



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION

MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF THE GERD NEGOTIATIONS: THE
CASE OF AL-AHRAM, FANA BROADCASTING CORPORATE (FBC)
AND BBC ONLINE

BY

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This is to certify that the thesis presented by Getahun Shiferaw Belayneh, entitled Media Representation of The GERD Negotiations: The Case of Al-Ahram, Fana Broadcasting Corporate (FBC) and BBC Online Submitted to the School of Journalism and Communication Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication Specialty in multimedia. It complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standard with respect to originality and quality.

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I the undersigned MA candidate declare that this thesis entitled *Media Representation of The GERD Negotiations: The Case of Al-Ahram, Fana Broadcasting Corporate (FBC) and BBC Online* is my original work and it has not submitted for any degree in any other university. All sources I used have properly acknowledged in the references.

Name Getahun Shiferaw Belayneh

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Date of Submission.....

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Abstract

The objective of the study was to analyze how the GERD negotiation was represented by FBC, Al-Ahram and BBC websites. To accomplish this purpose, media representation theory was used as theoretical frameworks to analyze the data. The time frame of the data was from January 2020 up to December 2020 and collected from <https://www.fanabc.com/>, <https://english.ahram.org.eg/> and <https://www.bbc.com/>. Mixed research design was used. Accordingly, quantitative content analysis and discourse analysis were employed for this study. The purpose of the quantitative content analysis was to classify and examine the representation and sources cited by the selected media. The aim of the discourse analysis was to give detailed explanations of the words and phrases used by the selected media in unfolding the negotiation and to explain the representations that couldn't be explained only in numbers. The quantitative data was categorized in parallel with the story's nature of positive, negative, mixed, and neutral representations and it had two categories which are representation analysis and sources cited by the selected media. The results of this study indicated that FBC and Al-Ahram had a larger positive representation whereas BBC had a larger negative representation. When we see the sources, FBC, Al-Ahram and BBC cited people and documents as their sources of information in the articles, and people appeared to be the major sources of information for all the three media outlets. Results from the qualitative discourse analysis revealed that the selected websites used various words and expressions to describe the countries, the negotiation, and the GERD. The discourse analysis also showed that the GERD were described in different ways. FBC and Al-Ahram headlines were skewed mostly to positive whereas BBC's portrayal of the dam has negative representation. Al-Ahram depicted the dam as 'Ethiopian Mega-dam', 'GERD', 'Nile Dam', '\$4.8 billion near-complete dam'. FBC portrayal of the dam were the same across all the headlines which is 'GERD'. The representation of the GERD in BBC's headlines were 'Ethiopian Dam', 'Nile Dam', 'Controversial Mega Dam', 'Ethiopia's river Nile dam', 'River Nile Dam', 'Nile Giant Dam'. The portrayal and representation of the dam on BBC's and Al-Ahram's headline have some similarities in expression. Al-Ahram depicted the dam from size, the investment it took and using the generic name of the river.

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this paper who devoted their time, money, knowledge, energy and even their life for the realization of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam.

List of Abbreviations

AU	Africa Union
B.C	Before Christ
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CBC	Congressional Black Caucus
CFA	Cooperative Framework Agreement
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ENSAP	Eastern Nile Subsidiary Action Program
ENTRO	Eastern Nile Technical Regional Office
EU	European Union
FBC	Fana Broadcasting Corporation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GERD	Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
NBI	Nile Basin Initiative
NELSAP	Nile Equatorial Lakes Subsidiary Action Program
NELSAP-CU	Nile Equatorial Lakes Subsidiary Action Program Coordination Unit
SAP	Subsidiary Action Program
TECCONILE	Technical Cooperation Committee of Nile
TV	Television
UN	United Nation
UNSC	United Nation Security Council

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

The Nile basin covers eleven countries which includes Burundi , Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, DRC, Kenya, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Sudan, Eritrea and Egypt (Nile Basin Initiative, 2020). Ethiopia contributes 80 per cent of the water share to the Nile River and the rest comes from the remaining countries (Arsano, 2007, p.122). Egypt and Sudan are the downstream countries which contributes none to the river. However, both countries (Egypt and Sudan) are the most who benefited from the river (Arega, 2019, p.9).

Ethiopia had waited long to fulfil its desire to build a dam over the Abay River (the major tributary of Nile River) to accelerate its economic growth and to halt the frequent power outages and power shortages. To accommodate this, Ethiopia has planned to build a dam over the Nile and laid a foundation stone on April 2, 2011. The announcement and the laying down of the foundation stone incited the two downstream countries and they claimed that the dam would affect the water shares they could get from the river. Ethiopia pronounced that the dam would not cause any major impact in the volume of water that downstream countries could get from the river. Nevertheless, primarily Egypt, and Sudan were not persuaded by the explanation Ethiopia had provided and urged to sit for a tripartite negotiation. Since then, consecutive negotiations were made between the three countries, but they have not reached into consensus yet and the negotiation is still on going. Nevertheless, throughout the negotiations that has been conducted yet, Egypt and Ethiopia appeared to be the main actors and Sudan remained to be the balancing stance for both countries to win the negotiation. Sudan claims, according to (AllAfrica, 2020) that the Dam could have a benefit in controlling the floods that the Nile causes every year and provides a consistent and regulated water flow for irrigation throughout the year.

From the time when the foundation stone was laid down on 2 April 2011, the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam turned out to be one of the hot topics in the regional and world hydro politics. As

a result, it brought many actors and interest groups to the arena and the negotiation process grow being the major political headlines for the media.

The media, however, perceived to serve the interest of the greater public, story/news/ representation always affected by the origin of the media outlet, target audience, intended message and editorial policy.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In recent years, online media are becoming more important and are serving as an alternative media to citizens for their daily information consumption and news source. In addition to their basic medium like television, radio, newspaper and magazine, most mainstream media have an online platform/extension to reach out their audience in a convenient way.

In the past few decades, the use and penetration of social media is increasing throughout the world. In 2020, over 3.6 billion people were using social media worldwide, a number projected to increase to almost 4.41 billion in 2025 (Statista, 2020). In addition, media consumption across the globe is also increasingly happening in digital formats. The increase in the number of devices capable of supporting digital media along with increasing internet access speed, has provided consumers with an option to access the media content of his/her choice be it information, entertainment, or social activity anytime, anywhere (Deloitte, 2020).

Some scholars claim that how people think about an issue, particularly a political issue that is characteristically unique is dependent on how the issue is portrayed by the media (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000 as cited in Heran, 2019). Thus, media can promote some interests or actors who seek power and disapproval of their opponents without the audience's conscious awareness (Entman, 2010). Hence, a media may portray a story or inform an audience in a particular way of representing it.

Media also represents places, people, culture, and occurrences in some way. Hence, media representation refers to the construction of reality, particularly how the mass media portrayed some aspects such as events, people, places, objects, and cultural identities. Such representations may be in speech, writing or pictures. Most of the time identity, class, age, gender and ethnicity supposed to be emphasized (Griffiths, 2010). In a media representation, the source of information a particular

media cites in a certain story has an implication whether the media would have a positive, negative or mixed slant towards an issue (Inzunza-Acedo, 2017 as cited in Heran, 2019).

As it was stated earlier in this paper, the on-going negotiations on the GERD has attracted many actors and is becoming more of a regional as well as international interest. Due to this, major media outlets have an eye on it and follow the developing stories from time to time. The reason why the researcher of this paper selected Al-Ahram, FBC and BBC online was that these three media outlets have their own interest in representing the GERD negotiation since two of the media outlets, FBC and Al-Ahram, are from the two major negotiating countries, Ethiopia and Egypt respectively and BBC is from the western world. The two media from the two negotiating countries, FBC and Al-Ahram, may represent the GERD negotiation in a certain way since they have a consigned interest. On the other hand, BBC, since it is one of the western media outlets, the representation of the GERD negotiation in their news may reflect their stand towards it. However, the researcher did not include any media from Sudan because of the reason that, Sudan's stand all over the negotiations was in between the two countries (Ethiopia and Egypt) until recent months where it appeared to align with Egypt. Thus, for the purpose of this research and considering the timeframe where the data is being collected, the researcher decide to exclude any media outlets from Sudan.

Therefore, the researcher of this paper believes that analysing the GERD negotiation from the media representation point of view would show how these medias are representing the negotiation, what interests would they have, and it might also have an impact in the regional and world politics.

1.3 Objectives of the Research

The general objective of this research paper is to analyse how Al-Ahram, FBC and BBC represented the GERD negotiation in their online media platform.

The specific objectives are

- To find out how the online media platforms of Al-Ahram, FBC and BBC represented the GERD negotiation.
- To identify the sources cited by Al-Ahram, FBC and BBC online in covering the GERD negotiations.

- Analyse the differences and similarities between the online platform texts of Al-Ahram, FBC and BBC in representing the GERD negotiations.

1.4 Research Questions

To analyse media representation of the GERD negotiation in Al-Ahram, FBC and BBC online, this research tries to answer the following three questions:

1. How did the selected media online platforms represent the GERD negotiation in their news?
2. What sources are used as a reference by the selected media online platforms in covering GERD negotiation?
3. What are the differences and similarities between the online platform of Al-Ahram, FBC and BBC online in representing the GERD negotiations?

1.5 Significance of the study

The researcher considers this study may deliver the most current facts about how the selected media represented the GERD negotiations on their online platform. Accordingly, the results of this study would help to understand how the negotiations were represented in the selected media. It would also serve as a reference in analyzing the representation for further study since the negotiation has not been finalized yet.

In addition, the researcher believes that the findings from this research could serve as a springboard for another same or related study.

1.6 Scope of the study

The study focuses particularly on the online platforms or websites of Al-Ahram, FBC and BBC. Since these media websites provide multimedia contents (video, audio, picture, and text), the target of this research will only be on the texts. In addition, the selected medias other platforms; radio, TV and newspaper are out of the scope of this research.

The GERD negotiation between the parties is not yet finalized and it is still an ongoing process. Thus, to put this research in to perspective, time frame is mandatory. Due to this, the focus of this paper will be on media representations of the GERD negotiations that took place from January 2020

to December 2020 on the selected media. Any media representation of the GERD negotiations on these media prior to or after the aforementioned period will be excluded.

1.7 Limitation of the study

The researcher believes that the major limitation of this study is that it does not include video, audio, pictures, and editorial texts from the selected media online platforms. It only analyzes the news stories/articles/ and opinions that were published in the specified time in the selected medias online platform.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Review of Related Literature

This section highlighted and studied some of the agreements signed & implemented over the Nile before and after the colonial era. In addition, it presented a brief explanation and background of the Nile and the interest of the two major countries, Egypt and Ethiopia. Moreover, this section is concerned with overview of the dams over the Nile, the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, and the negotiations. There is also a brief discussion of the theoretical framework of the study – Media representation theory together with their applicability to the objective of the study and the research questions that were emanated from the objective of the research.

2.1 Overview of the Nile Basin

The Nile basin covers 11 countries which comprise Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda. South Sudan is the new state and is the 11th riparian state (Reuters, July 9, 2011). It is also home to the Nile valley which is, according to Arsano (2008) one of the oldest places in the world where its ancient inhabitants husbanded the water resources that engendered the valley a cradle of civilization, thereby creating ancient polities and empires. The famous Pharaonic civilization of Egypt is inseparable from the great Nile waters. The ancient Sudanese state of Merowe and the Aksumite Empire of ancient Ethiopia were firmly rooted in the Eastern Nile basin.

The basin includes two main river systems: The White Nile, with its sources on the Equatorial Lake Plateau, shared by Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda; and the Blue Nile/Abay and Atbara/Tekeze, with their sources in the Ethiopian highlands of Lake Tana. The tributaries to the Blue Nile system in Ethiopia contribute more than 86 percent of the Nile waters, while the White Nile contributes only about 14 percent. Moreover, during the flood period, 95 percent of the water originates from Ethiopia and only 5 percent from East Africa (Swain 1997, p. 293–308 as cited in Debay, 2008). Egypt and Sudan are the downstream countries and contribute almost none, as Arsano,2007 mentioned “... net recipients of the Nile waters that come down from both head-water sub-systems.”

In terms of its geography, the Nile is the longest river in the world, flowing 6,825 km over 35 degrees' latitude from south to north. It is one of the greatest wonders of nature, with unfading romance through the civilizations of antiquity. Its basin embraces some three million km² encompassing the Equatorial Lakes region and northeastern Africa...The 3,352,710 km² basin is the third largest in the world, following those of the Congo and Amazon (Arsano, 2007).

Besides, the basin includes most of the countries with the highest populations on the continent. According to Statista (2020) population projection, out of the top ten populous countries in Africa, six of the counties are from the Nile basin. Ethiopia leads with an estimated population of 114,964,000 followed by Egypt with an estimated population of 102,334,000. Then, DR Congo, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, and Sudan follow the ranking in order of appearance. The total aggregate of the population from the Nile basin, according to (Debay,2008), accounts for 40% of the entire African population.

2.1.1 Egypt and the Nile

The myth and maxim around the oneness of Egypt and the Nile had been propagated for ages and ages. The famous Greek historian Herodotus described Egypt as the “gift of the Nile” in the fifth century B.C. (Swain, 2004). This could be because of the reason that Egypt's climate and topography are predominantly characterized by desert and arid climate, life could seem unbearable without the Nile, the most exploited freshwater for drinking and agricultural purposes. For millennia, Egyptians relied on the Nile for agriculture, drinking water, transportation, and energy. The country has long been dependent on the Nile and Egyptians have developed a deep sense of entitlement to the river. Egypt's dependence on the Nile is almost exclusively defined by the country's physiographical configuration and hydrological determinants (Okbazghi,2008).

Egypt's ancient civilizations were rooted in the Nile valley and had exploited the river immensely since most of the population resides in this valley. Even in this modern time, approximately 95% of the population lives within 20 km of the Nile River and its delta; vast areas of the country remain sparsely populated or uninhabited (CIA, 2020). However, paradoxically, Egypt contains 9.9 percent of the Nile's drainage basin and, although it contributes no water to the river, it uses most of its waters: some 55 billion m³ per year. Egypt has used the Nile since time immemorial and is entitled

to the Nile's water because of this ancient right, its arid climate, and its overall dependence on Nile waters (Kliot,1993).

