## Water, War, and Peace: History and Strategies for the Future

### Peter H. Gleick

### UN Water Conference, March 24, 2023





## Summary

- Violence over water resources in the Middle East has a long history, going back more than 4,000 years and continuing to the present.
- The types of conflict include water as a trigger, weapon, and casualty of conflict.
- The causes of conflict include long-standing political, religious, ideological, economic, *and* hydrologic factors, including now, climate change.
- Reducing the risks of water-related conflict includes technological, economic, and political approaches, and improvements in water management and use.



## Water and Conflict: Critical Issues

- Fresh water is widely shared internationally.
  - -Half of all land area on Earth
  - Over 260 "international river basins", including all major rivers in Africa.
- There is growing competition for water.
  - Rising populations, expanding economies
  - Major inequities and development challenges
  - Growing environmental degradation, including climate change
- Efforts to resolve water-related disputes are often inadequate.



## The Water Conflict Chronology (www.worldwater.org)





The Books Water Data Water Conflict Other Resources



In an ongoing effort to understand the connections between water resources, water systems, and international security and conflict, the Pacific Institute initiated a project in the late 1980s to track and categorize events related to water and conflict, which has been continuously updated since. The database, most recently updated in March 2022, presents the information as a chronology and map. Use the links below to explore the chronological list of events or the interactive events map.

Citation: Pacific Institute (2022) Water Conflict Chronology. Pacific Institute, Oakland, CA. https://www.worldwater.org/water-conflict/. Accessed: (access date).

### View the Water Conflict Chronology

#### **Chronological List**

#### Map

A table listing conflicts over water that can be filtered by region, conflict type, and date range. An interactive map showing the geographic location where conflicts over water have occurred and information about each conflict.

### Make a Difference!

"There are few books that can genuinely be described as indispensable. This is one...essential reading."

-Financial Times Global Water Report

## The Water Conflict Chronology (www.worldwater.org)

#### Munak canal (2016)

- 457. <u>Public officials taken hostage after an oil spill</u> polluted local waters (2016)
- 458. Armed gaurds clash with farmers over droughtstruck region of Bundelkhand (2016)
- 459. Islamic State fighters destroy pipeline that provides water for eastern Mosul, Iraq (2016)
- 460. Massive opposition to project that threatens Indian heritage and water supplies (2016)
- 461. Intentional attacks on water infrastructure (2016)
- 462. Stand-off over water rights and use resulting in death (2016)
- 463. Riots over water leave two people dead (2016)
- 464. Attack by the Islamic State on Tishreen Dam on the Euphrates River (2016)
- 465. Water pumping plant attacked in Syria (2016)
- 466. Water pipeline is bombed in Turkey (2016)
- 467. Water wells attacked in Somalia (2016)
- 468. Guard at water well in the Sudan is attacked (2016)
- 469. Disruption of electrical system cuts power to water supply in Damascus, Syria (2016)
- 470. Bombs detonated at hydroelectric power plant in East Java (2016)
- 471. Attack on a local dam in India (2016)
- 472. Water pipeline is damaged in Pakistan (2016)
- 473. Islamic State militants raid Great Manmade River Project pumping station (2016)
- 474. From late 2016 through early 2017, the water supply in Damascus, Syria is periodically cut when springs outside city are attacke (2016-2017)





### http://worldwater.org/water-conflict/

View Water Conflict Chronology List Copyright 2018 Pacific Institute

## Water Conflict Categories

- Weapon: Water as a weapon of conflict

 Diverting water from villages; opening floodgates on dams (Iraq 2017); attacks on water infrastructure (Ukraine)

• **Casualty:** Water resources or water systems as a casualty or target of conflict

-WWII, Vietnam, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Ukraine

Chronology of water conflicts: www.worldwater.org





2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017 2018 2019 2020 2021

*Gleick and Shimabuku. 2023. Env. Research Letters.* https://doi.org/10.1088/1748-9326/acbb8f



## Number of Water Conflicts, by Region



Weaponizing Water: Syria, Iraq, Ukraine

"Too often, where we need water, we find guns instead."

----UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon





A map of the major dams in the Tigris and Euphrates watershed. Many of these dams were targets of conflict during the recent violence in the region. Source: Morgan Shimabuku, Pacific Institute.

