

## Evidence synthesis of the impact of extractive industries on political settlements and conflict in East Africa

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**Inception Report**  
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## 1. Introduction:

Africa's mineral endowment is well documented, with the continent accounting for an estimated 88% of world's share of diamonds, 73% of platinum, 42% of bauxite, 42% of gold, and 38% of uranium, among many other commodities (Bush, 2008). With the realisation of this potential, there is a growing dependency on the extractive industries by many African economies. Despite gains in economic growth related to the extractives boom since 2002, Africa remains one of the world's poorest, least developed regions. The huge potential benefits notwithstanding, the extraction of these finite resources poses significant environmental, social and human rights risks. Informed public policy is essential to ensuring that the potential societal benefits outweigh the negative impacts associated with this sector (Chandra 2009).

The focus of the project is on how political settlements shape the development of new oil, gas and mining industries in East Africa, and in turn, how existing settlements are changed by these new sectors. New extractive developments in post-conflict countries may be expected to revive old animosities and political risks, particularly when the past conflict had significant territorial dimensions. In turn, the discovery of mineral, oil and gas deposits raises new opportunities for revenues, employment and other benefits, which may impact positively on political settlements and peace-building.

For example, the oil and gas exploration in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia has threatened the fragile peace agreement with the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF). Ethiopia has estimated oil reserves of about 2.7 billion barrels and attempts to start exploration have faced a strong opposition. In 2007, the ONLF attacked an exploration site killing nine Chinese and 65 Ethiopian exploration team, warning Africa Oil Corporation against further exploration in 2013. Alternatively, the potential for oil development in this region could drive the central government and regional actors towards renewal of peace talks and a more inclusive political settlement for the region (International Crisis Group, 2013). Political leadership and the role of regional actors (notably the Kenyan government) are factors likely to determine whether extractive industries result in a developmental impact in this case.

Efforts to formalise Rwanda's mining industry are complicated by ongoing conflict over the illicit minerals trade in eastern DRC, which has become the dominant narrative around

extractive industries in the Great Lakes region (Perks, 2013). Rwanda's domestic mineral economy has potential to provide sustainable livelihoods if the regulation and governance of artisanal mining can be improved. Lessons for the formalisation of artisanal mining and support to this nascent industry will be drawn from the literature on artisanal mining in LMICs. Although predominantly characterised by artisanal mining, Rwanda's extractives sector is also considered to have a potential for industrialised mining. In addition, the ongoing recovery from the genocide of 1994 plays out in the effort to maintain a peaceful, democratic settlement in the country.

New discoveries of oil in Kenya are shifting global attention towards East Africa, with an estimated 600 million barrels of oil found in the South Lokichar Basin, Turkana. This promising finding raised hope among the impoverished and marginalised surrounding communities, as well as widespread uncertainties as to the ways in which the government and industry manage the exploitation and beneficiation of these resources. It has been warned that the new oil discovery is likely to exacerbate existing tensions in the Turkana County where growing militarised interethnic and cross-border conflicts are mainly caused by competition for scarce pastures and water resources (Johannes, Zulu and Kalipeni, 2014). Much depends on the successful implementation of a more inclusive political settlement as promised by the decentralisation provisions of the 2010 Constitution.

Kenya's political accommodation of ethnic conflict following the 2007 election is being tested by oil and gas discoveries linked to insecurity in coastal regions, such as Lamu County. Terrorist attacks and threats mainly by Somalia's Al-shabaab could also present potential hurdle to this prospect. Kenya has a maritime boundary dispute with Somalia, in the Indian Ocean waters. Unfortunately the gazetted oil and gas exploration blocks are located in the disputed area of offshore Lamu Basin, and resolution of the dispute as soon as possible will be required to avoid resource-fuelled disputes which are even harder to mediate. The disputed Ilemi triangle between South-Sudan and Kenya also lies in the Tertiary Rift Basin stretching over three exploration blocks in that region. The discovery of minerals in Kwale counties, among other regions, is likely to result in conflict and weak national cohesion if land use associated with mining or drilling negatively affects food security or water supply. All these concerns may act as catalyst to conflict in the wake of resource discoveries in these regions.

The project aims to deepen understanding of the impact of oil, gas and mineral discoveries and investment in these extractive industries on political settlements and conflict in East Africa. It will review the broad literature on this topic in low to middle income countries (LMICs), and identify evidence gaps salient to three country case studies of Ethiopia, Kenya and Rwanda. The expected outcome is to inform longer term research programming in East Africa about evidence gaps and lessons learned, in order to mitigate risks of conflict and promote inclusive, sustainable development.

## 2. Research questions:

### 2.1 Overarching Research Questions

1) What is the relationship between oil and/or mineral dependence and political settlements in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs)?
2) What is the relationship between oil and/or mineral dependence and conflict in LMICs?
3) When do the extractive industries impact on political settlements and conflict in LMICs, e.g. during exploration, after discovery, after production has begun or once a certain level of revenues per capita has been generated?
4) Does the condition of the economy (size and diversity of the economy; income levels; established revenue base; exports and level of aid dependence) prior to extractives development influence the impact these extractive industries subsequently have on political settlements and conflict in LMICs?
5) Does the condition of political settlements (in terms of stability, accountability, inclusivity, transparency and civil-military relations) existing in LMICs prior to extractives development influence whether these new extractive industries mitigate or exacerbate conflict and/or more inclusive or exclusive political settlements?
6) How does the level of resource dependence of an LMIC influence the impact of extractive industries on political settlements and conflict in that country?

7) To what extent do new oil and gas discoveries in LMICs contribute to meeting the energy access needs of those countries?

8) Is there evidence of expansion of government spending as a result of extractives discoveries? What is the implication of this expansion on regional development? Does the discovery of oil and gas, or strategic minerals, encourage LMICs to invest in the development (of roads, energy infrastructure, telecoms, etc.) in regions where the discoveries are made?

9) What lessons can be learned from LMICs that have been successful in achieving resource-led GDP and export growth?

10) What is the impact of international factors such as changes in commodity prices, market structure (in particular in terms of competitiveness) and rulings by international governing bodies (including cases like trade sanctions) on extractive industries in LMICs? What lessons may be learned from the policy responses of low-middle income countries to these international factors?

11) What impact have the opportunities derived from new extractive industries by elite actors had on existing political settlements and conflict risks?

12) What impact has the exclusion of groups or constituencies (e.g. ethnic minorities, women, nomadic communities, artisanal miners) from the opportunities or benefits of new extractive industries had on existing political settlements and conflict risks?

## 2.2 Case-study Research Questions

1) What is the current and forecast trend of GDP and export composition of mining in the overall economy of Kenya, Ethiopia and Rwanda?

2) Which economic sectors are the main employers in the economies of Kenya, Ethiopia and Rwanda? What is the proportion and significance of employment by extractive industries?

3) What is the average per capita income in Kenya, Rwanda and Ethiopia; and how is this expected to change with the extractive industry development?