Due to this, Egypt has strived a lot and is striving to get control of the Nile by any means possible. The control of the Nile in ancient Egypt began in about 3400 BC with Menes, who united Upper and Lower Egypt and reclaimed the river's left bank through the construction of canals and dikes. To prevent disastrous floods, a channel was cut from the mainstream to the deep natural Fayum Depression which was converted into a cultivated area containing a small lake to receive the excess waters (Wilcocks 1908, p. 62). However, historically, the desire to control the Nile basin increased with the emerging modernization of the Egyptian economy, bringing with it perennial irrigation under the potent ruler Mohammed Ali Pasha (1805 – 1849) (Arsano, 2007, p. 87)

Egypt's absolute dependence on the Nile has inspired generations of the country's leaders to physically control the Nile waters as a primary objective for their national security. Nawrath depicted the Egyptian political intent of controlling the Nile as follows: "From the dawn of history, Egypt has been dependent on the waters of this river, just as each individual depends on the blood in his arteries. It is therefore not surprising to find that efforts have always been made to control the waters of the Nile to ensure their maximum exploitation." (Nowrath, 1920, p. 32 as cited in Arsano Arsano,2007). The desire to control the Nile had even extended to the degree of wishing to control the upper riparian countries. For instance, Egypt wanted to control Ethiopia primarily because Ethiopia controlled the headwaters of the Blue Nile, Atbara, and Baro-Akobo, which together constitute 86 percent of the annual flow of the Nile. This emanates from a perception that Egypt would not feel secure as long as another powerful country controlled the most important sources of the Nile waters, which happens to be the nation's lifeline. Hence, Egypt's prime security interest is inseparably linked with the Nile waters, (Arsano,2007, p.200).

A 'just' water allocation for Egypt would be based on its ancient rights, its total dependence on the Nile, and its enormous needs.

2.1.2. Ethiopia and the Nile

Ethiopia is one of the upper riparian countries for the Nile basin contributing the lion share to the Nile water (Kliot,1993). The Abay/Upper Blue Nile River originates from Lake Tana in Ethiopia

at an elevation of 1780 m a.s.l. The topography is generally rugged and mountainous and ranges from 489 m a.s.l. on the western part of the basin at the Ethiopian–Sudan border to 4261 m a.s.l. on the Northeastern part of the basin. It covers a 173,686 km² catchment area upstream of the Ethiopian–Sudan border gauging station.... Approximately 30 km downstream of Lake Tana, at the Tiss-Abay, falls, the river falls into a deep gorge and travels about 940 km till the Ethiopian-Sudanese border (Conway, 1997 as cited in Sirak, 2015, p. 9).

As Sirak (2015) mentioned, The Abay/Upper Blue Nile River is one of the main tributaries of the Nile River originating from the Ethiopian highlands flowing to Sudan, where it meets the White Nile at Khartoum to form the Main Nile traveling north to Egypt and finally into the Mediterranean Sea. Ethiopia, as Abate cited in Tved (1992, p.79), is the most important contributor to the Nile, contributing at least 72 billion m³ on average via the Blue Nile, Atbara, and Sobat. The Ethiopian Nile basin, as Arsano (2007), mentioned, is smaller in terms of territory, but the source of 86 percent of the waters of the Nile reaches to 86% of the total Nile water which asserts Ethiopia being the main contributor. Arsano as cited in Meuz (2012, p. 6) strengthens this assertion that Ethiopia has 123 billion cubic meters of annually available water resources, the highest amount in the entire Eastern Nile basin region. Of this amount, a mere 3 percent remains in the country, while the rest flows out to neighboring countries. By far the largest proportion flows into the Nile system (Terje, 2010, p. 161).

The Abbay river in Ethiopia...is the symbol of the nation. Ethiopia's attachment to the Abbay has been deeply spiritual, and the river is held in great reverence. Songs, poems, folk stories, and ritual religious performances all extol the Abbay, 'the great father of rivers' (Terje,2010, p. 163). The Blue Nile/Abay, as Haggai & Israel (2000) put it, transcends the concept of a river in the country of its origin. Its notion indeed varies in degree of consciousness and intensity on the national and regional levels, but it is, in any case, a deep-rooted element in the Ethiopian culture.

But the Abbay has not been harnessed or put to any meaningful economic use in Ethiopia, and the inhabitants of its 200,000 km² basin have experienced nature's might through it rather than deriving any economic benefit from it. The river has been seen as a source of identity, of life and healing power, of unity for societies along its course, of physical destruction, and potential economic development (Terje,2010, p. 163). However, as Meuz (2012, p. 20) mentioned, though Ethiopia is known as the "water tower of North-East Africa", its rainfall dependent agricultural driven

economy together with the rampant internal political conflicts and the war against foreign aggressors, including Egypt, for a longer period exposed her (Ethiopia) to vicious circle poverty and periodic famine. Drought and famine have also taken a heavy toll on the Ethiopian population in recent years while the Abbay waters thundered unused down the precipice as always (Haggai & Israel, 2000, p. 165). These terrible political and economic situations allowed neither stability nor economic development in the country.

There is a great contrast between the riparian state which contributes almost all the water to the Nile but uses almost none (Ethiopia) and that which contributes nothing to the Nile but uses most of its water (Egypt) (Naff and Matson, 1984, p. 147). As many writers concur, Ethiopia, which feeds about 86% of the Nile water, has been kept out of the Nile Waters allocation regime. This state of affairs has made the interrelation between Egypt and Ethiopia to be marred with suspicion, mistrust, and even at times threats of war (Muluaem, 2009, p. 7). However, Ethiopia has on several occasions claimed that it reserves the sovereign right to use Blue Nile water for the benefit of its population (Naff and Matson, 1984, p. 147). As Meuz (2012, p. 18) put it, the massive (86%) +upstream discharge undoubtedly confers a very important position to Ethiopia on the sharing of the Nile water. It is believed that “the development of the River Nile in Ethiopia has the potential to contribute significantly to poverty reduction, meet domestic power and food demands, and become a cornerstone of a future Ethiopian export strategy” (Erlich, 2002, p. 7). It is also important, as MoWR (2001, p. 1 as cited in Meuz, 2012, p. 6) put it, to enhance and promote all national efforts towards the efficient, equitable, and optimum utilization of the available water resources of Ethiopia for significant socio-economic development on a sustainable basis.

2.2 Treaties /Agreements/ over the Nile

The Cambridge dictionary defines a treaty as “a written agreement between two or more countries, formally approved and signed by their leaders” whereas Merriam-Webster defines it as an agreement or arrangement made by negotiation. Merriam-Webster further elaborates it as a contract in writing between two or more political authorities (such as states or sovereigns) formally signed by representatives duly authorized and usually ratified by the lawmaking authority of the state, a document in which such a contract is set down. It also involves the action of treating and especially of negotiating. As the definition explains, treaties are made between parties where the

signatory states or bodies with their representative. Those who signed and agreed on the treaty are abode to it. According to the principle of treaty-making, an agreement made between two parties cannot have a binding effect on a third party without its consent (O'Connell, D, 1967, p. 97).

Unlike other world-known river basins, the treaties that were made over the Nile are few and many claimed it was unfair and planned to benefit few parties. As Kliot (1999, p. 9) put it, the few existing agreements for water allocation such as that for the Nile have not been based on equity for all the co-riparians. Besides, most of the treaties that were made over the Nile area during the colonial era were made between the colonial powers rather than between recently existing countries. The three major treaties that were made during the colonial era were 1902, 1929, and 1959.

2.2.1. The 1902 treaty between Great Britain and Ethiopia

The 1902 treaty, as Arega (2019, p. 9), put it, was one of the earliest agreements regarding the waters of the Blue Nile made between Great Britain and Emperor Menelik of Ethiopia, which was signed on May 15th, 1902, in Addis Ababa. This agreement regulated the frontiers between Ethiopia and Sudan. It also contained a peculiar Article III on the use of the waters of the Nile which stated:

"His Majesty the Emperor Menelik II, King of Kings of Ethiopia, engages himself towards the Government of His Britannic Majesty not to construct or allow to be constructed any work on the Blue Nile, Lake Tana, or the Sobat, which would arrest the flow of their waters except in agreement with His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of Sudan" (Article III, 1902, p. 5). (Arega,2019, p. 9)

This agreement retained Ethiopia and its Emperor, Menelik II, "not to construct or allow to be constructed" any dams that may affect the flow of the waters of Blue Nile or Abay, lake Tana or Sobat. The agreement went further and necessitates getting consent from Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of Sudan to deal with or to use the Nile waters which includes the major tributary Sobat and the great Tana lake. However, as Arega (2019, p. 9) mentioned, this treaty was one of the most controversial treaties regarding the River Nile. This is mainly because "The British could not claim any rights from the treaty as they had subsequently refused to recognize the sovereignty of Ethiopia" (Waterbury, J, 1989, p. 29). This means Ethiopia and Britain are not in the same stand to deal with the treaty since Britain has not recognized Ethiopia as a

sovereign state. Besides, this treaty is not operative anymore and can be considered outdated because of the following reasons, as Arega (2019, p. 11), stated:

1. The treaty was signed with a colonial power that no longer existed.
2. Unlike the English version, the Amharic version of the treaty obligated Ethiopia only to Great Britain, not to Sudan, and Egypt
3. Even if the treaty was assumed to be currently applicable, it only obligated Ethiopia "not to arrest", that is, not to fully stop the flow of the tributaries of the Nile.

2.2.2. The 1929 Nile Water Agreement

The 1929 agreement was the second major next to 1902. This agreement was concluded between Egypt and Great Britain regarding the utilization of the waters of the Nile River—Britain was supposedly representing its colonies in the Nile River Basin. It granted Egypt an annual water allocation of 48 billion cubic meters and Sudan 4 billion cubic meters out of an estimated average annual yield of 84 billion cubic meters (Brookings, 2020). As (Petros,2010 cited in Desalew, 2018, p. 31) pointed out the treaty signed on the 7th of May 1929 was guided by the British colonial influence and directives with the following important articles attached to the treaty:

1. Egypt and Sudan will utilize 48bm³ and 4bm³ of the Nile flow per year, respectively.
2. The flow of the Nile from January 20 to July would be reserved for Egypt.
3. Egypt reserves the right to monitor the Nile flow in upstream countries.
4. Egypt assumed the right to veto any construction projects related to the Nile River without the consent of upper riparian states.
5. Egypt assumed the right to veto any construction projects that would affect her interest adversely.

The 1929 Anglo-Egyptian Agreement represented the epitome of Egyptian advocating of the doctrine of absolute territorial integrity. It allotted Egypt 48 billion m³ of the Nile's waters as against a Sudanese allocation of only 4.0 billion m³ (Kliot 1999, p. 31). The imbalance of this treaty is evident, as it favors Egypt over the remaining riparian states. Thus, this agreement was made

mainly to secure the Nile water for Egypt by limiting the rights of Sudan and by rejecting those of the remaining riparian (Arega, 2019, p. 10). Because of the imbalance of the agreement, as Terje (2010, p. 61) stated, the controversy surrounding the agreement is the obvious result of its favoring Egypt at the expense of all upstream states. But these at the time were all under one degree or another of European influence or control and were powerless to object.

However, O'Connell, D (1967, p. 97) mentioned it, the riparian countries have started questioning the validity of the 1929 agreement and had eventually repudiated it after attaining independence. After independence, Sudan criticized the agreement as having been motivated by Great Britain to maintain good relations with Egypt at the expense of Sudan's interest.

In addition, 30 years later the 1929 water agreement had to go through transformation because Sudan the less beneficiary of the deal started complaining after attaining her independence on the ground that the Treaty unfairly allocated much of the water to Egypt and the agreement was signed by a colonial power not by the legitimate representative of Sudan (Muluaem 2009, p. 29).

2.2.3. The 1959 Agreement between Egypt and Sudan

After her independence, Sudan's strong disapproval and compliant of the 1929 Nile water agreement between Egypt and Great Britain led to another Nile water agreement between Egypt and Sudan, the 1959 Nile water agreement.

The surge for this agreement is not only Sudan's compliant but also Egypt's new need towards the Nile water. In 1950 Egypt planned the Aswan High Dam Project to store the entire annual flow of the Nile waters. Before implementing this project, Egypt realized it was important to seek a guarantee from the Sudan and obtain international recognition for the financing and technology of the dam (Arega,2019, p. 12).

As Desalew (2018, p. 31) summarized it, the objective of this treaty was primarily to give Egypt a legal expedience that could allow for a preemptive political move and usurp optimum annual flow of the waters before many of the Nile states become viable states to claim equitable share of the water. It has the following components:

1. The two countries agreed that the average annual Nile flow 84bm³.

2. The annual loss due to evaporation and other factors were agreed to be about 10bm³. This quantity would be dedicated from the Nile Yield before the actual water share is defined to the two nations: Egypt and Sudan.
3. They agree to share 18.5bm³ and 55.5 bm³ or approximately 25% and 75% for Sudan and Egypt, respectively.
4. Sudan would construct projects that would enhance the Nile flow by preventing evaporation loses in suds swamps of the White Nile located in southern Sudan. The cost of saving water in suds to be shared equally between Sudan and Egypt.
5. The agreement granted Egypt the right to construct the Aswan High Dam that can store the entire annual Nile River flow.
6. It granted the Sudan to construct the Rosaries Dam on the Blue Nile and to develop other irrigation and Hydroelectric power generation until it fully utilizes its share.
7. A permanent Joint Technical Commission to be established to secure the technical cooperation between them.

