

תמצית מחקר הדוקטורט: "Landscapes of Cold Peace - שיתוף פעולה סביבתי בתנאי פוסט קונפליקט"

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המחלקה לגאוגרפיה וסביבה, האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים

המחקר עוסק בשיתוף פעולה סביבתי בתנאי פוסט קונפליקט בין ישראל וירדן ובבלקנים. שיתוף פעולה סביבתי באזורי גבול מוביל לעיתים רבות לחיזוק יציבות פוליטית אזורית ולקידום אינטרסים משותפים של המדינות החולקות משאבי טבע חוצי גבולות. המחקר בוחן את יישום שיתוף הפעולה הסביבתי בעקבות הסכם השלום בין ישראל וירדן. הסכם זה הינו יחודי והיווה תקדים עולמי באופן בו נכללו נושאים סביבתיים בהסכם עצמו. עם זאת הפער בין ההסכם לבין יישום השיתוף פעולה הסביבתי בפועל הוא עצום. מחקר זה בא לאמוד את כמות ואיכות שיתוף הפעולה הסביבתי בפועל בין ישראל וירדן ולהבין את עומקו והשלכותיו. המחקר כולל את העמדות והדעות של קהילות ירדניות וישראליות לאורך הגבול המשותף ובכל הינו חדשני וייחודי. לא קיימים מחקרים דומים בתחום זה ובפרט לא באזורנו. לרב מחקרים מסוג זה עוסקים בדרג קבלת ההחלטות והנראות הפוליטית של נושאי הסביבה. שילוב ההיבטים המקומיים והלאומיים הינו חיוני לקבלת תמונת מציאות מהימנה ולשקף את הצרכים והרצונות של הקהילות המקומיות, בייחוד באזורים פריפאליים מסוג זה (בשתי המדינות).

שיתוף פעולה סביבתי בין ישראלי לשכנותיה הינו חשוב מדרגה מעלה לחזון של שלום במזרח התיכון. שיתוף פעולה כזה ידוע ביכולתו לבסס יחסים במצבי פוסט-קונפליקט, כמו עם הממלכה ההאשמית ולהניב שיתופי פעולה מדיניים בעקבות הצלחות בתחום הסביבתי (דוגמאת פרו-אקוודר). כמו כן שיתוף פעולה סביבתי מעצים תודעת ריבונות שהינה מעשית, חיובית ומיטיבה עם שכנותיה ועם הסביבה. אני מאמינה בתרומות של המחקר הזה לאזורנו בפרט ולתחום הידע הזה ברמה בינלאומית. תחום הידע הנקרא Environmental Peacebuilding, הינו תחום ידע מבוקש הן באקדמיה והן ביישומו על ידי סוכנויות בין לאומיות וממשלות רבות, התחום אומץ על ידי התוכנית הסביבתית של האו"ם וארגוני שימור טבע סביבתיים עולמיים.

להלן תמצית הצעת המחקר באנגלית:

Introduction and research objectives

Numerous communities around the world are affected by political conflict between countries, particularly in border regions. Since geopolitical borders are manmade, they often cross natural resources, habitats or unique landscapes. Therefore, border-region communities tend to share the impact of conflict as well as natural resources and environmental challenges, all of which affect their daily lives (Arieli, 2012; 2015; Conca & Dabelko, 2002; Jacoby, 1973; Levy, 2009; Ratner et al., 2013).

Although many violent conflicts have ended in agreements, they continue to suffer from implementation predicaments and continue to be volatile. Predicaments include lack of direct implementation of items of the agreement, lack of follow up and enforcement, as well as violation of agreement items (Bekoe, 2016; Braniff, 2012; Bruch et al., 2009). Post-conflict regions are prone to reoccurrence of conflict on one hand, while on the other, official peace agreements can facilitate joint solutions to shared problems and needs (Rustad & Binningsbo, 2012). The environment can be a catalyst of cooperation and conflict, with the potential to improve or induce existing conflict and post-conflict conditions, particularly in border communities (Bruch, et al., 2009; Madani et al., 2014; Rustad & Binningsbo, 2012).

Moreover, peace agreements increasingly include environmental annexes or clauses. This is true in the Israeli-Arab context in their records (Feitelson & Levy, 2006). Yet, these treaties did not lead to tangible cooperative projects (Akçalı & Antonsich, 2009; Arieli, 2012; Kliot 1997). Therefore, the potential benefits of environmental clauses on public opinion, social-ecological resilience and better post-conflict relationships do not seem to materialize (Carius, 2006). The existence of a shared transboundary environmental regime is also questionable. This raises the question, if nature knows no borders and environmental facets have clear win-win prospects, why haven't cooperative environmental projects become a widespread trend?

