



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION

Comparative Media Coverage Analysis of GERD in Ethiopian Herald and Al Aharam of Egypt between February 2019 and August 2020

By: Fekadu Wubete

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts in Public Relations and Strategic Communication

Addis Ababa. Ethiopia

June, 2021

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DECLARATION

I, Fekadu Wubete, hereby declare that the thesis work entitled, ‘*Comparative media coverage analysis of GERD in Ethiopian Herald and Al Aharam of Egypt between February 2019 and August 2020*’, submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication to Addis Ababa University School of Journalism and Communication, Department of Public Relations and Strategic Communication, is the outcome of my own effort and study and that all sources of materials used for the study have been duly acknowledged. The matter embodied in this thesis work has not been submitted for any degree in this or any other university to the best of my knowledge and belief.

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ABSTRACT

Abay (called Nile in foreign lands) is the longest river in the world crossing 6,700 kilometers through eleven riparian countries of Africa. Even though Ethiopia is the top most contributor of Nile water, so far, Ethiopia utilizes less than one percent of the potential of Nile for irrigation and hydroelectric power and it is faced with severe drought. However, the issue of water allocation in the Nile Basin has been in quandary, particularly between Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia since Ethiopia launched the construction of GERD on 2 April, 2011. Accordingly, this study has employed comparative document analysis method to identify the difference in coverage of GERD between Herald and Al Ahram newspapers. To this end, the study has judiciously selected 156 samples of articles (78 from each newspaper). The time covers between February 2019 to August 2020 in which GERD diplomacy was uniquely intensified. To this end, mass communication and media coverage theories and explanations are thoroughly discussed. The research employed purposive sampling and qualitative method of investigation. The findings show that Al-Ahram prioritizes coverage of negotiation followed by issues of politics and diplomacy. Nevertheless, it frequently employs coverage of provocation, where as it gives less attention to economic benefit and cooperation aspect of coverage. In the contrary, Ethiopian Herald gives major attention to coverage of cooperation followed by politics and economy. The research showed that the GERD media coverage of the two newspapers in Ethiopia and Egypt is completely contradicting based on their interest to cover. The study has found that Ethiopian Herald and the Egyptian Al Ahram newspapers covered contradicting issues on the issues of GERD negotiation.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AA	Al Ahram
CFA	Cooperative Framework Agreement
BBC	British Broadcasting Service
CNN	Cable News Network
DoPs	Declaration of Principles
EH	Ethiopian Herald
GERD	Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam
MeTEC	Metal and Engineering Corporation
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MSNBC	Microsoft/National Broadcasting Company
NBI	Nile Basin Initiative
IPR	International Public Relations
UNESC	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Abay is the major tributary of Nile, which is the longest river in the world crossing 6,700 kilometers through eleven riparian countries of north and eastern Africa; Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Eritrea, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Egypt and South Sudan (Ejigu,2016).

Ethiopia is the top most contributor of Nile water(86%), paradoxically, so far, Ethiopia utilizes less than one percent of the Nile's potential for irrigation and hydroelectric power and it is faced with severe drought. In line with this, "one of Africa's cruelest ironies: the land that feeds the Nile is unable to feed itself", which is literally translated as "የኃባይን ልጅ ውሃ ጠግው" (Debay , 2008).

The issue of water allocation in the Nile Basin has been a serious bone of contention, particularly between Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia. Currently, there is no enforceable multi-lateral consensus on the utilization of Nile that binds all the Nile Riparian states. However, the 1929 and 1959 water allocation agreements were entered between Egypt and Sudan, mainly with the aim of securing the interest of these countries.

Virtually, Egypt and Sudan strongly claim that other riparian states should not undertake development activities that directly or indirectly reduce the volume of Nile water without their consent, although nearly all of the Nile water reaching Sudan and Egypt originates in Ethiopia. In this regard, Debay (2008) emphasizes that "Sudan's contribution to the Nile water is minimal, and Egypt contributes

virtually nothing. This unequal allocation of the Nile water among the riparian states has been one of the ambiguities in the region`.

Finally, Ethiopia launched the construction of GERD on 2 April, 2011. The late Ethiopian Premier explained the importance of the project to eradicate poverty and called on Ethiopians to provide assistances and domestically funding the project. He also indicated the difficult choice to fund such mega project from a domestic source due to obstruction of international fund opportunities (Henok, 2016).

Nevertheless, soon after the coming in to power on August 2019, the new PM has warned that, taking the progress of GERD in to account, the current pace of construction is so slow that it could take another decade to finish it. Following the inauguration of the new PM, GERD General Manager Simegnew Bekele was killed on July 26, 2018.

As nearly as the mid of July, 2020, the tensions among Egypt, Sudan, and Ethiopia over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) on the Abay river have escalated, particularly after Ethiopia announced that it had started filling the GERD's reservoir, an action contrary to Egypt's mandate that the dam not be filled without a legally binding agreement over the equitable allocation of the Nile's waters.<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/Africa-in-focus/2020/08/05>.

Hence, Egypt has also escalated its call to the international community to get involved. Already, the United States has threatened to withhold development aid to Ethiopia if the conflict is not resolved and an agreement reached.

Currently, the negotiation about Dam filling is at stake. And the media at home are publicizing the opinions of the public and various political parties that WB and USA may not work as neutral mediators. They strengthen their proposition

that USA is not a neutral mediator and it may work in favor of Egypt as it has bigger interest in Egypt than in Ethiopia. As a result, political parties have warned the government not to let the project as a US bargaining chip to realize its embattled policy in the Middle East (Reporter/February 14, 2019).

In this regard, Egypt has employed a multi-layer negotiating strategy. It consists of trying to bring the upstream country in line with its wishes, if this does not work, the upstream country is isolated, and Egypt goes ahead unilaterally with its water development plans. In the NBI, the Egyptian strategy also holds on to the support of external actors (World Bank, US) to support its interests (Yakob , 2007).

Cognizant of the outcry and pressure from the public, the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) had issued a statement on February 29, 2020 to notify the US government to include all the negotiated points and the context with in which the negotiation was carried out; for fear Ethiopia's interest may be hurt due to delicate nature of the negotiation and possible abuse by USA and Egypt for their own benefit (MFA, Feb. 29, 2020).

In addition, the Ethiopian delegation has stated that it has faced so much pressure during the negotiation sponsored by USA. They have revealed that USA observers have urged them to agree and instruct them the unbearable consequence for Ethiopia if they do not agree as per their dictation. A case in point, Ethiopia's chief negotiator, Dr. Sileshi Bekele, Ethiopian Minister of Water, Irrigation and Energy, said that the role of USA had started first as an observer and later turned to facilitator and decision maker which is solely an intrusion in the sovereignty of Ethiopia (EBS, Mar. 8, 2020).

Lately things have gone tense. US Department of Treasury on 28 February 2020 stated that consistent with the principles set out in the Declaration of Principle (DOP), and in particular the principles of not causing significant harm to

downstream countries, final testing and filling should not take place without an agreement: <https://home.treasury.gov/news/secretary-statements>.

No doubt, media houses play an important role to give information and shape the opinion of the public about the day to day progress of projects including GERD. Hence, the difference being observed in the media coverage of the project has triggered the study to assess the media coverage of GERD by conducting thoroughly comparative coverage analysis on Ethiopian Herald and Al Ahram newspaper of Egypt.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The GERD is the largest hydroelectric power plant in Africa, expected to double electricity generation in Ethiopia and has a total volume of 74 billion m³. The dam has engendered intense polarization and nationalistic tendencies between Ethiopia, Egypt and Sudan (toxic at times) and sometimes there happens exchange of harsh words that may lead to intensified conflict.

However, the GERD project has been covered by Herald and Al Ahram as entertaining irreconcilable interests between Nile upstream and downstream countries since its inception on the Blue Nile River in 2011. This dam project has also inspired hot, nationalistic passions on either side of the argument (Geoffrey, 2021).

Herald stated that Ethiopia has boldly started to erect huge structure on Nile which is mentioned by people as unparalleled and historical venture to light the lives of millions and support the renaissance of the country in many aspects. However, Al Ahram reported that the construction of GERD is controversial due to Ethiopia building GERD with its uni-lateral decision and without consulting Egypt.

The coverage of Al Ahram stated that Egypt has historical rights over the utilization of Nile water and it is a matter of existence, while Herald reported that Ethiopia is following the principle of insignificant impact and the dam is a matter of national sovereignty and Ethiopia has natural right to utilize its quota of Nile water for development. Both positions have become irreconcilable, with the two countries strengthening their stances and intensifying the feud over the GERD.

Similarly, lots of print and electronic media have been witnessed dwelling on the issues of GERD based on their own interest. Particularly, as the major focus of this study, Herald from Ethiopia and Al Ahram from Egypt have been engaged in intense coverage of the issues of GERD.

Reports of both media houses have oftentimes presented the issue of GERD as an existential threat to either country. What is currently emerging in the media coverage situation of GERD is that the lines between straight reporting of facts, stating of opinion and the presentation of analysis have been blurred.

This might have happened due to the difference in style of media coverage. The intense media coverage and the war of words in the two newspapers have continued in a heated manner since February 2029, following Ethiopia announcing to start filling the GERD as per schedule. Hence, the controversy and difference of news coverage being observed between Al Ahram and Ethiopian Herald have triggered this research to comparatively investigate the media coverage activities of the two newspapers by analyzing their content.

No doubt, media coverage plays significant role to facilitate the relation of two countries. McCombs and Shaw (1972) stated that the media does influence public policy through agenda-setting. Agenda-setting in turn outlines the impact of the mass media on the public and its ability to shape policy by drawing the attention of the public to certain matters that are considered more important than others (McCombs, 2005)

Hence, the study has been triggered by the contrasting GERD coverage of Herald and Al Ahram focusing on comparative content analysis between February 2019 to August 2020 and investigate their difference and how they framed GERD issues. In line with this, Rooh U.(2020) stated that the mass media and all media in general have a heavy influence and impact on individuals and society, as many people rely on the media as a source of information without even thinking whether it is true or not.

Furthermore, the media is a very powerful weapon that can quickly change people's perspectives and beliefs in few minutes. It is widely accepted that what we know about, think and believe about what happens in the world, outside of personal first-hand experience, is shaped, and some would say orchestrated, by how these issues are reported: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/>.

The concern of Egypt for Nile water is as old as Nile river. However, Ethiopia and Egypt have been publicly contesting and engaged in endless diplomatic battle and negotiation in the GERD project since its foundation was covered by domestic and international media outlets, including EH and AA. Accordingly, this study is triggered by the why and what of GERD coverage and investigating it by applying comparative content analysis method.

1.3. Objective of the Study

The general objective of this research is to undertake comparative media coverage study of GERD in Ethiopian Herald and Al Ahram newspaper of Egypt. The general objective has also included the following specific objectives.

1.3.1. Specific Objectives

- To compare the difference and similarities of GERD media coverage in Alahram and Herald GERD coverage in the time mentioned.

- To explore the GERD coverage in Herald and Al Ahram and analyze the controversies of GERD coverage in Al Ahram and Herald in the time mentioned.
- To find out major media issues covered by Alahram and Herald while covering about the GERD and indicating their major focus in view of the concepts of media theories.

1.4. Research Questions

- 1– What are the media coverage similarities and differences between Ethiopian Herald and Al Ahram newspaper of Egypt on the coverage of GERD?
- 2-Which issues are the major focus of those newspapers regarding the GERD reporting?
- 3-What are the media coverage controversies surrounding the GERD?

1. 5. Significance of the Study

Investigating the media coverage activities of GERD enables to strengthen the coverage of media houses geared towards undertaking effective media coverage and reach their audience in a desirable manner. It will also help them follow scientific and theory-based media coverage and play their role as development catalyst in GERD and other projects that are vital to the country's endeavor. In addition, the study will contribute its own to ministry offices, embassies and institutions interested to undertake study on similar areas.

Similarly, the research will help clarify differences and similarities of media coverage between the two media houses and contribute its own to enhance cooperation. Likewise, it will serve as a reference material for researchers interested to conduct further research on GERD media coverage.

1.6. Scope of the Study

The scope of this study focuses on purposively selected articles related to GERD coverage. Particularly, the study focuses on media coverage activities of Ethiopian Herald and Al Ahram newspaper of Egypt on GERD between February 2019 to August 2020 ; assesses the media coverage activities of the two newspapers related to GERD and comparing the differences and similarities related to GERD. This study solely depends on comparative content analysis.

1.7. Limitation of the Study

GERD has been in spot light and has been the major focus of all print media at home, including Herald, in the last ten years. The project has also been the main focus of Al Ahram newspaper of Egypt. Hence, due to time, money and labor constraints, it is very much challenging and cumbersome to sift out essential material from all Herald and Al Ahram newspapers databases since the start of GERD. Accordingly, the research is limited to only media coverage activity of GERD between February 2019 to August2020.