From the above summarized points one can understand that primarily the agreement is in favor of Egypt, but it is also clear that Sudan enjoys the relative fair share of the water. This agreement, as Tesfaye (2001, cited in Mulualem, 2009, p. 36) put it, has allotted the whole water of the basin between Egypt and Sudan with the lion's share going to Egypt. According to Desalew (2018, p. 31), the 1959 treaty was the most daring of all agreements which was strategically signed between the two lower riparian states at the time when most of the upper riparian states were struggling to gain their political independence. Tvedt (2010) also added to this point saying, “It is noteworthy that the 1959 Nile Water Agreement only involved Egypt and the Sudan. Neither the colonial riparian states and their colonizers nor sovereign Ethiopia were invited to participate in the negotiations”.

The 1959 Agreement created a watershed in the hydro political history of the Nile Valley in the sense that it invigorated a monopoly on the waters of the Nile by Egypt and Sudan. By implication, tire Agreement has literally setup a Zero-sum game in the Nile Basin by ignoring the natural and legal rights of the remaining riparian countries stales to the bounty of the Nile Water resources (Tsfaye, 2001 as cited by Mulualem, 2009, p. 36).

Since recent times, as Tvedt (2010) pointed out, the 1959 Nile Waters Agreement is the source of the present conflict among the Nile basin countries. According to him, the problem arises from the

preamble of the agreement which provocatively referred to full utilization and full control of the Nile by the Sudan and Egypt, ignoring the interests of the other riparian states. However, as he stated, article 5, entitled ‘General Provisions’, states that since the riparian countries, other than the two republics, claimed a share in the Nile waters, the signatories agreed that they should jointly consider and reach one unified view regarding those claims; if that consideration resulted in allotting Nile water to one or another of the riparian states, the accepted amount would be deducted from the shares of Egypt and the Sudan in equal parts, as calculated at Aswan. In this agreement, the signatories have committed themselves to reconsider the arithmetic of the allocation regime if a claim of a share from other upstream riparian would arise (Muluaem,2009, p. 36).

However, the 1959 agreement seems obsolete in the current hydro-political dialogue because of the reason, as Tvedt (2010) mentioned it, the independence of the upstream countries, that and other agreements were denounced as invalid because they had been negotiated on behalf of – or without reference to – African dependencies and were thus not binding on successor governments. In addition, for their economic growth and agricultural needs the other riparian countries, except Sudan and Egypt, are looking at the Nile. With populations rising throughout the basin and nations seeking food security through irrigation, states will place increasing demands on Nile waters and ecology. Today, the ten riparian states together have 8 million ha of land under irrigation (in addition to rain-fed farms), producing all the crops on which the 360 million people of the region precariously depend. An estimated 10 million ha are said to be available for irrigation, assuming the availability of the necessary water resources (Okbazghi,2008, p. 43). Even Sudan, as Muluaem (2009, p. 27) pointed, harbors a strong desire to have a far better share than the one apportioned to her under the 1959 bilateral agreement over the allocation of the Nile water.

2.3. The Nile Basin Initiative

All the treaties and agreements that have been made during the colonial era and the discussion that were made in later stages lacks the stance of equitable share of the resource. It primary targeted to benefit Egypt and to some extent Sudan as if other riparian countries doesn’t exist, which in fact are the source and contributors of all the Nile waters.

For decades, Nile water rights have been the subject of debate among the riparian states due to the expansion of upstream hydroelectric developments, the heavy reliance on Nile waters of

downstream countries, and the historical rights given to downstream countries through colonial-era agreements. This has resulted in a fragile peace amidst a climate of long and unproductive negotiations, with Egypt and Ethiopia in lead, opposing roles (Knaepen&Byiers, 2017).

For the first time in the Basin's history, an all-inclusive basin-wide institution was established, on 22ndFebruary 1999, to provide a forum for consultation and coordination among the Basin States for the sustainable management and development of the shared Nile Basin water and related resources for win-win benefits. The Nile Basin Initiative (NBI) is an intergovernmental partnership of 10 Nile Basin countries, namely Burundi, DR Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, The Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. Eritrea participates as an observer (NBI, 2017).

The NBI was not the first initiative in the Nile basin but builds on various attempts to establish cooperative platforms. These include Hydro met, which aimed to provide a hydro meteorological survey in the Lakes Region in the 1960s. A second initiative between 1983 and 1992 was Undug, meaning 'brotherhood', aimed at establishing the Nile Basin Economic Community and the Technical Cooperation Committee for the Promotion of Development and Environmental Protection of the Basin (TECCONILE). TECCONILE's key focus was technical cooperation on environmental and water quality. However, none of these initiatives included all riparian states so they could not offer a comprehensive institutional setting with a shared vision, aimed at sharing benefits. Given frustrations with lack of progress, and with World Bank support, member states agreed to form NBI to address these issues (Knaepen&Byiers, 2017).

As it was stated in NBI (2017) website, the objective of the Nile basin initiative was established.

- To develop the Nile Basin water resources in a sustainable and equitable way to ensure prosperity, security, and peace for all its peoples
- To ensure efficient water management and the optimal use of the resources
- To ensure cooperation and joint action between the riparian countries, seeking win-win gains
- To target poverty eradication and promote economic integration
- To ensure that the program results in a move from planning to action

The setup of NBI is informed by the principle of subsidiarity. Besides the Secretariat (Nile-SEC), which is responsible for the overall corporate direction there are two Subsidiary Action Programs (SAPs) offices, namely the Eastern Nile Technical Regional Office (ENTRO) for the Eastern Nile Subsidiary Action Program (ENSAP) and the Nile Equatorial Lakes Subsidiary Action Program Coordination Unit (NELSAP-CU), for the Nile Equatorial Lakes Subsidiary Action Program (NELSAP).

In November 2008, the NBI Member States signed the non-binding Khartoum Declaration, which declared the support of the NBI Member States for the “clear environment functions of the future permanent Nile River Basin Organization that include,” among other things: harmonization of environment management policies; data and information exchange; environmental impact assessment; policy, institutional, and legal analysis; and a coordinating role in climate change issues. A goal of the NBI has been to establish a “cooperative framework agreement” (“CFA”) to replace earlier bilateral treaties and to “formalize the transformation of the Nile Basin Initiative into a permanent Nile River Basin Commission.” In April 2010, seven of the Nile Basin states agreed to open the CFA for signature. Egypt and Sudan rejected this proposition, suggesting instead that all of the riparian countries issue a “presidential declaration to launch the River Nile Basin Commission as negotiations [on the CFA] continue.” Despite these disagreements, the Agreement on the Nile River Basin Cooperative Framework was officially opened for signature on 14 May 2010. Ethiopia, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda signed the CFA immediately (Paisley, 2017).

Though most members did sign the CFA, this led Egypt and Sudan to freeze NBI participation in 2010. Nonetheless, they continue to participate in Nile Basin ministerial meetings, underlining their perceived political relevance. With the launch of construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam in 2013, Sudan rejoined NBI activities, having recognized the importance of agricultural investment following the secession of South Sudan with its oil wealth in 2011, and in particular that its irrigation investments will benefit from more controlled Nile flows (Knaepen&Byiers, 2017).

2.4. Overview of Dams over the Nile

The Nile is an “international river” whose drainage basin covers 11 countries: Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, South Sudan, Republic of the Sudan and Egypt (T Tafesse, 2001, p. 24). Of these countries, Egypt and Sudan are

the most dependent on the water of the Nile River. The two desert countries have built several dams and reservoirs, hoping to limit the ravages of drought and flood that have defined their histories (Arega,2019, p. 8). In Egypt and Sudan, the series of dams that were built over the Nile are Aswan Dam (1902), Sennar (1925), Jebel Awulia (1937), Rossaries (1966) and Meroe (2004).

However, for Egypt, according to Tvedt (2010), with no significant rainfall except in a narrow strip along the Mediterranean coast, agriculture depends on irrigation from the Nile. The requirements of the agricultural sector represent the largest component of the total water demand in Egypt, consuming more than 85 per cent of available water resources. In 1861 two barrages were constructed at the apex of the Delta across the Damietta and Rosetta branches to provide water for perennial irrigation. Other barrages were built for further development and expansion of the cultivated area using perennial irrigation: the original Aswan dam, which was completed in 1902 with a storage volume of about 1 bcm, was heightened in 1934 to increase its storage capacity to 5 bcm, and a series of barrages were added between Aswan and the Mediterranean. The storage was unable to meet increasing demand, and in 1971 the idea of over-year storage was finally realized with the completion of the High Dam at Aswan, the first of a series of projects for Nile control and development. Kliot (2005, p. 27), has also mentioned that, the height of the dam was raised twice, in 1912 and 1934, until its storage capacity grew from 1 billion m³ to 5.7–6 million m³.

Egypt has throughout the post-colonial period been by far the most important actor on the Nile and has also been the state that has benefited most from the Nile arrangements institutionalized by the British Nile Empire (Tvedt,2010, p. 7). Extreme examples of Egypt's virtual monopoly of the Nile's water are the Jebel Aulia Dam which was built in the Sudan but was intended to store water for Egypt, the Owen Falls Dam which was built to store water for both Egypt and the Sudan, and the Aswan Dam which also served only Egypt and the Sudan (Kliot,2005, p. 217).

According to Kliot (2005), the purposes specified for the Sadd-El-Aali or Aswan High Dam are as follows:

1. to protect Egypt against fluctuations and variations in the flow of the Nile and guarantee water supply for municipal, industrial and agricultural uses (Gischler 1979:22; Naff and Matson 1984:148 as cited in Kliot,2005)

2. to expand the cultivated area by 1.3 million ha and extend it beyond the limits of the Nile Valley.
3. to expand farming by multiple cropping along the Nile Valley (since irrigation water would be available throughout the year).
4. to convert 294,000 ha (700,000 feddans) from basin to perennial irrigation.
5. to generate 10 billion kWh of electricity per year.
6. to improve navigation conditions below the dam.
7. to guarantee the cultivation of 294,000 ha of rice every year.
8. to develop fishing in Lake Nasser and to turn the High Dam into a tourist attraction. More generally, the Aswan High Dam was to assist and accelerate food production in order to accommodate the accelerated population growth of Egypt.

Based on the above stated points one can understand that the Aswan high dams benefit to Egypt is enormous and Egypt has benefited the most out of the Nile.

By far, Sudan is the second most benefited from the water of the Nile. It has four dams built in her soil over the Nile which are Sennar built in 1925, Jebel Awulia built 1937, Rossaries built in 1966 and Meroe built in 2004.

The Sennar dam, construction of the 3,025-m long dam was completed in 1925. Almost 80 per cent of the dam's water would be supplied to Egypt. The dam had two functions: as a regulator it would raise the water level to command the Gezira irrigation canal during the time of the high Nile; as a reservoir it would store water during the period of falling flood for use in the low water season.¹⁴ By storing 800 million m³, the Sennar Dam enabled the cultivation of cotton on a commercial basis in the Gezira plain. (Tvedt, 2010, p 182-183).

Jebel Awulia Dam, is a dam on the White Nile near Khartoum, Sudan. Its construction began 1933 and was completed in 1937. When completed it was the largest dam in the World (Wikipedia, 2020).

The Roseires Dam is a dam on the Blue Nile at Ad Damazin, just upstream of the town of Er Roseires, in Sudan. It consists of a concrete buttress dam 1 km wide with a maximum height of 68 m, and an earth dam on either side. The earth dam on the eastern bank is 4 km long, and that on the western bank is 8.5 km long. The reservoir has a surface area of about 290 km². The dam was completed in 1966, initially for irrigation purposes. A power generation plant, with a maximum capacity of 280 megawatts, was added in 1971. A heightening (and lengthening) project was completed in 2013 and the dam is now 25 km long (Wikipedia, 2020).

The Merowe Dam, when completed March 3, 2009, at a cost of \$1.8 billion, with a storage capacity for Nile waters of over 12 bcm, the Merowe-Hamdab Dam would add another 1,250 Mw annually to its current hydroelectricity generation capacity of 580 Mw.³⁹ The dam is 200 km long and more than 10 km across, detaining sufficient water to drive ten turbines. In addition to providing electricity and protecting 450 km from flooding, the Merowe-Hamdab Dam will irrigate 600,000 ha of agricultural land (Okbazghi, 2008).

2.5. The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam and the Negotiations

Ethiopia is an agricultural country dominated by subsistence farming. Eighty-five per cent of the population depends on agriculture for its livelihood. Agriculture accounts for 45 per cent of the country's GDP (Ethiopia, MWR, 1997, p. 20 – 21 as cited in Arsano, 2007, p. 28). Ethiopia has 123 billion cubic meters (bcm) surface water on an annual basis (Ethiopia, MWR, 2002: 6 as cited in Arsano, 2007, p. 28). Of this amount a mere 3 per cent remains in the country, while the remaining flows to the neighboring countries in all directions from the frontier. By far the bulkiest proportion flows into the Nile system. Ethiopia's western rivers, comprising the Abbay (Blue Nile), Baro/Akobo (Sobat) and Tekeze (Atbara), together contribute 86% of the Nile waters as measured at Aswan (Elhance, 1999, p. 67 as cited in Arsano, 2007, p. 28). Currently as Tvedt, 1992 put it, Ethiopia uses less than 1 billion m³ of water (Tvedt, 1992).

Ethiopia, which is one of the poorest countries in the world, has enormous farming potential but drought and two civil wars have turned the country into a large food importer at the end of the 1980s with food representing one-third of all imports. Yet, there are 430,000 ha of land suitable for irrigation within the Blue Nile basin, some 600,000 ha in the Baro, Gilo and Akabo basins (tributaries of the Sobat) and the possibility of expanding rain-fed farming in areas such as the clay-

belt near the Sudanese Jezira (Kliot, 1999, p. 66). As Jovanovic (1985, p. 84) described it, in addition to the farming potential, Ethiopia has an enormous potential for water development according to the US Bureau of Reclamation which carried out a field investigation and study of the Blue Nile catchment area between 1958 and 1964. The report found seventy-one suitable sites for dams including thirty-one storage reservoirs with a total net storage capacity of 85 billion m³ and a hydropower generating capacity of 8,700 MW (87 billion kWh each year).