Research purpose, question and description

An implementation gap is commonly referred to as the difference between plans and policies drafted in agreements, conventions or accords and the outputs and results on the ground

(Helm & Sprinz, 2000; Mushkat, 2013; Young, 2001; Young, 2011). The gap is evident when the problems, for which the policies were created, have not been addressed (Young, 2011). The scarcity of environmental cooperation in practice implies that there is a gap between implementation of environmental clauses in post-conflict reality. This gap has not been researched and defined as such. Nevertheless, bottom up initiatives do exist even in post conflict situations which do not include environmental clauses .

This dissertation asks: *To what extent is there a gap between environmental clauses within peace agreements and implementation of environmental cooperation de-facto in post-conflict regions? Why is there a gap? And how do epistemic and border communities perceive the situation? Under what circumstances does the environment become a focal point of cooperation on the ground, even when not officially included in an agreement?*

Actually, the gap can be argued to be twofold: 1) a gap between environmental clauses in peace agreements and post-agreement outcomes (implementation/ practice gap); and 2) a gap between regime theories on agreements and local perspectives (theoretical gap).

This proposal seeks to address these gaps. The extent of environmental cooperation following a peace agreement will be explored. Cooperation initiatives taking place on the ground and their relationship or lack of relationship to the formal top-down agreement will be assessed, as well as their contribution to post-conflict environmental cooperation. The theoretical gap will be explored through field research eliciting the local perspective of border communities and epistemic communities on post-conflict environmental cooperation and juxtaposing these perspectives with regime theories.

Environmental cooperation between countries became essential and dominant in global environmental governance strategies since the second half of the 20th century. The effectiveness and implementation of international environmental regimes has been vastly researched (Jackson & Buhr, 2015; Mushkat, 2013; Young, 2001; 2011). Yet there is very little or no specific reference to the environmental regime between countries in post-conflict relations. Therefore, an additional sub- question of this research is: *In which cases can the environmental relationship on the ground in post-conflict situations be defined as an environmental regime?* The proposed research will explore the existence of an environmental regime in post- conflict settings and

suggest a methodology to address this question according to the attributes of the parties involved and the history and presence of conflict.

The research will be conducted in two parts. The first part will analyze theories which potentially explain the gap. Such theories are derived from international environmental regimes, environmental peacemaking, community development, political ecology, peace and conflict studies, and border studies. The effectiveness of the peace agreement and the transboundary environmental regime of the countries involved will be juxtaposed and evaluated. Findings of the first part will be integrated in the second part.

The second part will consist of a field study aimed at revealing and gaining an understanding of the local perspective on the implementation gap and its nature. The field research will include: 1) residents of border regions who have participated in environmental cooperation projects, 2) residents of border regions who have not participated in cooperation, and 3) members of relevant epistemic communities.

The two post-conflict border regions selected as cases for this study are A) the southern parts of Israel and Jordan, from the Dead-Sea to the Red Sea; and B) the Kosovo -Albania/ Montenegro border regions. These cases were chosen due to their complex and violent history of conflict, and the ethno-religious aspects of those conflicts. In addition, the political atmosphere in both regions is still unstable and volatile, which challenges the possibility for environmental cooperation but also emphasizes the need for such cooperation.

Border communities and epistemic communities are the target groups chosen for the research. Both communities are highly impacted by the implementation gaps of post-conflict agreements. Border communities include residents of locations closest to the borders of the study areas and are chosen as they are directly influenced by post-conflict relations between the governing states they belong too. Border communities are also directly influenced by any spillover effects and externalities of each countries' environmental management and shared challenges (Arieli, 2009).

Epistemic communities include members of the research and experts' communities from countries in post-conflict relations with past or present involvement in shared research and those

who are involved in researching the cooperation process itself. Epistemic communities are chosen due to their unique role in exploring and advancing environmental cooperation as well as being active participants in the cooperation itself (Haas, 1992), and therefore potentially creating transboundary (TB) epistemic communities. At times when formal environmental cooperation efforts fail, the local epistemic communities are those who will keep advocating for cooperation and environmental change and manage to create projects in very complex post-conflict political realities (Arieli, 2009, Kosel, 2016). In addition, the growing impact of epistemic communities on policies of environmental management is being recognized worldwide (Feindt & Oels, 2005; Jasanoff & Wynne, 1998). The significant existence and contribution of epistemic communities (including scientists, researchers, experts, municipalities and regional councils) in post-conflict border region is strongly evident in the case of Jordan and Israel (Arieli, 2009, Kedem, 2016, Kosel, 2015).

The contribution of the proposed research

Environmental cooperation and conflict across international borders are a major interest in the international development, aid, and ecological movements over the past twenty years (Brown & Jensen, 2009; Bruch et al., 2012; Carius, 2006; Conca & Dabelko, 2002; Deligiannis, 2012; Sadeh, 2016). Governments, international organizations, private sector, third sector, epistemic communities and local communities are involved in environmental cooperation and conflict through research and projects. Research on the environment-conflict and cooperation nexus is interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary involving multiple academic fields such as environmental science and policy, development studies, political science, ecology and international relations.