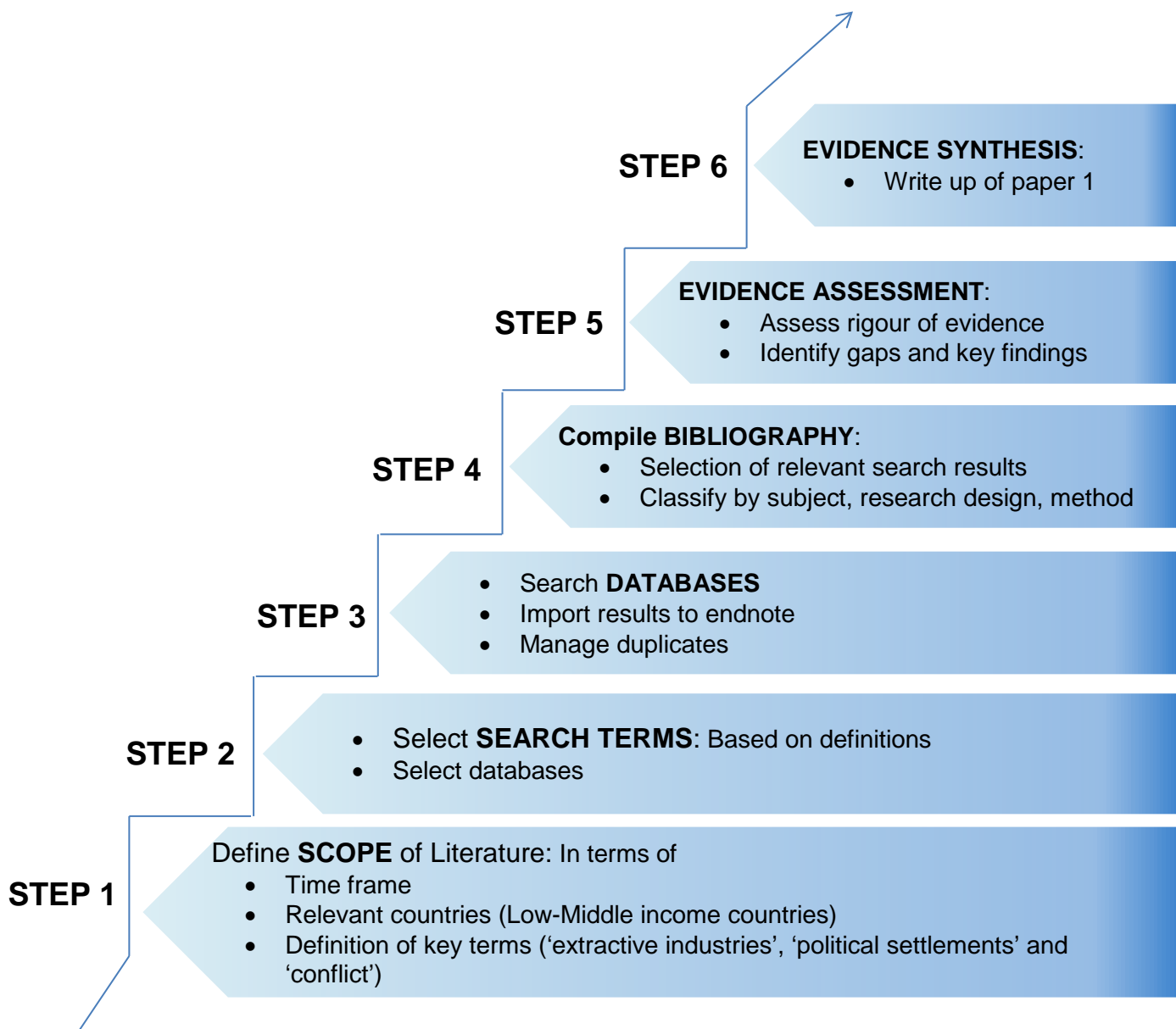
4) What has been the public revenue base in Ethiopia, Kenya and Rwanda prior to the extractive discoveries? To what extent is this expected to change with the revenue from extractive development?
5) What is the level of sovereign debt and aid dependency in each of those countries and to what extent can the expected revenue generated from the extractive industries affect this debt situation?
6) What primary and secondary political settlements existed in Ethiopia, Kenya and Rwanda prior to the recent development of extractive industries?
7) What are the gender dynamics of these political settlements at national and subnational level (e.g. traditional power structures at local level)?
8) How have existing political settlements in Ethiopia, Kenya and Rwanda accommodated socio-spatially defined political tensions?
9) To what extent do the politically contested territories of Ethiopia, Kenya and Rwanda coincide with significant mineral deposits and oil, gas and mining licensed exploration and production zones?
10) What impact have the opportunities derived from new extractive industries by elite actors had on existing political settlements and conflict risks?
11) What are the energy access needs in each country and what are the expectations that oil and gas discoveries can help meet these energy needs for underserved communities?
12) What are the regional implications of the oil and gas prospects in Kenya and Ethiopia, and the development of Rwanda's mineral economy?
13) What are the lessons that Kenya, Ethiopia and Rwanda can draw in order to respond better to international factors such as changes in commodity prices, market structure (in particular in terms of competitiveness) and rulings by international governing bodies (including cases like trade sanctions)?

### 3. Methodology:

#### 3.1 Overarching literature review:

The project will conduct a broad and in-depth literature review of the impact of extractive industries on political settlements and conflict in low and middle income countries, including assessment of the rigour and scope of the body of evidence provided by the 'resource curse' literature.

#### Search strategy and review method:





## Step 1 Scope:

**The publication date range for the literature search is 1990-2015.** This will capture the seminal works on the ‘resource curse’, e.g. Sachs & Warner (1995), Karl (1997), Ross (1999), Homer-Dixon (1999), Collier (2000), Dietrich (2000), Auty (2001), Le Billon (2001); as well as the country-specific studies of post-Cold War civil wars linked to natural resources. The economic context of low- and middle-income countries post-1990 will include relevant factors such as levels of indebtedness prior to the resources ‘boom’ of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, as well as key economic variables over the period 1990-2015, such as GDP, per capita income, employment by industry, energy, export and human development indicators (HDIs).

The end of the Cold War is significant because extractive resources offered an alternative source of revenue for governments and rebels previously depending on superpower backing. This publication date range will not exclude evidence of impacts of EIs on political settlements and conflict prior to 1990, because several of the broad comparative studies, such as Ross and Collier use datasets of resource-dependent countries after 1945. Case studies of significant secessionist conflicts linked to mining and oil extraction, such as the Biafran war in Nigeria and the Katanga conflict in the Congo in the 1960s are included, for example, in Collier (2000).

### **The range of relevant countries will be selected as follows:**

A list of resource dependent LMIC’s featured in both:

- World Bank 2015 classification of countries as low income (annual per capita income of up to US\$1,035), lower middle-income (US\$1,036-4,085) or upper middle-income (US\$4,086-12,615) <http://data.worldbank.org/news/new-country-classifications>
- IMF classification of ‘commodity-rich but income-poor countries’ (May 2012), <http://www.valuwalk.com/2012/08/commodity-rich-but-income-poor-countries/>

1. Algeria (oil)	Upper middle-income
2. Angola (oil)	Upper middle-income
3. Azerbaijan (oil)	Upper middle-income
4. Bolivia (gas)	Lower middle-income
5. Botswana (diamonds)	Upper middle-income
6. Cameroon (oil)	Lower middle-income
7. Chad (oil)	Low-income
8. Congo (oil)	Lower middle-income

9. DRC (minerals and oil)	Low-income
10. Ecuador (oil)	Upper middle-income
11. Gabon (oil)	Upper middle-income
12. Guinea (iron ore)	Low-income
13. Guyana (gold and bauxite)	Lower middle-income
14. Indonesia (oil)	Lower middle-income
15. Iran (oil)	Upper middle-income
16. Iraq (oil)	Upper middle-income
17. Kazakhstan (oil)	Upper middle-income
18. Libya (oil)	Upper middle-income
19. Mali (gold)	Low-income
20. Malaysia (oil)	Upper middle-income
21. Mauritania (iron ore)	Lower middle-income
22. Mexico (oil)	Upper middle-income
23. Mongolia (copper)	Lower middle-income
24. Nigeria (oil)	Lower middle-income
25. Papua New Guinea (minerals and petroleum)	Lower middle-income
26. Peru (minerals)	Upper middle-income
27. Sudan (oil)	Lower middle-income
28. Suriname (minerals)	Upper middle-income
29. Syria (oil)	Lower middle-income
30. Timor Leste (oil)	Lower middle-income
31. Turkmenistan (oil)	Upper middle-income
32. Venezuela (oil)	Upper middle-income
33. Vietnam (oil)	Lower middle-income
34. Yemen (oil)	Lower middle-income
35. Zambia (copper)	Lower middle-income

The overarching literature review will include studies focused on one or more of these countries, as well as other relevant studies that are not country-specific or are comparative across a wider set of countries (for example, that include high-income mineral or oil-producing countries such as Australia, Chile and Norway). A bibliography of up to 500 references will be compiled for the overarching literature review. This will include at least one case study of each of these 35 countries to ensure that evidence specific to resource-dependent LMICs is the primary focus of the review. See pages 30-40 for an initial list of these references.

