

DEVELOPMENT IN THE NEOLIBERAL AGE:
THE RED SEA-DEAD SEA WATER CONVEYANCE
SYSTEM

by

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A THESIS

Presented to the Department of International Studies
and the Robert D. Clark Honors College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts

June 2018

An Abstract of the Thesis of

Amy Schenk for the degree of Bachelor of Arts
in the Department of International Studies to be taken June 2018

Title: Development in the Neoliberal Age: The Red Sea-Dead Sea Water Conveyance System

Approved: _____

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Water, a necessary piece of life, has become a scarcity in many regions, specifically within the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Numerous national pursuits to quell depletion have formed and worked to acquire aid from the international community and aid agencies. Only recently have these efforts been maintained and formed to encapsulate aspects of a neoliberal development. These projects, designed to address water access and ecological concerns, are pushed toward commodification and control through international interests. One such project moving forward today is the Red Sea-Dead Sea Water Conveyance (RSDSWC) system.

My thesis analyzes four reports on the RSDSWC system in Jordan. I dissect discourse and actors involved in each report, utilizing a 3-dimensional power analysis and compliance producing mechanisms to evaluate effects on political economy and the environment, and the potential for fostering peace and stability politically within the MENA region. I highlight discrepancies within and between the reports, both rhetorically and in the presence and absence of information. I conclude that as a neoliberal development project, the RSDSWC augments tensions surrounding water politics, perpetuates regional hegemony, and supports commodification strategies rather than peace.

Acknowledgements

I would firstly like to thank my committee, Professor Angela Joya, Professor Shaul Cohen, and Professor Louise Bishop on all of their help throughout this process. Each of their words of encouragement and support accelerated me through this process and got me to the point I am today. I do not think I would have completed this project if it was not for their support and capacity they gave to help me through this process. For this, I thank them with outmost gratitude. Additionally, I would like to thank my Arabic Professors, Professor Hanan Elsherif, Dr. David Hollenberg, and Professor Faten Arfaoui for the undying support throughout this process, and encouraging me in my pursuit of this topic. A specific thank you to Dr. David Hollenberg for the delightful dinner with an investment banker that brought me to this topic.

I would also like to thank all of my friends and family who helped me throughout this process. This year has being tolling, yet ever exciting, and I am forever thankful for all of the support I have received. Thank you to my amazing friends Rhaine Clarke and Lauren Young for being amazing partners in this process, and my advisor Becky Girvan for getting me through rough patches. Also thank you to Kevin Marbury and Kris Winter for helping me stayed focus and continuously remind me of my student status. A special thank you to Betty, the most comforting dog and support animal.

Most importantly, thank you to my parents, Jeri and Steve Schenk, for making this experience possible. Thank you for always pushing me to give 110%, and to continue into higher education to pursue my passions, regardless of how wild they might seem.

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Glossary

ENGOS:	Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
JRSP:	Jordan Red Sea Project
MENA:	Middle East and North Africa
MDGs:	Millennial Development Goals
NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organizations
PA:	Palestinian Authority
RSDSWC:	Red Sea-Dead Sea Water Conveyance
SDGs:	Sustainable Development Goals
SoA:	Study of Alternatives
ToR:	Terms of Reference

Chapter 1: Introduction

Water, a carrier of life, has become a scarcity within the MENA region. In Jordan alone, water scarcity has hit an all time high, reducing what was once a necessary resource to that of a sought after commodity.¹ With climate change and potable water usage on the rise, it is no question why regional and international communities are considering all opportunities to mitigate the effects of water scarcity. Yet, many proposed solutions, including transboundary pipelines and transportation of potable water by tanker across nations, soon conclude due to lack of funding or collaboration. Today, one such project, the RSDSWC system is still being considered. After multiple decades, beneficiary parties and multilateral aid agencies are working to make this project a reality for the region, augmenting not only a resource to help quell environmental concerns, but also a vital resource to the region.

Overview of RSDSWC

The RSDSWC, conceived at the end of the 20th century, is a plan working to increase water supply into the receding Dead Sea and produce more potable water to proximately situated countries.² The three stated goals of the RSDSWC include, “1) To save the Dead Sea from Environmental Degradation; 2) To desalinate water and generate hydro-electric energy at affordable prices for Jordan, Israel, and the Palestinian

¹ Imad El-Anis, and Roy Smith, “Freshwater Security, Conflict, and Cooperation: The Case of the Red Sea – Dead Sea Conduit Project,” *Journal of Developing Societies* 29, no. 2 (2013): 5.

² Alexander McPhail and Stephen Lintner, 2013. *Red Sea-Dead Sea Water Conveyance Study Program: Overview*, World Bank. Accessed October 3, 2017. 1. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTREDESEADEADSEA/Resources/Overview_RDS_Jan_2013.pdf?resourceurlname=Overview_RDS_Jan_2013.pdf%26.

Authority; and 3) To build a symbol of peace and cooperation in the Middle East”.³

RSDSWC proposes a 180-kilometer alignments stretching from the Red Sea to the Dead Sea, flowing up to 2000 million m³ of water a year along the Jordanian/Israeli border.⁴ Starting at a location in the East side of the bay of Aqaba in Jordan, the water system will then flow water up, on Jordanian territory, to a hydraulic power system, and after, a desalination plant outside of Amman and near Dead Sea.⁵ RSDSWC is projected to desalinate 45% of the water flowing through, the potable water then being dispersed within Jordan (on the southern edge of Amman), Israel, and Palestine.⁶ In addition to potable water, the hydroelectric plants of the RSDSWC plan will produce an average 10.6% growth in electrical power to the region.⁷ An image of the project can be seen below:

³ Coyne et Bellier, Tractebel Engineering, and KEMA, April 2011, *Red Sea – Dead Sea Water Conveyance Study Program Feasibility Study: Draft Final Feasibility Study Report Main Report*, Coyne et Bellier. Accessed October 3, 2017, Section 1-Page 2.

⁴ Alexander McPhail, 2013. *Red Sea-Dead Sea*. World Bank. 2.

⁵ Coyne et, Bellier, Tractebel Engineering, and KEMA, 2012. *Red Sea – Dead Sea Water Conveyance Study Program Feasibility Project: Draft Final Feasibility Study Report Summary*, Coyne et Bellier, Accessed October 3, 2017. 27-29.

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTREDESEADEADSEA/Resources/Feasibility_Study_Report_Summary_EN.pdf.

⁶ Up to 560 million m³ of potable water per year will be given to Jordan (at the peak of production), along with 60 million m³ of potable water a year given each to the Palestinian Authority and Israel. Coyne et Bellier, 2012, *Red Sea-Dead Sea Feasibility Study Summary*. 19, 21-22, 48-49.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 50.

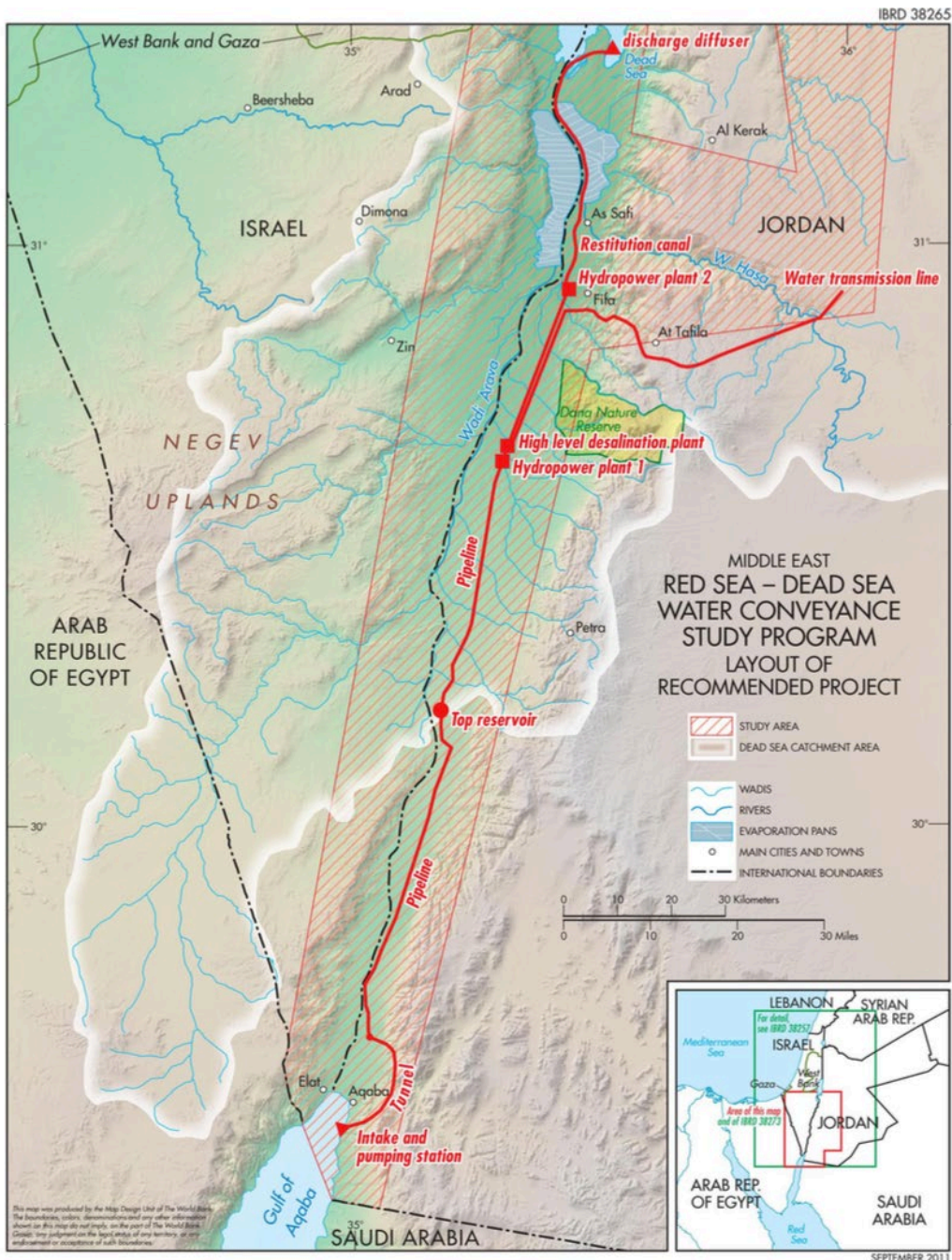


Figure 1: “General Layout of Recommended Project”.

This figure details the recommended route for the RSDSWC, including all components recommended by the Feasibility Study. This map is found in the *Red Sea – Dead Sea Water Conveyance Study Program Feasibility Project: Draft Final Feasibility Study Report Summary*.

Spurred from the concern of the lowering sea level of the Dead Sea, dropping from 394 meters below sea level in 1960 to 420 meters below sea level in 2007, and dropping at a rate of 0.8-1 meter/year, this project began to address climate related changes to the water levels of the Dead Sea.⁸ Throughout the decline of the Dead Sea's level, due to factors of climate and diversion of the Jordanian River, both Jordan and Israel were concerned for the overall sustainability of the water, ecosystem, and local businesses within the area.⁹ Additionally, with Jordan being in the top four water poorest countries – the threshold for being water poor being 1000 m³/year and a Jordanian getting an average of 150 m³/year of water – this project also brought forth the possibility of Jordan being able to acquire a basic need of potable water.¹⁰

History of the Project

The first idea of connecting the Dead Sea to some larger body of water took place 150 years ago, nations in the Levant of the MENA region wanting to connect the Mediterranean Sea to the Dead Sea.¹¹ As Hussam Hussein notes in his analysis of discourse surrounding trans boundary projects in the Levant, many of these project originally proposed concluded quickly, due to both political and economic strife.¹² Projects implemented prior to and in the 19th century centered on colonialist powers

⁸ Alexander McPhail, and Stephen Lintner, 2010. *Red Sea-Dead Sea Water Conveyance Study Program: Overview*, World Bank. Accessed October 3, 2017. 1. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTREDSEADEADSEA/Resources/Background_Note_October_2010.pdf

⁹ Alexander McPhail, 2010. *Red Sea-Dead Sea Water Conveyance*, World Bank. 1.

¹⁰ Hani Abu Qdais, "Environmental impacts of the mega desalination project: the Red- Dead Sea conveyor," *Science Direct* no. 220 (2008): 17.

¹¹ Basel Asmar, "The Science of Politics of the Dead Sea: Red Sea Canal or Pipeline," *The Journal of Environment and Development* 12, no.3 (September 2003): 332.

¹² Hussam Hussein, "Politics of the Dead Sea Canal: a historic review of the evolving discourses, interests, and plans," *Water International* 42, no. 5 (2017): 530.

yearning to expand geographically in the MENA region, mainly the British Empire attempting to bridge two bodies of water and eventually promote the foundation of the state of Israel.¹³ Recently, one main project proposed before the RSDSWC was that of the Mediterranean Sea- Dead Sea Canal (MSDSC) proposed by Israel in the mid-20th century to enhance water to the Israel state and assert technological advancements.¹⁴ Yet, this project soon concluded due to energy concerns and lack of political backing on the international level, the United Nations General Assembly having to step in and demand the termination of the project.¹⁵ While understanding each of these projects leading up to the proposed RSDSWC is important, for the purpose of this analysis of power relations within the RSDSWC, these examples will only be used as context to stakeholders and proposed project components, rather than for comparative analysis.

