



Strengthening Post-Conflict Peacebuilding through Natural Resource Management



Carl Bruch





Why consider natural resources?





Natural Resources Play a Role in Conflict...

- Over 300 armed conflicts have taken place in close to 150 locations across the globe since World War II
 - Vast majority being internal conflicts in developing countries
- Over the last 60 years, at least 40% of all intrastate conflicts have had a link to natural resources
 - Since 1990, at least 18 conflicts have been fueled by the exploitation of natural resources





... and in Conflict Recurrence

- Countries emerging from violent conflict face an estimated 44 percent chance of relapsing into conflict in the first five years of peace
- Natural resource-related conflicts are more than twice as likely to recur





**More effective
peacebuilding
approaches are
urgently needed**





Natural resources also play a central role in facilitating the transition to peace in post-conflict societies:



“Natural resource management, while never the sole determining factor between post-conflict success and failure, can make a serious positive contribution to maintaining peace and encouraging recovery and development in virtually all post-conflict contexts.”



Carolyn McAskie
Former UN Assistant Secretary-General for
Peacebuilding Support





Broad Range of Experiences

- Dozens of post-conflict countries
 - Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America
- Different resources
 - Land, high-value resources, water, agriculture, ...
- Different approaches
 - Legal reform, institutional development and capacity building, technical assistance, and infrastructure redevelopment
- Different institutions
 - UN bodies, World Bank, bilateral institutions, NGOs, etc.
- At different stages
 - Negotiating for peace; DDR; livelihoods; meeting essential human needs; addressing past injustices
- With varying results





What have we learned?





What have we learned?

We don't know! There is no comprehensive assessment of experiences to date.





Linkages between Natural Resources and Conflict

- **BEFORE:** Significant research on the environmental causes of conflict (Environmental Security, since the 1990s)
- **DURING:** As well as on the environmental consequences of war (since the Vietnam War)
- **AFTER:** But no established field of research or practice that addresses natural resources in post-conflict peacebuilding





Two Synergetic Projects

Strengthening Post-Conflict Peacebuilding through Natural Resource Management
(ELI, University of Tokyo, UNEP, IUCN)



Strengthening Post-Conflict Security and Diplomacy: Integrating Natural Resource Management and Infrastructure Redevelopment into U.S. and Japanese Peacebuilding Initiatives (ELI, GIF, CGP)





Overview

More than 100 case studies and analyses, drafted by more than 170 scholars and practitioners from more than 40 countries, and identifies approaches, factors influencing success, lessons learned, etc.





Geographic Scope



Asia: Aceh, Afghanistan, Cambodia, East Timor, Indus River (India and Pakistan), Iraq, Japan, Jordan River (Israel, Jordan, and Palestine), Kuwait, Lebanon, Nepal, Palestine, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Tajikistan



Africa: Algeria, Angola, Chad, DRC, Ivory Coast, Karamoja Cluster (Kenya, Uganda, and Ethiopia), Liberia, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan



Latin America: Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Peru



Europe: Post-World War II Europe, Kosovo, Bosnia, Former Yugoslavia, Caucasus (Armenia, Turkey, and Azerbaijan)





Experiences from Afghanistan



Poppies and the Resurgence of the Afghan Taliban

The “Janus” Nature of Opium **Poppy** – A View from the Field

Land Tenure Reform in Afghanistan

Snow Leopards and **Cadastrres**: Rare Sightings in Post-Conflict Afghanistan

Despite the Best Intentions? The Political Ecology of **Water** Resource Management in North Afghanistan

Water, Politics, and Reconstruction - Realities and Lessons Learned in Afghanistan

Strengthening Post-Conflict Peacebuilding through **Community Water Resource** Management: Case Studies from DRC, Afghanistan, and Liberia

Swords into Ploughshares? Access to Natural Resources and Securing **Agricultural Livelihoods** in Rural Afghanistan

Resolving Natural Resource Conflicts to Prevent a Return to War: The Case of High Pastures in Afghanistan

Post-Taliban **Governance** of Natural Resources in Afghanistan

The **Afghan Conservation Corps** – Community-Based Natural Resource Management and Employment Generation as Part of Post-Conflict Peacebuilding Efforts in Afghanistan

The Role of **Infrastructure** (Re)development in Land-Based Resource Access and Use in Afghanistan





How Can Natural Resources Affect Post-Conflict Peacebuilding?

