Where DDR Meets DRR: Pathways Linking Disaster Risk Reduction to Peacebuilding

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Introduction

The past few years have presented a variety of complex and multifaceted challenges to the international community. 2010 was the warmest year in recorded history, and the nine warmest years on record have all taken place since 1998. Due largely to Superstorm Sandy and severe drought in the Midwest, the United States suffered 11 billion-dollar disasters in 2012. These events followed on the heels of 2011, which was the most expensive year in history for disaster-related losses, totaling $380 billion.[1] Recent years have also seen a rise in the number of violent conflicts worldwide. In 2011, there were 37 active armed conflicts around the world, six more than during 2010.[2] The Syrian Civil War accelerated significantly in 2012; the United Nations reports that the conflict has killed more than 110,000 people, while 9.3 million – 40% of the population – require humanitarian assistance.[3] Persistent violence continues to plague several other states, including Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Iraq, and Pakistan. Additionally, the number of terrorist events has quadrupled in the decade since September 11, 2001.[4]

Given these trends, scholars and policymakers have begun to consider the connections between conflicts and disasters in recent years. This paper builds upon this emerging field, but it moves beyond a simple security discussion into one of latent opportunities for cooperation. It explores further the changing trends in disasters and conflict occurrence and explores their human, economic, and political consequences. Drawing heavily upon a constructivist approach, this article suggests that the divide drawn between conflict and disasters to date has been based on a false reading of the two

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[1] Elizabeth Ferris and Daniel Petz. *The Year that Shook the Rich: A Review of Natural Disasters in 2011.* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2012).

[2] Lotta Themnér and Peter Wallensteen, "Armed Conflicts, 1946-2011," *Journal of Peace Research* 49, no. 4 (2012): 565-575.

[3] Nick Cumming-Bruce and Rick Gladstone, "Diplomats Fail to Agree on Details for Syria Peace Talks," New York Times, November 5, 2013,
http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/06/world/middleeast/syria.html.

[4] Despite, this spike, however, the total number of terrorism-related fatalities has fallen by approximately one-quarter since 2007.

topics. Rather, just as conflict is manmade and linked to political, economic, social, and cultural dynamics, so too are disasters inherently political and socially constructed. By viewing these concepts through this lens, I demonstrate that they share a number of common themes and principles.

This research also supplements the existing literature on disasters and conflict. There remains a paucity of research into the potential connections between disasters and conflict risks, with even less focusing specifically on these links in conflict-affected and post-conflict states. This paper seeks to fill this gap by exploring a series of interrelated questions. Do disasters and/or disaster responses alter existing conflict dynamics? If so, by what mechanism(s) does this occur? If disasters can heighten conflict risks, what are the implications for the international community in a greenhouse world? By beginning to answer these questions, this article further advances the research on the conflict-disaster nexus and demonstrates the importance of addressing these challenges in tandem.

This paper is structured as follows. First, I provide an overview of disasters and conflicts; I define the phenomena, explore their trends, and note their increasing overlap. The next section explores the potential impacts of disasters and disaster response efforts on conflict dynamics.[5] I propose a new framework for analysis on these connections in conflict-affected and post-conflict settings. The following section applies this framework to the 2005 Kashmir earthquake. It demonstrates that the response effort influenced existing conflict dynamics in Pakistan and may have increased the risk of conflict on multiple scales. Next, I propose a new way forward working to bridging the gap between peacebuilding and disaster risk reduction (DRR) in order to allow actors to harness their synergies.[6] The last section summarizes the research and provides a few policy recommendations.

Overview of Disasters and Conflict

Disasters and violent conflict are two of the defining trends of the modern world. They each carry substantial economic and human tolls and, unfortunately, both trends appear to have worsened in recent years. From

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[5] In this paper, I use the term disaster "response" as a short-hand term to refer to the entire relief-recovery-reconstruction continuum that occurs after disasters.

[6] I discuss both peacebuilding and disaster risk reduction in more detail in Section 6. The United Nations Peacebuilding Commission has defined peacebuilding as ""the continuum of strategy, processes and activities aimed at sustaining peace over the long-term with a clear focus on reducing chances for the relapse into conflict" (For this definition, visit http://www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/pbso/faq.shtml#q1). Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) is a major component that is typically included in post-conflict peacebuilding strategies. The *Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015: Building the resilience of nations and communities to disasters* defines disaster risk reduction (DRR) as a strategy to bring about "the substantial reduction of disaster losses, in lives and in the social, economic and environmental assets of communities and countries" (for the text of the Hyogo Framework, visit http://www.unisdr.org/2005/wcdr/intergover/official-doc/L-docs/Hyogo-framework-for-action-english.pdf).

1900-1940, approximately 100 disasters occurred per decade. According to the Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters (CRED), 385 disasters occurred per *year* from 2000-2010.[7] Additionally, disaster severity continues to worsen. The number of severe disasters increased four-fold from the 1950s to the 1990s.[8] While overall mortality decreased during this period, the total number of people affected by and economic losses from disasters has jumped dramatically. From 1980-2000, disasters killed roughly 1.5 million people worldwide[9]; during this period, they have affected at least 2.3 billion people.[10]
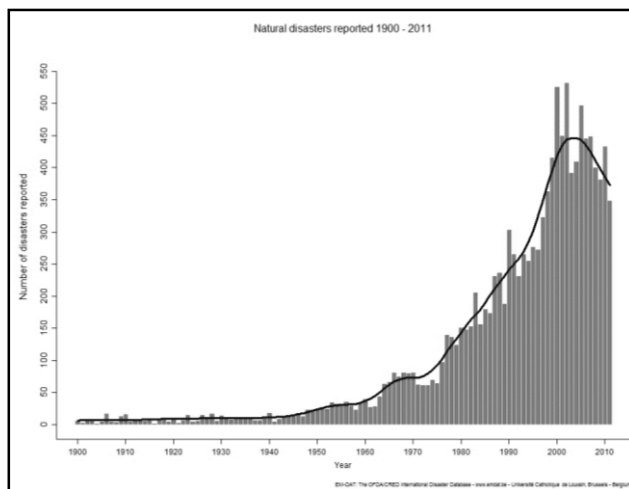

Figure 1. Number of disasters reported, 1900-2011 (Source: Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters)

Following the end of the Cold War, the number of civil conflicts spiked globally. From 1950-2009, an average of four conflicts occurred annually; this number rose to nine conflicts per year from 1989-1998.[11] Though the overall level of global violence has begun to fall in recent years, its costs have been staggering.[12] The 127 civil wars that occurred from 1945-1999 killed 16.2