After the Oslo Accords in the early 1990s, the idea of building the RSDSWC became feasible, establishing the coordination of the Peace Canal between Israel and Jordan in 1994.¹⁶ Muthur Haddadin, the then Jordanian negotiator in multilateral peace negotiations, reintroduced the idea of taking action to prevent the decrease in Dead Sea levels and increase the region's freshwater supply.¹⁷ Israeli and Jordanian forces then worked to include the World Bank in 2002 to accelerate the creation of the project.¹⁸

¹³ Hussam Hussein, "Politics of the Dead Sea," 528-530.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Concerns surrounding the project included chauvinistic pursuits of Israel to make this an Israel focused water canal. This posed concerns in the international community regarding the project, mainly in the areas of international law, economic damage to surrounding nations (Jordan), and ecological concerns. Ibid., 533.

¹⁶Erika Weinthal and Neda Zawahri, "The World Bank and Negotiating the Red Sea and Dead Sea Water Conveyance Project," *Massachusetts Institute of Technology Global Environmental Policies* 14, no.4 (November 2014): 59.

¹⁷ Erika Weinthal. "The World Bank and Negotiating," *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, 59.

¹⁸ Ibid., 59.

Additionally, after the reform of the World Bank's procedure to work with Non-Governmental Organizations, creating an inspection council to review claims of nations and bodies affected by World Bank projects in the past, the World Bank quickly jumped in to participate.¹⁹

Soon after the commencement of collaboration, and the placement of Vahid Alavian to produce research for a feasibility report, the World Bank soon received an objection to the project from the Palestinian Authority (PA).²⁰ Finding themselves excluded from the project, the PA filed a grievance on grounds of exclusion being that the nature of the proposed project is trans-national.²¹ This objection presented by the PA lead to negotiations, and concluded in establishing a Terms of Reference (ToR) between the three parties in 2005.²² The ToR first established three goals stated above, and additionally commissioned both a Feasibility Study and Environment and Social Impact Assessment, known jointly as the "Study Programs".²³ These were to be conducted by a Technical Steering Committee (TSC), experts from the PA, Jordan, Israel, and the World Bank to undertake these projects.²⁴ Consisting of four representatives from each of the three Beneficiary Parties and two World Bank representatives, the TSC also called in a multiplicity of regional and international experts to ensure accurate preparation for the project.²⁵

¹⁹ Ibid., 57.

²⁰ Ibid., 60.

²¹ Ibid., 60.

²² Ibid., 59.

²³ Ibid., 59

²⁴ Both of these reports are used in some capacity in this paper. Erika Weinthal. "The World Bank and Negotiating," *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, 60-61.

²⁵ Alexander McPhail and Stephen Lintner, 2007. *Red Sea-Dead Sea Water Conveyance Concept Feasibility Study and Environmental and Social Assessment*, World Bank. Accessed October 3, 2017, 5.

Of note, before the present state of the RSDSWC, this project underwent many re-workings of previous canal and water conveyance system proposals before evolving into the project it is today. Yet, after the establishment of the Study Program and contractors involved, subsequent movements were taken to solidify the logistics of the project, including many political configurations.²⁶ In December of 2013, the three beneficiary parties involved worked to establish a new agreement outlining the plans of the RSDSWC.²⁷ This new agreement includes a desalination plant in Aqaba to provide water to Israel, the selling of water by Israel to Palestine –based on a negotiation between the two entities – and a pipeline from Aqaba to the Dead Sea to be established.²⁸ However, this action sparked controversy and concern, specifically among numerous Palestinian ministers, regarding the prospect that Israel will control the price of the water, as this can only be established through a negotiation between the PA and Israel.²⁹ After the establishment of the ToR and the TSC, there was momentum to gain funding and begin the process in creating the Study Program. Starting up a multi-donor trust fund, the World Bank accumulated donations from a multiplicity of countries to fund the projected \$16 million cost to conduct the Study Program.³⁰ The World Bank also restructured the TSC in order to include a Panel of Experts, comprised of ten members, appointed in 2009, which aid in specific research within the complexity of the Study Program reports.³¹

²⁶ Hussam Hussein, “Politics of the Dead Sea,” 533.

²⁷ Ibid., 533.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Countries listed at the end of “Actors Involved” sub-section. Ibid., 3.

³¹ Ibid., 3.

Actors Involved

Within the RSDSWC, there are three main beneficiary parties involved working in coordination with multilateral aid agencies, mainly the World Bank.³² The three main beneficiary parties include Jordan, Israel, and the PA, all three of which are involved with the World Bank in the creation of Terms of Agreement (ToR) for the proposed project. Additionally, there are many consulted international agencies to help create the main study reports. A few main agencies include, yet are not limited to, Coyne et Bellier, Tractebel, Kema, and Environmental Resource Management.³³ Paralleling direct actors involved in the management and negotiations of the RSDSWC project, numerous bilateral actors have contributed to the funding of components of the Study Program, including France, Greece, Italy, Japan, South Korea, The Netherlands, Sweden, and the United States.³⁴

Purpose of Study

Water conflict throughout the MENA region has been a concern, specifically surrounding access to potable water in the region. Jordan, proximately situated next to Israel and Palestine, is consistently fraught with decreased water access, due to lowering sea levels, access to sustainable water sources, and influxes of refugees and displaced persons. The study of the environmental and political effects of water conflict is vast,

³² Coyne et, Bellier, Tractebel Engineering, and KEMA, 2011, *Red Sea-Dead Sea Draft Final Feasibility Study Main Report*, Coyne Et Bellier, 1.1.2.

³³ Ibid. Environmental Resource Management (ERM), BRL, EcoConsult, 2014. *Red Sea-Dead Sea Water Conveyance Study Environmental and Social Assessment: Final Environmental and Social Assessment (ESA) Report- Executive Summary*, The World Bank.
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTREDESEADEADSEA/Resources/5174616-1416839444345/ESA_ES_Mar_2014_English.pdf

³⁴ Alexander McPhail, 2013. *Red Sea-Dead Sea*. World Bank, 3.

including focuses on hydro politics within the Levant. Scholars, such as Jan Selby (2003) and Mark Zeitoun (2008), highlight the multifaceted layers of hydro political theory in the MENA region, throughout their works, touching on a multitude of aspects within the umbrella of hydro politics.³⁵ While each of their works in hydro politics concentrates on politics between and within Israel and Palestine, their works cover a unique analysis of water in relation to political functioning and evolution within the Levant states, and impacts on the broader political relations in the MENA region and internationally.³⁶

Reports from local stakeholders, mainly NGOs, addressing the water crisis within the region also highlight water conflict. B'Tselem, an predominate Israeli NGO working in Jerusalem, has conducted a host of reports surrounding the water crisis, specifically within occupied territories of Palestine. One of their reports commissioned in December 2016 outlines the inherent depletion of water resources due to heightened forcible removal of Palestinian populations.³⁷ This report, including numerous other reports conducted in the early 2000s, outlines the decreased access to potable water of the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza.³⁸ B'Tselem reports a large gap in water sources, consumption, and quality between both Palestine and Israel, and points

³⁵ Mark Zeitoun, *Power and Water in the Middle East: The Hidden Politics of the Palestinian-Israeli Water Conflict*, (London: I.B. Tauris & Co, 2008).

Jan Selby, *Water, Power and Politics in the Middle East: The Other Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co, 2003).

³⁶ Mark Zeitoun, *Power and Water in the Middle East*, (2008). Jan Selby, *Power and Politics*, (2003).

³⁷ Adam Aloni, Salma a-Deb'I, Yuval Drier Shilo, Michelle Bubis, November 2016, *Expel and Exploit: The Israeli Practice of Taking over Rural Palestinian Land*. B'Tselem – The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories.

³⁸ Yehezkel Lein, trans. Zvi Shulman, July 2000, *Thirsty for a Solution: The Water Crisis in the Occupied Territories and its Resolution in the Final-Status Agreement*. B'Tselem-The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories.

to the lack of water network and discriminatory organizations running the water supply as reasons for this divide.³⁹

The issue of hydro-politics is not new to the region. Yet, the RSDSWC highlights an interesting catalyst to change of the stagnation of water access within the Levant region never been developed this far. The continuation of reports, studies, and pilot tests pointing to the eventual implementation of the RSDSWC, thus pose a unique excitement to the future of the region, both socially yet also politically. For this exact aspect, the RSDSWC is vital to study. One of the largest proposed water conveyance systems in the Levant region, the political relations underlying the creation could point to larger understanding of political relations in the future, including sustained hegemony. Studying this project opens the door to understanding the current stance on factors surrounding trans-national development within the Levant region, and how this project might highlight political dynamics and leverages in the future. Additionally, this project, as a microcosm of international development and understanding political complexities, further stands as insight to current international Western development motives.⁴⁰

Research Questions

For the purpose of this study I work to answer two main questions about the RSDSWC. 1) How does and will the RSDSWC System alter existing relations between

³⁹ Yehezkel Lein, July 2000, *Thirsty for a Solution*, B'Tselem, Chapter 5.

⁴⁰ The definition of Western I use is from development theorist Philip McMichael. He defines Western Development as one based on western-based social science and cultural life, mainly coming from colonial empires in Western Europe and the US.

Philip McMichael, *Development and Social Change: A Global Perspective*, 5th ed. (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Inc., 2002), 3-5.

Jordan, Israel, and Palestine, and the relations with large multi-lateral agencies? 2) How will this project fits in the larger aspect of international development and contribute to sustainable project development?

Chapter 2: Development and Power Theory

Development theory is a complex and multifaceted area of study, outlining a host of stakeholders and market-based analysis to unpack layers of economic, social, and political interactions. One prominent development theorist, Philip McMichael, highlights how development manifests itself in the neoliberal age.⁴¹ Mega projects, such as the RSDSWC, of large international significance, can be understood through this framework. Yet, to further unpack development projects, it is vital to understand the nuances involved in implementation and construction of the projects to understand their potential impacts. Here, I use a power analysis framework, aiming to explore and interpret how power works through implementation of large-scale development projects, to better understand the overall societal and environmental impacts that the RSDSWC could have.

Development in the Neoliberal Age

Philip McMichael frames post-2015 development ideas and projects as ones rooted in Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), evolving from outdated Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).⁴² SDGs, though under a new guise of modern development, pose similar framework of creation, focused around state implementation and “depeasantization”.⁴³ McMichael argues that in the neoliberal age, development takes form as projects, global focuses and concerns driving “implementation and

⁴¹ McMichael defines neoliberal as “a philosophy positing an individual instinct for economic self-interest, justifying elevation of market principles as the organizing principle of society, where private interest trumps the public good”. Philip McMichael, *Development and Social Change*, 373.

⁴² Philip McMichael, Kathleen Sexsmith. “Formulating the SDGs: Reproducing or Reimagining State-Centered Development?”, *Globalizations* 12, no. 4 (2015).

⁴³ Philip McMichael, “Formulating the SDGs”, *Globalizations*, 582.

planning of the development project”.⁴⁴ Just as in development during the era of MDGs, development goals are state centric in the implementation process, inherently deepening the unequal relationships of the Global North and South.⁴⁵

Furthering his analysis of new age development, McMichael states that in the implementation of SDGs, many of the new age development projects are a commodification of ecological issues through market solutions.⁴⁶ McMichael states that the focus of the Global North development projects center on sustainable development, back tracking from the environmental damage from mass industrialization in the Globalization era of the 1940s-1970s.⁴⁷ Yet, development projects, such as carbon cap and trade, shift the framework of global ecology focus to that of security for the Global North, and ultimately produces more drastic environmental impacts of green house gases (GHG).⁴⁸ McMichael argues that with market development engrained within development agencies, the neoliberal development projects are ultimately encapsulated in a paradigm that externalizes environmental concerns.⁴⁹ Critiquing this pattern of neoliberal development, McMichael points out that concentration on sustainable development subjugates ecology to an economic value, enhancing the uneven patterns of development, with emphasis on state control perpetuating state competition, leading to government legitimacy.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Global North refers to Western countries stated before. Global South is defined as McMichael as least developed countries. *Ibid.*, 585.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 583.

⁴⁶ Philip McMichael, “Contemporary Contradictions of the Global Development Project: geopolitics, global ecology and the ‘development climate’,” *Third World Quarterly* 30, no.1 (2009): 247.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴⁸ Philip McMichael, “Contemporary Contradictions,” *Third World Quarterly*, 248.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 258.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 258-259.

McMichael is one of many development theorists and his works highlight aspects to neoliberal development and implementation on the international scale. His works are important to consider to better understand development as projects, and the engrained concentrations on sustainability and ecology as part of market concentrations. While McMichael approaches development from the lens of addressing Global North attitudes, it is important to consider how development projects are implemented, and the impacts modern projects will truly have on the environment.