- Negotiating Peace Agreements
- Peacekeeping; Demobilization, Disarmament, and Reintegration (DDR); and Security Sector Reform (SSR)
- Restoring Livelihoods and Economic Development
- Improving Governance and the Rule of Law
- Providing Basic Services
- Supporting Human Settlements
- Encouraging Dialogue and Cooperation
- Natural resources as a tool and a context for peacebuilding





Scope of “Natural Resources”

- High-value resources
- Land
- Resources for livelihoods
- Water
- Conservation areas (inc. tourism)
- Illicit resources

... and the infrastructure and governance mechanisms needed to manage these resources

Also considering environmental remediation and restoration (pollution caused by bombing, depleted uranium, etc.)





Peace Agreements

- Natural resources can be a major sticking point in peace negotiations
 - land in El Salvador; oil and gas in Aceh
- Resources can also be a point of entry into the peace process
 - Jordan River and Gulf of Aqaba





Peace Agreements - Approaches

- Power and wealth sharing and distribution agreements (esp. for conflict resources)
- Access and use rights (e.g., for land and water)
- Allocation of ministries (e.g., Angola)
- Confidence-building projects, especially where there are shared interests (e.g., Peru-Ecuador peace park; combating pollution in the Gulf of Aqaba)
- Commissions
 - Pre-peace agreement commissions
 - Commissions created by peace agreement
 - May be temporary or permanent





Peace Agreements - Lessons

- Peace agreements rarely consider natural resources (often too controversial)
 - Less than 25% of peace agreements for conflicts with links to natural resources address natural resource management and governance
 - The long-term implications for conflict recurrence are as yet unknown
- Mediators need to ask the right questions about natural resources
- Negotiating parties need more information on the natural resource implications of bargaining positions





Natural Resources and Post-Conflict Security

- Especially important when natural resources played a role in conflict (e.g., in financing)
- Peacekeeping
 - Pre-deployment
 - Deployment (inc. resolving natural resource disputes)
- Demobilization, Disarmament, and Reintegration (DDR)
 - opportunities in agriculture, mining, and resource-related infrastructure
- Security Sector Reform (SSR)
 - Addressing prior improper exploitation of natural resources by the security sector (e.g., Liberia, DRC, Cambodia, etc.)
 - Monitoring and controlling natural resources





Security - Lessons



- A more consistent approach needs to be taken to managing conflict resources
 - Often lack a mandate (not to mention personnel) to address natural resources as a security issue
- Peacekeepers
 - need to know whom to call to resolve disputes around natural resources (conflicts over natural resources do arise)
 - Should account for environmental impacts of their presence (reduce vulnerability of supply lines and improve relations with locals)
- Natural resources provide an important source of DDR support (agriculture, rangers, fisheries, forestry, mining, etc.)
- SSR needs to address natural resources more clearly





Livelihood and Economic Recovery

- Most conflicts occur in developing countries, where natural resources provide the backbone of the economy
- Natural resources (esp. land) often provide the basis for livelihoods





Livelihood and Economic Recovery - Data



- Top exports
 - **Afghanistan:** (1) fruits, (2) unspecified commodities, (3) fur skins, (4) gums and resins, (5) vegetables
 - **DRC:** (1) precious metals and stones, (2) ores, (3) wood, (4) base metals, (5) mineral fuels and oils
 - **Iraq:** (1) oils, (2) unspecified commodities, (3) aluminum, (4) copper, (5) miscellaneous chemical products
- Liberia
 - Percentage of GDP
 - At end of war (2003): **72% agriculture** (rubber, coffee, cocoa, rice, cassava (tapioca), palm oil, sugarcane, bananas; sheep, goats; timber), **11% industry** (rubber processing, palm oil processing, timber, diamonds)
 - 2007: 54% agriculture, 19% industry
 - Percentage of labor force: 70% in agriculture; 8% in industry





Livelihood and Economic Recovery – Approaches (1)

- Generally following some form of a Sustainable Livelihoods Approach, although not necessarily tailored to the post-conflict setting
- **PROCESS, PROCESS, PROCESS**
 - Who are the stakeholders? What are their livelihood objectives? What are their livelihood assets? Strategies? Outcomes?
 - Emphasis placed on households, but with ties to communities, regions, nation, etc.
 - Processes, Institutions, and Policies (governance)
 - Dynamic
 - Adaptable





Livelihood and Economic Recovery – Approaches (2)

- Clarifying ownership and use arrangements
 - Resolving disputes (e.g., over land, water, and pastorage in Afghanistan)
- Restoring the productive capacity of those resources
 - E.g., Afghan Conservation Corps
- Training and improved technology
 - E.g., working with agricultural extensions in Iraq
- (Regaining) control of conflict resources
 - Legal and illicit
- (Re-)building infrastructure
 - Water for irrigation; roads to get goods to market; power for industry
- Engaging with the private sector in-country and internationally
 - E.g., developing markets for Afghan olive oil





Livelihood and Economic Recovery – Lessons (1)