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[7] Sue Stolton, Nigel Dudley, and Jonathan Randall, *Natural Security: Protected areas and hazard mitigation*: *Arguments for Protection* (Gland, Switzerland: World Wide Fund for Nature, 2008).
[8] Ibid.
[9] Michael Renner and Zoë Chafe, "Beyond Disasters: Creating Opportunities for Peace," in *Worldwatch Report 173*, ed. L. Mastny (Washington, DC: Worldwatch Institute, 2007).
[10] United Nations Development Programme, *Reducing Disaster Risk: A Challenge for Development* (New York: UNDP, 2004).
[11] Jeroen Klomp and Erwin Bulte, "Climate Change, Weather Shocks and Violent Conflicts: A Critical Look at the Evidence," (paper presented at the International Association of Agricultural Economists (IAAE) Triennial Conference, Foz do Iguaçu, Brazil: August 2012), 18-24.
[12] The number of active conflicts fell from 37 in 2011 to 32 in 2012. As Figure 2 shows, this number remains the peak of 69 conflicts in the early 1990s. See Lotta Themnér and Peter Wallensteen, "Armed Conflicts, 1946-2012," *Journal of Peace Research* 50, no. 4 (2013): 509-521.

million people, 90 percent of whom were civilians.[13] The average duration of civil conflicts has risen to 16 years, demonstrating their increasingly intractable nature.[14] Additionally, roughly 40 percent of all civil conflicts recur within five years, creating a dynamic by which repeated cycles of violence is the norm throughout parts of the developing world.[15]

Figure 2. Number of active conflicts and active conflict dyads, 1946-2011 (Source: Uppsala Conflict Data Program)

More disturbingly, one can observe an overlap between disasters and violent conflict. More than half of the people affected by disasters from 2005-2009 lived in fragile or conflict-affected states, and at least 140 disasters occurred in conflict settings from 1999-2004.[16] This "disaster-conflict interface" increases the risk of experiencing both future conflicts and disasters and undermines the overall recovery process.[17] Yet, the majority of the scholarly and policy communities continue to treat conflict and disasters as separate phenomena. This distinction stems from what Wisner and colleagues term the "myth of

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[13] James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (2003): 75-90. Ben Wisner, "Interactions between Conflict and Natural Hazards: Swords, Ploughshares, Earthquakes, Floods and Storms," in *Facing Global Environmental Change*, eds. Brauch, Hans Günter et al. (Berlin Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, 2009), 245.

[14] Håvard Hegre, "The duration and termination of civil war," *Journal of Peace Research* 41, no. 3 (2004): 243-252.

[15] Paul Collier, Anke Hoeffler, and Måns Söderbom, "Post-conflict risks," *Journal of Peace Research* 45, no. 4 (2008): 461-478. Virginia Page Fortna, "Does peacekeeping keep peace? International intervention and the duration of peace after civil war," *International Studies Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2004): 269-292. Barbara F. Walter, "Does conflict beget conflict? Explaining recurring civil war," *Journal of Peace Research* 41, no. 3 (2004): 371-388.

[16] Katie Harris, David Keen, and Tom Mitchell, *When disasters and conflicts collide: improving links between disaster resilience and conflict prevention* (London: Overseas Development Institute, 2013).

[17] UNDP, *Disaster-Conflict Interface: Comparative experiences* (New York: UNDP, 2011).

'naturalness.'"[18] Individuals tend to perceive disasters as natural, apolitical events beyond human control. Yet, there is nothing truly "natural" about disasters. Disasters are the product of three components – a natural hazard (e.g. a fault line or severe precipitation), physical and economic exposure, and socioeconomic vulnerability.[19] Contrary to conventional wisdom, humans can influence all three of these variables; as a result, disasters are inherently manmade events. They occur "when hazards hit vulnerable communities whose inherent capacity is not enough to protect itself and easily recover from its damaging effects."[20]

Human vulnerability to and the capacity to resist the devastating effects of a disaster are products of the extant social, economic, and political environments. Accordingly, it remains important to understand disasters as socially constructed phenomena. Vulnerability and capacity are determined by a cumulative set of decisions rooted in the dominant social structures, which unevenly distribute disaster risk among citizens. These underlying, distal causes are frequently essential in determining how events are translated into disasters. Oliver-Smith described the May 1970 earthquake that struck Yungay, Peru as a "500 year earthquake"; he argued the vulnerability of Peruvians to this seismic hazard was borne from the destruction of Incan infrastructure and land use policies by Spanish conquistadors.[21] While the proximate hazards that contributed to these disasters were local, the broader systems in which they developed grew from structures remote in both space and time.

Moreover, extreme events must pass through the dominant narrative lens in order to be recognized as disasters. For many marginalized, impoverished people, "the boundary between disaster and everyday life can be very thin," leaving these individuals trapped in a state of permanent emergency.[22] Events like house fires and car accidents constitute life-altering disasters for those affected; however, they may simply fade into the background of quotidian life for the rest of society. More significantly, predatory state and private actors may actively create or harness these events to serve their own ends. In order to avoid facing international pressure to accept humanitarian assistance, states may deny that a disaster has occurred. Governments from China to Sudan have refused to acknowledge ongoing famines, while the military junta in Burma attempted to obfuscate the severity of Cyclone Nargis in 2008.[23]

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[18] Ben Wisner et al., *At Risk: Natural Hazards, People's Vulnerability and Disasters* (2nd ed.). (New York: Routledge, 2004): 369.

[19] Abhas Jha et al., "Five Feet High and Rising." *Policy Research Working Paper* (2011).

[20] Ibid, 334.

[21] Anthony Oliver-Smith, "Peru's Five Hundred Year Earthquake: Vulnerability in Historical Context" in *Disasters, Development and Environment*, ed. Anny Varley (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 1994), 31.

[22] Wisner et al 2004, 190.

[23] Wisner and Luce 1993, and Selth 2008.

Links from Disasters to Conflict

While there is an abundance of evidence regarding the deleterious effects of conflict on disaster risk and the environment, there remains a relative paucity of research on the links between disasters and conflict risks. Additionally, most of the research that exists remains indefinite. Drury and Olson found that severe disasters can increase the number of social unrest events, including riots and protests.[24] Likewise, Nel and Righarts concluded that rapid-onset disasters increase the likelihood that civil conflicts will occur.[25] Such disasters may create incentives for rebel groups to attack state institutions, or they can generate new grievances by exacerbating resource scarcity. Similarly, the burgeoning climate security field has explored the potential effects of climate change on violent conflict. Burke and colleagues have demonstrated that higher temperatures increase the likelihood of violent conflict in Africa.[26] Several other studies challenge these results, however. Buhaug[27] rebutted the findings from Burke and colleagues, arguing that temperature is a poor predictor of conflict risk, while Slettebak[28] and Slettebak and de Soysa[29] have disputed the Nel and Righarts study. They argue that disasters actually decrease the likelihood of conflict onset, because they also tend to weaken the capacity of potential rebels. Lastly, Ahlerup contradicted Nel and Righarts, suggesting that strong earthquakes actually increase the likelihood that existing conflicts will end.[30]

NEW FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING THE LINKS FROM DISASTERS TO CONFLICT

In order to explore the potential consequences of disasters and disaster response efforts in conflict-affected and post-conflict settings, I have developed a new analytical framework. It includes four potential pathways linking disasters to conflict in post-conflict and conflict-affected countries: state weakness, disaster politics, disaster economics, and migration and demographics.