While McMichael clearly defines neoliberalism development, there are other theorists that glean insight into the facets of how development works, including power. While there is no one clear definition of power and how it works within our communities, the core definition of power, one that power dimensional theories work off to create, is when subject A exercises power over subject B contrary to B's interests.⁵¹ Interests, as Steven Lukes describes, can be subjective interests – someone defining their own interests – and real interests, ones interests being based off of false consciousness.⁵² Working off of this foundational understanding of power, theorists have produced a multitude of theories surrounding power, ranging from a 1-dimensional understanding of power to areas of disciplines of power.⁵³ Each dimension of power, working off of each other, establishes a complex lens of power in application. For instance, Bachrach and Baratz build off of 1-dimensional power – based on Dahl's analysis of observable conflict –to create the 2-dimensional power, which identifies

⁵¹ To clarify the subjects A and B, these subjects can be individuals, groups, or organizations. Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View*, Second Edition (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 37.

⁵² Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View*, 28.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 29.

more layers to conflict and how interests are affected.⁵⁴ Most recent theories revolve around 3-dimensional power and power outside of the dimensional fold.

For 3-dimensional power, Steven Lukes describes power as an ongoing behavioral analysis that allows for insight into potential issues.⁵⁵ By folding in potential issues, Lukes is able to express an unforeseen aspect of power, being that of latent conflict, coming from contradictions between interests of those exercising power and the real interests of subjects.⁵⁶ The disparities in action coming from differences in interests exemplifies both direct and indirect mechanisms of controlling, shifting the definition of power from one of power over to that of power as a capacity, dispositional power.⁵⁷ This essential coercion thus produces ideological hegemony reinforced through dispositional power.⁵⁸

Drawing on McMichael's neoliberal development theory framework, we can attempt to understand the RSDSWC in a modern international development setting. Through a power analysis of the current political players and their futures within RSDSWC, examining the political economy and the environmental impacts within the three beneficiary parties, we can gain insight into how power works through implementation of this large development project. My intentions through the use of these two bodies of theory are similar to that of Yvonne Braun in her analysis of large-scale dam projects through a development lens. Organized in the frame of understanding large-scale development projects, Braun looks into dams as large-scale

⁵⁴ Ibid., 29.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 28.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 28.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 69-70.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 124.

projects guised for the purpose of sustainability.⁵⁹ Yet, in order to do so, Braun analyzes how inequalities in gender, class, and race are perpetuated through modern large-scale development projects, such as dam building.⁶⁰ Similar to Braun's work, I use a power lens to analyze how power-based inequalities and ideological hegemony work within the implementation of the large-scale development RSDSWC project.

⁵⁹ Yvonne Braun, "The Reproduction of Inequality: Race, Class, Gender, and the Social Organization of Work Sites of Large-Scale Development Projects," *Social Problems* 58, no. 2 (May 2011).

⁶⁰ Braun, "The Reproduction of Inequality," 220.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In order to analyze the impact of the RSDSWC as a development project, I use primary source information held within four main reports conducted by stakeholders of the project, along with a list of stakeholders. These reports are the sources that I use to analyze how power functions within the RSDSWC. For this analysis, I use a 3-dimensional power lens to understand underlying power relations in the implementation of this project, and the potential perpetuation of hegemony through the effects on the environment and political economy.

Power Dimensions in Analysis

For the purpose of my study of power within the creation and evolution of the RSDSWC, I use a 3-dimensional power theory lens. In forgoing the critiques of each dimension of power in which to view a case study, 3-dimensional power allows for an analysis of latent conflict and hegemony that is more holistic than that of the 1-dimensional and 2-dimensional forms of power. Additionally, the 3-dimensional focus on the establishment of hegemony will be useful in this case study, due to the historical components that shed light onto decisions and non-decisions made in the evolution of the project. Utilization of larger political lens, such as Michael Foucault's power net lens, while providing an interesting look into the intertwined characteristics of this project, would potentially muddle and exacerbate an understanding of the factors within the RSDSWC.⁶¹

⁶¹ Michael Foucault, *Power and Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, Colin Gordon ed. (New York: Pautheon, 1972-1977), 79-133.

The decision to use the 3-dimensional power theory lens to unearth political underworking of the RSDSWC is also corroborated by the use of such style in other studies of hydro politics and international water projects in the Levant region. Mark Zeitoun, in his analysis of power dynamics between Israel and Palestine in regards to water and water rights, uses the 3-dimensional lens of power to allow for a focus on compliance in hegemony, through compliance producing mechanisms, highlighting power associated with water related projects in the region.⁶² Mainly focusing on evolution of historical political relations on water between Israel and Palestine, Zeitoun uses the broader 3-dimensional power theory to unpack hegemony within hydro politics, ultimately unpacking the presence of compliance producing mechanisms in practice.

Within this example of applied 3-dimensional power, I also utilize the use of compliance producing mechanisms in direct application to environmental and political economy impacts. The compliance producing mechanisms, as outlined by Zeitoun, include the following: 1) Use of Force, 2) Incentives, 3) Normative Agreements, And 4) Ideological Hegemony.⁶³ These stages outline the creation of ideological hegemony anchored in 3-dimesional view of power. While Zeitoun is one of many scholars on the topic of hydro politics within the Levant and broader MENA region, his work in utilizing the 3-dimensional power theory due to critiques in the usage of 1-dimensional and 2-dimensional, outline a balanced initiative in unpacking case study projects related

⁶² Mark Zeitoun, *Power and Water in the Middle East: The Hidden Politics of the Palestinian-Israeli Water Conflict*, (London: I.B. Tauris & Co, 2008), 29-30.

⁶³ Mark Zeitoun, *Power and Water in the Middle East*, 31-32.

to water in the Levant region.⁶⁴ Due to the holistic nature of Zeitoun's analysis, along with my research into the dimensions of power, I have decided to adopt the 3-dimensional power lens, complimented by the usage of compliance producing mechanisms.

Utilizing a 3-dimensional lens of power and compliance producing mechanisms, I apply them to reports and stakeholders of the RSDSWC. The four reports I study include the Feasibility Study, the Environmental and Social Assessment, Study of Alternatives, and the Jordan Red Sea Project (JRSP). While there are Appendices and official Public Consultations also commissioned by the World Bank and the three beneficiary projects, the content of these extra reports are summarized within the extensive three reports listed above. While there are reports and critiques of reports undertaken throughout different environmental NGOs and other agencies, this report is unique to analyze in order to better understand motives of the one of the main stakeholders involved. Through these reports I intend on looking at the presence of certain rhetoric and absence of others. In doing so, I am able to assess the presence of latent conflict, through the masking of real intentions, and the establishment of coercion. While this could easily spin into a rhetorical analysis, my intentions are to merely pinpoint discrepancies in the reports and presence of certain aspects rather than usage of certain words or phrases.

In analyzing the reports, I focus on how environmental and political economy impacts are addressed. For political economy, I will focus on how pricing of the project is addressed and dealt with, along with the impact on tourism, international donors

⁶⁴ Ibid., 35.

involved, and potential displacement of persons due to this project. For environmental impacts, I will focus on environmental concerns creating the mission for the project and potential environmental effects, specifically to that of groundwater resources, the Dead Sea, and the Red Sea. Focusing on two characteristics of the project, even though sometimes overlapping with other aspects, I am able to utilize the 3-dimensional power to assess subjects involved with these aspects of the project and intentions behind the inclusion or exclusion of information. Further more, in concentrating on two areas of the reports, I am able to better assess the presence of ideological hegemony within the project and stakeholders involved.

Paralleling my power analysis of the reports, I consider the stakes of each one of the three beneficiary parties and history behind the reports to unearth compliance producing mechanisms. In analyzing the creation of the reports, and how actors are involved, I am able to unpack covert and overt intentions of their creation and its translation to the broader intentions of the RSDSWC. This aspect of my analysis is the point in which stakeholders – the three beneficiary parties – will be addressed to understand underlying intentions behind presented information. This lens to address real interests will be found through assessing who is winning and losing among the beneficiary parties regarding political economy and environmental factors, allowing for a closer look into the presence of ideological hegemony.

Limitations

While my access to primary sources was limited, each source is a vital piece, as they are the only official sources that are available on this project. Additionally, these sources are the only current sources that include actual research on each of the

components of the project, including, but not limited to, the environmental aspects, socio-economic factors, and construction logistics. These reports being the sole pieces of information on the evolution of the project, with certain numbers of actors involved, it is vital to unpack each of them in order to analyze and grasp underlying political foundations that are perpetuated in the creation of the RSDSWC. Further research, including primary interviews with World Bank leaders or ministers from the beneficiary parties, and new sources, may be beneficial to understand current updates regarding the project. Yet, currently, it is vital to highlight the importance of these reports as primary sources of information, and how actors are involved in the creation of this information.

Chapter 4: Case Studies

The order in which I outline my research of the RSDSWC includes an analysis of each of the four reports through the themes of environmental and political economy impacts. Below is a brief background of the creation behind each report, organized under those commissioned in partnership with the World Bank and those commissioned separately. A brief synopsis of the creation of the reports and involved stakeholders follows.

World Bank Commissioned Reports

There are three main reports commissioned by the World Bank under the Study Program, these being the Feasibility Study, the Environmental and Social Assessment, and the Study of Alternatives. The first report, and main report, funded and conducted by the World Bank Study Program on the creation of the RSDSWC is the Feasibility Study. In 2008, Coyne et Bellier, a French agency, won the bid to conduct this study, completing its study in 2013.⁶⁵ The goal of the Feasibility Study is to review and assess “technical, economic, financial, environmental, and social dimensions” of the RSDSWC.⁶⁶ Although the final report was projected to be completed 24 months after the commissioning of Coyne et Bellier, the final report was completed in 2014 with a cost of over \$16 million.⁶⁷ This report includes the proposed route in which the conveyance system will flow through, logistics on powering the project, location and process of desalination plants, and feasibility of the project in upholding and achieving

⁶⁵ Alexander McPhail, 2010. *Red Sea-Dead Sea Water Conveyance*, World Bank. 4.

⁶⁶ Alexander McPhail, 2007. *Red Sea-Dead Sea Water Conveyance Concept*. World Bank. 4.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

the three main goals stated in the created of the ToR.⁶⁸ Additionally, this report outlines a configuration of components to the project to create the best action plan for implementation and long-term success.⁶⁹ While the main body of the report revolves around scientific analysis of components of the project, the report touches on summary of data regarding social and environmental impacts of the project, outlining concerns within the port on the Red Sea in Aqaba, desalination efforts in Northern parts of Jordan, and other impacts on local communities.⁷⁰ Additionally, this report proposes legal and institutional framework for the cooperation of the three beneficiary parties, detailing a structure to accommodate all interests of the parties.⁷¹ For the purpose of this study, I analyze the Study Program Feasibility Project: Draft Final Feasibility Study Report Main Report.

The second main report of the Study Program is the Environmental and Social Assessment. Along with the Feasibility Study, this official report solidified its primary consulting firm in 2008, granting the bid to Environmental Resource Management (ERM) from the UK.⁷² The purpose of the report established by the ToR is to “review and assess environmental and social impacts”, including a Study of Alternatives which entails looking at no-action alternative, and a look into short-term and long-term impacts and potential for monitoring these impacts.⁷³ The final report was completed by the ERM in March of 2014, outlining impacts to all beneficiary parties, specifically

⁶⁸ Coyne et, Bellier, 2012, *Red Sea-Dead Sea Feasibility Project Summary*.

⁶⁹ Coyne et, Bellier, 2011, *Red Sea-Dead Sea Draft Final Feasibility Study Main Report*, 32.0.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid. Section 29.

⁷² Alexander McPhail, 2010. *Red Sea-Dead Sea Water Conveyance*, World Bank. 4.

⁷³ Alexander McPhail, 2007. *Red Sea-Dead Sea Water Conveyance Concept*. World Bank. 4.

concentrating on impacts to land, land reacquisition and resettlement, and the potential leakage into ground water resources.⁷⁴ I intend on focusing on components of the report that stand out statistically, yet also the placement of information, to analyze underlying and overt intentions of this report.

Paralleling the two main reports within the Study Program, the World Bank also conducted other studies providing specific insight into research of the main reports above, one of these being the Study of Alternatives (SoA). The research in this report, carried out by three individual consultants appointed in 2009, was commissioned to evaluate and compare strategic alternatives to address environmental problems within this project.⁷⁵ The creation of this report came after concerns from Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations (ENGOS) and industries in the region concerned about the environmental impact of the RSDSWC, pushing the World Bank to conduct this study.⁷⁶ Completed in March of 2014, the SoA outlines alternatives to the project including no action, different water transfer options (including an option through Turkey), and other desalination options.⁷⁷ Additionally, this report includes a look into why the Base Case Plus Scenario in the Feasibility Study is the best option, and any other alternatives this project could entail within its logistics.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Environmental Resource Management (ERM), 2014, *Red Sea- Dead Sea Environmental and Social Assessment*.

⁷⁵ Alexander McPhail, 2010. *Red Sea-Dead Sea Water Conveyance*, World Bank. 4.

⁷⁶ Erika Weinthal. "The World Bank and Negotiating," Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 66.

⁷⁷ John Anthony Allan, Abdallah Husein Malkawi, Yacov Tsur, March 2014. *Study of Alternatives: Final Report [Executive Summary and Main Report]*, World Bank.
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTREDESEADEADSEA/Resources/5174616-1416839444345/SoA-FINAL_March_2014.pdf.