Particularly, the study will selectively focus on coverage analysis of articles published by Ethiopian Herald and Al Ahram of Egypt in the time mentioned. The limited time and resource of the researcher to conduct extensive research, the financial constraints and the huge amount of data and its demand of time and energy to sift out all invaluable information has forced the researcher to limit samples in only one year and half.

1.8. Organization of the Research

The study is organized in five chapters. The introduction part is the chapter that explains the problem and the way it investigated. Related literature review is the second chapter that discusses relevant and related materials (both published and

unpublished) that support the study. Methodology is the third chapter that discusses the method employed to conduct the research. Presentation and analysis of the data is the fourth chapter, which explains how the data is logically analyzed. The last chapter is the conclusion part which summarizes the research findings following the data analysis and gives recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2. 1. Introduction

This chapter reviews related literatures that serve as a relevant framework for the research on GERD media coverage. The topics that are included in this chapter are theories of media and mass communication, generic news coverage and factors affecting media coverage.

2.2. Media Effects and Theories

Media effects are the intended or unintended consequences of what the mass media does (McQuail, 2010). Many of the key theories in mass communication rest on the assumption that the media has effects on audience members. The degree and type of effect varies depending on the theory. In general, we underestimate the effect that the media has on us, as we tend to think that media messages affect others more than us.

There are certain media effects that are fairly obvious and most of us would agree are common (even for ourselves). For example, media may influence our personal sense of style, views on sex, perceptions of other races, or values just as our own free will, parents, or friends do. It is difficult, however, to determine in any specific case how much influence the media has on a belief or behavior in proportion to other factors that influence us. Media messages may also affect viewers in ways not intended by the creators of the message. Two media effects that are often discussed are reciprocal and boomerang effects (McQuail, 2010).

2.2.1. The Reciprocal Effect- points to the interactive relationship between the media and the subject being covered. When a person or event gets media attention, it influences the way the person acts or the way the event functions. Media coverage often increases self-consciousness, which affects our actions. It's similar to the way that we change behavior when we know certain people are around and may be watching us.

For example, the Occupy Movement that began on Wall Street in New York City gained some attention from alternative media and people using micromedia platforms like independent bloggers. Once the movement started getting mainstream press attention, the coverage affected the movement. As news of the occupy movement in New York spread, people in other cities and towns across the country started to form their own protest groups. In this case, media attention caused a movement to spread that may have otherwise remained localized.

2.2.2. The Boomerang Effect - refers to media-induced change that is counter to the desired change. In the world of twenty-four-hour news and constant streams of user-generated material, the effects of gaffes, blunders, or plain old poor decisions are much more difficult to control or contain. Before a group or person can clarify or provide context for what was said, a story could go viral and a media narrative constructed that is impossible to backtrack and very difficult to even control.

A recent example of such an effect occurred at the University of Virginia when the governing body of the university forced President Teresa A. Sullivan to resign. The board was not happy with the president's approach to dealing with the changing financial and technological pressures facing the school and thought ousting her may make room for a president who was more supportive of a corporate model of university governance (Pérez-Peña, 2012).

When the story picked up local and then national media coverage, students, faculty, and alumni came together to support Sullivan, and a week later she was

reinstated. Instead of the intended effect of changing the direction and priorities for the university, the board's actions increased support for the president, which will also likely add support to her plans for dealing with the issues.

The media do not necessarily concentrate on the "substantive part of the messages supplied by officials, but they try to demonstrate their independence by focusing on the social and personal aspects of the political contest and on the strategic intentions of the political actors" (McQuail, 2005).

The media organizations use their power that comes from selection of news (gate keeping), coverage of news content. In this sense, the media do not only provide information, but also may become autonomous actors in the political process. In this process, the relationship of the media and government can be considered in terms of power struggle to influence the agenda and make their own frames part of the story, in an effort to influence public opinion (McCombs, 2004).

Early media studies focused on the use of mass media in propaganda and persuasion. However, journalists and researchers soon looked to behavioral sciences to help figure out the effect of mass media and communications on society. Scholars have developed many different approaches and theories to figure this out. You can refer to these theories as you research and consider the media's effect on culture.

Widespread fear that mass-media messages could outweigh other stabilizing cultural influences, such as family and community, led to what is known as the direct effects model of media studies. This model assumed that audiences passively accepted media messages and would exhibit predictable reactions in response to those messages. For example, following the radio broadcast of *War of the Worlds* in 1938 (which was a fictional news report of an alien invasion), some people panicked and believed the story to be true.

2.3. Fundamental Theories of Mass Communication

2.3.1. Agenda-setting

According to Godefroidt et al. (2016) media outlets play a key role in keeping the public informed. However, these mass media do not signal the occurrence of all world events owing to time and space limits. One of the most important claims about news in the mass media is the agenda-setting hypothesis, a somewhat inadvertent by-product of the necessity to focus on a few topics in the news. Editors and journalists enjoy a large degree of freedom in deciding what is newsworthy and what is not, and their choices affect the perception of citizens as to what is relevant and the extent of such relevance (Larcinese et al., 2011; McCombs, 2005).

Without denying the complexity of the issue, the use of the agenda-setting power is arguably one of the most influential behaviors of news media—especially if they use this power to suppress information. Theoretical models by Anderson and McLaren (2012), Bernhardt et al. (2008), and Besley and Prat (2006) show how this can affect both policy and public decisions, and possibly lead to suboptimal ones (Larcinese et al., 2011).

2.3.2. Magic Bullet Theory

The magic bullet theory (also called the hypodermic needle theory) suggests that *mass communication is like a gun firing bullets of information at a passive audience*. “Communication was seen as a magic bullet that transferred ideas or feelings or knowledge or motivations almost automatically from one mind to another” (Schramm).

This theory has been largely discredited by academics because of its suggestion that all members of an audience interpret messages in the same way, and are largely passive receptors of messages. This theory does not take into account intervening cultural and demographic variables such as age, ethnicity, gender, personality, or education that cause us to react differently to the media messages we encounter.

2.3.3. Uses and Gratification Theory

The uses and gratification theory suggests that *audience members actively pursue particular media to satisfy their own needs*. “Researchers focus their attention, then, on how audiences use the media rather than how the media affect audiences” (Berger, 127).

The reciprocal nature of the mass communication process no longer sees the media user as an inactive, unknowing participant but as an active, sense-making participant that chooses content and makes informed media choices. We tend to avoid media that do not agree with our values, attitudes, beliefs, or pocketbooks. Schramm argued that we make media choices by determining how gratified we will be from consuming a particular media. Is it easier for you to read a newspaper or would you rather watch television or listen to the radio?

Even with all the information on the internet, there are still some people who consider it too time consuming and complex. Yet, many of our students do not have television sets, but instead watch all television, movies, and videos online. Streaming shows online helps us avoid commercials and media content in which we choose not to participate. Netflix, for example, requires a monthly fee in order for you to be commercial free during your shows, but usually you have to wait a season to watch shows.

2.3.4. Authoritarian Theory

The authoritarian theory is an idea that placed all forms of communication under the control of a governing elite or authorities. It describes a situation where government in the hands of a tyrant or ruling elite who exercises repressive powers over the people, lays down the laws as to what the media can communicate.

The media here are servants of state, mouthpiece of government. If they are perceived to fail in that capacity, by showing a degree of editorial independence, they are censored or shut down. In this context, authoritarians justified their control as a means to protect and preserve a divinely ordained social order. In most countries, the control rested in the hands of a king, who in turn granted royal charters or license to media practitioners.

Free speech challenges authority and free speech that criticizes, or implies criticism of those in power is regarded as subversive. Hence, practitioners could be jailed for violating charters or licenses could be revoked. Censorship of all types, therefore, was easily possible. Authoritarian control tended to be exercised in arbitrary and erratic ways. Authoritarian theory doesn't prioritize cultivation of a homogenous national culture, it only requires acquiescence to a governing elite.

2.3.5. Libertarian Press/ Free Press Theory

The Libertarian theory or Free Press theory is one of the "Normative theories of press". The theory originally came from libertarian thoughts from 16th century in Europe. It is an exact opposite of the authoritarian theory. Watson (2000) its first principle is that the free press is servant to none but its readership in its task of informing, educating and entertaining. Liberalism means information is knowledge and knowledge is power; free expression from any authority, unchecked by censorship – internal or external. Libertarianism claims fearlessness in the pursuit of the truth.

The libertarianism is an idea of individualism and limited government which is not harmful to another. Libertarian theory advocates, people are more enough to find and judge good ideas from bad. The theory says people are rational and their rational thoughts lead them to find out what are good and bad. The press should not restrict anything even a negative content may give knowledge and can make better decision whilst worst situation.

The libertarian thoughts are exactly against or opposite to the authoritarian theory which says “all forms of communication works under the control of government or elite like king”. The libertarian theory enables people to realize their potential and since news is about people making the news, the press reminds us that the society has not grown to an entity of greater importance than the people comprising it. Libertarians basically follow dictates if their conscience, seek truth, engage in public debate and create a better life for themselves Strength of the free press theory lies in the following;

- Freedom of press will give more freedom to media to reveal the real thing happening in the society without any censorship or any authority blockades.
- Is reliable with U.S media traditions, as the principle is duly enshrined in the first amendment to the constitution.
- It gives more values for individuals to express their thoughts in media.
- Is too positive about individual ethics and rationality. Theory also has its weaknesses, these include;
 - Theory is excessively positive about media’s willing to meet responsibilities which may lead people into negative aspects.
 - Ignores need for reasonable control of media.
 - Ignores dilemmas posed by conflicting freedoms.

A classic example of this theory, is the Wiki leaks website which published all sorts of confidential or restricted files in public space and especially classified documents. These articles provided brief knowledge about the government and its activities which helps people to identify what is happening in the society and its gives great choices to elect a better president in future. Sometimes these documents may work against the government and its authority that is why most of the country

is not willing to allow libertarian thoughts because it may affect their power and kingdom

2.3.6. Social Responsibility Theory

In mid 20th century most of the developing countries and third world nations have used this social responsibility theory of press which is associated with “the Hutchins Commission on the Freedom of the Press” in United States at 1942. In the book “Four theories of Press” (Siebert, Peterson and Schramm) it’s been stated that “pure libertarianism is antiquated, out dated and obsolete.” That paved way for replacement of Libertarian theory with the Social responsibility theory.

Social responsibility theory allows free press without any censorship but at the same time the content of the press should be discussed in public panel and media should accept any obligation from public interference or professional self regulations or both. The theory lies between both authoritarian theory and libertarian theory because it gives total media freedom in one hand but the external controls in other hand. Here, the press ownership is private and media have an obligation to the public that amount to a form of public stewardship. The social responsibility theory moves beyond the simple “Objective” reporting (facts reporting) to “Interpretative” reporting (investigative reporting).

The theory links with the democratic process and the media are guardians of that process, vigilant on behalf of the citizens, with a duty to be honest and fair to all. The theory balances the claims for freedom with the need for responsibility. It urges that in public interest, in the interest of true representation, both sides of a case should be stated. Professionalism was created in the media by setting up a high level of accuracy, truth, and information. The commission of press council also included some tasks based on social responsibility of media, which are as follows:

- Formulate the code of conduct for the press
- Improve the standards of journalism.
- Safeguarding the interests of journalism and journalist.
- Criticize and make some penalty for violating the code of conduct. Social responsibility theory appealed to the idealism of individual media practitioners and tried to unite them in service of cultural pluralism.

It encouraged them to see themselves as front-line participants in the battle to preserve democracy in a world drifting inexorably towards totalitarianism. Dennis McQuail (1987) summarized the basic principles of the theory as follows:

- Media should accept and fulfill certain obligations to society
- These obligations are mainly to be met by setting high or professional standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance.
- In accepting and applying these obligations, media should be self-regulating within the framework of law and established institutions.
- The media as a whole should be pluralist and reflect the diversity of their society, giving access to various points of view and to rights of reply.
- Society and the public have a right to expect high standards of performance and intervention.
- The media should avoid whatever might lead to crime, violence, or civil disorder or give offence to minority groups. For this theory to work successfully, it would demand a pluralist media in a pluralist society and is only responsible through multiple ownership.

2.3.7. Development Media Theory

This propounded by Dennis McQuail (1987) canvasses media support for an existing government and its efforts to bring about socio-economic development. It argues that until a nation is well established and its economic development well underway, media must be supportive rather than critical of government, but assist them in implementing their policies. As the name implies, the theory relates to media in third world nations.

It favors journalism that seeks out good news, requires that bad news stories are treated with caution, for such stories could be economically damaging to a nation in the delicate throes of growth and change. The media is seen to fulfill particular social and political duties; hence media freedom while desirable should be subordinated to national integration, socio-economic modernization, promotion of literacy and cultural creativity.