Note that there are important lessons to be learned from LMICs that are not resource dependent, but may have new oil and gas discoveries and/ or well developed artisanal mining sectors, such as Ghana and Uganda. Studies with relevant lessons focused on

these countries will be included in addition to the 35 LMICs listed, when they are found using the search terms listed below.

### **Definitions:**

**Extractive industries:** Mining and petroleum enterprises engaged in the exploration, extraction, production, on-site processing, storage and transportation of non-renewable minerals, oil and natural gas (conventional and unconventional, e.g. oil sands, shale gas, coal seam gas, etc). Industrial majors and junior companies, and artisanal small-scale mining are included. Downstream activities of petroleum enterprises, such as refining, supply and marketing are excluded, as is the beneficiation of minerals, such as gemstone polishing and cutting, or gold refining. Extraction of renewable natural resources, such as timber, is excluded.

**Political settlements:** ‘Expression of a common understanding, usually forged between elites, about how power should be organised and exercised’ (DFID, 2010; see also Barnes, 2009; Menocal 2009). The outcome of bargaining and negotiation between elites (di John & Putzel, 2009). The outcome of peace processes in war-to-peace transitions (Menocal, 2009). Note that political settlements are not a ‘one-off event’, but an ongoing process.

*Primary political settlements* refer to the state level of power.

*Secondary political settlements* are ‘the arrangements among powerful local elites to control political competition and governance below the national level (i.e. province, state, district, city, village, etc.)’ Secondary political settlements are important to explain subnational conflict, lagging regions and centre-periphery tensions (Parks & Cole, 2010).

### **Conflict:**

*Armed conflict* is ‘a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year’ (Uppsala Conflict Data Program, <http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/definitions/>). It may be state-based, if one of the parties is the state, or non-state based conflict.

*Community-based conflict* arising directly from extractive industries is defined broadly along a continuum, from (1) ‘procedure-based’ conflict (complaints, petitions or other submissions to the company, government or international bodies; litigation; publicity campaigns, public

meetings); (2) physical protest (demonstrations; strikes; blockades); (3) violence to property (private or public infrastructure, equipment, buildings); and (4) violence to the person (injuries or deaths) (Davis & Franks, 2014).

### **Step 2 Search terms:**

“Extractive industries”/ mineral resource/ mining/ oil/ extractive commodities AND conflict/ wars/ genocide/ massacre/ security/ secession/ sectarian/ insurgency/ protest/ grievance/ strike/ blockade/ violence

“Extractive industries”/ mineral resource/ mining/ oil/ extractive commodities AND “political settlements”/ “political regime”/ democracy/ authoritarian/ rentier/ militarisation/ corruption/ “elite bargain”/ decentralisation/ centralisation/ benefit sharing/ gender/ women

### **Step 3 Databases:**

**Scopus:** this is the largest abstract and citation database of peer-reviewed literature, including scientific journals, books and conference proceedings. It will be searched systematically using the search terms above.

**JSTOR:** this database specialises in the humanities and social sciences. It will be searched systematically using the search terms above, deleting duplication with the Scopus results.

**GreyNet International:** this database will be used to search for grey literature, that is, document types produced on all levels of government, academics, business, and organization in electronic and print formats not controlled by commercial publishing i.e. where publishing is not the primary activity of the producing body.

**Google scholar:** will be used to search for specific references that are not found in the systematic searches of Scopus, JSTOR and GreyNet International, using the ‘snowballing’ method during the literature review process.

### **Step 4 Compile bibliography of most relevant references:**

A bibliography of **up to 500** of the most relevant references will be compiled from the results of the database searches. This selection will be cross-checked by two researchers to minimise selection bias. The inception report provides an initial list of approximately 350 references compiled to date from a search of Scopus (pp. 21-44), which demonstrates the volume of academic literature relevant to this topic. This trial search suggests that an

exhaustive literature review of all academic and grey literature in the ‘resource curse/ conflict’ domain is not feasible within the timeframe of this project. The review will rather aim to ensure an appropriate balance between quantity and quality of evidence assessed in relation to the research questions.

### Step 5 Evidence assessment:

The bibliography will be sorted according to research type, research design and methodology. Based on the initial list of references, this will include:

- Theoretical or conceptual research, e.g. defining and theorising change to political settlements
- Secondary research, e.g. literature reviews of the oil-conflict nexus, mining and development, etc.
- Primary research, e.g. large-N quantitative econometrics or political economy studies; qualitative comparative studies; and single country or subnational case studies

### Aspects of the literature:

Research design	Method	Level of Analysis	Focus	Discipline	Approach
Single case study	↔ Qualitative	National or Subnational	Agency of actors/ competing interests	E.g. Econometrics, political studies, sociology, anthropology, human geography	Descriptive (reporting, informative)
Comparative (few case studies)	↔ Qualitative		Vs.		Analytical (academic, theoretical)
Comparative (many case studies)	↔ Quantitative		Systemic or structural analysis		Normative (policy-orientated, ‘what ought to be done’)

The strength of the body of evidence relating to the impact of extractive industries on political settlements and conflict will be assessed in terms of quality, size, context and

consistency. Journal rankings will be used as a general indicator of research quality in the academic publications reviewed.

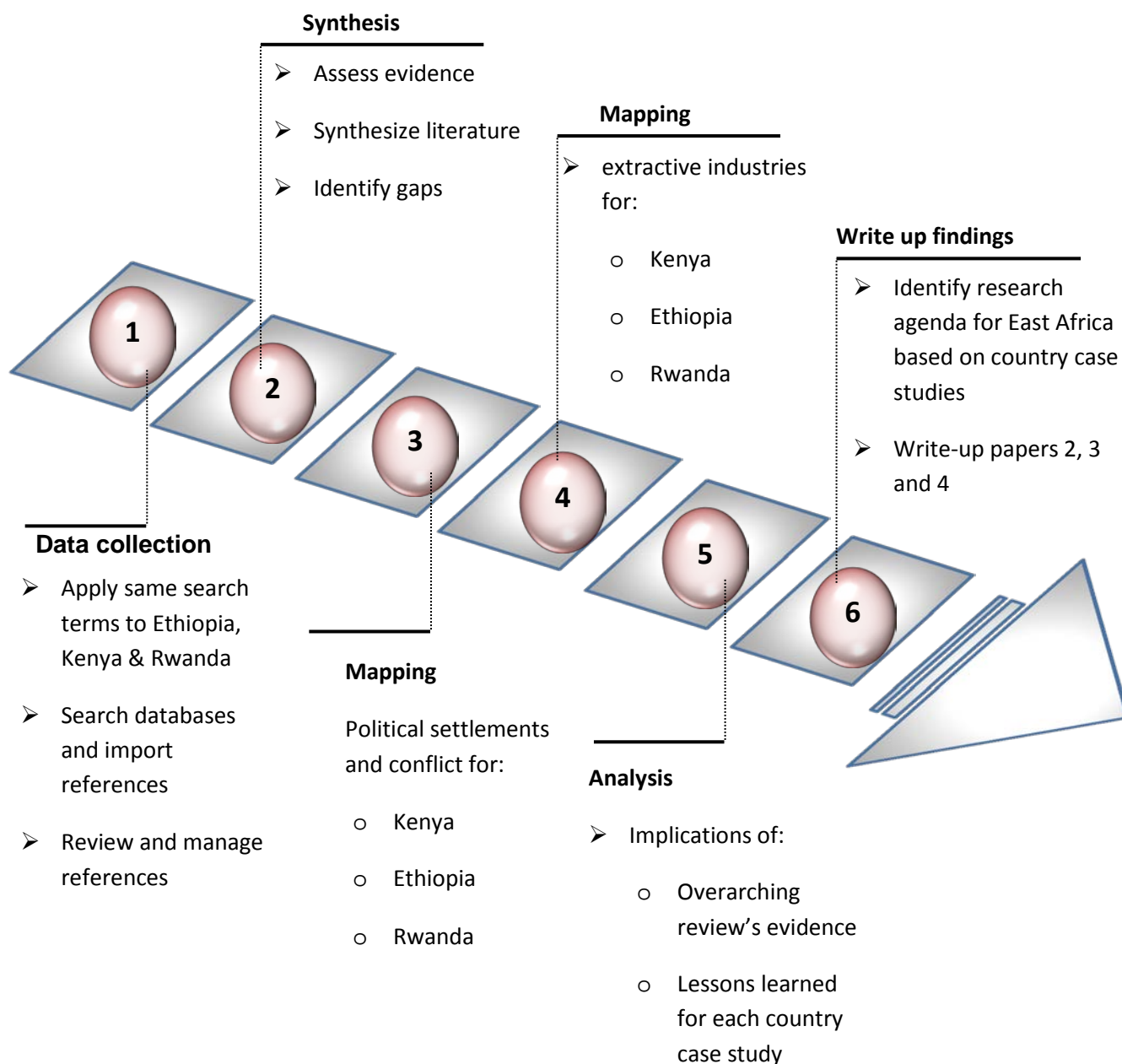
Out of the complete list of approximately 500 references, a further selection of the 50 most relevant, evidence-rich and representative studies will be made, and assessed in greater depth according to the matrix of research quality in the DFID Guidance on Evidence Assessment (DFID, 2014: 14).

