

# Local Natural Resource Regimes in Conflict Contexts: Towards Multi-Scale Governance

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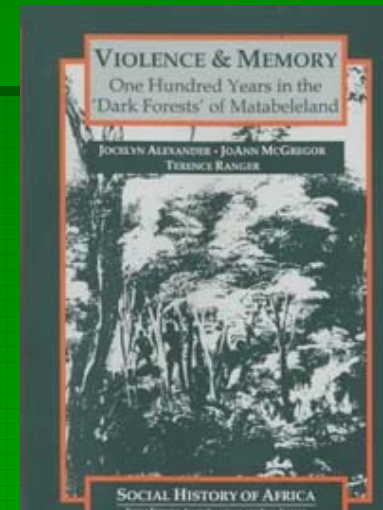
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Environmental Change and Security Program  
Thursday, February 28, 2008  
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.  
5th Floor Conference Room  
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

# Varied "Sites" of Conflict and Violence around Natural Resource Management

- Forests
- Wildlife
- Protected Areas
- Agriculture
- Marine Resources
- Minerals
- Fossil Fuels



# Violence and Deforestation or .....

- Forest violence and the defence of local communities can be associated with deforestation, as in conflicts in Brazil



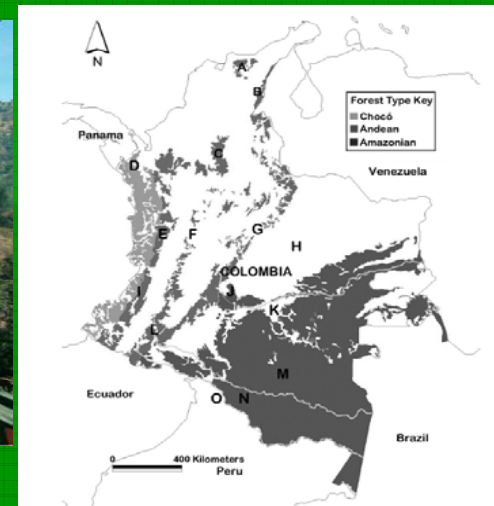
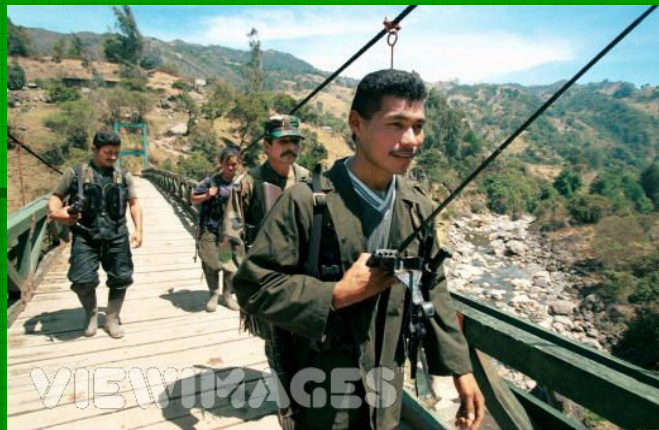
Chico Mendes 1944-1988



Sister Dorothy Stang 1931-2005

# Violence and forest conservation, as in Colombia

*Could peace be worse than war for Colombia's forests?*



Maria Alvarez. 2001. *The Environmentalist* PublisherSpringer Netherlands ISSN0251-1088 (Print) 1573-2991 (Online)

## Other sources of natural resource conflicts

- guerrilla wars
- drug cultivation
- flows of refugees
- insecure property rights
- Imposition of public protected areas over pre-existing customary rights

# The Most Intractable Sources of Natural Resource Violence: Armed Conflicts and Corruption

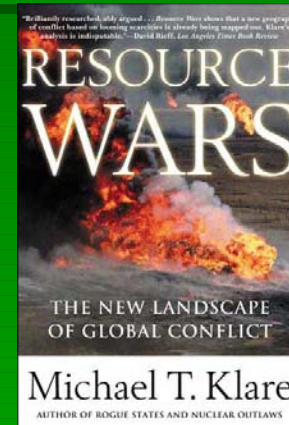
## Natural Resources and Armed Conflicts:

