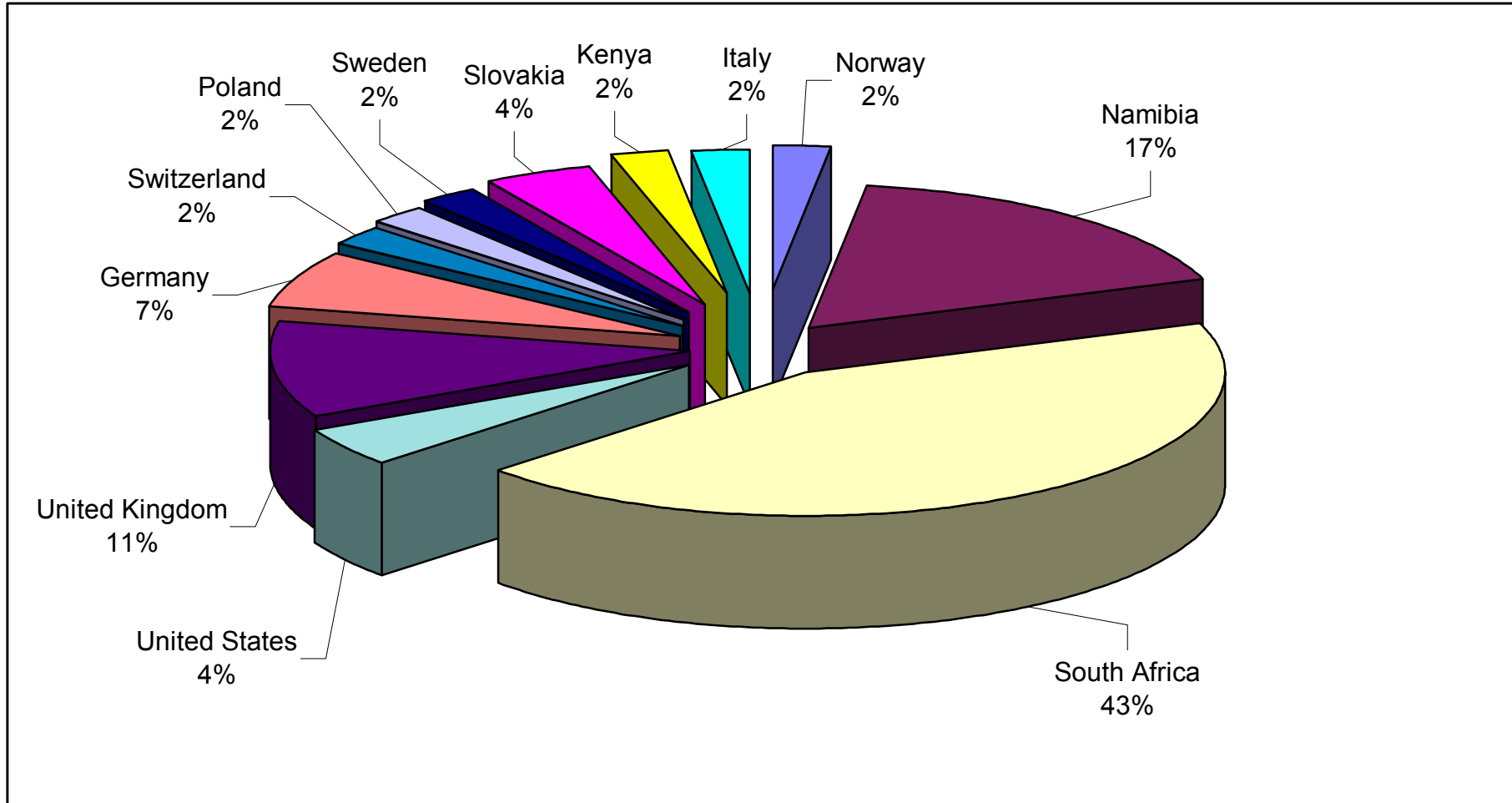


## **APPENDICES**



**Appendix 2. The base countries of the interest groups involved in the water politics of the proposed Epupa Dam project.**

