SUMMARY

The political aspects of institutional developments in the water sector: South Africa and its international river basins

by

Anthony Richard Turton

Study Leader: Prof. Marie Muller & Prof. Anton du Plessis

Degree: Doctor Philosophiae (International Politics)

This research set out to develop a deeper theoretical component to the emerging discipline of hydropolitics by studying the political aspects of institutional developments in the water sector. The focal point was the four international river basins that are shared between South Africa and six of its neighbouring states. The study found that while there is a lot of evidence for the securitization of water resource management in South Africa's international river basins, there are also a number of examples of regimes. The creation of these regimes was driven primarily by threat perceptions relating to state security, mostly during the period of apartheid and the Cold War. These regimes were mostly robust and served as a valuable instrument for the de-escalation of conflict, which was primarily of a high politics nature. Examples of both plus-sum and zero-sum outcomes have been isolated. Plus-sum outcomes arose when the non-hegemonic state chose to view the offer of a regime in terms of national self-interest with four examples of this condition. In all four cases the non-hegemonic state benefited from cooperation with South Africa. Zero-sum outcomes arose when the non-hegemonic state chose to view the offer of a regime in terms of ideology with two examples of this condition. In both cases the non-hegemonic state did not benefit and was sidelined to the extent that they became marginalized and worse off than before. In all cases the hegemonic state benefited from the regime. The research consequently showed that a hydropolitical complex is emerging in Southern Africa, clustered around two international river basins, the Orange and Limpopo, which have been defined as pivotal basins. Both of these basins have reached the limit of their readily available water resources and future development is not possible on any great scale. Four of the most economically developed states in Southern Africa (Namibia,

Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa) are riparians on these two international river basins, and have been defined as pivotal states. Other less developed countries that share any international river basin with a pivotal state have been defined as an impacted state, because their own development aspirations have been capped through this association. Any international river basin that has at least one of the pivotal states in it has been defined an impacted basin. Finally, this research showed that regimes create a plus-sum outcome in closed international river basins because they reduce the levels of uncertainty and institutionalize the conflict potential. As such regimes are a useful instrument with which to regulate inter-state behavior, leading over time to the development of institutions consisting of rules and procedures.

Key terms: hydropolitics; hydropolitical complex; institution; international river basin; national security; regime; regional security complex; Southern African Development Community (SADC); state security.

SAMEVATTING

Die politieke aspekte van institusionele ontwikkelinge in the watersektor: Suid-Afrika en sy internasionale riveropvanggebiede

deur

Anthony Richard Turton

Studieleiers: Prof. Marie Muller & Prof. Anton du Plessis

Graad: Doctor Philosophiae (Internasionale Politiek)

Die doel van die navorsing is om ‘n dieperliggende teoretiese komponent vir die opkomende studievak van waterpolitiek te ontwikkel, deur die bestudering van politieke aspekte rakende institusionele ontwikkelinge in die watersektor. Die fokus was die vier internasionale rivieropvangebiede wat gedeel word deur Suid-Afrika en sy buurstate. Die studie bewys dat, terwyl empiriese getuienis dui op die verveiliging van die waterhulpbronbestuur van Suid-Afrika se internasionale riviere, daar wel ‘n aantal voorbeelde van regimes is. Die totstandkoming van hierdie regimes was hoofsaaklik aangemoedig deur bedreigingspersepsies wat verband hou met staatsveiligheid, veral gedurende die apartheidsera en die Koue Oorlog. Hierdie regimes was oor die algemeen sterk en het as ‘n waardevolle instrument vir die deëskalering van konflik, wat primêr van ‘n hoë politieke aard was, gedien. Voorbeelde van beide plussom en nulsom resultate is geïsoleer. Plussom resultate het te voorskyn gekom toe die nie-hegemoniese staat besluit het om die aanbod van ‘n regime in terme van nasionale selfbelang, met vier voorbeelde van hierdie voorwaarde, te hersien. In al vier gevalle het die nie-hegemoniese staat voordeel getrek uit samewerking met Suid-Afrika. Nulsom resultate het te voorskyn gekom toe die nie-hegemoniese staat besluit het om die aanbod van ‘n regime in terme van ideologie met twee voorbeelde van hierdie voorwaarde te hersien. In beide gevalle het die nie-hegemoniese staat geen voordeel getrek nie. Dit was tersyde geskuif tot op die vlak waar dit gemarginaliseer was en slegter daaraan toe was as tevore. In alle gevalle het die hegemoniese staat voordeel getrek uit die regime. Die navorsing het

gevolglik bewys dat ‘n waterpolitieke kompleks in Suidelike-Afrika besig is om sy verskyning te maak. Hierdie kompleks bestaan uit twee internasionale rivieropvanggebiede, die Oranje en Limpopo, wat geïdentifiseer is as vername opvanggebiede. Beide opvanggebiede het die beperking van hul geredelik beskikbare waterhulpbronne bereik en toekomstige ontwikkeling is nie op grootskaal moontlik nie. Vier van die mees ekonomies ontwikkelde state in Suidelike-Afrika (Namibië, Botswana, Zimbabwe en Suid-Afrika) is deelstate van die twee internasionale rivieropvanggebiede, en is as vername state gedefinieer. Ander minder ontwikkelde state, wat enige internasionale rivieropvanggebied met ‘n vername staat deel, is gedefinieer as ‘n geaffekteerde staat. Die rede hiervoor is dat hulle ontwikkelingsaspirasies deur hierdie vennootskap beperk word. Enige internasionale rivieropvanggebied wat deur ten minste een van die vername state gedeel word is gedefinieer as ‘n geaffekteerde opvangebied. Laastens bewys die navorsing dat regimes ‘n plussom uitkoms in geïsoleerde internasionale rivieropvanggebiede skep. Dit is omdat hulle die vlakke van onsekerheid verminder en die konflikpotensiaal institusionaliseer. Hierdie regimes is nuttige instrumente waarmee interstaatlike optrede beheer word en lei met verloop van tyd tot die ontwikkeling van instellings wat bestaan uit reëls en regulasies.

Sleutelkonsepte: waterpolitiek; waterpolitieke kompleks; instelling; internasionale rivieropvanggebied; nasionale veiligheid; regime; regionale veiligheidskompleks; Suider-Afrikaanse Ontwikkelingsgemeenskap (SADC); staatsveiligheid.