Quantitative studies will not be ranked higher than qualitative research in a hierarchy of methods. As the DFID guidance on evidence assessment points out, “typically, strong bodies of evidence are likely to be characterised by the availability of a wide spectrum of evidence, which uses, and triangulates, findings from several research designs” (DFID, 2014: 8). A degree of consensus exists in the ‘resource curse/ conflict’ literature (see, for example, Le Billon, 2010) that both the large-N quantitative studies and the in-depth ethnographic, historical and country context-specific studies contribute valuable evidence to the field.

#### **Step 6 Synthesis of findings and write-up of paper 1:**

The synthesis paper will provide an overview of the literature regarding the impact of extractive industries on political settlements and conflict in low and middle income countries. It will identify the most significant findings or ‘lessons’ of this research and describe the approach, methodology and evidence presented in support of each of these findings, as well as the major debates within the literature. In doing so, the paper will critically assess the rigour of this body of evidence and identify evidence gaps.

### 3.2 East African country case studies:



#### Step 1 Scope and databases:

The publication date range for the literature search on each country will be 1990-2015. This is to ensure consistency with the overarching literature review and to capture key developments related to conflict and political settlements post-1990. Two types of search will be conducted for each country:

1. Broad search on political settlements and conflict and general economic conditions in the country prior to significant mineral exploration and/or development;
2. Focused search on the impact of minerals exploration and/or extractive industries development on political settlements and conflict in the country.

Key contextual factors to be covered in search 1 include:

- the genocide in Rwanda and political transition post-conflict;
- the end of the Ethiopian Civil War and fall of the Derg in 1991 and federal political settlement;
- the transition to a multi-party electoral system in Kenya from 1991, end of Daniel Arap Moi's rule in 2002 and the ethnic violence of 2007/08;
- economic indicators in each country over the period 1990-2015, such as GDP, per capita income, debt, and human development indicators (HDIs).
- macroeconomic policy changes and the impact on foreign direct investment

Relevant aspects of the historical context prior to 1990 will be considered in each case study, such as:

- Ethnic identification linked to Belgian colonial policy in Rwanda and patterns of ethnic conflict and land scarcity post-independence;
- Emperor Haile Selassie's struggle for Ethiopian statehood and post-WW2 international relations;
- Colonial and post-independence history of Kenya, with particular focus on land ownership and conflict.

Impacts to be considered in search 2 include:

- Livelihood changes from the economic, social and environmental impacts
- Change in fiscal revenues and impact on public expenditure and governance
- Concentration of wealth and the creation of new elites



- Fluctuations in commodity prices and production

## **Step 2 Evidence assessment and synthesis:**

An evidence gap analysis specific to the three country case studies in East Africa will then be conducted. This will consider which of the theories identified in the overarching literature review have been applied in the context of the three countries. It will assess the rigour of evidence relating to these theories pertaining to these three countries. It will also identify any studies of the impact of extractive industries in these three countries that do not fit into the theoretical frameworks identified in the overarching literature review.

## **Step 3 Political settlements and conflict mapping for Kenya, Ethiopia and Rwanda**

Political settlements and conflict mapping will be conducted at the following levels of analysis:

**Local:** Land access and benefit-sharing agreements between extractive industries and local communities will be considered as political settlements with a vital bearing on conflict risks. Gender inclusivity will be an important aspect of this analysis (although also considered at all levels of analysis). Political inclusivity of local constituencies may paradoxically point to a 'dominant leader' strategy of maintaining power by by-passing elites (Mutebi & Hickey, 2013), which will be considered in the evidence assessment for Rwanda, for example.

**Subnational:** The cumulative impacts of multiple mining, oil or gas companies operating within an area of mineral deposits have an important bearing on multi-stakeholder negotiations and levels of government interests and influence over resource governance. The concentration of extractive activities at subnational level and its impact on national policy will also be considered.

**National:** The impacts of extractive revenues on governance is the focus of much of the literature at the state-level, such as rentier, militarisation and modernisation effects, which will be used as a framework for the evidence synthesis and gap analysis for the country case studies.

**Regional:** The transnational impacts of oil, gas and minerals extraction on political settlements in East Africa will be analysed at this level,

The political settlements mapping will involve identifying key actors, interests and institutions in each country, as well as some consideration of transnational power and conflict dynamics at the East African regional level, with particular focus on the Great Lakes and Horn of Africa conflict dynamics.

This will include an “interest-influence” matrix, to identify the drivers of more or less inclusive political settlements in the country case studies, and to map state-business relations. “interests” component of the matrix will be scaled on a simple 1-10 ordinal spectrum and also substantiated qualitatively. The “influence” will be determined through past exemplars of demographic strength, access to arms, protest mobilisation networks, and legitimacy through land tenure or other means of ascertaining tangible connectivity to the resource base.

Sources will include academic and grey literature, while drawing as far as possible on primary databases and archives on political settlements and conflict in East Africa, such as the African Union’s Peace and Security Council situation reports on Kenya, Ethiopia and Rwanda, 2002-2014. Investigative journalism (e.g. *Africa Confidential*, *Mail & Guardian*, *Economist Intelligence Unit*, *Mining Weekly*) will be included as a source of evidence regarding elite interests.

Our team will review conflict mapping of the region, drawing on sources such as the AU’s Early Warning Unit, the Institute for Security Studies’ (ISS) conflict analysis units in Nairobi and Addis Ababa, and the International Crisis Group, to identify conflict drivers of past political settlements in each country case study.

#### **Step 4: Extractive industries mapping for Kenya, Ethiopia and Rwanda**

The team will broadly review and analyse economic parameters (economic growth, FDI, poverty/income levels, access to utilities; energy and other infrastructures) of each country (both in the overarching and country case studies) before and after extractives discovery to establish how the improvement/deterioration has created more or less political settlements and/or conflicts. Where the resources are being extracted/exported, analysis will be done to establish the size of the revenue, how it is distributed between the national and regional governments, how it is utilised and who benefits from them and what the implication of each outcome is.

Synthesis of the conflict maps with geological survey maps and maps of minerals exploration and production licensing blocks will then be conducted to analyse how these political settlements may be reconfigured by new extractives development. This synthesis of maps overlaying conflict flashpoints with mineral resources will be presented at the dissemination seminars, in the research papers and briefing notes. Given the nascent stage of the extractive industries in Kenya, Ethiopia and Rwanda, it is important to understand at what stages (e.g. exploration, discovery, construction, production, closure) the impacts are most acute. For example, evidence could be drawn from previous experiences of countries on whether and to what extent a change in regime, commodity prices, operating costs, and production impacted on public revenue, expenditure, national debt and institutional capacity.

The team will also examine how the allocation of exploration blocks in traditionally community land and restriction on land access by exploration firms may have trigger or aggravated conflict between the communities themselves and the exploration firms, especially in the nomadic communities of Kenya and Ethiopia.