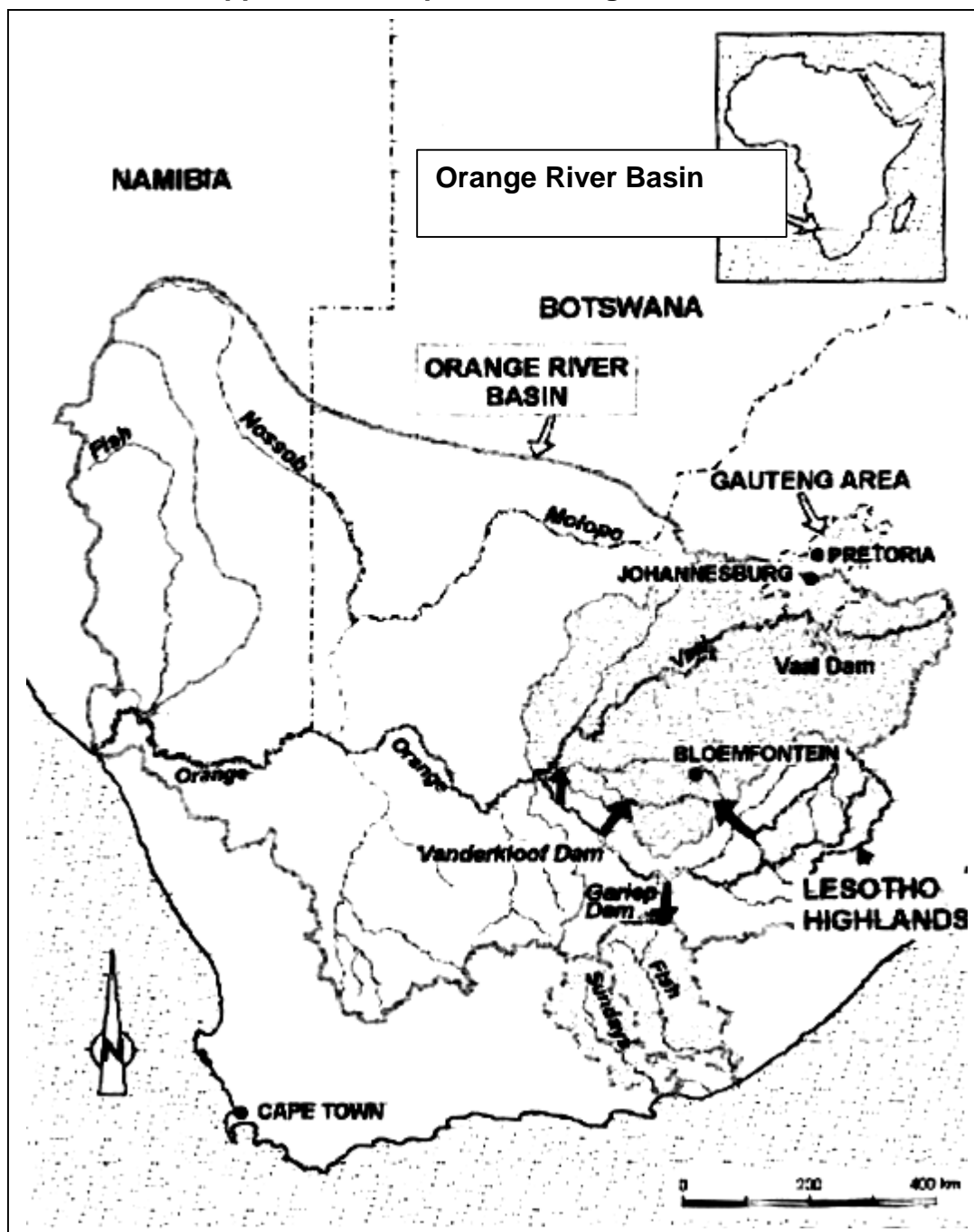


Appendix 3. Map of Interest group transnationalism regarding the proposed Epupa Dam.