Development media theory seeks to accentuate the positive, it nurtures the autonomy of the developing nations and gives special emphasis to indigenous cultures. It is both a theory of state support and one of resistance to the norms of competing nations and competing theories of media. As the press performs its responsibilities, according to McQuail, it bears the following tenets in mind:

- Media must accept and carry out positive development tasks that are in line with the policies formulated by the political leadership and freedom of the press should not be at variance with economic priorities of the government and the development needs of the citizenry.
- Media should therefore give priorities to the coverage of those areas that touch on the lives of the people. In other words, content should be development-driven and should centre on socio-economic and political lives of the people.
- In the overall interest of development, the state has the right to intervene in media operations by the use of censorship devices, especially when the activities of the press are not in consonance with the development objectives of the government. Mass media should accord priority to politically, geographically and culturally contiguous developing countries in their coverage as part of the holistic strategy for less developed societies.

2.4. Functions of Mass Media

The mass media serves several general and many specific functions. In general, the mass media serves information, interpretation, instructive, bonding, and diversion functions:

2.4.1. Information Function - we have a need for information to satisfy curiosity, reduce uncertainty, and better understand how we fit into the world. The

amount and availability of information is now overwhelming compared to forty years ago when a few television networks, local radio stations, and newspapers competed to keep us informed. The media saturation has led to increased competition to provide information, which creates the potential for news media outlets, for example, to report information prematurely, inaccurately, or partially.

2.4.2. Interpretation Function – media outlets interpret messages in more or less explicit and ethical ways. Newspaper editorials have long been explicit interpretations of current events, and now cable television and radio personalities offer social, cultural, and political commentary that is full of subjective interpretations. Although some of them operate in ethical gray areas because they use formats that make them seem like traditional news programs, most are open about their motives.

2.4.3. Instructive Function - some media outlets exist to cultivate knowledge by teaching instead of just relaying information. Major news networks like CNN and BBC primarily serve the information function, while cable news networks like Fox News and MSNBC serve a mixture of informational and interpretation functions.

2.4.4. Bonding Function - media outlets can bring people closer together, which serves the bonding function. For example, people who share common values and interests can gather on online forums, and masses of people can be brought together while watching coverage of a tragic event like 9/11 or a deadly tornado outbreak.

2.4.5. Diversion Function - we all use the media to escape our day-to-day lives, to distract us from our upcoming exam, or to help us relax. When we are being distracted, amused, or relaxed, the media is performing the diversion function.

2.5. The Media as Gatekeeper

In addition to the functions discussed previously, media outlets also serve a gate keeping function, which means they affect or control the information that is transmitted to their audiences. This function has been analyzed and discussed by mass communication scholars for decades. Overall, the mass media serves four gate keeping functions: relaying, limiting, expanding, and reinterpreting (Bittner, 1996).

2.5.1. Relaying - mass media requires some third party to get a message from one human to the next. Whereas interpersonal communication only requires some channel or sensory route, mass media messages need to “hitch a ride” on an additional channel to be received. For example, a *Sports Illustrated* cover story that you read at SI.com went through several human “gates,” including a writer, editor, publisher, photographer, and webmaster, as well as one media “gate”—the Internet.

In summary, relaying refers to the gate keeping function of transmitting a message, which usually requires technology and equipment that the media outlet controls and has access to, but we do not. Although we relay messages in other forms of communication such as interpersonal and small group, we are primarily receivers when it comes to mass communication, which makes us depend on the gatekeeper to relay the message.

2.5.2. Limiting - in terms of the gate keeping function of limiting, media outlets decide whether or not to pass something along to the media channel so it can be relayed. Because most commercial media space is so limited and expensive, almost every message we receive is edited, which is inherently limiting. A limited message doesn't necessarily mean the message is bad or manipulated, as editing is a necessity. But a range of forces including time constraints, advertiser pressure, censorship, or personal bias, among others, can influence editing choices.

Based on bias or self-interest isn't necessarily bad as long as those who relay the message don't claim to be objective. In fact, many people choose to engage with media messages that have been limited to match their own personal views or preferences. This kind of limiting also allows us to have more control over the media messages we receive. For example, niche websites and cable channels allow us to narrow in on already-limited content, so we don't have to sift through everything on our own.

2.5.3. Expanding - for example, a blogger may take a story from a more traditional news source and fact check it or do additional research, interview additional sources, and post it on his or her blog. In this case, expanding helps us get more information than we would otherwise so we can be better informed. On the other hand, a gatekeeper who expands a message by falsifying evidence or making up details either to appear more credible or to mislead others is being unethical.

2.5.4. Interpreting - reinterpretation is useful when gatekeepers translate a message from something too complex or foreign for us to understand into something meaningful. Given that policy language is difficult for many to understand and that legislation contains many details that may not be important to average people, a concise and lay reinterpretation of the content by the gatekeepers (the media outlets) would have helped the public better understand the bill. In each of these gate keeping functions, the media can fulfill or fail to fulfill its role as the "fourth estate" of government—or government "watchdog."

CHAPTER THREE

3. RESEARCH METHOD

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and interpretation of the data gathered from on line data bases. The findings are comparatively interpreted in line with the literature review and theories selected to show the media coverage of GERD project in the publications of EA and AA.

3.2. Research Method and Design

It is the path through which researchers follow to conduct their research. It shows the path through which these researchers formulate their problem and objective and present their result from the data obtained during the study period. In this regard, Derek J. and Kerry W. (2020) stated that research methodology simply refers to the practical “how” of any given piece of research. More specifically, it’s about how a researcher systematically designs a study to ensure valid and reliable results that address the research aims and objectives.

Whereas, method is a kind of tool to be applied in a research and the type of method to be applied in this research is document analysis. In this regard, the best method selected for this research is comparative analysis.

According to Pickvance (2005), comparative analysis is conducted mainly to explain and gain a better understanding of the causal processes involved in the creation of an event, feature or relationship usually by bringing together variations in the explanatory variable or variables. Similarly, Azarian(2011) stated that comparative research can be traced to a long history that has gained

much attention in current research due to globalization, technological advances, etc. on cross-national platforms

Conventionally, comparative analysis emphasized on the “explanation of differences, and the explanation of similarities”(Azarian, 2011). This helps to establish relationships between two or more phenomena and provide valid reasons. Comparisons are now carried out on various levels being regional, national or wider geographical boundaries based on specific subject or area of interest.

Hence, comparative analysis is one of the key concepts and methods for any research and the findings in this research rely on the theoretical concepts and analysis made on GERD coverage assumed to exist in the Ethiopian Herald (EH) and Al Ahram (AA) newspapers. Accordingly, the research will try to analyze the coverage of GERD in EH and AA in a comparative manner; comparative analysis will be held as the main method to reach reliable findings.

Accordingly, given the power of the media in setting the public agenda, then, how media cover certain topics and events influences this process, and directly affects how we “know what we know” about the world around us.

This research also identifies the dominant focus of coverage in the issue of GERD employed by both media houses and then outline the major issues that appeared on both newspapers. It basically employs comparative analysis on the contents of those media outputs regarding the GERD visa vis Ethiopia and Egypt.

Hence, taking comparative media coverage in to account, this study will try to make analysis on GERD coverage based on six main pillars of coverage(adapted from *Media coverage study of PISA(2012)* and Readership Institute’s *analyzing newspaper content a how to guide;(2012)* including provocation, cooperation,

negotiation, diplomacy, politics and economy. This methodology chapter of research will try to justify the design choices, by showing that the chosen methods and techniques are fit for the research aims and objectives, and will provide valid and reliable results

Kothari (2004) defines research design as the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data. Research design involves planning, organizing, collecting and analyzing data to produce the information so desired by the researcher (Peil, 1995). It also gives guidelines to help minimize errors as research can be influenced by many intervening factors (Kothari, 2004).

This study adopted descriptive approach as it is the most appropriate given its nature. In this research an accurate description of coverage under study is made in the print media coverage of GERD; Herald versus Al Ahram as descriptive method is considered to be most suitable.

The use of descriptive method resulted in a clearer understanding of the issue(s) under study and gave a clearer perspective under consideration. A descriptive method, according to Wimmer and Dominick (1987) attempts to show and document current conditions or attitudes, describing what exists currently and in a given context. Peil (1995), further observes that descriptive study gives a researcher an opportunity to explore new ideas and open doors for further discussion on emerging ideas.

This study analyzed print media coverage of GERD in the context of Herald and Al Ahram newspapers and obtained descriptions, explanations and relationships between and among variables in order to provide general understanding of the study problem. Obviously, the type of research problem decides upon what type of research design we should apply. The research design being applied in turn

constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement, and analysis of data (deVaus, 2001). Accordingly, this research tries to conduct comparative coverage analysis on EH and AA newspapers related to their coverage of GERD.

The research is designed to be comparative analysis that employs document analysis in a qualitative manner. It is an analytical research and the researcher utilizes the facts and information about GERD obtained from the websites of newspapers mentioned above. The research analyzes the data in those newspapers to investigate how both media houses cover the issues of GERD.

3.3. Data Collection Methods

Data collection is the “process of gathering and measuring information on variables of interest, in an established systematic fashion that enables one to answer queries, state research questions, test hypotheses, and evaluate outcomes” (Prabha & Kabadi, 2016). The purpose and scope of this research is clearly stated and the outcome of this data collection is designed to help achieve its research purpose within the scope of the study. To achieve this result, traditional method of data collecting is applied and document review is used.

To this end, primary data are collected from the websites of EH and AA of Egypt. Besides, ethical considerations are followed to enhance the validity and appropriateness of every source and data. This research is conducted based on a longitudinal qualitative study method. It has employed content analysis, an important tool of media researches since the 1940s. It involves systemic study of coverage through collecting, selecting and analyzing the data consisted of online news articles published on EH and AA from February 2019 to August 2020.

I chose these daily newspapers owing to their influence and in-depth coverage of GERD in view of politics, diplomacy, economy and security. Besides, they have the ability to lead and affect the public opinion and set political agenda, and reflect their more diverse political stances and journalistic perspectives (Brosius and Eps, 1995; Golan, 2006; Walgrave et al., 2008).

3.4. Sampling Technique

Articles that came up with information about GERD were selected from both newspapers due to the very fact that articles are deeper, wider, informative, persuasive, opinionated and analytical of various aspects far better than news which is relatively brief. In addition, articles have inherent capacity to include researches, figures and theories. Obviously, EH and AA are used to publishing lots of GERD-related articles in all matters of GERD negotiation between Ethiopia and Egypt, respectively, targeted to win arguments and support the causes of each side.

This study has taken its samples of articles focusing on the online news coverage of GERD published by the two news outlets. To this end, soft copies of articles were collected from EH and AA data bases as these newspapers are most read government newspapers (and politically most involved in the causes of GERD, in their respective countries). To this end, judgmental method of sampling has been applied which is considered to be suitable to this study.

In other words, instead of turning the leaves of printed newspapers in monotonous manner, the online news version of the EH and AA have been found easily.

accessible to the this study for various reasons. First, because of the convenience of accessing EH and AA online databases. Second, it is universally accepted that the Internet has been a major means for the public to gain information in the new era of media.

The newspapers were selected based on their circulation rates and practical considerations of government ownership and their influence owing to their publicity related to GERD in their respective localities. For instance, AA has close to 800,000 followers while EH has close to 400,000 followers in the time mentioned.

Even though the two newspapers have incomparable amount of online readers, EH and AA are among the most accessible newspapers in Ethiopia and Egypt, respectively, and major sources of information about GERD, which publicize the views of their governments and citizens related to the progress of the project.

In addition, both newspapers employ English to cover issues about GERD and reach their readers at home and abroad. Obviously, both Ethiopia and Egypt have their own working language, Amharic and Arabic, respectively. However, most importantly, EH and AA newspapers use English to cover matters related to GERD and reach English readers at home and abroad. For instance, AA has columns assigned to Africa, world and international issues while EH has Global Affairs and in the sphere of diplomacy and Ethiopians abroad under its politics and society columns, respectively.

This study has focused on the longitudinal time span between February 2019 to August 2020 due to the occurrence of large amount of GERD-related article in EH and AA(which was seemingly stalled and non-existent before February 2019 and the announcement of the progress of GERD by the Ethiopian PM, Abiy Ahmed, on August 2018 and its publication of recovery from MeTEC crisis).

This research has employed inductive approach to identify dominant media coverage applied in the afore-mentioned newspapers. It examined the GERD coverage and head lines that emerge from the selected articles itself during the process of data analysis and interpretation. After data selection, a preliminary examination of articles was conducted during which certain samples of dominant categories of coverage were identified (on small scale as much as 10 percent to prove accuracy and reliability) and further refine all the samples through detailed readings. Finally, newspapers with GERD headlines and its dominant coverage essential for the study were categorized by trained journalists.

Newspaper samples were collected using homogeneous purposive sampling. The first reason for this decision is that to get an accurate, substantive and worthwhile comparative analysis of the contents of the two newspapers, it is more appropriate to include all the samples within a given period of time. The second reason is that all the subjects were homogenous with no variations. The newspapers were more or less homogeneous units in as much as they were drawn from a single source; are published by either Herald or Al Ahram.

3.4.1. Population of the Study

Because of the sample covering one and half year time of span and its being cumbersome to assess all the articles published since laying the cornerstone of GERD, the study has selectively included articles published in 78 weeks which yielded same number of articles from each newspaper, amounting to 156 articles from both newspapers.