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[24] A. Cooper Drury and Richard Stuart Olson, "Disasters and political unrest: An empirical investigation," *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management* 6, no. 3 (1998): 153-161.

[25] Philip Nel and Marjolein Righarts, "Natural disasters and the risk of violent civil conflict," *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (2008): 159-185.

[26] Marshall B. Burke, Edward Miguel, Shanker Satyanath, John A. Dykema, and David B. Lobell, "Warming increases the risk of civil war in Africa," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 106, no. 49 (2009): 20670-20674.

[27] Halvard Buhaug, "Climate not to blame for African civil wars," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 107, no. 38 (2010): 16477-16482.

[28] Rune T. Slettebak, "Don't blame the weather! Climate-related natural disasters and civil conflict," *Journal of Peace Research* 49, no. 1 (2012): 163-176.

[29] Rune T. Slettebak and Indra de Soysa, "High Temps, High Tempers? Weather-Related Natural Disasters & Civil Conflict" (paper presented at the Conference on Climate Change and Security, Conference of the Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters, Trondheim, June 21-24, 2010).

[30] Pelle Ahlerup, "Earthquakes and Civil War," *Working Papers in Economics 387* (Göteborg, Sweden: University of Gothenburg, 2009).

1. STATE WEAKNESS

Building upon Fearon and Laitin's weak state hypothesis, a disaster can potentially expose the ruling regime in several ways.[31] Conflict can significantly undermine a government's ability to provide public goods by damaging existing infrastructure and interfering with service delivery. By further eroding a post-conflict government's capacities, disasters may create the potential for existing rebel groups to launch opportunistic attacks. Collier, Hoeffler, and Rohner have proffered a feasibility theory of conflict, stating "where rebellion is materially feasible, it will occur."[32] As such, if a disaster hinders a state's ability to respond to an attack, it may tilt the balance of power.

In conflict-affected states, disasters frequently occur in rebel-held areas. If states fail to respond adequately, it can provide space for rebel groups to act as first responders. The associated crisis of confidence also provides rebels with the opportunity to increase their legitimacy among disaster survivors. While Israeli military incursions into Lebanon were intended to destroy the capacities of militant groups, Hezbollah used these campaigns to gain legitimacy. Following Israel's 1982 and 2006 invasions, the group provided vital relief and reconstruction support. Accordingly, it emerged as "the premier advocate and provider for poor and middle class Shia" in Lebanon.[33]

Table 4.1 Pathways Linking Disasters to Conflict

Pathway	Examples that Illustrate the Pathway
1. State Weakness	2006 Israel-Lebanon Conflict 1959 Yellow River Floods 2004 Tsunami (Sri Lanka)
2. Disaster Politics	1976 Guatemala Earthquake 1971 Bangladesh Cyclone 1972 Managua Earthquake 2004 Tsunami (Aceh)
3. Disaster Economics	1998 Hurricane Mitch (Latin America) 2008 Cyclone Nargis (Burma) 1994 Rwandan Refugee Crisis (DRC)
4. Migration & Demographics	1976 Guatemala Earthquake 2008 Cyclone Nargis (Burma) ND Farraka Barrage (India-Bangladesh)

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[31] Fearon and Laitin 2003.

[32] Paul Collier, Anke Hoeffler, and Dominic Rohner, "Beyond greed and grievance: feasibility and civil war," *Oxford Economic Papers* 61, no. 1 (2009): 2.

[33] Melani Cammet, "Habitat for Hezbollah," *Foreign Policy*. Available from http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=3572. Accessed 8 October 2013.

Nelson has also proposed that weak leaders may be more likely to launch small, diversionary conflicts.[34] These conflicts can distract from the leader's shortcomings and foster nationalistic solidarity. In July 1959, severe flooding along the Yellow River killed approximately two million Chinese. The disaster occurred at a time when the Maoist regime was weak from several crises, including the catastrophic Great Leap Forward, which led to severe famine that killed up to 30 million Chinese. In the midst of these crises, Chinese elites began to question openly Mao's rule. In response, the regime launched a series of border skirmishes with India, which eventually precipitated the 1962 Sino-Indian War.

2. DISASTER POLITICS

Disasters are inherently political phenomena, and the failure to consider and account adequately for these dynamics can produce serious consequences. Disasters tend to highlight and, often, exacerbate existing socioeconomic and political inequalities. If the impacts of disasters fall along the lines of these horizontal inequalities, it may increase the risks that political violence and conflict will occur.[35] The 1976 Guatemala earthquake illustrates this process. The combined effects of ongoing civil conflict and structural inequalities pushed Mayan peasants onto hillsides on the outskirts of the capital. When the earthquake hit, it devastated such squatter settlements, exacerbating social tensions.[36] Within two years, the new military regime had begun wholesale attacks against left wing challengers, many of whom were organizing among earthquake survivors.[37]

Furthermore, disaster responses are often highly political. Post-conflict governments may use humanitarian relief aid to reward allies and redistribute power.[38] The Somoza regime was implicated in widespread corruption during its response to the 1972 Managua earthquake. The regime's actions outraged Nicaraguans, provoking its remaining supporters to openly criticize and later abandon it.[39] A large number of citizens subsequently shifted their support to the Sandanista movement, contributing to the Nicaraguan Civil War.

Lastly, the humanitarian community has developed increasingly standardized relief and response protocols. Such approaches may not be

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[34] Travis Nelson, "When disaster strikes: on the relationship between natural disaster and interstate conflict," *Global Change, Peace & Security* 22, no. 2 (2010): 155-174.

[35] Gudrun Østby, "Polarization, horizontal inequalities and violent civil conflict," *Journal of Peace Research* 45, no. 2 (2008): 143-162. Not all scholars agree with this argument, however; Slettebak and Thiesen (2011) found that the overlap of disasters and horizontal inequalities did not increase the risk of violence within Indonesia.