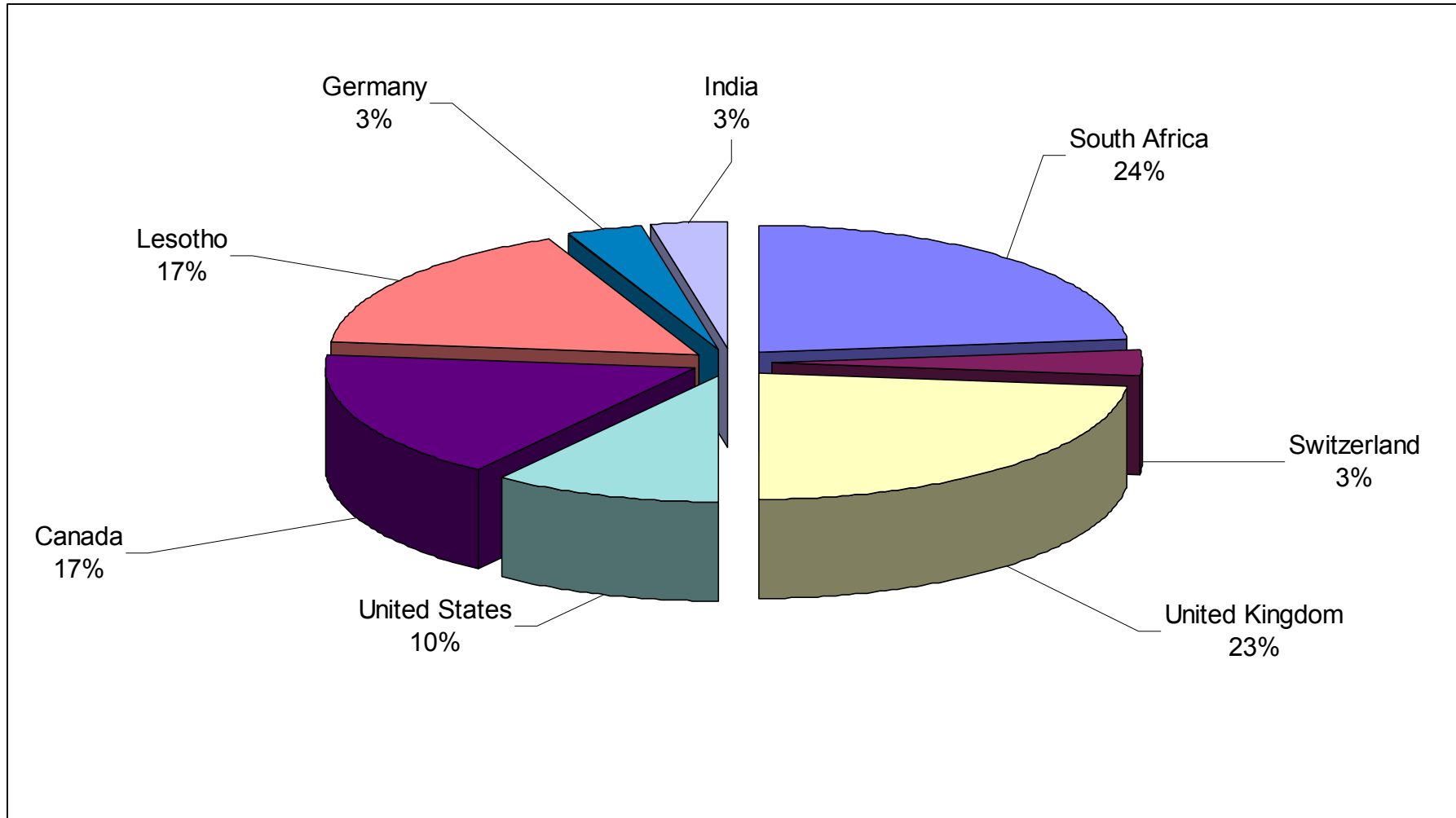
Map Source: Internet: The Middle East Network Information Center, MENIC 2004.