3.4.2. Coding Procedure

The websites of EH and AA are readily available and accessible for obtaining articles. The individual article was seen as the unit of analysis. “The GERD as key acronym” was used as the key word for searching. The period was purposefully set from February 2019 to August 2020 considering the restart of GERD and publication of its clearance from MeTEC problems and its convenience to include in the study. As a result, 78 articles from EH and same number of articles from AA were taken matching the above criteria. The number of articles from each website has been made equal with the number of weeks in a year.

This has been made in view of increasing sample size and enhancing reliability of the study. The researcher has read more news and articles before randomly selecting articles from each week in a year. Similar technique was used to randomly obtain the samples on the two different websites. While doing so, 156 articles were accessed for coding. After further examining these selected articles, it has been proved that the major focus of all the selected articles is on GERD, which is the subject matter of the study.

In this study, several coding categories were designed to answer the first sub-research question. Both the objective and subjective features of the specific articles were captured. For example, the date of publication can be seen as an objective characteristic while subjective variables include the indications of titles in the specific articles and the use of coverage. Particularly, the study applies manual methods of coding procedure as individual data are selected from the data bases of both newspapers in a purposive sampling method.

However, noteworthy to mention, different coverage issues may appear on the same article. In this case, the specific news coverage that has wider coverage

related to the main thematic category under the study was coded according to the salience or prominence of its details related the most common category.

Accordingly, the following questions from *analyzing newspaper content(2002): a how to guide set by Stacy Lynch & Limor Peer* has been considered and adapted to select articles and their headlines: what is this story really about? What is the main point in the story? What is the central concept described in the story?

To answer these questions, the following guideline have been followed:

1. Look at the actions or developments in the articles, rather than the context in which they occur.
2. Focus on why this story is in the paper at all – usually something has to happen (a news peg) that can give you a clue on how to classify the story.
3. If you cannot decide between two paragraphs (or more-articles in this case) you can resort to paragraph counting (i.e. choose the theme that has more paragraphs in the story).
4. Use headlines or section heads as clues only: a story in the politics section is more than likely to include information relating to politics and diplomacy, but it should not necessarily be coded as “politics only” for coverage.
5. Discuss the article with another coder if you’re still uncertain.

3.4.3. Coding Instrument

The study has used six categories (adapted from International Journal of Communication: 2012) to examine the salience and prominence of samples in relation to what is being discussed. Accordingly, the frequency of articles and their headlines and their focus related to GERD have been carefully listed and selected.

3.4.4. Inter-coder Reliability

The study has conducted inter-coder reliability and consistency tests for all coders involved in the newspaper coding to ensure reliability. Accordingly, random selection of articles from the overall sample (10%) was made and each person coded them independently.

In the analysis presented here, the total population for this analysis is 156. Coding was conducted by trained and supervised coders. Coders were oriented for the study as suggested by De Vreese and Semetko (2004) in the news coverage of the 2004 European Parliamentary Election Campaign. Individual coders were recruited based on their English language capabilities and journalism profession closer to media. Given the challenges in cross-national content analysis (see Peter and Lauf, 2002), coders were monitored and intra-coder-reliability tests were conducted.

The coders coded all the headlines on the coverage of the GERD between Feb. 2019 and August 2020. In this case, the frequency of individual headlines and titles that refer the GERD as their main issue have been selected and record.

3.4.5.. Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis for this study is GERD article headlines. Each headline was coded for tone for each of the six categories. If the GERD issue did not appear in at least 25% of the articles, they were not considered a significant sample for the analysis and therefore were rejected for lacking significance. Hence, the unit of coding for analysis is the individual headlines.

Given that the length of paragraphs in articles in EH and AA differ widely (from 15 paragraphs to over 25) the researcher bases all analyses on frequency of the individual headlines regardless of proportion of the total length of each article.

3.5. Quality Control and Pretesting of Tools

Validity and reliability of a data collection tool makes all the difference for the usefulness of a research. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) argue that questionnaires for instance, must be valid and reliable if they are to produce the intended results. In the case of this research, validity measures are confirmed whether the tool is able to test what it is developed to test. Similarly, reliability has been checked concerning relevance of the questions and answering them properly. These qualities are checked throughout the study. It is believed that other tools must equally pass the tests of validity and reliability and the coding instrument was pretested before the commencement of data collection.

3.5.1. Pilot-Testing

According to Hennik et al. (2011), the researcher should pilot-test the data collection tool, in this study the content analysis coding instrument tool, to determine if: the questions are understood immediately; if the words, sentences were adapted to the context of the content analysis; some questions need to be rephrased; the order of the questions to determine if they are logical; the research questions are adequately answered by the information gathered. In short, content analysis questions must also be both relevant and appropriate. Pre-testing enables a researcher to get feedback on how the questions might be either reworded or restructured to be more effective.

The content analysis coding instrument tool was evaluated for suitability based on a number of criteria. The first criterion was appropriateness, which was whether or

not the content analysis coding instrument tool is good enough to answer the research question(s). The second criterion was validity which determined whether the instrument was valid for operation of the research questions and conceptual framework (Hennik et al., 2011).

The third criterion was cultural sensitivity. The question to be answered by this criterion is whether the GERD research questions were relevant in a language and wordings that were sensitive to the operational culture. The fourth criterion was saturation, which tackled the concerns of information sufficiency. The biggest concern here was whether or not the content analysis leads to a level where there is saturation of information—no question remains unanswered.

The fifth criterion was coherence in design of the content analysis. It meant that the analysis was to be correctly inked to the task. The sixth criterion was transparency—decisions taken regarding the content analysis coding instrument and the conduct of the analysis was transparent. The seventh criterion was being reflexive. By this point the emphasis was on the inferences that the researcher made. The criterion asked: was the researcher reflexive in subjectivity of doing the content analysis? The eighth criterion, new information, tried to establish whether or not the content analysis provided any new information.

3.5.2. Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability of a data collection tool makes all the difference for the usefulness of a research. Mugenda (2008) argues that data collection tool and in this case the content analysis coding instrument, for instance, must be valid and reliable if they are to produce the intended results. While validity measures whether the tool is able to test what it is developed to test, reliability is concerned with relevance of the questions. Such qualities were considered when using all tools that ensured they passed the tests of validity and reliability.

Similarly, the results were compared to get the rates of agreement for all coders. Hence, the rates of agreement of the coders was found to be over 80% . While doing so, stories such as news, editorials and opinion letters were excluded from the analysis. Coding was conducted by six trained coders. A judgmental sample of 156 articles (15.6% of the total sample) was examined in order to assess the intercoder reliability. Accordingly, intercoder reliability was .80 and .81, respectively, using Krippendorff's alpha (Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007), which is workable to the study.

3.5.3. Face Validity

It is the extent to which a measure apparently reflects the content of the concept in question. A researcher must establish face validity if an instrument is being developed for the first time. Face validity can be ensured by obtaining subjective judgments by the experts of the concerned field (Bryman & Bell, 2003).Accordingly, the research categorization and the data coding procedures have been reviewed and corrected by three individuals assumed to have deep knowledge in the field of journalism and communication.

3.6. Content Analysis

Content analysis is a qualitative research tool or technique that is used widely to analyze the content and its features. It is an approach used to quantify qualitative information by sorting data and comparing different pieces of information to summarize it into useful information. In this regard, Holsti (1969) has defined content analysis as any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages.

However, content can vary from a simple word, text, picture to social media data, books, journals, and websites. The objective of content analysis is to present the qualitative content in the form of objective and quantitative information. In

content analysis, qualitative data that is collected for research will be analyzed systematically to convert it into quantitative data. Content analysis is different from other researches, as it does not collect data from people directly. Instead, it is the study of data that is already recorded in social media, text, or books or any other physical or virtual forms.

The method used in this research is content analysis. This is a method that involves evaluating historical or contemporary confidential or public records or reports, government document and opinions (Schindler & Cooper, 2006). It is also the collection, review, interrogation and analysis of various forms of text as a primary source of data. In this method, documents are used to provide data gathered in surveys, interviews and observations (O'Leary, 2004).

The reason why content analysis was chosen to deal with the present topic rests upon several virtues of the specific approach. First, it is agreed on as an objective, systematic and general approach. Second, it allows both quantitative and qualitative operations. Compared with mere qualitative studies, the features of variables can be quantified into particular data.

Neuman, et al., (1992) explained that content analysis is a technique used to collect and analyze text content where the content mentioned consists of word, meaning, picture, symbol, idea, theme, or any message that could be used in communication. Thus, in the current research content analysis is decided as the appropriate method to indicate to what extent AA and EH newspapers have covered the issues of GERD and how they portray the GERD in line with the interest of their respective country. The study only analyzes texts excluding photographs, cartoons, pictures and symbols in the news and

Similarly, Kothari (2004) defines data processing as editing, coding, classification and tabulation of collected data so that they are ready for analysis. Data from the content analysis coding instrument tool was converted from the raw form into

systematic categories for analysis. This was done through data coding to ensure the data is accurate, consistent with other information, uniformly entered, complete and arranged to facilitate data coding, data classification and data tabulation. In data coding, the main function is to assign numerals or other relevant symbols to answers in order for the responses to be grouped into a limited number of classes or categories.

The content analysis coding instrument tool was edited for completeness and consistency by checking each individual coding instrument. The researcher then analyzed the data by use of the Statistics Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) 20 for windows. The program was chosen for its reliability and capability to sort and provide relationships between variables and also summarize the various sets of data. Thereafter, the results were compiled and presented in different graphs and interpreted.

According to this research model, the next step is clustering of the assumptions categorized as titles into the themes of coverage and the generation of keywords that are used as indicators for the existence of particular issues on GERD. This study therefore focuses on six clearly distinguished generic categories of coverage with sufficient representational validity as provocation, cooperation, negotiation, diplomacy, economy and politics.

3.7. Ethical Issues

Confidentiality is always crucial for all respondents Mugenda (2008). Similarly in any social research considerations such as confidentiality and avoidance of deception are important. It is good practice to always avoid breach of confidentiality. In the case of this research, the researcher desisted from engaging in anything that could be construed as a breach of confidentiality. The researcher carried out this research within the framework of provisions enabling an academic project of this kind.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the research findings of the study and discussions of the findings. The study analyzed a total of 156 articles and their headlines from Herald and Al Ahram from February 2019 to August 2020. The objectives of the study were to analyze the amount of coverage given to GERD on Al Ahram versus Ethiopian Herald on the afore-mentioned newspapers and identified the prevailing themes used by the newspapers.

4.2. Common Characteristics of EH and AA

EH newspaper is an English-language newspaper established in 1943. The aim of the newspaper was to promote the new face of Ethiopia to foreigners, particularly after the coming in to power of the Emperor Hailesilassie and his effort to build modernized Ethiopia (Herald, May, 2021). It is a daily newspaper (except on Mondays). Official sources from Ethiopia Press Agency, as of May 29, 2020, stated that AA has a circulation capacity of slightly over 4,300. EH had served as the main official press organs of the state and it was intended to serve the state as the only way to give information and propaganda for foreign readers (Dires , 2012).

Similarly, based on the information retrieved from its website on Wednesday, May 29, 2020, AA is Egyptian government newspaper founded on 5 August 1875. It is the most widely circulating Egyptian daily newspaper, and the second oldest after al-Waqa'i`al-Masriya. Given the many varieties of Arabic language, AA is widely known for its influential sources of writing and style. Its head office is in Cairo and

has circulation capacity as much as 1,000,000 daily and peaking 1,200,000 on Fridays (<https://english.ahram.org.eg>).

4.3. Columns in EH and AA

Based on the issues categorized for the suitability of the study, both EH and AA have columns that are more or less similar to one another. EH has News, Art-Culture, Business-Market, Development, Society, Sport columns. Likewise, AA has columns that include Egypt, Business, Opinion, World, Arts & Culture, Sports, Life & Style. Accordingly, EH publishes the issues of GERD in news, development and society columns while AA issues GERD information in Egypt, world and opinion columns.

