoirs in the Nile upstream. Of the four major tributaries, the Abbay (Blue Nile) contributing 59% of the total amount of Nile water, Baro Akobo (Sobat) contributing 14%, and Tekeze (Atbara) contributing 13% originate in the Ethiopian highlands, while the White Nile contributing 14%, originates from the Equatorial Lakes region (Yacob, 2007 Swain, 2004 Melesse et al., 2011). Based on the above data, it is evident that the Ethiopian water tributaries, in general, contribute 86% out of the total share, while the Great/Equatorial lakes region supplies the remaining 14% to the Nile River Basin.

The Nile River is one of the world's longest international or Trans-boundary Rivers which is shared by ten countries including Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC, formerly Zaire), Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda. According to Swain (2004), though the Nile is the longest river system and supports a large population, its average annual runoff (84 billion cubic meters) is modest when compared to other major African river systems such as Congo/Zaire (1,250 billion cubic meters), Volta (390 billion cubic meters), Zambezi (230 billion cubic meters) and Niger (180 billion cubic meters). Comparatively speaking, the annual discharge of the Nile River is much lesser than other major rivers of Africa. For instance, the average annual runoff of the river Congo is nearly 15 times bigger than that of the Nile.

#### 2.2 Struggle of Egypt and Ethiopia over the Nile water

Blue Nile Basin states are Ethiopia, Sudan, Egypt, and Eritrea. The peoples of the Blue Nile basin have unified shared water and a common cultural heritage. In the Nile basin, colonial legacy, a vestige of the Cold War era, and unilateral and nationalistic strategies over water resource development drive sub-regional tensions rife with incompatible legal doctrines (Zeitoun, & Allan, 2008). The Blue Nile contributes a mean annual Nile flow at Aswan of 84 billion m3 is approximately 4/7, 2/7 from the White Nile of which 1/7 is from the Sobat, and 1/7 from the Atbara River (Yacob 2007). Thus, the Ethiopian catchments of Sobat, Blue Nile, and Atbara River contribute to about 6/7 of the Nile water resources at Aswan High Dam. However, Lumumba argued that the development and exploitation of the hydropower and irrigation potentials of the Nile River remains the exclusive domain of Egypt and Sudan (Mohamed, Yasir, and Makonnen, 2008). In the Blue Nile basin, Egypt's economic and military dominance,

combined with riparian countries' chronic political instability, and economic underdevelopment, prevent the countries from utilizing the water resource fully. Nevertheless, Ethiopia and Uganda have constructed mega hydropower projects, namely GERD and Bujagali on the Blue Nile and White Nile, respectively. GERD on the Blue Nile with 6GW at cost of USA Dollars (USD) \$4.5 billion is the largest dam in Africa that dwarfs and threatens the prestigious Egyptian Aswan High Dam also known as Lake Nasser (Michael, 2013, P.153).

On the one hand, Egypt sees GERD as a threat to its water source. On the other hand, Ethiopia minus GERD would remain marginalized from matters dealing with the Nile's allocation if Egypt continues to pressure the country to refrain from water development while relying on imported food without reliable power for industrialization (Madani, et al., 2010). With such pressure Ethiopia, Sudan and Egypt have been negotiating facilitated by some countries and organizations. For instance, in March 2020, Ethiopia pulled out of mediation talks by the United States of America (USA) and the World Bank. Ethiopia accused the USA and the World Bank of being partisan in favoring Egypt's position.

In the event of war over GERD, Ethiopia is likely to seek support from Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, and other countries in the White Nile basin which are affected by the old treaties of 1929 and 1959. Similarly, Egypt is likely to seek support from Arab League countries in the Middle East such as Saudi Arabia and Gulf Corporation Council as well as colonial power Britain and to a lesser extent the USA and the United Nations Security (UNSC). A tripartite agreement signed in 2015, by leaders of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan stipulated that it is substantial to agree on the filling and operating before commencing any works to guarantee that no state is harmed. However, Ethiopia unilaterally decided to fill GERD from June 2020. As a result, Egypt took Ethiopia before the UNSC for contravening the 1929, 1959, and 2015 treaties. Often, ethnic wars are waged by belligerents identified along cultural lines such as language, religion, or similar characteristics (Stoessinger, 2007). In the Nile Water conflict, belligerents are identified along cultural lines such as language, religion, or similar characteristics, thus a race war is very likely pitting black Africans versus Arabs or Christians versus Moslems (Joseph, 2008).

Egypt and Ethiopia do not share a territorial boundary. In between Egypt and Ethiopia lie Sudan and Eritrea. Ethiopia is landlocked. In the event of war, the likely scenario is that Egypt employs

air force and naval capabilities, missiles, and proxy guerrilla wars in exploiting Somali irredentism secessionist to wage war on Ethiopia and Kenya (Stoessinger, 2007). In response, Kenya signed a pact of defense with Ethiopia, which was largely seen as a way to fend off their mutual irredentist neighbor (Mūturi wa Njeri, 2013). Also, Egypt may explore internal ethnic secessionists to undermine Ethiopia's cohesion. In counter, Ethiopia may exploit the ongoing Sinai insurgency as well as the Muslim Brotherhood uprising to divert Egypt's attention from GERD. The pivotal role of the personalities of leaders of both Egypt and Ethiopia is that both have military backgrounds which make their decision-making inclined to the use of the military in resolving social, economic, and political disputes with the desire to punish and avenge (Mūturi wa Njeri, 2013). Some of the reasons for the two countries go to war include nationalism, militarism, alliance systems, economic factors, or water scarcity competitions (Mūturi wa Njeri, 2013).

The Nile water conflict is well understood from a historical and contemporary hydro-politics perspective as well as a political influence (Okundi, 2016). From the game theory approach, all players in the Nile basin have some advantages or disadvantages under the status quo, and all will either gain or lose if or when the status quo ante changes. Even though 85% of the river originates in Ethiopia, Egypt controls 65% of the flow and Sudan reaps a significant amount relative to Ethiopia (Madani et.al, 2010).

Expectations are that the riparian states involved in the Nile River system would work out a formula for the equitable distribution of the annual water flow, regardless of their location. However, Klare posited that a workable formula rarely occurred; rather, the stronger states in the system like Egypt, or Ethiopia, tended to appropriate a disproportionate share of the total supply, causing hardship and resentment in the other countries involved (Michael, 2013). Arsano argued that Ethiopia clings to the absolute territorial sovereignty doctrine and the predominance of the equitable use principle. Also, Ethiopia remained prepared unilaterally in using bilateral funding from China, when a cooperative approach failed. Sudan is sandwiched between Ethiopia and Egypt, benefiting from the comparative advantage approach with a focus on irrigation. Ethiopia is determined to deliver hydropower generation while Egypt on tourism and industry (Yacob, 2007). Moreover, Ethiopia views the Blue Nile water as a crucial resource for the country's future economic development. The four major tributaries, the Abbay (Blue Nile), Tekeze

(Atbara), and Baro-Akobo (Sobat) originate in the Ethiopian highlands while the White Nile originates from the Equatorial Lakes in the Eastern African region. The Ethiopian tributaries provide 86% of the total Nile River water, the remaining 14% comes through the White Nile system of the Equatorial Lakes area in Eastern Africa.

Economically, Ethiopia is an agricultural country dominated by subsistence farming. In Ethiopia, agriculture accounts for 45% of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) (Elhance, 1999). From the 1930s, the Blue Nile River had been perceived by Ethiopia as a potential source of livelihood and the country's future economic development. Thus, Ethiopia is the commitment to harness the water resources of the Blue Nile valley within the country's territorial authority. Similarly, Ethiopia's position on GERD is the same as the Equatorial Lakes states, namely, Tanzania, Uganda, and Kenya. The question to answer is why Ethiopia with a contribution of 86% of the Nile waters the country has not yet been able to utilize water resources for the urgently needed development. There are cost benefits from GERD and dams in Ethiopia. Ethiopia remains poised to fill GERD within seven years beginning July 2020 while Egypt proposes more than 15 years; (https://www.nation.co.ke/news/africa) Sudan's Prime Minister Abdallah Hamdok in a letter rejected an Ethiopian proposal to sign a partial agreement for the GERD filling, throwing the row over the Nile River into further uncertainty. Instead, Sudanese Prime Minister Abdallah Hamdok called for a tripartite agreement between Sudan, Ethiopia, and Egypt to agree on the start of the first filling of the GERD, expected in July 2020. On the one hand, Ethiopia relentlessly bickers with Egypt and Sudan ever since it began constructing GERD on the Blue Nile. On the other hand, Egypt claims that GERD would hurt its only water supply. However, Ethiopia claims that GERD would produce enough power for the country as well as neighbors including Egypt. In Ethiopia's view, GERD would end any perennial shortages on the Blue Nile River.

#### 2.3. Media and Conflict

Conflict occurs between people in all kinds of human relationships and all social settings. Because of the wide range of potential differences among people, the absence of conflict usually signals the absence of meaningful interaction. Conflict by itself1 is neither good nor bad. However, how conflict is handled determines whether it is constructive or destructive (Deutsch & Coleman, 2000). Conflict is defined as an incompatibility of goals or values between two or

more parties in a relationship, combined with attempts to control each other and antagonistic feelings toward each other (Fisher, 1990). The incompatibility or difference may exist in reality or may only be perceived by the parties involved. Nonetheless, the opposing factions and the hostile emotions are very real hallmarks of human conflict.

The conflict has the potential for either a great deal of destruction or much creativity and positive social change (Kriesberg, 1998). Therefore, it is essential to understand the basic processes of conflict so that we can work to maximize productive outcomes and minimize destructive ones.

Conflict is an ever-existing happening that appears so far as a human being alive in life. As human beings are distinct in their interests, conflict is inevitable to happen. It is a dispute resulting from the presence of incompatibility of interests and goals of people. Conflict can also be defined as a situation where two or more individuals or groups try to pursue resources or goals which they believe they cannot share (Goretti, 2007).

In this intensified conflict environment, the mass media is a powerful tool of communication in the situations. It can be used negatively to initiate, escalate and sustain conflict covertly and overtly. The potentiality of the media as a means of communication to promote peace or conflict cannot be overemphasized. The media in conflict-ridden countries often play a significant role in creating and furthering both facilitating factors and triggering factors linked to internal and external issues or threats facing the nation (Chebi, 2010: Akpan et al, 2013).

As Puddephatt (2006) states, the media role can take two different and opposed forms. Either the media takes an active part in the conflict and has responsibility for increased violence, or stays independent and out of the conflict, thereby contributing to the resolution of conflict and alleviation of violence. The genocide in Rwanda (itself a part of an internal conflict) and the wars in the Balkans that marked the breakup of Yugoslavia have led to much debate about the powers and responsibilities of the media. In both of these conflicts, the media played a pernicious role – directly inciting genocide in the case of some Rwandan media (and organizing it in the case of Radio Mille Collins) while acting as a vehicle for virulent nationalism in former Yugoslavia.

As an additional example of media role in the conflict, Akpan et al, (2013) described that the Nigerian Niger Delta conflict, "Boko Haram" extremism, and "Jos" crisis show that involvement of the media in exacerbating the conflict condition is bigger. Thus, a big number of media reports that the real militants have been denied what should be their inalienable rights and not reporting the problem of bad governance and unemployment in specific places, rather blaming the militant group.

More or fewer conflicts today are, in many cases, more complex and multi-dimensional than ever before. Most conflict deaths occur during internal wars rather than between states and regular armies. Over the past decade, there has been an increase in the conflict relapse rate. Conflicts are less likely to be resolved through traditional political settlements due mainly to the emergence of organized crime that tends to exacerbate state fragility and undermine state legitimacy, the internationalization of civil wars (e.g., Syria) and, increasing violent extremism (Betz, 2017).

Therefore, in this dynamic situation, the media must present itself as the direct mirror- image of the society, particularly at this historical point when conflicts especially violent conflicts and crimes are prevalent. The media therefore must develop the capacity to help in the reduction of violence in society. Several scholars and media practitioners have not given the media a place in contributing to peace in society. Though their pessimism might not be ignored, it is important to ask why this pessimism of the media playing the role of peacemaker in a conflict-prone society. The media should learn to develop a thorough understanding of the conflict and convey that understanding to their audiences in a way that reflects the truth of the conflict in all its complexity. They should examine the context in which the dispute evolved and explain what caused the conflict in the first instance (Akpan et al, 2013).

#### 2.4 Role of Media in Conflict Situation

The media, whether local or international, will always face a considerable challenge in trying to cover conflict. There will inevitably be commercial pressure to focus on the immediate, most violent, or dramatic incidents, at the expense of explaining the background and issues that may underpin the conflict. To explain the conflict incomprehensible terms, not just to the external audience however to those affected by the conflict itself, the media must have the ability to operate freely and without threat and with the capacity to report on all aspects of the conflict.

While policymakers (including combatants) have a role in providing the circumstances in which the media can operate, and a high responsibility falls on journalists and editors themselves (Puddephatt, 2006).