Appendix 4. Map of the Orange River basin.



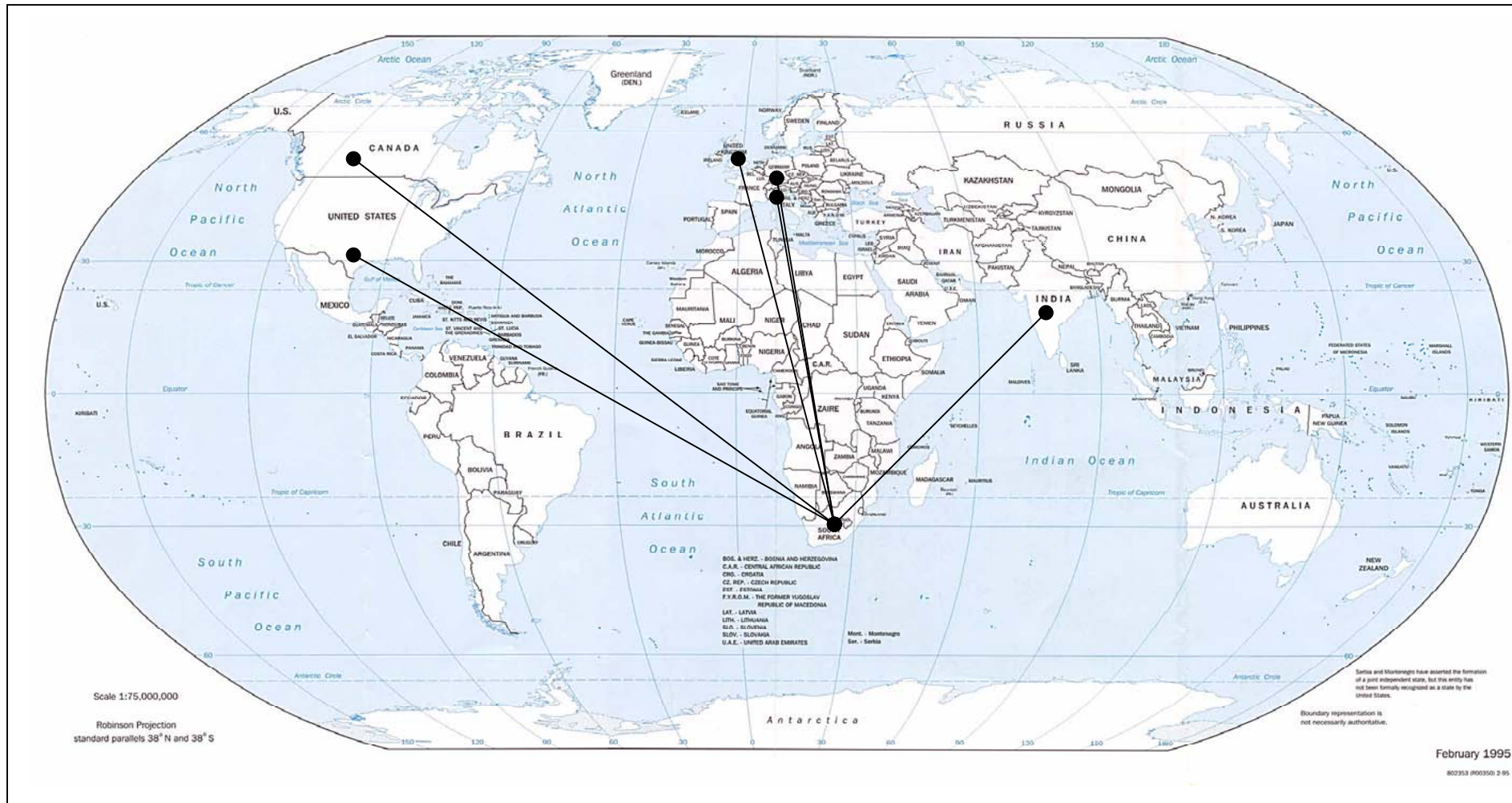
Map Source: DWAF 1999.

