

Natural resources and conflict in Darfur

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Natural resources and conflict

“Darfur is also an environmental crisis -- a conflict that grew at least in part from desertification, ecological degradation and a scarcity of resources, foremost among them water.”

Ban Ki-Moon, September 2007

“Individuals who constitute the present military regime in Sudan are being indicted ... by the International Criminal Court, and the defense that they were reluctantly embroiled in a local conflict induced by climate change has little merit.”

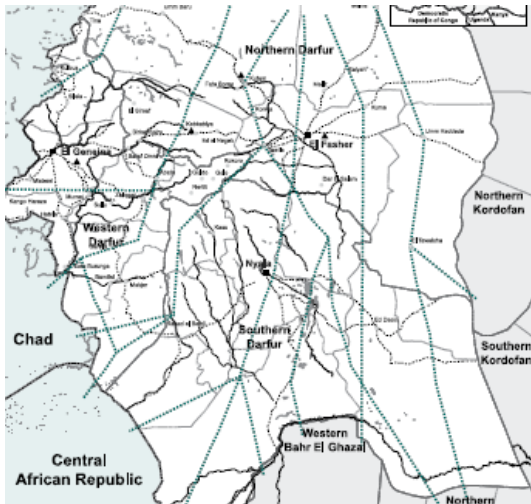
Kevane and Grey 2008:10, See also: Zeitoun and Mirumachi 2008, Verhoeven 2011, Selby and Hoffmann 2014

“there is a danger in the attempt to reduce the complex web of root causes to a single factor; namely, that of marginalisation”

Ahmed 2006:12; see also Azain Mohamed, 2009; El-Battahani 2009

ie the situation is more complex than Ban’s critics describe...