**Step 5:** Analysis of implications of overarching review's evidence and 'lessons learned' for each country case study, with reference to the mapping of steps 3 and 4. Develop research outputs in the form of:

- recommendations derived from the most robust evidence, and
- questions for further research based on the evidence gaps.

**Step 6:** Identify research agenda for East Africa based on the research outputs of the overarching evidence synthesis and country case studies and write up papers 2, 3 and 4.

## 4. Work plan:

Activities / outputs	2015											
	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Contract & project planning	■											
Inception report	■	■										
Workshop with DFID			■									
Literature review		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		
<b>Overarching paper</b>												
Evidence synthesis		■	■	■								
First draft paper					■	■	■					
Peer review & revisions								■	■			
Submit for publication										■		
<b>Case study 1: Kenya</b>												
Evidence synthesis				■	■							
First draft paper						■	■	■				
Peer review & revisions									■	■		
Submit for publication											■	
<b>Case study 2: Rwanda</b>												
Evidence synthesis					■	■						
Write first draft paper							■	■	■			
Peer review & revisions										■	■	
Submit for publication												■
<b>Case study 3: Ethiopia</b>												
Evidence synthesis					■	■						
Write first draft paper							■	■	■			
Peer review & revisions										■	■	
Submit for publication												■
Mid-term review meeting						■						
Prepare briefing papers					■					■		
Seminar presentation Nairobi											■	
Seminar presentation Kigali											■	
Seminar presentation Addis											■	
Communication & dissemination									■	■	■	■
<b>End evaluation &amp; final report</b>												■

## 5. Risk Management Strategy:

Risk description	Likelihood	Impact	Management strategy
1. Changes to research team due to staff resigning or contracts ending before Dec 2015	Low risk for team leader and director; medium risk for research officer	May delay completion of the project or reduce quality of research outcomes	Direct line of supervision between team members to ensure current team's availability for the duration of the project. Other CSRSM staff to be assigned to the project if necessary, in consultation with DFID
2. Lack of availability of local partners for research and in-country seminar presentations	Low risk for KIPPRA partner; medium risk for ISS partner	May reduce quality of county case studies and/or reduce impact of seminar presentations	CSRSM to subcontract KIPPRA and ISS with clear tasks, timeframes and time allocation, and payment linked to milestone completion  Regular skype and email communication between lead researcher and local partners  Roles/ tasks to be reallocated within the team or within CSRSM, KIPPRA or ISS to meet deliverables
3. Insufficient evidence collected for rigorous synthesis or development of strong recommendations and research questions	Very low risk	Reduced quality of research outcomes	Broaden or repeat database searches with refined search terms  Use 'snowballing' method to find more relevant evidence
4. Too much relevant evidence in findings to conduct evidence assessment to a reasonable degree of depth in the time allocated	Medium risk	May delay completion of the project or reduce quality of research outcomes	Define scope of evidence synthesis clearly and agree on limitations to the literature review methodology, e.g. capping number of studies to be included at 500
5. One or more members of the research team misunderstands the	Low risk	Research outputs delayed if major revisions needed or research tasks	Regular communication (at least fortnightly) between research team and DFID EARH, and within the team

terms of reference or their role in the project		need to be reassigned within the team.	with local partners Peer review & regular feedback on research/ writing from lead researcher
6. CSRM researchers unable to travel to inception workshop with DFID due to accident, illness, family responsibilities or Kenya travel risk considered too high by university risk assessment	Low risk	Loss of opportunity for face-to-face discussion/ clarification with DFID EARH & local partners	Inception workshop to be held remotely with CSRM by teleconferencing, with local partners attending in person in Nairobi  Reschedule travel to Nairobi for mid-term review meeting instead of inception meeting
7. Researchers unable to travel to seminars in Nairobi, Addis Ababa and/ or Kigali due to accident, illness, family responsibilities or Kenya travel risk considered too high by university risk assessment	Medium risk	Lead researcher or other team members unable to present findings to key local stakeholders	Comply thoroughly with university's internal travel risk assessment procedure, seeking Vice-chancellor's approval to travel if necessary  Reschedule seminar dates if possible, or if too short notice, use local partners to present findings at the seminars and CSRM researchers reschedule travel to a later date to present findings to key stakeholders
8. Health and safety risks associated with travel to Nairobi, Addis Ababa and Kigali	Medium risk	Accident or illness while travelling may prevent team members from attending inception workshop or presenting findings at seminars	Monitor & heed advice on DFAT & UK travel warnings for each city/ country  Comply thoroughly with university's internal travel risk assessment procedure  Carry travel insurance emergency contacts  Vaccinations up to date, health & safety precautions  Follow advice & seek assistance from local partners

9. Local partners KIPPRA or ISS unable to co-host or organise seminars in Nairobi or Addis	Low risk for Nairobi seminar; medium risk for Addis seminar	Range or level of participation compromised	If KIPPRA unable to co-host in Nairobi, ask ISS Nairobi office  If ISS Addis office unable to co-host in Addis, ask UNECA conference centre/ African Minerals Development Centre
10. Travel or seminar expenses run over budget	Very low risk	Insufficient funds to run all 3 seminars or for all team members to present findings at all 3 seminars	Careful financial management by CSRSM project manager and SMI finance officers  ISS/ KIPPRA subcontracts set limits to travel & seminar expenses
11. Negative response from key stakeholders (e.g. host governments, industry or civil society) to the aims, tone or findings of the project	Medium risk given the politically sensitive nature of the research	Reputation of CSRSM, local partners or DFID EARH tarnished; negative publicity	Careful communication strategy to be developed & implemented in consultation with DFID EARH & local partners  Use networks in each country to promote positive communication of aims/ findings
12. Unable to complete research outputs in the time allocated to the standard required for high quality academic publication.	Low risk	Research papers rejected by academic journals; publication of findings delayed	Peer review to assess if all 4 papers ready for journal submission by Dec 2015. If not, CSRSM to commit in-kind time to keep working on papers until they are accepted for publication in a relevant academic journal

## 6. Communication plan:

The project is designed to produce research that is relevant, meaningful and accessible to policy practitioners in East Africa and to the range of stakeholders affected by the development of extractive industries in this region. To achieve this, the project will begin by engaging with DFID's East Africa Research Hub on how best to communicate the research and scope opportunities for alignment of research dissemination with existing African mining policy processes.

The research findings will be published in a range of formats aimed at different readerships, namely academic and policy audiences. They will also be presented at three in-country events, presented at in-house seminars within the three institutes and disseminated electronically to relevant stakeholders via CSRSM, KIPPRA and ISS mailing lists. Policy briefs targeted to policy makers in the relevant country government ministries will be prepared and forwarded for action.

Review and evaluation of the research findings and analysis will be conducted through engagement with stakeholders at the in-country seminars. Communication and engagement through the media, including electronic and social media, is planned. CSRSM, KIPPRA and ISS have communications officers on their staff who will work with the research team on a media and communication strategy for the project.

Our dissemination strategy for the research outputs will draw on the institutional resources and contacts of CSRSM, ISS and KIPPRA to publish in high quality academic journals and co-host high-level seminars in Nairobi, Addis Ababa and Kigali.

### **Presentations:**

Three dissemination seminars to be held consecutively at one day events in Nairobi, Addis Ababa and Kigali (see budget justification in commercial tender). The events will be hosted by KIPPRA in Kenya, the ISS office in Ethiopia and by CSRSM in Rwanda, possibly using the UNECA conference facilities there. Each event will have a target audience of 50 high-level policymakers and relevant stakeholders from government, extractive industries and civil society. Each of the research team members will present their findings and analysis at all three events. Presentation materials will be prepared, including PowerPoint slides, maps and draft discussion papers.



**Briefing notes:** Four one-page briefs summarising the overarching synthesis and three case studies, to be presented at the mid-project review meeting and updated for the final presentation of results.

**Academic papers** on the following topics:

**1. Overarching synthesis paper:**

Literature review and evidence assessment of extractive industries, political settlements and conflict in Low- and middle-income countries.