[36] Wisner et al 2004.

[37] Drury and Olson 1998.

[38] Charles Cohen and Eric D. Werker, "The Political Economy of 'Natural' Disasters," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52, no. 6 (2008): 795-819.

[39] Richard Stuart Olson and Vincent T. Gawronski, "From disaster event to political crisis: A "5C+ A" framework for analysis," *International Studies Perspectives* 11, no. 3 (2010): 205-221.

sensitive to the dynamics that exist in conflict settings. While the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami heavily damaged the northern and western coasts of Sumatra, the decades-long civil conflict in Aceh largely affected the island's eastern coast and mountainous interior. Disaster aid remained insensitive to the conflict. Relief packages for tsunami survivors averaged $5,000-6,000 per household, while packages for conflict-affected households were half this amount.[40]

3. DISASTER ECONOMICS

The economic costs and opportunities which disasters create may also provide financial incentives for conflict to resume. Disasters can heavily damage or destroy productive capital assets, erode savings, reduce economic demand, and spawn inflation.[41] These challenges are compounded by the fact that marginalized groups are often unable to access safety net programs.[42] Such environmental shocks "can decapitalize the poor and trap them in an impoverished position from which they cannot escape."[43] Evidence suggests that a large number of households fell below this threshold following Hurricane Mitch in Honduras and the 1998-2000 droughts in Ethiopia. This outcome can lower the opportunity costs of rebellion.[44] Moreover, actors can capture or divert humanitarian assistance in order to finance conflict. The prevalence of free disaster assistance creates a "racket effect," providing actors incentives to loot and extort aid.[45] Following Cyclone Nargis, members of the Burmese military junta confiscated aid for their own use or sold it back to cyclone survivors to turn a profit.[46]

4. MIGRATION AND DEMOGRAPHICS

Lastly, disasters frequently generate large-scale population displacements, which may affect social relations in both source and destination communities.[47] Evidence indicates that disasters often drive migration flows;

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[40] UNDP 2011, 16.

[41] Mark Pelling, Alpaslan Özerdem, and Sultan Barakat, "The macro-economic impact of disasters," *Progress in Development Studies* 2, no. 4 (2002): 283-305.

[42] Hanne Fjelde and Nina von Uexkull, "Climate triggers: Rainfall anomalies, vulnerability and communal conflict in sub-Saharan Africa," *Political Geography* 31, no. 7 (2012): 444-453.

[43] Michael R. Carter et al., "Poverty traps and natural disasters in Ethiopia and Honduras," *World Development* 35, no. 5 (2007): 852.

[44] Collier et al. 2009. Miguel, Edward, Shanker Satyanath, and Ernest Sergenti, "Economic shocks and civil conflict: An instrumental variables approach," *Journal of Political Economy* 112, no. 4 (2004): 725-753.

[45] Cohen and Werker 2008, 801.

[46] International Crisis Group, "Burma/Myanmar After Nargis: Time to Normalise Aid Relations," *Asia Report N°161*. (Brussels: ICG, 2008). Voravit Suwanvanichkij et al., *After the storm: Voices from the Delta* (The Center for Public Health and Human Rights and the Emergency Assistance Team (Burma), 2009).

[47] It remains important, however, to note that migration is a highly contextual issue. Disasters/environmental shocks are just one issue that potential migrants consider.

in 2008, more than 20 million people were displaced by climatic disasters.[48] Such changes to demographics in destination communities can provoke the fading ethnic majority to engage in conflict with the newly ascendant group.[49] To complicate matters further, environmental shocks and disasters can also interfere with migration flows. The effects of disasters may increase incentives for people to migrate, but they can simultaneously limit their means to do so.[50] Consequently, severe disasters may force people to suffer *in situ*, ratcheting up social tensions. Finally, individuals displaced by disasters frequently end up settling in displacement camps. Under certain circumstances, because they may minimize barriers to collective action, these camps may become organization sites for rebels.[51] Cyclone Nargis struck the Irrawaddy Delta, which is home to a large group of ethnic Karens who had engaged in rebellion against Burma's military junta for decades.[52] Because the junta feared that Karen rebels would use camps to organize further attacks against the state, it forcibly evicted thousands of survivors from these camps just two weeks after the storm.[53]

Case Study – 2005 Kashmir Earthquake
Shortly after 8:00am on October 8, 2005, a magnitude 7.6 earthquake struck northern Pakistan and northwest India. The epicenter of the earthquake was located approximately 19 kilometres from Muzaffarabad, the capital of Azad Jammu Kashmir (AJK), the Pakistan-administered portion of Kashmir.[54] The earthquake battered AJK and the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP). The Government of Pakistan (GoP) reported that it killed at least 73,000 people and injured another 128,000. Pakistan was wholly unprepared for the

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Additionally, while some migration flows after disasters are international and permanent, the majority of such migrants move nearby and return home shortly thereafter.
[48] Kurt M. Campbell et al., *The age of consequences: the foreign policy and national security implications of global climate change* (Washington, DC: CSIS, 2007). Vikram Kolmannskog, *Climate change, disaster, displacement and migration: initial evidence from Africa* (Geneva: UNHCR, Policy Development and Evaluation Service, 2009).
[49] Monica Duffy Toft, "Population shifts and civil war: A test of power transition theory," *International Interactions* 33, no. 3 (2007): 243-269.
[50] François Gemenne, "Climate-induced population displacements in a 4 C+ world," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society A* 369, no. 1934 (2011): 182-195.
[51] Alejandro Quiroz Flores and Alastair Smith, *Surviving disasters* (New York: New York University, 2010).
[52] Human Rights Watch, *I Want to Help My Own People": State Control and Civil Society in Burma after Cyclone Nargis* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2010). Ashley South et al., *Myanmar-Surviving the Storm: Self-protection and survival in the Delta* (Copenhagen: Local to Global Protection, 2011).
[53] Stuart Ford, "Is the Failure to Respond Appropriately to a Natural Disaster a Crime against Humanity-The Responsibility to Protect and Individual Criminal Responsibility in the Aftermath of Cyclone Nargis," *Denver Journal of International Law& Policy* 38 (2009): 227-276. South et al. 2011.
[54] United Nations, *Pakistan 2005 Earthquake: Early Recovery Framework With Preliminary Costs of Proposed Interventions* (Islamabad: UN System in Pakistan, 2005).