- Natural resources once a means of funding and waging armed conflict; but now armed conflict “increasingly becoming the means to individual commercial ends: gaining access to natural resources”
- Natural resources can increase the vulnerability of countries to armed conflict by diminishing capacity of governance institutions to peacefully resolve conflicts, the “resource curse”

- Phillipe Le Billon. Political Geography. (20) 2001.

# Scarce Resource Wars or Abundant Resource Wars ?

- Research suggests that low levels of violence (25-1,000 battle related deaths per year) have positive relationship with environmental degradation but not low levels of endowment.
- “while abundant renewable resource in otherwise poor countries and non-renewable resources in all countries increases the likelihood of armed conflict”



## A Typology of State and Substate Natural Resource Conflicts-Communities Normally Powerless Victims

Table I  
Relation between the nature/geography of a resource and type of conflict

	Point	Diffuse
Proximate	<i>State control/coup d'etat</i> Algeria (gas) Angola (oil) Chad (oil) Congo-Brazzaville (oil) Iraq-Iran (oil) Iraq-Kuwait (oil) Liberia (iron ore, rubber) Nicaragua (coffee) Rwanda (coffee) Sierra Leone (rutile)	<i>Rebellion/rioting</i> El Salvador (coffee) Guatemala (cropland) Israel-Palestine (freshwater) Mexico (cropland) Senegal-Mauritania (cropland)
Distant	<i>Secession</i> Angola/Cabinda (oil) Caucasus (oil) D.R. Congo (copper, cobalt, gold) Indonesia (oil, copper, gold) Morocco/Western Sahara (phosphate) Nigeria/Biafra (oil) Papua New Guinea/Bougainville (copper) Senegal/Casamance (marijuana) Sudan (oil)	<i>Warlordism</i> Afghanistan (opium) Angola (diamonds) Burma (opium, timber) Caucasus (drugs) Cambodia (gems, timber) Colombia (cocaine) D.R. Congo (diamonds, gold) Kurdistan (heroin) Lebanon (hash) Liberia (timber, diamonds, drugs) Peru (cocaine) Philippines (marijuana, timber) Sierra Leone (diamonds) Somalia (bananas, camels) Tadjikistan (drugs) Former Yugoslavia (marijuana, timber)