To explain the role of media in a conflict situation it is necessary to assess all media from traditional to modern. Gilbao (2009) describes an analysis of media as follows. Any analysis of media roles in conflict situations must address both the traditional media (newspapers, television, and radio) and the new media (Internet-driven). Evolutions in communication technologies have created global news networks and various online social networks. Global news network scan broadcast live from almost any place in the world to any other place. Commentators and scholars invented the term to describe how dominant global television coverage has become in world affairs, especially in acute international conflicts. The term implies that television coverage forces policymakers to take actions otherwise would not have taken. Thus, the media determine the national interest and usurp policy-making from elected and appointed officials.

Which role the media takes in a given conflict, and in the phases before and after, depends on a complex set of factors, including the relationship the media has to actors in the conflict and the independence the media has to the power holders in society (Puddephatt 2006). To minimize the negative consequence of the conflict and to raise the positive prospects, the media are a major mechanism in such competing situations. As Forges (1999) cited on Demarest and Langer (2018) stated, in diverse societies, mass media may contribute to exacerbating inter-group tensions and violent conflict as well as promote national unity and stability.

#### 2.4.1 Positive Role

The task of a reporter is to narrate the facts as they are, impartially, accurately, and responsibly, and not as one or anyone else would wish them to be reported, to help the readers and viewers to create an informed public opinion. This important reporting task can be performed relatively easier when a society is at peace. The real challenge for reporting accurately, impartially, and responsibly comes when a society is in a state of conflict, especially violent conflict. The power of the media has no doubt grown enormously in the present age of information. If this power is employed positively, it may act as a powerful facilitator of the conflict resolution process (Ahmad, 2008).

Many organizations have begun to consider how to create a situation in a conflict and post-conflict environment that allows the media to play a constructive part in tackling conflict, taking account of its true role. It has been increasingly recognized that effective media is an essential part of preventing violent conflict from breaking out, as well as being an important element in its resolution. This would include avoiding portraying conflicts as a zero-sum game contested by two combatants, however rather disaggregating the various interests that clash. It also would involve seeking to humanize both parties — making it clear that sometimes (though not always) there are no simple villains and victims. Such journalism would try to look behind the positions that combatants take and identify their interests, which may create more common ground than is apparent (Pudepahatt, 2006). Besides, Bratic and Schirch (2007), in their explanation about the constructive role of media in conflict situations, describe the following. The media play a wide range of roles in our lives. Some of these roles are very constructive, if the media works properly as an information provider and interpreter, as Watchdog, as Gatekeeper, as a Policymaker, as Diplomat, as Peace Promoter, and as Bridge Builder.

#### 2.4.2. Negative Role

Reporters are human beings, and, therefore, not value-free. There are frequent cases where ethno-religious, regional, or nationalistic preferences may come in the way of professional reporting during a conflict (Ahmad, 2008).

In a negative case, Suntai and Ishaku (2017) argued that several scholarly studies have submitted that the media are more likely to perpetrate violent conflict than contribute to its peaceful resolution. Resorting to history, they recall that news media have often been used to promote wars and conflicts. They add that even as recently as for the Rwanda and Yugoslavia wars, the role of the local media in the promotion of violence was so dominant. The most famous example of the media's potential negative role in contributing to violence is arguably the case of Rwanda, where fake news designed to generate fear and distrust, and recurrent references to the Tutsi people as cockroaches by 'Radio Libre des Mille Collines' (i.e. radio and television thousand miles), Paved the Way for the 1994 genocide (Suntai and Ishaku, 2017).

Chebi (2010), summarized the history of the negative impact of media in conflict situations across Africa and other continents. In the case of Africa, the continent experienced several

political uprisings in different countries. Some of these uprisings were claimed to be engineered and subsequently escalated by the media. Taking the Libyan civil war as an example, even though media managed to polarize the nation into the ruled and the political elites by use of oppositional metaphors (us versus them), its impact on social status, gender, age groups, and other human variables was not highlighted. This was ended up with a big humanitarian crisis that goes till today.

The other country is Côte d'Ivoire. During the 2010 general elections in Côte d'Ivoire, the media landscape was rife with partisan polemic and misinformation from opposing sides and incitements to violence, while members of the media themselves were frequent targets of violence and intimidation. In the Central African Republic as well, hate speech spread through the media, and targeted attacks during 2013 were responsible for exacerbating, with little precedent, a sectarian climate that resulted in the displacement of almost one million people and 75,000 refugees.

The impact of hatred spread through the media may extend beyond discrimination to more visible extremes, as in the Democratic Republic of Congo where it drives the continuation of inter-ethnic conflicts. In Uganda, adequate media coverage has been blamed for the conflict in Northern Uganda where for more than two decades; the war between Uganda Peoples' Defense Forces (UPDF) and Lord Resistance Army (LRA) has not been covered adequately. This has made it difficult for the international community to intervene. Similarly, Somalia and Darfur conflicts were too under covered until recently when they hit the world headlines. Besides, In the Balkan Wars, some supported the Muslims and vehemently advocated military intervention against the Serbs. A similar pattern surfaced in other conflicts, such as the Palestinian–Israeli conflict in which Western journalists perceived the Palestinians as victims and sided with them.

## 2.5. Media ethics and conflict sensitive reporting

In much of the world, the violent conflict that the media must report on has changed. It is increasingly not traditional warfare between nations, however now is violent strife among people within common or rough borders, often between communities and tribes and other interests. Violent conflict is increasingly lawless and terrifying exploitation of civilians and resources by poorly-trained soldiers or paramilitary forces or private armies engaged in crime to sustain their

violence. State authority and the rule of law are weak or collapsed. The low-intensity violence recurs erratically. The news media, with its new technologies and wider reach, is increasingly a target for misinformation, manipulation, or suppression by interests seeking to profit from the violent conflict (Howard, 2009)

According to yordanose (2019), because media plays several roles in people's lives and the public sphere, it can consider the fourth estate and a beneficial society builder. In society building, communication and the media manipulated enormous power. People are educated by the media through giving a wealth of knowledge on socio-cultural and political-economic issues. While presenting information to the public, the media is required to uphold ethical standards in their reporting because it impacts society's life directly or indirectly.

The media systems of different countries differ all around the world. Similarly, ethical standards exist because of the differences in context; as a result, ethics is dependent on their culture and customs. However, according to Kant's philosophy, society should create rules that are beneficial to both individuals and society as a whole. The sensitivity of the media, according to media ethics, is not about a single person, but about a large group of people or a mass society.

There are a few fundamental ethical standards related to media ethics; most people agree like accuracy, fairness, balance, truth, and objectivity. According to Kasoma, (1994) in the African context, "Media ethics refers to making a sound moral decision in journalistic work which finds its place in societal morality."

There was also an emphasis on the need for journalism to promote human rights, peace, national liberation, social progress, and democracy (Nordenstreng, 1998). A journalistic code of ethics refers to a set of the principle of professional conduct; that is adopted and controlled by the professional or journalist themselves.

Another relates to the supposed independence and neutrality of journalism is important in conflict reporting. Impartial media that gives voice to people from all sections of societies, and can be an instrument of peace. As (Sanders, 2003:42) puts over "impartiality is the way of eliminating reporting filtering by the more extreme kinds of religious, racial, or other types of

prejudices.", he also argues impartiality is "a practice aimed at removing the distorting effects of prejudice from whatever source, ensuring that full and fair accounts are given of events."

According to Coronel, (2001), media can arm the audience with the knowledge that helps them make sense of events and make informed decisions rather than reacting to rumors. The media can be an effective tool to build relationships. It can support greater understanding and cohesion between people who consider themselves different from one another or who are in conflict. It can serve as a mediator between political parties and countries in conflict of interest especially in situations where there are no other means of communication particularly during conflict and post-conflict reconciliation. In addition, Fact-based, independent, transparent, accountable, and impartial reporting can serve to hold officials accountable and make public administrations more transparent. It enables citizens to be active stakeholders, to understand policies, and use the impartial information provided to exercise their human rights. All of these are critical for conflict prevention.

According to the international media support (IMS) Handbook, Conflict sensitive Journalism (reporting) is a part of the safety and protection training mechanism that IMS offers to journalists working in conflict zones. In countries affected by conflict and human insecurity, media has an important role to play as an active promoter of human rights and democratization, peace, dialogue, and conflict resolution through the gathering of non-partisan information.

In this regard, working journalists in conflict-stressed countries must be acutely aware than colleagues in established democracies that as journalists and as citizens their work may seem insufficient, superficial, and possibly harmful. One can cover it (conflict) simplistically, vividly, incessantly though do not cover it with sophistication. They do not cover causes, only consequences, and don't cover solutions (Shturkhetsky, et al, 2016).

The approaches and methods of conflict-sensitive journalism allow the media to provide the public with more comprehensive, neutral, and accurate information on the conflicts. Conflict-sensitive journalism empowers reporters to report conflicts professionally without feeding the flames of conflict. Conflict-sensitive journalism means that reports in-depth, cover all sides and allow for an opportunity for those involved ventilating all issues related to the conflict (IMS, 2016).

# 2.6. Ethiopia Television (ETV)

Ethiopia Television (ETV) was established in 1964, during the time of Emperor Haile Selassie, with the technical help of the British firm, Thomson. ETV was initially established to highlight the Organization of African Unity (OAU) founding heads of state meeting in Addis Ababa in that year. Color television was introduced in 1982 by the military regime in order to commemorate the founding of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE) (Birhanu, 2009).

Over the past years, ETV is believed to have contributed a lot as government and public service in covering various national and international issues. Though it began its service in two languages (English and Amharic), currently ETV broadcasts in many local and foreign languages namely, Amharic, Tigrinya, Afan Oromo, Somali, Afar, English, French and Arabic languages. Most of its services are also being aired through Ethio-sat to its audiences outside the country. Since March 2018, EBC has been trying to change its format and classified its channels into three. ETV Zena, which is the main news channel with 24 hours coverage, and the news formats ETV 57, ETV Arat Maezen and Tena Ystelgn are introduced in this channel. ETV Languages is the other channel with a focus on news and entertainment in the different languages of Ethiopia along with three international languages. ETV Meznagna is a channel which focuses on entertainment, such as drama, sports and programs focusing on reality shows and life style (EBC, 2019).

# 2.7. Aljazeera

Aljazeera was established on November 1, 1996 by the Qatari Emir, Hamid bin Khalifa. Succeeding his father, the Emir, with the intention to make Qatar a Switzerland, needed an informed populace. "Aljazeera" is Arabic for "the Peninsula" or "the Island" – the name given in relation to the country's location in the Arab peninsula. Aljazeera was installed at the cost of 140 million US dollar. It started its transmission by hiring 120 BBC-trained journalists. Its English language transmission began in November 2006 (EL Zein, 2012).

According to Mohammed (2014), Aljazeera network has a total number of 2500 staff members and journalists from 40 countries. In addition to its center of transmission in Doha, it has centers of transmission in Kuala lampur, London and Washington Dc. It has bureaus around the world. The station states that its English language service reaches 100 million homes. Aljazeera Arabic

has gained reputation from the Arabs, and has an audience of about 40 million to 50 million in the Arab countries.

With the start of Aljazeera, TV channels of the Middle East Arab countries have experienced a decreasing number of viewers. Before Aljazeera came in to being, these TV channels only transmitted their respective leader's points of view. Even though Aljazeera has been criticized for its anti-western stance, at times, it became critical of regimes of the Saudis and Bahrain (Ramdane et al, 2011). Aljazeera.com is its website through which its online news can be read.

#### 2. 8. Theoretical Framework

# 2.8.1 Framing theory

Frame/framing analysis is not new in media studies, since frame/framing analysis has been identified as a powerful mechanism to compare different media representations, in particular for the issue about politics, such as crisis, protests, etc (An and Gower, 2009, Schnell, 2001). It can help define the problem framed in the media, and also indicate how the frame shapes public opinion (Knight, 1999). As researchers pointed out, "how people think about an issue, especially a political issue that is inherently ambiguous, is dependent on how the issue is framed by the media" (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000).

There are two approaches that help to identify frames in the news: inductive and deductive approaches. An inductive approach of analyzing news texts helps create frames in due course of analyzing news texts. This analyzing process allows the researcher to come up with his own inclusive frames of the data available at hand. However, the drawback of relying on inductive method is it requires small amount of data and the frames created by this method are difficult to replicate (de Vreese, 2005). The deductive approach, on the other hand, works with a priori defined frames that are formed and operationalized prior to the investigation (de Vreese, 2005). Most scholars are in favor of applying deductive approach than inductive because deductive approach is reliable and can be replicated. Moreover, deductive approach works in line with journalism practice. However, its drawback is that it excludes frames that could otherwise be identified in the inductive approach.