**Appendix 5. The base countries of the interest groups involved in the water politics of the LHWP.**





### Appendix 6. Map of interest group transnationalism regarding the LHWP.



Map Source: Internet: The Middle East Network Information Center, MENIC 2004.

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## SUMMARY

### THE TRANSNATIONAL ROLE AND INVOLVEMENT OF INTEREST GROUPS IN WATER POLITICS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED SOUTHERN AFRICAN CASE STUDIES

by

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DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS IS PRESENTED: DOCTOR PHILOSOPHIAE  
(INTERNATIONAL POLITICS)

This study focuses on the transnational role and involvement of interest groups in the water politics of two Southern African international river basins – the Kunene and Orange Rivers. The thesis is in part based on the theory of social constructivism, with the purpose of investigating the extent to which the collective transnational activities of interest groups, regarding the implementation of WRMPs in selected Southern African international rivers, lead to the undermining of the acceptance of the actions and policies that are authorised at the state level of world politics. Two case studies were analysed namely the proposed Epupa Dam and the Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP).

Regarding the problem statements and the chosen theoretical approach, a number of findings were made. Firstly, interest groups posed a substantial challenge to the national and international 'agential power' of the states., although the erosion of the policies initiated at the state level differed in respect of the two cases. In the Kunene River basin, the interest groups have moderate international 'agential power' and moderate to high domestic 'agential power'. Namibia's international and domestic 'agential power' is substantially lower than that of the interest groups, mainly on account Angola opposing plans for a dam at Epupa.

In the Orange River basin, the interest groups have high domestic 'agential power', especially the Lesotho interest groups, and moderate international 'agential power'. The reason for the high domestic 'agential power' of the Lesotho-based interest groups is Lesotho's reflexive 'agential power'. This reflexivity is a direct consequence of Lesotho's changing identity from a politically unstable to stable state. South Africa's international and domestic



'agential power' is higher than that of the interest groups, mainly because the South African government went ahead with plans to construct the LHWP in an era where there was little opposition to the project. Since there was no interest group involvement during the planning phase of the LHWP from 1956 to 1986, there was no interest group challenge of the LHWP. Also, the interest groups could not effectively challenge the economic power of South Africa. Furthermore, the ANC changed its stance from being anti-LHWP in the 1980s to pro-LHWP when it became the ruling party. This meant that the Project was backed by the ruling party's ideological power. Thus, it was concluded that interest groups had a significant role and influence on the water politics regarding the WRMPs in the international river basins of Southern Africa.

The thesis contributes to the body of research on water politics in a number of ways. First, the study contributes to an understanding of the reasons why interest groups are transnationally involved in water politics and of the roles they play in this process. Second, a theory of water politics (hydro-normative commensalism) was developed, that primarily focuses on the role of norms in water politics. Third, a new definition of water politics was developed, stating that water (hydro-) politics is the transnational interaction, through norm creation and utilisation, between a plethora of non-state and state actors, varying from individuals to collectivities, regarding the allocation and use of, and perception towards domestic and international water resources.

The relationship between the state and interest groups is increasingly transnational because of a diminishing capacity of the state to insulate itself from the influences of non-state actors regarding the implementation of policies.

**Keywords:** *agential power, Epupa, Himba, interest groups, Kunene River, Lesotho Highlands, Lesotho Highlands Water Project, norms, Orange River, social constructivism, water politics*

## **SAMEVATTING**

### **DIE TRANSNASIONALE ROL EN BETROKKENHEID VAN BELANGEGROEPE IN WATERPOLITIEK: 'N VERGELYKENDE STUDIE VAN GESELEKTEERDE SUIDER-AFRIKAANSE GEVALLESTUDIES**

deur

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### **GRAAD WAARVOOR DIE PROEFSKRIF INGEDIEN WORD: DOCTOR PHILOSOPHIAE (INTERNASIONALE POLITIEK)**