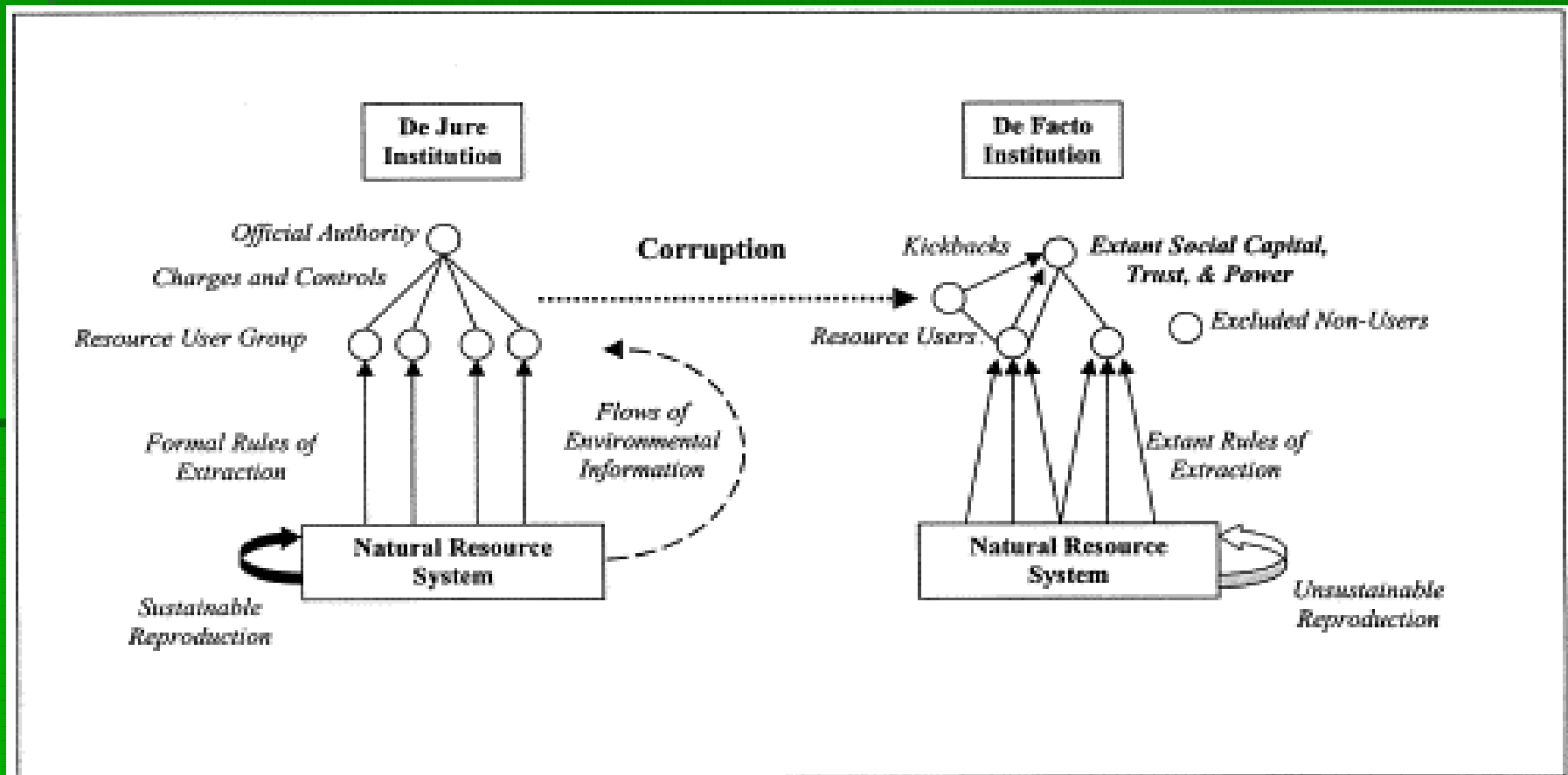
# Corruption and Natural Resource Management

- “corruption in natural resource management is defined as the use or overuse of community (state, village, city, etc) natural resources with the consent of a state agent by those not legally entitled” (Robbins, 2000)
- Corruption as “covert privatization”
- “corruption is quite often the predominant organized system governing the use of nature” (Robbins, 2000).
- Corruption can come from outside the community, where they are victimized by powerful outside forces
- Or it can come from inside the community, where local elites appropriate resources that may in principle belong to the entire community

- Corruption is the flip side of concerns for “good governance”
- Robbins critiques the “corruption as the weak state” school of thought
- Corruption is not the absence of state institutions, but the presence of differing institutions, which vie for legitimacy and trust amongs diverse players within both the state and civil society.
- Thus, while we frequently speak of institutions and social capital as positive things, both are present in “corrupt” practices.

“Corruption is the bending of explicitly equitable state institutions around structures of regional and local social capital to create unequal distributive outcomes” Robbins, 2000

- Fig. 1. Natural resource corruption as a function of social institutions and normative power.