#### 2.8.2 Type of media frame

Concerning nature and content that is to be framed, there are two dominant distinctions. These are generic and issue-specific frames (de Vreese, 2005; Entman et al., 2009). Issue-specific frames are frames that provide details about the issue at hand. They allow for great specificity and detail. However, generic frames offer a systematic platform for comparison across issues, frames, and topics (Kozman, 2016). The generic frame can be used to analyze various issues in the media in given periods and contexts. "Generic frames transcend thematic limitations and can be identified with different topics, some even over time and in different cultural contexts", (de Vreese, 2005; Entman et al., 2009). Generic framing classifies into two, i.e., episodic framing and thematic framing. The episodic news frame focuses on specific events or particular cases, while the thematic news frame places political issues and events in a general context (Iyengar, 1991). Scholars have identified different frame typology. From different type of frame prognostic and diagnostic frames are commonly used in social issues. These types of frames are categorized under the thematic frame because they have the ability to show the broader social and institutional cases by discussing causes and effects of an event.

By using Neuman & Crigler (1992) identified several frames that can be used widely in the USA media to cover various issues. These include the conflicting frame, the economic frame, the powerlessness frame, the human interest frame, the morality frame framework for studying media, Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) further clearly postulated five types of framing. These are conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality, and responsibility (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). For this particular study, including mutual benefits frame the researcher used most of the dominant types of frames.

#### 2.8.2.1. Conflict frame:

Emphasize on disagreement between individuals, groups and institutions as means of attracting audience attention. The reason behind the use of conflict frame might be because journalists think that conflict is one way to catch the attention of more readers. For example, political debate, election campaigns news is framed mostly in terms of conflict (Semekto &Valkunburg, 2000). On conflict laden coverage of the GERD water-filling between riparian countries, individuals and groups within a state and other possible actors. In other words, if the story caters disagreements or opposing statements of concerned parties over the issue.

#### 2.8.2.2. Human interest frame:

In this type of frame the media outlets can bring emotional angle of stories to the audience. Journalist and media practitioner eager to produce that captures audience interests. Framing a story in human interest terms is one way to achieve this. In such frame, news can be personalized, 'dramatize & emotionalize' in order to attract readers attention. The frame is also referred as "human impact" frame and is considered the second common frame in the news next to conflict frame (Neuman et al., 1992, cited in Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). When a story brings a detailed human feeling and their testimonies about the dam's water-filling or an emotional/empathic angle to the presentation of the GERD water-filling.

#### 2.8.2.3. Economic frame:

An issue that will have economic consequence on individual or group or institutions. When an issue or event has wide impact on finance, it adds value to the news, and its economic consequences are often vital (Garber, 1993, cited in Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). Therefore, it focuses on the positive and negative economic consequences of the dam' water-filling on an individual, community, country or riparian countries.

#### 2.8.2.4. Attribution of responsibility frame:

Present an issue in a way as to attribute responsibility to its cause or solution (i.e., who should be credited or blamed for events) Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). It gives more emphasis on why events happen. Sillars (1982 cited in Hallahan, 1999) note that "attribution of an event to either personal or environmental factors determine the extent to which an individual is held responsible". However, the attribution of responsibility does not always reflect the objective facts of a situation accurately and can be distorted based on how events are described (Hallahan, 1999 p.219). In this study it includs the responsible body, institution, country, or a collective of countries to solve the GERD water-filling conflict.

#### 2.8.2.5. Mutual benefit frame:

The term 'mutual benefit', or alternatively 'mutual interest', originates from the development policy domain and was not first conceived in the academic sphere. The concept is linked to solidarity and equality among countries and implies that international co-operation arrangements have win-win outcomes benefitting all partners involved (OECD, 2016). When the story suggests

about the potential mutual benefit of the dam for Nile basin riparian countries in general and Eastern Nile basin states in particular.

When it comes to the second framing, issue-specific news frames are only pertinent to specific topics in news events. As a result, an issue-specific approach to studying news frames allows researchers to thoroughly deal with a particular issue that is aired on, or posted in, the media (de Vreese, 2005; Entman, et al., 2009). The issue-specific framing is somehow limited in its power to generalize the findings. This is because the high degree of issue-sensitivity makes analyses that draw on issue-specific frames that are difficult to generalize if compared with generic framing analysis (de Vreese 2005). However, it is still a very important approach in framing analysis that helps to focus on a specific issue and to discern possible frames from particular issues in the text. Taking this as an understanding, this research applies issue-specific framing analysis to search for frames around reporting of the Ethio-Egyptian conflicts of the GERD firstround water filing in Ethiopian Television and Aljazeera. Therefore, in this study, as the case of the Ethio-Egyptian conflicts of the GERD water filling news reports; content framing used, the kinds of frames, the sources quoted, the tone reflected, and the themes addressed in each of their reporting is considered to be an issue, so it treated through an issue – specific frame. As the study is a comparative framing the comparison of the two media is set in a point-to-point method. Such as the kinds of frames used by ETV in reporting the Ethio-Egypt conflict over the GERD first-round water-filling were analyzed, and then the kinds of frames used by Al-Jazeera follows it. The other categories are also presented in the above way.

# **CHAPTER THREE:**

#### 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methodological choice and design of the study. The study considers both qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis methods. Besides, it presents a justification for the adoption of the method. It then reports the phases of data collection. As tools of data collection, documentation was used. It further presents a report of the study samples and the analysis of data techniques.

### 3.1 Research Design

This study follows a case study research design. Creswell & Poth (2017) stated that case study research includes the study of an issue investigated through one or more cases within a defined system (i.e., a setting, a context). As Scapens (1990) cited in colin (2007), Case studies can be used to formulate theories or be: Descriptive, illustrative, experimental, and explanatory. The researcher used an explanatory case study design; that the study used framing theory as a basis for understanding and explaining the issue.

The study has taken two media as a case. In this case, the study selected two broadcast media: the national media ETV and international media Aljazeera as a case to offer an in-depth analysis of the framing of the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the GERD first-round water filling stories. The researcher has seen the cases to understand the comparison between the news framing of ETV and Aljazeera about the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the GERD first-round water filling. The study described and evaluated the kinds of frames, content framing used, sources quoted, tone reflected, and themes addressed in each of their reporting.

# 3.2. Research Approach

To achieve the objective of the inquiry, the researcher has utilized quantitative and qualitative approaches; both methods were employed for content analysis, textual and visual analyses. The use of both qualitative and quantitative methods is referred as mixed. According to McNeill & Chapman (2005) mixed refers to the use of multiple methods to cross-check and verify the reliability of a particular research and the validity of the data collected. Hence, using both of

them is very important to focus on the objectives and the data gathered from the two sampled media.

# 3.2.1. Quantitative content analysis

The researcher has used content analysis. Content analysis is all about making valid, replicable, and objective inferences about the message based on explicit rules (Prasad, 2008). As for Prasad, the material for the content analysis can be letters, diaries, newspaper content, folk songs, short stories, and messages of Radio, Television, documents, texts, or any symbols.

Shoemaker & Reese (1996) also noted that media content is characterized by a wide range of phenomena including the medium, production techniques, messages, sources quoted or referred to, and context and they say that the task of content analysis is to impose some sort of order on these phenomena to grasp their meaning. From the above definitions, content analysis is a systematic way that should be free from researcher bias and quantifiable to summarize and drive conclusions based on the data gathered from the selected media. Dearing & Rogers (1996) have stated that how the media set an agenda and frame the issue can mostly be measured in some sort of countable units. This can be by counting the number of stories that are related to the issue in a set of TV newscasts – how many times an issue receives coverage on prime time, or the number of seconds given to the coverage of an issue. To describe an issue or a person as being salient, it/they should continuously be on air in the media during a certain period. Therefore, in this study, the quantitative content analysis was conducted through counting and categorizing the news that is related to the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the GERD first-round water filling in terms of coverage, the frame, content framing used, a particular source used, and a specific tone reflected and themes addressed in the Ethiopian Television and Aljazeera. Accordingly, the framing on Ethio-Egyptian conflict on the GERD first-round water filling related news was identified.

#### 3.2.2. Qualitative Content Analysis

Qualitative (textual) content analysis is a systematic approach which deals with analyzing, categorizing, and evaluating media texts. It is an interpretive approach which basically deals with extracting meaning. In addition, qualitative content analysis can give an opportunity to examine how the producers of the text view their social world (Berg, 2001). It helps to better understand the author's perspectives through his words in the text. Moreover, qualitative method allows the

researcher to examine the ideological mindsets of producers of a text: themes, topics, and symbols (Berg, 2001). In this study, the audio-visual and textual analysis was conducted to look into how the stories were framed and how the stories depicted the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the GERD first-round water filling. Textual and visual analysis is a qualitative method that involves a careful reading and watching of documents of various kinds including media texts. Especially, text analysis is used to cross check and to understand the potential meanings of the texts (story scripts). Accordingly, instances of media's stories excerpts were taken for analysis.

#### 3.3. Selection of Media Outlets

Two media organizations, ETV and Aljazeera were purposefully selected for this study. As the issue of the GERD is national, it is relevant to understand the news frame of national media (ETV), and the media follows a philosophy of developmental journalism and the GERD project is one of the country's developmental program. The international media Aljazeera is convenient to look at the international media framing because it is an international issue, and Arab nations effort to make the issue as Arabians' concern as Egypt is a dominant member of the Arab League. These media outlets are selected for the study because they are easily available online; especially the international media outlet has a well-developed website through which news articles about the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the GERD water filling can be accessed. These media outlets are also selected based on the assumption that they would have different treatments of the conflict because of the differences in ideology, the political orientations under which they operate, and the interests they stand for.

# 3.4. Sources of Data and Data Gathering Tools

This study has used primary data. Primary sources are immediate, first-hand accounts of a topic from people who had a connection with it. It can include original documents, newspaper reports, photographs, videos, and audio that capture an event, and are made readily available for researchers to use for their study. They are sources that include media contents (news or program video/clips on archive) and media organization studies conducted on the selected media outlet.

#### **3.4.1. Document**

The study used a document review method for data gathering from archive news videos of the two media that are aired by the selected media. This study used the selected media's news about

the GERD first-round water filling which were aired from January 15, 2020 to August 15, 2020. After selecting the sample sources of the data, the researcher searched and downloaded the news stories for Ethiopian Television (ETV) archive news from www.ebc.et and for Aljazeera archive news from aljazeera.com making use of the keyword search technique. With this, 60 news were collected – 30 news from each media that addressed the issue of GERD first-round water-filling were chosen before the first-round water-filling and after the first-round water-filling.

# 3.5. Sample and Sampling Technique

This study has used purposive sampling. In purposive sampling, samples are selected based on the researcher's special knowledge or expertise as samples can be selected from the whole population that displays certain attributes (Berg, 2001). The sample depends on the availability of data in the study period. The subjects of the study from which the required data be collected from are ETV and Al-Jazeera. The selected media are purposefully chosen. The reason behind selecting ETV is because it is a public media outlet that advocates for the government's development programs, views, and socio-political and economic positions. The GERD is a government project. Moreover, ETV has the largest number of viewers and covers a broad area, and also ETV most frequently broadcasts GERD issues in a detailed manner. The researcher selected Aljazeera because it is an international media outlet covers global concerns and it is convenient to look at the international media framing because it is an international issue, and Arab nations effort to make the issue as Arabians' concern as Egypt is a dominant member of the Arab League

Thus, the researcher has purposively chosen news programs as samples that the stories reported on GERD first-round water filling news stories aired by the two national and international media. The sample data was drawn from the transmissions on the two media in the period from January 15 2020 to August 15 2020. The reason is that it was at this period of time that the GERD water filling conflict issue got the media's attention.

#### 3.6. News Selection

For the analysis of the study, all news about GERD first-round water-filling aired by the two media outlets, Ethiopian Television (ETV) and Al Jazeera in the time interval of January 15 2020 to August 15, 2020, archive news program included in the research. In other words, all news that

entertains the GERD first-round water-filling in the given time frame was taken for the study. In the seven months 'time interval, ETV covered 45 news related to the first-round water-filling, while Al Jazeera covered a total of 30news. Therefore the researcher tries to compare the two media framing of the conflict between Ethiopia and Egypt in GERD first-round water-filling by taking 30 from each. This is to make the analysis balanced.

#### 3.7. Timeframe

This research examined the framing of the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the GERD water filling by ETV and Aljazeera news stories about the Ethio-Egyptian conflict that were broadcasted for seven months starting from January 15 2020 to August 15 2020. This time is selected because the GERD water filling conflict issue got the media's attention. Besides, it was during this time that the conflict between Ethiopia, Egypt, and Sudan increased moderating the three conflicting countries was held by the US and African Union respectively.

# 3.8. Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis might be a single word or symbol, a theme (subject), or an entire article or story in written content. The unit of analysis for this research constitutes a theme of news stories related to GERD first-round water filling that was broadcasted by the selected media outlets. The researcher has used it to analyze the GERD first-round water-filling archive news stories in terms of the kind of framing, content framing, sources quoted, and theme addressed in the two selected media. Because of time and resource constraints, the unit of analysis did not include commentaries and other conventional reports.