⁷⁸ Alexander McPhail, 2010. *Red Sea-Dead Sea Water Conveyance*, World Bank. 4.

JRSP

One report outside of the lens of the World Bank and Study Program is that of the JRSP. The JRSP is a separate study commissioned by the Jordanian Government, contracting the services of Montgomery Watson Harza (MWH) in 2007.⁷⁹ Finished in 2011, this report explains the possibility of a water conveyance system solely within the geographical boundary of Jordan, created and maintained by the Jordanian Government and an established Public Private Partnership (PPP).⁸⁰ This project involves similar, if not identical, routes for a water conveyance system in Jordan as the RSDSWC, yet stresses desalination efforts will be earmarked for use in Jordan first, and then regional interests.⁸¹ The most glaring differences between the JRSP Report and RSDSWC are the drastic changes in infrastructure and economically focused development. JRSP stresses providing potable water to Jordan and development in urbanized areas along the water conveyance route, including real estate and tourism augmentation in Aqaba and South Amman.⁸²

⁷⁹ Erika Weinthal. "The World Bank and Negotiating," *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, 69.

⁸⁰ Government of Jordan, 2011. *Jordan Red Sea Project*. Government of Jordan, Accessed November 2, 2017. <http://www.waj.gov.jo/sites/ar-jo/waternews/Documents/WD%2005%20JRSP%20Project%20Summary%20-%20April%202011.pdf>.

⁸¹ Government of Jordan, *Jordan Red Sea Project*.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Part I.

Chapter 5: Findings

Within each of the stated reports, I look into the stated and unstated impacts to the political economy and environmental impacts. I outline overall themes of impacts for each of these areas of focus, and then delve into specific impacts addressed in each report. The themes highlighted aid the process of rhetorical analysis and organization of the reports to uncover the presence of compliance producing mechanisms and latent conflict.

Environmental Impacts

Throughout the four reports I explore, there are numerous environmental impacts within the geographical areas of the three beneficiary parties that highlight potential concerns in the implementation of the RSDSWC. Before delving into each report and the specifics of impacts touched on in each study, I list overall themes of environmental impacts reported. The main themes of potential environmental impacts that are addressed throughout each report include:

- Impacts to the Red Sea, including potential for depletion of coral reefs and aquaculture.
- Large carbon emissions projected to come from this project, mainly from construction and powering components of the project (i.e. desalination plants).
- Impacts to the Dead Sea include gypsum precipitations that will alter the visual landscape.

- Groundwater leakage from projected pipeline routes carrying salinized water that could impact ground water aquifers along the preferred route and alternative routes suggested.
- The “No Action” alternative having the largest stated environmental impact, ranked as “Major Significance”.

Feasibility Study

The Feasibility Study addresses numerous environmental impacts, each of which pertains to the implementation and sustainability of the RSDSWC. An outline of these impacts is stated below:

- Potential environmental impacts to the Red Sea coral reefs and marine life.
- Changes in the level of salinization of the Dead Sea.
- Concerns of carbon emissions during the implementation and sustainability of the project.
- Groundwater leakage from pipelines.

Along with these stated environmental impacts, a notable aspect of this report is the inclusion of a ranking system to assess the significance of the environmental impacts. Mentioned in Section 23 of the report, this system ranks environmental and other forms of impacts on a scale of significance, the definition of significance ranging from “Not Significant” to “Major”, the significance of the impact being enough to shut down the continuation of the project entirely.⁸³ In this section, which summarizes findings from the Environmental and Social Assessment, there are no environmental impacts ranked

⁸³ Coyne et, Bellier, 2011, *Red Sea-Dead Sea Draft Final Feasibility Study Main Report*, Section 23.2.4.

as “Major” in significance.⁸⁴ This is notable, given the multifaceted nature of impacts that are projected to appear throughout the construction of the project.

One of the first environmental impact themes the Feasibility Study outlines is that of impacts of the RSDSWC to the Red Sea and Dead Sea. In Sections 4.0 and 5.0, the Feasibility Study mentions the current states of the Red Sea and Dead Sea, outlining concerns and broad impacts of the project.⁸⁵ In Section 4.0: The Red Sea, the Feasibility Report outlines that impacts on pollution are unknown, and no effects are cited for the local populations or tourist industry.⁸⁶ Additionally, the Feasibility Report cites a large environmental concern being the potential damage to coral reefs coming from the intake site.⁸⁷ While information does provide for a look into the overall impact of an intake site in the Red Sea, it halts with inquiries to be solved with the augmentation of a modeling study.⁸⁸ For the Dead Sea, the report begins with a description of the current ecological state and its main geographical features.⁸⁹ Yet, unlike information of the Red Sea, impacts of environmental concerns are only touched on slightly, through the lens of tourism and concern for the chemical industry.⁹⁰

This report touches on another concern of the RSDSWC, being that of environmental impacts pertaining to the production of carbon emissions. As stated in Section 22, there are concerns with energy pressures from the logistics of the program that will be chosen and how the electricity demand in Jordan, Israel, and the PA might

⁸⁴ Ibid., Section 23.4.

⁸⁵ Ibid., Sections 4.0-5.0.

⁸⁶ Ibid., Section 4.6.1, 4.7.2.

⁸⁷ Ibid., Section 4.7.5.2.

⁸⁸ Ibid., Section 4.11.1.

⁸⁹ Ibid., Section 5.2.6-5.2.7.

⁹⁰ Ibid., Section 5.10.

be reached throughout this project.⁹¹ Energy options that are available for this plan include hydropower plants, yet also the usage of alternative greener energy, such as solar and wind energy sources.⁹² In prefacing the alternative for cleaner energy, the report touches on the Carbon Emissions projected to be emitted in the production of this project.⁹³ It is stated that CO2 emissions, with the increase of energy production, will increase to 3 million tons by the year 2060.⁹⁴ With this statement, there is no impact stated on any stakeholders, and merely suggested that alternative “cleaner” forms of energy be utilized.⁹⁵

Another theme of environmental impacts touched on through the Feasibility Study is that of hydrogeology concerns, including groundwater leakages. The report states impacts on groundwater and leakages, only stating a “Moderate” to “Minor” rank of significance, and how the alternative styles of pipelines and desalination plants have a worse impact on the environment than the Base Case Plus Scenario concentrated on.⁹⁶ One other impact mentioned in this section is that of the potential for leakage to occur outside of the pipeline, into groundwater resources, and the potential for disposal of hazardous waste, even though measures will be take to mitigate this effect.⁹⁷ Other impacts to the environment of the RSDSWC include effects on soil, air quality, and effect on the visual and landscape.⁹⁸

⁹¹ The logistics of the plan that are decided on in this chapter include the Pipeline Option and High Level Desalination Plant. Ibid., Section 22.1-22.2.

⁹² Ibid., Section 22.4.3.

⁹³ Ibid., Section 22.4.4.

⁹⁴ Ibid., Section 22.4.4.

⁹⁵ Ibid., Section 22.4.5.

⁹⁶ The Base Case Plus Scenario is pushed as the best alternative throughout this report. Ibid., Section 23.5.2.2, 23.5.7.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 23.6.1.5, 23.6.5.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 23.4.

Environmental and Social Assessment

The Environmental and Social Assessment outlines numerous detailed environmental impacts pertaining to the implementation and future of the RSDSWC. Being the sole assessment conducting research on environmental impacts, many of the impacts overlap those within the Feasibility Study and the SoA. The main themes of environmental impacts highlighted in this report are outlined below:

- Regional impacts in augmentation of potable water and carbon emissions
- Environmental concerns for the both the Red Sea and Dead Sea.
- Hydrogeology concerns.

The Environmental and Social Assessment also utilizes the same significance evaluation system as that in the Feasibility Study, ranking impacts from temporal, routine, non-routine, and induced impacts.⁹⁹ The significance of these impacts is then ranked, from critical to slight/none.¹⁰⁰ The agreed upon definition of major significance utilized is an impact to be reported to the Environmental and Social Assessment team to be taken into account on whether or not the RSDSWC continues.¹⁰¹ Additionally, many mitigation efforts are given with significance rankings, these coming from the “Environmental and Social Management Plan” (ESMP).¹⁰² As stated in this assessment,

⁹⁹ Environmental Resource Management (ERM), 2014, *Red Sea- Dead Sea Environmental and Social Assessment*, 9.

¹⁰⁰ Critical significance states an impact that would be so severe and unacceptable that mitigation would likely not change the impact. The ranking then labels the next largest impact being “Major impact”, then to “Moderate Impact” then to “Slight/None” impact, being temporary, low magnitude, and of little concern to stakeholders. Ibid., 9.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 9.

¹⁰² Ibid., 52.

the ESMP will be the regulator of this project until the beneficiary parties involved come up with a governing structure.¹⁰³

Regional environmental impacts are one of the largest impacts this assessment addresses regarding the RSDSWC.¹⁰⁴ Within the report, broad regional impacts are assessed throughout the Regional Impact Assessment, outlining regional environmental impacts within the water resources demand, energy demand, and climate change.¹⁰⁵ Within the realm of water resources demand, this assessment outlines the RSDSWC helps the water demand of the countries within the region, helping alleviate water stress on all three beneficiary parties until projected 2060.¹⁰⁶ Additionally, in the section of “Energy Demand and Climate Change”, it is stated augmentation of carbon emissions will increase but will not be permanent or irreversible.¹⁰⁷

Paralleling broad regional impacts addressed, this report outlines specific geographical areas exposed to potential impacts, mainly being that of the Dead Sea and the Red Sea. Within the Dead Sea section, one of the cited impacts will be that of the augmentation of gypsum precipitation that could change the visuals of the Dead Sea.¹⁰⁸ Yet, the assessment quelled concerns of a major impact, as the mitigation efforts, undertaken by the assessment team, and phased construction, would allow for this potential impact to be mitigated.¹⁰⁹ Overall, the environmental impacts to the Dead Sea due to the implementation of RSDSWC are ranked at “moderate level”.¹¹⁰ For the Red

¹⁰³ Ibid., 53.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 14-21.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 14-21.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 18.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 18.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 23-24.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 24.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 25.

Sea, the main projected environmental impacts include construction, destruction of marine life habitats, and water abstraction affecting coral populations.¹¹¹ While each of these impacts was mentioned, they are each ranked at “Slight/None” significance, after mitigation efforts.¹¹²

Other areas of environmental concern addressed in this assessment include hydrogeology concerns, including surface water impacts and potential major hazards.¹¹³ Hydrology and flood risks are key water issues pertaining to surface water, and include seawater contamination of aquifers and impacts on wadi flood pathways.¹¹⁴ None of these were stated to be above a “Slight/None” impact.¹¹⁵ In regards to hydrogeology, the impacts of importance to concentrate on are mixing of water and catastrophic failure of seawater conveyance.¹¹⁶ These impacts were ranked no higher than “Moderate” significance, including mitigation efforts, and the assessment states that the elimination of all risk would likely incur “costs disproportionate to the value of the resource”.¹¹⁷ The “Major hazards”, specifically environmental hazards, which are cited in this report, are that of intentional external impact, natural disasters, and issues related to the failure of the construction of the conveyance system.¹¹⁸ These risks, similar to potential environmental impacts stated in previous sections, do not rank higher than “moderate” significance.¹¹⁹

¹¹¹ Ibid., 26.

¹¹² Ibid., 26.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 28.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 28.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 37.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., Table ES.11, 38.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 41.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 41.

In conjunction to the environmental impacts stated in the case of implementation of the RSDSWC, the report additionally outlines environmental impacts within alternative routes proposed in the SoA.¹²⁰ A summary for each alternative and their respective rankings of significance are outlined in Table ES.16 of the assessment.¹²¹ While some of these projects ranked from “Major” to “Moderate” significance, it is interesting to note alternatives, such as restoring the Jordan Aquifer, is ranked as “Positive” significance.¹²²

SoA

Within the SoA, numerous new environmental impacts are stated due to alternative proposed routes, coupling that of reiterated environmental concerns. A few main themes of environmental impacts addressed include:

- Drastic environmental impacts from “No Action” plan.
- Various environmental impacts on proposed alternative routes, including water allocation from Turkey and the Mediterranean Sea Dead Sea Alternative.
- Concerns of groundwater salinization due to leakages.

Numerous environmental impacts are explored in outlining alternative proposed routes, including a critique at each alternative water conveyance point or desalination plant. Before mentioning the alternatives and environmental impacts stated, this report outlines impacts within principal findings of alternatives already explored.¹²³

¹²⁰ Ibid., 45.

¹²¹ Ibid., 48-51.

¹²² Ibid., 50.

¹²³ John Anthony Allan, March 2014. *Study of Alternatives: Final Report*, World Bank., xx.