Hierdie studie fokus op die transnasionale rol en invloed van belangegroepe in die waterpolitiek van twee Suider-Afrikaanse internasionale rivierkomme – die Kunene- en Oranjerivier. Die tesis is gebaseer op die teorie van sosiale konstruktivisme om ondersoek te kan instel na watter mate die kollektiewe transnasionale aktiwiteite van belangegroepe, aangaande die implementering van WHBPe (*waterhulpbronbestuursprojekte*) in geselekteerde Suider-Afrikaanse internasionale rivierkomme, gelei het tot die ondermyning van die aanvaarding van die aksies en beleid wat op staatsvlak van wêreldpolitiek goedgekeur is. Twee gevallestudies in die rivierkomme is nagevors – onderskeidelik die voorgestelde Epupadam en die Lesotho Hoogland Waterprojek (LHWP).

Wat die probleemstelling en die gekose teorie betref, is 'n aantal bevindings gemaak. Ten eerste was daar 'n wesentlike uitdaging van die nasionale en internasionale 'agerende mag' van die staat. 'n Verskil in die graad van die erosie van die beleide wat op staatsvlak geïmplementeer is, is in beide gevalle duidelik. In die Kunenerivierkom het die belangegroepe matige internasionale 'agerende mag' en matige tot baie binnelandse 'agerende mag'. Namibië se internasionale en binnelandse 'agerende mag' is aansienlik minder as dié van die belangegroepe omdat Angola planne vir 'n dam by Epupa teenstaan.

In die Oranjerivierkom het die belangegroepe hoë binnelandse 'agerende mag', veral die Lesotho-belangegroep, en matige buitelandse 'agerende mag'. Die rede waarom die Lesothogebaseerde belangegroepe hoë 'agerende mag' het, is Lesotho se refleksiwige 'agerende mag'. Hierdie refleksiwiteit is 'n regstreekse gevolg van Lesotho se veranderende identiteit van politiek

onstabiel na polities stabiel. Suid-Afrika se internasionale en binnelandse 'agerende mag' is hoër as dié van die belangegroep, hoofsaaklik omdat die regering voortgegaan het met planne om die LHWP uit te voer. Daarbenewens was daar geen belangegroep betrokke gedurende die beplanningsfase van die LHWP van 1956 tot 1986 nie. Daar was dus geen uitdaging van die LHWP deur 'n belangegroep van 1956 tot ongeveer 1985 nie. Geen belangegroep kon ook die ekonomiese mag van Suid-Afrika effektief uitdaag nie. Verder het die ANC sy anti-LHWP-houding van die tagtigerjare verander na pro-LHWP toe dit die regerende party geword het. Dit het beteken dat die projek deur die regerende party se ideologiese mag gesteun is.

Hierdie tesis dra op verskeie wyses by tot navorsing oor waterpolitiek. Eerstens dra die studie by tot begrip van die redes waarom belangegroep transnasionaal by waterpolitiek betrokke is en die rolle wat hulle tydens sodanige betrokkenheid, speel. Tweedens is 'n teorie oor waterpolitiek (hidronormatiewe kommensalisme) ontwikkel wat fokus op die rol van norms in waterpolitiek. Derdens is 'n nuwe omskrywing van waterpolitiek ontwikkel as die transnasionale wisselwerking, deur normskepping en benutting, tussen verskeie staats- en nie-staatsrolspelers wat wissel van individue tot gemeenskappe vir die toewysing en gebruik van, asook die persepsie ten opsigte van, binnelandse en internasionale waterbronne.

Die verhouding tussen die staat en belangegroep is al hoe meer transnasionaal, weens die afnemende kapasiteit van die staat om dit self van die beïnvloeding van nie-staats akteurs aangaande die implementering van beleide te isoleer.

**Sleutelwoorde:** 'agerende mag', belangegroep, Epupa, Himba, Kunenerivier, Lesotho Hoogland, Lesotho Hoogland Waterskema, norms, Oranjerivier, sosiale konstruktivisme, waterpolitiek