



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Is it one Nile? Civic engagement and hydropolitics in the Eastern Nile Basin: the case of Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia

Abazeed, A.R.Y.

Citation

Abazeed, A. R. Y. (2021, April 21). *Is it one Nile? Civic engagement and hydropolitics in the Eastern Nile Basin: the case of Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3160751>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3160751>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3160751> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Abazeed, A.R.Y.

Title: Is it one Nile? Civic engagement and hydropolitics in the Eastern Nile Basin: the case of Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia

Issue Date: 2021-04-21

IS IT ONE NILE?
CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND HYDROPOLITICS IN THE EASTERN NILE BASIN:
THE CASE OF EGYPT, SUDAN AND ETHIOPIA

ABEER RABEI YOUNESS ABAZEED

The doctoral research was conducted based on a scholarship provided by the Faculty of Economics and Political Science at Cairo University, Egypt.

Cover images: The Nile River designed by Mariam Adel

The network image designed by ikatod / Freepik

©Abeer Rabei Youness Abazeed, 2021

Printing: Ridderprint, the Netherlands

Is It one Nile?

**Civic Engagement and Hydropolitics in the Eastern Nile Basin: The Case of Egypt,
Sudan and Ethiopia**

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van

de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties

te verdedigen op woensdag 21 april 2021

klokke 15:00 uur

door

Abeer Rabei Youness Abazeed

geboren te Koeweit in 1985

Promotores:

Professor dr. Madeleine O. Hosli
Professor dr. Mohamed. A. R. M. Salih

Promotiecommissie:

Prof. dr. Rob de Wijk	Faculty of Governance and Global Affairs, Leiden University
Prof. dr. Larissa J. van den Herik	Grotius Centre for International Legal Studies at Leiden University.
Prof. dr. A.J.(Ton) Dietz	African Studies Centre, Leiden University
Dr. Kees.C.H. Biekart	International Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University Rotterdam.
Mw. dr. Abby. M. Onencan	Faculty of Technology, Policy and Management, TUDelft

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	i
List of Tables, Figures and Maps	v
List of Acronyms and Abbreviations	vi
Acknowledgments	viii
Summary	xi
Samenvatting	xv
Chapter One: Introduction	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Problem statement	5
1.2.1 Research questions	9
1.2.2 Academic significance	10
1.3 Research scope	11
1.3.1 The time frame	11
1.3.2 The geographical sub-basin	12
1.4 Structure of the study	20
Chapter Two: Methodology	22
2.1 Introduction	22
2.2 Research rationale: civil society boundaries	22
2.2.1 Two realms of civil society	22
2.2.2 Transnational civic engagement	27
2.3 Methods of data collection and analysis	28
2.3.1 Data collection	28
2.3.2 Fieldwork process	29
2.3.3 Interviews process	32
2.3.4 Data analysis	34
2.3.5 The rationale of four case studies	38
2.3.6 Complementary qualitative analysis	40
2.4 Research limitations	41
2.5 Reflexivity and positionality	43
2.6 Preliminary conclusion	46

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework.....	48
3.1 Introduction	48
3.2 International relations theories and collective action.....	48
3.2.1 Impetus to cooperation	49
3.2.2 Perimeters of cooperation.....	52
3.3 Complexity and international relations	53
3.4 International relational politics.....	57
3.4.1 Power(s) in the network society	60
3.4.2 The implications of the network approach in international politics.....	64
3.5 Preliminary conclusion.....	67
Chapter Four: The Context of the Nile Hydropolitics in the Eastern Nile Basin.....	69
4.1 Introduction	69
4.2 The centrality of the Nile	69
4.2.1 Egypt: the gift of the Nile	71
4.2.2 Sudan: potentially a breadbasket?	75
4.2.3 Ethiopia: water tower of East Africa	79
4.3 Water and fear of conflict in the Nile	83
4.3.1 Water indices	83
4.3.2 Governing scarcity: network scopes	87
4.4 Relational politics in the Eastern Nile Basin.....	90
4.4.1 Sharing the Nile.....	91
4.4.2 Regional approaches to govern the Nile.....	96
4.5 Preliminary conclusion.....	101
Chapter Five: Networked Nile Politics: Actors and Structure.....	103
5.1 Introduction	103
5.2 Actors' capabilities and positions in the Eastern Nile Basin	104
5.2.1 The international level	104
5.2.1.1 The World Bank.....	105
5.2.1.2 Bilateral donor agencies: the German activities.....	107
5.2.1.3 International research centres and CSOs.....	111
5.2.1.4 Diaspora groups	113
5.2.2 Eastern Nile intergovernmental level	114
5.2.2.1 The Nile Basin Initiative (NBI)	115
5.2.2.2 Peripheral intergovernmental organisations.....	119
5.2.3 Regional civil society	121