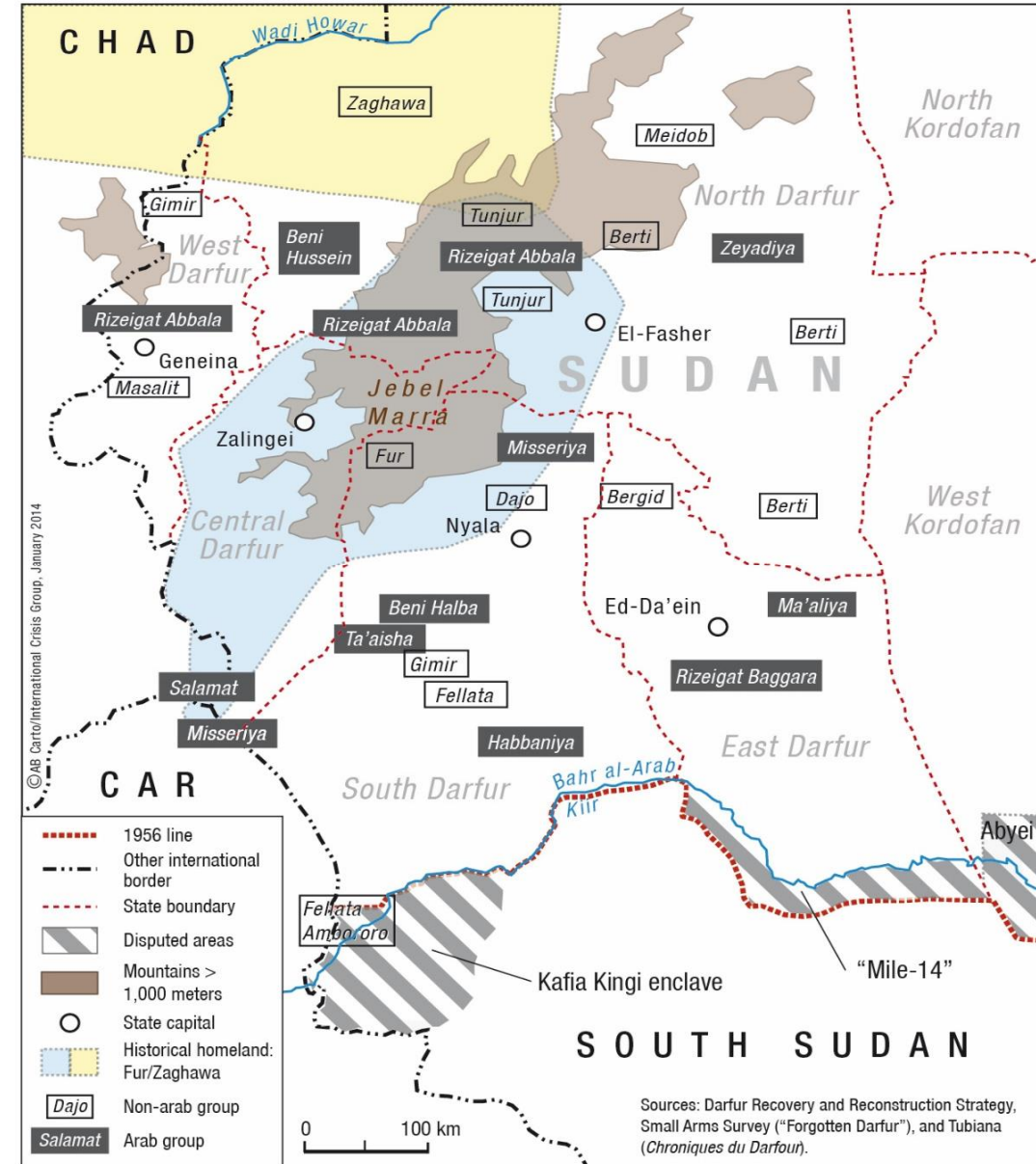
Darfur conflict



Source: Drilling Info International

Contested social, customary and formal institutions

- Fluid ethnic boundaries: Dor; Fur, Beni Halba.
- Hardening in conflict
- Historic Sultanates
- “Co-living is achieved by cooperation” but “Blood is compelling”.



Level of conflict/tension

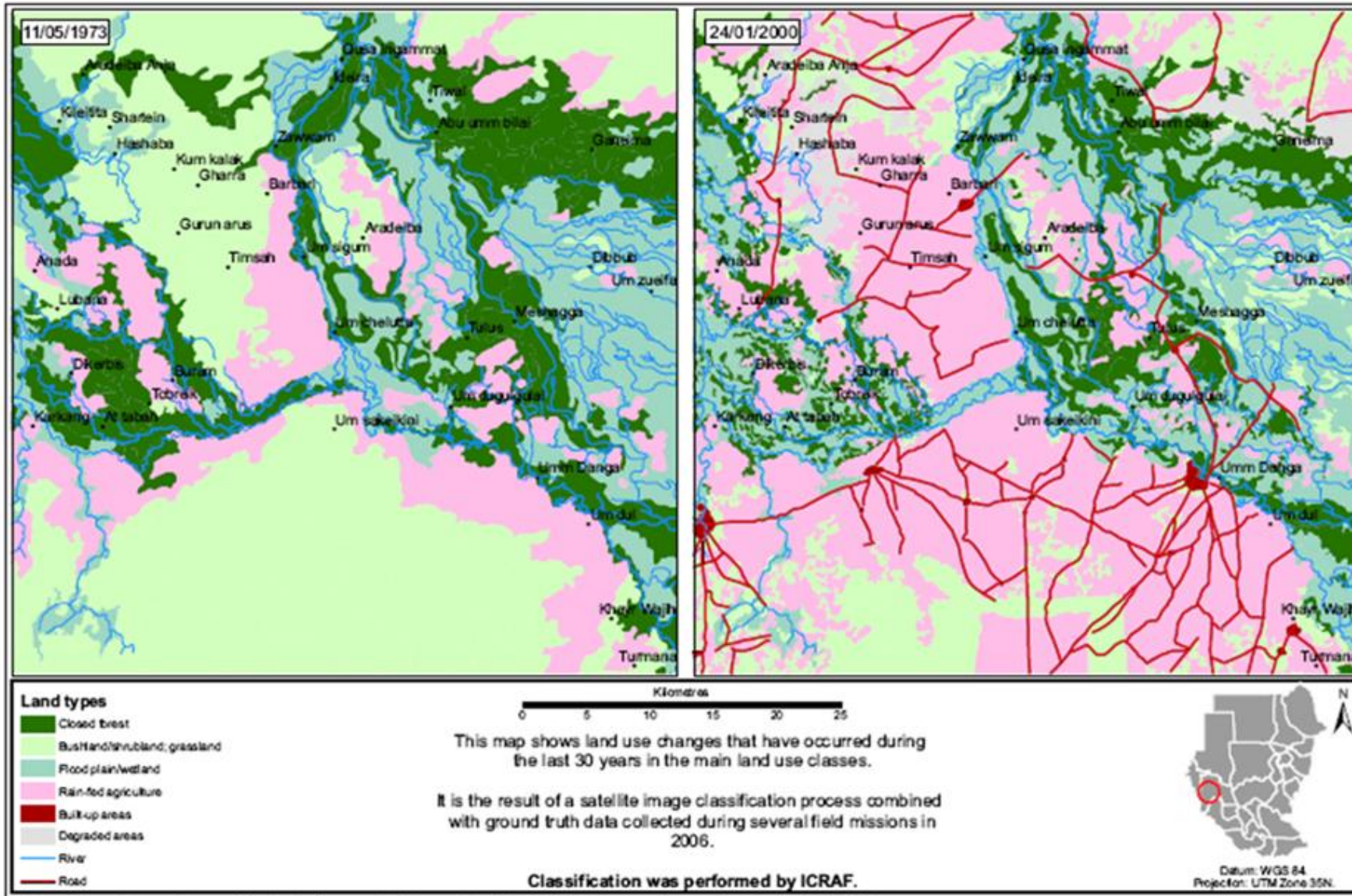
Actors - Issues

International	Global (F)	'International community' and access to finance Arab League and African Union politics
	Regional (E)	Chad, Libya, CAR – all with local tribal/ethnic dynamics that link with the Darfur conflict.
National	National contestation of the Sudanese State (D)	Rebel movements – unequal development and representation of Sudan's peripheries compared with the central area.
	Grievances over Darfur's marginalisation (C)	Rebel movements – Darfur's under-development and political marginalisation.
Local - Darfur region	Contesting Darfur (B)	Rebel movements / tribal militia – Identity and power
	Local (A)	Rebel movements / tribal militia – Land, natural resources and power