Explaining No Action, RSDSWC, and Lower Jordan options, this report states that the best environmental impact would be from the Lower Jordan option, claiming the No Action option to be one of disastrous environmental effects.¹²⁴ This study additionally outlines the possibility of using recycled and excess water to alleviate concerns around current potable water access.¹²⁵

This report also outlines environmental impacts for other alternative water transfer methods, including transfer of the Mediterranean Sea Water to the Dead Sea, from Turkey by Land Pipeline, and transfers from the Euphrates River.¹²⁶ Regardless of the feasibility of these stated alternatives, the report only details potential environmental impacts broadly throughout these alternatives, only heavily touching on the consideration of mixing of water.¹²⁷ For the alternative locations of desalination plants proposed, similar broad conclusions are made regarding the environmental impact.¹²⁸ One such impact includes environmental risks when transferring over brine and seawater over aquifers in Northern Israel.¹²⁹

Throughout the SoA, areas of research touch on broader environmental impacts of the above stated alternatives, or combinations of alternatives. Stated mainly in the “Comparison Review of Alternatives”, greater concentration is placed on impact on water quality, salinization of ground water.¹³⁰ This section outlines health risks associated with the construction of any of the alternatives of RSDSWC, including

¹²⁴ Ibid., xx-xxiii.

¹²⁵ Ibid., xxiii.

¹²⁶ Ibid., xxv-xxvi.

¹²⁷ Ibid., xxv.

¹²⁸ Ibid., xxix.

¹²⁹ Ibid., xxix.

¹³⁰ Ibid., xlii.

disturbances and management of workers to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS.¹³¹ More holistically, this report contains a table of alternatives and significance rankings of the environmental impacts each would have.¹³² This table is the one presented in the Environmental and Social Assessment, with the same significance ranking systems.

JRSP

Throughout the JRSP commissioned by the Government of Jordan, there are no explicit statements surrounding environmental impacts. While environmental issues are seemingly not taken into consideration for this report, there are themes present that circle around these impacts, including:

- The leakage of salinized water from pipelines
- Potential environmental concerns during the proposed large-scale development projects.

Areas in which environmental problems could potentially arise are in the mentioning of potential salt-water discharge from pipelines and canals being a hazard for the local environment.¹³³ Stated in Part II and throughout Part IV of the report, these concerns arise from placement of the pipeline in Jordanian territory and the increase in areas of discharge throughout the country.¹³⁴ While not explicitly stated, monetary allocations for mitigation efforts mentioned in Part III highlight underlying anxiety around the potential for environmental impacts of the JRSP implementation.¹³⁵

¹³¹ Ibid., xliii-xliv.

¹³² Ibid., xlv-xlv.

¹³³ Government of Jordan, April 2011, *Jordan Red Sea Project*, Government of Jordan. <http://www.jva.gov.jo/sites/en-us/RSDS/SiteAssets/JRSP%20studies.aspx?PageView=Shared>, II-5-II-9.

¹³⁴ Ibid., II and IV.

¹³⁵ Ibid., Part III.

Paralleling these obscure concerns regarding environmental impact, less concentration of these impacts are also portrayed in stated impacts to large development plans. Plans including new cities, pieces of water infrastructure, and energy sources are cited to be implemented in conjunction with the JRSP throughout Jordan,¹³⁶ Part II outlines the bulk of these development projects, stating proposed plans of infrastructure and environmental development.¹³⁷ Yet, similar to ground water salinization concerns, this report simultaneously fails to explicitly state any environmental concerns in the areas of development.

Political Economy Impacts

Within each of their reports, there also is a host of information regarding political economic impacts initiated by the RSDSWC. Political economic impacts highlighted in these reports include impacts on tourism, finances, displacement of persons, and organizational structure of the RSDSWC or JRSP project. The themes of impacts throughout the four reports under the subject of political economy are as follows:

- Regional impacts within the geographical land of the beneficiary parties involved, including financial impacts to the parties, infrastructure, and potential land acquisition.
- Financial impacts of the overall RSDSWC proposed and financial impacts for the JRSP project.
- Impacts to tourism and chemical industries throughout Jordan and Israel.

¹³⁶ Ibid., Part III.

¹³⁷ Ibid., Part III.

- Political and organizational configuration of the sustainability of the project and actors involved within frameworks.

Each report details facets of these main themes of impacts to the political economy, outlining specific impacts pertaining to the broader aspect of the RSDSWC or proposed JRSP projects.

Feasibility Study

Throughout the Feasibility Study, there are many sections that touch on the aspects of political economy and economically based impacts of the project. While each of the sections touches on economic impacts in some capacity, I will be focusing on discrepancies within sections that highlight concerns with political economy. Main themes of impacts within the report include:

- Tourism and industry impacts for all beneficiary parties.
- Regional impacts on each beneficiary party, these including the economic gain and cost for each party, and investments into infrastructure.
- Access to potable water.
- Political configuration of the RSDSWC and the production and pricing of peace relations.

Corroborating discrepancies within individual sections, I also exemplify the lack of certain information as insight into the power dynamics within this report.

One of the first themes that touch on political economic impacts of the RSDSWC is that of the impacts to tourism and the chemical industry. The Feasibility Report first mentions these impacts in outlining impacts to the Red Sea and Dead Sea. Regarding the Red Sea, the report does not highlight any large social or economic

impacts, as the main impact would be of effects to the chemical industry.¹³⁸ For the Dead Sea, the report claims that the augmentation of the RSDSWC will help alleviate concerns about the decline in the tourism industry in this area.¹³⁹ The report cites a multiplicity of times the economic impact of the No Project option and how that will produce net damage costs to infrastructure.¹⁴⁰ Additionally, although there is no data to back the claim that the tourism industry is dying due to the decreased level in the Dead Sea, the report states there would potentially be less domestic tourism to the Dead Sea.¹⁴¹ Simultaneously, the report states this project will include effects on the chemical industry in the Dead Sea.¹⁴² The report outlines how the main impact to the industry will be from environmentalists, NGOs, and the public working to shut down chemical industries in the area in the case the RSDSWC go through.¹⁴³ Overall, this report highlights the impacts to the chemical and tourists industries through a financial lens, laying out the economic impacts on tourism and chemical industries, such as Dead Sea Works (DSW) and Arab Potash Company (APC), based on the net costs for the RSDSWC.¹⁴⁴

Paralleling impacts to the tourism and chemical industries within the two Seas, other political economic impacts addressed are those of regional impacts for each beneficiary party. The majority of the impacts ranking only minor to moderate significance, there is an implicit stance that the project will continue, despite future

¹³⁸ Coyne et, Bellier, 2011, Red Sea-Dead Sea Draft Final Feasibility Study Main Report, Section 4.7.2.

¹³⁹ Ibid., Section 5.5.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., Section 7.10.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., Section 7.10.

¹⁴² Ibid., Section 5.10.

¹⁴³ Ibid., Section 5.10.17.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., Section 28.4.2-28.4.6.

research into certain aspects of concern, including the social impact of resettlement. Additionally, the ranked significances of options for parts of the project, none being over moderate significance, even with concerns for community health and safety shifts, affirm the overt intentions of the creators of this report.¹⁴⁵

For Jordan, the impacts of the RSDSWC are viewed from changes to the baseline economic state, this being the tourism industry in Aqaba, lack of agricultural infrastructure, and Freshwater Zones.¹⁴⁶ The noted “Possible Changes to Baseline” in Jordan is decline in the agricultural industry, and specifies areas of development of the local communities that will ultimately rely on investment in the private sector.¹⁴⁷ The stated socio economic impacts of Jordan include potential acquisition of land (that will be outlined in a “Resettlement Action Plan”) that is only ranked at Moderate Significance.¹⁴⁸ Additionally, this report outlines financial impacts of the RSDSWC, outlining social financial impacts for the project, cost of unit of water and projected benefits to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Jordan.¹⁴⁹ Corroborating an inherent urgency behind the implementation of the RSDSWC, the report also states impacts to Jordan in the case that the project does not unfold, including a large deficit in potable water resources and changes in infrastructure longevity.¹⁵⁰

Regional impacts to the beneficiary party Israel within the augmentation of the RSDSWC include potential changes to the baselines that include new settlements to be

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., Section 23.6.6.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., Section 23.3.5.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., Section 23.3.8.1-23.3.8.2.

¹⁴⁸ The “Resettlement Action Plan” is currently still incomplete. Additionally, the ranking of significance follows that of the table associated with the environmental section stated in the Appendix. Ibid., Section 23.6.1.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., Section 28.0.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., Section 7.4.1, 7.7.

established in the Arava Valley and increase in tourism.¹⁵¹ Israel is said to face large visual impacts in Masada and potential political activism backlash, both ranked at moderate significance.¹⁵² The report, unlike the section pertaining to the socio-economic impacts of Jordan, then suggests means in which to communicate the urgency and reason of the project in order to mitigate political activism effects.¹⁵³ Additionally, the financial impact to Israel is outlined as a potential increase in the GDP projected by the IMF, and costs of water projections.¹⁵⁴ Similarly to regional impacts to Jordan, the report also highlights impacts if the project does not take place, impacts to Israel being the lack of development within geographical areas in the state's jurisdiction and lack of development of the tourism industry.¹⁵⁵

One last regional impact explored is that of the third beneficiary party the PA. For the PA, the baseline report outlines population sizes, mainly in the city of Jericho, and freshwater routes.¹⁵⁶ Unlike both the sections of changes to the baseline for Israel and Jordan, the changes for the PA are relatively short, recognizing the lack of financial stability of the PA and how this will affect development in both West Bank and Gaza, stressing the importance of political stability to mitigate the instability.¹⁵⁷ Additionally, the socio-economic impact section for the PA is relatively short; claiming acquisition of land is likely, as are effects on tourism, agriculture and industry, all ranked at moderate significance.¹⁵⁸ Yet in the case of an acceleration in the tourism industry, it is also stated

¹⁵¹ Ibid., Section 23.3.8.4.

¹⁵² Ibid., Section 23.6.2, 23.6.2.1-23.6.2.2.

¹⁵³ Ibid., Section 23.6.2.2.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., Section 28.0.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., Section 7.7.3.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., Section 23.3.7.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., Section 23.3.8.5.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., Section 23.6.3.

the consideration of development of land to be used along the Dead Sea, yet claiming potential development in Palestine will be contingent in the event of the creation of a Palestinian state.¹⁵⁹ Thus, exact projections of effects on the GDP of the PA by the IMF are unknown yet revolve around these areas of focus.¹⁶⁰ Paralleling those of the profiles of the two other beneficiary parties, the report outlines the impacts to the PA in the case of No Project option.¹⁶¹ The stated impacts on the PA would be unknown, as development of their industries (tourism, agriculture, and population size) would be dependent on the “peace process”.¹⁶²

Another political economy impact theme heavily considered throughout the Feasibility Study is access to potable water. The report first explains the demand for each beneficiary party involved.¹⁶³ Within this demand, the report then states the allocation to each of the beneficiary parties, many discrepancies occurring between the need versus the allocated amount of water to each of the beneficiary parties. The allocation in Jordan is based on stated priorities, the first being human consumption, second being industry, and the third being agriculture.¹⁶⁴ For Israel, the report states that they did not yearn to have potable water from this project.¹⁶⁵ The report then touches on allocation to the PA, the amount not being based on need, rather matching the amount given to Israel, the amount being negotiated between the Beneficiary parties at a later

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., Section 5.5.3.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, Section 28.0.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., Section 7.0.

¹⁶² Ibid., Section 7.7.4.

¹⁶³ Ibid., Section 8.0.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., Section 8.4.18.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., Section 20.1.6, 20.2.

date.¹⁶⁶ Throughout this allocation, the price per unit of water is heavily concentrated on, both in its pre-salinized state and as potable water.¹⁶⁷

One last main theme under political economy impacts stated in the Feasibility Study includes that of the organizational configuration of the project and production of peace. In the process of implementing the project, the ToR outlines the roles of stakeholders in creating a sustainable organizational structure and framework for the project.¹⁶⁸ Based on UN Convention Law of Non-Navigational Uses of International Watercourses, the report establishes three options for governing structure of the project.¹⁶⁹ The first option gives all authority over the construction of the project and sustainability of the project to the Jordanian Government.¹⁷⁰ The second option outlines an establishment of a multi-national commission, with set voting procedures to include the voices of all beneficiary parties involved in the project.¹⁷¹ Option three is to have the World Bank watch over the evolution of the project, producing a tiered system of management.¹⁷² Within these options, there are interesting aspects considered by the report, including the establishment of the Dead Sea as a World Heritage site (thus changing oversight), and the potential establishment of an independent corporation to be based in Jordan and to balance the finances of the project.¹⁷³ Another concept mentioned is the creation of a representative political body independent yet comprised

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., Section 21.1.4-21.1.7.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., Section 19.0, 28.0.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., Section 29.1.1.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., Section 29.3.1.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., Section 29.3.2.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., Section 29.3.3.

¹⁷² Ibid., Section 29.3.4.