Yet, holding this vast potential, Ethiopia has been ravaged by severe drought since the 1970s which has had serious effects. The Ethiopian highlands were badly struck in the 1970s which contributed to the starvation of over 1 million people in the 1980s and scarred the land so badly that it will require decades to recover (Smith and Al-Rawahy 1990, p. 218 as cited in Kliot, 1999). In addition, coupled with the prolonged consecutive civil wars that the country had went through, it has suffered from drought and famine with 6–8 million Ethiopians facing possible starvation. Hundreds of thousands of refugees have moved to neighboring countries and many more have become internal refugees (Kliot, 1999, p. 74).

In addition, though Ethiopia is known as the “water tower of the North-East Africa”, its rainfall dependent agricultural driven economy together with the rampant internal political conflicts and war against foreign aggressors, including Egypt, for longer period of time exposed her (Ethiopia) to vicious circle poverty and periodic famine. These terrible political and economic situations allowed neither stability nor economic development in the country; and also, these challenges have considerably affected Ethiopia’s right to use the waters of the Nile (Meuz, 2012).

When Ethiopia was in this social and economic turmoil, Egypt and Sudan had built several dam following the pre-colonial era (1929 and 1959) water treaties. As Mulualem (2009, p. 32) put it, the cardinal problem of both Treaties is the exclusion of Ethiopia from the deal. This state of affairs left the sub-basin with no multilateral legal regime to the management and utilization of the Nile Water. Both Treaties denied Ethiopia her natural and legitimate rights to use the common water resource, reducing her to a mere on looker. Both treaties provided Egypt and Sudan the basis to argue that they have historic or established rights to continue using the Nile Waters as per the allocation made through the 1959 Water Treaty.

However, since recent years, comparatively saying since late 1990s, this situation has been changing to some extent (Meuz,2012).

On December 23rd, 1991, Ethiopia and Sudan issued a joint peace and friendship declaration in Khartoum. In this declaration, Ethiopia and Sudan agreed that they "believe in a firm, equitable entitlement to the uses of the Nile waters without causing appreciable harm to one another" (Waterbury, J, 1989, p. 32). In the declaration, both sides agreed to work together to establish a Nile Basin Organization. A similar agreement was signed in December 1992 between Ethiopia and the Sudan as a result technical advisory committee were formed. Thereafter, bilateral meetings and contact between the respective national committees were held regularly (Arega,2019, p. 12)

Following this, according to Arega (2019, p. 12), the framework for general cooperation between Ethiopia and Egypt was signed on July 1st, 1993, in Cairo. The significance of signing the document is that it represented the first attempt by the two sides that they should tackle the very serious challenge of them. In the agreement, five of the eight articles directly addressed the Nile river issues. In general, the 1993 agreement opened a new chapter in Ethio-Egyptian relations and created a better understanding vis- á -vis the Nile. This was the beginning of an era of reduced tension in the Nile Basin. The 1993 agreement could be considered as a sign of positive trend which opened the way for dialogue and partnership.

Then in 2010, Ethiopia initiated the CFA, Cooperative Framework Agreement, which advocates an equitable and reasonable share of the Nile waters. The CFA was first signed by Ethiopia, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda in Entebbe, Uganda on 14 May 2010: and five days later by Kenya. On 28 February 2011 Burundi joined the suit, and the Democratic Republic of Congo and South Sudan showed their interest to sign the agreement which is also referred to as the “Entebbe Treaty” or the “Entebbe Agreement” (Salman, 2013, p.21, various media). The signing of Burundi as the sixth nation will pave the way for the agreement to enter into enforcement as it is provided in article 42 of CFA (Arega, 2019, p. 69).

The signing of the CFA by 6 countries provided the confidence for Ethiopia to conceive the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam. Then on 2 April 2011, by the then prime minister of Ethiopia, H.E. Melees Zenawi, laid down the corner stone for construction of the GERD in the Benishangul-

Gumuz region of Ethiopia, on the Blue Nile River, which is located about 40km east of Sudan. It aimed primarily at generating power, with an expected capacity of 6,000MW.

2.6. Theoretical Frameworks

To analyze the representation of the GERD negotiations in the selected medias for this research, the researcher will employ the media representation theory as a theoretical framework.

2.6.1. Media Representation Theory

According to Hall, (1997 as cited in Orgad,2012, p. 47) Representations are images, descriptions, explanations, and frames for understanding what the world is and why and how it works in particular ways.

Representation is the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language. It is the link between concepts and language which enables us to refer to either the 'real' world of objects, people or events, or indeed to imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people and events (Hall,1997, p. 17). Hall further explains Representation an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. It does involve the use of language, of signs and images which stand for or represent things.

Media representation is assumed as media cannot tell the definite truth of issues, happenings, and notions as they are rather it represent (re-produce) them in a means of reflecting the real one. As a result, addressees might have information concerning what they have no awareness or have an incomplete familiarity about the topic to be shown (Workineh, 2016).

Bailey and Harindranath (2005) pointed out that media representations are perceived as significant in the cultural and political scope for the reason that they vigorously construct sense and do not simply mirror social reality. Hall (1997) stated that representation implements by shaping a distinction with the “other”, the distinction perhaps depends upon sex, ethnicity or nationality. The construction might work through language in a way of identifying one from the other.

McQuil (2000), stated that media representation works through preparing and presenting unbiased information to assist the audience to perceive the issues for themselves as if they are seeing at

actualities through a window, in this case, media could also offer reflection of the reality with slight misrepresentation, and they possibly will also deliver partial reality intentionally to impact the audience in a certain means. Thus, media representation theory is as (Gongo, 2007) defined construction of what is represented, however, not an echo of the reality. In this definition, it is supposed that the word initially meant “present again”.

Hall (1997) defines two methods of representation: mental representation and language. A mental representation lets to recognize the realm in an expressive system. Lacking these mental representations, it would not be capable to understand the story to sort it clear. Hall’s other system of representation is language, language in a sense to use some method of symbols that are anticipated to carry meaning.

The main principle of media representation is to show; it is to say that their main purpose is to create importance. Thus, media representations refer to writings that go in the media and convey representative content. “Representation” refers to the process of representing, the process in which members of a culture use systems of signs to produce meaning. Thus, the study of media representations takes on middles on scrutinizing representations so as to create a better empathetic of the “work” that is the process of making meaning (Orgad, 2012).

The representation of media content can also have described through the tone of voice the media uses to portray about the issue. Tone could be optimistic, neutral or negative (Brunken, 2006). If tone is applied to the idea of media content, it has been creating that some media contents are suggestive of encouraging or discouraging elements, or both (Gosselt, 2016). Studies indicate that tone in media coverage has numerous impacts. For instance, tone affects audiences to consider in a definite way about a subject. It seems that if the content is negatively presented, audiences incline to have more undesirable attitudes regarding the topic (Brunken, 2006). In relation to this, when the media represent an issue in a particular way it lets the audience to have judgments recognized through the existence or nonexistence of particular words, phrases and sources (Brouwer, Woude&Leun, 2017).

CHAPTER THREE

3. Research Methodology

Research methodology is a way to systematically solve the research problem (Kothari & Garg, 2019, p. 8). According to Kothari & Garg (2019, p. 8), when we talk of research methodology, we not only talk of the research methods but also consider the logic behind the methods we use in the context of our research study and explain why we are using a particular method or technique. Thus, this chapter discuss how the research is planned and the type of research method which employed in this study.

3.1. Research Design and Methods

Research design is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted; it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement, and analysis of data (Kothari & Garg, 2019, p. 31). Hakim (2000) has also mentioned that research design mainly deals with the objectives and significance of a research to achieve the aims of a particular study within the applied time and money suitability and through this process a researcher must address the research questions.

The worldviews, the designs, and the methods all contribute to a research approach that tends to be quantitative, qualitative, or mixed. These three approaches have their own advantage and disadvantage in collecting, analyzing and interpreting data. To have a complete understanding of a problem and avoid bias, researchers use both quantitative and qualitative approaches in a single study. The collection of both quantitative and qualitative data neutralized the weaknesses of each form of data (Creswell, 2014, p. 43).

This research examines the representation of the GERD negotiations with the selected media outlets online platform. Hence, to properly analyze the research problem this research employs the mixed approach. The quantitative method is employed in analyzing the contents that were collected in the specified timeframe and the qualitative method is employed to analyze the texts and contents that is not covered through the quantitative approach.

3.2. Content Analysis

Scholars have defined content analysis in different ways. Walizer and Wiener (1978, as cited in Wimmer& Dominick, 2011) define it as any systematic procedure devised to examine the content of recorded information; Krippendorf (2004) defines it as a research technique for making replicable and valid references from data to their context; Hsieh & Shannon (2005) define it as a research method used to analyze the content of a media text; text data includes print, broadcast and online media contents such as news and articles; Krippendorff and Bock (2008, as cited in Natinael,2019), content analysis refers to the systematic interpretation of textual, visual, or audible matter, such as newspaper editorials, television news, advertisements, public speeches, and other verbal or nonverbal units of analysis. Kerlinger's (2000, as cited in Wimmer& Dominick, 2011) defines content analysis as a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables. One can conclude from these that content analysis is a tool or technique that can be used to analyze contents in any form. Hence, considering that this method will help the researcher to analyze contents and sources of information used by the selected websites, the researcher employs this technique to analyze the quantitative data.

3.3. Discourse Analysis

Talbot (2007) describes discourse analysis as a qualitative technique that helps to study media content. This technique mainly focuses on the role of texts in which the word usage and sentences play in audiences. Besides, it analyzes the three specific aspects of language such as the term and context of language with how language is used in social contexts and how people make meaning of one another's messages, in addition it deals with institutional and organizational factors that probably shape the way language is used.

As Arega (2019) mentioned, our words (written or oral) are used to convey a broad sense of meanings and the meaning we convey with those words is identified by our immediate social, political, and historical conditions.

Discourse Analysis can be applied in analysis of many different social domains, including organizations and institutions, and in exploration of the role of language use in broad societal and

cultural developments such as globalization and the spread of mass mediated communication (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2011).

Data collection in this type of technique includes collecting texts and themes that are appropriate to the problem being studied. This technique usually focuses on the language of a given text for the sake of identifying words, messages and to analyze how different ideas are constructed. This method has various advantages such as it permits the researcher to reveal hidden attitudes and views that are crucial in communication area that might not be uncovered by other methods (Talbot, 2007). Hence, this research employs the discourse analysis tool to evaluate the qualitative data, which in this research context is the texts that is collected from the selected medias.

3.4. Sampling and Sampling Techniques

To address a research question or hypothesis, the researcher engages in a sampling procedure that involves determining the location or site for the research, the participants who will provide data in the study and how they will be selected, and the number of participants needed to answer the research questions (Creswell & L., 2018). Which in this research case, the selected media outlets (FBC, BBC and Al-Ahram) and the platform they use (online) could be considered as a location, the actors involved in the GERD negotiations and the story could be taken as participants, the purposive sampling would answer the how and the number of stories displayed in the given time could be taken as the number of participants or sample.

In qualitative research, the inquirer uses purposeful sampling procedures to select individuals and sites that can provide the necessary information to understand the central phenomenon. Purposeful sampling (also referred to as purposive sampling) means that researchers intentionally select (or recruit) participants who have experienced the central phenomenon or key concept being explored in the study (Creswell & L., 2018). Hence, the researcher considers the purposive sampling to select the number of stories displayed in the selected medias over the stated period. The researcher took samples from FBC, BBC and Al-Ahram on lines. The sample of the study incorporated the stories that were published by the selected media websites regarding the GERD negotiations rest upon a specified time frame.

To attain the purpose of this research, the entire population of the stories available in the chosen time frame in the selected media houses is that 154 stories concerning the GERD negotiations. Accordingly, the researcher decided to make all the stories as the total sample size since all the stories published regarding the GERD negotiations on the selected medias were 154. Thus, in this study, the following key words have been selected and used to purposefully search stories from the websites of the selected medias. ‘GERD Negotiation’, ‘GERD deal’, ‘Nile talk’, ‘Tripartite negotiation’, ‘Egypt-Ethiopia-Sudan’.

Overall, 154 stories from the websites of the selected media outlets were gathered and analyzed. FBC posted 89 articles, BBC posted 28 articles and Al-Ahram posted 37 articles. The analysis includes stories that the websites labelled as news and opinion. Based on these distinctions, BBC published 1 story as opinion and 27 stories as news. Whereas FBC categorized 84 stories as news, 5 articles as opinion and Al-Ahram categorized 34 stories as news and 3 story as opinion.

3.5. Time Frame

The time frame of the study includes stories from January 2020 to December 2020. This time frame is suggested mainly for two reasons.

1. To manage the bulk of data.
2. Time is one of the limitations to this research and reasonable time frame must be selected to manage the analysis of the stories covered in the selected medias. In addition, the proposal for this research was submitted in December 2020.

Thus, all the negotiations prior to January 2020 and after December 2020 was excluded. Therefore, the researcher assumed that the time frame might be fitting to get the right data for the topic of the study.

3.6. Unit of Analysis

Once the media type, dates or time frame and story/content type have been determined, the next step is to decide on and select the unit of analysis (or measurement unit), which is an important part of content analysis (Meuz, 2012). Wimmer & Dominick (2011) argues that one of the steps

considered as the crucial component of content analysis is to decide the unit of analysis. Deciding a unit of analysis depends up on what data is vital for the purpose of the study. Therefore, in this research the unit of analysis underlined on the contents of website stories of the selected media that directly deals with the GERD negotiations and it only measured the written texts.

3.7. Analytical Categories

After the unit of analysis has been chosen, the most needed task of the content analysis is to specify and define analytical categories clearly (Meuz, 2012). Wimmer & Dominick (2011) also stated that, fundamental to any content analysis is the category used to sort out the media content. Therefore, it could be done through the messages that come from the data.