“Counter insurgency on the cheap”
Manipulation of a war, not just militia

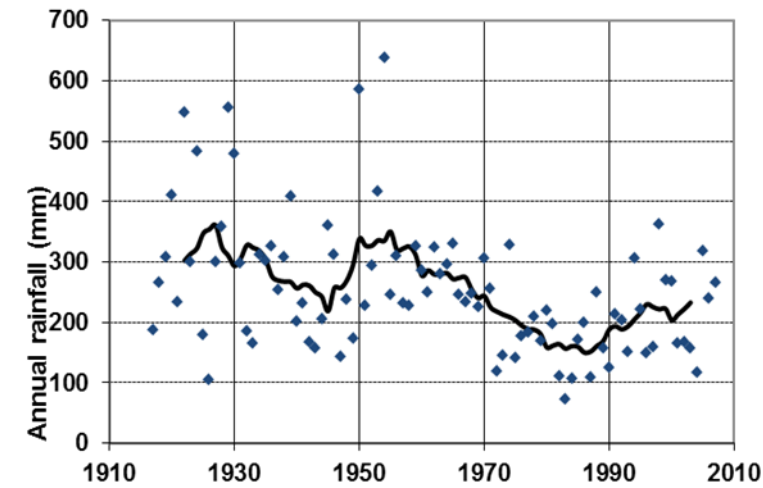
Sources: Bromwich (2018); El Batahani (2009); Young et al. (2005)

Conflict as a governance failure in the face of change



The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

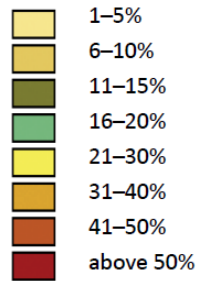
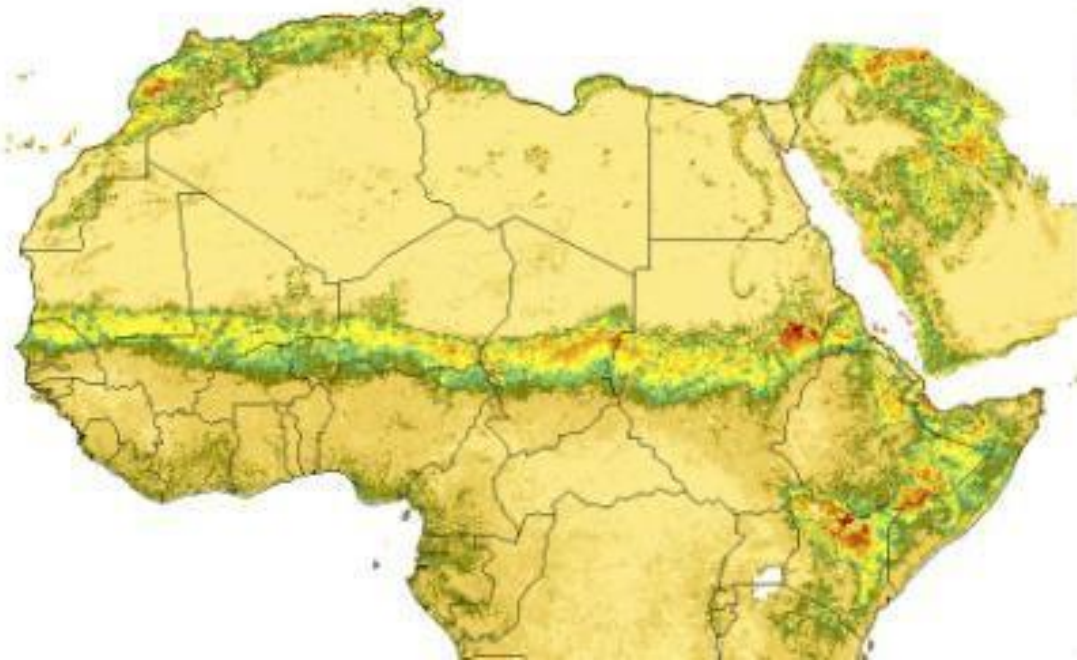
Year	Darfur Population
1956	1,080,000
1973	1,340,000
1983	3,500,000
1993	5,600,000
2003	6,480,000
2008	7,515,000



El Fasher Annual Rainfall

Source: UNEP Water resource management in humanitarian programming Darfur: The case for drought preparedness (2008)

Pastoralism and migration – a rational strategy in drylands



Variability of annual of maximum NDVI ¹.