# 3.9. Categories in the Coding Sheet

Coding is a process of assigning a code to something for classification or identification. Coding sheet was used for establishing and defining the categories' items under which the texts are organized. The coding sheet was included these items: content framing, kinds of framing, tone, theme and source quoted in the GERD first-round water-filling news stories. The type of frame categories used in this research were adopted and developed from Semetko & Valkenburg's (2000) research. Out of the five Semetko & Valkenburg's frames, the researcher created mutual benefit frame instead of morality frame based on the research objective. This means the issue of Nile is a common shared river and it is important to see the mutual benefit frame the media used.

Content framing was classified as story framing and visual framing. Story framing is how the media frame the story. Thus, story framing was divided into two; word choice (biased/neutral) and ways of story writing (argumentative/descriptive way). On the other, visual framing is determined by pictures, graphics and video. Kinds of framing are the various types of frames used in the selected media. They are conflict, human interest, economic consequence, attribution of responsibility, mutual benefit, and mixed frames used in the selected media.

The tone is the general impression or value decision (unfavorable or favorable, supporting or criticizing) of the news stories about the GERD first-round water-filling. Thus, the tone reflected was divided into four; positive, negative, mixed, and neutral tones. The themes addressed in the stories are a central message of the report. They are classified into five items; diplomacy, legal process, sovereignty rights, mixed, and other themes. Regarding sources used in the story, it includes government officials, experts, news agencies, mixed, and others.

#### 3.9.1. Coding process

After the coding sheets were prepared, the researcher and another coder who is a post graduate student did the coding. The coder was trained and given detailed orientation on how to code the news of the two media outlets to address the relevant issue.

#### 3.9.2. Inter-coder Reliability and validity

Reliability is concerned with the question of whether the findings of a study are repeatable or not. According to Wimmer & Dominick (2013), inter coder reliability is reliable when the repeated measurement of the same material results in similar decisions or conclusions to the levels of agreement among independent coders who coded the same content using the same coding instrument. To know the degree of consistency between different coders, it is measured by a reliability coefficient using a scale from 0.00 (very unreliable) to 1.00 (perfectly reliable) (Berger, 2000; Gray, 2004). To calculate the extent of inter-coder reliability, the researcher employed Holsti's (1969) as cited in Wimmer & Dominick (1997) formula, that is,

Reliability = 
$$2M/(N1 + N2) = 2(5)/6 + 6 = 10/12 = 0.83$$

Where, M represents the aggregate number of coding decisions with which the two coders agreed upon, while N1 and N2 represent the total number of coding decisions made by coder one

and coder two, respectively. Accordingly, using 10% (6) of the total data 60 news the inter-coder reliability taste was found 0.83 (83%) where the result is more than 70% is valid. Then six news items were given to both coders. They agree on the five news items and differ on one news

### 3.10. Method of Data Presentation and Analysis

This study examined the framing of the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the GERD first-round water filling in Ethiopian Television and Al-Jazeera. Content analysis is one of the methods employed in this research to assess the framing of the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the GERD first-round water filling. The analysis is mainly carried out on what was reported in the media being studied from January 15, 2020, to August 15, 2020. The content analysis was both quantitative and qualitative content analysis. Therefore, the quantitative content analysis was conducted through counting what was reported on the GERD water filling in terms of the kinds of framing, content framing, tone reflected, source quoted and theme addressed in the Ethiopian Television and Aljazeera. Accordingly, the framing on the Ethio-Egyptian conflict on the GERD first-round water filling-related news was identified. The qualitative content analysis was used to describe the kinds of framing used in the selected media outlets. As the study is a comparative framing, the comparison of the two media was put in a point-to-point way. First, the kinds of frames used by ETV in reporting the Ethio-Egypt conflict over the GERD first-round water-filling were analyzed, then the kinds of frames used by Al-Jazeera followed it, and other categories followed the same patterns.

# **CHAPTER FOUR:**

# DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter covers the presentation, analysis, and discussion of data and the findings respectively. The main objective of the study, as previously stated, was to appraise ETV and Aljazeera's framing of the Ethiopian-Egyptian dispute over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) Water Filling from January 15, 2020 to August 15, 2020. All the collected data focused on how the Ethiopian-Egyptian disagreement over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) Water Filling issues was framed by the two media during the chosen period. This chapter examines the content acquired from the two media. The researcher used 60 news stories (30 from each media channel) out of the total news offered in both outlets. As a result, the data presentation and discussion focus on the research questions: how the content framing, the types of framing utilized, the main messages (tone/emphasis) conveyed, and the sources used in the news are displayed in tables and graphics.

# 4.1. Quantitative Content Analysis

The quantitative data analysis helps to answer the following research questions; how many content-framing did the GERD water-filling news stories offered by Ethiopian Television (ETV) and Aljazeera Television in terms of number, scriptwriting style, and kinds of the frame? What was the difference or resemblance between Ethiopian Television (ETV) and Aljazeera Television when covering the Ethio-Egyptian controversy over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) Water Filling? The researcher examined the content framing, kinds of frame, themes, tones, and sources utilized in the selected media outlets based on those study questions.

# **4.1.1 Content Framing**

# 4.1.1.1 Story Framing

Media Word choice and Me		ce and Metaphor	
	Slanted/biased	Slanted/biased Neutral	
ETV	17 (56.7%)	13 (43.3%)	
Al Jazeera	15 (50%)	15 (50%)	

Table 1: percentage of stories word choice

The word choice in ETV and Aljazeera's news lead of the stories about the Ethiopian-Egyptian dispute over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) first Water filling is shown in the table above. From a total of 30 stories shown on ETV, 17 (56.7 percent) were slanted/biased, while 13 (43.3 percent) were neutral. On the other side, 15 (50 percent) of the stories shown on Al Jazeera were slanted/biased, whereas 15 (50 percent) of the news stories were neutral. Therefore, it indicates that more than half (56.7%) of the Ethiopian-Egyptian dispute news over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) Water Filling news stories of ETV were slanted/ biased on the other hand 50% Aljazeera's news stories were neutral, and biased each. Thus, ETV's favor and inclination towards national interest is more than what Al Jazeera did on the Nile concerns. That ETV's news were reflecting its interest with the public and the government stand. In other words, the news reporting did not meet the objectivity required of reporting and dealing with an issue subjectively by including personal opinions in the stories. The words/phrases were found in the qualitative analysis part as: "our dam", "our right", "our existence", and "our death". For example some extracts are below:

"አባይ የኢትዮጵያ ህልውና"

"The Nile is the existence of Ethiopia" (April 4, 2020)

"በአባይ ድርድር የለም "

"There is no negotiation over the Nile" (July 29 2020)

"The dam means our death," (August 12, 2020)

Media	Arguments	Description
ETV	5(16.7%)	25(83.3%)
Al Jazeera	14(46.7)	11(36.7)

Table 2: percentage of story writing type

Table two reveals the Ethiopian-Egyptian dispute over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) Water Filling news story writing type in the two television channels. According to the data gathered, there was a significant variation in story writing styles between the two mediums. For example, 83.3 percent of ETV's news reports were written in descriptive form, while the remaining 16.7 percent were in an argumentative style. On the other hand, 46.7 percent of Al

Jazeera's news stories were written in an argumentative form, while the other 36 percent were in a descriptive style. When one compares the two media, ETV news was dominated by description more than Al Jazeera while in terms of producing debate, Al Jazeera showed supremacy over ETV in covering the EGRD water filling.

# 4.1.1.2 Visual Framing

Visual framing Percentage %			
Media	Video	Picture	Graphics
ETV	93%	7%	-
Al Jazeera	87%	3%	10%

Table 3: percentage of visual framing

Table three depicts ETV's visual framing of the Ethio-Egyptian conflict over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) water filling news broadcasted. Graphics and exemplars, pictures, and videos were all classified in visual framing. About 93 percent of videos, 7 percent of pictures and, 0 percent of graphics and exemplars were utilized by ETV from a total of 30 news stories reported; which means, there was no data found in graphics form. Al Jazeera's visual framing used was 87 percent of video, 3 percent of pictures and, 10 percent graphics and exemplars to broadcast the Ethio-Egyptian conflict over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) water filling.

Therefore, the above table clearly shows that both ETV and Al Jazeera used videos more than pictures and graphics to broadcast the Ethio-Egyptian conflict over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) water filling news. Comparing the two media, ETV's news stories were dominated by videos while Al Jazeera's news stories demonstrated a variety of visuals. For example, ETV's news involved 0 percent graphics and exemplars, while Al Jazeera's news used 10 percent graphics and exemplars.

#### 4.1.2. Kinds of Framing

#### 4.1.2.1 Ethiopian Television

Kinds of frame	Percentage (%)

Human Interest frame	13(43.3%)
Economic consequences frame	6(20%)
Mutual benefits frame	4(13.3%)
Attribution of responsibility	3(10%)
Conflict frame	4(13.3%)
Mixed frame	0% no data
Others	0%/ no data

Table 4: Percentage of kinds of frame of ETV

Table four shows the various frames utilized by ETV in its coverage of the Ethiopian-Egyptian conflict over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) Water Filling news. Human interest, economic consequences, mutual benefits, attribution of responsibility, conflict, and other frames were among the types of frames used. ETV utilized 43.3 percent of human interest, 20 percent of economic consequences, 13.3 percent of mutual benefits, 10 percent of attribution of responsibility, 13.3 percent of conflict, and 0 percent of mixed and other frames in a total of 30 news stories. Out of these frame categories, the data indicated that human interest frame is the dominant frame in ETV's news, while economic consequences frame is the second top news framing category.

#### 4.1.2.2 Al Jazeera

Kinds of frame	Percentage	
Human Interest frame	7(23.7%)	
Economic consequences frame	7(23.7%)	
Mutual benefits frame	5(16.7%)	
Attribution of responsibility	3(10%)	
Conflict frame	8(26.7)	
Mixed frame	0%/ no data	
Others	0%/ no data	

Table 5: Percentage of kinds of frame of Al Jazeera

Table five presents the frames used by Al Jazeera to cover the Ethiopian-Egyptian conflict over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) Water Filling stories. 26.7 percent of conflict, 23.7 percent of human interest, 23.7 percent of economic implications, 16.7 percent of mutual benefits, 10 percent of attribution of responsibility, and 0 percent of mixed and other frames were found.

ETV and Al Jazeera used different frames to report the Ethiopian-Egyptian conflict over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) Water Filling. ETV framed most of its news by human interest frame whereas Al Jazeera framed the news by conflict frame.

#### 4.1.3. Tone reflected

Tone reflected	Media		
	ETV	Al Jazeera	
Positive	21(70%)	11(36.7%)	
Negative	3(10%)	8(26.7%)	
Mixed	6(20%)	11(36.7%)	
Neutral	0% (no data)	0% (no data)	

Table 6 Percentage of tone reflected

Table six shows the tone of news broadcasted on ETV and Al Jazeera on the Ethiopian-Egyptian dispute over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) Water Filling. Positive, negative, mixed, and neutral tones were used to categorize the media's news tones. According to the data, 70% of ETV news tone was positive, 20% mixed, 10% negatively and 0% neutral. Al Jazeera, on the other hand, reflected the GERD news 36.7% positively, 36.7% mixed, 26 negatively and, 0% neutral about the issue. According to the data obtained on the tone reflected in the selected two media, ETV portrayed the conflict on its report largely positively, while Al Jazeera reflected the news in almost evenly distributed tone in both positive, mixed tone, and negative tones.

# 4.1.4. Theme of the news reports

Theme of stories	Media		
	ETV	Al Jazeera	
Diplomacy	5(16.7%)	6(20%)	
Sovereignty Right	13(43.3%)	7(23.3%)	
Legal process	6(20%)	11(36.7 %)	

Mixed	6(20%)	5(16.7%)
Others	0%/ no data	1(3.3%)

Table 7: Theme of the stories

Table seven discusses the themes of news coverage by ETV and Al Jazeera on the Ethiopian-Egyptian conflict over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) water filling. Themes such as diplomacy, sovereignty, and legal procedure, mixed and other themes were discovered in the media's news. As seen in table six, ETV places 43.3 percent on sovereignty rights, 20% on legal procedure, 20% on mixed, 16 percent focus on diplomacy and, 0% on other themes on the news. While Al Jazeera used to place 36.7% on legal procedure, 23 percent on sovereignty rights, 20% on diplomacy, 16.7% on mixed and 3.3 percent on other themes. Thus, the data indicates that ETV as a national media predominantly presented the GERD as sovereignty right while Al Jazeera predominantly presented the issue as an issue with a legal process.