MIC Izvestia Footage shows massive explosion at dam in Kherson

> Explosion at Khakovka Dam, Nov 11, 2022 (The Guardian)

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Maxar satellite image, Khakovka Dam, November 11, 2022

### Nova Khakovka Dam, Ukraine Nov 5, 2022

Kakhovka, Kherson Oblast, Ukrain... 34.62 km² | 46.79771°N 33.49650°E

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500 m

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### Nova Khakovka Dam, Ukraine February 8, 2023



Kakhovka, Kherson Oblast, Ukrain... 34.62 km² | 46.79771°N 33.49650°E



Solutions: Strategies for Reducing Risks of Water-Related Conflicts

## PACIFIC INSTITUTE

## ENDING CONFLICTS OVER WATER

Solutions to Water and Security Challenges

PETER GLEICK, CHARLES ICELAND, AND AYUSHI TRIVEDI









## Strategies for Ending Conflicts Over Water

- Technical (address water scarcity, improve efficiency)
- Economic (improve allocation/use; smart subsidies)
- Management (address institutional failures)
- Political, Diplomatic, and Legal (move toward cooperation; international laws of war)

Source: Report on "Ending Conflicts over Water: Solutions to Water and Security Challenges." P.H. Gleick, C. Iceland, A. Trivedi. September 2020. *Pacific Institute, World Resources, Institute, Water Peace and Security Partnership.* 



### Summary: Water for Peace and Cooperation

- The causes of water conflicts include long-standing political, religious, ideological, economic, and hydrologic factors, **including now, climate change**.
- Just as water has been a source of conflict and violence, it can be a source of peace, cooperation, and sustainable development.
- Some major international rivers have agreements and treaties that allocate the waters among the parties sharing a watershed.
- But the trends are in the wrong direction; and new strategies for cooperation are urgently needed.



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## Water, Peace and Security

UN Water Conference 2023: Water, War and Peace

Water, Peace & Security Partnership

Liz Saccoccia Water Security Associate World Resources Institute



## Water Security is National Security

## "If Climate Change is a Shark, then Water is its Teeth"

– James P. Bruce

"Water Can Be a Pathway to Peace, Not War"

- Aaron Wolf



# The Water, Peace and Security (WPS) partnership aims to address water related conflict by:



... In order to turn vicious cycles of water and conflict into virtuous cycles of water-based peace and cooperation



### 2019 LAUNCH OF WPS GLOBAL EARLY WARNING TOOL



## OVERVIEW

**Conflict Forecast** to highlight emerging conflict hotspots and prioritize opportunities for water-related interventions

- Long-term conflict risk
- Short-term estimate of intensity and direction

**Regional Causal Models** to better understand the causes of conflict in regions throughout the world

**Global Early Warning Tool** to put it all together and explore the timely, local dynamics underpinning conflict

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## CONFLICT FORECAST: LONG-TERM RISK

### What is the risk of deadly armed conflict in the upcoming year?

Do we predict at least 10 fatalities over the next year?

Have there been at least 10 fatalities over the past year?

Risk category: Ongoing, emerging, below the threshold

### Useful for:

- Identifying emerging conflict hotspots
- Long-term strategic planning
- Prioritization



This map is for illustrative purposes and does not imply the expression of any opinion on the part of WPS, concerning the legal status of any country or territory or concerning the delination of frontiers or boundari

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How intense will conflict be in the coming months? Is the situation better or worse?

How many conflict events do we predict in the coming 2 months?

How does that compare with the previous 2-month record?







### CONFLICT DEFINITION

Number of conflict events

#### ACLED EVENT TYPES USED

#### Battles

Violence against civilians

DATA USED

Leave-one-out optimizing

#### DATA USED

Population density Population count Rural population (count) Battles (count) Violence against civilians (count) Rainfed agriculture value (sum) 3-month precipitation anomalies 6-month precipitation anomalies Seasonal variability

ACLED Codebook

LSTM Forecast for Mopti, Mali

- Correct with ±2 events
- Is 44% better than taking last month's number of conflicts (naïve model)
- Is 27% better than taking the average number of events



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## **REGIONAL CAUSAL MODEL**

What is the relationship between water and conflict? How strong is that relationship?

Took a cross section of data in time

Ran thousands of iterations of statistical experiments, benchmarking them against each other to derive the strongest causal relationships

Visualized the models using causal graphs

### Useful for:

- Understanding the complex connections that underpin conflict
- Identifying which effects have a statistically significant relationship to conflict







Water insecurity is increasing worldwide, straining relations between people, communities



### **UNDERSTANDING THE CAUSES OF CONFLICT**

Jump To

Causal Models

Causal Model 101

Methodology

Regions

East Asia and Pacific Europe and Central Asia Latin America and Caribbean Middle East and North Africa North America South Asia Sub-Sabaran Africa

### **Causal Models**

In order to prevent water-related conflicts, we need to better understand what causes those conflicts and target interventions. WPS has sought to create causal models to identify the causes of conflicts in regions throughout the world. Doing so exposes and quantifies the complex connections that underpin the specific outcome of armed conflict.