- Natural resources are frequently a central asset for post-conflict livelihood and economic recovery, but rarely programmed for explicitly
- Providing livelihoods may take precedence over sustainable or even legal use of natural resources
- Livelihood and Economic objectives may support one another ... or there may be tensions ... or both





Livelihood and Economic Recovery – Lessons (2)

- Agriculture is one of the most frequent and most important post-conflict livelihood options
 - Often entails addressing governance issues (e.g., land access or tenure)
- Importance of local ownership (hence the emphasis on process)
- Appropriateness of interventions
 - Mozambique “fishermen”





Governance and Rule of Law

- Governance problems – corruption, capture, etc. – often happen in the context of natural resources (and the revenues generated by natural resources)
- General objectives of improving governance and the rule of law, then ...
 - Need to consider the context (natural resources); and
 - Can be supported through efforts to improve governance of natural resources
- As such, natural resource management can provide an opportunity to build models of good governance
- Moreover, governance decisions will affect the natural resources that are important for many other aspects of peacebuilding (livelihoods, economic recovery, essential services, ...)





Governance and Rule of Law – Approaches (1)

- Fair and Effective Legal Framework
 - Substantive Law on Critical Resources (land, high-value resources, depending on the context)
- Accountability and Rule of Law
- Citizen Participation
 - In developing laws and regulations, implementation, and enforcement
 - Gender
- Culture of Lawfulness
- Policies/laws
- Institutional frameworks
- Capacity





Governance and Rule of Law – Approaches (2)

- Select Governance Issues
 - Managing rents and government revenues
 - Concession review
 - Transitional justice
 - Legal pluralism (the role of traditional norms and institutions)
 - National-local dynamics
 - Decentralization
 - Dispute resolution
 - balancing various rights
 - Tradition, Legitimacy, and Effectiveness
 - which laws and institutions to retain, which to amend and build upon, and which to reform wholesale





Basic Services

- The basic needs of a post-conflict population – water, energy, sanitation – depend on and may be constrained by available natural resources
- Peace dividends
- Confidence in government
- Security





Basic Services - Lessons

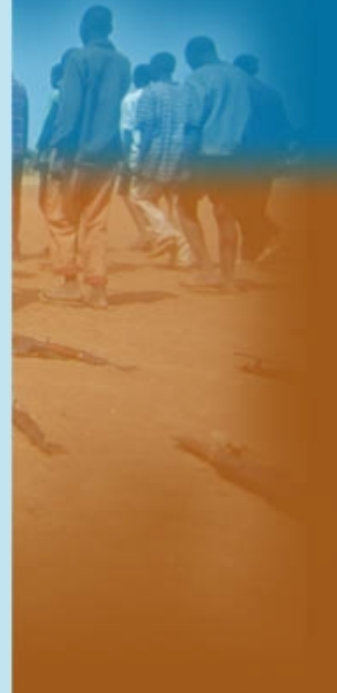
- Restoring basic services are one of the top peacebuilding priorities for local population and donor community
- Significant investment of time and financial resources
- Can benefit peace when done properly; and undermine peace when not
- Need:
 - Clear guidelines and procedures need to be developed for where, when, and how basic service infrastructure should be built or rebuilt
 - To account for supply as well as demand issues, investigating the "carrying capacity" of the resource base available to the community





Human Settlements

- Both temporary camps and longer settlements
- Siting
- Operation
 - Refugee, IDP, and other camps place an enormous stress on water and wood supplies, while creating tensions with local populations
 - Also, the aid economy can affect local prices for food and energy, decreasing what local people earn and depressing livelihoods
- Closure
- Return
- New settlements
 - Sometimes people cannot or should not return





Settlements - Lessons

- Decisions made during humanitarian response can establish longer-term settlement patterns (even if intended to be temporary)
 - Vulnerability of settlements to floods, etc.
 - Potential security implications
- Sourcing of materials
 - Constraints posed by availability of natural resources
- Role of neighboring communities and the relationship with them
 - Impacts on existing users of local natural resources