4.4. Coverage Analysis

Table:1 Frequency of articles from Ethiopian Herald

No	Thematic classification	Ethiopian Herald	
		Frequency in numbers	Frequency in percent
1	Provocation	8	10.25%
2	Cooperation	19	24.36%
3	Negotiation	10	12.82%
4	Diplomacy	10	13.46%
5	politics	18	23.71%
6	economy	12	15.38%
	Total	78	100

Source: Researcher's own analysis

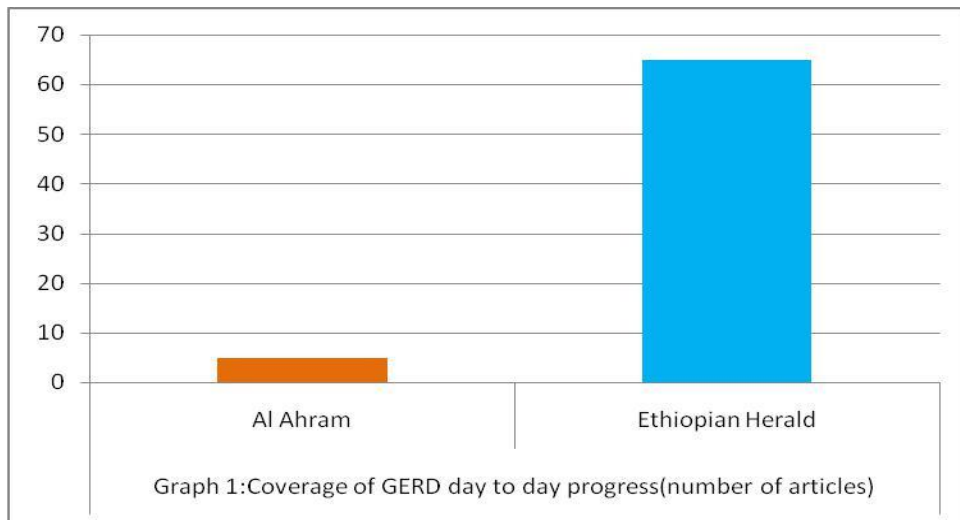
Table:2 Frequency of articles from AlAhram

No	Thematic classification	AlAhram	
		Frequency in numbers	Frequency in percent
1	Provocation	10	12.82%
2	Cooperation	5	6.41%
3	Negotiation	25	32.65%
4	Diplomacy	20	25.64%
5	politics	16	20.51%
6	economy	2	1.56%
	Total	78	100

Source: Researcher’s own analysis

The data analysis has showed that 65 % percent of the articles in EH revealed that they have included information about the day to day progress of the project including the level and size increment of the Dam. In the contrary, few articles in

AA had come up with the coverage of GERD’s day to day progress; only 5 % of the articles from AA merely hinted about the day to day information of the Dam.



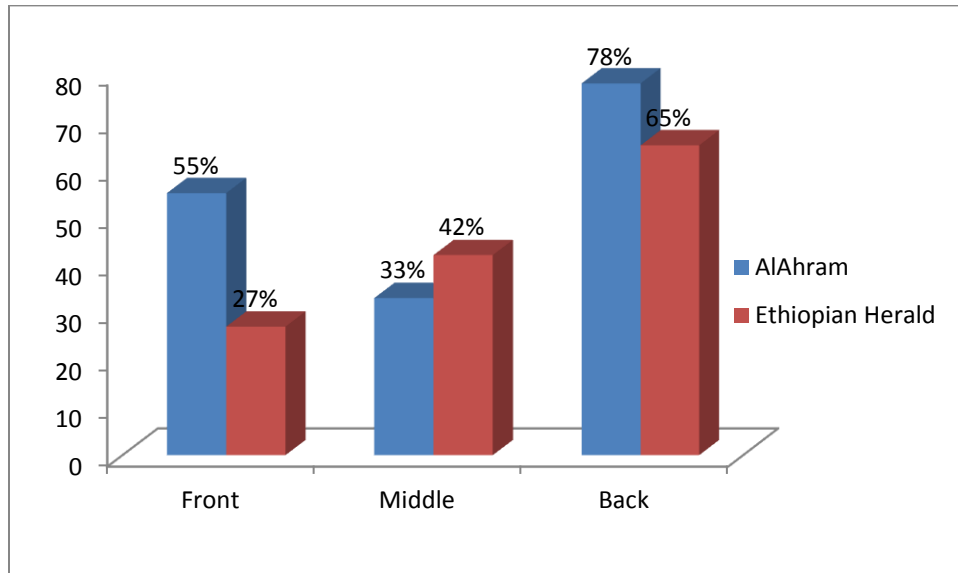
Source: Researcher’s own analysis

4.5. Place of Coverage on the Construction of GERD

It has been indicated that 55 % of AA newspaper issues have included GERD articles in their front page, while 27 % newspapers issues of EH have included GERD news and articles on their front page. In addition, AA has published 33% of GERD information in its middle and back page while EH has published 42% of them in its middle and back pages.

AA has included more stories in its front page than EH that pushes such stories of GERD to its middle and back pages(development, society or opinion columns). And it seems AA is more interested to attract more readers by inserting GERD stories in its front page. In line with this, Pasternack & Utt, (1986, p. 29) stated that front page story is generally considered to function as a way to “attract readers, inform them and set the reader's agenda.”

In the contrary, EH has inserted more articles (78%) than AA(65%) about GERD in its back page , while it opted to give an in-depth analysis about GERD in the inside and back of its column. It could be understood that more or less, both newspapers are interested to give prior info to their readers in their front page, while an in-depth analysis about GERD usually appeared on the middle and back pages of EH and AA.



Graph 2 : Comparison between EH and AA based on place of coverage(in percent)

Source: Researcher’s own analysis

4.6. Coverage analysis of GERD in EH and AA

Both EH and AA are government newspapers. However, their coverage greatly differ may be due to the completely different views of Ethiopia (EH) and Egypt(AA) on the utilization of Nile(and GERD). In this regard, Ethiopia wants to build GERD to utilize it for poverty alleviation and enhance its development activities. In this regard, Ethiopia usually asserts “*the principle of insignificant impact and natural right.*” Similarly, Egypt wants to sustain its utilization of 55 billion cubic meters of Nile water (allocated by the 1959 agreement with Sudan, excluding Ethiopia and other Nile basin countries).

Egypt wants to secure its existing benefit by citing “ *the principle of historical right and prior appropriation*” (and allusion of “*significant impact*” that may encounter on Nile water reaching Egypt and GERD endangering the survival of

Egypt) which is completely contradictory with the stance of Ethiopia on Nile and GERD, which in turn is based on natural right to use Nile(Debay, 2008).

The coverage categories are divided in to six broad categories, namely: provocation (stories that have included sense of winner-loser, accusation), cooperation, negotiation, diplomacy, politics and economy (these categories are assumed to be broad enough to include the themes that are available on both newspapers related to the issue of GERD). Accordingly, this study uses these coverage categories to investigate and analyze the coverage of the GERD in EH and AA in between February 2019 and August 2020.

The names and classifications of the coverage are assimilated from comparative content analysis of print media coverage of Kenya Parliament by Onsomu Marcellah Eucabeth (2012) and analyzing newspaper content-a how to guide by Stacy Lynch and Limor Peer(2002), Readership Institute(2002).

In addition, discreet reading and observation has been made on newspapers to identify inclusive coverage categories of GERD on both EH and AA. These categories of coverage are judiciously selected based on their multiple occurrences as headlines, as a theme in the body of the article and the personal observation of the researcher from what he hears and reads regarding GERD discussion and negotiation.

The following common definitions help to indicate the formulation of categories on coverage of GERD.

Provocation – coverage of GERD related to inciting conflict, issuing stories that hint winner and loser and accusation

Cooperation - coverage of GERD related to enhancing mutual benefit and strengthening cooperation

Diplomacy – coverage of GERD related to strengthening cooperation

that indicate discussions and meetings being made at the level of leaders and ambassadors of countries

Politics – coverage of GERD related to the politics of countries

Negotiation – coverage of GERD related to resolving GERD problems through negotiation

Economy – coverage of GERD related to negotiation economic benefit of GERD

4.6.1. Coverage analysis of GERD related to Provocation

Stories related to provocation are selected based on their headlines (inclusion of words, phrases and sentences that accuse, provoke or state victimhood). Particularly, these stories may not be proved scientifically or be verified in any form of evidence). For instance, ``*Cairo has 'nothing to do' with current tensions in Ethiopia: There has been a wave of demonstrations in Ethiopia after a popular singer was shot dead in the capital last week, GERD: An existential threat to Egypt, negative impacts of the GERD, Ethiopia's ploys on the GERD, GERD could threaten 'lives and safety of millions of Sudanese'*`` are some of the headlines of stories published on AA in various times of the year.

AA has published 12.82% stories that express provocation and mere expression of sentiments of the writer and cannot be proved. The narration of these stories have one subject as a victim, loser and disadvantaged related to the issue of GERD while the other subject is portrayed as winner, advantageous and more favored. Hence, these stories are more of provocative than stating peaceful settlement and cooperation about the mutual benefit of GERD.

As the name indicates, their headlines implicitly or explicitly categorize Nile riparian countries as winner or loser, advantaged or disadvantaged and try to accuse one country and provoke the other to undesirable actions on the process of GERD negotiation and cooperation.

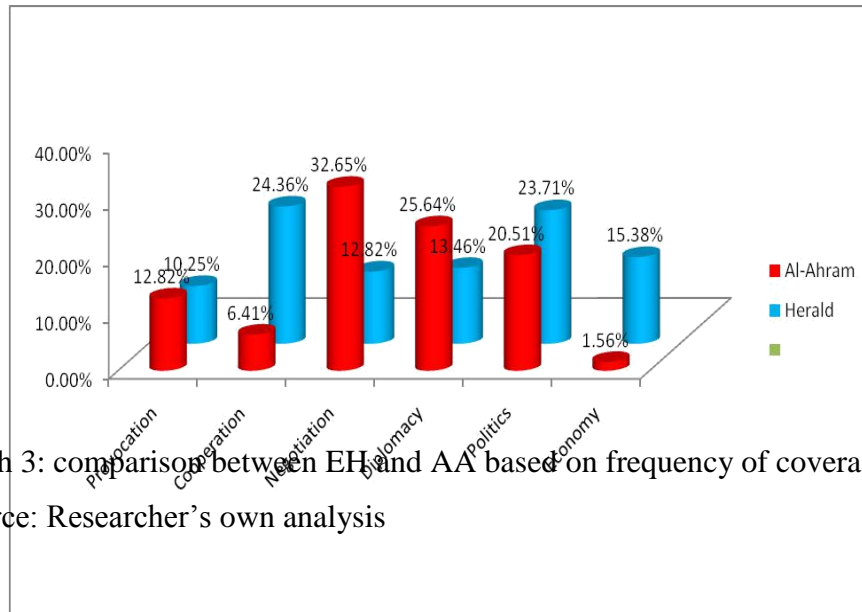
Similarly, EH has also published provocative stories that covered 10.25% of its article publication on GERD, which is less than the ones narrated by AA(12.82%). To mention some, *``Smear campaigns never stop GERD; GERD has an element of Adwa in it and No force can stop Ethiopians from realizing GERD's construction``* are instances of the stories that appeared on the pages of EH.

4.6.2. Coverage of GERD related to Negotiation

As a means to reach fair deal and turn the situation of GERD-related conflict in to win-win situation, negotiation is considered as the main instrument of GERD problem resolution at home and abroad. In this regard, AA has published more number of stories (32.69%) in this category, which seems issuing stories of negotiation is the main focus of AA. In this regard, *``Egypt agrees with Ethiopia; Sudan to prioritize reaching a binding deal on filling; Ethiopia says GERD negotiations to continue and state TV apologizes for mistakenly announcing start of filling process``* are some of the stories that are presented to readers by AA.

Likewise, *``Ethiopia, Sudan, Egypt achieve significant results; the vicious circle of GERD talks and the light at the end of the tunnel and GERD talks in US fruitful in bringing win-win result``* are some of the headlines that appear on the various columns of EH. Hence, it can be stated that state-press ideology affects the relationship between organizations and the media and influences the way information disseminated (Pang, 2006; Shoemaker and Reese, 1996).

Similarly, when compared with stories of negotiation published in EH, AA has issued nearly three-fold more stories (32.69 %) than EH (12.82%), which has come up with less number of stories. Accordingly, coverage of negotiation is noticeably the major attention of AA; unlike EH that has included fewer issues.



Graph 3: comparison between EH and AA based on frequency of coverage
 Source: Researcher’s own analysis

4.6.3. Coverage of GERD related to Cooperation

Cooperation is one of the biggest issues in almost all coverages of the GERD and Nile water-sharing agreements, both in AA and EH. As a testimony, *“the geographical unity of the Nile, in an effort to overcome competition over water resources, Nile Basin countries can collaborate in harvesting more rainfall and increase Nile flow to maximize benefit sharing to reach a win-win solution”* are some of the stories covered by AA to promote regional cooperation. However, cooperation-related stories issued in AA are incomparably fewer than the ones appearing on EH (6.41%) and it is the area most neglected by AA. And hence, it can be stated that AA seems disinterested to cover and promote cooperation in the issue of GERD.

In the contrary, EH has come up with bigger number of stories that kindly call up on all Nile riparian countries to end rivalry and commence cooperation (24.35%). All stories written on Nile cooperation boldly declare the benefit of regional cooperation through Nile and GERD. In line with this, *“The GERD: A source of integration and cooperation; GERD serves common interest of Ethiopia, Egypt,*

and Sudan ,Ethiopia never falters on GERD cooperation and GERD: The uniting factor` are some of the instances seen on the pages of EH.

Consequently, based on the facts, it could be inferred that cooperation is the coverage area least focused and issued by AA (6.41%) compared to other issues. In the contrary, EH has devoted many of its columns to more stories of cooperation (24.35%) and EH has noticeably made coverage of cooperation-related stories that excelled AA tri-fold.