¹⁷³ Ibid., Section 29.3.7, 29.5.4-29.5.5.

of the beneficiary nations, including a public relations section that would work on transparency with the public.¹⁷⁴

This information, though vast in possibilities of organizational structure, also poses unique insight into intentions of the project. Not only is the presence of these governing structure configurations interesting, yet the shifts of the focus to one of the options this report deems is best, poses some queries of underlying intentions.¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, the creation of examples from comparisons to political and institutional structures to that of American systems is notable. In comparing the potential for a separate governing structure, Section 29 outlines its comparisons to that of the Port Authority of the Eastern Coast of the United States.¹⁷⁶ While this comparison is somewhat apt, comparisons to Western style governmental structures, that include state regulation, and other international examples, highlights an interesting component to potential underlying motives of the establishment of this recommendation of the report.¹⁷⁷

In conjunction with producing governing structures, this report also outlines the potential for peace the RSDSWC could create. The beginning of the Feasibility Study prefaces the implementation of the RSDSWC by stating forgone opportunities of peace and political relations if the No Project option occurs.¹⁷⁸ These opportunities include forgoing an “iconic example” of the “benefits of peace and co-operation”, and forgoing

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., Section 29.5.6.

¹⁷⁵ At the end of section 29.5.3, this report recommends the implementation of Option 3, continuing an analysis of options for the creation of this governance style.

Ibid., Section 29.5.3.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., Section 29.5.3.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., Section 29.4.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., Section 7.9.

induced development coming from the RSDSWC, such as “water based theme parks and aquaculture”.¹⁷⁹ The report then continues to unearth the financial impact of these opportunities, producing a calculation of prices of “intangibles”.¹⁸⁰ Based on the Contingent Valuation Study, “intangibles” are subjects calculated at commodity value on a subject that wouldn’t otherwise have a price, the most bizarre price point of \$41.6 million being given to “prospects of peaceful co-operation between the Parties in the Project”.¹⁸¹

The pricing of peace continues into the Feasibility Study’s analysis of how might the RSDSWC bring peace. Within the ToR’s attempts to address the potential peace dividend, adding peace to the region is only a subjective potential.¹⁸² The report analyzes peace from a political theory analysis, stating the lens in which to view this project and how their consulted peace theorist, Eric Abitbol, utilized these aspects to better understand the framing of the project.¹⁸³ After conducting 32 interviews from individuals from each beneficiary party, the report states that Abitbol found the project is not viewed to bring peace necessarily, rather uphold the co-existence many persons view between the three main beneficiary parties.¹⁸⁴ The “value of peace” is then evaluated, calculating how much peace could bring financially to the region.¹⁸⁵ The report also states how the benefits to peace are clear, and that whatever structure is

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., Section 7.9.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., Section 28.4.6.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., Section 28.9.1.

¹⁸² Ibid., Section 31.1.1.

¹⁸³ Ibid., Section 31.2.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., Section 31.2.4-31.2.5.

¹⁸⁵ The projected financial gain from the peace dividend is calculated in this section to be \$30 billion. Ibid., Section 31.3.

decided on to uphold the sustainability of the project, must comply with international law and the Oslo Accords.¹⁸⁶

The fact that the Feasibility Study outlines the aspect of peace within the implementation of the RSDSWC, with the calculation of peace as a financial point, seems deceiving. The implicit expectation that there is an intention to measure peace through finances pin points interesting motives of not only creators of the report, yet also the presence of the Feasibility Study in establishing the jumping block for the RSDSWC.

Environmental and Social Assessment

Throughout the Environmental and Social Assessment, there are many themes of impacts falling under the larger understanding of political economy impacts. While much of the information is similar to the Feasibility Study, specifically in regards to utilization of the significance ranking system, many impacts are engrained in broader political economic concerns. The main themes of political economy impacts stated in the Environmental and Social Assessment are:

- Establishment of a governing body overseeing the mitigation of social factors.
- Regional impacts to each of the beneficiary parties, including social life impacts, land acquisition, and GDP.

One of the many components of this assessment that delves into impacts of political economy is the process of establishing a governing body oversight. This

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 31.4.

includes the establishment of the ESMP and consultations used to establish research. In establishing this assessment, the Public Consultation and Communication Plan (PCCP) was established, developing stakeholder consultations undertaken by beneficiary parties and members of the Feasibility Study Team.¹⁸⁷ Spread out into three main time frames (entitled “phases”), throughout each of the beneficiary party’s territory, these consultations took place to highlight public concerns of RSDSWC.¹⁸⁸ Results included concern over the mixing of the two waters, establishment of riparian rights, and delay in conducting studies.¹⁸⁹ In addition to establishing consultations in the creation of this assessment, as mentioned above, ESMP was established in order to provide an oversight body, connecting political, design, and mitigation efforts.¹⁹⁰ ESMP is also responsible for ensuring the consideration of indigenous peoples within the development and implementation of the project.¹⁹¹

In addition to context on political structure of the assessment, this report also delves into the theme of regional impacts projected from the implementation of the RSDSWC. The assessment firstly touches on how the RSDSWC would potentially increase the GDP of all three beneficiary parties involved, as projected by the IMF.¹⁹² Specifically, this project is said to bring about positive impacts on the tourism industry, in addition to potential development of the Wadi Araba areas.¹⁹³ The assessment

¹⁸⁷ Environmental Resource Management (ERM), 2014, *Red Sea- Dead Sea Environmental and Social Assessment*, 13.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 15.

outlines social impacts and land acquisition possibilities regionally.¹⁹⁴ The assessment states concerns from the conducted consultations, and stresses, that while valid, many of the environmental concerns will be mitigated.¹⁹⁵ One of these concerns was the contamination of salt water into underground aquifers, which the assessment promptly addressed as an item already being mitigated by the contractors of the report.¹⁹⁶ In the section “Land Acquisition and Resettlement”, it is stated that the majority of the land being acquiesced is rural, and almost no direct resettlement of people will need to occur.¹⁹⁷ Yet, in the case this does occur, the assessment group will create a Resettlement Action Plan (RAP) and include provisions for those who lost their livelihoods.¹⁹⁸

Paralleling environmental impacts, this assessment also includes a ranking of significance in social impacts in a study of alternatives.¹⁹⁹ Outlined next to environmental impacts, the table in which the significance of impacts is stated, the social impacts range from “Positive” to “Moderate”.²⁰⁰ Many of the positive significance impacts include relations with other nations, water desalination efforts, and chemical industry changes.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 31-35.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 34.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 34.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 34.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 34.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., Table ES. 16.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., Table ES.16.

²⁰¹ Ibid., Table ES. 16.

SoA

Throughout the SoA, many political economy impacts are also mentioned in the implementation of certain routes. While much of this report focuses on political economic impacts to alternative routes not being officially implemented, an understanding of similar concerns will shed insight into broader political economic concerns of RSDSWC. The main themes regarding political economy impacts of the RSDSWC and other proposed routes include:

- Economic and social feasibility of alternative plans.
- Comparisons of the overall social and economic impact of the proposed routes.

The first mention of economic impact occurs in principle findings of main alternatives explored in the Feasibility Study.²⁰² In each the No Action, RSDSWC, and Lower Jordan Option, there is high emphasis on the price difference each of these water conveyance systems would have, including how much potable water would cost per unit.²⁰³ Additionally, within the alternative of the Lower Jordan Option, it is mentioned that this originally proposed alternative could work to foster better cooperation among the beneficiary parties.²⁰⁴ In the consideration of other water transfer options, as well as desalination options, this report outlines comparisons in terms of economic value of the program and social feasibility. For instance, while the transfer of water from “Turkey by Land Pipeline” might be cheaper, this report stresses how this would foster

²⁰² John Anthony Allan, March 2014. *Study of Alternatives: Final Report*, World Bank, xx.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, xx-xxiii.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, xxiii.

unreliability in production of potable water.²⁰⁵ Additionally, efforts to implement desalination plants in Israel, connecting the Mediterranean Sea to the Dead Sea, pose political issues that are said to slow down the project.²⁰⁶ When considering technical water conservation options, this report outlines actions that could be taken by the Israel government to decrease potable water usage, through implementation of tariffs, and modifying crop patterns throughout the three beneficiary parties to decrease potable water usage.²⁰⁷

Another theme of the report includes the comparison and evaluation of alternatives under certain criteria.²⁰⁸ One of these criteria involves cooperation among the beneficiary parties, and stressed the need for each party to sustain cooperation, a shared vision, and common goal of commitment to sustainability and economic incentives.²⁰⁹ Another criteria involved addressing involuntary resettlement and land acquisition, stating that many of the alternatives are of large concerns due to their routes through densely populated areas.²¹⁰ The impacts here deemed drastic, yet this report stressed the need for “specific resettlement and land acquisition plans to be developed” with consultation and social assessments.²¹¹ Two other criteria include that of stated Regional Development and continued use of the Panel of Experts.²¹² This report states that the augmentation of any of the proposed alternatives would support regional

²⁰⁵ Ibid., xxxvi.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., xxix.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., xxxii.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., xxxvii.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., xl.

²¹⁰ Ibid., xliii.

²¹¹ Ibid., xliii.

²¹² Ibid., xliii-xliv.

development, through tourism and employment opportunities.²¹³ This economic benefit is coupled by the suggestion of this report to continue usage of independent Panel of Experts, regardless of the plan decided on.²¹⁴ In continual usage of this Panel, the report affirms beneficiary parties would be institutionalizing international good practices, and allow for greater benefits for all stakeholders due to the multiplicity of alternatives and their impacts.²¹⁵

JRSP

The JRSP, officially considering the implementation of a different plan than the RSDSWC, includes many similar yet hyper-versions of the stated political economic impacts. The main themes of political economy impacts throughout the JRSP include:

- Infrastructure and development plans of the JRSP.
- Political and organizational configuration for the sustainability of the project.
- Financial impact of the plan.

JRSP touches heavily on the impacts in the realm of political economy. While the majority of the report is on this topic, I merely highlight components and general themes in order to gain an understanding of the broader political economy effects predicted.

The majority of the JRSP report centers on developmental plans along the water conveyance route, the same route proposed in the RSDSWC.²¹⁶ The report outlines

²¹³ Ibid., xlv.

²¹⁴ Ibid., xlv.

²¹⁵ Ibid., xlv.

²¹⁶ Government of Jordan, 2011, *Jordan Red Sea Project*, Part II.

plans for both desalination plants and hydropower stations along this route, including plans of establishing a freshwater pipeline to transport potable water through.²¹⁷ Other development plans include new cities, including a South Amman City, South Dead Sea City, and a multiplicity of resorts, water parks, and gated communities.²¹⁸ These grandiose dreams behind this development are sketched throughout numerous renderings of resorts, city plans, and gated communities. Within these proposed development plans, impacts expected for the nation of Jordan include greater access to energy, increase in potable water, and infrastructure. Additionally, there are hopes that these projects of development will create new revenue in addition to “developing” certain areas within Jordan.²¹⁹ While visually pleasing, this plan for development of architecture, cities, and tourism industry, also serves the stated purpose of gaining revenue into the country, and ultimately to JRSP Company.²²⁰ As already outlined broadly, this section is of pivotal importance to economic impacts in the future of Jordan. The pursuit of building new cities, developing tourism industries, and focusing on industrialized centers, if implemented, will be substantial for the country.

Another theme pertaining to political economic impacts stated in the JRSP report include political and organizational configuration of the project. The report outlines a variety of plans by the Jordanian Government to ensure the completion and control over the JRSP. The Jordanian Government is said to create a PPP, a private company, to eventually evolve to the JRSP Company, which will oversee all planning,

²¹⁷ Ibid., Part II.

²¹⁸ Ibid., Part IV.

²¹⁹ Ibid., Part I-3.

²²⁰ Ibid., Part I-3.

operations, and financial sponsorship of the JRSP.²²¹ The JRSP report then goes on to describe the governing structure working in tangent with the Jordanian Government, and plans for implementation.²²² In addition to setting up this financial institution, not only working in tangent with the government, yet setting up a financial basis, this report also outlines a plan to pass a JRSP Law in Jordan by 2012 to ensure the functioning of this private company within their nation.²²³ This plan entails the creation of a financial institution privatizing the efforts speaks to motives of the creation of the JRSP. The economic impacts are incalculable, as this would be a new and potentially economically prosperous addition to the Jordanian Government.

One last political economic theme touched on by the JRSP report is the stated financial impact of the plan. The movements of the Jordanian Government and the JRSP Company, once established, include accumulating funding for the building and sustainability of the JRSP project. Financially, the outlined plan is a projected 30-year endeavor, to establish funding for not only the project, but create revenue streams for the JRSP Company and allow for investment.²²⁴ There are numerous donors and details pertaining to specific type of stakeholders to be involved in the initial implementation of the JRSP.²²⁵ Paralleling donor tracking, this report also outlines the objective of JRSP economic development to include “exclusive development and revenue rights”.²²⁶

²²¹ Ibid., Part I-3.

²²² Ibid., Part III.

²²³ Ibid., Part I-3.

²²⁴ Ibid., Part I-4.

²²⁵ Ibid., Part V-1.

²²⁶ Ibid., Part I-3.

While this merely outlines the plan of financing for the establishment and ultimate continuation of the JRSP, it is vital to understand the broader implications this could have within Jordan.

Chapter 6: Analysis

In analyzing the aforementioned reports, and the actors involved, I unpack evidence of environmental and political economic impacts of the proposed RSDSWC, and JRSP, to understand how power works within and throughout the project's implementation. The information I discovered relating to both environmental and political economic impacts follow themes throughout each of the reports. In following these themes, both throughout the individual reports and jointly, I work to understand the role of power within this project. By utilizing the 3-dimensional power lens, I unearth underlying intentions, latent conflict, and dispositional power present in the creation of the RSDSWC, and ultimately unearth compliance producing mechanisms being utilized for the establishment of hegemony.