**2. Case study of Ethiopia:**

Analysis of historical origins and current state of political settlement, e.g. federalist settlement as outcome of civil war; recent leadership succession. Socio-economic conditions prior to oil and mining development trending up to the current conditions and identification of how the extractive industry has shaped the socio-economic and political aspects; significance of oil and gas exploration in Ogaden region, Blue Nile, Mekelle, Gambella and South Rift Basin; mining development of gold, tantalum, platinum and gemstones.

**3. Case study of Kenya**

Analysis of historical origins and current state of political settlement, e.g. colonial state formation; post-independence one-party dominance; 2007 electoral crisis; constitutional reform. Socio-economic conditions prior to oil and gas development trending up to the current conditions and identification of how the extractive industry has shaped the socio-economic and political aspects; size and significance of oil and gas discoveries, e.g. Turkana and Lamu counties.

**4. Case study of Rwanda**

Analysis of historical origins and current state of political settlement, e.g. 1994 genocide; transitional justice and democratisation; relations with DR Congo; 'dominant leader' political dynamics. Socio-economic conditions prior to mining development trending up to the current conditions and identification of how the extractive industry has shaped the socio-economic and political aspects, including small-scale artisanal mining. Significance of transition to industrial mining, e.g. Rutongo.

## **Quality assurance:**

Each paper will be peer reviewed within the partner institutions and by independent experts before submission to DFID EARH. The following panel of experts is proposed for the external review of the papers:

Dr Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, Senior Fellow, Crawford School of Public Policy, Australian National University: Areas of expertise include women, gender and development; environmental sustainability; women's empowerment in relation to mining; communities' roles and livelihoods in natural resources, such as in large-scale and artisanal mining.

Dr Joao Porto, Visiting lecturer, Institute for Peace and Security Studies, University of Addis Ababa: Areas of expertise include African peace and conflict studies, African Peace and Security Architecture, post-conflict peacebuilding.

Dr Vlado Vivoda, Research Fellow, CSRM and Griffith University: Areas of expertise include international political economy of oil and gas; energy and minerals policy.

Martin Ayisi, Senior Extractive Industries Adviser, Kenya Extractive Industries Development Programme, DFID-funded Technical Assistance to the Government of Kenya. Areas of expertise include mineral and petroleum legislation and regulation in Kenya and Ghana.

The following journals will be considered for publication:

***Resources Policy*** – Elsevier, Impact factor 1.391

Covers **minerals policy** and **economics**, aimed at individuals in academia, government, and industry; mining and sustainable development, mineral resource rents and the resource curse, mineral wealth and corruption, mineral taxation and regulation, the rise of China and India as major mineral consumers, and the impact of mineral development on local communities and indigenous populations.

***Extractive Industries and Society*** – Elsevier, established March 2014

Publishes in-depth analysis of the socio-economic and environmental impacts of mining and oil and gas production on societies; impacts of artisanal and small-scale mining in developing countries corruption and the extractive industries; industry reform; the donor community and the extractive industries.

***Review of African Political Economy*** – Taylor & Francis, Impact factor 0.918

Covers African and Third World Politics; African Studies; Area Studies; International Political Economy; International Politics; Politics and International Relations

An established journal publishing since 1974 with a critical and qualitative orientation aligned with the objectives and methodology of the project.

***Journal of Peace Research*** – Sage, Impact factor 2.280

Focuses on causes of violence and conflict; peace research; conflict resolution

One of the top ranking political science and international relations journals, publishing since 1964, may be appropriate for the evidence relating to impacts of extractive industries on conflict in East Africa.

## 7. Initial synthesis of literature

### Revisiting the 'resource curse':

Since the early 1990s a sizeable literature has evolved, challenging the dominant view that natural resource endowments were an asset to developing countries and a pre-requisite for industrialisation (Rostow 1961; Drake 1972; Krueger, 1980). Termed the 'resource curse' literature, these studies contend that abundance in minerals (especially oil) increases the likelihood of countries experiencing negative economic, political and social outcomes.

While influential, this literature is also highly varied in its research designs, methods and findings. It has been increasingly contested as the field has grown and as the commodity price boom has seen high levels of economic growth in countries associated with increased investment in their extractive industries. This overarching literature review will assess evidence both for and against the 'resource curse' theories.

The 'resource curse' literature consists of three distinct subsets regarding:

1. The relationship between resource abundance and **economic** performance, including negative or slow rates of growth, income inequality, currency inflation and 'Dutch disease' (e.g. Auty 1993; Sachs & Warner 1995);
2. The relationship between resource abundance and **civil war** (e.g. Collier & Hoeffler 1998; 2000; 2002; Le Billon 2001; 2010)
3. The relationship between resource abundance and **political regimes** (e.g. Ross 2001; Jensen & Wantchekon 2004)

The scope of this project is to focus on the second and third areas of the literature, as the most directly relevant to the impact of extractive industries on political settlements and conflict. The first category of literature will be largely excluded from the review, except for studies that provide evidence of economic impacts indirectly leading to political change, e.g. poor economic performance linked to regime instability, or growing inequality linked to protests or grievance-based violence. Evidence of resource abundance leading to 'Dutch' disease, for example, or to income inequality, will not be assessed.

## **Political settlements:**

Political economy explanations for the 'resource curse' bring the political behaviour of politicians and citizens to the forefront (Ross, 2001); e.g. nations rich in natural resources may develop substandard governance and institutions, which become less accountable and slower to reform. This is associated with corruption and patronage (Robinson et al., 2008); the under-provision of public goods (Tornell and Lane, 1998; Tornell and Lane, 1999), authoritarianism and, in democracies, weak accountability (Ross, 2001; Ross, 2004).

Three causal mechanisms for political impacts were identified and tested by Ross, namely:

- The rentier effect – that the rents from extractive industries enable governments to bypass the social contract associated with a broad tax base amongst citizens;
- The militarisation (or repression) effect – that regimes tend to use these rents to increase their hold on power through increased spending on the military and policing;
- The modernisation effect – that resource abundant countries can achieve economic growth without the liberalising political effects associated with an emerging middle class in a more diversified economy.

The evidence on these and other mechanisms of change to political settlements will be examined in this part of the overarching review.

## **Conflict:**

Le Billon (2012) identifies three main approaches within the resource conflict literature, namely:

- Geopolitical perspectives – whereby access to geo-strategic resources, especially oil, raises the likelihood of foreign interference in political settlements in LMICs, resulting in coups d'état, or foreign backing of repressive regimes, or 'regime change'. Territorial disputes over resource-rich regions or off-shore resources also feature in this literature.
- Political economy perspectives – consisting primarily of quantitative political science and econometric studies that look for statistically-proven patterns to mineral resource and conflict variables. Key findings include that there is a greater risk of conflict after oil production begins, than just after discovery. There is a greater risk of conflict over

on-shore oil and gas, than offshore oil and gas (Lujala 2007). Major oil price fluctuations increase the risk of conflict (Le Billon and Cervantes 2009), and so on.

- Ethnographic perspectives – these tend to be single country case studies or even more focused at the local community/ extractive site-level. They generally provide more contextually rich, nuanced evidence. For example, an anthropologist's critique of the quantitative 'resource conflict' perspective is that it ignores the culturally specific significance of land and other natural resources for Indigenous peoples, in this case in Papua New Guinea (Banks 2008).

### **Gender impacts:**

A recent policy brief by UN Women (2014) titled, Gender equality in the extractive industries in Africa states that '*salient evidence suggests a gender bias in the distribution of the risks, costs and benefits within the EI sector that, if unaddressed, could further widen the gender gaps in access to resources and resource-related opportunities*'. Initial review of the overarching literature reveals this bias is by no means specific to Africa.

It also points to a gap in evidence pertaining to the gender impacts of extractive industries on primary political settlements, that is, at the national level (Jenkins 2014). The resource conflict literature includes studies on gender-based violence related to extractive industries, mostly in the context of artisanal and small-scale mining (Tallichet et al 2003; Yakovleva 2007) in zones of conflict (e.g. the DRC) or interactions between local communities and private security providers for industrial mining, oil or gas (e.g. in Papua New Guinea). At the local level, there is a sizeable literature on socio-economic and health impacts of extractive industries on local women (Lahiri-Dutt 2014; Worthman 2009; Mukica 2013) , including gender-based violence, but also relating to community agreements, traditional power structures, etc., i.e. secondary political settlements.