# Conflicts over Protected Areas

- Parks in Congo Basin-estimates that they have displaced and impoverished 120-150,000 people. (Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau, 2006)
- On-going low level conflicts over resource use in protected areas by neighboring communities (“soft eviction” from traditional resource use)

# Can Local Governance or “Community-Based Conservation” mitigate natural resource conflicts?

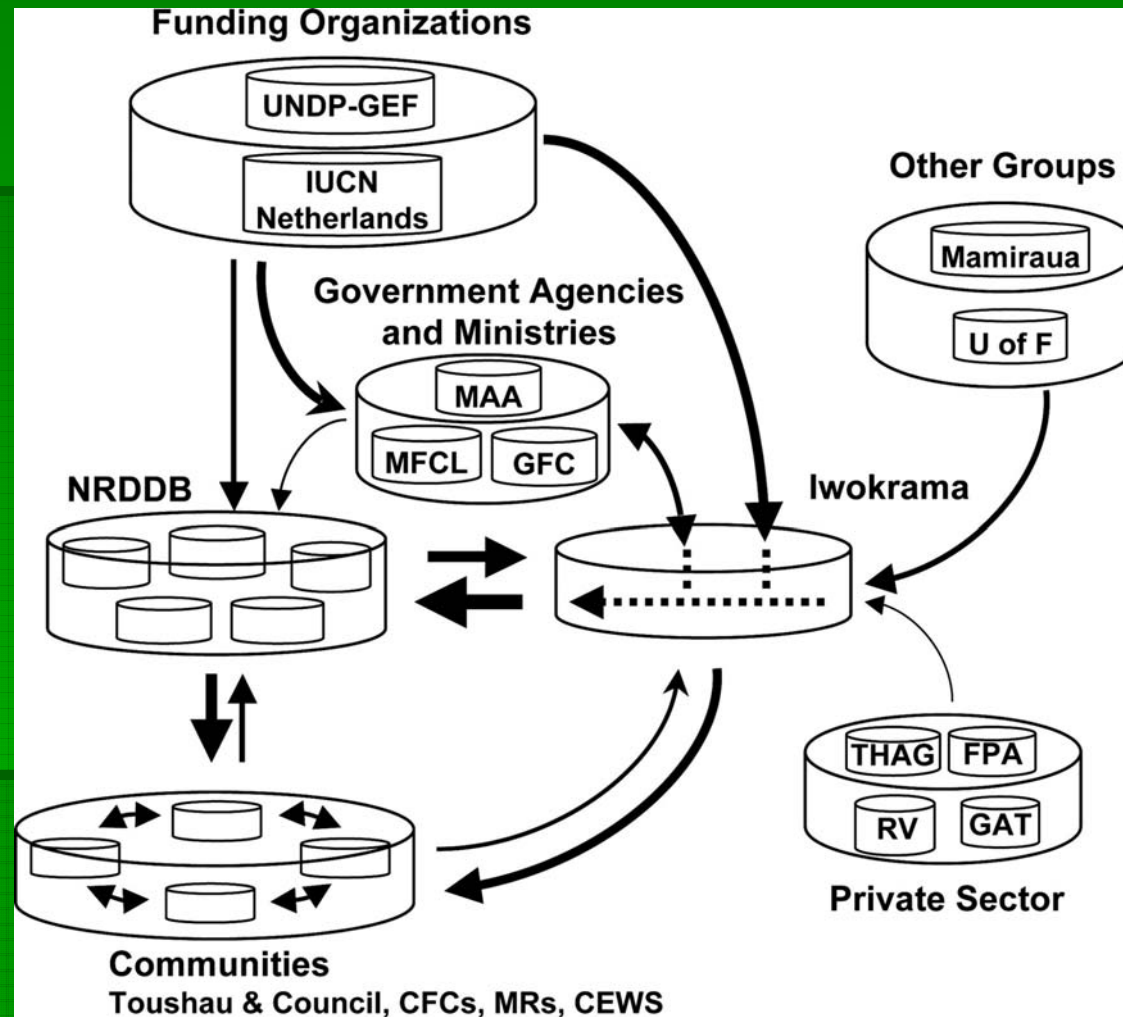
- No
- Not if community-based conservation means working only at the level of the community, which was the assumption of early concepts of CBC
- Communities are too small, too powerless, too poor, normally with deficiencies in human, social and financial capital to be able to relate equally with other actors in society.