There are lacunae in the current literature. Most research has focused on the relationship between conflict and the environment, revealing how conflict exacerbates environmental scarcities and how environmental scarcities may lead to conflict (Baechler, 1998; Deligiannis, 2012; Gendron & Hoffman, 2009). Less attention has been given to environmental cooperation and its ability to reduce conflict (Ali, 2007; Conca & Dabelko, 2002; Dabelko, 2006; Gleick, 1994).

Specifically, there is a lack of research and data about post-conflict natural resource management (NRM) in border regions and the contribution of environmental cooperation to

sustaining peace and post-conflict rehabilitation efforts (Arieli, 2006; Conca & Wallace, 2009). Even though many environmental and development agencies have adopted this theme and direct resources to projects in post- conflict regions, little research has been done on its nature and efficiency (Akçalı & Antonsich, 2009; Carius, 2006; Sadeh, 2016).

In addition, cases in which natural resources were used to fund conflict, such as trading in diamonds, oil and timber are widely researched (Deligiannis, 2012). However, only scant attention has been given to post-conflict management of natural resources supporting the economic wellbeing of communities, such as biodiversity, soil fertility and access to fresh water (Unruh & Bailey, 2009).

Development gaps, asymmetry and power relations impact post-conflict environmental cooperation between countries, especially those with different cultural, religious and economic practices (Alatout, 2006; Carr et al., 2007; Levy 2009). But research on the environment-conflict and environment–cooperation nexus has, to date, not sufficiently addressed the impact of these factors on the potential, success and failure of post-conflict transboundary environmental cooperation.

The knowledge available, regarding implementation gaps of environmental aspects included in peace agreements, is limited and lacks the perspective and opinions of local communities residing in border regions and those of epistemic communities. These perspectives are crucial to further enrich and diversify existing theories and to develop proper policies in each country and between neighboring countries in post-conflict relations. In addition, this research will identify and characterize transboundary epistemic communities – an original approach.

Literature on impediments of environmental regimes as well as implementation predicaments of peace agreements is abundant (de Soto & del Castillo, 1995; Lyons, 2015). Juxtaposing the implementation gaps of peace agreements with those of environmental agreements and regimes is novel and crucial to properly identify the causality and relationship between conflict- cooperation and environment. The existence and characteristics of shared environmental regimes in post-conflict conditions is too a new outlook.

The proposed research aspires to contribute to the existing literature while creating new theoretical models. As well as to contribute to the stakeholders involved in transboundary environmental cooperation on the ground.

Generic models of study variables

The relationship between implementation of environmental cooperation, environmental degradation and conflict is presented in Figure 1.