deadliest quake in the history of the subcontinent.[55] The disaster occurred under extremely challenging circumstances. It largely struck high mountain communities shortly before the onset of the Himalayan winter. As such, "the impact and challenge of the 2005 Kashmir earthquake was monumentally larger than that of the 2004 tsunami."[56] The quake left more than 3.5 million Pakistanis homeless, and that the recovery and reconstruction costs topped $5.2 billion, equal to 4.7 percent of Pakistan's GDP.[57]
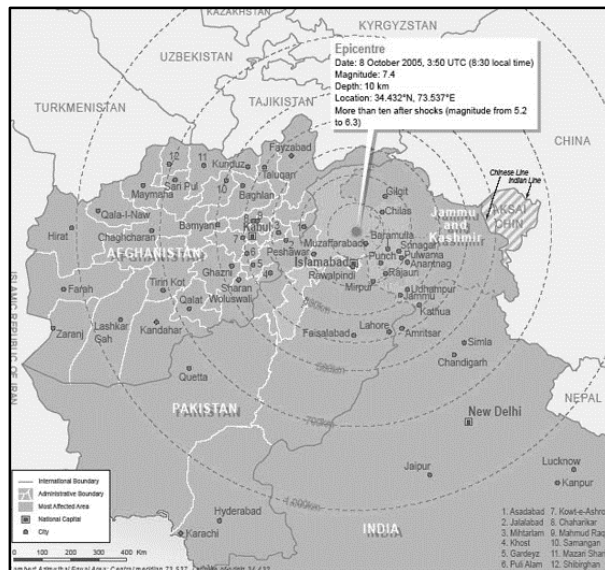

Figure 3: Map of the areas affected by the 2005 Kashmir earthquake (Source: ReliefWeb)

The 2005 Kashmir earthquake provides a difficult test for my framework. The UN Development Program (UNDP) has called the response effort "unprecedented,"[58] while Jan Vandemoortele, the UN's Humanitarian Coordinator, hailed it as the "most successful civil and military cooperation ever."[59] Accordingly, showing that the earthquake and the subsequent relief effort influenced existing conflict dynamics in Pakistan would provide substantial credence to the framework. As such, the following sections will

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[55] Hamid Mumtaz et al., "The challenges of reconstruction after the October 2005 Kashmir earthquake," *Proceedings of the New Zealand Society for Earthquake Engineering.* (Wairakei, New Zealand, 2008).

[56] Andrew MacLeod, *A Life Half Lived: Suriving the World's Emergency Zones* (London: New Holland Publishers Pty Ltd., 2013): 125.

[57] Mumtaz et al. 2008, United Nations 2005.

[58] Javed A. Malik, Salma Omar, and Krishna S. Vatsa, *Evaluation of UNDP's Earthquake Response Programme in Pakistan* (Islamabad: UNDP Pakistan, 2008): 3.

[59] MacLeod 2013, 192.

demonstrate how the response effort influenced the conflict dynamics in Pakistan and may have increased the risks of conflict on multiple levels.

METHODOLOGY

In addition to a thorough review of the literature, I conducted a survey and a series of semi-structured interviews to gain information for this case study. From March 11-April 11, 2013, I administered an online survey on the conflict dynamics of the earthquake. I surveyed a group of practitioners who worked on the disaster response, as well as scholars and researchers with knowledge of the response. I emailed the survey to 90 potential respondents and received 19 responses. Respondents included officials with the UN and other international organizations, representatives of donor organizations, individuals with international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) and Pakistan-based NGOs, consultants, researchers, and scholars.[60] The questions included in the survey examined the respondent's opinions on the quality of the response effort and the extent to which s/he believed it affected existing conflict dynamics in Pakistan. Following the survey, I conducted eight semi-structured interviews with survey respondents via Skype.[61]

IMPACTS OF THE EARTHQUAKE RESPONSE ON CONFLICT DYNAMICS IN PAKISTAN

Survey respondents overwhelmingly agreed that the earthquake response was effective; 16 of 17 respondents rated the response effort as somewhat or very effective, relative to similar disasters. The same number believed that the response effort could not have succeeded without the work of the Pakistani military. Eleven of 15 respondents argued that the military operated in a neutral, professional manner, while nine of 15 stated the international community responded swiftly and effectively. Despite these results, the effects of the response were neither uniformly positive nor negative. Moreover, I will show that they may have contributed to subsequent conflict and political changes in Pakistan. For the purposes of this article, I only analyze the state weakness and disaster politics pathways. While disaster economics and migration and demographics did play a role in Pakistan, these two pathways are the strongest of the four at play in this case study.

STATE WEAKNESS IN PAKISTAN

Recall from earlier that the state weakness pathway suggests disasters can expose the limited capacity of the ruling government, constraining its strength and legitimacy. This pathway may seem improbable in Pakistan, as the central

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[60] While I made a concerted effort to include a diverse sample of potential respondents, just one of my 19 survey respondents and none of my eight interviewees were female. I attempted to supplement this shortcoming by utilizing primary and secondary research from a variety of female scholars. I acknowledge that this represents a limitation of my research design and the conclusions I have drawn.

[61] I have guaranteed the anonymity of all respondents and their organizations; as such, I do not provide identifiable information on respondents or their organizations in this paper.

government has a high level of penetration into Pakistani society. However, this governance is fragmented and absent from large swathes of territory, ensuring that Pakistan meets the World Bank's definition of a fragile state. Overall, the initial response to the earthquake from the GoP presents a mixed picture. On the one hand, it was as rapid and effective as one could reasonably expect. Military helicopters left Rawalpindi within 25 minutes of the earthquake to assess the damage. There was also an outpouring of assistance from ordinary Pakistanis. Locals acted as first responders, while Pakistanis donated more than $100 million for the relief effort.[62] On the other hand, many ICobservers saw the GoP's initial response as self-interested and inadequate. The military focuses first on addressing its own casualties and securing the Line of Control (LoC) with India.[63] The International Crisis Group argued they "reacted as if they were in a state of war."[64] The GoP also displayed a reticence to cooperate with India over the response. The earthquake killed at least 1,000 people in Indian Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), providing an opportunity for the rivals to support one another. Yet, the GoP rejected India's offer of additional helicopters, because the Government of India refused to allow Pakistanis to pilot them.[65]

Although it had more than 250,000 personnel in AJK, it took the military at least three days to reach many of the major towns in the area. Moreover, 41 villages still had not been reached a month after the disaster.[66] Half of households in need of aid indicated they had not received it two months after the earthquake.[67] The international community's response was also mixed. In general, it responded swiftly and decisively. Donor organizations pledged $5.8 billion, more than the UN's $5.2 billion request.[68] American and NATO forces arrived at the Afghanistan-Pakistan border within 48 hours, proving military helicopters to support the response.[69] At its peak, the Pakistani military, NATO, and the UN Humanitarian Air Service employed more than 100 helicopters in the largest helicopter relief effort in history.[70] This effort supported "Operation Winter Race," a highly successful

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[62] MacLeod 2013.