This will allow for recommendations to be drawn from (1) lessons learned regarding gender inclusivity in local level agreement-making and stakeholder engagement by extractive companies and local government; (2) findings to do with the impact of extractive industries on gender-based violence at the local level and more broadly as an aspect of civil war. Questions for further research will be at the national level of political settlements, such as considering what gender impacts the erosion of democracy or popular participation in government, militarisation, centralisation (or decentralisation) may have (e.g. on the

representation of women in government, civil society freedom to advocate for women's rights, feminisation of poverty, etc.).

### **Subnational dimensions of the 'resource curse':**

While the resource curse is an old paradox at the country-level, the wave of decentralisation in resource rich developing countries in recent years raises concerns about a new localisation of the resource curse at the sub-national level. Just as different contextual factors contribute to variation in the severity of the resource curse at the country-level, we can expect variation at the sub-national level, both *within* countries and *between* them. Moreover, we can also expect variation between commodities.

The emergence and nature of the sub-national resource curse and cross commodity differences, has not yet received substantial attention from academics or policymakers. Previous research demonstrates that sub-national variation of the quality of institutions matters for the effects of resources (Libman, 2010). Some studies use sub-national data variation to analyse the impact of resources on economic performance (e.g. Johnson (2006) and James and Aadland (2010) look at the US states and counties), but there has been no work found in the initial review dealing with the problem of resource curse influenced by the sub-national institutional variation or by secondary political settlements.

Under the conflict subset of the 'resource curse' literature is the theory that extractive industries can be a source of friction between national and subnational actors (Collier & Hoeffler, 2002; Ross, 2004; Le Billon 2012). One explanation for this rests on the extractive industries as 'point source activities'. This spatial dimension of both positive and negative impacts of resource extraction is a source of political tension in ways that other sectors like manufacturing or service industries are not (Bebbington, 2013: 18). An important aspect of Bebbington's spatial analysis of extractives governance is that "prior political settlements and coalitions structure the forms taken by an expanding extractive economy and are subsequently shaped by this expansion" (p.5). The same dynamic has been observed in Southern Africa, for example, in Botswana, where, "The national ownership of subsoil resources, coupled with their subnational existence and the different spatial scales at which a politics of recognition are made manifest, present further axes of latent or open contention surrounding the governance of extraction" (Poteete, 2009:18).

## Single country studies of LMICs:

The initial database search of Scopus indicates the value of considering evidence drawn from single case studies of resource dependent low- and middle-income countries. The table below shows relevant sources found so far for each of the 35 LMICs identified in the methodology section:

1. Algeria (oil)	Upper middle-income	9 References
<p>Álvarez, A. M. (2010). "Rentierism in the Algerian economy based on oil and natural gas." <u>Energy Policy</u> <b>38</b>(10): 6338-6348.</p> <p>Azarvan, A. (2010). "Terror, oil and repression in Algeria." <u>Journal of North African Studies</u> <b>15</b>(2): 231-253.</p> <p>Butcher, C. (2014). "Can oil-reliant countries democratize? An assessment of the role of civil society in Algeria." <u>Democratization</u> <b>21</b>(4): 722-742.</p> <p>Henry, C. M. (2004). "Algeria's agonies: Oil rent effects in a bunker state." <u>Journal of North African Studies</u> <b>9</b>(2): 68-81.</p> <p>Lowi, M. R. (2004). "Oil rents and political breakdown in patrimonial states: Algeria in comparative perspective." <u>Journal of North African Studies</u> <b>9</b>(3): 83-102.</p> <p>Sandbakken, C. (2006). "The limits to democracy posed by oil rentier states: The cases of Algeria, Nigeria and Libya." <u>Democratization</u> <b>13</b>(1): 135-152.</p> <p>Tlemcani, R. (1992). "The rise of Algerian women: cultural dualism and multi-party politics." <u>Journal of Developing Societies</u> <b>8</b>(1): 69-81.</p> <p>Volpi, F. (2006). "Algeria's pseudo-democratic politics: Lessons for democratization in the Middle East." <u>Democratization</u> <b>13</b>(3): 442-455.</p> <p>White, G. and S. Taylor (2001). "Well-oiled regimes: Oil and uncertain transitions in Algeria and Nigeria." <u>Review of African Political Economy</u> <b>28</b>(89): 323-344.</p>		
2. Angola (oil)	Upper middle-income	6 References
<p>De Oliveira, R. S. (2007). "Business success, Angola-style: Postcolonial politics and the rise and rise of Sonangol." <u>Journal of Modern African Studies</u> <b>45</b>(4): 595-619.</p> <p>Frynas, J. G. and G. Wood (2001). "Oil and war in Angola." <u>Review of African Political Economy</u> <b>28</b>(90): 587-606.</p> <p>Hammond, J. L. (2011). "The resource curse and oil revenues in Angola and Venezuela." <u>Science and Society</u> <b>75</b>(3): 348-378.</p> <p>Kibble, S. (2006). "Angola: Can the politics of disorder become the politics of democratisation &amp;</p>		



<p>development?" <u>Review of African Political Economy</u> <b>33</b>(109): 525-542.</p> <p>Le Billion, P. (2001). "Angola's political economy of war: The role of oil and diamonds, 1975-2000." <u>African Affairs</u> <b>100</b>(398): 55-80.</p> <p>Saka, L. and M. A. B. M. Sani (2012). "Resource rent and governance crisis in gulf of guinea oil states: The case of angola." <u>Social Sciences</u> <b>7</b>(2): 321-331.</p>		
<b>3.</b>	<b>Azerbaijan (oil)</b>	<b>Upper middle-income</b>   <b>5 References</b>
<p>Öge, K. (2014). "The Limits of Transparency Promotion in Azerbaijan: External Remedies to 'Reverse the Curse'." <u>Europe - Asia Studies</u> <b>66</b>(9): 1482-1500.</p> <p>Bayulgen, O. (2005). "Foreign investment, oil curse, and democratization: A comparison of Azerbaijan and Russia." <u>Business and Politics</u> <b>7</b>(1).</p> <p>Cohen, M. (2006). "The effect of oil revenues on transition economics: The case of Azerbaijan." <u>Geopolitics of Energy</u> <b>28</b>(6): 12-20.</p> <p>Franke, A., A. Gawrich, et al. (2009). "Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan as post-Soviet rentier states: Resource incomes and autocracy as a double 'curse' in post-Soviet regimes." <u>Europe - Asia Studies</u> <b>61</b>(1): 109-140.</p> <p>Guliyev, F. (2013). "Oil and regime stability in Azerbaijan." <u>Demokratizatsiya</u> <b>21</b>(1): 113-147.</p>		
<b>4.</b>	<b>Bolivia (gas)</b>	<b>Lower middle-income</b>   <b>6 References</b>
<p>Campero, C. and J. R. Barton (2014). "'You have to be with God and the Devil': Linking Bolivia's extractive industries and local development through social licences." <u>Bulletin of Latin American Research</u>.</p> <p>Bebbington, D. H. and A. J. Bebbington (2010). "Extraction, territory, and inequalities: Gas in the bolivian chaco." <u>Canadian Journal of Development Studies</u> <b>30</b>(1-2): 259-280.</p> <p>Humphreys Bebbington, D. and A. Bebbington (2010). "Anatomy of a regional conflict: Tarija and resource grievances in Morales Bolivia." <u>Latin American Perspectives</u> <b>37</b>(4): 140-160.</p> <p>Schilling-Vacaflor, A. (2014). "Rethinking the link between consultation and conflict: Lessons from Bolivia's gas sector." <u>Canadian Journal of Development Studies</u> <b>35</b>(4): 503-521.</p> <p>Auty, R. M. and J. L. Evia (2005). A Growth Collapse with Point Resources: Bolivia. <u>Resource Abundance and Economic Development</u>.</p> <p>Bonilla, H. (2006). "Religious practices in the Andes and their relevance to political struggle and development: The case of El Tío and miners in Bolivia." <u>Mountain Research and Development</u> <b>26</b>(4): 336-342.</p>		
<b>5.</b>	<b>Botswana (diamonds)</b>	<b>Upper middle-income</b>   <b>3 References</b>
<p>Taylor, I. and G. Mokhawa (2003). "Not forever: Botswana, conflict diamonds and the Bushmen." <u>African Affairs</u> <b>102</b>(407): 261-283.</p> <p>Good, K. (2005). "Resource dependency and its consequences: The costs of Botswana's shining</p>		