Gray (2004, as cited in Meuz,2012) indicates, the importance of categorizing data because the statistical tests that are used for data analysis will depend on the type of data being collected. Meuz (2012) further explains citing Wimmer and Dominick (2006) saying, at the heart of any content analysis is the category system that is used to classify media content. They further note that to be practical, all analytical categories should be mutually exclusive (when a unit of analysis can be placed in one and only one category), exhaustive (there must be an existing category/slot into which every unit of analysis can be placed) and reliable (different coders should agree in the great majority of instances about the proper category for each unit of analysis) the importance of analytical categorization.

In this research, two categories were identified for analyzing the quantitative (sources used by the selected media) and the qualitative (story representation analysis) in the selected media. To do so, coding sheet was prepared by the researcher to make analytical categories. Along this, inter coder reliability is done after the coding process in this study. Inter coder reliability is a way used by researchers to create reliability to the coders coding process (Wimmer& Dominick, 2011). To this end, conceptual and operational definitions has been made to fine tune the words used in the arrangement of the categories. Following are the categories with their operational definitions.

Conceptual definition

Media representation: The conceptual definition of media representation in this study is that media representation is assumed as media cannot tell the definite truth of issues, happenings, and notions as they are rather it re-present (re-produce) them in a means of reflecting the real one. As a result, addressees might have information concerning what they have no awareness or have an incomplete familiarity about the topic to be shown (Workineh, 2016 as cited in Heran,2019).

Coding Guide

1. Operational definitions for the category of representations used in the stories:

- **Positive representation:** in this research a story was coded as positive when the stories mainly appreciated the negotiation between the three countries and when the manner of the story depicted in giving optimistic image about the GERD negotiation.
- **Negative representation:** in this research a story was coded as negative when the stories apt in slating the GERD negotiation might not bring any positive results.
- **Mixed representation:** in this research a story was coded as mixed when the stories have both positive and negative tones regarding the GERD negotiation.
- **Neutral representation:** in this research it refers to when the stories only explain proceedings without denoting to negative or positive conclusions of the GERD negotiation.

2. Operational definitions for the category of sources used in this study:

- **Analysts:** it refers to sources that have been mentioned as analysts.
- **Anonymous:** it refers to sources that are not stated by name.
- **Documents:** it refers to treaties, declaration of principles and other published documents.
- **Experts:** it refers to people who are cited as specialties like political analysts, hydrology experts and university professors.
- **Government Officials:** are officials who have a say in governmental hierarchy and works for the government such as leaders of countries and ambassadors.
- **Non-government officials:** are officials from non-government organizations like the UN, AU and EU.

- **Citizens:** Anyone who is a resident of a certain country and does not represent any institution or government office in giving comments about certain issues.
- **Other Media:** Any media those who were cited than the selected media in the study.
- **Organizations:** Any governmental or non-governmental institutions like the UN, UNSC, AU and EU.
- **Social Media:** in this research it refers to social network platforms especially Twitter, Tiktok. Facebook,

3.8. Procedure of Data Collection and Method of Analysis

The data analysis procedure began with the demonstration of the findings of the selected media contents and representation of the GERD negotiation in terms of the previously laid down analytical categories, which are mainly drawn from the research questions, objectives, focus and theoretical foundations of the study. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses were employed, and representations acquired from the data were presented both in quantitative and qualitative methods. The findings were discussed based on theoretical frameworks and various literatures.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion

This research examines how FBC, al-Ahram and BBC websites represented the GERD negotiation. Consequently, this chapter focuses on the data presentation, analysis, and discussion of sample articles regarding the negotiation. These sample stories were posted in these selected media during the time frame from January 2020 to December 2020.

4.1. Quantitative Data Presentation and Analysis

To analyze the quantitative data, two categories were identified which are representation analysis and sources cited by the selected media. To do this, operational definitions were made to set a clear definition for the words used in the classification of the groupings. Thus, the representation category has used four terms to categorize the representation of the stories. These are positive, negative, mixed, and neutral. Based on these categorizations the stories have been grouped as it is displayed in the below table.

Table 4.1 Representation of the GERD negotiation by the selected media

Representation	Website					
	FANA BC		ALAHRAM		BBC	
	# of Stories	% representation	# of Stories	% representation	# of Stories	% representation
Positive	43	48.3%	18	48.6%	6	21.5%
Negative	6	6.7%	7	18.9%	15	53.5%
Mixed	12	13.4%	0	0%	1	3.6%
Neutral	28	31.4%	12	32.4%	6	21.4%

Total	89	100%	37	100%	28	100%
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Based on the categorization displayed in the above table the selected websites represented the GERD negotiation in positive, negative, mixed and neutral manner. FBC websites had a total of 89 stories that have covered the GERD negotiation. Out of these, 43 of it were represented the negotiation as positive which accounts for 48.3% of its total stories. 6 stories (6.7%) out of the 89 represented the negotiation as negative. Whereas 12 stories out of the 89 had a mixed representation which contributed for 13.4% of the stories and 28 (31.4%) of the stories had a neutral representation. Hence, FBC's stories representation of the GERD negotiation generally found to be positive.

In Al-Ahram's website, out of 37 total stories displayed in the selected timeframe, 18 (48.6%) of stories had positive representation of the negotiation, 7 (18.9%) of stories had negative representation, and 12 (32.4%) of stories had neutral representation. There was no single story that has a mixed representation for Al-Ahram's case. As a result, in most of its stories, Al-Ahram represented the GERD negotiation as positive which accounts for 48.6% of the total stories followed by neutral representation which accounts for 32.4% of the total stories. The negative representation of the negotiation falls in the third place.

When we see the case of BBC, majority of the GERD negotiation had negative representation which accounts to 53.5% of the total (15 stories out of 28). 6 of the stories (21.4% of the total) had a positive representation and the same number of stories had a neutral representation. The remaining 1 (3.6%) story represented the negotiation as mixed. Therefore, it appeared that majority (53.5%) of BBC's stories of the GERD negotiation had negative representation which is even higher than the aggregate of positive, neutral and mixed representation.

In general, majority of FBC (48.3%) and Al-Ahram's (48.6%) GERD negotiation stories had a positive representation whereas BBC's representation of majority of the stories found to have negative representation (53.5%). FBC and Al-Ahram's second most stories had neutral representation which is (31.4%) and (32.4%) respectively. Whereas, BBC's second most stories had positive representation (21.4%). The selected media outlets had differences in the way they represented the negotiation, however there seems to have a similar trend between FBC and Al-Ahram.

4.1.1. Sources Cited by the Selected Media

In this research, source cited refers to sources cited by the selected media outlets. Accordingly, two categories were defined and named as people and documents. In people's category falls the following sources which were cited by the selected media. These are: analysts, anonymous, experts, government officials, ordinary citizens, nongovernmental organization officials, and reporters. Under documents category social media, other media and documents were categorized as sources cited by the selected media. In their stories, all the selected media websites cited people and documents as their sources of information. As a result, in its 89 stories FBC has cited a total of 117 sources which 98 (83.7%) belongs to people whereas the remaining 19 (16.2%) sources goes to documents. Al-Ahram in its 37 articles have cited a total of 95 sources which 74 (77.8%) of it were people and 21 (22.1%) were documents. BBC has cited 87 sources for its 28 stories. Of the cited sources 72 (82.7%) accounts to the people and the remaining 15 (17.2%) were cited as documents. For all the three medias people takes the majority of percentage shares cited as a source. However, Al-Ahram has used documents as a cited source more than FBC and BBC.

Table 4.1.1 Sources cited by the Selected Media

Sources		Websites					
		FANA BC		ALAHRAM		BBC	
		# of Sources	% representation	# of Sources	% representation	# of Sources	% representation
	Analyst	0	0%	1	1.3%	2	3%
	Anonymous	0	0%	3	4%	0	0%

People	Experts	11	11.2%	4	5.4%	10	14%
	Government officials	61	62.2%	58	78%	41	57%
	Ordinary citizens	3	3.1%	0	0%	2	3%
	Non-governmental organization officials	21	21.4%	8	11%	13	18%
	Reporters	2	2%	0	0%	4	5%
Total		98	100%	74	100%	72	100%
Documents	Documents	6	32%	7	33%	6	40%
	Other Media	9	47%	12	57%	7	47%
	Social Media	4	21%	2	10%	2	13%
Total		19	100%	21	100%	15	100%

As it is displayed in the above table, from the people category, government officials were the top cited sources for all the three selected medias and from the documents category other media were the top cited source.

From the people category total cited 98 sources for FBC, the most cited sources were government official which accounts for 61 (62.2%) and non-governmental organization officials which accounts for 21 (21.4%), experts 11 (11.2%), ordinary citizens 3 (3.1%) and reporters 2 (2%) follows the order as cited sources and analysts as well as anonymous were not cited as a source for its 89 stories. FBC has cited 19 sources from the document's category and 9 (47%) were other media, 6 (32%) were documents and 4 (21%) were social media.

Al-Ahram's top cited source of information from the people category were government official as they were 58 out of its 74 sources which is (78%) followed by non-governmental organization officials 8 (11%). Al-Ahram also has cited experts 4 (5.4%), anonymous 3 (3%) and analyst 1 (1.3%). Ordinary citizens and reporters were not cited as a source of information. From the document's category total 21 cited sources Al-Ahram cited other media 12 (57%), document 7 (33%) and social media 2 (10%).

BBC, in total has cited 72 sources from the people category which 41 (57%) were government officials, non-governmental organization officials 13 (18%), experts 10 (14%), reporters 4 (5%), analyst 2 (3%) and ordinary citizens 2 (3%), and anonymous were not used as a source. From the documents category other media were the most cited source as it were 7 out of its 15 sources which is (47%). Documents were cited 6 time out of 15 sources mentioned which is (40%) and the remaining goes to social media 2 (13%).

Generally, as the above data exhibited that the selected media outlets cited people and documents as sources in their stories and in all the selected media people were cited higher than documents. Government officials and non-government organization officials from the people's category were found to be the top two cited sources for all the three medias. The trend seems the same for the document's category as well. All the three selected medias top two cited sources were other media and documents. Even though, all the three selected media had similarities in citing source, there are differences in the overall trend. For instance, analysts and anonymous were not cited as a source

in FBC's stories, ordinary citizens and reporters were not cited as a source of information in Al-Ahram, and anonymous was not cited as a source information in BBC.

4.2. Qualitative Data Presentation and Analysis

In this section, the researcher presents the data that were not assessed through the quantitative method and trusts that the qualitative discourse analysis will give a more thorough analysis of the issue. In the subsequent sections, the analysis will be done based on news structure those are the lead, body and ending of the stories. thus, the analyses will be assessing the headlines the body of the stories.

4.2.1. FBC

Lead

FBC represented the GERD negotiation in majority of its headlines in a positive way which encompasses 48% of the total story headlines. The remaining headlines had a neutral 26%, mixed 12% and negative 6% representation. Some examples of the headlines of the stories that represented as hopeful are "Ethiopia, Sudan and Egypt Conclude GERD Negotiation", "UN Secretary-General Expresses Full Support to AU-Led Negotiation On GERD", "Ethiopia, Sudan Discuss Resumption of Trilateral Negotiation On GERD", "Egypt Expresses Interest to Resume Negotiations On GERD".

Body

An example of a positive representation is in the article posted on Mar 20, 2020 entitled as "Ethiopia, Sudan and Egypt Conclude GERD Negotiation". The following extract taken from the body of the article shows that the countries have reached some degree of consensus on the GERD negotiation.

The countries have reached a general understanding on the rules and guidelines concerning mitigation measures during drought, prolonged drought, and prolonged periods of dry years.

The outstanding issues will be resolved at subsequent negotiations and documents detailing rules and guidelines on filling and operation will be prepared.

This same article also affirms that reaching a consensus in the GERD negotiation could improve the lives of the people of the three countries.

The three countries reaffirmed the importance of transboundary cooperation in the development of the Blue Nile to improve the lives of the people of Ethiopia, Sudan and Egypt.

Parallel to the above, an article published on Oct 25, 2020 and headlined as “Negotiation Only Solution for All in GERD Issue – IGAD” Quoting IGAD executive secretary in different passages of the article it states as follows

The negotiation of an arrangement to pave the way for a win-win agreement is the only solution for all.

The region cannot afford tensions and we should stay away from anything that would contribute to building them up between neighboring countries that share history and are bound by a common destiny.

As we can see from the above quotes taken from the article the negotiation is represented as a win-win way out for all countries which thought to share history and bound by a common destiny.

Some articles have also outlined the significance of the peaceful completion of the GERD negotiation in the region’s economic empowerment. For instance, an article published on June 24, 2020 and headlined as “Congressional Black Caucus Calls for Peaceful Negotiation Over GERD” and the body details citing CBC;

The Caucus encouraged the continued cooperation and peaceful negotiations of all stakeholders in the project based on mutual benefit, good faith, and the principles of international law.

The multi-billion-dollar GERD project, which was announced in 2011, will have a positive impact in the region by providing Africa’s biggest hydropower dam that will generate

approximately 6,000MW of electricity, thus allowing Ethiopia to export power to neighboring countries.

Moreover, the GERD negotiation between Ethiopia, Sudan and Egypt is depicted as lengthy. For example, an article published on July 18, 2020 and headlined as “EU Calls for Collective Agreement Regarding GERD” says,

The three countries have been conducting a trilateral negotiation regarding the filling and operations of the dam for the past years but failed to reach an agreement.

Despite some progresses, the recent African Union (AU)-led negotiation that was held virtually for 11 days also ended with no breakthrough.

On the same article, citing Josep Borrell, High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, and Vice-President of the European Commission states that concluding the negotiation in a conciliatory way would have a positive impact for the entire basin and investment into region. It reads;

The parties will have to work out whether they can come to a collective agreement.

If they do, and we encourage them to choose the conciliatory way forward, the benefits could be considerable: trust will be built; tensions diffused; and possibilities renewed for a conducive environment for investment in the development and water security of the entire basin.

FBC represented the GERD as a national flagship project. For example, an article posted in Oct 24, 2020 titled as “Comments On GERD Violate Ethiopia’s Sovereignty, Benefit No One” citing MoFA indicated,

The dam, which is nearing completion, is a national flagship project being built by only Ethiopians without any help or support.