Sahel Seasonality: NDVI ².

Sources

1. Tearfund (2007) in Bromwich (2015)

2. http://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/GlobalMaps/view.php?d1=MOD13A2_M_NDVI&eocn=home&eoci=globalmaps

Arab Fur War 1987-89

- Aftermath of drought – land use changes, displacement
- Nimeiri's failure, Gadaffi's opportunity

Fur:

- “began as an economic war but soon it assumed a genocidal course aiming at driving us out of our ancestral land in order to achieve certain political goals... At a later stage it aimed at the destruction of our economic base and the lifeline of our survival by making it impossible to practice agricultural activities by the constant and brutal attacks on farmer and farming communities . . . At the present time we are witnessing yet another and yet more sinister phase of this dirty war: the aim is a total holocaust and no less than the complete annihilation of the Fur people and all things Fur.”

Arab Alliance:

- “Our Arab tribe and the Fur coexisted peacefully throughout the known history of Darfur. However, the situation was destabilized towards the end of the seventies when the Fur raised a slogan which claimed that Darfur is for the Fur . . . Some Fur intellectuals in the Dar Fur Development Front have embraced the ‘Darfur for Fur’ slogan. The Arabs were depicted as foreigners who should be evicted from this area of Darfur . . . Ours is a legitimate self-defence and we shall continue defending our right of access to water and pasture.”

Echoes of the Fur Sultanate

- Darfur split in 1974 , 1995 and 2013
- DDPD:1 region; 5 states
- Sese – Dimingawi 2014
- DRA referendum 2016
- “If it was fair and they had given people a chance to vote for one unity, it would be as if the power of our grandfather had returned”.
Suad Fadil

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/07/princess-tea-darfur-khartoum-royal-family-fall-from-grace>

Arab Masaleet conflict -1995 ongoing

- Dar Masaleet is a frontier region that joined Sudan in 1922, The area received 200,000 refugees fleeing the Chadian civil war in the early 1970s and another large influx in the 1980s, including 100,000 in 1984 alone, this time fleeing drought in addition to conflict.
- 1995 reforms: 8 Emirs in addition to Fursha; change in electoral college - 50 villages destroyed in subsequent violence
- 1999 resurgence in violence; 2003-04 Massive displacement – 50 villages destroyed in Masterei area alone.
- In 2015, Abdal-Kareem and Abdul-Jalil record a focus group discussion with Masaleet, Fur, Daju and Barnu sheikhs in Dar Masaleet explaining that the “emergence of a strong trend among sedentary groups in Mornei to define themselves as zurga [blacks] was based on the need to defend their rights over their homelands as well as land ownership.”
- Masaleet informants explained that Arab herders justified their appropriation of land on the basis that “land in Darfur is owned by the government now, not by the tribes. And this is what the laws have clearly stated”.

Zaghawa

- “Since 1969 a combination of drought, desertification and economic change have transformed Zaghawa society...Most people left and many changed their way of life entirely. Before the 1960s few Zaghawa were found outside Dar Zaghawa...Immediately after the first of the recent droughts there were an estimated 250,000 Zaghawa of whom 150,000 were in Dar Zaghawa. From the census of 1983 we can estimate that 82,000 were remaining in Dar Zaghawa.”
- “The Zaghawa are prime losers if the rebellion fails – it is our land that is most affected by desertification” (Flint and De Waal 2008)

Drought and conflict – a polarised debate

- Straw men in the academic literature to disprove the drought links
- Important not to ascribe political agency to the weather
- But critics fail to consider:
 - Drought and land use change
 - Perception of environmental change
 - Opportunities afforded by climate shocks – Gadaffi's opportunism

Kevane and Grey (2008), Verhoeven (2011), Selby and Hoffmann (2014)
Bromwich (2018)

Instrumentalisation of the natural resources conflict narrative

- Autserre(2012): constructing a narrative of a conflict is a means of enabling or constraining policy options for those who would take action in response to the conflict.
- International backers of CPA – tribal conflict - 2003
- Ban June 2007 “A climate culprit in Darfur” ... fighting broke out when there was “no longer food and water enough for all’
- Ban September 2007 Appeals for engagement of tribal groups, regional leaders, civil society.
- Responds to SDC open letter chiding Ban for “dissipating pressure” on Khartoum
- So natural resource conflict framing is instrumentalised in peace-justice debate.

Some observations so far...

- Articulating the narrative of natural resources is itself a political act.
- Darfur, like many wars, is the conflation of a number of levels of conflict.
- Western analysis was weak – and often selective.
- Epistemological approaches:
 - Positivism
 - Soft social constructivism
 - Hard social constructivism
- Soft social constructivism, understands the world to be an objective reality “independent of our categorisation but knowledge of it is filtered through subjective conceptual systems and scientific methods that are socially conditioned” (Robins 2012).