As a result, to be more specific, one of the mostly used themes in the Ethiopian-Egyptian controversy over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) water filling related news for ETV has been Sovereignty Rights, where of 43.3 percent of the total 30 news items dealing with the dam issue were related to this subject. Al Jazeera, on the other hand, focused on the legal procedure in addition to the others, as from the total of 30 stories, 36.7 percent of news items dealing with dam water filling conflict news were related to this subject. For evidence some extracts of news are below:

Sovereignty rights themes

"አባይ የኢትዮጵያ ህልውና"

"The Nile is the existence of Ethiopia" (April 4, 2020)

"የህዳሴ ግድብ የመጀመሪያ ውሃ ሙሴት መጠናቀቁ ኢትዮጵያ በአባይ ወንዝ ላይ የመጠቀም መብቷን ያረጋንጠ ነው::"

"The completion of the Renaissance Dam's first water supply has ensured Ethiopia's right to use the Nile River." (July 23, 2020)

"The GERD (Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam) water filling is being done in line with the dam's natural construction process." (July 15, 2020)

Diplomacy theme

# 

"The government said the negotiations on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam should be carried out only with the agreement of three countries and should not be interfered with by anyone else." (March 3, 2020)

# "የህዳሴው ግድብ የመጀመሪያ የውሃ ሙሴት ኢትዮጵያ በዲኘሎማሲው መስክ ውጤት ያስመዘገበችበት መሆኑ ተገለፀ::"

"The first water filling of the Renaissance Dam is Ethiopia's achievement in the field of diplomacy." (July 28, 2020)

"The United Nations Security Council will likely meet this week to discuss the continuing dispute between Egypt, Sudan, and Ethiopia over a giant dam built by Ethiopia on the Blue Nile." (July 4, 2020)

### Legal process

# "ኢትዮጵያ በታላቁ ህዳሴ ግድብ ግንባታ ዙሪያ ከተፋሰሱ ሀገራት ጋር በስምምነትና በጋራ ለመስራት ከበቂ በላይ መጓዟን የዘርፉ ምሁራን ገለፁ።"

"Ethiopia has more than enough to work with the riparian countries on the construction of the Grand Renaissance Dam," (June 10 2020)

"We would like to urge them to continue to be guided by the spirit of Pan-African solidarity and fraternity, which has characterized the AU-led negotiations process on the GERD," (August 6, 2020)

#### 4.1.5. Source Attributed of the media stories

Sources	Media	
	ETV	Al Jazeera
Government officials	12(40%)	15(50%)
Experts	6(20%)	2(6.7%)
News agencies	6(20%)	2(6.7%)
Mixed	2(6.7%)	8(26.7%)

Other	4(13.3%)	3(10%)

Table 8: Source quoted of the stories

Table eight shows the information sources used by each media outlet on the Ethiopian-Egyptian disagreement over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) water filling news. They gathered information from a variety of sources including government officials, experts, news organizations, and others. ETV used for its report 40 percent of government officials, 20 percent of experts, and news agencies each, 13.3% of other sources, and 6.7 percent of mixed sources for its stories on the EGRD filling. On the other hand, Al Jazeera cites 50 percent of government officials, 26.7 percent of mixed, 10% of other sources, and 6.7 percent of experts and news organizations as sources of information for their news reports.

According to the data, ETV's reporting on the dispute between Ethiopia and Egypt over the dam's water filling used 40% of government official as dominant sources. On the other hand, 50% of Al Jazeera sources were government officials. Besides, in consulting experts of the issue, ETV cited more experts by far than Al Jazeera did.

# 4.2 Qualitative data analysis

The GERD Water Filling Project in Ethiopia has been the source of contention between Ethiopia, Sudan, and Egypt. The five frames were examined to see how the two media presented the water-filling-related news in this study. The qualitative data analysis was utilized to respond to how Ethiopian Television (ETV) and Aljazeera Television portray the conflict. Thus, excerpts of news the leads of the stories from the selected media were presented to argue for the frames found in the stories.

#### 4.2.1 Conflict frame

One of the most popular frames in conflict coverage is the conflict frame. According to the quantitative findings of the study, the conflict frame received an average of 20% in both media. Al Jazeera paid out 26% of reports were framed around a conflict. In contrast, Ethiopian Television (ETV) utilized 13.3% of its news to depict the GERD water-filling project as a conflict frame.

Al Jazeera, on the other hand, sees the dam as a conflict-ridden project, particularly between the key powers in the Nile basin countries, which are Ethiopia, Sudan and Egypt. In this regard, in illuminating the fundamental cause for the unhealthy relations between the three countries on the dam, the media attempted to stress the dispute by saying this:

"Ethiopia to fill Nile dam in July even if 'no agreement reached" (Jun 26, 2020)

"Ethiopia considers the hydropower dam essential for its electrification and development but, downstream Egypt and Sudan view it as a serious threat to vital water supplies." (Jun 28, 2020)

"Downstream countries Egypt and Sudan want a legally binding agreement on the dam's filling and operation, while Ethiopia insists on guidelines." (April 3, 2020)

"Egypt's President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi said his country's share of Nile River waters were "untouchable" – a stark warning apparently to Ethiopia" (April 3, 2020)

Along the same line, Al Jazeera noted that the tensions between Egypt and Ethiopia had increased when Ethiopia declared that it will begin filling the dam. "The filling of the reservoir before necessary safety measures were implemented created serious risks for the populations of the downstream countries and; it added that by continuing to fill the dam, Ethiopia was undermining confidence in the negotiations." And, by mentioning some words from Ethiopians, "The dam is ours. We will complete it through our efforts. Our Ethiopia will have a bright glow through our efforts". As mentioned above, Al Jazeera tried to aggravate the conflict taking hot words from both sides - Egypt, and Ethiopia.

On the other hand, a report from ETV made a strong remark that accused Egypt and reflected the people's interest with the media.

"የህዳሴው ግድብ ድርድር መፍትሔ ሕንዳያገኝ የግብጽ ተለዋዋጭ ባህሪ ሕና የድርድር ሀሳብ ሕንቅፋት ሆኗል"

"Egypt's unbounded behavior and bargaining point have hampered the negotiation process and achieve resolution of the Renaissance Dam dispute." (March 20, 2020)

"ኢትዮጵያ እየሰራች ያለችው የዲፕሎማሲ ስራ ግብፅ በሀሰት ፕሮፓጋንዳ ልታገኘው የምትራልገውን ተስሚነት ሕንዴቀነሰው አምባሳደር ኢብራሂም ፅድሪስ ገለጹ።"

"Ambassador Ibrahim Idris said Ethiopia's ongoing diplomacy has diminished Egypt's reputation for false propaganda." (June 14, 2020)

"የህዳሴው ግድብ ውኃ ሙሴት ሕና የግብፅ የተዛባ አመለካከት"

"Renaissance Dam Filling and Egypt's Misconceptions" (July 23, 2020)

"አባይ የኢትዮጵያ ህልውና"

"The Nile is the existence of Ethiopia" (April 4, 2020)

"በአባይ ድርድር የሰም "

"There is no negotiation over the Nile" (July 29 2020)

This news is likely to show Egypt has followed various policies to use the Nile waters unilaterally and at the same time to weaken the upper stream states in general and Ethiopia in particular not to use the Nile River waters. The other news also tries to reflect the Ethiopians stand on the GERD.

Another one also appeared like: Egypt's refusal to cooperate with Nile Basin claims and; Egypt, which depends on the Nile for nearly all of its irrigation and drinking water, sees the dam as an existential threat.

"Egypt is worried the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD), under construction near Ethiopia's border with Sudan, will restrict supplies of already scarce Nile waters on which it is almost entirely dependent." (April 4 2020)

In addition, the Egyptian government would not tolerate any moves that would reduce Egypt's share of water from the Nile. And the strategies of Egypt on the dam aimed at preventing Ethiopia from entering into development by living only through negotiations about the dam.

In a conflict context, both ETV and Al Jazeera took the same stance. Their difference was that ETV presented a complete picture of the news picked for the conflict frame in a comprehensive manner that targeted Egypt. ETV was biased about GERD for Ethiopia. However, Al Jazeera presented its coverage of the conflict between Ethiopia and Egypt in a way that escalated the conflict on both sides.

#### 4.2.2 Human interest frame

The human interest frame was one of the frames that made a significant difference in the framing analysis in ETV and Al Jazeera when framing of the Ethio-Egyptian disagreement on the GERD water filling story. In comparison to Al Jazeera, ETV news uses a lot more human interest framing. Compared to Al Jazeera, ETV incorporated more human sentiments in its news. ETV news stories portrayed different personal and institutional emotions. The difference is ETV reflected the Ethiopians feeling only.

"የህዳሴው ግድብ የመጀመሪያ የውሃ ሙሌት በስኬት መጠናቀቅ ለኢትዮጵያውያን ስኬትና ድል መሆኑን የሀይማኖት አባቶች ተናንሩ።"

"Religious leaders say the successful completion of 1st phase filling of the Renaissance Dam is a victory for Ethiopians." (July 24, 2020)

"ኢትዮጵያ በዓባይ ወንዝ የመጠቀም መብቷን በማስጠበቅ ዘሳቂ ልማቷን ልታረጋግፕ ይገባል ሲሉ የሀይማኖት መሪዎች ገለፁ።"

"Religious leaders say Ethiopia should ensure its sustainable development by protecting its right to use the Nile River." (May 15, 2020)

"የህዳሴው ግድብ ግንባታ ሕስከሚጠናቀቅ ድረስ ድጋፋቸውን አጠናክረው ሕንደሚቀዋሉ የባል ዞን ነዋሪዎች ገለው።"

"Bale Zone residents have stated that they will continue supporting the dam project until it is done." (March 12, 2020)

"የህዳሴ ግድብ የመጀመሪያ ዙር የውሀ ሙሴት በመጠናቀቁ መደስታቸውን የጉንደር ከተማ ነዋሪዎች ተናነሩ።" "Gondar residents say they are happy with the completion of the first round of the Renaissance Dam." (July 24, 2020)

"It is my dam" (July 21, 2020)

"የታሳቁ ህዳሴ ግድብ ግንባታ ጅማሮ መሳው ኢትዮጵያውያንን በአንድነት ያስተሳሰረ ልዩ ክስተት ሕንደነበር ይታወሳል"

"The start of the construction of the Grand Renaissance Dam was a unique event that united all Ethiopians" (July 22, 2020)

On the other side, Al Jazeera used the human interest frame from both the countries' people on the dam dispute. It put the feelings of the people like this:

'Means our death': Egyptian farmers fear the effects of the Ethiopia dam. (August 14, 2020)

It tries to put the Egyptian people feeling on the GERD as a new worry for Egyptian farmers in water scarcity was already a significant problem. Whereas on the Ethiopian side, the dam is

"The electricity to be generated by its Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) is our crucial lifeline to bring its nearly 110 million citizens out of poverty." (June 25, 2020)

"That it is their sovereign right to fill and open the dam." (July 15, 2020)

As previously stated ETV met with a variety of the public regarding the dam and it heard their perspectives. ETV portrays people's emotions by questioning the public about the dam and the people said the dam is a matter of survival and will leave a legacy not just for this generation, but also for future generations. The words they used in their reports were motivating and in the interest of the public. However, its reports were solely focused on Ethiopians. On the other hand, Al Jazeera tries to exploit the human interest frame of the dam issue fairly, and it tries balancing the Egyptian and Ethiopian sentiments and concerns over the project.

ETV utilized a human interest framing than Al Jazeera in general. Al Jazeera used less human interest frame to reflect the Ethiopians and Egyptians, but the majority of the frames focusing on the sentiments of higher authorities rather than the public.

## **4.2.3.** Economic consequences frame

The economic consequences frame was the third most used frame, estimating 21.05 percent on average. ETV framed the water filling process of the dam as one that makes a difference in assuring sustainable economic development on an individual, community, and country-level at large. Furthermore, people's participation in the dam's funding through bond purchases has two advantages: on the one hand, they are fulfilling a national duty, and on the other, they are determining their destiny. In contrast to the positive aspects of the compilation of the dam, ETV states that prolonging the dam will have its own negative effects.

"የህዳሴው ግድቡ የውሃ ሙሴት መራዘም ኢትዮጵያን በቢሊዮን ዶሳር ስሚቆጠሩ ውጪዎች ሕንደሚዳርጋት ተገለፀ::"

"The extension of the renaissance dam water filling will cost Ethiopia billions of dollars" (June 28, 2020)

"ታላቁ የኢትዮጵያ ህዳሴ ግድብ ሲጠናቀቅ ለዜጎች የሚልጥረውን የስራ ዕድል በመጠቀም ራሳቸውንና ሀገራቸውን ለመጥቀም በዝግጅት ላይ መሆናቸውን ተናንሩ."