Some articles have also depicted GERD as beneficial to the downstream countries. The following article posted in Feb 6, 2020 headlined as “Ethiopia Pursues Win-Win Approach to GERD Negotiations” citing Dr Seleshi Bekele, Minister of Water, Irrigation and Energy stated that,

In addition to significantly enhancing Ethiopia's energy production, fishery development and tourism sector, GERD will also be beneficial for downstream countries to develop hydropower dams and runoff river plants.

Conversely, some articles from FBC depicted the negotiation being in the critical stage and the negotiators impartiality is vital in reaching an inclusive deal. For example, an article posted on June 26,2020 headlined as "American Ambassadors Ask Trump Administration to Be Impartial Over GERD Talks" quoting the Ambassadors explains the issue as follows:

The GERD talks are entering a critical phase, and we urge the United States to embrace neutrality and support genuine mediation, which is the best way to advance our interests and to ensure security and stability in the region.

The perception—rightly or wrongly—that the United States has sided with Egypt in the negotiations will limit our ability to support efforts aimed at reaching a settlement.

Pressure on Ethiopia or suspension of multilateral or bilateral assistance will harden positions and make compromise more difficult.

An article posted on June 16,2020 headlined as "Ethiopia Demands Egypt to Stick to GERD Talks for Mutual Benefit" referring the FM, depicted Ethiopia's stance in the GERD negotiation as seeking cooperation, mutual benefit and equitable water share. The article reads:

The continuation of the negotiations indicates how Ethiopia relies on significance of dialogue and principles of mutual benefits regarding GERD issues.

Ethiopia is participating in the tripartite talks taking the accepted principles of 'cooperation' and 'causing no significant harm' as guideposts in addition to recognizing its rights to equitably and reasonably utilize its water resources.

In the contrary, a story posted on June 18,2020 headlined as "Ethiopians Pour Words of Condemnation Against NSC Remarks Over GERD" referring the FM, mentioned Egypt's stand in the GERD negotiation as clinging to the colonial era water treaties. The article reads:

Despite Ethiopia's efforts to reach agreement, Egypt's cling to the colonial-day water treaties that do not give recognition either to Ethiopia's or the other riparian countries' natural right to utilize the water resource is stalling the talks.

Egypt is foot lagging in the talks while attempting to take the GERD case to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), which doesn't go in line with the spirits of the Declaration of Principles signed in 2015.

Generally, the discourse from this media showed that the GERD negotiation was represented as an ongoing process with multiple actors in it and vital to the negotiating countries economic, social, and political development. The negotiation was also represented as in its critical stage which needs an impartial and inclusive mediation. In some of the articles, the negotiation was represented as lengthy but need to reach an inclusive and holistic agreement. FBC website represented GERD as a national flagship and self-reliance project which is built by Ethiopians. The two major negotiating parties, Ethiopia and Egypt were represented in different ways. Ethiopia represented as a country seeking cooperation, mutual benefit, and equitable water share whereas Egypt was represented as an advocate of colonial era treaties.

4.2.2. Al-Ahram

Lead

Al-Ahram represented the GERD negotiation in most of its headlines (48.6%) as positive. For instance, stories headlined as "After 'positive' meeting, Egypt, Sudan, and Ethiopia agree to continue GERD negotiations", "Egypt wants to continue GERD negotiations to reach fair agreement", "Coptic Pope Tawadros 'prays that GERD negotiations move forward towards solution for all'" can be taken as an example. Though, some headlines represented the GERD negotiation in negative representation (18.9%) that negates the positive notion of the negotiation. For example, stories titled as "Ethiopia not seeking a deal on Nile dam and not offering an alternative" and "Egypt accuses Ethiopia of 'deliberately' impeding GERD negotiations" can be stated as examples. In addition, there were also stories published which represented the negotiation as neutral (32.4%). Articles headlined as "GERD talks postponed for a week for consultations upon Sudan's request" and "Is GERD negotiations witnessing real 'progress'?" can be taken as examples.

Body

In a story posted on July 16, 2020 and titled “Ethiopia says GERD negotiations to continue; state TV apologizes for mistakenly announcing start of filling process” represented the negotiation citing Ethiopia’s Minister of Water, Irrigation and Energy Sileshi Bekele as a vital benefit to Ethiopians. It says:

The GERD negotiations will continue “not only for the benefit of the current generation, but also for the benefit of future generations.”

On the other hand, an article posted Oct 26, 2020 and headlined as “Egypt, Ethiopia, Sudan to resume GERD talks Tuesday”, citing the AU chairperson represented the continues GERD negotiation as a commitment to the amicable peaceful solution of negotiation. The story reads as follows:

The resumption of negotiations is indicative of the strong political will and commitment by the leadership of the three parties involved in the negotiations to the peaceful and amicable solution of the GERD matter.

It is a reaffirmation of the confidence that the parties have in an African-led negotiations process.

Al-Ahram depicted Egypt’s stance in the GERD negotiation as a country looking for a binding agreement in an article posted on Aug. 16, 2020 which says;

Egypt stressed during the meeting the importance of negotiations in order to reach a legally binding agreement that will regulate the filling and operations of the GERD in a way that preserves the rights of the three countries and secures their water interests, as well as which limits the damage from this dam and its impact on the two downstream countries.

In addition to the above, in an article posted on Jan. 26, 2020 and headlined as “Egypt should focus on ensuring maximum water security in GERD deal” represented the Egypt’s GERD negotiation intake as maximum water security. The article reads as follows citing an expert:

It is not about reaching an agreement on the GERD's technical issues. It is more important to reach an agreement that guarantees the maximum possible level of water security for Egypt.

It is certain that the American side, as a mediator, will put pressure and ask for compromises, but the main focus for Egypt should be to ensure the highest possible level of water security

Nevertheless, on an article posted on June 13, 2020 titled “Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan agree to continue GERD negotiations on Monday” Al-Ahram represented Ethiopia as “intransigent” citing Egyptian Ministry of Irrigation. The post reads as follows:

The four-day negotiations demonstrated that there are many fundamental issues that Ethiopia continues to reject.

These issues include provisions that reflect the legally binding nature of the agreement, or the creation of a legal dispute settlement mechanism.

This is in addition to Ethiopia's total rejection of addressing technical issues relating to the mitigation measures for drought and prolonged drought as well the measures addressing prolonged periods of dry years.

In relation to the above point, an article posted on Jun 11, 2020 mentioned that Egypt is keen on reaching consensus regarding the GERD negotiation but without going back to where it started. The article headlined as “Egypt won't go back to square one in GERD negotiations” citing Egyptian Irrigation Ministry further narrates as follows:

Egypt is keen on achieving joint gains [for the three countries] without harming any party, and without returning back to point zero. I mean we will not start from the beginning.

We hope to reach [an agreement] that satisfies all sides ... and feel there is a genuine will on all sides to reach consensus... if there is no will, we will never reach consensus.

In most of the articles, Al-Ahram represented the GERD as a threat for Egypt's water security, a danger for Sudanese dam safety and a means for Ethiopians development need. The article posted

on Aug 16, 2020 headlined as “GERD talks postponed for a week for consultations upon Sudan's request” can be taken as an example. The extract from the article narrates as follows:

The mega-dam, built 15 kilometers from the Ethiopian border with Sudan, has been a source of tension between the three nations. Cairo fears the project will significantly cut its water supply from the River Nile, while Sudan fears it will endanger the safety of its own dams.

Ethiopia says the massive project, which it hopes will make it Africa’s largest power exporter, is key to its development efforts.

To sum up, the GERD negotiation is one of the key regional and international phenomenon that get the attention of international actors to it like the AU, EU, UNSC and America. All the three countries announce that they are in to the negotiation but it seems that they have different interests. For instance, Egypt wants to have a binding agreement in the filling and administration of the GERD whereas Ethiopia is against the notion of binding agreement. The two countries, Ethiopia and Egypt, were represented in different ways, Ethiopia being as intransigent and Egypt being as dedicated to the negotiation. The GERD and the negotiation outcome has also been represented in three different ways. For Ethiopia it was represented as a means for economic development and for Egypt it is a water security issue whereas Sudanese’s concern was the safety of its dam.

4.2.3. BBC

Lead

Most of the headlines for the GERD negotiation on BBC had a negative representation which accounts to 53.5% of the total stories. On the other hand, positive and neutral representation of the GERD negotiation had an equal share which is 21.5%. The rest had a mixed representation. Some examples of the headlines of the stories that represented as negative are “Nile Dam row: Egypt and Ethiopia generate heat but no power”, “Nile dam row: Egypt fumes as Ethiopia celebrates” and “Nile: Ethiopians and Egyptians trade TikTok threats”. The following examples had also a positive representation “Nile nations try to end deadlock over dam” and “Nile dam: Satellite images show water levels rising”

Body

A story published on BBC's website on May 10, 2020 headlined "Nile Dam row: Egypt and Ethiopia generate heat but no power" explains how the Ethiopian and Egyptian words are becoming hostile. A quote taken from the article states about how the two countries see the GERD.

The polite diplomatic façade was maintained but the words of the Egyptian and Ethiopian representatives revealed a belligerence that was hard to disguise.

The social distance that the participants observed underscored the diplomatic gulf.

It is a gulf that threatens to sweep up the populations of the two countries into a nationalist fervor and mutual distrust.

This same article further explains quoting the Egyptian foreign minister and Ethiopian Ambassador to the UN what the GERD mean to their country as follows:

For the Egyptian and Ethiopian representatives at the UN meeting, the very existence of their countries was at stake.

"A threat of potentially existential proportions has emerged that could encroach on the single source of livelihood of over 100 million Egyptians," the country's Foreign Minister Sameh Shoukry said.

Using similar language, Ethiopia's UN ambassador Taye Atske-Selassie countered: "For Ethiopia, accessing and utilizing its water resources is not a matter of choice, but of existential necessity.

In addition to the above point, the same article explains what is remaining and holding up the two countries from reaching into consensus. The extract from the article says that:

The rhetoric may disguise that after nearly a decade of talking, the two countries have managed to agree on a lot of things, but the crucial questions of how and when to fill up the dam, and how much water it should release, remain unresolved.

Years of bilateral and multilateral talks, expert commissions, an agreed Declaration of Principles between Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan, the third country affected, have still not settled these basic issues.

In another article posted on Oct. 27, 2020 and headlined as “Trump and Africa: How Ethiopia was 'betrayed' over Nile dam” BBC depicted the Trumps comment of “blowing up the dam” as a threat for the overall GERD negotiation and it would create a belligerence between the two countries. The article reads as follows quoting Rashid Abdi, Kenya-based Horn of Africa security analyst:

Ethiopia is stepping up security around the dam.

Its defensive measures include declaring the Benishangul-Gumuz region, where the dam is located, a restricted airspace, and there are also reports that Ethiopia is putting up anti-aircraft batteries around the dam. It probably fears reconnaissance flights by Egypt.

He [Mr. Trump] has this misconceived notion that you can cut a deal like in business. So, he left the US Treasury to play the lead role in negotiations when foreign policy is supposed to be conducted by the State Department. The consequences have been to aggravate an already bad situation.

Regardless of all the above representations of the GERD, an article posted on Nov. 1, 2020 headlined as “How the controversial Nile dam might fix Sudan's floods” represented the GERD as beneficial to Sudan. The excerpt from the article says the following:

Unprecedented flooding in Sudan this year led to the deaths of more than 100 people and affected 875,000 others.

Entire residential neighborhoods were destroyed while power and water supplies were disrupted when the River Nile recorded its highest level in living memory.

Some experts said that if the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, upstream on the Blue Nile tributary, had been fully operational, the effect on Sudan would have been less disastrous.

This same article further explains the conception citing Sudanese expert on international water law and policy as follows:

We lost people, and properties of billions of pounds, but look at Egypt - they haven't lost a single seedling because they normally keep the flood water in their high dam and we don't have one like that, so the Ethiopian dam could have saved all that.

It [the GERD] will also enable Sudan's own dams to generate more electricity as well as buying cheap and clean electricity from Ethiopia.

It [the GERD] will also allow for three growing seasons - at the moment crops are harvested around October or November - but if the flow is regulated, farmers will be able to plant and irrigate more often.

On another hand, the first filling of the GERD depicted as pivotal point of the negotiation. In an article posted on Jan. 30, 2020 headlined as “Egypt-Ethiopia row: The trouble over a giant Nile dam” mentioned the following:

At the center of the dispute are plans to fill up the mega dam as Egypt fears the project will allow Ethiopia to control the flow of Africa's longest river.

Hydroelectric power stations do not consume water, but the speed with which Ethiopia fills up the dam's reservoir will affect the flow downstream.

The longer it takes to fill the reservoir, which is going to be bigger than Greater London with a total capacity of 74 billion cubic meters, the less impact there will be on the level of the river.

Ethiopia wants to do it in six years.

But Egypt has proposed a longer period - so that the level of the river does not dramatically drop, especially in the initial phase of filling the reservoir.

To conclude, the GERD negotiation was depicted as a growing political and diplomatic frontage to win one over the other. Building up of the dam were also depicted as “single source of livelihood” for Egypt and “existential necessity” for Ethiopia. Failing to reach into a consensus on filling up of the dam were also represented a critical part which is holding the GERD negotiation back. Trumps comment regarding the GERD negotiation were taken as an inflammatory speech which resulted in

Ethiopia deploying air missiles around the GERD for maximum security. The GERD also represented as beneficiary to Sudan in protecting from excessive flooding and proper management of its dam.

4.3. Discussion of the Findings

‘Representation’ refers to the process of re-presenting, the process by which members of a culture use systems of signs to produce meaning. This highlights that representation is an active process of meaning production, the products of which are media representations, that is, texts and images (Orgad, 2012). Media can represent issues, countries, individuals, and situations in various ways. In representation, media cannot tell the definite truth of issues, happenings, and notions as they are rather it re-presents (re-produces) them in a means of reflecting the real matters (Workineh, 2016). When the media represents an issue in a particular way it causes the audience to have certain judgments through the existence or nonexistence of particular words, phrases, and sources (Brouwer, Woude&Leun, 2017).