Accordingly, it could be further stated that EH has prioritized coverage of cooperation while AA has attached prime importance to other issues of GERD related to negotiation. And it could be said that cooperation and regional integration is the main focus of EH, while securing the historical right (acquired right) of Egypt through negotiation is the major attention of AA. In this regard, Hallin (1994, p.23) noted that “cultural institutions like the media are part of the process by which a world-view compatible with the existing structure of power in society is reproduced”.

For instance, in the story, ``*GERD: The uniting factor*`` AA stated that unity is not just coming together; rather it is to understand and execute one's role and follow an organized line of command. Accordingly, each actor is needed to play their part so that the national rhythm becomes symphonious. It also instructed that the government should also follow a proactive foreign policy.

Accordingly, EH confirmed that the media should also consistently raise the awareness of the public about the geopolitical importance of the Dam. Similarly, it hinted that Ethiopian children need to be thought about the Nile River in school.

Similarly, AA in the story'' *the geographical unity of the Nile*'' it stated that the African countries through which the Nile River runs have a geographical unity. There are 11 such countries with different languages and religions, but the

geographical unity of these countries is a must in order to guarantee welfare and prosperity for all.

AA opinionated that each of the 11 African countries through which the Nile runs has the right to its share of this water. The Nile is the main source of fresh water for these countries, especially Egypt and Sudan. There should be more integration between the Nile Basin countries. Instead of engaging in conflict with each other, they should put aside their differences and reach rapprochement.

4.6.4. Coverage of GERD related to Diplomacy

Diplomacy is among the areas of competition where countries are trying to secure their sovereignty and economic development. In this regard, GERD-related diplomacy coverage is among the areas that are noticeably issued in the pages of EH and AA. By the same token, the coverage analysis has showed that AA has devoted close to 26% of its columns to diplomacy.

To mention some, *“Water security of Egypt and Sudan is ‘inseparable’ from Arab national security; Egypt’s diplomacy is seeking international support for Cairo’s stand on negotiations over Ethiopia’s Renaissance Dam; Egypt’s Sisi sends messages on GERD to Algerian, Moroccan, Tunisian counterparts”* are some of the stories available on the various pages of AA. On the whole, AA has devoted more columns to cover issues of diplomatic endeavor being exerted on the matters of GERD (25.64%). In this regard, as witnessed from figures, diplomacy is the second largest focus of AA next to the coverage of negotiation.

In the contrary, EH has come up with 13.46% GERD stories that reveal the effort of Ethiopia in the sphere of diplomacy. In connection to this, *“GERD briefings to diplomatic corps paying off, diplomats in upturning fallacious information on GERD and GERD’s diplomatic deal overview”* are some of the articles covered by EH. According to the figures shown above, it could be stated that AA has covered nearly double diplomatic stories than EH.

The inclusion of diplomacy can be witnessed by the clear presence of a domestic angle in international news reporting (VanCauwenberge et al., 2009). As further explanation to this diplomacy-related analysis, Gans (1979) stated that the fact of coverage that judging other countries by the extent to which they live up to one's own national practices and values has always been a crucial value determining the coverage of foreign news.

4.6.5. Coverage of GERD related to Politics

The sphere of politics is among the highly contested areas being read in the various pages of both EH and AA. In this regard, AA, in its political coverage, has published stories like *''Political lobbying on the GERD; unfounded claims on the GERD and Nile water: an existential issue for Egyptians, Sisi tells AU chair ''*. Based on the data, political coverage of AA amounts to 20.51 % of the articles published by it and it is the third largest issue that covers the pages of AA.

In the arena of politics, EH has issued 23.71% stories targeted to support national interest related to GERD. Issues like *''why Egyptians politicize science on GERD?''*, *panelists back GERD and called on Ethiopia to utilize Arabic media and Egypt's foreign policy towards Africa and Africa take your Africanness, I take your resources''* are some of the instances that have appeared on the body of EH.

In this regard, it should be made clear that sometimes the area of politics may overlap in to the diplomatic one and vice versa as both are tightly interrelated and diplomacy mostly employing politics as its tool. However, these two categories are classified based on their prominence, noticeable occurrence and wider availability in the coverage of GERD.

In the area of politics, both EH and AA seem to be going closer to one another, compared to other subjects for which they show stronger competition and witness

incomparable difference. Regarding this area of focus, AA has allocated 20.51% of its columns, while EH has devoted 23.71% coverage to same issues. However, when seen individually, political coverage is one of the highest concerns of EH, which is fairly comparable to the stories publicized regarding politics. Matter of fact, judging other countries by the extent to which they live up to one's own national practices and values has always been a crucial value determining the coverage of foreign news (Gans, 1979).

4.6.6. Coverage of GERD related to Economy

EH has issued the message of Nile utilization for economic development in stories that account 15.38% of its coverage and mention GERD as a tool of regional integration. Whereas, AA has issued fewer stories on same issue that stood barely close to two percent. The difference in the number of stories in this area might have emerged due to the very fact that Egypt is already exploiting Nile and it may not opt to publicize the advantages of Nile cooperation and Nile's benefit for irrigation and electrification (rather wanting to hide Nile as huge economic factor).

In the contrary, Ethiopia seems hopeful of exploiting Nile for poverty alleviation and EH boldly covered that GERD may bring huge economic opportunities when it is finalized; aspiring to show the world the amount of economic development it may achieve when GERD is realized.

Hence, the difference might have occurred due to the stance of countries and their policy on GERD (Egypt's policy of maintaining Nile utilization versus Ethiopia's firm stand of equitable use of Nile and mutual benefit). For instance, Ethiopia wants to exploit GERD on the principle of ``*insignificant impact*`` and it wants to express development benefits of GERD, while Egypt insists on securing its existent benefit as ``*historical right*`` and does not want to show other Nile Basin countries the economic aspect of Nile and hence the narration differs; AA states

GERD construction and operation from the point of view of losing millions of cubic meters of water and the ensuing economic crisis to people and Egypt's farm lands.

4.7. Coverage of GERD in view of Theories of Media and Government Relation

4.7.1. Hegemony

Hegemony is defined as the predominance of one state or social group over others (Merriam W., 2008). In this regard, Nile is one of the rivers that has been used to show the hegemony of Egypt for a long time. And numerous literatures written on Nile evidenced that Egypt has been the principal hegemonic state in the Nile basin far better than other Nile riparian states (as it has been harnessing it for irrigation agriculture since time immemorial, far better than any state along the basin). According to Mahemud (2018), Egypt has been capable of maintaining its role as the regional hydro-hegemonic through a myriad of mechanisms and tactics and it has been effectively hindering any competition over its water supply.

According to him, however, recently the upstream states, especially Ethiopia, are challenging the Egyptians entrenched hydro hegemony and Nile status quo by undertaking various measures to change and challenge the status quo. In this regard, the adoption of Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA), launching of the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI), the construction of the GERD and the signing of Declaration of Principles (DoPs) are examples of those measures (Mahemud, 2018).

One of the best mechanisms Egypt employed to maintain its role as the regional hydro-hegemonic (and tactics to hinder any competitor like Ethiopia) is employing the coverage of powerful media one of whom is AA. In this regard, AA, as a predominant Egyptian government newspaper, has focused a lot about Nile to show its readers that Nile is the sole property of Egypt. For instance, AA

has been repeatedly covering the mythical saying known since the time of Herodotus (who actually coined it), ‘*Egypt is the gift of the Nile*’.

As a proof, Hallin (1994, p. 23) stated that cultural institutions like the media are part of the process by which a world-view compatible with the existing structure of power in society is reproduced. In line with this, AA has been continuously publicizing the saying ‘*Egypt is the gift of the Nile*’ and tried to sustain the existing power status quo and hegemony of Egypt regarding the ownership and utilization of Nile.

In the contrary, EH has also been working to help prevail the ideology of Ethiopia by regularly issuing articles on Nile cooperation, the principle of insignificant impact and equitable water sharing based on international water laws. In this regard, Deetz(1994) noted that media does not represent things that already exist; it produces what we believe to be natural, and leading the domination of some interests.

EH has also been issuing articles to instill the relatively newest idea ‘*Ethiopia’s stance of insignificant impact related to GERD and Nile cooperation*’’. It also tried to connect GERD with the victory of Adawa in its issue of March, 2020, ‘*GERD has an element of Adawa in it.*’ EH cited these ideas based on the aspiration of Ethiopia to win the diplomatic battle geared towards finalization of GERD, which is all about hegemony.

4.7.2. The Indexing Approach

AA, as a government newspaper, has been issuing articles that promote the interest of Egypt on GERD while criticizing the stance of Ethiopia as an acceptable. For instance, AA has published two articles on July, 2020 that articles read as “ *Ethiopia makes controversial statements on filling GERD one day after agreeing to continue AU-sponsored negotiations and the GERD will have negative impacts not only on Egypt but also on poor communities in Ethiopia, as well as on its Nile Basin neighbors.*”

This kind of coverage is intended to empower the stand of Egypt while nullifying the contrary stance of Ethiopia. In relation to this, Entman(1993)c confirmed that the way you define a problem promote particular perceptions, interpretation, evaluation, and solution that benefit one side, while obscuring the other sides. And, hence, AA has employed the indexing approach of media coverage to help strengthen the national interest of Egypt and discredit the views of Ethiopia on GERD.

Similarly, EH has come up with articles that noted “*Egypt’s stand on GERD is against entire upper basin countries not only Ethiopia and Egypt’s foreign policy towards Africa is ‘Africa take your Africannes and I will take your resources’.*” This kind of coverage is meant to empower the stance of Ethiopia and discredit Egypt as AA discredited Ethiopia’s policy on GERD as mere “*intransigence*” in its 31 March, 2020 edition(*At the roots of the GERD; Ethiopian intransigence*

on Nile water negotiations''. In this regard, Ethiopia: *A headache for Africa*(on 22 June,2020) and *Unfounded claims on the GERD*(on 22 July, 2020) are also included in AA rejection of Ethiopia.

This coverage is made with choice of headline intended to attract the attention of other African countries towards Ethiopia and reject the ideas of Egypt on GERD. In this regard, Reese, Gandy and Grant (2001, p.23) stated that indexing entails selecting and highlighting certain words, phrases, metaphors, choosing certain pictures, referring certain sources, and making certain contextual references.

Over all, it can be said that both AA and EH have used indexing approach to cover GERD issues, influence their readers, attract the lime light of public opinion towards their target and win the agenda of GERD. Each newspaper tried to promote particular perceptions, interpretation, evaluation, and solution that benefit its side of owner by obscuring the other side (Entman, 2003).

4.7.3. Discussion of GERD Media Coverage

RQ-1: Media Coverage Similarities and Differences between Ethiopian Herald and Al Ahram of Egypt on the Coverage of GERD

The analysis has showed that 65 % percent of the articles in EH have included information about the day to day progress of the project including the level and size increment of the Dam. Whereas, few articles in AA had come up with the coverage of GERD's day to day progress; only 5 % of the articles from AA merely hinted about the day to day information of the Dam.

Similarly, cooperation-related stories issued in AA are incomparably fewer than the ones appearing on EH (6.41%) and it is the area most neglected by AA. And hence, it can be stated that AA seems disinterested to publicize and promote cooperation in the issue of GERD.

In the contrary, EH has come up with bigger number of stories that kindly call up on all Nile riparian countries to end rivalry and commence cooperation (24.35%).

Based on the findings, cooperation is least focus of AA (6.41%) while EH has devoted many of its columns to more stories of cooperation (24.35%) and the coverage of cooperation in EH excelled AA tri-fold.

RQ - 2: Major Focus of AA and EH Newspapers regarding GERD Reporting

AA has devoted more columns to cover issues of diplomatic endeavor being exerted on the matters of GERD (25.64%).As, witnessed from figures, diplomacy is the second largest thematic focus of AA next to the area of negotiation.

In the contrary, EH has come up with 13.46% GERD stories that reveal the effort of Ethiopia in the sphere of diplomacy while AA has published more number of stories (32.69%) in this category and negotiation is the main focus of AA.

Similarly, AA has issued nearly three-fold more stories (32.69 %) of negotiation than EH (12.82%). Hence, negotiation is noticeably the major attention of AA.

RQ - 3: Media Coverage Controversies Surrounding the GERD

Overall, EH has conveyed the message of Nile utilization for economic development in stories that account 15.38% of its coverage and mention GERD as a tool of regional integration. Whereas, AA has issued fewer stories on same issue that stood barely close to two percent. The difference in the number of stories in this area might have emerged due to the very fact that Egypt is already exploiting Nile and it may not opt to publicize the advantages of Nile cooperation and Nile's benefit for irrigation and electrification (rather wanting to hide Nile as huge economic factor).