"They said they are preparing to benefit themselves and their country by taking advantage of the job opportunities created by the citizens when the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam is completed." (June 26, 2020)

"ከህዳሴ ግድብ ጋር በተያያዘ በኢትዮጵያ ሳይ ሕየደረስ ያለው ጫና የአገሪቱን ሕድንት ስማቀጨ<del>ጭ</del> ያለመ መሆኑን ምሁራን ተናንሩ"

"Scholars say the pressure on Ethiopia over the Renaissance Dam is aimed at stifling the country's development" (May 4, 2020)

"ታሳቁ የህዳሴው ግድብ ግንባታ ለኢትዮጵያውያን ኮሮ መቀየር አስተዋፅኦው የሥሳ ነው" "The construction of the Grand Renaissance Dam has made a significant contribution to the lives of Ethiopians." (August 13, 2020)

# "የታላቁ የኢትዮጵያ ህዳሴ ማድብ ሙሉ በሙሉ ሲጠናቀቅ በዓለም 7ኛ ደረጃ ሊይዝ ችንደሚችል ተገለፀ"

"The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam will be ranked 7th in the world upon completion." (August 1, 2020)

At the same time, Aljazeera used the economic consequence frame to show the positive and negative economic effects of the dam water filling for Ethiopia and Egypt. It presents the Ethiopian side as:

Ethiopia says the dam – which will be the largest in Africa and is located near its border with Sudan – is crucial for its growing economy. (Feb 1, 2020)

"It is the centerpiece of Ethiopia's bid to become Africa's biggest power exporter, with a projected capacity of more than 6,000 megawatts." (July 8, 2020)

Ethiopia says GERD is essential for its development, arguing that the vast majority of its population lacks electricity. The dam will generate more than 6,400 megawatts of electricity, a massive boost to the country's current production of 4,000 megawatts. (July 7, 2020)

"Ethiopia argues the dam will bring electricity to more than 65 million people who currently 'live in complete darkness'. (June 30, 2020)

"Ethiopia says the project is a critical opportunity to pull millions of its nearly 110 million citizens out of poverty." (July 15, 2020)

"Ethiopia argues the dam will bring electricity to more than 65 million people who currently 'live in complete darkness' (June 30, 2020)

On the Egyptian side, Al Jazeera presented the economic consequence frame with a negative effect. Egypt is most worried about the risk of drought conditions and has pushed for Ethiopia to fill the reservoir over a longer period if needed and guarantee minimum flows.

"Egypt fears the \$4bn project could lead to water shortages upstream and Egypt is worried the dam will affect the overall flow of the Nile River" (Jan 17, 2020)

"Egypt, the Arab world's most populous country with more than 100 million people, depends on the Nile for almost all of its water needs. It fears that fill would drastically reduce the river's flow, with potentially severe effects on its agriculture and other sectors." (April 3, 2020)

In general, both ETV and Al Jazeera point to some economic benefits or consequences of the dam for Ethiopia, including hydropower electricity for industry, agriculture, and services; fishery, tourism, and navigation, and it increases Ethiopia's water storage capacity and bolstering the country's negotiating power. However, Al Jazeera portrayed the dam water filling in an unfavorable light for Egypt.

#### **4.2.4** Mutual benefits frame

The mutual benefit frame was the fourth most used, accounting for 15% of the total. The GERD water filling was presented as a mutual benefit initiative by selected broadcast media, and their contributions to the dam's mutual advantages were quite comparable. Al Jazeera, in particular, portrayed the dam as a shared benefit, with 16.7 percent. This is demonstrated in the following:

"Ethiopia, Egypt, Sudan reach 'major common understanding' on dam" (July 21, 2020)

"Any development in the sharing of Nile water that is based on negotiations between the stakeholders is a positive development." (March 10, 2020)

Furthermore, Al Jazeera praised the dam for its favorable over Sudan, claiming that it will play a vital part in resolving the country's enormous issues, such as seasonal floods and silt accumulation.

In reporting on the dam's water filling, ETV also employs the mutual benefit framework in a way that may be a source of cooperation among riparian nations.

"ስስ ታሳቁ የኢትዮጵያ ህዳሴ ግድብ በኢትዮጵያ ፣ በግብፅ ሕና በሱዳን መሪዎች መካከል የተደረገው ውይይት ፍሬያማ ነበር።" "Talks among Ethiopian, Egyptian and Sudanese leaders about the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam were fruitful." (July 22, 2020)

"ኢትዮጵያ፣ ግብፅ ሕና ሱዳን በሕዳሴው ግድብ ሳይ ሕያካሄዱት ባለው ድርድር በዋና ዋና ጉዳዮች ሳይ ተወያዩ።"

"Ethiopia, Egypt and Sudan discuss major issues in the ongoing talks on the Renaissance Dam." (June 16, 2020)

In general, both ETV and Al Jazeera used a mutual benefit framing to frame the dam water filling story. That might indicate that the broadcast media's main focus was on expanding the dam's ability to offer mutual advantages to Nile basin riparian nations in general, and the Eastern Nile basin countries in particular, as well as for their shared development.

# 4.2.5 Attribution of responsibility

The attribution of responsibility frame was the fifth type of frame employed by the two media outlets in the Ethio-Egyptian disagreement over the GERD water filling process. The news on ETV and Al Jazeera was identical in these frames. In the responsibility frame, both media channels provided the same amount of coverage and the same content.

"ከታሳቁ ህዳሴ ግድብ ግንባታ ጋር በተያያዘ የተፋሰሱ አንራት ልዩነቶቻቸውን በውይይት ሕንዲፌቱ የአፍሪካ ህብረት ድጋፍ ሕንደሚያደርግ አስታወቀ::"

"The African Union (AU) has announced that it will support the riparian countries to resolve their differences through dialogue." (June 26, 2020)

"The government said the negotiations on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam should be carried out only with the agreement of three countries and should not be interfered with by anyone else." (March 3, 2020)

"በህዳሴ ግድብ ወቅታዊ ሁኔታ ላይ አምባሳደር ዲና ሙልቲ ማብራሪያ ሰጡ"

"Ambassador Dina Mufti on the current situation of the Renaissance Dam." (June 23, 2020)

"Ethiopia has done more than enough to work with riparian countries on the construction of the Grand Renaissance Dam, experts said." (June 10, 2020)

"በዋሽንግተን በተካሄደው የህዳሴው ግድብ ድርድር ሰንዶች በቂ ሆነው ባስመቅረባቸው በኢትዮጵያ በኩል ውድቅ መደረጉ ተንሰፀ"

"Ethiopia rejects Washington Renaissance Dam negotiation documents" (Feb 6, 2020)

## Another news story sated as:

"The African Union (AU) is holding a mini-summit to discuss contentious megadam Ethiopia is building on the Blue Nile River, which has triggered a major diplomatic standoff with downstream neighbors Egypt and Sudan." (July 21, 2020)

"Foreign and irrigation ministers of the three nations met last week and delegated experts from their countries to discuss and agree on an approach so the talks could be fruitful." (Feb 5, 2020)

"Ministers from the three African nations engaged in week-long talks brokered by the African Union, the European Union and the World Bank." (Feb 7, 20)

"The UN Security Council is due to discuss it for the first time, as some fear it could lead to conflict." (July 21, 2020)

In their news reports, ETV and Al Jazeera expressed the responsibility of various players in many of their articles. Almost all responsibility framing news claims that the negotiations by participating entities achieved substantial headway in settling Ethiopia's and Egypt's disputes.

### 4.3 Discussion of the Findings

The study looks at how Ethiopian Television and Al Jazeera portrayed the Ethio-Egyptian dispute about the GERD water filling. ETV and Al Jazeera covered the dam water-filling news stories. They also used several frames to frame the topic. In the time period considered, the dominating frame for ETV was human interest frame, while Al Jazeera's dominant frame was the conflict frame. Officials from the government were the most often used sources in both media. This section connects the current research findings to the framing theory and literature.

#### **Objective One**

## 4.3.1 Content Framing

A news content frame, according to Gamson and Modigliani (1987), is an essential structuring conception or plot that lends meaning to a developing strip of proceedings. The frame conveys the substance of the problem, as well as the source of the debate. The ability to see content or news frames as needed to transform meaningless and unrecognizable events into identifiable events is a central aspect of the news frame. The written, spoken, graphics, and visual communication modalities that journalists employ to contextualize an event, issue, and person inside one or more stories are referred to as news frames or media frames by these researchers (Brüggemann, 2014; D'Angelo 2010). In practice, news articles in all media - print, broadcast, and online - combine various modalities regularly. The researcher then divided the content frame into two categories: news stories and visuals. The study focused on two television networks, ETV and Al Jazeera. Television is a mix of audio and visual content; it is significant to examine the visual frame, story writing style, and word choice in each news script about the Ethio-Egyptian disagreement on GERD water-filling news reports.

#### 4.3.1.1 Stories Framing

According to the data presented above, there was a difference in word choice in story framing between ETV and Aljazeera news stories on the Ethiopian-Egyptian disagreement over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) water filling. Words choice carries a lot of weight when it comes to reporting news (Riker, 1986).

More than half of ETV's news stories about the Ethiopian-Egyptian dispute over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) water filling were prejudiced or biased, whereas

Aljazeera's news stories were impartial and biased. Bias can creep in any time and sometimes the use of words while framing reportage clearly tells us about the editorial policy of a news channel. When a news story highlights one side's chosen framing in a disagreement while disregarding or disparaging the other sides, it is called slant (Riker, 1986).

The reason for ETV's partiality about GERD is, according to the findings, that it is a national issue, and the media is also a national medium that serves the public interest. Mainstream news organizations contend that by hewing to objectivity norms (see e.g., Bennett, 2009) they ensure equivalent treatment to competing frames and prevent their reports from slanting. However, contrary to journalists' self-perceptions, slanted framing is common. Nevertheless, the rationale is that the media must be autonomous in terms of media ethics. According to Siebert (1956), the national media's primary job is to serve the public; in doing so, therefore, they must also provide accurate, unbiased, and fair information. As a result, journalists must make an effort to acquire facts and present them in a stylish, factual, and easily understandable manner. They must also provide an example of honesty, integrity, and tenacity. The media must act ethically (Herbert, 2001).

As previously mentioned, Al Jazeera's coverage of the GERD water-filling conflict between Ethiopia and Egypt was neutral and biased. Meaning when it is neutral for Ethiopia toward Egypt, it is biased or vice-versa. The reported news was both neutrality and partiality reflected in the wording. This indicates that Al Jazeera on the neutrality of reporting is an accepted way in media ethics. On the contrary it biasedness cannot go with media ethics.

In other words, when a news story is considered to be fair and balanced in its word choice, it indicates that it should be neutral and without bias; or that the journalist is required to give both sides of the issue a fair hearing (Frost, 2000).

In the story framing section, the researcher examined the two television networks' story writing styles in their coverage of the Ethio-Egypt disagreement over the GERD water-filling. There was a substantial diversity in news story writing styles, as evidenced by the data. More than half of the reports of the ETV's news stories were descriptive. According to findings of the study, virtually all ETV's news reports stated the opinions of government officials from both nations on the issue. On the contrary, Al Jazeera tried to present the conflict of both countries on the dam

water-filing in argumentative way. Al Jazeera employed this type of writing perhaps to strengthen its story development of the issue from the two sides.

#### 4.3.1.1. Visual Framing

Visual framing was the other type of content framing examined in this study. Because the study focused on the impact of television news broadcasts on GERD water filling from the Ethio-Egyptian dispute, it is crucial to consider how television news production combines spoken information with still pictures and moving visuals during news reporting especially in conflict news. According to the findings of the study, both ETV and Al Jazeera used moving images more than still photographs and graphics to broadcast the Ethio-Egyptian conflict over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) water filling news. ETV's visual usage tried to show the public's attitudes towards the dam's water-filling and its impact on the lives of Ethiopians. However, Aljazeera's visual usage portrayed the lifestyle of the rural parts of Ethiopia compared to the Egyptian lifestyle. Further, it predicts the effects of the dam visually, because of that Al Jazeera is better or powerful in framing the discourse.

According to Coleman (2010), articulating the visual frames meaning is dependent on one degree or another on spoken and written language. Yet, news framing researchers identify a visual frame as a special type of modality-based news frame. Also, researchers continue to figure out how visual frames affect audiences (Arpan et al. 2006; Geise & Baden 2015). Therefore, in the case of the GERD conflict between Ethiopia and Egypt the visual frame used by the two media is in a way that can trigger the conflict by showing all effects of GERD for Ethiopians and Egyptians in many ways.

#### **Objective two**

#### 4.3.2 Kinds of Framing

The most crucial consideration in media framing is how an issue was framed (in this case the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the GERD water-filling). It is expected that their presentation of facts/information about the problem will include some parts of it that will be emphasized and excluded at the expense of others. In the process of selecting some topics as important, other issues are discarded. Once a topic has been selected, which aspects of that topic are to be emphasized, and which are minimized or excluded is largely left up to the journalist (Kendal, 2005). It is all about

the framing aspect of media, and this research attempted to look at how ETV and Al Jazeera presented the Ethio-Egypt dam water-filling conflict.

The findings show that throughout their coverage of the Ethio-Egyptian disagreement over the GERD water-filling process, ETV and Al Jazeera used five different news frames. These are the conflict frame, the human interest frame, the economic consequence frame, the mutual benefit frame, and the attribution of responsibility frame.

#### 4.3.2.1 Conflict frame

The conflict frame was the second most commonly used frame by ETV and Al Jazeera during their coverage of the Ethio-Egyptian disagreement on the GERD water-filling. Al Jazeera utilized 26.7 percent of the conflict framing in the 30 news stories that were evaluated in this study, whereas ETV used 13.3 percent.