[63] The Line of Control is the non-official yet de facto border between Pakistan-administered Kashmir (AJK) and Indian-Administered Kashmir. It was established as a Cease-fire Line by the UN Commission for India and Pakistan in 1948. Later, the two states acknowledged it as the Line of Control between them in the 1972 Simla Agreement.

[64] International Crisis Group, "Pakistan: Political Impact of the Earthquake," *Asia Briefing N°46* (Brussels: ICG, 2006): 3.

[65] Ibid, Özerdem 2006.

[66] Özerdem 2006.

[67] Desiree Bliss and Lynette Larsen, *Surviving the Pakistan Earthquake: Perceptions of Survivors One Year Later* (San Francisco: Fritz Institute, 2006).

[68] Harriet Cochrane, "The role of the affected state in humanitarian action: A case study on Pakistan," *Humanitarian Policy Group working papers*. (London: ODI, 2008).

[69] Wilder 2008.

[70] MacLeod 2013.

effort that ensured fewer Pakistanis died in the aftermath of the quake than during an average Himalayan winter.[71]

Yet, the international response also suffered major setbacks getting off the ground. The UN faced a significant challenge meeting its initial funding request, forcing agencies to delay or scale down their responses. Donors ultimately fulfilled just 53 percent of their pledges.[72] MacLeod has argued that this false start may be rooted in the fact that donors did not feel "proximity" to northwest Pakistan.[73] Research from Strömberg supports this perception. He found that countries located "on the other side of the world" are 11 percent less likely to receive humanitarian assistance after disasters than those directly next to donor states. Additionally, the assistance provided will be roughly 55 percent less than to a comparable state at "zero distance."[74]

Islamic militant groups worked to fill this capacity gap. They attempted to be first on the scene in order to undermine the legitimacy of the regime.[75] At least 17 banned militant groups played a role in the response, using their existing networks, knowledge of the local terrain, and – in some cases – close working relationships with the military to support their initiatives.[76] Several international organizations and UN agencies worked alongside militants, particularly Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JuD), the humanitarian arm of Lashkar-e-Taibba (LeT).[77]

Some UN agencies and INGOs saw working with militants as a necessity, while others worried that it granted them legitimacy.[78] Observers have claimed that the militants saw their work as a means to win "hearts and minds." They believed it provided them with a chance to "reactivate themselves" and increase their popularity.[79] Two-thirds of survey respondents agreed that the response effort may have raised the legitimacy of militant groups. An independent researcher said, "It helped enhance the reputation of the charitable wings of several militant Islamist groups, as they were on the front lines of the recovery efforts wherever the military was absent." One scholar familiar with the disaster noted, "Many militant groups got involved in the relief effort and this impacted their public relations favorably." Several militant organizations are closely linked to legitimate

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[71] United Nations 2005, MacLeod 2013, and Wilder 2008.

[72] Cosgrave and Herson 2008.

[73] MacLeod 2013, 147.

[74] David Strömberg, "Natural disasters, economic development, and humanitarian aid," *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 21, no. 3 (2007): 217-218.

[75] Özerdem 2006.

[76] International Crisis Group 2006. Jawad H. Qureshi, "Earthquake jihad: the role of jihadis and Islamist groups after the October 2005 earthquake," *Humanitarian Exchange,* 34 (2006): 6-8.

[77] Qureshi 2006.

[78] Wilder 2008.

[79] Shamineh, S. Byramji, "The Pakistan Earthquake: An Agent of Social and Political Change," *Al-Nakhlah - The Fletcher School Online Journal for issues related to Southwest Asia and Islamic Civilization,* Fall (2006): 4.

Islamic charities, however, and few Pakistanis objected to their roles. As one survey respondent said, "In times of need, when people are desperate, they will take aid from wherever they can get it."

There exists some evidence that the GoP may have worked directly with jihadists. While this may appear to run counter to the state weakness pathway, the intent of the state is not the relevant consideration. Even if the state does not lose absolute strength, or if it intends for alternative groups to gain strength, the relative balance of power can change. The GoP had previously cultivated relationships with Islamic militants in both provinces, using them to fight proxy wars. This outcome was particularly true in AJK, where the clandestine Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) organized 13 militant groups into the Muttahida United Jihad Council (MUJC). Human Rights Watch has asserted that the military saw the earthquake as "opportunity to craft a new image for the militant groups, rather than…disband them."[80] The evidence of this collusion is far stronger for LeT/JuD than for other groups, however.[81]

Human Rights Watch also reported that the military provided supplies to LeT and carried their personnel on military helicopters.[82] One UN official argued that the international community and GoP needed to walk a fine line between working with militants and interfering with their humanitarian operations:

> [We] had to be very aware, particularly with Lashkar-e-Taiba, who very quickly got into the business of setting up displaces peoples' camps. So, we needed to realize that you could not block them, because, if you blocked them, it would create for them a huge propaganda tool. So you needed to walk that fine line of allowing them to deliver humanitarian goods and create humanitarian programs, but the minute they stepped outside of that spectrum, then you would need to respond. But they didn't, actually.

> Honestly, by them running a good humanitarian program, it would build their legitimacy and support within the community. That's certainly true. Blocking them from doing so would also build their legitimacy. So you're stuck in that difficult world where you have to deal with them.

Additionally, he noted that, while it was true that militant groups had access to military and UN helicopters, this arrangement was necessary. The Air Operations Cell combined the air resources of these institutions of the UN,

[80] Human Rights Watch, "*Everyone Lives in Fear" Patterns of Impunity in Jammu and Kashmir* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2006): 25.
[81] C. Christine Fair, "Pakistan in 2010," *Asian Survey* 51, no. 1 (2011): 97-110.
[82] Human Rights Watch 2006.

GoP, US, and UK under common command structure. It provided helicopter access to any organization or institutions that operated what was considered a "genuine humanitarian operation."

> So, did UN helicopters carry Pak mil[itary] cargo? Absolutely. Did US military carry UN cargo? Yes. Did UK mil[itary] carry NGO cargo? Absolutely. So, if you had a terrorist organization that had a legitimate humanitarian displaced persons camp operating, and they were seeking to have their cargo carried on one of those air frames jointly tasked out of the Air Operations Cell, the answer would always be "of course they can." The alternative would be to have selected certain groups and told them that their humanitarian cargo was not allowed to be carried. And can you imagine the propaganda coup they would have gotten from that?