Typically, causal inference requires experimentation in a controlled lab-type setting, which is not possible with armed conflict. Instead, we turned to advanced statistical methods and subject-matter expertise to map the relationships between water, food, economics, governance, and community data to armed conflict events and fatalities to understand how water challenges can lead to conflict. We ran thousands of iterations of statistical experiments, testing the causal linkages against a vast variety of hypotheses based on current climate conflict research to establish strong linkages between our input variables and armed conflict. Based on this, we are able to identify factors that contribute to conflict and the extent that they do so. Below we explain how the causal model works in more detail, and you can select links to see the findings from different regions of the world.

### **Causal Model 101**



### **UNDERSTANDING THE CAUSES OF CONFLICT**



**Causal Models** 

Causal Model 101

Methodology

Regions

East Asia and Pacific

Europe and Central Asia

Latin America and Caribbean

Middle East and North Africa

North America

South Asia

Sub-Saharan Africa



Middle East & North Africa



North America





Sub-Saharan Africa



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In collaboration with the



Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands



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## **Global Early Warning Tool** to put it all together and explore the timely, local dynamics underpinning conflict
## GLOBAL TOOL DEMO



POV: Analyst at a government agency worried about water and insecurity in Iraq



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### **CAUSAL MODEL: MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA**

#### Indirect Causal Relationships

waterpeacesecurity.org/causal/regions/middle\_east\_and\_north\_africa

The causal graph shows the causal structure of environmental and other conditions that cause the armed conflict activity. Whereas the causal paths are rooted in vegetation coverage and rural population size, the magnitude of causal effect of the rural population size on the conflict events could not be estimated with sufficient certainty. Additionally, the density of green areas is an important root cause. However, the available data precluded estimation of its effect on the conflict events. The causal structure also shows that all the causal paths between the root causes and armed conflict activity are indirect.

#### **Mediating Effects**

The indirect causal effects on the armed conflict activity are mediated by the remaining variables in the graph, including demographic (population density, rural population) and agricultural variables (portion of calories produced for food, count of livestock chicken, irrigated crop production, production of barley fields). Among these, especially important for the mediation of causal effects on the conflict events is the local population density. Notably, the local population density causes a decrease in the conflict events. The causal effect of the local population density was established at the 1% level of statistical significance.



### My take-aways:

- Crop conditions
- Agriculture

# GLOBAL TOOL DEMO



POV: Analyst at a government agency worried about water and insecurity in Iraq

## Iraq

### **Background Research**

- Dependent on the the Tigris and Euphrates rivers
- Drought/low flow conditions allow salty water to flow upstream
- Challenges with water pollution

## **Casual Graph**

 Vegetation health has a causal link to conflict  $\leftarrow \rightarrow C$   $\square$  waterpeacesecurity.org/map















Owps









**Owps** 









# GLOBAL TOOL INSIGHTS



POV: Analyst at a government agency worried about water and insecurity in Iraq

## Iraq

- Dependent on the the Tigris and Euphrates rivers –low reservoir storage
- Drought/low flow conditions allow salty water to flow upstream – dry conditions expected to continue
- Food + Energy concerns food price spikes + hydropower reservoirs low



## NEXT STEPS: LOCAL ANALYSIS + ENGAGEMENT









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Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands

















# APPENDIX

## CONFLICT FORECAST: LONG-TERM RISK



**Technical Note** 

### CONFLICT DEFINITION

At least 10 fatalities over a year

#### ACLED EVENT TYPES USED

#### Battles

Explosions/remote violence

Violence against civilians

Riots

**Violent Protests** 

ACLED Codebook

### DATA USED

### Feature Importance

### DATA USED

Percentage of males aged 65+ Percentage of population aged 25-64 males Percentage of population aged 65+ males Local population count Local population density Rural to urban ratio Battle (event and fatality counts) Violence against civilians (event and fatality counts) GDP Agriculture value added to GDP Value of rainfed crops Access to sanitation 24-month precipitation anomalies Riverine flood risk Seasonal and interannual variability

## CONFLICT FORECAST: LONG-TERM RISK



### Figure 6 | Number of Ongoing and Emerging Conflicts Displayed per Forecast Confidence

Øwps





### Deltares



## Irina Patrahau The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies



WORLD Resources Institute

alert









*"Iraq is emerging from the ashes of war, facing an unprecedented water crisis that is worsened by the compounded effects of climate change, and neighbouring countries' water policies."* 