# Local Governance as multi-scale governance

- Both community-based conservation and government top-down conservation are “panaceas” (a universal remedy). Neither one alone is sufficient. (Ostrom, Berkes)
- CBC as shorthand for multi-scale governance, by government at all levels and civil society at all levels, focused on supporting and empowering local institutional mechanisms for natural resource management (Berkes)



Fig. 1. Key institutional linkages facilitating the activities of the Arapaima conservation project, Guyana



Berkes, Fikret (2007) Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. USA 104, 15188-15193

# Civil Society Advocacy Campaigns

- Ethical and Green Business Advocacy Campaigns are Community-Oriented Conservation and Conflict Reduction
- Tiffany & Co announced a policy of “zero tolerance” for diamonds from conflict zones (brand value estimated at 77% of capitalization)



DIAMOND \$

NOTHING SAYS 'I LOVE YOU' LIKE A SUPERFICIAL AND OVERVALUED ROCK  
CLAWED FROM THE GUTS OF THE EARTH BY AFRICAN SLAVE LABOUR.

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**300,000 CARATS OF DIAMONDS  
ANNUALLY ARE MINED WITH SLAVE  
LABOR IN THE REBEL-HELD REGIONS  
IN IVORY COAST AND SOLD TO FUND  
VIOLENT CONFLICTS.**



## DIAMOND FACTS

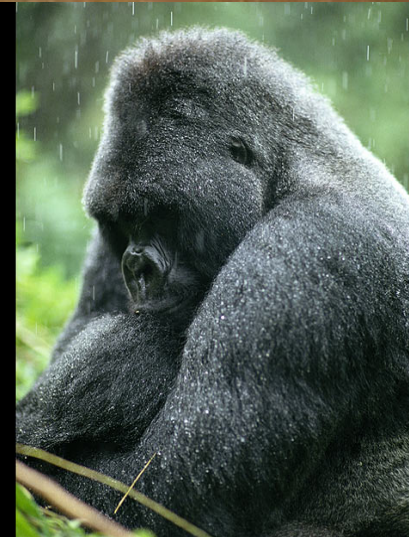
**The Real Diamond Facts**  
Most people are unaware of the role diamonds play in bringing tragedy and despair to countries around the world where diamonds are sourced. Nowhere is this more evident than in Africa. It is also in Africa that this same resource continues to be used to fund civil wars, terrorism and other human rights abuses. In 2002, a coalition of governments, non-governmental organizations and the diamond industry established the Kimberly Process Certification System, a UN-backed process that tries to address the narrow definition of "conflict diamonds." The Kimberly Process has glaring problems and does not address important human rights abuses including child labor, state sanctioned violence, environmental