These findings verified the media's tendency to exaggerate and exacerbate the conflict and its consequences for the two countries. Al Jazeera presented a variety of competing viewpoints, indicating that the television station had utilized conflict framing in its reporting of the Ethio-Egyptian controversy on GERD water filling and related topics. ETV, on the other hand, seemed to disregard the conflict frame. Using a conflict frame, Al Jazeera was able to communicate one party's or individual's dissatisfaction and disappointment over the other, as well as portrayed two or more sides of the Ethio-Egyptian conflict over GERD water filling.

Furthermore, the disagreement between the Ethiopian and Egyptian governments was reported by Al Jazeera as a conflict frame. It detailed the Ethiopian government's decision on GERD water filling, as well as Egypt's dissatisfaction with the Ethiopian government's choice. In terms of Egypt, Al Jazeera, particularly in its reporting, as the above presented news showed, allowed for the coverage of various effects of the dam water-filling on Egyptians' economy, development, and politics.

A conflict frame, according to Scheufele (1999), is a description of the conflict between competing interest groups. Considering this, media employ the conflict frame to depict conflict or disagreement between individuals and institutions as a method of attracting the public's attention (Semetko and Valkenbur, 2000). The researcher agrees with Semetko and Valkenbu idea that the Ethiopia and Egyptian conflict on the GERD water filing attracts not only the

attention of Egyptians or Ethiopian but also the world's attention. Furthermore, conflict frames are particularly effective in projecting disagreements, and at best, these frames amplify the dissemination of information across many media platforms.

According to Cottle (2006), the media play a central role in performing the mediatization of conflicts. Specifically, in relation to the role of the media in conflict and how conflict is shaped, set out, and framed in the media indicated that the media mostly play two opposite interventions. These are either positive or negative (terms such as constructive or destructive, escalating or deescalating the conflict. The researcher agreed that the media's role is either negative in inciting and motivating people about the conflicts or positive in ameliorating the situation of the conflicts and bringing people to peace are determined based on the way that they (the media) report on conflicts. Researchers, for example, Galtung (2000), Lynch & McGoldrick (2005), and Reuben (2009) cited in Mulatu A. (2017) mention that the media's intervention in contributing to either escalating or de-escalating the conflicts can be examined based on the news frames used and/or the language choices when reporting on the cases. Therefore, both ETV and Al Jazeera used to frame the Ethiopia and Egypt conflict on the GERD water-filling in a way that grasps the audience's attention and framed it in a way that can escalate the conflict between them. In other words, the way the reporting of the conflict between the two countries was exaggerated; by focusing on the conflict and offering one-sided views on their news reports.

#### 4.3.2.2 Human interest frame

The human interest frame was the first dominating frame for ETV, accounting for almost a half of the total (43.3 percent). On the other hand, the human interest frame was presented as the second dominating frame of Al Jazeera (23.3 percent). In the news, ETV used more human sentiments to demonstrate the benefits of GERD for Ethiopians. It mostly concentrated on people-oriented news and their grievances during the dam water-filling issue. Furthermore, due to the GERD water-filling, ETV remained mute towards the Egyptian people. It mainly overlooks the dam's water-filling positive effects towards Ethiopians instead of focusing on the Egyptian sentiments. The human interest frame was Al Jazeera's second dominating frame, according to the findings. It aims to convey the news by comparing the reactions of Egyptians and Ethiopians to the dam's water-filling.

According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), a human interest frame is used to describe a news story with a human face that is prioritized over other factors. Semetko and Valkenburg stated that the human interest frame appears more frequently in television news than in print media. Both ETV's and Al Jazeera's coverage of the human interest frame was connected with Semetko and Valkenburg's study in this regard. In comparison, ETV's coverage of the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the GERD water-filling news the human interest frame was unrelated to Semetko and Valkenburg to some extent because it was mute towards the Egyptian people.

Since, in the case of the Ethio-Egyptian disagreement over the GERD water-filling, the human interest frame was inadequate in ETV because it did not include the Egyptians' feelings; when ETV wanted to consider the Egyptians, it concentrated on the authorities' perspective. On the other hand, Al Jazeera opted to emphasize human interest in their news by comparing both countries' people's feelings.

## 4.3.2.3 Economic consequence frame

The economic consequences frame was the third most popular frame in the study, accounting for 28.85 percent coverage on average. Al Jazeera had more coverage of the Ethiopian and Egyptian conflict on the GERD water filling, with 23.7 percent of the news framed in the economic frame, while ETV had 20 percent of the overall news framed.

The economic news frame focused on the GERD's influence on the two countries' economic growth. When an issue or event has wide impact on finance, it adds value to the news, and its economic consequences are often vital (Garber, 1993, cited in Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

Economic impact is an important news value, and media uses this frame to make an issue relevant to the public (d'Haenens & de Lange, 2001). Furthermore, when crises involve larger economic consequence, the frame will be more common in the news (Nijkrake, et al., 2015).

Al Jazeera's report on the dam's water-filling has the benefit of helping the people of both nations build their economies, and it has highlighted a distinction in ensuring long-term economic development on an individual, community, and country level. However, Al Jazeera news broadcasts have revealed the positive and negative economic consequences of the GERD for Ethiopia and Egypt based on content analysis of the economic frame.

In other words, if it covers the dam's beneficial impact on Ethiopia, it also represents the dam's negative impact on Egypt. On the contrary, ETV presented the GERD's water-filling news economic frame in its news reports with a positive effect or advantages of the dam towards Ethiopia, which includes: hydropower electricity intended for use by industry, agriculture, and services; fishery, tourism, and navigation; and other benefits of the dam was increasing Ethiopia's water storage capacity. Furthermore, the methods in which the news is reported encourages citizens to support GERD.

#### 4.3.2.4 Mutual benefits frame

The fourth mainframe, mutual benefit, accounted for 15% of the total, on average. Even while their mutual contribution to the dam's water filling news reports mutual advantages showed some differences between them; the selected broadcast media portrayed the GERD as a mutual benefit project. Furthermore, the two media stations praised the colossal dam for its good externalities over Egypt and Ethiopia, claiming that it will play a critical part in resolving the country's enormous issues, such as seasonal floods and silt accumulation, and other benefits of the GERD. On the other hand, Al Jazeera has portrayed the dam as a mutual benefit with 16.7% of the total news reports. Mutual benefit is linked to solidarity and equality among countries and implies that international co-operation arrangements have win-win outcomes benefitting all partners involved (OECD, 2016). Therefore, it is important to recognize this reality and thus co-basin Nile states need a comprehensive, equitable, and legal water regime that might avoid potential inter-state conflict as well as create an environment of confidence-building among riparian through consistent follow-up and forward better solutions to their common challenges and interests.

In contrast to Al Jazeera, ETV assigned 13.3 percent of its total news items to the mutual benefit frame, which is the lowest amount. News from ETV praised the dam for its good impacts on Ethiopia and Egypt concerning the joint advantages of GERD. To put it another way, both ETV and Al Jazeera presented the GERD as a possible mutual benefit for Eastern Nile basin states in general and Ethiopia in particular.

#### 4.3.2.5 Attribution of responsibility

ETV and Al Jazeera used the fifth frame, attribution of responsibility, with 13.3 percent each. Both ETV and Al Jazeera's news broadcasts used a responsibility framing to imply that everyone

involved in the GERD water-filling issue between Ethiopia and Egypt should react to the conflict. This frame was mostly utilized by the media to indicate what actions the governments perform. The government and the general public were cited as potential mediators in the crisis.

However, the importance of government-level solutions was emphasized. The media emphasized GERD-related concerns, such as an impartial observer's suggestions for remedies and raising awareness. In general, both ETV and Al Jazeera utilized attribution of responsibility in their GERD water-filling news stories, which enabled the news to attribute responsibility to the government and other concerned bodies. Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) study revealed that the predominance of attribution of responsibility frame in media suggests the importance and potential influence of political culture and content on the framing problem and topics in the news (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

In their news report ETV and Al Jazeera, the Ethiopian and Egyptian governments were encouraged to take specific responsibility for resolving the GERD water-filling conflicts; the general public was also made responsible, in addition to the government. Furthermore, their reports held the government and related entities accountable for resolving the GERD water-filling issue between Ethiopia and Egypt.

#### **Objective three**

#### 4.3.3 Tone reflected

Tone, which in framing literature is also designated as valence, may be positive, neutral or negative (Brunken, 2006). If tone is applied to the concept of framing, it has been found that some frames are indicative of 'good' versus 'bad' dichotomy and implicitly carry positive or negative elements, or both (de Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2003).

This study also used the positive, negative, mixed, and neutral tone of ETV and Al Jazeera in covering the Ethiopia and Egypt conflict on the GERD water-filling news. Tone influences audience members to think in a certain way about a particular issue. It appears that if the content is negatively framed, people tend to have more negative attitude towards the topic. At the same time, if the content is positively framed, the audience tends to have more positive attitude towards the issue (Brunken, 2006).

The tone of news was found to be significantly different across the two media. More than half of the news on ETV was presented in a favorable light. In other words, in virtually every story, the ETV has benefited the dam (positively). Whereas 20% of its news had a mixed tone and 10% had a negative tone.

On the contrary, Al Jazeera also covered the dam positively to some extent. The majority of its reports were in a mixed tone towards the GERD. On the other hand, Al Jazeera systematically mentions any impact of the dam on downstream countries. It seems that the media was aware of the mutual benefits of the dam, however they chose silence due to historical and political points of view. The other Al Jazeera's tone was negative counts as 26.7% that supplied its fraction of stories (negatively) against the dam. In terms of media tone, the dam was presented in a positive and mixed way.

As a result, this data implies that the tone of the selected media regarding the dam's water-filling is different. The news on ETV was more positive; however, Al Jazeera's coverage of the dam's water-filling was reported in positive and mixed way. The positive tone of news on television networks implies that the two countries are on the right route to resolving their dispute. The mixed tone also demonstrates that the media outlets are neither critical of nor supportive of Ethiopia and Egypt regarding GERD's water filling issue.

#### 4.3.4 Theme of story

The GERD continued to generate lots of conflict in Ethiopia and Egypt from its construction to the Dam's water-filling. Of course, it is not an exclusive concern of Ethiopia. Rather it included foreign policy directions/strategy of the remaining river Nile riparian countries in general and downstream countries in particular. This study tried to investigate the themes of ETV and Al Jazeera news reports of the GERD water-filling conflict between Ethiopia and Egypt. Based on the findings, the themes are diplomacy, sovereignty rights, legal process, mixed, and other themes in their news reports.

On the coverage of the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the GERD water filling in ETV and Al Jazeera, both ETV (43.3percent) and Al Jazeera (23.3 percent) reports themes were sovereignty rights. The ETV news only reflected the sovereign right of Ethiopia on the Nile water whereas Al Jazeera tries to balance the sovereignty rights of Ethiopia and Egypt.

Diplomacy was a common theme in their coverage of Ethiopia's decision to fill the dam; it is understandable to assume that the coverage of both ETV (16.7 percent) and Al Jazeera (20 percent) news broadcasts were the diplomacy theme. Each of their reports recommended the diplomatic effects of the two governments on their conflict.

The legal process theme was the other theme in the study, accounting for 20% of ETV's report and 36.7 percent of Al Jazeera's. The legal process theme appears in both television news stories with some differences, as shown. It is worth noting that the Nile co-basin governments are still debating on how to develop and enforce a legal framework for the use of Nile River water. That is because riparian countries are still arguing over how to build a legally enforceable framework that allows everyone to benefit equitably from the Nile's waters. Nevertheless, the present stalemate in the discussion between upstream and downstream states has ultimately turned out to be positive, as the African Union interfered and the governments of Egypt and Ethiopia, unlike past regimes, came up with new initiatives to equitably share the water.

In their news reports, ETV accounts for 20%, and Al Jazeera accounts for 16.7%, of the news, tried to reflect a mixed theme. Meaning there were overlaps in the themes of news. Besides, Al Jazeera adds another category of theme with 3.3 percent in its report. Without the above mentioned themes.

#### **Objective four**

## 4.3.5 Type of Source the story used

ETV and Al Jazeera used various sources to frame the Ethio-Egypt disagreement over the GERD water-filling news reports. Government officials, experts, news agencies, mixed, and other sources were utilized as sources, although government officials were the most prevalent. According to findings of this investigation, ETV and Al Jazeera employed government officials' sources more than any other. It is conceivable to claim that the selected media's usage of sources appears to be similar, yet the manner they use sources differs.