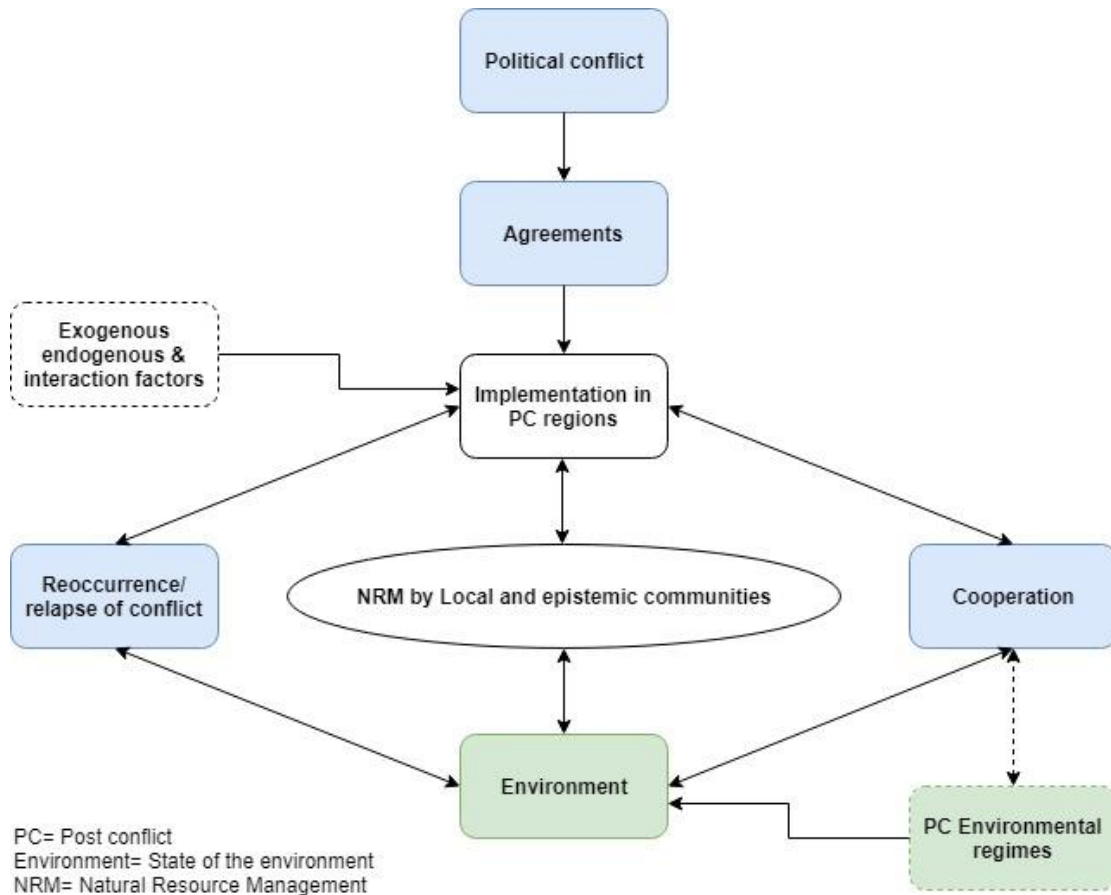


Figure 1. Interaction of main research variables.

The model depicts situations in which political conflicts were solved by bilateral or multilateral agreement. Such agreements may or may not have environmental annexes and clauses. As asserted, agreements suffer from implementation predicaments. The predicaments create gaps between the prospects of agreements and the situation on the ground. The gaps in this study are defined as practical and theoretical gap. The gaps strongly affect communities,

namely border communities who suffer from political instability and cross-border environmental externalities and could enjoy peace dividends if predicaments decreased.

Summary of initial research variables

Table 1 presents the research methodology chosen for the main variables, their operational variables, indicators and methods suggested for the analysis of the variables and data sources of the variables.

Variable	Operational variables	Indicators/methods	Data source
Implementation of environmental cooperation in post-conflict settings (practical gap)	Existence of formal institutions	Analysis of the environmental regime	Literature analysis of primary and secondary resources
	Follow up of formal agreements	Analysis of the peace regime	
	Law and enforcement of shared environmental hazards	Existence of legislation and enforcement on shared hazards	Policy analysis and Interviews with policy makers and government officials
	Shared NRM practices	Asses practices of government ministries of environment	
	Shared environmental businesses of private sector	Inventory of such initiatives	Data collection and surveys, interviews with initiative leaders
	Shared environmental projects of NGO's	Inventory of such initiatives	
	Shared environmental efforts led by governments	Inquire and assess initiatives	Interviews with policy makers and government officials
	Research and study of shared environmental concerns	Assess the work and progress of epistemic communities	Literature review and interviews with leading members of epistemic communities
	Political salience of shared environmental concerns	Analyze various media platforms Interview local and municipal decision makers	Media publications and secondary sources
Characterization of the gap between formal	Endogenous factors: Institutional capacity	Analyze and rank capacity for national	Literature analysis of environmental regime.

peace agreements and implementation of env.coop= influencing factors. (Theoretical gap)		and cross border implantation	
	Political salience	Analysis of official and unofficial media publications and their preference	Primary and secondary resources
	Local and municipal leaders position	Characterize and understand position regarding cooperation	Interviews with relevant decision makers
	Local communities' position	Assess, identify and categorize local perspectives	Interviews and questionnaires with community members participants and non-participants in env.coop
	Power of epistemic communities	Define and asses the capacity of the epistemic communities to lead environmental change	Literature, interviews and focus group
	Management policy	Analyze and understand if in favor of cooperation and how	Literature and policy analysis and interviews with key players
	Exogenous factors: International support	Important trends of international support in favor/against cooperation	Literature review and analysis
	Environmental conditions	Assess shared conditions favoring cooperation or conflict (competition over shared scarce resource vs. common hazard)	Literature reviews and interviews with environmental specialists
	World economic and political trends	Understand the influence of political and economic trends on the parties involved and their willingness/ability to cooperate	Literature review

	Interaction factors: Power relations	Analyze history and discourse between parties (victims/perpetrators, victory/lose)	Literature review
	Conflicting agendas/ different national priorities	Understand and rank the importance of environmental issues to the parties	Policy analysis interviews with government officials if needed
	Uneven development	Assess development traits of parties	National and international development indexes and reports
	Past of conflict	Characterize the conflict between the parties; its magnitude and present impact on cooperation	Conflict analysis through literature and interviews if needed
	Asymmetry	Assess the access to opportunities and technologies as well as involvement in international environmental arena	Interviews and literature
	Competition	Identify competition over shared natural resources and monetary resources (i.e. international aid)	Literature and interviews
	TB epistemic communities	The existence and unique attributes of TB epistemic communities will be defined	Literature, interviews and focus group