Environmental Impacts

Throughout each of the four reports the ways in which environmental impacts are addressed differ in each report, pointing to vacillating interests and compliance producing mechanisms in this project. Each of the four reports, in descriptions of environmental impacts, has common themes, including:

- Presence of normative agreements through information present on environmental impacts, including the ranking of environmental impacts.
- Presence of latent conflict, mainly through overt concentration on impacts rather than mitigation efforts and the viability of the RSDSWC in comparison to other projects.

Below, I outline areas of how power works through each report to produce ideological hegemony within this development project.

Feasibility Study

Within the Feasibility Study, there are many points in which environmental impacts are addressed. Yet, each of these points is mentioned in a way that presupposed the RSDSWC would take effect. In looking at stakeholders and who would win and lose from these environmental impacts, it is clear that ultimately impacts to the Red Sea and Dead Sea will be large, thus causing concern for all Beneficiary Parties. Additionally, it is worth noting the local populations and their stake within these environmental impacts. From this report, the consultations that occurred did not directly touch on environmental impacts, thus posing potential negative impacts to the local populations who were not heavily consulted.

The Feasibility Study, including environmental impact data from other sources, genuinely seems to assess impacts clearly from a scientific lens. Yet the way in which this data is present poses an interesting note, as much of the data is coupled with talks of economic vitality and effects on social factors within each Beneficiary country, mainly that of the tourism industry. As in Section 23, significance of impacts are considered, yet an impact may only be ranked at the major significance if it effects the project so much that the RSDSWC would have to be shut down.²²⁷ This alludes to the potential that the stakeholders creating this report, the World Bank and contracted agencies, will only consider environmental impacts under project hindering circumstances, and thus

²²⁷ Coyne et, Bellier, 2011, *Red Sea-Dead Sea Draft Final Feasibility Study Main Report*, Section 23.0.

not take into large consideration minor environmental impacts when constructing the project. This covert interest is again exemplified in the same section when ranking environmental impacts that would affect human lives at “Minor” significance, while effects to visuals impacts to areas in Israel rank at “Moderate” significance.²²⁸ These differences in ranking speak to latent conflict in defining significance within these reports, highlighting a potential discrepancy in communication.

While this report does not follow the first few points of compliance producing mechanisms, it does highlight a potential for normative agreements. This report, in its placement of environmental impacts throughout the report, coupled with rankings of significance, implies the project’s evolution as a good aspect to society, and something that is already going to happen. These normative agreements utilized in the description of environmental impacts thus reinforce a ideological hegemony within this report, that this project will continue, even at the expenses outlined.

Environmental and Social Assessment

The stated environmental impacts with the Environmental and Social Assessment outline similar concerns as those stated within the Feasibility Study, as they are reflective of the same report. Yet, the ways in which these are framed vary heavily from that of the other studies. Firstly, the presence of this report speaks to the overt intentions of the creators of this report to concentrate on environmental impacts and research their significance. Whether or not there will be follow through in the creation of RSDSWC, this report signifies the concerns of major stakeholders to take into

²²⁸ Ibid., 23.6.

consideration the impacts it will have within the environment. This concentration could also portray a normative agreement, as it assumes the implementation of the RSDSWC and merely agrees on the ways to address environmental impacts.

When delving into the specifics of environmental impacts addressed, this report exemplifies similar characteristics to how they are portrayed in the Feasibility Study. Each of the environmental impacts stated do not rank above “Moderate” in significance, major hazards not ranking as “Major” after mitigation efforts. Stressing that none of the environmental impacts will be enough to halt the progression of the project, this report is implicit in the continuation of the RSDSWC. This action is a clear example of normative agreements adding to an enigmatic ideological hegemony attempted to be created throughout these reports. In addition, the presence of testing alternatives, having restoration of the Jordan Aquifer ranked as the only “Positive” significance, points to a potential covert intention of the project in establishing further trans-national collaboration.

SoA

The environmental impacts throughout the SoA are similar to impacts exposed throughout the Environmental and Social Assessment report. Yet, the presentation of the alternatives poses a unique lens into the intentions of stakeholders in the evolution of the RSDSWC. Alternatives for desalination plants and water transfer methods, spanning across varying transboundary relationships, are dissected, yet much of the impacts are only briefly mentioned. Transboundary water transfer methods, including Mediterranean Sea Dead Sea Conveyance and land pipelines from Turkey, are only briefly mentioned in environmental impact, mainly touching on effects to potable

ground water. The lack of focus seems to reveal the focus of the true viability of the RSDSWC, implying the reasonable nature and environmentally sound aspects of the project's implementation, a normative agreement.

Additionally the outline of impacts on larger comparisons, and lack of major significances, speaks to the expectation of the effectiveness of the mitigation system. While the environmental impacts are addressed, the aspect that this report accounts for planned mitigation systems for all alternatives implicitly states a yearn of the project to continue in an any capacity. This then begs the question of a the purpose of urgency in creating the report, and agency behind the cooperation mechanisms need to be in placed between the three main beneficiary parties.

JRSP

As stated in the overview of the environmental impacts, the JRSP Report includes little to no information on the environmental impacts of the project. This plan, shifting from the World Bank's motives in the creation of a collaborative RSDSWC plan, would involve more development, and hypothetically more environmental impact through industrialized development. Thus, it is curious as to the omission of these impacts. While there may not have been studies conducted, the fact that there are detailed plans for water infrastructure, energy implementation, and new cities and no research on environmental impacts, except for the projected increase in potable water and energy, alludes to the intentions of the Jordanian Government in creation of this project.

Political Economy Impacts

In analyzing the four reports for the presence of political economy impacts, it is clear the inherent perpetuation of compliance producing mechanisms. Main themes of 3-dimensional power working throughout these impacts include:

- Perpetuated normative agreements upholding ideological hegemony of Western style development from concentration on financial impact of the project and the projected financial gain from “peace”.
- Latent conflict between the public and main stakeholders (both beneficiary parties and multilateral aid agencies) on issues of water allocation and displacement concerns.
- Presence of the JRSP.

As in the environmental impacts, I outline how power is working through each report and insight into greater understanding of ideological hegemony within the RSDSWC.

Feasibility Study

The various parts of the Feasibility Study that touch on impacts to the political economy outline similar points of inquiry as mentioned above in the environmental impact analysis. Many of the points stressed in regards to economic function of this project couple with potential negative impacts, both environmental and social, and stress and underlying urgency to complete the RSDSWC. In Section 7, this is highlighted by the report including a section entitled “Forgone Opportunities”, in which opportunities missed from going with the No Action alternative are stated, including a stated loss in momentum for development. These interests, explicitly and implicitly, stated in this report, highlight motives of development and urgency of the stakeholder’s.

These covert and overt interests of the stakeholders creating this report are continually stressed throughout the rest of the Feasibility Report in regards to economic and political impacts. In addressing potable water economic impact and allocation, this report implicitly favors the nation of Israel, as even though it is documented the Israel beneficiary party did not want allocation of potable water. This stands in stark contrast to the researched need of potable water in Jordan, and the necessity of negotiations between beneficiary parties for potable water to the PA. This exemplifies relationships between the three beneficiary parties, yet also attitudes towards sustaining these relations through the creation of the RSDSWC. The concentration on uplifting Israel also continues into Section 23, where visual impacts created by construction of the RSDSWC are ranked higher in significance than human impact in Jordan and displacement in the PA.²²⁹ The concentration on the state of Israel thus stresses potential underlying interests of the stakeholders of this report and inclusion of such information.

In regards to political impacts, this report outlines clearly the financial impact to be covered by other international stakeholders, and structure for continuance of the project. Within the outline of finances, it is notable the inclusion of financial gain due to peaceful relation of the RSDSWC, and the economic prosperity it could provide to the project. The fact that this report provides a price to peace relations implies the intentions of the World Bank and contractors to stress the overall financial gain this project would provide. Additionally, by including two sections focusing on peace that the RSDSWC would bring and a governing structure to ensure sustainability of peaceful

²²⁹ Coyne et, Bellier, 2011, Red Sea-Dead Sea Draft Final Feasibility Study Main Report, Section 23.0.

relations, this report explicitly points to the goals of collaboration between the three beneficiary parties. Yet, in including comparisons to Western style governmental structures, and calculation of peace as a financial gain, rather than conducting conversations with the public regarding their thoughts on the peace process, the Feasibility Report highlights an explicit political and economic expectation with the creation of the RSDSWC. Also contradicting the stated interests of stakeholders, this report exemplifies usage of dispositional power and ultimately the establishment of normative agreements. The presence of latent conflict contradicting motives contributes to larger components of ideological hegemony within the establishment of this project.

Environmental and Social Assessment

This Environmental and Social Assessment touches on a host of aspects in addressing impacts by the RSDSWC on political economy. In regards to stakeholders, this report in including a process for public consultations to hear out grievances, and to solidify results, highlights inclusions of a stakeholder left out in the Feasibility Study. Coupling enhanced consultation with the beneficiary parties, this inclusion of the general public in the report speaks to the recognition by the World Bank of this body of stakeholders in the creation of this project, even if only including them in certain aspects of the project. In addition, this assessment in including recognition of potential displacement and resettlement, including mitigation efforts to ensure there is provisions for those displaced, again stresses the recognition of the general public as a stakeholder within this project.

Although equating the general public as stakeholders to the conversation about the implementation of RSDSWC or alternatives, this assessment reinforces many of the

overt interests expressed in the Feasibility Study, being the driving factor of economic prosperity. Detailing the positive economic impacts to come from this project, including projects from the IMF, this report reinforces the concentration on the positive economic impacts for each of the beneficiary parties. Additionally, in focusing on the positive financial impacts, this assessment reinforces the expectation of the RSDSWC to provide development to the region, as stressed throughout the development of tourism. These overt expectations of development, combined with the concentration on a new stakeholders highlight latent conflict, as the expectations for the project differ from the real interests of the populations interviewed. Although both agree on the necessity to augment potable water to the region, in regards to economic development, there are disconnects in concerns, unearthing latent conflict between the World Bank and that of the general public.

SoA

As outlined in the overview of the report, the impacts addressed in the SoA that touch on the field of political economy include aspects of alternative projects. The social aspects of each of these alternatives are ranked according to significance, the significance ranking being the same procedure of the environmental impacts. Yet, many of the rankings do not rank above moderate significance in regards to social significance. These rankings, when combined with disregarding of the feasibility of alternative project proposals that include establishing new political relations, depicts an implicit expectation of the RSDSWC to continue, even with modification and mitigation efforts. Erring on establishing normative agreements, with latent conflict of

intentions, these broader aspects outline a potential for greater establishment of ideological hegemony.

One aspect of this study that is impactful is that of the stressed continuation of the Panel of Experts and emphasis on collaboration. This study stresses the need for each beneficiary party to express their own motivations for the project, yet also commit to sustainability of the project, stating the inherent yearn for this project to move forward. Yet, this study, in promoting a Panel of Experts, is also interesting, as its stated purpose would be in good practices with international good practices. This explicit statement to stay within the confines of international law points to the presence of the stakeholder of the World Bank in the creation of this report, and the expectations fusing into the creation. Thus, in addition to other components of the report, we must take into heavy consideration the motives of the World Bank and contracting agencies within this report, including their intentions of development within the RSDSWC, and utilization of normative agreements to produce ideological hegemony.

JRSP

Unlike environmental impacts, the JRSP report outlines a host of impacts of the JRSP to the political economy of Jordan and the surrounding countries. Yet, before delving into the specifics, it is worth a note of the presence of this report. Since the World Bank or other beneficiary parties did not sanction this report, it is interesting the movement of Jordan to deviate from the collaborative RSDSWC project in the middle of feasibility studies and the creation of the logistics and create their own project. While researchers in the field state that Jordan had dealt with the majority of mediation

concerns that have arisen from the creation of the RSDSWC,²³⁰ the movements to create their own project speak volumes to the intentions of the Government of Jordan for themselves as a nation, and potentially unmet intentions in the larger RSDSWC project.

Within the larger report, there are many aspects that help explain the potential intentions of Jordan as beneficiary party within the RSDSWC, and on a broader level within the region. The creation of large infrastructure, including new cities, tourism sites, along with development around the Red Sea and Amman, there are clear intentions of the Government of Jordan to develop their nation's infrastructure and economy if given the resources to do so (resources being water and electricity). Additionally, the creation of the establishment of their own financing plan, contradicting that of the involvement of the World Bank in controlling finances of the RSDSWC, speaks to the yearning of Jordan to control their own finances and prosper as individually. The latent conflict unearthed through the real intentions of Jordan in the JRSP report, contrasting to plans in the RSDSWC, speak to how components of the other three main reports are utilizing normative agreements to appeal to a large ideological hegemony established. In the case of the RSDSWC, the ideological hegemony is the fact that a water conveyance system is necessary within the modern age for the region, and the best practice possible would be the implementation of the RSDSWC.

²³⁰ Erika Weinthal. "The World Bank and Negotiating," *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*.