## SPREAD THE WORD

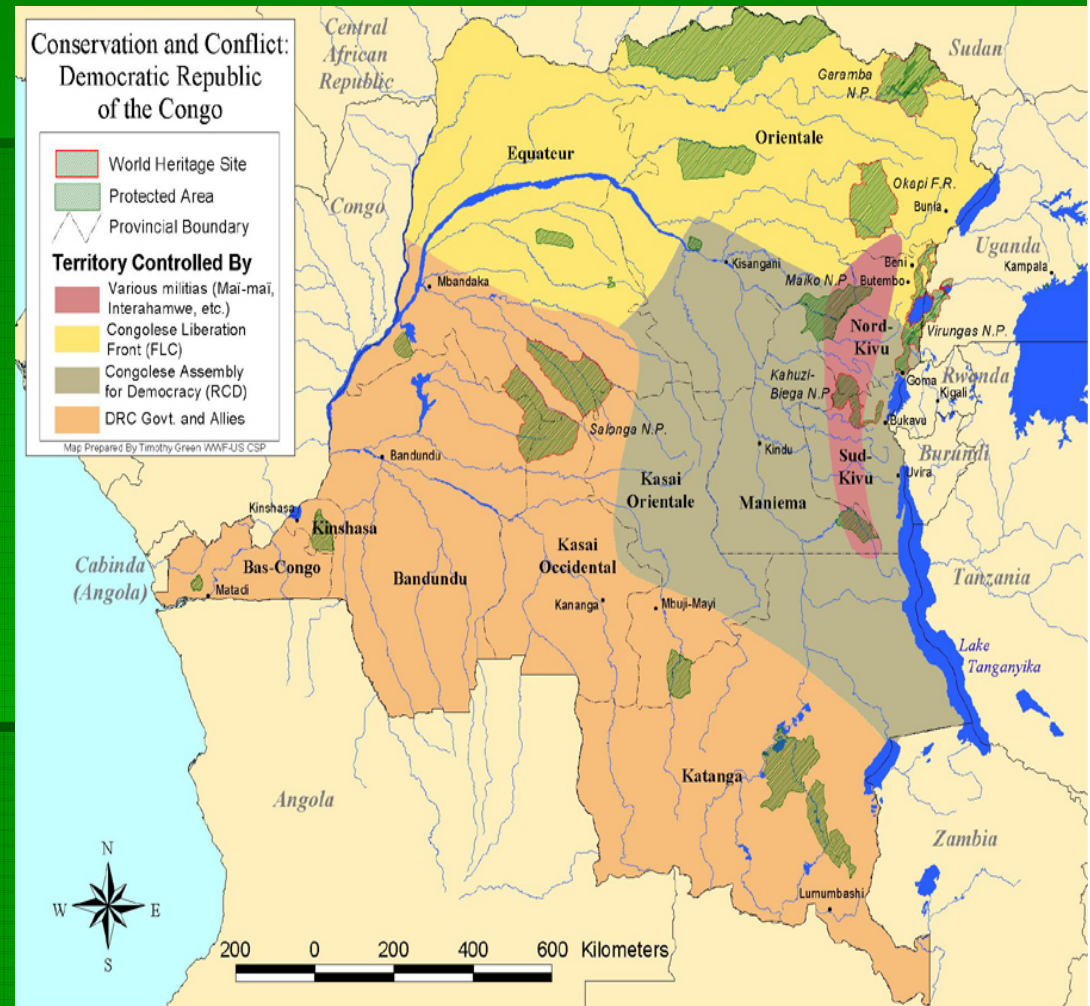
Make the choice to purchase socially responsible diamonds, and encourage others to do the same. Be a part of the solution, not the problem.



# Democratic Republic of the Congo: A Glimmer of Hope for Multi-Scale Governance?



- Institut Congolais pour la Conservation de la Nature (ICCN) with Flora and Fauna International (FFI)
- Developing first national-level community conservation strategy
- New protected areas legislation under development that recognizes rights of local communities, compensation for costs of conservation, etc



Liokatis, 2008, Oryx 42(1):13-18

- Mechanisms for engaging local communities in park management and reducing conflict in and around parks
- Bottom-up approach used where local communities living in vicinity of eight protected areas were consulted and requested to identify issues they felt needed to be addressed.
- ICCN pledged to increase percentage of revenue sharing benefitting local communities from 3 to 40%



# Lessons from the Mexican Experience

- Agrarian Reform Process and forest programs throughout 20<sup>th</sup> century devolved forest ownership to local communities.
- Based on secure access, emergence beginning in 1970s of “community forest enterprises”
- Still problems of corruption and violence in many communities, but hundreds are operating well.
- Study of two neighboring watersheds in Guerrero, one with forest-related violence (18 deaths) one peaceful (0 deaths) showed that investments in organizing forest communities resulted in increased benefits, reduced deforestation, and much less violence



# Thanks for your Attention!