5.2.3.1 The Nile Basin Discourse (NBD)	121
5.2.3.2 Youth-based initiatives	127
5.2.3.3 Public diplomacy	129
5.2.3.4 African and Arab water networks	130
5.2.4 The national level	132
5.2.4.1 Governmental partners	132
5.2.4.2 Water users' associations	134
5.3 A clustered network	138
5.4 Preliminary conclusion	147
Chapter Six: Networked Nile Politics: The Connections	150
6.1 Introduction	150
6.2 The scope of connections	150
6.2.1 Focal point organisation	151
6.2.2 Partnership	154
6.2.3 Philanthropy and volunteerism	161
6.2.4 Weight of ties	165
6.3 Four civic engagement trajectories	167
6.3.1 Scientific/knowledge interactions	167
6.3.2 Capacity building activities	172
6.3.3 Service provision activities	175
6.3.4 Advocacy activities	177
6.4 Preliminary conclusion	182
Chapter Seven: Network Dynamics: Four Modalities of Relations in the Eastern Nile Basin	185
7.1 Introduction	185
7.2 Partnership capability: the Egyptian Nile Discourse Forum (Eg-NDF)	185
7.2.1 The access: global environmental activism	186
7.2.2 NBD: leading the initiation	188
7.2.3 The broker position and weak ties	193
7.3 Youth volunteerism: the Sudanese Youth Parliament for Water (SYPW)	197
7.3.1 Global thrive: youth engagement in water decision making	197
7.3.2 SDG 6 as an approach to the Nile	199
7.3.3 Linking to research centre, not the Government	200
7.3.4 Disconnected in the Nile and connected locally	202
7.4 Contested national politics: Ethiopian diaspora groups	205
7.4.1 Opposing political regimes	205

7.4.2 Divergent capabilities.....	207
7.4.3 Government mobilisation	209
7.4.4 Continuity of confrontation after 2018	211
7.5 Knowledge cooperation: the Nile Basin Capacity Building Network (NBCBN)	212
7.5.1 Creating epistemic community	213
7.5.2 Seeking funds and Nile Basin ownership	214
7.5.3 The Basin-wide network	217
7.5.4 The challenge of Nile cooperation	219
7.6 Preliminary conclusion.....	221
Chapter Eight: Synthesis, Conclusions and Future Research	223
8.1 Synthesis	223
8.1.1 Global catalyst and national determinants.....	224
8.1.2 Reconfiguration of the Eastern Nile Basin’s geopolitics	226
8.2 Conclusions	228
8.3 Future research.....	231
References	233
Annex (1) List of interviewees (Selection).....	258
Annex (2) Types of interviewed actors	260
Annex (3) List of nodes and ties of SNA.....	262
Curriculum vitae	297

List of Tables, Figures and Maps

Tables

Table 2.1: The case studies: Selection criteria	39
Table 7.1: Ethiopian diaspora contribution to the GERD (Purchase of Bonds)	210

Figures

Figure 5.1: Donors' financial disbursements to the NBI	108
Figure 5.2: Actors by type	139
Figure 5.3: The network composition	140
Figure 5.4: Nodes by country	141
Figure 5.5: Type of actors in the three countries	142
Figure 5.6: Network average degree	144
Figure 5.7: Betweenness centrality	146
Figure 5.8: Closeness centrality	147
Figure 6.1: The types and weight of ties	166
Figure 7.1: The Eg-NDF networks	194
Figure 7.2: The SYPW network	204
Figure 7.3: The NBCBN network	218

Maps

Map 4.1: The Nile river in 1800, and in 2025 with hydraulic projects and social resettlements	70
Map 4.2: Water scarcity in the Eastern Nile Basin according to the level of water stress	84