Dialogue and Cooperation

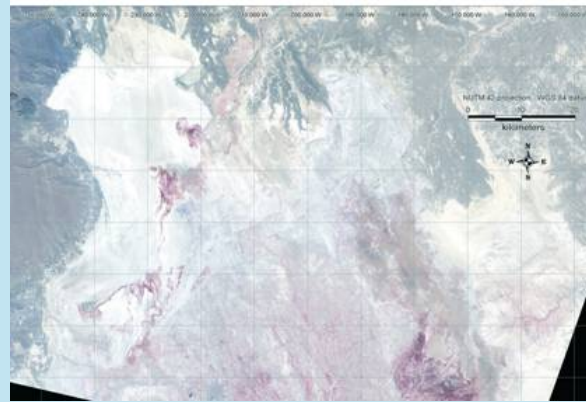
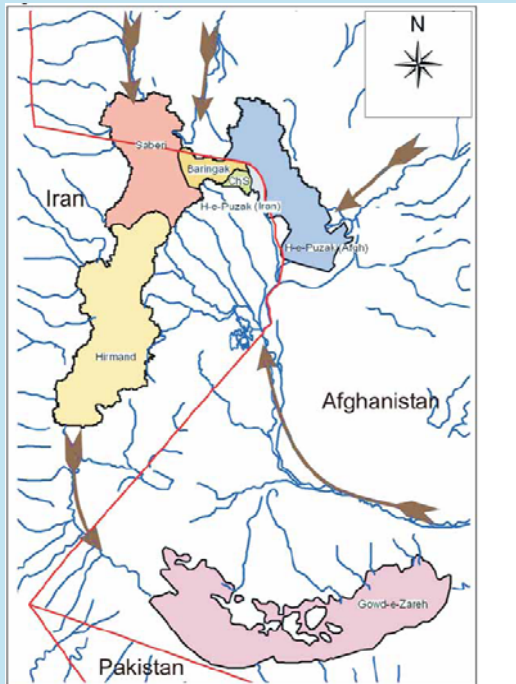
- Dialogue around natural resources can build confidence, lead to cooperation, and consolidate peace
 - Dialogue on status, needs, and opportunities related to natural resources of shared concern
- Joint planning and assessment processes
- Cooperative management of natural resources
 - Water (Jordan River; Gulf of Aqaba; Indus River)
 - Essential resources for industry (coal and steel in post-WWII Europe)
 - Protected Areas / Peace Parks (Peru-Ecuador)
- This confidence building can foster broader political and economic cooperation
 - Marshall Plan/ECSC/EEC/EU
 - Central America
 - viz Proposal for a Marshall Plan for Afghanistan





Dialogue and Cooperation

Cooperation between Afghanistan and Iran on transboundary water



(courtesy of UNEP)





Programming (1)

- Coordination
 - One of the greatest challenges
 - Promising approaches: Comprehensive Post-Conflict Needs Assessments, One-UN Movement, and Donor Conferences
- Prioritization and Sequencing
 - Prioritization of natural resource decisions vis-à-vis other post-conflict tasks; how to decide
- Public Engagement
 - Importance of the issue not always appreciated
 - Many approaches and options for timing
- Financing
 - Frequently a challenge
 - Options include dedicated NRM funding or earmarking a percentage of other programmatic funding to NRM





Programming (2)

- Measurement and Evaluation
 - Challenges in methodology and timing argue for qualitative approach, as well as quantitative
 - Also need to consider outcome-based methods of evaluation rather than relying solely on set indicators
- Capacity building
 - Creating a post-conflict government and populace that can manage its own natural resources in a productive and peaceful manner
 - Approaches for doing so affordably, sustainably, effectively, and efficiently
- Corruption
 - Links to transparency, accountability, and rule of law





Programming (3)

- Timeframe
 - Timeframe for post-conflict peacebuilding is both longer than many think (and want to think), and less certain
- Unintended Consequences
 - What have we learned about the unintended consequences of peacebuilding? What sort of consequences are they? When do they arise most often?
- Adaptive Programming
 - We used to think that we knew how to do peacebuilding
 - Even as we learn more, we are learning that we do not know everything and that we need to be humble
 - Approaches that worked in one place may not work in another
 - Need to take our best guess; monitor; evaluate; adjust; repeat





Key Findings

- [Analysis still in progress]
- Natural resources frequently affect whether and how key security, humanitarian, and development objectives are met
 - Both quick peace dividends, as well as longer benefits
- Natural resource management can change post-conflict outcomes
 - ***ECSC: A post-conflict plan to reshape management of key resources in Europe contributed to long-term peacebuilding.***
 - The longest time that Western Europe was without war for 1000 years.





Key Findings (2)

- Natural resources are both a context and a tool for peacebuilding
- They can also be more ...
- In any particular post-conflict setting, a single natural resource often affects multiple objectives
- As a particular resource may be relevant to multiple objectives (and programming often is stove-piped by objective), need to figure out how to coordinate programming





Key Findings (3)

- Need to more thoroughly understand the specific dynamics
- But already, we know much enough through this project about effective approaches, as well as frequent pitfalls, to develop more consistent and systematic approaches
- Approaches may be adapted, but local context always needs to be kept in mind





For more information ...



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COMMISSION ON ENVIRONMENTAL LAW



Project website: www.eli.org/Program_Areas/PCNRM