As a result, official's sources were utilized in these media in diverse ways. To put it another way, these news organizations have been reporting on the GERD water-filling controversy based on the information provided by authorities. This shows that Al Jazeera makes an effort to balance its information sources. However, ETV cites government officials' sources for Ethiopians,

especially the Ministry of Water, Irrigation, and Energy (MoWIE), while for Egyptians, it cites the Egyptian government in general. According to Entman (1993), news organizations rely significantly on official's sources for information under certain circumstances, such as when government officials have credible information and are in a position to make judgments. Therefore, it indicates the accessibility of information and the credibility of the information were the main reasons for using government sources. However, according to Graber (2002), excessive reliance on government officials might compromise the media's independence, making them agents of manipulation or propaganda by such authoritative sources. In our instance, the goal of manipulation or propaganda may be to protect and reinforce the Ethiopian, Egyptian, and Sudanese governments' policies and tactics regarding the river Nile's water use in general, and the Renaissance Dam in particular. So this leads to a lack of balance and impartiality in their coverage.

Experts were the other main source of GERD water-filling news reports, accounting for 20% of ETV's and 6.7 percent of Al Jazeera's stories. Experts are used in news reports to help build the stories and raise awareness among the audience about the subject. They utilized specialists as a source in the GERD water-filling issue between the two nations for pieces of aid in reducing differences by providing scientific descriptions in this situation because the experts included water analysts, lawmakers, economics, politicians and other professionals.

News organizations are also sources of information, with ETV accounting for 20% and Al Jazeera for 6.7 percent. ETV referenced news agencies more than Al Jazeera, according to the findings. The remaining sources were mixed, which is a blend of the sources indicated above, accounting for 6.7 percent for ETV and 26% for Al Jazeera. It revealed a significant variation in their approaches to this source. Last but not least, there was another source, which included various people from both nations, such as religious leaders, farmers, and others. With some variation, they used this source in their news stories. ETV received 13.3% of the data, while Al Jazeera received 10% of the total.

According to the findings, both media channels leaned heavily on official government sources. In the GERD water-filling news stories, Al Jazeera used both Ethiopian and Egypt community sources in the news reports; however ETV solely used Ethiopian community sources.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### SUMMARY CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

### **5.1. Summary**

As study the titled the Framing of the Ethio-Egypt Conflict on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam's (GERD) Water Filling: ETV and Al-Jazeera in Focus. The study investigated how the national and international broadcast media framed the Ethiopia and Egypt conflict on the GERD first-round water-filling. This study was specifically initiated to examine the Framing of the Ethio-Egypt Conflict on the Dam's (GERD) Water Filling: reporting trends of the two national and international media by employing four major research questions. These are; How are content framings of ETV and Aljazeera GERD first-round water-filling news reports in terms of word choice, types of story writing, and visual framing?, What types of framing do ETV and Aljazeera use when they are covering GERD first-round water-filling stories?, How are the main messages of the media emphasized in terms tone in the GERD first-round water filling stories when they are presented by ETV and Aljazeera? What are sources of stories quoted on GERD first-round water filling issues by ETV and Aljazeera? In addition, framing theory was used as theoretical framework. It was used to answer the abovementioned research questions, guide the methods, and helps to present the discussion and interpretation of the data clearly.

The study was conducted on ETV Amharic and Al Jazeera English archive news during the period from January 15, 2020 up to August 15, 2020. The research employed both quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze the contents of news with the inductive approach. The quantitative content analysis was conducted to count and measure the water-filling dispute coverage given by each media outlets in terms of the content frame, theme, tone, kinds of frames, and sources used, while the qualitative content analysis (textual analysis) was employed to identify types of frames used by the selected television stations, namely, human interest, economic consequences, mutual benefits, attribution of responsibility and conflict frames were identified and presented clearly.

In the case of story framing, the finding shows that ETV was biased and Al Jazeera was both neutral and biased in the categories of word choice. The reason for ETV's partiality about GERD could be because the issue was national concern. In other words, the news frame of the conflict

can bias the audience in favor of one party or one solution over the other, and hence it can intensify the conflict or cool it down. According to journalistic/media ethics, even if the issue is of national concern, the national media's primary job is to serve the public; in doing so, therefore, they must also provide accurate, unbiased, and fair information, and media should be independent. Al Jazeera's word choice was mixed and to favor both of them or both neutral and biased. The neutral news writing/word choice is preferable on conflict reporting and goes with media ethics.

The story writing style of ETV was descriptive, and it was simply describing the dispute, whereas Al Jazeera's was argumentative, presenting both sides' interests in a way that can aggravate the conflict. When we look at ETV's visual usage, it tried to show the public's attitude towards the dam's water-filling and its impact on the lives of Ethiopians. However, Aljazeera's visual usage portrayed the lifestyle of the rural parts of Ethiopia compared to the Egyptian lifestyle. Furthermore, it predicted the effects of the dam visually.

The selected broadcast media have framed the dam's water-filling through multiple types of frames: however, their respective dominant frames were different. ETV's dominant frame was the human interest frame. It suggests that ETV has mainly framed the GERD in terms of public interest in the dam's water-filling and its benefit for the public, whereas Al Jazeera's dominant frame was the conflict frame. Al Jazeera was able to communicate one party's or individual's dissatisfaction and disappointment to another. It was clear in the news reports of Ethiopian government's decision on GERD water filling as well as Egypt's dissatisfaction with the Ethiopian government's choice. The second dominant frame of ETV was the economic consequences frame. It implies that the media has mainly framed the GERD in terms of its actual and potential economic impacts on citizens, community, and the country in particular as well as riparian countries in general.

For Aljazeera, economic consequences and human interest frames were the second dominant frames. The human interest frame was used to convey the news by comparing the reactions of Egyptians and Ethiopians to the dam's water-filling. The economic consequence frame of Al Jazeera news broadcasts has revealed the positive and negative economic consequences of the GERD for Ethiopia and Egypt. Mutual benefit frame and attribution of responsibility were employed equally as third and fourth major frames by ETV and Al Jazeera. They framed the

GERD water-filling as a potential mutual benefit for Eastern Nile basin states in general. The attribution of responsibility largely revolved around who should take responsibility for the conflict on the GERD water-filling.

Regarding the tone of the stories, an overriding coverage of ETV was positive in tone towards the GERD water-filling; it has favored the dam (positively) in its stories. Similarly, Al Jazeera's reports were in a positive and mixed tone. It tried to reflect the dam positively, and at the same time portrayed systematically mentioning any impact of the dam on downstream countries. The other reflected tone was the negative tone in both media outlets; however, compared to ETV, Al Jazeera used a more negative tone in its reports.

The study identified themes of the water-filling dispute news stories in the selected media. ETV used the sovereignty rights theme as a central theme, while Al Jazeera gave the sovereignty right less than ETV. It shows that ETV's reporting on the GERD gave more of Ethiopia's sovereignty rights. In diplomacy theme, both media outlets were nearly similar in their reporting. The news reporting was focused on the diplomatic process of the dispute. In other words, Al Jazeera news reports addressed the legal process of GERD than ETV. In the case of sources used, ETV and Al Jazeera used government officials as major sources. Accordingly, it seems evident that the target media were heavily dependent on government officials for their sources of news stories.

### 5. 2. Conclusion

Generally, with regards to the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the GERD first-round water filling, how the two media news frames are discussed in the previous chapter. Based on the findings, the researchers come up with the following conclusions.

In general, the study findings revealed that the broadcast media framing of the Ethio-Egypt conflict on the GERD first-round water-filling by the selected national and international media tended to be in favor of the media's respective country's national interests and government policy orientations over the handling of the GERD water-filling. Therefore, they lacked balance and impartiality in their reporting through their content frame, kinds of framing, tone reflected, and themes of the story. Imbalanced and bias reporting can be a means of aggravating conflicts.

### 5. 3. Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions, the researcher suggests the following recommendations:

- Since the GERD water-filling conflict between Ethiopia and Egypt is a current and hot issue, the selected national and international media could be instruments of conflict resolution when the information they present is reliable, and represents diverse views. They should be the kind of media that uphold accountability and expose impropriety.
- Not only in conflict reporting but based on media ethics media news reports should be impartial and balanced.
- Given the critical role that the media can play in bringing all Nile Basin riparian countries
  together and utilizing their shared water resources equitably and reasonably, the selected
  media must first have sufficient information about all Nile riparian countries and the
  public's concern about the issue. So this knowledge can help them be impartial and
  balanced in their reports.
- When it comes to shared concerns like GERD, the selected media should focus on mutual
  advantages and good economic implications rather than conflict; because it may lead
  people on the wrong path by providing nationalistic, one-sided, and inaccurate
  information, which can worsen the GERD water-filling.
- Ethiopian Television and Al Jazeera emphasized official government sources. It is
  assumed that viewers were unable to obtain accurate information regarding the EthioEgyptian disagreement over the GERD water-filling. As a result, the two media outlets
  should use a variety of information sources including experts.
- In covering the Ethio-Egypt disagreement over the GERD water-filling, ETV news concentrated on the positive tone, while Al Jazeera news focused on the mixed tone. The audiences may understand the positive and neutral sides of the GERD water-filling dilemma though not the negative side. As a result, ETV and Al Jazeera should report both the negative and good aspects of the GERD water-filling in a constructive and fair manner.
- As indicated in the quantitative data, many of the news of both media presented slanted and biased reports which have the potential to incite conflicts; thus, the media should adhere to professional responsibilities of minimizing harm.
- In general, all media should report conflict topics such as GERD in a way that undermines the conflict and recognizes reconciliation efforts; thus, journalists should give special attention to peace-oriented reporting.

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# Appendices

## Appendix A

## **Coding Sheet**

Coding Sheets for the Research Study a Comparative Framing Analysis of Ethio-Egypt conflict on the GERD first-round water-filling in ETV and Al Jazeera.

Code No
1. Content Framing
1.1 Stories Framing
1.1.1. Word choice
- Bias
- Neutral
1.1.2. Story writing ways
- Argumentative
- Descriptive
1.2. Visual framing
- Pictures
- Graphics
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2. Kinds of Frames
- Conflict frame
- Human interest frame
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- Attribution of responsibility frame
3. Tone of stories
- Positive tone
- Negative tone
- Mixed tone

- Neutral tone
4. Themes of the stories
- Diplomacy theme
- Sovereignty rights theme
- Legal process theme
- Mixed theme
- Other theme
5. Sources used
- Government officials
- Experts
- News agencies
- Mixed
- Other

## Appendix B

## **Coding Guide**

Content framing is a basic organizing idea or story that gives meaning to a sequence of events as it unfolds. For this study content frame was divided into two categories: news stories and visuals frames. Then story framing was classified into two: word choice (bias/ neutral) and writing way (argumentative and descriptive). The visual frame also classified into three: pictures, graphics, and videos.

### **Kinds of framing**

Frames are the different kinds of frames used in the selected media. They are conflict, human interest, economic consequence, mutual benefits, and attribution of responsibility frames.

**Conflict frame:** - emphasizes on conflict laden coverage of the GERD water-filling between riparian countries, individuals and groups within a state and other possible actors. In other words, if the story caters disagreements or opposing statements of concerned parties over the issue.

**Human interest frame:** when a story brings a detailed human feeling and their testimonies about the dam's water-filling or an emotional/empathic angle to the presentation of the GERD water-filling

**Economic consequences frame:** focuses on the positive and negative economic consequences of the dam' water-filling on an individual, community, country or riparian countries.

**Mutual benefit frame:** when the story suggests about the potential mutual benefit of the dam for Nile basin riparian countries in general and Eastern Nile basin states in particular.

**Attribution responsibility frame:** suggests the responsible body, institution, country, or a collective of countries to solve the problem.

**Mixed frame:** it means that if the news was exclusively framed to address one or more frames or if there were overlaps on the frame.

Other - any type of frame other than the above mentioned ones was coded under this category.

## **Tone of story**

**Positive tone:** if the story predominantly appreciated, favored, and reinforced the dam as righteous as well as one that mainly focuses on giving examples of its positive impacts.

**Negative tone:** if the story predominantly criticized, blamed, and questioned the GERD water-filling for its current and potential problems.

**Mixed tone:** if the story has mentioned both the dam's water-filling positive and negative impacts fairly, accompanied with concrete facts unlike the above (i.e., 'positive' and 'negative' tones) imbalance or extreme positions.

**Neutral:** if the story has described nothing either about the dam's water-filling positive or negative impacts.

#### Theme of story

**Diplomacy:** emphasizes on the necessity of cordial diplomatic activities among riparian states in order to benefit the Nile waters reasonably and equally.

**Sovereignty rights**: if the story revolves around 'propagation' of the sovereignty right of Ethiopia to fill the dam and the same is true for other upstream states.

**Legal process:** stresses on the necessity of comprehensive legal process to utilize the Nile waters equally.

**Mixed:** if the story has more than one theme, it included under in this category.

**Other:** any theme other than the above mentioned theme(s) was included under this category. In addition, unclear or ambiguous theme(s) of the story was/were also grouped to this category.

#### Types of source used

Government officials: this stands for those who hold public office in different government administration including government officials.

**News agencies**: News agencies are corporations and/or national and international agencies.

**Experts:** is one who represents neither government nor private institutions (e.g. Experts on geopolitics, hydrologists (who studies earth's water), Economist and news analysts.

**Mixed:** is a combination of two or more sources.

**Other:** it includes residents of both countries and any sources other than the above mentioned.