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANBO	African Network of Basin Organisations
AFWA	African Water Association
AMCOW	African Ministers' Council on Water
AOYE	Arab Office for Youth and Environment
BMZ	Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (Germany)
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CFA	Cooperative Framework Agreement
CIWA	Cooperation in International Waters in Africa
CBSI	Confidence Building and Stakeholder Involvement
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DoP	Declaration of Principles
DFID	Department for International Development (U.K.)
EtNDF	Ethiopian National Discourse Forum
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
EIPSA	Ethiopian International Professional Support for Abay
ENTRO	Eastern Nile Technical Regional Office
Eg-NDF	Egyptian Nile Discourse forum
EU	European Union
FCC	Forces of Freedom and Change
GERD	Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam
GNB	Group of the Nile Basin
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan (Ethiopia)
GWP	Global Water Partnership
HYDROMET	Hydro-meteorological Monitoring System
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
ICCON	International Consortium for Cooperation on the Nile
IWRM	Integrated Water Resources Management
LVBC	Lake Victoria Basin Commission
MWRI (Egypt)	Ministry of Water Resources and Irrigation
NBD	Nile Basin Discourse
NBI	Nile Basin Initiative
NBCBN	Nile Basin Capacity Building Network
NDFs	National Discourse Forums
NELSAP	Nile Equatorial Lakes Subsidiary Action Program
Nile-COM	Nile Council of Ministers
NGOs	Non- Governmental Organisations
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PJTC	Permanent Joint Technical Commission
RAED	Arab Network for Environment and Development
SAPs	Subsidiary Action Programs
SVP	Shared Vision Program

MIWR (Sudan)	Ministry of Irrigation and Water Resources
SYPW	Sudanese Youth Parliament for Water
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
TECCONILE	Technical Committee for Co-operation for Integrated Development and Environmental Protection of the Nile Waters
WB	World Bank
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WUAs	Water Users Associations
WYPW	World Youth Parliament for Water

Acknowledgments

Revolution is a momentum to unlearn, relearn, and engage with complex reality while dreaming of an idealist future. The idea of this research was developed after the 25th of January 2011 Revolution in Egypt when the public sphere was open and youth initiatives were blooming up, reflecting activism and solidarity. Building collaborative initiatives with African civil society was one of my goals after the Revolution. Through moving here and there, I unlearned that legal rules and treaties are the only scope to analyse the relations between Egypt and the Nile Basin countries. I relearned that each riparian community has distinct bonds with the Nile that deserve to be reconnected to attain Nile solidarity, which was like a big dream! Therefore, I intended to study civil society engagement in Nile-related issues and how to build collaboration across the Nile Basin. Years passed and the revolution momentum in Egypt faded away, but the Ethiopian uprisings spread out in 2015 and were echoed by Ethiopian groups based in Cairo. When the political contestation in Ethiopia had started to settle down by 2018, the Sudanese Revolution erupted in December 2019. Thus, without the Nile peoples' dreams and activism in these contexts, I would never have engaged so thoroughly in research on this topic.

To convert 'dreamy ideas' into a PhD research project, mentorship is crucial. I owe sincere gratitude to my supervisors. I thank Professor Mohamed Salih for his constant encouragement to develop the main research idea since I was in Cairo. Your invaluable guidance with challenging comments trained me to structure my thoughts and writing. Also, your constant engagement in African research institutions is an inspiring 'scholar-activism' that can only be admired. I am grateful to Professor Madeleine Hosli for her academic mentorship in reviewing the manuscript several times and encouragement to turn part of the thesis into a publication. Thank you for the great patience you showed when I was frustrated and anxious to finish paperwork and during the lockdown due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Thank you both for keeping me motivated and organised when I felt lost in the complexity of Nile politics.

This research could not have been accomplished without the generosity of all respondents in interviews conducted in Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, and Uganda. I am grateful to every respondent

agreed to interview her/him and to share materials and stories, besides offering hospitality. I also thank the researchers who put me in contact with respondents and assisted me to build my ‘snowball sample’ underlying the analysis. In the fieldwork, I met colleagues who shared ideas and readings that enabled me to refine the main research ideas; friends facilitated the fieldwork logistics. Many thanks to Lama, Yasmin, Wondwosen, Tamer, Emanuel, Wuhibegezer, Amin, Mosses, Adam, Hawa, Azza, Esraa, Asmaa, Aya, and many others who made my fieldwork possible and fruitful.

In the Netherlands, the Egyptian students group in Delft provided great help since I arrived to do my PhD. Thank you Yomna, Orabi, Ahmed, Elham and others who gave me tips as to how to deal with Dutch life and to overcome homesickness.