Despite the role that militants played in the response, these organizations provided support to far fewer survivors than the military and international humanitarian organizations, whose coverage rates were 73 percent and 40 percent, respectively.[83] In contrast, no militant group had a coverage rate above ten percent in any affected district. LeT, for instance, provided assistance to just 0.97 percent of the households surveyed.[84]

DISASTER POLITICS IN PAKISTAN

As I have noted, disaster responses often feed into existing grievances or generate new ones. Initially, the Kashmir earthquake response appears to have broken down a number of social and political barriers that had existed in Pakistan, in accordance with disaster diplomacy theory.[85] One interviewee who worked with the UN quoted a Pakistani officer, saying, "This is the grace period. This is something where you put down your arms, more or less. This is the period where everyone seems to be so struck by the magnitude of this disaster." Another individual, who consulted for an INGO, recalled that Pakistan's security concerns had largely vanished. "There was sort of a 'truce,' it seemed to me. I don't know if there was actually a truce or not, but there wasn't a big concern about security or safety at all." One interviewee recounted a fellow humanitarian telling him that, while access to much of Swat was restricted for outsiders before the disaster, the tribesmen opened up and welcomed outside assistance.

Despite these changes, the Pakistani military continued to lead the GoP's relief effort. To be sure, any disaster response in Pakistan would

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[83] Tahir Andrabi, Raza Shah, and Jishnu Das, *In aid we trust: Hearts and minds and the Pakistan Earthquake of 2005* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2010).

[84] Ibid.

[85] For information on disaster diplomacy, reference the *Cambridge Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 1 (2000) or Ilan Kelman, *Disaster diplomacy* (London: Routledge, 2011).

inevitably involve a heavy military footprint. The military is the only institution in Pakistan with the capacity and wherewithal to respond to a crisis of this magnitude, and the country lacked a formal disaster management agency prior to the earthquake. To facilitate the GoP's role in the response, President Pervez Musharraf established a Federal Relief Commission (FRC) and the Earthquake Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Authority (ERRA).[86] Musharraf tapped Major General Muhammad Farooq to head the FRC. ERRA, which was tasked with overseeing the mid- to long-term recovery and reconstruction process, was nominally civilian-led; yet, the military effectively controlled the agency through the leadership of Lt. General Nadeem Ahmed. Several actors complimented Nadeem's respect for international humanitarian standards; one international actor said the military leadership "was more humanitarian than the humanitarians." However, his role may have further cemented military control over the relief-to-reconstruction continuum.

Few humanitarians or members of the international community seemed concerned with the prominence of the Pakistani military, which they viewed as highly professional. Some have attributed this professionalism to the fact that Pakistan contributes more security personnel to UN peacekeeping operations than any state besides Bangladesh. This process has exposed a sizeable contingent of the Pakistani military to international principles, and they carried this exposure into the earthquake response. During the relief and recovery process, neither the GoP nor the Pakistani military perceived humanitarian principles as Western or as being imposed by outside actors. On the contrary, military officers actually requested trainings on humanitarian principles.[87]

For the most part, few international actors objected to the role played by the military. As one consultant noted:

> People say, "Well, we shouldn't be dealing with the military." But in every country that is dealing with a natural disaster, the military gets involved. This isn't a protection issue, it isn't a human rights issue. It's their responsibility, their role, their task. It's what they do. So, on one level, working with the military in Pakistan was like working with the military in the United States or in England or in Germany. I mean, the American Red Cross in the United States doesn't say, "We're not going to ride in National Guard trucks."

Nonetheless, the military's dominant role created challenges. President Musharraf did not seek parliamentary authorization before creating the FRC and ERRA.[88] The military also failed to secure a mandate from parliament to

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[86] Cochrane 2008.
[87] Wilder 2008.
[88] Ibid.

take part in the response, as required by the 1973 Constitution, casting doubt over the legality of its actions.[89] Moreover, Islamabad used the collapse of governance at the local level as a reason to circumvent sub-national governments. The historic consolidation of power in Islamabad has been a source of resentment and ethno-regional conflict within Pakistan.[90] The international community played into these dynamics. UNDP noted this shortcoming, acknowledging its failure to build local capacity.[91] UN Cluster meetings also took place in English only, further marginalizing local Pakistani leaders.[92]

This centralization of power in the capital may have fostered a supply-driven donor response. Local communities had little ownership over their relief and recovery, as the military and military-political class dominated this process. Approximately 98 percent of households said they had no input in decision-making process for aid distribution.[93] This approach contributed to a disconnection between the perceptions of humanitarians and survivors regarding the quality of the response effort. While most agencies evaluated the response based on their own mandates and metrics, survivors examined the response effort according to whether or not it met their needs.[94]

The status of the military became a bigger issue as time passed. Its prominent and prolonged role ensured that it received much of the blame for perceived failures. While the military possessed capacities and resources that were vital during the relief process, it was ill-equipped to manage a recovery and reconstruction effort. Military personnel were not trained to deal appropriately with disaster survivors; soldiers remained prone to retaliate against civilians who criticized their actions.[95] One interviewee recalled an incident in which a Pakistani colonel caught two people looting in a village. He reportedly stripped the men down and had them dragged through the streets as a deterrent against future looting.

Fifty-six percent of survivors complained the aid distribution system was inaccurate and inadequate, while 18 percent said political parties preferentially distributed aid to their supporters.[96] Local political and religious leaders also complained that the military sidelined them from the reconstruction process and did not allow them to control aid dispersion.[97] While survey respondents indicated that these complaints were often

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[89] Cochrane 2008.

[90] Jawad H. Qureshi and Tom Bamforth, "Political Complexities of Humanitarian Intervention in the Pakistan Earthquake," *The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance* (2007).

[91] Malik et al. 2008.

[92] Cochrane 2008.

[93] Bliss and Larsen 2006.

[94] Cosgrave and Herson 2008.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Bliss and Larsen 2006.

[97] Wilder 2008.

exaggerated, they underline the fact that, in such settings, perception often becomes reality.

Linking Peacebuilding to Disaster Risk Reduction

As I have demonstrated, the effects of the earthquake response upon conflict dynamics in Pakistan were not uniformly positive. As the state weakness pathway suggests, the inability of the GoP and the international community to respond fully to a disaster of this scale presented opportunities for militant groups to win "hearts and minds." Additionally, the political dynamics of the disaster response, particularly the prominent role of the Pakistani military and the willingness of the international community to partner directly with it, had ramifications. While the military played an essential role in the relief effort and operated in a professional manner, it kept Pakistani civil society sidelined throughout the recovery and reconstruction efforts. The response became another example of the military's self-perpetuating role in Pakistani society.