Some environmental impacts of conflict

Feedback between conflict and natural resource use – influence goes both ways



Darfur's crisis construction boom (Geneina data)	Pre-conflict	2008
Rent (first class housing)	150-200 SDG	2000-3000 SDG
Number of bricks made (tax records).	9.0M	82.6M
Number Carpentry shops	65	120

- **Destitution**
 - Contraction in economy, so the market is crowded as many people search for new options
- **Distortion**
 - Massive urbanisation creating a huge market for timber
 - Darfur's economy has been transformed – livestock has diminished, property has soared
- **Deforestation**
 - Foresters displaced, loss of governance



Destitution, distortion and deforestation

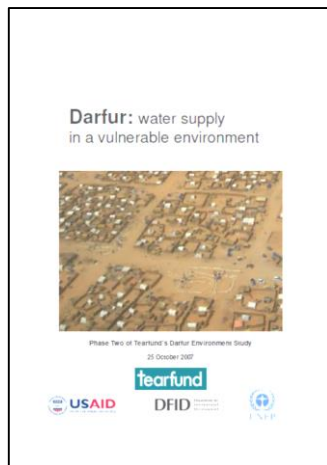
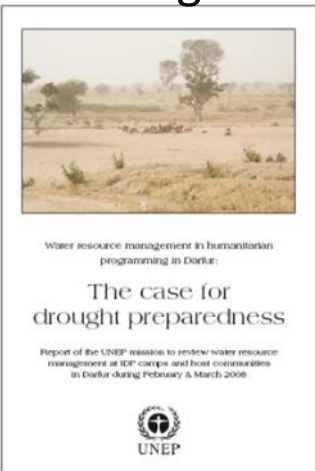
The impact of conflict on the timber and woodfuel trade in Darfur

November 2008

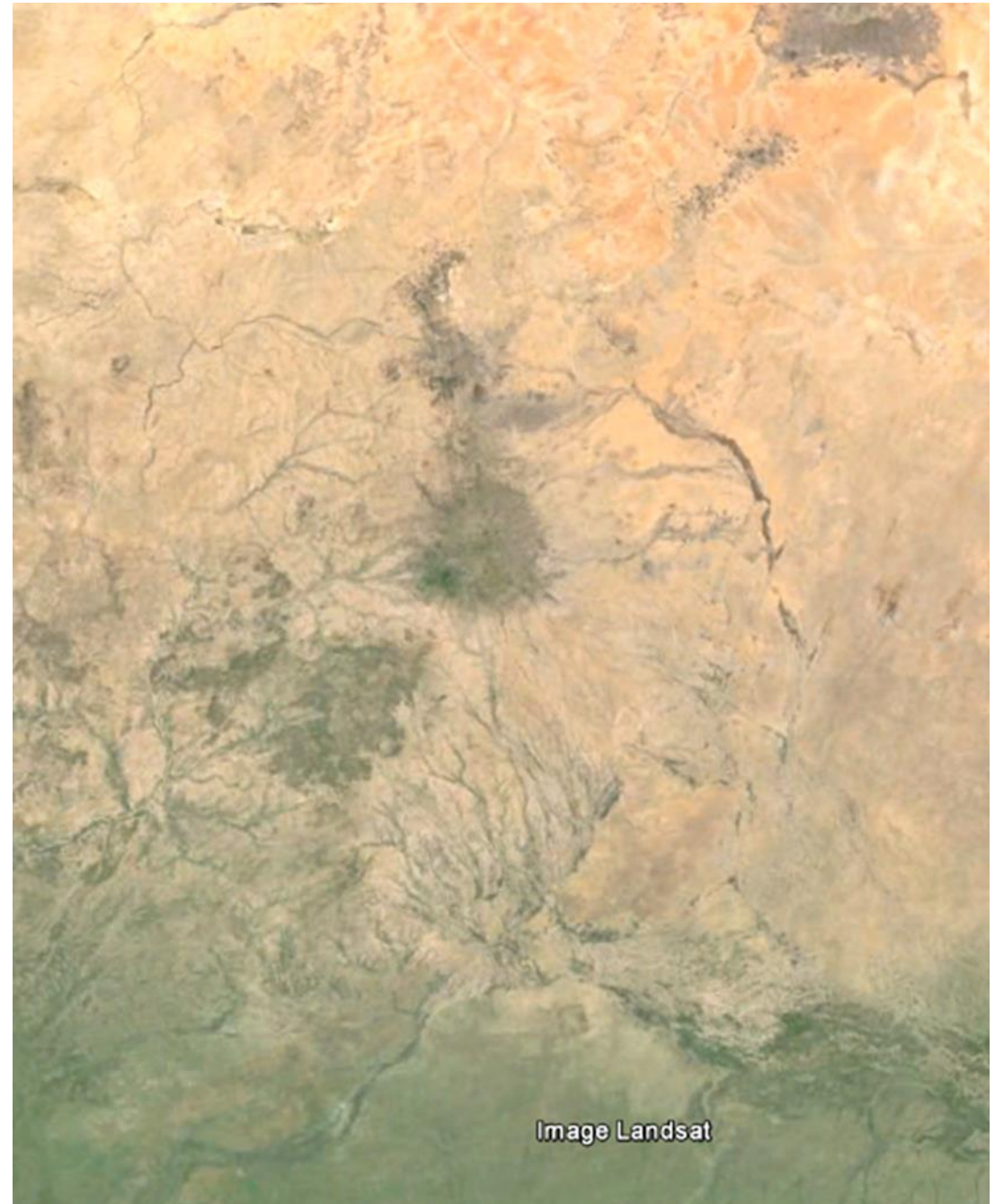
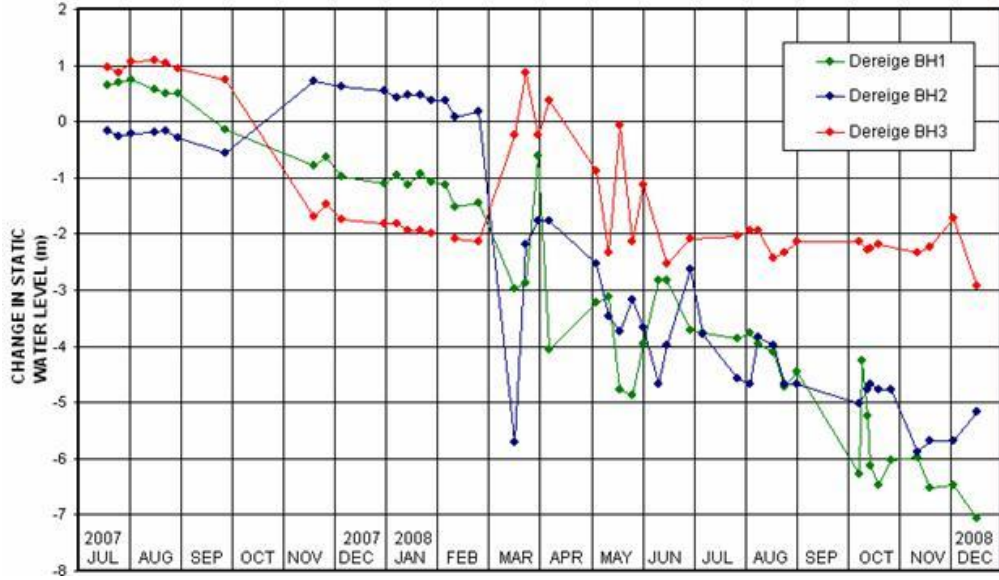