The study has found that AA tried to cover the negotiation aspect of GERD more extensively while AA tried to give more emphasis to cooperation and economic aspect of GERD. This happened may be due to the opposite stand of both countries; Egypt wants to sustain the 1959 water allocation agreement with Sudan while Ethiopia wants to utilize Nile water through cooperation and explicitly depicting the benefit of Nile water to alleviate poverty and garner the support of Nile riparian countries through cooperation.

4.7.4. GERD Coverage Study in the Context of Previous Studies

The effect of the media on GERD coverage is wide and both newspapers may have the intended or unintended consequences of what the mass media does (McQuail, 2010). Accordingly, both newspapers may have their own effects on their audience in their own respective countries. Similarly, the GERD media coverage is tightly correlated with Comparative Content Analysis of Print Media Coverage of Kenyan Parliamentarians (Onsomu, 2012), Media Coverage of PISA(2012), Readership Content Analysis of Reliability in Advertising(2012 and De Vreese and Semetko's Political campaigning in referendums(2004).

4.7.5. Further Deductions and Explanations of the Findings

Both EH and AA have tried to cover the issues of GERD based on their own national interest. And both newspapers squandered the media coverage opportunity to integrate the region through cooperation and promoting equitable Nile water utilization.

More or less, both newspapers have included coverage related to cooperation and negotiation. However, these issues in the GERD are harmonized with prioritizing their own national interest and are not truly stated contents that strengthen mutual benefit through cooperation. In this regard, both newspapers should refrain from issuing articles that have provocative content and focus more on issues that enhance cooperation and mutual benefit on GERD and Nile.

4.7.6. Discussion on Potential Future Research on GERD Coverage

This GERD coverage study has contributed its own to understand how the current coverage focus of AA and EH is like. It has also contributed its own to identify which area of coverage has got the main focus. For instance, the economic benefit sector of coverage is not vastly dealt with and both newspapers and are they expected to do more on this invaluable area. However, the study on coverage of GERD related to AA and EH is not thoroughly and all-inclusive finding. Hence, further research should be conducted on the area of GERD framing, GERD theme analysis and GERD coverage before August 2019 and after February 2020. In addition, it is better to study the area of GERD

coverage in those newspapers by taking wider samples and information sources to help include better coverage, theme and content analysis.

4.7.7. GERD Coverage Study Take Away

The research has found out that the coverage of EH and AA completely differ related to securing the interest of their own countries: Ethiopia's stance of insignificant impact of GERD on Nile water and Egypt's significant impact on same issues. Hence, both newspapers did not work to enhance consensus on the mutual benefit of both countries and the region. Particularly, EH has worked to cover the issue of GERD from the vantage point of Ethiopia's effort to strengthen cooperation and mutual benefit. Whereas AA has worked to secure the hydro-hegemony and status quo of Egypt over the GERD and the water of Nile and secure its 1959 agreement through negotiation.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. Summary

This research was made on comparative media coverage study of GERD on Ethiopian Herald and Al Ahram newspaper of Egypt and tried to answer the research questions; what are the media coverage similarities and differences between Ethiopian Herald and Al Ahram newspaper of Egypt on the coverage of GERD? What are the major media frames employed in those newspapers regarding the GERD attribution? And what are the media coverage controversies surrounding the GERD?

The research used comparative analysis and employs content analysis on EH and AA. It is an analytical research and the researcher utilizes the facts and information about GERD obtained from the websites of newspapers mentioned above.

The reason why content analysis was chosen to deal with the present topic rests upon several virtues of the specific approach. First, it is agreed on as an objective, systematic and general approach. Second, it allows both quantitative and qualitative operations. Compared with mere qualitative studies, the features of variables can be quantified into particular data.

Accordingly, it employed purposive sampling method to study coverage of GERD on EH and AA. This study has taken its samples focusing on the online news coverage of GERD published by the two news outlets. To this end, soft copies of articles were collected from EH and AA data bases as these newspapers are most read government newspapers (and politically most involved in the causes of GERD, in their respective countries).

The newspapers were selected based on their circulation rates and practical considerations of government ownership and their influence owing to their publicity related to GERD in their respective localities.

This study has focused on the time span between February 2019 to August 2020 due to the occurrence of large amount of GERD-related article in EH and AA(which was seemingly stalled and non-existent before February 2019 and the announcement of the progress of GERD by the Ethiopian PM, Abiy Ahmed, on August 2018 and its publication of recovery from METEC crisis).

On the whole, to help organize the study, 156 samples of articles published about the GERD negotiation and facts were selected from both newspapers in the afore mentioned particular time. Hence, each newspaper is represented by 78 samples of articles that have GERD-related theme as its main issue.

5.2. Major Findings

The data analysis has showed that 65 % percent of the articles in EH revealed that they have included information about the day to day progress of the project including the level and size increment of the Dam. In the contrary, few articles in AA had come up with the coverage of GERD's day to day progress; only 5 % of the articles from AA merely hinted about the day to day information of the Dam.

AA has published 12.82% stories that express provocation and mere expression of sentiments of the writer and cannot be proved. AA has published more number of stories (32.69%) in this category, which seems issuing stories of negotiation is the main focus of AA. Similarly, when compared with stories of negotiation published in EH, AA has issued nearly three-fold more stories (32.69 %) than EH (12.82%), which has come up with less number of stories. Accordingly, publishing stories of negotiation is noticeably the major attention of AA; unlike EH that has included fewer issues.

Cooperation-related stories issued in AA are incomparably fewer than the ones appearing on EH (6.41%) and it is the area most neglected by AA. And hence, it can be stated that AA seems disinterested to publicize and promote cooperation in the issue of GERD. In the contrary, EH has come up with bigger number of stories that kindly call up on all Nile riparian countries to end rivalry and commence cooperation (24.35%). All stories written on Nile cooperation boldly declare the benefit of regional cooperation through Nile and GERD.

Consequently, based on the facts, it could be inferred that cooperation is the thematic area least focused and issued by AA (6.41%) compared to other issues. In the contrary, EH has devoted many of its columns to more stories of cooperation (24.35%) and EH has noticeably made coverage of cooperation-related stories that excelled AA tri-fold.

BB has devoted more columns to cover issues of diplomatic endeavor being exerted on the matters of GERD (25.64%).As, witnessed from figures, diplomacy is the second largest thematic focus of AA next to the area of negotiation. In the contrary, EH has come up with 13.46% GERD stories that reveal the effort of Ethiopia in the sphere of diplomacy.

Based on the data, political coverage of AA amounts to 20.51 % of the articles published by it and it is the third largest issue that covers the pages of AA. Similarly, EH has issued 23.71% stories targeted to politics and supporting national interest related to GERD.

Regarding politics, AA has allocated 20.51% of its columns, while EH has devoted 23.71% coverage to same issue. Overall, EH has conveyed the message of Nile utilization for economic development in stories that account 15.38% of its coverage and mention GERD as a tool of regional integration. Whereas, AA has issued fewer stories on same issue that stood barely close to two percent. The difference in the number of stories in this area might have emerged due to the very fact that Egypt is already exploiting Nile and it may not opt to publicize the

advantages of Nile cooperation and Nile's benefit for irrigation and electrification (rather wanting to hide Nile as huge economic factor).

Politics is one of the major thematic areas which both newspapers tried to cover. However, figures in this area showed that both newspapers are going neck and neck (20.51% for AA and 23.71 % for EH).

Provocation is the least covered thematic area and the lowest concern of both newspapers. However, taken individually, economy is the least concern of AA(1.56%) while provocation is the lowest for EH(10.25%). It means both countries have prioritized other issues to provocation. And it implies that both newspapers have wider opportunities to forge better MR ties and help exploit GERD and Nile for the sake of mutual benefit.

5.3. Conclusion and Recommendation

The study has found that negotiation, diplomacy and political issues of GERD constitutes the majority of the total articles (78.84%) of AA followed by coverage of stories related to provocation (stories that cite issues related to victimhood and accusation) and cooperation which accounts for 19.23%. Hence, negotiation of GERD is the biggest coverage of Al-Ahram.

Namely, AA has given priority to publish stories related to GERD negotiation on one hand and shows the might of Egypt through publication of provocative stories on the other (more than double compared to EH); applying the coverage of provocation related to GERD is its top-most concern, where as coverage of negotiation stories comes second.

One way or the other, AA tried to prioritize the GERD-related interest of Egypt through publishing stories of negotiation in an extensive manner. Similarly, it sometimes cover GERD related stories in a kind of ``after me the deluge`` manner

(even some issues are very much polarized and they seem extremely unattainable through GERD negotiation). For instance, it regularly covers the 1959 colonial treaty as a base line of negotiation, which is now defunct and unacceptable by all countries of the Nile basin, except Egypt and Sudan, as it excluded them.

In this regard, based on the findings, we could say that AA is working to cover the negotiation effort of Egypt. The numerous editions in the issue of GERD showed that AA is interested to cover GERD negotiation by capitalizing on *“historical right and the significant impact”* stance of Egypt first and foremost.

In the contrary, EH has given more coverage to issues of GERD cooperation and politics (75%) followed by publication of economic aspect of the project (slightly over 15%). Similarly, EH has also employed economy-related coverage of GERD. And economic coverage aspect of GERD is also better treated in EH than AA, 15.38% and 1.92% respectively.

Similarly, EH has devoted greater coverage to issues of cooperation and economic consequence of GERD. EH in its negotiation and economic coverage has tried to show the benefit of cooperation between Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia and its advantage in the economic sector. It has also tried to indicate that the benefit of GERD is not limited to Ethiopia only, but also to Sudan, Egypt and all of the Nile Basin countries.

Most frequently, EH has described GERD as an essential element for the realization of Ethiopia’s endeavor of poverty alleviation and its aim of joining the level of middle income countries. Here, EH has capitalized on the coverage of electrifying rural Ethiopia and generating income through sale of electricity.

In the contrary, EH has given less coverage (compared to AA) for publication of issues that allude conflict (conflict frames) and tried to discourage subjects that provoke conflict among the Nile basin countries. In its coverage of GERD related

provocation, EH has mentioned historical battles between Ethiopia and Egypt in Gura and Gundet. It also hinted Adawa as a means to show victory and the colonial agreements of Egypt as witnesses of victimhood and expose it to the world.

Generally, AA has covered matters related to GERD from the angle of significant impact and stated GERD as a devastative project targeted to detach Egypt from its historical right to use Nile as its gift. Similarly, AA has covered GERD in line with impending danger on Egypt; Egypt is faced with clear and present danger of losing irrigable farm lands. Accordingly, it expressed GERD as a demonic structure targeted to kill the fertile land of Egypt and devastate irrigation farming on which millions of Egyptian farmers are dependent.

5.4. Recommendations

- Negotiation and diplomacy-related stories that have been covered by Ethiopian Herald are less in number than the ones on Al-Ahram, almost by half. It means either the country is lagging behind Egypt in the case of GERD-related diplomacy and negotiation or EH has no proper publication and follow up of such issues.
- Herald has covered more stories that depict GERD from the angle of politics. However, it should give similar significance to issue stories related to use of Nile to mutual benefit, negotiation, diplomacy and other stories that may help iron out allegation, suspicion and false criticism on GERD.
- It should also work to cover more stories that encourage negotiation and diplomacy (at least as much as Al-Ahram) as a means to help Ethiopia secure its interest in GERD diplomacy and negotiation.
- AA has issued more stories that incite conflict, provoke and accuse Ethiopia in the affairs of GERD. Whereas, it has given least emphasis to its coverage of cooperation and economic integration, which is essential to promote development, peace and integration through GERD.
- AA's coverage of GERD from the vantage point of economic development is also one of the least, almost close to none. Hence, it is advisable for AA to come up with more stories that encourage cooperation and regional integration in matters related to use of GERD (and Nile) to economic development and regional integration.
- Most importantly, AA should increase its publication of stories that may enhance cooperation and regional integration through GERD (and Nile), which in turn may show that Nile is the wealth of all Nile basin countries.

- Economically, AA should show that Ethiopia has started to connect its neighbors with electric grid and GERD may forge better opportunity to regional connection as far as Cairo.
- AA should also be bold enough to show that GERD would help supply enough water for the irrigation need of Egypt, without any fluctuation throughout the year.

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APPENDIX I

CODING INSTRUMENT

A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF GERD on Herald And Al Ahrum from February 2019 to August 30, 2020. This project will meet the basic requirements of published article.

SECTION A: INTRODUCTION

- 1. Newspaper :the Ethiopian Herald and Al Ahrum
- 2. Date of print arrival (day/month/year).....
- 3. Article headline (on WP).....
- 4. Category/type of article.....

SECTION B : FREQUENCY and PROMINENCE OF THE STORY

What issue received more coverage in the articles?

What is the subject matter of the articles in the newspaper?

Provocation.....

Cooperation.....

Negotiation.....

Economic

Diplomacy.....

Political.....