	gems." <u>Journal of Contemporary African Studies</u> <b>23</b> (1): 27-50.		
	Poteete, A. R. (2009). "Is development path dependent or political? A reinterpretation of mineral-dependent development in botswana." <u>Journal of Development Studies</u> <b>45</b> (4): 544-571.		
<b>6.</b>	<b>Cameroon (oil)</b>	<b>Lower middle-income</b>	<b>3 References</b>
	Fah, G. L. T. (2007). "The war on terror, the Chad-Cameroon pipeline, and the new identity of the lake chad basin." <u>Journal of Contemporary African Studies</u> <b>25</b> (1): 101-117.		
	Keenan, J. H. (2005). "Chad-Cameroon oil pipeline: World Bank & ExxonMobil in 'last chance saloon'." <u>Review of African Political Economy</u> <b>32</b> (104-105): 395-405.		
	Mehler, A. (2014). "Why Federalism Did Not Lead to Secession in Cameroon." <u>Ethnopolitics</u> <b>13</b> (1): 48-66.		
<b>7.</b>	<b>Chad (oil)</b>	<b>Low-income</b>	<b>5 References</b>
	Carmody, P. (2009). "Cruciform sovereignty, matrix governance and the scramble for Africa's oil: Insights from Chad and Sudan." <u>Political Geography</u> <b>28</b> (6): 353-361.		
	Colom-Jaén, A. and A. Campos-Serrano (2013). "Oil in chad and equatorial Guinea: Widening the focus of the resource curse." <u>European Journal of Development Research</u> <b>25</b> (4): 584-599.		
	Fah, G. L. T. (2007). "The war on terror, the Chad-Cameroon pipeline, and the new identity of the lake chad basin." <u>Journal of Contemporary African Studies</u> <b>25</b> (1): 101-117.		
	Keenan, J. H. (2005). "Chad-Cameroon oil pipeline: World Bank & ExxonMobil in 'last chance saloon'." <u>Review of African Political Economy</u> <b>32</b> (104-105): 395-405.		
	Massey, S. and R. May (2005). "Dallas to Doba: Oil and Chad, external controls and internal politics." <u>Journal of Contemporary African Studies</u> <b>23</b> (2): 253-276.		
<b>8.</b>	<b>Congo (oil)</b>	<b>Lower middle-income</b>	<b>2 References</b>
	Englebert, P. and J. Ron (2004). "Primary commodities and war: Congo-Brazzaville's ambivalent resource curse." <u>Comparative Politics</u> <b>37</b> (1): 61-81+126.		
	Klieman, K. A. (2008). "Oil, politics, and development in the formation of a state: The Congolese petroleum wars, 1963-1968." <u>International Journal of African Historical Studies</u> <b>41</b> (2): 169-202.		
<b>9.</b>	<b>DRC (minerals and oil)</b>	<b>Low-income</b>	<b>12 References</b>
	Autesserre, S. (2012). "Dangerous tales: Dominant narratives on the Congo and their unintended consequences." <u>African Affairs</u> <b>111</b> (443): 202-222.		
	Garrett, N., S. Sergiou, et al. (2009). "Negotiated peace for extortion: The case of Walikale territory in eastern DR Congo." <u>Journal of Eastern African Studies</u> <b>3</b> (1): 1-21.		
	Geenen, S. (2012). "A dangerous bet: The challenges of formalizing artisanal mining in the Democratic Republic of Congo." <u>Resources Policy</u> <b>37</b> (3): 322-330.		
	Geenen, S. (2014). "Dispossession, displacement and resistance: Artisanal miners in a gold		

<p>concession in South-Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo." <u>Resources Policy</u> <b>41</b>(1): 90-99.</p> <p>Kapelus, P., R. Hamann, et al. (2009). "Doing business with integrity: The experience of AngloGold Ashanti in the Democratic Republic of Congo." <u>International Social Science Journal</u> <b>57</b>(SUPPL. 1): 119-130.</p> <p>Kelly, J. T. D. (2014). ""This mine has become our farmland": Critical perspectives on the coevolution of artisanal mining and conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo." <u>Resources Policy</u> <b>41</b>(1): 100-108.</p> <p>Kinniburgh, C. (2014). "Beyond "conflict minerals": The Congo's resource curse lives on." <u>Dissent</u> <b>61</b>(2): 61-68.</p> <p>Laudati, A. (2013). "Beyond minerals: Broadening 'economies of violence' in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo." <u>Review of African Political Economy</u> <b>40</b>(135): 32-50.</p> <p>Guenther, B. (2008). "The Asian drivers and the resource curse in Sub-Saharan Africa: The potential impacts of rising commodity prices for conflict and governance in the DRC." <u>European Journal of Development Research</u> <b>20</b>(2): 347-363.</p> <p>Maystadt, J. F., G. De Luca, et al. (2014). "Mineral resources and conflicts in DRC: A case of ecological fallacy?" <u>Oxford Economic Papers</u> <b>66</b>(3): 721-749.</p> <p>Bashwira, M. R., J. Cuvelier, et al. (2014). "Not only a man's world: Women's involvement in artisanal mining in eastern DRC." <u>Resources Policy</u> <b>41</b>(1): 109-116.</p> <p>Kelly, J. T. D., A. King-Close, et al. (2014). "Resources and resourcefulness: Roles, opportunities and risks for women working at artisanal mines in South Kivu, Democratic Republic of the Congo." <u>Futures</u> <b>62</b>: 95-105.</p>			
<b>10</b>	<b>Ecuador (oil)</b>	<b>Upper middle-income</b>	<b>3 References</b>
<p>Mendez, S., J. Parnell, et al. (1998). "Petroleum and indigenous peoples in Ecuador's Amazon." <u>Environment</u> <b>40</b>(5): 12-20+36.</p> <p>Arsel, M. and N. A. Angel (2012). ""Stating" Nature's Role in Ecuadorian Development: Civil Society and the Yasuni-ITT Initiative." <u>Journal of Developing Societies</u> <b>28</b>(2): 203-227.</p> <p>Cisneros, P. and L. Christel (2014). "The democracy deficit of corporate social responsibility in post-neoliberal times: an analysis of the Argentinian and Ecuadorian experiences." <u>Journal of Cleaner Production</u>.</p>			
<b>11</b>	<b>Gabon (oil)</b>	<b>Upper middle-income</b>	<b>1 Reference</b>
<p>Yates, D. (1996). <u>The Rentier State in Africa: Oil rent dependency and neo-colonialism in the Republic of Gabon</u>. New Jersey: World Africa Press.</p>			
<b>12</b>	<b>Guinea (iron ore)</b>	<b>Low-income</b>	<b>2 References</b>
<p>Bah, M. D. (2014). "Mining for peace: diamonds, bauxite, iron ore and political stability in Guinea." <u>Review of African Political Economy</u> <b>41</b>(142): 500-515.</p> <p>Bolay, M. (2014). "When miners become "foreigners": Competing categorizations within gold</p>			

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<b>13</b>	<b>Guyana (gold and bauxite)</b>	<b>Lower middle-income</b>	<b>2 References</b>
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## **Research partners:**

### **CSRМ:**

The Centre for Social Responsibility in Mining (CSRМ) was established by the University of Queensland in 2001 in response to growing interest in and debate about the role of the resources sector in contemporary society. UQ is listed among the world's top 15 research universities (Times Higher Education Supplement) and CSRМ has experience of funded work with The World Bank, UNDP and the Australian Aid Program. At CSRМ, our focus is on the social, economic and political challenges that occur when change is brought about by resource extraction and development. We work with companies, communities and governments in mining regions all over the world to improve social performance and deliver better outcomes for companies and communities.

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