The African Studies Centre at Leiden University generously hosted me as a visiting PhD researcher. The Centre is like a small African continent where I met Africanists who belong to North and Sub-Saharan regions of Africa and work based on different academic disciplines. The Centre’s library and various seminars and workshops that were conducted in the Centre have extended my African knowledge. A special thanks goes to PhD colleagues, Yinebeb, Alice, Tanja, Agnieszka, Duncan, and all fellows in the ‘PhD Cave’ who make it a physical and virtual place of intellectual discussions, with coffee, food, and much joy. Maaïke Westra, no words can express my gratitude for all your kind support. I also extend my thanks to Filiz in FGGA for her efforts to place the external PhD researchers better within The Hague campus.

My Faculty of Economic and Political Science at Cairo University has financially supported this research. I owe special gratitude to Hoda Gamal for her support to facilitate all the paperwork. Importantly, in my Faculty, I am much indebted to Dr. Heba Zaki at the Socio-Computing Department who initiated a study group to develop researches applying network analysis. From this group, I was introduced to the area of the study of social networks, which frames the argument of this thesis. My colleague Nahed Taha taught me how to use social network analysis as a method and the software to map these networks. While running the software and analysing the results, Dr. Heba and Nahed answered my questions and reviewed technical parts promptly, even though their schedules were tight. This research would not have been completed without their unwavering support and friendship.

I can never express the depth of my appreciation to Aya Nassar who took the time to listen to my confusion about the richness of literature and theories; very often her insights guided me to find my way. I also extend thanks to Karina and Yasmine for giving feedback on my draft chapters. I am always grateful to Prof. Helmi Sharawy the ‘godfather of African studies’ in Egypt. His invaluable guidance taught me how to decolonize knowledge, particularly in the discipline of political science, by integrating peoples’ voices and African scholarship.

The last year of my PhD journey was a very tough one because of the Covid-19 pandemic. The lockdown put me away from my close friends and family in Cairo for more than a year. My friends Eman Samir and Eman Fakhry: both of you never hesitate to support me in all situations. Thank you for your continuous love and kindness.

My parents, Rabei Youness and Zainb Ayoub, my sister Ola, and brother Amr, you are my ‘backbone’. I am profoundly grateful for your unconditional love, caring, and support to complete this research, far away from home. Finally, I would never have made any progress towards the PhD degree without the prayers of my grandmother (sitto Horeya) who unfortunately passed away before the defense, and the sincere wishes and prayers of my extended family in Cairo and Aswan. Finally, Alhamdulillah for everything.

Summary

Nile politics has evolved around interstate relations and been analysed through the lens of cooperation and conflict. However, Nile politics is characterized by a complexity of variables including colonial policies, national development plans, the legitimacy of the river's treaties, in addition to intergovernmental arrangements. These dynamics demonstrate that the nation state and its institutions are central actors in Nile politics, while civil society has been left behind. Contrary to this strand of Nile analysis, this research investigates civil society engagement in Eastern Nile politics.

The centrality of the Nile for its people's cultures and livelihoods as well as for state development has supported civil society engagement through several transnational actions. In the first decade of the 2000s, civil society participation in global platforms on water, environment and sustainability has been facilitated by international organisations and by donor agencies. The Nile Basin Discourse (NBD) was established in 2003 to be the first basin-wide civil society organisation representing all riparian countries. In addition to this, scientists and think tanks are significant actors designing the river development policies and who collaborate with civil society organisations. Moreover, anti-dam movements, youth initiatives and diaspora groups are active in the framework of Nile politics. Although the reality of Nile politics indicates arising engagement of civil society, Nile literature emphasizes the analysis of historical relations, geopolitical interactions, legal and organisational arrangements and finally, a micro analysis of water development projects in the Nile Basin. Therefore, this research aims to integrate the analysis of civil society engagement in the produced knowledge about the Nile.

To understand civic engagement, the main research question driving the analysis in this dissertation is what determines civic engagement in transboundary hydropolitics and why it has been muted in the Eastern Nile Basin. Answering these questions is by investigating 1) the geopolitical circumstances which empowered and contributed to the rise of national and regional civic activism in Eastern Nile politics; 2) the magnitudes and patterns of civic engagement in

Eastern Nile politics; 3) the way in which Eastern Nile national civil society engagement developed into relations immersed in transnational civic engagement; and 4) the parameters of civic engagement in Eastern Nile politics.