Abu Shouk and Al Salaam IDP Camps – a case study in unsustainability

- Approx 50% water used for resale, brickmaking and other livelihood uses
- Brickmaking also driving loss of forestry – and driven by the foreign aid programme
- 2 camps run dry
- No cost recovery
- Across Darfur 21 camps – 800,000 people at risk of failing water resources



Limited storage in aquifers eg. Dereig camp





Maladaptative livelihood choices amongst nomadic communities in conflict

Figure 7. Shift in Livelihood Strategies in Nur el Huda (near Gokal), West Darfur (Focus Group 3, 2 May 2008)

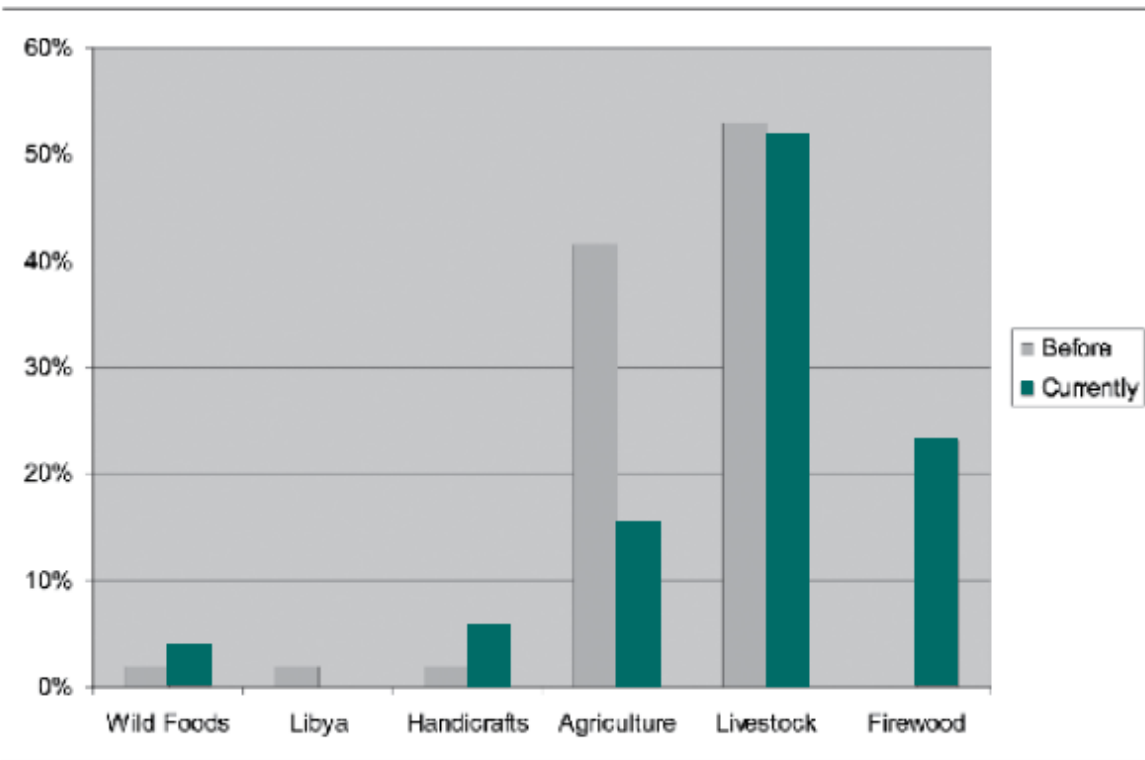
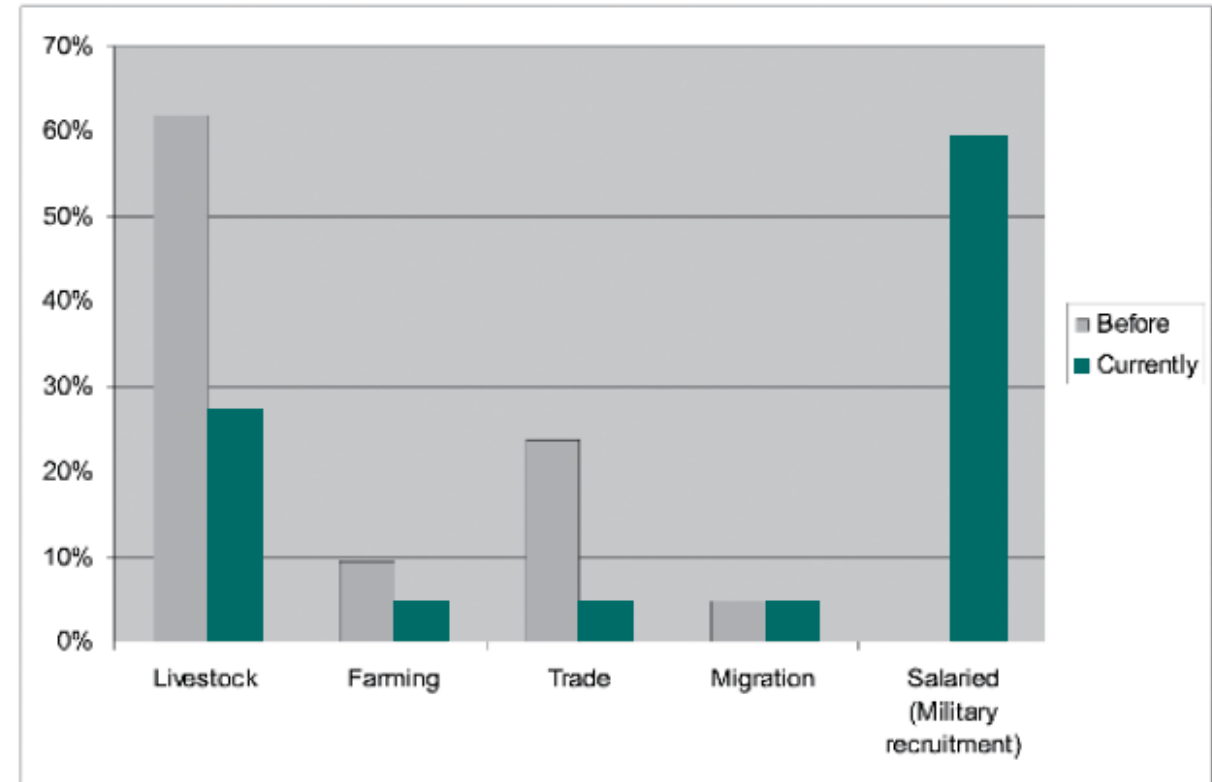


Figure 6. Shift in Livelihood Strategies of Mahamid Arab *Aballa* in Barka Alla, North of Kutum, North Darfur (Focus Group, 11 May 2008)