- President Rashid, UN Water Conference 2023





## Water (in)security in Iraq

- Decreasing water quantity
  - The Tigris and Euphrates rivers provide up to 98% of Iraq's water supply
  - Since the 1980s, water **supply** flowing through the two rivers has gone down by 80%
- Decreasing water quality
  - Water pollution and salinisation impact the supply of freshwater and decrease arable land

### • Natural and anthropogenic causes

- Climate change
- Outdated and damaged infrastructure
- Inefficient water use
- Deficient water governance
- Transboundary challenges
- Increasing water **demand**: population and urbanization





## **Owps**





### Water governance as a stressor and obstacle to resilience

### 1. Insufficient implementation of strategic/action plans

- Ministries often seek quick-fix solutions
- Reactive rather than proactive policies
- Need more flexibility to accommodate changing water needs
  - Current allocation framework does not incentivise innovation in water management

### 2. Dysfunctional coordination and integration of responsibilities

- Decentralisation
- Inter-agency and inter-ministerial coordination

## **Conflict between authorities**

- Non-violent disputes between federal-provincial authorities and provincial-provincial authorities
  - Legal complaints
  - Political accusations
- Disputes over the fair allocation and use of water resources
- In 2018, there were disagreements between the **federal government and the governorate authorities in Basra** about the construction of a dam near Abu Flous Port



## **Conflict between authorities and citizens**

- In March 2023, water scarcity triggered clashes between rioters and police in Dhi Qar
- In 2018, Iraqis took to the streets in July 2018, denouncing unemployment, corruption, and poor governance. This escalated to violent protests as a result of the Basra water crisis.
- Rarely exclusively about direct water-related demands
- Interprovincial spill-over of instability
- Catalysts:
  - Perception & existing relations
  - Excessive use of force (by government forces)
  - Tangled power structures



Demonstrations in Iraq's Basra Province in July 2018. Source: AA/Security forces disperse demonstration in Iraq's Basra



### **Conflict over scarce resources**

- Direct water-related challenges at **the local level** between **socio-economic actors** (e.g., farmers, herders), based on threat to livelihoods
- Migration of livestock owners in Basra to other arable areas has caused friction over resources, with some herders reporting their cattle being shot
- There are reports of a tribal sheikh in Missan controlling water flows, with local authorities refusing to take action against this
- Water insecurity is a catalyst to pre-existing tensions



Basra Marshlands. Source: <u>The Guardian/How Water Scarcity is Changing South-</u> <u>Iraq</u>



## Tribalism: a driver and/or mitigator of conflict

- Historical relevance and influence
- Today, **75% of the population** belonging to one of Iraq's 150 tribes
- Expanding & contracting power depending on state authority and presence
- Driver & mitigator of conflict
  - Tangled power structures
  - Co-opted by governorate security forces
  - Social safety net
  - Traditional conflict resolution mechanisms to deter outbreak or escalation of conflict
- Tribal conflict over water issues are occurring, **pushing latent conflict** into open confrontation

| Conflicts between Tribes in Iraq |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| Governorate                      | Example  |
| Basra                            | The regression of the marshes' water during drought<br>season has spurred disputes between two tribes in the<br>Al-Chibayish marshes, which are part of Dhi Qar and<br>Basrah governorates, in the past.                             |
| Missan                           | In Missan, water-related challenges are also<br>intensifying tribal conflicts and instability. Recent<br>water-related disputes between armed Huraish and<br>Marian tribes resulted in the death of at least twenty-<br>five people. |
| Dhi Qar                          | In Dhi Qar governorate, 20 clashes erupted recently between clans due to water scarcity.   |



# WPS Aim: To turn vicious cycles of water and conflict into virtuous cycles of water-based peace and cooperation





## WPS in Iraq

The WPS consortium engages with government authorities, NGOs, IGOs and local stakeholders in Iraq to build on existing initiatives, pool efforts, identify and fill gaps in knowledge, facilitate action, help strengthen cooperation, and improve communication.



Map of Iraq showing the selected provinces for the WPS Iraq engagement: Wasit, Missan, Dhi-Qar, and Basrah.



## **WPS Integrated Action Areas**




## **Take-aways**

In Iraq, tangled formal and informal power structures and suboptimal inter-agency cooperation pose challenges to the water sector.

An informed, inclusive and integrated approach that addresses elements of the water-conflict nexus is central to mitigating water-related security risks and building resilience.

WPS supports the development of a shared understanding of water-conflict dynamics and dialogue processes between federal, governorate and local level stakeholders.