While reporting the negotiation, the selected media outlets have represented the GERD negotiation through re-representing some reality while avoiding the other reality. Similarly, they have used some words and expressions to describe the negotiating countries, the GERD and negotiation process.

The data obtained exhibited different ways of representations were used by the selected websites. The quantitative data categorized the representation as positive, negative, mixed, and neutral. Similarly, the qualitative data analyzed the data through discourse analysis.

The source or sources a particular media uses may affect the way stories are represented in media (Inzunza-Acedo, 2017). In this study, sources were categorized in to two these are people and documents. Under people’s category different people were mentioned as sources by the selected media outlets in covering the GERD negotiation such as analysts, experts, government officials, non-governmental organization official, citizens and so on which might indicate what kind of representation that they used in describing the subject. Correspondingly, they also cited documents as sources of information and under documents category social media, documents and other media were cited.

Thus, based on the data presented formerly, in the subsequent section, the data presented and examined is discussed based on the review of literature and theoretical frameworks presented in Chapter 2 of the study.

4.3.1. Representation of the Countries, the Negotiation, and the GERD

Media in general reports stories and occurrence about most countries in the world depending on their interest. As a result, reporters from a different country might not have enough knowledge about the other country and the situation that they are reporting about, since, they might not have much understanding and familiarity with the culture, the people, the issue, or the system. These features might contribute for the media to represent a certain country or an issue in a particular way in their story or stories. The power of media representations lies neither in reflecting or distorting the ‘truth’ and imposing a certain view of ‘reality’, nor in ‘softly’ winning consent and establishing hegemony (Orgad, 2012).

The representation of a nation in the international media can be identified by the language used by the media, comprising the words, phrases, and sentences (Hanan, 2006). The previously presented data shows that the Al-Ahram in its coverage of the GERD negotiation, represented Ethiopia as ‘intransigent’ and Egypt as a country ‘seeking for binding agreement’. These expressions and framing of the stories as well as the countries appeared to ignore the positive efforts that both countries have put on the continuation of the negotiation.

Representations mark boundaries, not only in constructing certain people, certain places, ideas and cultures in terms of ‘us’ and ‘them’, ‘good’ and ‘bad’, and so on, but also in appropriating and reproducing certain frameworks, symbols and ways of understanding that are intelligible to particular groups or cultures and unintelligible to others (Orgad, 2012).

BBC depicted the negotiation in most of its headlines as ‘Nile dam row’, ‘River Nile row’ and ‘Egypt-Ethiopia row’ mentioning the two countries belligerence whereas Al-Ahram and FBC portrayed the negotiation in most of their headlines as ‘GERD Negotiation’. BBC’s slanting and re-presenting of the GERD negotiation shows some degree of negativism and this could lay a shadow in the reader’s perception towards the negotiation. In addition, in most of the headlines and body of all the stories, Egypt and Ethiopia were mentioned more times than Sudan in the

negotiation process and it gives the reader a notion that the negotiation is happening mainly between the two countries. Parallel to this, the negotiation was portrayed as lengthy by FBC considering the time it takes without a profound agreement.

Regarding the GERD, FBC and Al-Ahram headlines were skewed mostly to positive whereas BBC's portrayal of the dam has negative representation. Al-Ahram depicted the dam as 'Ethiopian Mega-dam', 'GERD', 'Nile Dam', '\$4.8 billion near-complete dam'. FBC portrayal of the dam were the same across all the headlines which is 'GERD'. The representation of the GERD in BBC's headlines were 'Ethiopian Dam', 'Nile Dam', 'Controversial Mega Dam', 'Ethiopia's river Nile dam', 'River Nile Dam', 'Nile Giant Dam'. The portrayal and representation of the dam on BBC's and Al-Ahram's headline have some similarities in expression. Al-Ahram depicted the dam from size, the investment it took and using the generic name of the river. However, BBC's representation, in addition to referring the size and using the generic name, it focuses on the controversies which diverts reader's attention and may depict the dam in a negative way on the minds of the audience. The word 'controversial' has also appeared more times in the body of BBC's articles than any of the other two medias. According to the constructionist approach, media can construct a careful and specific portrayal of some features of actuality, which continuously make some messages and omit others. This approach believes that the word usage, the issues articulated, the reactions connecting with them and the techniques have an impact in representing an issue (Hall, 1997).

In general, in media representation, some aspects could be emphasized more than others (Griffiths, 2010). In the stories of BBC and Al-Ahram, the size, the river being international and the investment it took depicted as a reason for the controversy.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Summary

The objective of this study was to analyze the media representation of the GERD negotiation in the selected three medias. To accomplish this, FBC, Al-Ahram and BBC websites were selected, and their data were presented and examined both quantitatively and qualitatively. Quantitative content analysis and qualitative discourse analysis were utilized for the study. The aim of the quantitative content analysis was to classify and examine the representation and sources used by the selected media. The aim of the discourse analysis was to provide thorough descriptions of the words and phrases used by selected media in depicting the negotiation and to explain the representations that could not be expounded only in numbers.

As a theoretical framework, media representation theory was used. Different literatures such as overview of the basin and the two countries (Egypt and Ethiopia), historical treaties, the initiative, overview of dams built over the Nile, the GERD and its negotiation were also reviewed. The time frame of the data was from January 2020 to December 2020. Throughout this period several negotiations have taken place between the three countries. Based on that, the total population of the stories published in the chosen time frame in the selected medias were 154 stories regarding the negotiation. Consequently, the researcher decided to make the sample size of this research all the stories.

Hence, in this study, stories were selected purposely through using the following keywords such as ‘GERD Negotiation’, ‘GERD deal’, ‘Nile talk’, ‘Tripartite negotiation’, ‘Egypt-Ethiopia-Sudan’ to search stories from each website. In total, 154 stories from the websites of the selected media outlets were gathered and analyzed. FBC posted 89 articles, Al-Ahram posted 37 articles and BBC posted 28 articles. The analysis includes stories that the websites labelled as news and opinion. Based on these distinctions, BBC published 1 story as opinion and 27 stories as news. Whereas FBC categorized 84 stories as news, 5 articles as opinion and Al-Ahram categorized 34 stories as news and 3 story as opinion

The quantitative analysis had two categories, which were representation analysis and sources cited by the selected media. The results of this study indicated that FBC and Al-Ahram had a larger positive representation whereas BBC had a larger negative representation. FBC and Al-Ahram's negative representations had the same trend which is their second most. Therefore, the outcomes in their percentage indicated that FBC represented the negotiation as positive in 43 of its 89 stories which is 48.3% of its total. 6 stories (10.9%) represented the negotiation as negative. On the other hand, the website also had mixed representation that accounted for 12 (13.4%) of the stories. The website had 28 (31.4%) of its stories as neutral representation. As A Result, FBC stories representation of the negotiation mostly appears to be positive and neutral.

Al-Ahram website represented the negotiation as positive in 18 of its 37 articles which is 48.6% of its total. The website represented the negotiation in 7 (18.9%) stories in a negative way, 12 (32.4%) stories showed the representation of the negotiation as neutral, and no story had a mixed representation of the negotiation. Thus, Al-Ahram's representation of the deal appears mostly positive and neutral.

BBC, on the other hand, represented the GERD negotiation as negative in 15 of its 28 stories which is 53.5% of its total. 6 (21.5%) stories represented the negotiation as positive. On the other hand, 1 (3.6%) article out of the total stories posted by BBC had mixed representation. Neutral representation of the GERD negotiation was not identified for BBC. Therefore, it was evident that BBC's representation had higher negative than positive, and mixed. As it is showed in the above, FBC and Al-Ahram had some degree of similarities whereas BBC has a difference in the way it represented the negotiation.

When we see the sources, FBC, Al-Ahram and BBC cited people and documents as their sources of information in the articles. FBC cited total of 117 sources in its 89 articles among the 117 sources 98 which is 83.7% belongs to people while the remaining 19 sources that is 16.2% goes to documents. Al-Ahram cited total of 95 sources for its 37 articles, thus 74 which is 77.8% sources were people while the rest 21 (22.1%) were documents. BBC cited 87 sources for its 28 stories. Among the sources cited 72 (82.7%) belongs to people though the remaining 15 (17.2%) were cited as documents.

Results from the qualitative discourse analysis revealed that the selected websites used various words and expressions to describe the countries, the negotiation, and the GERD. Al-Ahram represented Ethiopia as 'intransigent' and Egypt as a country 'seeking for binding agreement'. These expressions of the stories as well as the countries appeared to ignore the positive efforts that both countries have put on the continuation of the negotiation. In addition, the negotiations were depicted in different ways in the selected medias. BBC depicted the negotiation in most of its headlines as 'Nile dam row', 'River Nile row' and 'Egypt-Ethiopia row' mentioning the two countries belligerence whereas Al-Ahram and FBC portrayed the negotiation in most of their headlines as 'GERD Negotiation'. BBC's slanting and re-presenting of the GERD negotiation shows some degree of negativism and this could lay a shadow in the reader's perception towards the negotiation.

The discourse analysis also showed that the GERD were described in different ways. FBC and Al-Ahram headlines were skewed mostly to positive whereas BBC's portrayal of the dam has negative representation. Al-Ahram depicted the dam as 'Ethiopian Mega-dam', 'GERD', 'Nile Dam', '\$4.8 billion near-complete dam'. FBC portrayal of the dam were the same across all the headlines which is 'GERD'. The representation of the GERD in BBC's headlines were 'Ethiopian Dam', 'Nile Dam', 'Controversial Mega Dam', 'Ethiopia's river Nile dam', 'River Nile Dam', 'Nile Giant Dam'. The representation of the dam on BBC's and Al-Ahram's headline have some similarities in expression. Al-Ahram depicted the dam from size, the investment it took and using the generic name of the river.

5.2 Conclusion

This study has presented a viewpoint about the media representation of GERD negotiation, focused on how the GERD was represented in the selected three medias. The study, which offers insight into how the GERD was represented by the selected media in comparison, is up-to-date occurrence and the researcher is expected to show the current media trend. The study also found indispensable to show perspectives of the selected media representation in coverage about the GERD. It tries to categorize how the negotiation was represented by the selected medias and the implication of their coverage.

The first sub-section of this chapter only answered questions related with representation of the GERD negotiation and the comparison among the media. That means, how the selected articles/news represented the GERD negotiation. It simply indicated appearances directly related with GERD negotiation articles in a given time frame.

Two categories were identified to analyze the quantitative data. The representation analysis and sources cited by the selected media. The representation analysis indicated that FBC and Al-Ahram had a larger positive representation whereas BBC had a larger negative representation. When we see the sources, FBC, Al-Ahram and BBC cited people and documents as their sources of information in the articles and the trend seems similar in the selected medias which they seem to rely in people as their source of information.

Moreover, the qualitative discourse analysis revealed that the selected websites used various words and expressions to describe the countries, the negotiation, and the GERD. Negation or negative expressions of the stories as well as the countries appeared to ignore the positive efforts that both countries have put on the continuation of the negotiation. Hence, since GERD is one of the major hydro political contention between regional and global actors, and media has a key role in providing the story, representation of the negotiation in a certain way could affect and lay a shadow in a positive outcome and successful completion of an almost decade long negotiation.

5.3 Recommendations

The discoveries of the study revealed that some headlines and stories from the selected media were characterizing the three countries, the negotiation and the GERD in a way that can give readers positive or negative representation without quoting sources. Though, this research recommends that it would be better if the selected media would be more cautious to avert depicting the issue primarily from the journalists' viewpoints. It would be useful to incorporate what the concerned bodies think about specified descriptions.

Representation of the three countries, the negotiation and the GERD by a media can positively or negatively affect the negotiation process. Media reports stories about events and occurrences so this study advises that they should give more attention to know what is happening on the ground about the issue and occurrences. GERD negotiation process is one of the big historical experiences in the

world and it should be represented precisely by the media since the media would serve as a key reference for that history.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Coding Sheet

Name of the website _____

Date of publication (month/date/ year) _____

Title of the story _____

Analytical Category

1. Representations used in the stories

- Positive representation _____
- Negative representation _____
- Mixed representation _____
- Neutral representation _____

2. Types of sources cited in the stories

- Annalists _____
- Anonymous _____
- Documents _____
- Experts _____
- Government Officials _____
- Citizens _____
- Other Media _____
- Non-Governmental Organizations Officials _____
- Reporters _____
- Social Media _____

Appendix B

Coding Guide

1. Operational definitions for the category of representations used in the stories:

- **Positive representation:** in this research a story was coded as positive when the stories mainly appreciated the negotiation between the three countries and when the manner of the story depicted in giving optimistic image about the GERD negotiation.
- **Negative representation:** in this research a story was coded as negative when the stories apt in slating the GERD negotiation might not bring any positive results.
- **Mixed representation:** in this research a story was coded as mixed when the stories have both positive and negative tones regarding the GERD negotiation.
- **Neutral representation:** in this research it refers to when the stories only explain proceedings without denoting to negative or positive conclusions of the GERD negotiation.

2. Operational definitions for the category of frame used in the stories:

- **Theme of a story:** this denotes to the central idea, subject, message or focus of the story. The main themes of the stories on the GERD negotiation were coded as- Sovereign rights, National interest, historical rights, development, diplomacy, legal regime and other.

3. Operational definitions for the category of sources used in this study:

- **Analysts:** it refers to sources that have been mentioned as analysts.
- **Anonymous:** it refers to sources that are not stated by name.
- **Documents:** it refers to treaties, declaration of principles and other published documents.
- **Experts:** it refers to people who are cited as specialties like political analysts, hydrology experts and university professors.
- **Government Officials:** are officials who have a say in governmental hierarchy and works for the government such as leaders of countries and ambassadors.
- **Non-government Officials:** are officials from non-government organizations like the UN, AU and EU.