Beneficiary Parties

Paralleling the study of the reports of the RSDSWC, it is vital to understand the impact on the three beneficiary parties involved. Within each of these parties, I will outline the stakes each has within the political economy and environmental impacts, both stated in the report and through other primary sources. Each of these findings, while broad, provide context to the larger concerns of the implementation of the project.

Jordan

Within Jordan, there are multiplicities of stakes that this country holds in taking part in the RSDSWC. As shown throughout these four reports, the largest concern is that the pipeline will be running through Jordanian land. With the placement of the pipeline on Jordanian land, there are concerns regarding the construction of the pipeline, including environmental disruption, displacement and resettlement, and impacts to the ports along the Red Sea and Dead Sea.²³¹ As expressed throughout these reports, environmental concerns include issues such as gypsum blooms into Dead Sea after conveyance efforts, portable water desalination plants, and leakage of salinized water into groundwater.²³² Additionally, displacement and resettlement to local Jordanian populations within Jordan are coupled along with concerns surrounding the environmental and tourism industry impacts in the Red Sea and Dead Sea.²³³

²³¹ Environmental Resource Management (ERM), 2014, Red Sea- Dead Sea Environmental and Social Assessment. Coyne et, Bellier, 2011, Red Sea-Dead Sea Draft Final Feasibility Study Main Report, Section 23.

²³² Ibid. Ibid., Section 23.6.0.

²³³ Ibid.

Paralleling these broader stakes Jordan holds in up keeping the pipeline on Jordanian land, Jordan also holds a large financial stake within the implementation of the RSDSWC. As stated in the Feasibility Study and implicitly stated in the JRSP, Jordan has much to gain from the augmentation of freshwater resources this project could supply. As shown in the Jordanian Government's intentions of creating a corporation for profits off of further development of Jordan due to the RSDSWC, and the increase in potable water resources to be sold to neighboring countries, it is evident that Jordan would prosper greatly from the implementation of this project.²³⁴ Additionally, in the project price of units of water, it is evident that Jordan would benefit financially from the augmentation of the potable water produced from this pipeline.²³⁵

With these positive stakes in mind, it is also vital to understand the stakes that are more contentious that Jordan holds in participating in this project, that being mainly of political stakes. While there is a slew of historical analysis, hydro politics research, water rights analysis present addressing the relations of Jordan and its neighbors of Palestine and Israel, for the scope of this project, I will look at stakes stated in negotiations and reports of the Government of Jordan. With the presence of the JRSP, it is evident the interest of the Government of Jordan to take control of the political workings and sustainability of the RSDSWC. Yet, within the Feasibility Study, there is an interesting section outlining a proposed organizational framework for the RSDSWC between the three beneficiary parties. In the Feasibility Study Jordan is encouraged to

²³⁴ Government of Jordan, 2011, Jordan Red Sea Project, Part III.

²³⁵ Coyne et, Bellier, 2011, *Red Sea-Dead Sea Draft Final Feasibility Study Main Report*, Section 28.0.

collaborate with the other two beneficiary parties in the creation of the project, and work on governance strategies that include oversight of each body.²³⁶ While this recommendation highlights underlying motives of other stakeholders in the implementation of the RSDSWC, this part also outlines potential hindrances on Jordan's right over the project although it is on Jordanian land. Additionally, this report, as stated by the ToR, was not supposed to include political analysis or projections around the riparian rights of the beneficiary parties.²³⁷ Paralleling the wavering concern around government, Erika Weinthal points out that Jordan consistently plays the role of mediator between the other two beneficiary parties, spurring frustration during negotiations with the World Bank.²³⁸ The role of negotiation, along with the presumptions made regarding organizational structure, speaks to a large stake Jordan politically has in the implementation of the RSDSWC.

Israel

For Israel, there are many stakes within the implementation of the RSDSWC. One of the largest stakes Israel contains revolves around financial gains and impacts. As outlined in the reports, Israel could gain significant energy resources from this project, including potable water resources.²³⁹ Increases to GDP of Israel, including the possibility for development after the implementation of the RSDSWC, speak to a large financial stake Israel has within the RSDSWC project. Additionally, the potential reboot

²³⁶ Ibid., Section 29.0 and 31.0.

²³⁷ Erika Weinthal, "The World Bank and Negotiating the Red Sea and Dead Sea Water Conveyance Project," 64.

²³⁸ Ibid., 63.

²³⁹ Coyne et, Bellier, 2011, *Red Sea-Dead Sea Draft Final Feasibility Study Main Report*, Section 22.0.

to the tourism industry with the augmentation of water resources to the Dead Sea is a positive stake Israel holds.²⁴⁰

Another larger stake Israel has within the implementation of the RSDSWC is that of the declining usage and investment into the chemical industry without the RSDSWC. As stated in the Feasibility Study, there are numerous local ENGOs that would project the chemical industry declining if the Dead Sea continues to recede.²⁴¹ This could cause a large deficit in financial gain that would have been earned with the implementation of the RSDSWC. Thus, there are motives to continue the path of developing the RSDSWC in order to gain some stability in the industry.

One last overarching stake that Israel also has in the implementation of the RSDSWC includes that of political stakes. While not as large as Jordan, Israel and its involvement in the RSDSWC to sell potable water to Palestine, promotes an interesting political stake when agreeing to terms of the implementation.²⁴² This aspect of the RSDSWC, combined with Israel's past opportunities to create their own canal from the Mediterranean Sea inland, speak to the overall political leverage Israel comes into the project with.²⁴³ While these are broad points within the history of the political involvement of Israel within water projects and riparian rights with one or both of the other beneficiaries involved, it highlights a current stakes in project implementation.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., Section 5.

²⁴¹ Ibid., Section 5.

²⁴² Hussam Hussein, "Politics of the Dead Sea," 533.

²⁴³ Hussam Hussein, "Politics of the Dead Sea."

The PA

A majority of the stakes that the PA holds in taking part in the RSDSWC is stated within the report's findings. Many of these stakes revolve around resettlement concerns, environmental impacts, and financial gains. Additionally, there are stakes regarding the buying of potable water from Israel after desalination takes place, and the social and financial impact that might have within the PA.²⁴⁴ Another stake held by the PA throughout the consideration and implementation of RSDSWC is development potential among the tourism industry and economy.²⁴⁵ Many of these concerns and stakes regarding economic development of industries within the PA are outlined in the Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute's critique on the RSDSWC.²⁴⁶

Yet, as the Feasibility Study outlines, many of these benefits would be determined only by the implementation of the peace process and cooperation of all beneficiary parties.²⁴⁷ Thus, one of the largest stakes the PA has in the implementation of the RSDSWC is that of political configuration and stability. As stated in Chapter 1, the PA, after filing a grievance to the World Bank, was finally included in the continuation of programming of the RSDSWC after initially not being included in the process. This then poses concern with the continuation of the RSDSWC, seeing already disputes have arisen between the allocation of potable water to the PA, wording within

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 533-534.

²⁴⁵ Coyne et, Bellier, 2011, *Red Sea-Dead Sea Draft Final Feasibility Study Main Report*, Section 23.3-23.6.

²⁴⁶ Dr. Shaddad Attili, Dr. Jad Issac, Dr. Numan Kanafani, *The Red Sea-Dead Sea Water Conveyer: The Project, Assessments and Potential Benefits to Palestinian Authority*. Palestinian Authority: Palestine Economic Research Institute, March 2013.

²⁴⁷ Coyne et, Bellier, 2011, *Red Sea-Dead Sea Draft Final Feasibility Study Main Report*, Section 7.7.4.

the ToR, and tumultuous negotiations.²⁴⁸ Additionally, when considering the history of riparian rights of the PA, it is important to highlight this stake of the PA in the RSDSWC as not new, yet promising in collaboration with the two other beneficiary parties.

Overall Analysis

Throughout the consideration and analysis of each of the impacts through the four reports, it becomes clear the presence of a large body of latent conflict and ultimately promotion of ideological hegemony. The presence of such throughout the reports seems to be swayed toward the promotion of the World Bank's motives and inclusion in the creation of the reports. The compliance producing mechanisms used throughout these reports, in both environmental and political economy impacts reveal a greater concentration on international concerns of peace creation and economic benefit of the RSDSWC. With each of the above analyses, the numerous places of compliance producing mechanisms and latent conflict allude to the current political state of the RSDSWC project and the true motives behind its potential creation. As mentioned throughout the analysis above, the intentions, rather than the saving of the Dead Sea, seem more oriented toward development, mainly financial and tourism industry development. Additionally, the disconnect between the stated intentions of the beneficiary parties and that of the World Bank, and subsequently contracted services, highlights potential hegemonic powers, which revolve around the international community. These aspects, paralleling that of the presence of the JRSP Report, outline

²⁴⁸ Erika Weinthal, "The World Bank and Negotiating the Red Sea and Dead Sea Water Conveyance Project," 55-57.

differences in the intentions of the international aid community, mainly economic multilateral agencies, in comparison to that of beneficiary parties. Divides in intentions, latent conflict, and lack of collaboration present to this day, highlight aspects for the future of the RSDSWC.

In peering into these aspects of power working within the implementation of the RSDSWC, it becomes clear that this project follows closely global sustainable initiatives not unlike those described by McMichael. By focusing on commodification of peace relations, price of water per unit, and emphasis on peace relations, the ideological hegemony promoted throughout the implementation of this plan works to promote western style development steeped in sustainable themes. Through viewing how power works among the environmental and political economy impacts described, it becomes clear that large-scale development projects, such as the RSDSWC, are designed to reinforce inequitable and profit focused ideological hegemony of power of neoliberal development.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Water, a necessity within our everyday life, is surprisingly complex in its societal role. A now sought after token of life in many parts of the world, water is becoming more contentious than ever predicted. Throughout my research I explored the importance of water within the MENA region and how it translates to development projects within the neoliberal age. Specifically, I looked into the augmentation of potable water to the region, and the societal and political impacts there are behind the influx of resources.

In this report, I studied the RSDSWC as a large-scale development project, attempting to understand the future of this project for the political basis of the region and in the larger field of development. I utilized a 3-dimensional power lens to unearth ideological hegemony and latent conflict at play in four main reports concerning the RSDSWC, the Feasibility Study, Environmental and Social Assessment, the Study of Alternatives, and the Jordan Red Sea Program. In each of these reports, I sought environmental and political economic impacts, through both rhetoric and information present and absent from reports. These findings included similar impacts between reports, yet drastically different impacts for each of the beneficiary parties involved. From these findings, I then analyzed the presence of this information, its placement, corroborating with background information from stakeholders involved, to understand how power plays into the implementation of this project. Utilizing the 3-dimensional power lens, I unpacked the presence of latent conflict, conflict of interests, and compliance producing mechanisms used throughout this report, all reinforcing a larger ideological hegemony.

Through this analysis, finding a host of examples of latent conflict and compliance producing mechanisms, I unearthed a large presence of ideological hegemony within the creation of this project. These aspects then posed an understanding on how power can work within implementation of large-scale development projects to sustain ideological hegemony power aspects. The ideological power present throughout the four reports all pointed to international neoliberal development, with a westernized focus. Uplifting commodification of water and political motives over stated environmental concerns, the reports all lead to the RSDSWC being a large-scale development project perpetuating finance focused normalcies of development. More importantly, this study gives us insight into the future of large-scale development projects and ways in which multi-lateral aid power is perpetuated throughout impacts.

While this report is one example of many of large-scale development projects taking place internationally, my research sheds light onto how we can better understand development through a power lens. Through using a power dimensional lens on future reports, we could be able to understand better the manifestation of certain actions by stakeholders, and unpack the reasons underlying the creation of a project. Yet, there is more work to be done to further understand how a power analysis can work to unpack development projects in the neoliberal age and aid in understanding the future of development. My analysis of the RSDSWC is a microcosm effect of power application that will hopefully continue in assessing other large-scale development projects within the MENA region.

Appendix 1: Table of Reports

Name of Report	Official Title of Report	Date of Publication	Person(s)/Organization Who Commissioned	Person(s)/Organization Who Conducted	Additional Studies In Report
The Feasibility Study	Draft Final Feasibility Study Report: Main Report	April 2011	World Bank, Jordan, Israel, and the Palestinian Authority	Coyne et Bellier, Tractebel Engineering (Suez), KEMA	13 Appendices (found on The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan's Ministry of Water and Irrigation Website)
Environmental And Social Assessment	Red Sea-Dead Sea Water Conveyance Study Environmental and Social Assessment : Final Environmental and Social Assessment (ESA) Report	March 2014	The World Bank	ESA Study Consortium: Environment Resource Management (ERM), BRL Ingénierie, ECO Consult	N/A

Study of Alternatives (SoA)	Red Sea-Dead Sea Water Conveyance Study Program: Study of Alternatives <i>Final Report</i>	March 2014	The World Bank	Professor John Anthony Allan, Professor Abdallah I. Husein Malkawi, Professor Yacov Tsur	N/A
Jordan Red Sea Project (JRSP)	Jordan Red Sea Project: Project Summary	April 2011	Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan/Government of Jordan	Montgomery Watson Harza (MWH)	N/A

Table 1: “Appendix 1: Table of Reports”

This table details information about each of the reports used throughout this study. Each report’s information can be found in their official reports cited in the Bibliography.

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