The consequences of the Kashmir earthquake response provide important lessons for the international community to consider during future post-disaster settings. For instance, the earthquake response represented the UN's first effort to bridge the relief-to-reconstruction gap in a proactive, structural manner. The UN and GoP established a relief cluster in order to tackle lingering relief issues as they arose throughout the recovery and reconstruction process. This effort constituted an important first step towards bridging the divide between the humanitarian and development communities. The notion that humanitarians should focus only on life-saving issues, while development actors should enter once the situation as returned to "normal" lies at the heart of a number of the challenges I have outlined. Much of the international community's approach to humanitarian challenges stems the inaccurate belief that the post-disaster recovery process is "ordered, knowable, and predictable."[98] As Wisner and colleagues note, in order to truly recover, one must be *more* resilient to the next shock. Without tackling the social, political, and economic causes of vulnerability, "it could be argued that recovery never takes place and never can take place."[99]

In order to bridge the artificial divides between the humanitarian and development communities, the international community should work to link peacebuilding to disaster risk reduction (DRR) in conflict-affected and post-conflict settings. While neither DRR nor peacebuilding is uniform in theory or practice, schools within each field share strikingly similar attributes. This is particularly true for the "maximalist approach" to peacebuilding, which Call and Cousens argue "focus[es] on fostering sustainable institutions and processes in areas such as sustainable development, the eradication of poverty

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[98] J. Eugene Hass, Robert W. Kates, and Martyn J. Bowden, *Reconstruction Following Disaster* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1977): 262.
[99] Wisner et al. 2004, 359.

and inequalities, transparent and accountable governance, the promotion of democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law and the promotion of a culture of peace and nonviolence."[100]

Using this maximalist approach, one can identify several common principles between peacebuilding and DRR. First, both theories emphasize the importance of social capital and trust. Creating institutions and programs that bring actors face-to-face for dialogue and cooperation is vital for reconstructing the social fabric after conflict and for enabling communities to mitigate disaster risk.[101] Secondly, peacebuilding and DRR stress the need to challenge the extant structures of domination. These structures can foment social tensions and leave certain groups in marginalized positions, heightening vulnerability to both phenomena. Lastly, both peacebuilding and DRR accentuate building local capacity and empowering civil society. This approach can enable civil society to fill the resource gaps that exist in weak states and act as a check upon predatory regimes. It can also help actors to ensure that development programs are community-driven and incorporate their concerns and vulnerabilities.

FROM DEVELOPMENT TO RESILIENCE

In order to effectively link peacebuilding to DRR in practice, policymakers and practitioners should shift their focus from development to resilience.[102] While development brings solutions to the people, resilience suggests that the solutions must come from the people. One potential way to link peacebuilding and DRR within this discourse of resilience is to focus on interventions that strengthen and diversify livelihoods through natural resource management (NRM) initiatives.[103] Livelihoods programs provide a holistic way to strengthen the five key forms of capital, including enhancing the natural capital upon which much of the developing world depends for subsistence and protection from disasters.[104] Several existing programs have strengthened livelihoods and NRM in tandem. One example is the New Beginnings Programme, a disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR)

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[100] Charles T. Call and Elizabeth M. Cousens, "Ending Wars and Building Peace: International Responses to War-Torn Societies," *International Studies Perspectives* 9, no. 1 (2008): 6.

[101] Allan Cain, "Livelihoods and the Informal Economy in Post-War Angola," in *Supporting Sustainable Livelihoods: A Critical Review of Assistance in Post-Conflict Situations*, J. Clover & R. Cornwell, eds. (Praetoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, 2004), 87.

[102] The IPCC defines resilience as "the ability of a social or ecological system to absorb disturbances while retaining the same basic structure and ways of functioning, the capacity for self-organization, and the capacity to adapt to stress and change" (See *Climate Change 2007: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability. Contribution of Working Group II to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change,* M.L. Parry et al, eds. (Cambridge, UK: IPCC, 2007), 86.

[103] The World Bank (2000) defines natural resource management as "the sustainable utilization of major natural resources, such as land, water, air, minerals, forests, fisheries, and wild flora and fauna" (see http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/110135/nrm.pdf).

[104] The five forms of capital are natural, socio-political, human, physical, and financial.

program in Afghanistan. It has reintegrated roughly 24,000 ex-combatants into rural communities through livelihoods focused on NRM, including sustainable agriculture.[105] Additionally, the Afghan Conservation Corps (ACC) has employed thousands of poor Afghans in projects to improve the country's fragile natural resource base and generate rural employment opportunities. ACC members have planted more than five million trees throughout the countryside.[106] These initiatives have enhanced social and natural capital in Afghanistan, making rural Afghans more resilient to future disasters and political challenges.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This paper has examined the various connections between conflicts and disasters, on one hand, and peacebuilding and disaster risk reduction, on the other. It has demonstrated that the occurrence of and consequences from conflicts and disasters have increased in recent decades, threatening to trap a large portion of the developing world behind a veil of persistent instability and poverty. Though the literature on the links from disasters to conflict remains limited, I have attempted to examine the potential ways that disasters and the responses to them may alter conflict vulnerability in conflict-affected and post-conflict countries. Accordingly, I constructed a four-point framework for analysis to connect these phenomena. Using a portion of this framework, I demonstrated that the response to the 2005 Kashmir earthquake appears to have altered negatively the conflict dynamics within AJK and NWFP. The impacts of the response effort present a cautionary tale to the international community about the consequences of humanitarian responses in complex conflict settings. At the very least, it further reinforces that interventions carry inherently political consequences, which alter the dynamics on the ground. As the ancient Greek philosopher Heraclitus said, "You could not step twice into the same river."[107]

In the previous section, I proposed an alternative approach to tackling conflict and disasters – linking peacebuilding and DRR in programs and interventions. These two concepts, though diverse in theory and practice, share a number of common precepts; these include emphasizing social capital, challenging the extant structures of domination, and empowering civil society. In order to facilitate this approach, policymakers should shift their focus away from development. Given the complex challenges facing the world, the international community cannot continue to operate according to the status quo. Rather, it should adopt the paradigm of resilience, which

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[105] Carl Bruch et al., "Post-Conflict Peace Building and Natural Resources," *Yearbook of International Environmental Law* 19, no. 1 (2008): 58-96.

[106] United Nations Environment Programme, *From Conflict to Peacebuilding: The Role of Natural Resources and the Environment* (Geneva: UNEP, 2009).

[107] This quote appears in Fragment 41 of his work, *On the Universe*, as quoted by Plato in *Cratylus*.

emphasizes the need to work according to the capacities and vulnerabilities that communities possess. The international community can effect this change by focusing on livelihoods initiatives that foster better natural resource management, tackling both the causes and consequences of conflict and disasters.