- **Citizens:** Anyone who is a resident of a certain country and does not represent any institution or government office in giving comments about certain issues.
- **Other Media:** Any media those who were cited than the selected media in the study.
- **Organizations:** Any governmental or non-governmental institutions like the UN, UNSC, AU and EU.
- **Social Media:** in this research it refers to social network platforms especially Twitter, Tiktok.

Appendix C

1. Sample stories from FBC retrieved from <https://www.fanabc.com/>
(Unedited)

AU Should Exert Maximum Effort on GERD Negotiations: Experts

On Mar 20, 2020

Addis Ababa, March 20, 2020 (FBC) -The African Union (AU) should fulfil its responsibility in the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) negotiations by ensuring that the union is not sidelined in the future processes, scholars said.

Non-African actors are increasingly present in the negotiations while the African Union (AU) is playing a marginal role, they claimed.

In addition to supporting the negotiations and the implementation of a possible agreement, there are critical lessons to be learned from the negotiations for the AU on how to manage future maritime and freshwater disputes, the scholars noted.

Institute for Security Studies (ISS) Senior Researcher and Training Coordinator, Meressa Dessu told ENA that the role of AU is significant to resolve the various disputes in Africa.

AU has instruments like conflict prevention, conflict management, and post-conflict resolution that can be applied for disputes on issues such as the Nile River.

The senior researcher believes that the African Union has the responsibility to promote peace, security and stability in the continent in the spirit of principle of “African solutions to Africa’s problems.

“The Nile issue is an African problem,” Meressa underscored.

He said “The Nile issue affects over 10 member states of the African Union, this shows that the union has the responsibility to resolve issues related to Nile River.”

According to Meressa, the African Union is also close to the problems in terms of proximity, knowledge and psychological makeup. So, “I think the AU could have been a better neutral mediator in this process.”

On other hand, the senior researcher noted that the statement issued by the Arab League ‘is biased’ as they did not see the other side of the dispute.

Meressa said the statement may add tension, suspicion and misunderstanding, but never helps the ongoing negotiations on equal utilization and reasonable use of Nile River.

Another Senior Researcher from the same institute, Dawit Yohannes, said AU should play a particular role in resolving the emerging dispute on the continent.

The dispute might have deep implications in terms of peace and security for the region, he stated, adding that this is why the AU should take part in resolving these kinds of disputes in the continent.

“African Union should play roles in these kinds of disputes based on the principle of African solutions to African problems,” he stressed.

It is to be recalled that Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan have been negotiating for over eight years to reach agreement on the filling and operation of the dam. The utilization of Nile River is beyond negotiation.

2. **Sample story from AL-Ahram retrieved from <https://english.ahram.org.eg/>**
(Unedited)

Is GERD negotiations witnessing real ‘progress’?

Attempts to salvage negotiations on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam continue

Doaa El-Bey , Wednesday 17 Jun 2020

On Monday and Tuesday, the irrigation ministers of Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan met online for the fifth and sixth time since 9 June.

According to a statement from the Sudanese Ministry of Irrigation, tripartite negotiations have achieved “progress” on important technical files, including dam security, the initial filling of the reservoir, the dam’s long-term operation, environmental studies and exchange of information.

Tellingly, the Sudanese statement did not specify whether the “progress” had been achieved during the Washington talks which ended late in February, or the present, online round.

Since the virtual talks began last week it has become clear that Ethiopia has focused its objections on a number of fundamental legal issues. They include outlining a mechanism to settle differences, provisions to make the agreement legally binding, and legally enforceable measures to be taken in times of drought and prolonged drought.

Ethiopia is treading water in the negotiations in an attempt to run down the timetable, says Ali Al-Hefni, a former deputy to Egypt's foreign minister.

“It is not willing to reach a fair agreement. Its goal is unrestrained exploitation of transboundary water resources regardless of the rights and interests of Egypt and Sudan.”

On the third day of the online talks Ethiopia produced a new statement that backtracks on principles and rules previously agreed.

At a lecture organised by the Egyptian Business Council for International Cooperation two days after the Ethiopian statement was unveiled, Foreign Minister Sameh Shoukry said Egypt has been committed to negotiating in good faith to reach “a balanced and fair agreement” in the best interest of the three countries.

“But as long as Ethiopia remains intransigent, negotiations will not produce positive results. Egypt will have to look at other options, including asking the UN Security Council to shoulder its responsibility to protect international peace and security by preventing Ethiopia from taking unilateral actions that negatively affect Egypt's water rights. Egypt will exert every effort to protect its interests,” he said.

On Sunday, Addis Ababa issued a statement that reflects a lack of confidence in its negotiating parties, says former deputy to Egypt foreign minister Mohamed Hegazi.

“Given the uncertainties and hard-feelings reflected in the statement it is difficult to predict how things will progress. Perhaps the tough negotiations and the initial filling — if the different parties agree on it — will lead to greater political understanding and a gradual removal of suspicion between the parties,” he said.

In the statement, Addis Ababa said it will only abide by the Declaration of Principles (DoP) signed in Sudan in 2015, and rejected earlier international treaties as “colonial based water allocation agreements that deny Ethiopia, and all upstream countries, their natural and legitimate rights”.

The statement stressed that “the ongoing negotiation is not about the allocation of Blue Nile waters” and insisted “Ethiopia will be bound by the guidelines and rules for the filling and annual operation of the GERD that it will sign with the two downstream countries,” and that “such a commitment will be guided solely by the Declaration of Principles.”

It warned that “any attempt to confuse the international community or campaign to exert maximum pressure on Ethiopia to accept colonial-based treaties that it was not a party to, and foreclose its legitimate right of using the Blue Nile camouflaged in the guidelines and rules on the filling and annual operation [of the dam] is unacceptable.”

Both Egypt and Sudan have expressed worries that Ethiopia is now backtracking on understandings reached during years of tortuous negotiations.

Ministry of Irrigation Spokesman Mohamed Al-Sebaai described the Ethiopian statement as “a deeply troubling statement that is technically and legally unsound”.

“The Ethiopian statement completely backtracks on the principles and rules agreed by the three countries during the negotiations sponsored by the US and the World Bank. It also ignores the technical understandings reached in previous rounds of negotiations.”

In a press briefing Al-Sebaai said the Ethiopian statement is an attempt to impose a *fait accompli* that “either pushes Egypt and Sudan into signing a text that turns them into hostages to Ethiopia’s will, or forces them to accept Ethiopia’s decision to unilaterally fill the dam”.

On Friday, the Ethiopian deputy army chief told the media that Egypt should be aware of Ethiopia’s military capabilities as Egypt continues to oppose Ethiopia’s plan to start filling the hydroelectric dam next month.

“Egyptians and the rest of the world know too well how we conduct war whenever it comes,” he said.

The negotiations via video conference, which began on 9 June, were brokered by Sudan. South Africa, the US and the EU are attending as observers.

“Both Egypt and Sudan showed flexibility in attending the online talks to discuss issues that were supposedly concluded and agreed-upon in Washington. It was also a compromise for Egypt to accept the Sudanese draft statement, given Cairo wanted these talks to be based on the terms of reference of the Washington agreement,” says Al-Hefni.

Egypt entered the current round of talks with four demands, tailored to prevent negotiations returning to square one: that Ethiopia would not take unilateral action to fill the dam until an agreement is reached; a deadline would be set to reach agreement on the filling and operation of the dam; the talks would be based on the terms of reference of the Washington and World Bank-brokered negotiations in February, and observers who attend the meetings would act as “facilitators”.

The ongoing video negotiations come more than three months after talks in Washington stalled when Ethiopia failed to turn up for what was to be the final session at which a final agreement was due to be signed. Egypt initialed the agreement while Sudan said it would sign when Addis Ababa did.

The US, represented by the Treasury Department, and the World Bank stepped in in November to host tripartite negotiations after talks between the three countries reached a dead end.

While it is obvious from the negotiations that Addis Ababa is not willing to respect Egypt’s conditions, Al-Hefni believes Cairo should continue to press international bodies to try and make Ethiopia abandon its intransigence.

“Egypt still believes that outstanding issues should be resolved via negotiations, and should press international bodies, including the Security Council, to pressure Ethiopia,” he said.

Hegazi remains optimistic that despite the stumbling start, an agreement remains in reach.

“Should that happen, it will in large part be thanks to the dedication, discipline and strategic awareness of the risks and difficulties of the negotiations of our negotiating team. Recognition should also be given to Sudan’s efforts to bridge the gaps between Egypt and Ethiopia,” he said.

3. **Sample stories from BBC retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/>**

(Unedited)

Nile dam row: Egypt fumes as Ethiopia celebrates

By Magdi Abdelhadi

Egypt analyst

Published, 30 July 2020

As Ethiopia celebrated rains which began filling a controversial dam on a tributary of the River Nile, Egypt was fuming.

The North African nation had long been opposed to any development on the Nile upstream that could reduce the amount of water it receives from the river and has regarded the Ethiopian project as an existential threat.

The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (Gerd), which has been in construction since 2011, is now holding back water - and contains 4.9 billion cubic metres (bcm) of the Blue Nile's water after this season's rains.

This is despite Egypt's insistence that no filling should take place without a legally binding agreement about how the process will be managed.

In another four to six years the reservoir, which sits behind what will be Africa's largest hydroelectric plant when it comes into operation, is expected to reach 74bcm.

Egypt and Ethiopia, along with Sudan through which the Blue Nile also flows, have been negotiating for the best part of a decade, but all the while the dam has been built.

They signed a declaration of principles in 2015 which spoke about the "spirit of co-operation", but Egypt feels that has been missing.

In the past year, it has invested time and political capital by lobbying at the highest international level and seeking help from the US and the UN, but to no avail.

Egypt appears to have lost that battle.

It has failed to force Ethiopia to abide by the 1997 UN Watercourses Convention requiring upstream countries to consult the downstream states before embarking on projects of this magnitude.

At this point it is hard to imagine what else Egypt could possibly do today other than acquiesce and do as much damage limitation as possible. However, a military option has never been explicitly ruled out.

The Egyptian leadership has repeatedly said it remains committed to resolution through negotiation. But it usually adds the caveat that "all options remain on the table" - a phrase that often alludes to possible conflict.

The government has repeatedly described the issue of the Gerd project as a matter of life and death. This will be especially true if there is a substantial reduction of the amount of the water that reaches Egypt as a result of the dam.

But now, with the filling a reality the Egyptian government has tried to put a brave face on things.

Officially, it said that Egypt remained committed to the current diplomatic process which is being handled by the African Union, and repeated its old mantra that it will not accept unilateral action from Ethiopia.

Water poverty

It has also insisted that any future agreement must endorse what it sees as its established Nile rights to 55bcm of water from the river.

On average 49bcm of water flows through the Blue Nile tributary a year and Ethiopia has consistently refused to concede to giving Egypt a commitment to a specific amount that it will allow to flow through the dam. It sees Egypt's demands as a legacy of agreements that were made without its involvement.

Egypt's official response betrayed powerlessness rather than resolve.

media caption Ros Atkins on...why can't Egypt and Ethiopia agree on the Nile dam?

The stakes have never been higher for the country.

Describing the Gerd as an existential threat is not hyperbole. Egypt is an arid country and is seen as very water-poor.

The World Bank classifies water scarcity as when there is less than 1,000 cubic metres of fresh water per person a year. In Egypt, the figure is 550 cubic metre per person annually, according to the government.

Just take a look at the map, where 90% of its 100 million population are squeezed into the narrow Nile valley, 6% of the country's total area, beset by vast deserts on both sides.

'Outmanoeuvred'

The Nile provides Egyptians with their primary source of water, for both drinking and agriculture.

Its current annual share of the Nile waters, the now endangered 55bcm, already falls far short of its needs.

This explains that while on an official level Egypt has so far exercised verbal restraint, the media and commentators have not held back.

To them, Ethiopia had used the drawn out negotiations to blindsides the Egyptians while creating facts on the ground to exercise total control over the river.

A triumphalist tweet celebrating the first year's filling of the Gerd by Ethiopia Foreign Minister Gedu Andargachew - which read in part "the river became a lake... the Nile is ours" - particularly inflamed passions.

It confirmed what Egyptians had long feared and some replied with all sorts of threats.

An Egyptian columnist begrudgingly acknowledged that Ethiopia had outmanoeuvred his country, but it is not over yet, Imad-al-Din Husayn wrote in the daily Shorouq newspaper, in an effort to reassure his readers.

"The Ethiopians refuse to believe that without the Nile we would die, literally. They have many rivers and receive around 950bcm of rain water annually. We receive a paltry 55bcm, half of what we actually need, which is also half of what their livestock consumes annually," he added in exasperation and summing up the imbalance that many Egyptians feel.

Diplomatic wrangle

On its part Egypt has launched several water management schemes, which include the recycling of wastewater in agriculture, desalination plants, and an ambitious program to change traditional forms of irrigation to the more water saving method of drip-irrigation.

But the argument about Egypt's water poverty is perhaps its strongest card in the diplomatic wrangle, if it can be used to galvanise international support.

Apart from a short advert made in several languages, the Egyptian administration has so far failed to launch a concerted information campaign to win over global backing.

Both in sub-Saharan Africa and even in the US, the Ethiopians appear to have fared much better.

The current chairperson of the African Union is South African President Cyril Ramaphosa. Many Egyptians believe that South Africa is biased in favour of Ethiopia, which does not augur well for the talks.

If these fail to produce a satisfactory result, Egypt believes it can take the issue back to the UN Security Council for a resolution that ties the hands of Ethiopia.

But it is far from certain that it can secure the support of all the five permanent members.

Recent reports have suggested that both China and Russia will oppose such a move, because they do not want to set a precedent as they both have their own river disputes with downstream neighbors.

Failure to bridge the gap between Egypt and Ethiopia could spell disaster for both.

Turmoil in Egypt as a result of drought and potential mass displacement could have far reaching consequences across the whole of North Africa and Europe. And an armed conflict between two of Africa's largest and greatest nations should be a scary prospect not just for the Africans, but for the whole world.