Environmental governance as a victim of conflict

- Accepted rules and norms of interaction over natural resources has been lost – a complete breakdown in terms of sustainability
- Rebuilding environmental governance is essential for peace, security, livelihoods, recovery, development and adaptation to climate change
- What sources can inform the development of environmental governance?
 - Traditional arrangements and customary law
 - Government and statutory law
 - Other Sahelian and marginal environments
 - Humanitarian governance structures
 - International environmental principles
 - Climate adaptation and conflict resolution contexts



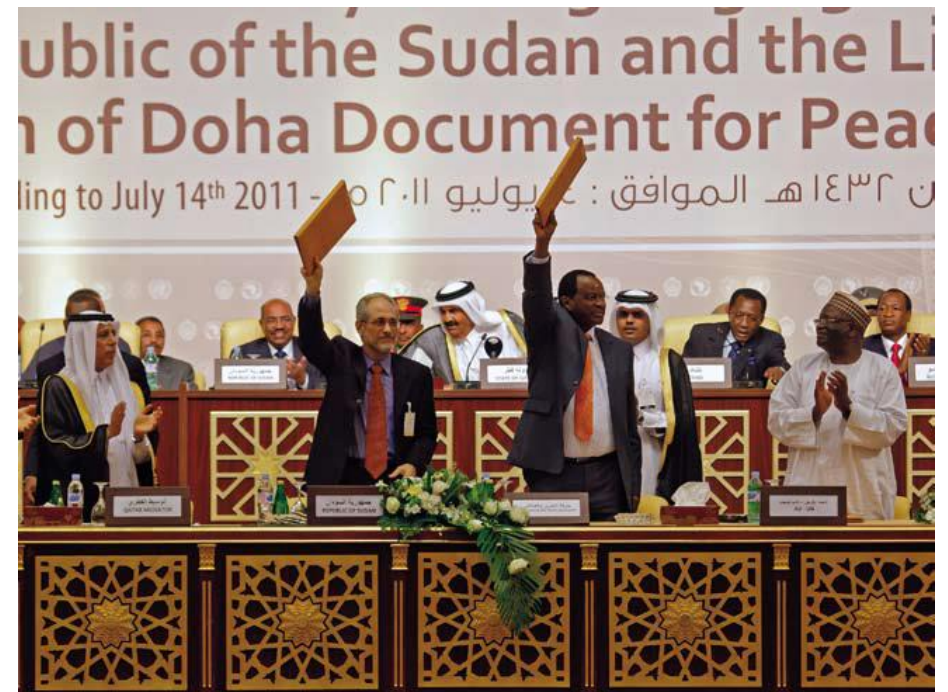
Rebuilding environmental governance

Doha Document for Peace in Darfur

- “Competition over pasture and water between herders and farmers is a serious problem that must be addressed in a serious way”
- “Developing a framework for equitable access by various users of land and water resources”

Local level agreements

- Livelihood and security issues
- Norm forming on natural resources



WASH: Water, Sanitation and Hygiene

- An integrated technical approach with political implications
 - rights based
 - large funding streams





WASH – so what are the problems?




Community based natural resource management




Community Environment Action Planning: A Guide for Practitioners



IUCN - Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office


Irish Aid
 Department of Foreign Affairs
 An Roinn Gnóthaí Eachtracha



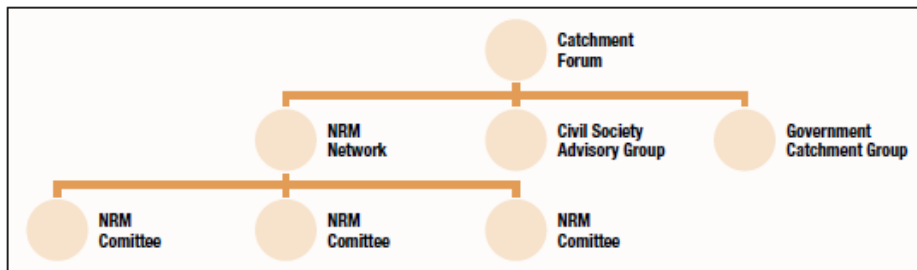
South Africa collaboration

- Technical and political study tours
- Vision statements for IWRM
- Work with Sudan's diaspora



Wadi El Ku Catchment management

- Network of VDCS
- Collaboration across government
- Livelihoods focus
- Catchment management



UNEP (2014)



Enabled institutional bricolage as a contribution to peacebuilding and conflict prevention

“Institutional bricolage is a process through which people, consciously and non-consciously, assemble or reshape institutional arrangements ... In this process, old arrangements are modified and new ones invented. Institutional components from different origins are continuously reused, reworked, or refashioned to perform new functions.” Cleaver and De Koning (2015)

See also:

Bromwich, B. (2018) "Power, contested institutions and land: repoliticising analysis of natural resources and conflict in Darfur." *Journal of Eastern African Studies*: 12(1), 1–21.

Bromwich, B. (2015). Nexus meets crisis: a review of conflict, natural resources and the humanitarian response in Darfur with reference to the water–energy–food nexus. *International journal of water resources development*, 31(3), 375-392.