MEDIA ANALYSIS PROTOCOL(adapted from PISA:2012)

Background

Your name (1) _____

Country name (2) _____

Q3. Article ID _____

Q4. Source/newspaper: _____

Q5. Date of publication Month / Day / Year _____

Q6. Headline: _____

Q7. Subhead: _____

Q8. Author: _____

Q9. Page number: _____

Q10. Location: _____

Story focus

(1) GERD /other issue _____

(2) Editorial Pages/Section _____

(3) Section not given _____

(4) Other _____

Q5. In what form the article presents the GERD issues?

Q6. What is tone of the article as a whole?

1-Scandalization (negative tone)

2-Glorification (positive tone)

3-Neutral (simply reporting on results)

4- I'm not sure

Overall, what argument(s) the article is trying to convey?

How does it make its appeal to the reader?

Q5 Does the article refer to results of other countries or regions?

Q6.. Yes, if so please provide details:

Q7.. Does the article provide possible explanations about GERD?

Yes, if so please provide details: _____

Q8. Does the article provide description and/or details about GERD? (Mark all that apply)

What GERD (the acronym) stands for (1) What it is?

Q9. Does the article discuss the implications of the GERD to each country?

Yes, if so please provide details: _____

Q10. Could you identify causal arguments presented in the GERD articles?

Yes, if so please provide details:) _____

Q11. What is the focus of the article?

Q12. Does the article call for negotiation and Cooperation or recommend support from other sources?

Q13. Does the article compare GERD with other country's national interest?

(1) Yes, if so please provide details _____

APPENDIX III Article ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Newspapers population from February 2019 to August 2020 =537(365 days + half year 172). Hence 29 percent of the samples are included in the study.

Coder 1	Coder 2	Coder 3	Coder 4	Coder 5	Coder 6	
1	2	3	4	5	6	
7	8	9	10	11	12	
13	14	15	16	17	18	
19	20	21	22	23	24	
25	26	27	28	29	30	
31	32	33	34	35	36	
37	38	39	40	41	42	
43	44	45	46	46	48	
49	50	51	52	53	54	
55	56	57	58	59	60	
61	62	63	64	65	66	
67	68	69	70	71	72	
73	74	75	76	77	78	
79	80	81	82	83	84	
85	86	87	88	89	90	
91	92	93	94	95	96	
97	98	99	100	101	102	
103	104	105	106	107	108	
109	110	11	112	113	114	
115	116	117	118	119	120	
121	122	123	124	125	126	

Coder 1	Coder 2	Coder 3	Coder 4	Coder 5	Coder 6
133	134	135	135	137	138
139	140	141	142	143	144
145	146	147	148	149	150

APPENDIX IV LIST OF HEADLINES FOR ETHIOPIAN HERALD

GERD has an element of Adwa in it!

Cooperation

President calls on Ethiopians to repeat Adwa victory spirit to finalize

GERD

No force can stop Ethiopians from realizing GERD's construction: House
of Federation members

The GERD: A source of integration and cooperation

GERD serves common interest of Ethiopia, Egypt, and Sudan

Ethiopia never falters on GERD cooperation!

GERD strengthening cooperation, equitable utilization between
neighboring countries

GERDP – sweet fruit of decades of cooperation

Sudan: A key player for cooperation on GERD talks

GERD: The uniting factor

“Accomplishment of GERD will be an indication for regional integration
for the benefits of the Nile basin countries ” – WondimuTekleSigo

(Engineer), Ph.D. Candidate

Bygone is Bygone: Let's Unite for Change Engine Rejuvenation

GERD is developmental hope for all East African People: Kenyan scholars

+ coop

GERD: Factor for regional integration

Ethiopia's GERD aspiration: Ensuring dev't, sharing its blessings with
neighbors + dev't

Cooperation is imperative for an agreement on filling, and operation of

GERD

Economic & Development stories

GERD: An asset for maximal FDI attraction

GERD, WB goals and Ethiopia's efforts to achieve the SDGs

The GERD after twenty years
Nation to commence GERD filling in July
Filling GERD will begin this rainy season: PM Abiy
Why the filling of GERD should start this summer
GERD to boost FDI flow, reduce poverty in East Africa
GERDP leaves enduring lesson on mega project execution amid challenges
GERD's saddle dam: Successful completion, high quality
GERD: Our dam beyond economic reasons
The GERD: Resilient energy camel for pastoralists' transformation in Ethiopia + political
Ethiopia's approach to GERD will lead to inclusive development: Experts
Public procures GERD bond worth 324 mln Birr
GERD talks in US fruitful in bringing win-win result
GERD filling process never be bone of contention: Scholars
US-Mediated GERD talks and the prospects of a fair settlement
Colonial era mentality hindering GERD talks progress: Expert
Colonial-era treaties are to blame for the unresolved dispute over Ethiopia's dam
Mixing negotiation with externalization is no solution to the stalemate on GERD
Ethiopia pulls out of this week's GERD talks in Washington: Ministry
Precursors of the ongoing GERD talks
Conducting negotiations on GERD in good faith for a win-win outcome
Trilateral talks over GERD continues
Making a fair deal: Walking on the right path of history
Unflinching rhetoric standing on the way of an Agreed settlement
Ethiopia adheres to legal procedures in GERD talks
Negotiating delegates should still consider Ethiopian national interest about GERD, scholars
GERD: Ethiopia, Sudan, Egypt achieve significant results The vicious circle of GERD talks and the light at the end of the tunnel

Final GERD deal expected to ensure fair utilization

Resuming the Negotiations No need for Egypt to take GERD dispute to international arbitration

Patience and farsightedness needed to resume talks on GERD

Analyst slams AU over silence as 3rd parties interfere on GERD

Tripartite talk addresses technical issues on GERD

Diplomatic stories

GERD Diplomacy Ethiopia's determination, Egypt's pragmatism and US impartiality

By

The National Interest- A stab on Ethiopia's back? The US administration's true intentions on the GERD

Political spinelessness or a plot gone wrong? Egypt's and Sudan's flip-flopping diplomacy on filling the GERD

Sudan: A key player for cooperation on GERD talks

Best way to reach final agreement (On GERD) is in the hands of the parties, ambassadors said

Ethiopia proceeds to brief ambassadors on GERD

GERD briefings to diplomatic corps paying off, says MoFA

Diplomats in upturning fallacious information on GERD , scholars

Russia concerned on US , WHO ties, GERD talks

GERD's diplomatic deal overview

Professor Emeritus, Attorney at Law says U.S. must accede to principle of 'African solutions for African problems' – Calls on U.S to revoke "Agreement" on GERD

Russia concerned on US , WHO ties, GERD talks

Kenya's reaction to the GERD project reflects the general sentiment in the region

GERD is developmental hope for all East African People: Kenyan scholars

Egypt's stand on GERD is against entire upper basin countries not only

Ethiopia: Scholar

A gunboat diplomacy tainted with lies and deception: Ten hard facts on Nile suppressed by Egypt

“Utilizing Arabic key in promoting Ethiopia’s cause on GERD”: Activists Congressional Black Caucus urges U.S, International actors to continue to play an impartial role in GERD negotiations

Ethiopia restates its position on GERD to UNSC

Sudan opposes Egypt’s resort to Security Council to resolve GERD issues

GERD’s special value goes beyond development: Diplomat

Political stories

Why Egyptians politicize science on GERD?

Panelists back GERD, call on Ethiopia to utilize Arabic media

Egypt’s foreign policy towards Africa: Africa take your Africannes, I take your resources

Nation needs to keep watchful eye on Cairo amid reviving GERD talks

MoFA, competing political parties undertake national conference on GERD

Egyptian geologist slams claims of GERDs technical shortcomings

GERD: Matter of sovereignty

Sound stance key to steadfastness!

GERD is loading ...prosperity installing: No bow to terror and injustice

GERD potentially reshuffles obscurity to brightness

Ethiopia slams attempt to link Ethio-Sudan Border incident to GERD

Ethiopia never retreats from filling GERD

GERD is source of light, not conflicts” The Water filling is like reaping their harvest to Ethiopians: Experts Egypt’s Narrative of GERD: A

Deception Strategy to Misperceive the International Community

Smear campaigns never stop GERD

Residents reaffirm filling GERD legitimate right

Mixing negotiation with externalization is no solution to the stalemate on GERD

GERD: Analyst urges domestic media outlets to live up to international

standards

GERD Signifies Dev't, Natural Right for Ethiopia: A Researcher

Ethiopians breathing new life into GERD

Ethiopians eagerly awaiting the day GERD sees the day's light

Ethiopia expresses dismay over Arab League's "Resolution" on GERD

Ethiopia is not building GERD at the will, support of third party:

Government

Why Ethiopia needs to be more self-confident and assertive to finalize

GERD project

The Ethiopian government does not accept foreign diktat over GERD

Ethiopia to make sure clarity of GERD comprehensive document

The Premier's firm stance on the GERD

GERD: Issue of survival, sovereignty

GERD National pride or national disaster?:

Ethiopia still committed for final, fair agreement on GERD: MoFA

Ethiopia says GERD should never be an object of mistrust

Experts rebuke Egypt's 'futile attempt to politicize GERD technical issue'

No false allegation stops the unstoppable dam

GERD, a sovereign flagship project for collective gains: Scholars

The ongoing reform becomes for the sake of GERD's survival,"

Ethiopia rejects Egypt's new GERD filling proposal

Ethiopia expresses dismay over Arab League's "Resolution" on GERD

Environmental stories

Blue and Green: Ethiopia working to ensure environmental protection

around GERD

Nation set to remove woods for GERD's reservoir area

Saving Lake Tana critical to save monastic life, ensure water flow to

GERD

Institute finalizes preparation to prevent loss of plant species during GERD

APPENDIX IV LIST OF HEADLINES FOR AL AHRAM

At the roots of the GERD

AttiaEssawi traces the long history of Ethiopian intransigence on Nile water negotiations

GERD might cause a sharp reduction in Egypt's historic quota of Nile Water
Satellite images show Ethiopia dam reservoir swelling

AP , Tuesday 14 Jul 2020

Cairo has 'nothing to do' with current tensions in Ethiopia: Egyptian diplomat
There has been a wave of demonstrations in Ethiopia after a popular singer was shot dead in the capital last week

Ahram Online , Sunday 5 Jul 2020

Sisi affirms Egypt is committed to 'diplomatic path' in resolving GERD crisis
Menna Alaa El-Din , Wednesday 24 Jun 2020

47- Egypt says no breakthrough reached on second day of AU-sponsored GERD talks-

Ahram Online , Saturday 4 Jul 2020

Ethiopia's Violation of International Law

73- Sudan says GERD's potential benefits could 'turn into risks'-169

Ahram Online , Wednesday 24 Jun 2020

96- Egypt: National security crises-236

What can Cairo do about the chaos over its western border, and its ongoing differences with Addis Ababa over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam?

Dina Ezzat , Tuesday 16 Jun 2020

The geographical unity of the Nile

138- Water rivalry on the Nile-333

In an effort to overcome competition over water resources, Nile Basin countries can collaborate in harvesting more rainfall and increase Nile flow to maximize benefit sharing to reach a win-win solution

Hani Sewilam, Thursday 16 Apr 2020

4-Egypt will keep pushing for GERD agreement, stability in Libya: Presidency-

- Ethiopia: A headache for Africa-190

Abdel-Mohsen Salama , Monday 22 Jun 2020

83- Egypt says UN must stop Ethiopia on dam fill-195

AP , Monday 22 Jun 2020

104- Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan release differing statements on fresh round of GERD talks-262

The three countries all released statements about this week's digital negotiations on the mega-dam

106- Ethiopia's new GERD proposal retreats on previous agreed principles, says Egypt-267

Ahram Online , Thursday 11 Jun 2020

110- Egypt calls on Ethiopia to commit to 'no unilateral action' on GERD before end of negotiations-272

Ahram Online , Monday 8 Jun 2020

Ethiopia 'would think twice' about filling GERD without prior agreement if met by strong stance from Egypt, Sudan: Sudanese FM-285

Ahram Online , Sunday 7 Jun 2020

Foreign Minister Sameh Shoukry said Ethiopia should not act unilaterally

Ahram Online , Thursday 4 Jun 2020

122- Further escalation in Nile dam dispute must be avoided: EU foreign policy chief-295

Ahram Online , Friday 29 May 2020

150- Egypt parliament to discuss boycotting companies participating in GERD construction -362

The meeting is part of greater efforts aimed at pressuring Ethiopia to sign the US-brokered GERD agreement

Gamal Essam El-Din , Monday 16 Mar 2020

GERD & Ethiopian Water Resources: Is it an 'Aspiration for Hydropower' or 'Hegemony for Water Power'?!

KhaledAbu Zeid , Tuesday 16 Jun 2020

Analysis of disagreements on the GERD

Petition to preserve Egyptians' right to Nile water amasses over 112,000 signatures

The petition calls for a “balanced win-win solution” to the GERD crisis

Ahram Online , Saturday 18 Apr 2020

Ethiopian Foreign Minister Gedu says resolving the long-running dispute with Egypt over its giant dam on the River Nile requires 'strong political will' from Egypt

Mahmoud Aziz , Tuesday 17 Mar 2020

Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan release differing statements on fresh round of GERD talks