In theoretical terms, the research studies civic engagement in Eastern Nile politics from a relational perspective of international relations that refutes a dualist analysis of cooperation or conflict to describe interstate behaviour. The relational perspective allows us to consider the engagement of different actors and actual political dynamics among the riparian countries. Conventional international relations theories (notably approaches based on realism and liberalism) articulate a cooperation impetus (or impediments) to mitigate environmental challenges; however, the very principle of national interest can impede sustainable international cooperation. By comparison, relational thinking in international relations is based on the complexity of interactions (i.e. water scarcity, development strategies, ecological threats, historical treaties and regional institutions) which can better interpret the context of civic engagement.

The network approach is an analytical framework compatible with the relational perspective because it allows scrutinizing interactions between different types of actors that can have multi-layered connections. Additionally, through the network scope, the engaged actors' power is revealed in creating networks, regulating interactions inside the network, or in making connections between global and national networks. To operationalize the networked relations among civil society actors, the state and donors in the Eastern Nile Basin, this research applies social network analysis (SNA) as an explanatory mechanism to reveal the position of civil society and its relationships regionally and globally. The SNA is composed by three basic elements: 1) nodes that represent actors, either as an individual or collective entity; 2) ties which represent relations among nodes that can be tangible (e.g. funds) and intangible (e.g. norms and information); and 3) the structure which represents the pattern of interactions and reflects the power of actors according to their positions and connections within the network.

The fieldwork conducted for this dissertation took place in countries of the Eastern Nile Basin (Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia) in addition to Uganda, where the headquarters of the Nile Basin Discourse and the Nile Basin Initiative are located. The sample of interviews to be held with

relevant actors was generated by applying the ‘snowball technique’, because there is no pre-prepared list of civil society actors in the Eastern Nile Basin available. The majority of interviews were carried out in two phases in the course of 2017 and 2018. In addition, resolutions, statements and newsletters that were released by civil society organisations and initiatives were included into the analysis.

The network map of civic engagement in the Eastern Nile Basin shows that civil society, research centres, governments, donors and intergovernmental organisations are entangled. On the international level, the World Bank, donor agencies and think tanks have financial and technical capabilities available to convey norms of participatory development and multistakeholder governance which in fact endorse interaction with civil society actors. Additionally, diaspora groups provide funds, knowledge and political support (and possibly opposition against their respective communities or political regimes regarding water projects and policies). Regionally, the Nile Basin Discourse plays an intermediate role between civil society in the riparian countries and the Nile Basin Initiative which represents governments. Furthermore, Eastern Nile politics has endorsed engagement of public diplomacy delegations and youth-based initiatives (besides the activities of African and Arab think tanks). These civil society actors have established networked activities aiming to participate in Nile development and cooperation.

The transnational interactions (ties) among civil society actors can take different forms. They can be built on organisational relations when the national civil society organisation represents a regional organisation (e.g. the relation between the Nile Basin Discourse and its representatives in the riparian countries). The prevailing form in the Eastern Nile Basin, however, is a partnership where civil society actors conduct joint projects or programs. Furthermore, philanthropy and volunteerism are more visible in ties among diaspora groups, ethnic-based activism and youth initiatives. The interactions across multiple spaces have significantly developed around four trajectories: 1) knowledge exchange and technology; 2) building technical capacity for communities and organisations; 3) providing water services; and 4) advocacy activities that may include awareness campaigns or resistance to water projects.

The research's main findings are that the network of the Eastern Nile Basin indicates a cluster structure, since civil society actors tend to operate within small groups. Additionally, many of the conducted activities have been in a project or program format; thus, the strength of ties within the network is generally weak and unsteady. The influence of the global discourse on the necessity to involve civil society in water governance has been a significant driver behind transnational civic engagement in the Eastern Nile Basin. Nevertheless, national determinants and dynamics of regional relations between the riparian countries have contributed to shaping the narrative of civic engagement on contested issues. As a consequence of this, most civil society activities have evolved around non-political development approaches and have been marginalized in political negotiations over contested issues focused on the Nile (i.e. water shares and dam construction). Moreover, civil society activism in the Eastern Nile Basin has challenged the grand notion of collectiveness in governing transboundary rivers and the 'One Nile' slogan. In reality, civil society actors have been creating or joining networks driven by their hydraulic location within the Basin (e.g. downstream or upstream), interests (e.g. representing youth or ethnic group concerns) and benefits (e.g. receiving funds to implement water activities). But networks of civil society actors can be a way to further foster transnational activities and patterns of collaboration in water politics, also in the framework of the Eastern Nile Basin.