

Justus-Liebig Universität Gießen

Fachbereich 07: Mathematik, Physik und Geographie

Institut für Geographie

**The concept of Sustainable Development and Sustainable
Management of Natural Resources in Africa through the
German Development Cooperation**

Case Study: Benin, Cameroon Namibia

Vol. 1

Désiré Tchigankong Noubissié

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of University of Giessen for
the degree of Dr. rer.nat.**

March 2012

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FB07- Mathematik Und Informatik, Physik, Geographie

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March 2014

Justus Liebig University Giessen

Preface

My interest for Germany and German's influence in world dates far back in my childhood since when, I was a young student. By then we had to choose between the German and Spanish as foreign languages in the secondary school. I was fascinated by the German history and the German language and decided and took the initiative to learn more about the German by making German studies one of my research focus point.

My interest in environmental protection management links to my research on Germans development cooperation in ecological domains in 2006”.

This research has raised my interest on ecological and environmental matters. I was perplexed that my home country was endowed with several natural resources that could be used to promote social and economic development and also by the fact that we were facing great development challenges. This is the reason why I have decided to question this paradox of poverty in an extreme natural wealthy environment. From this end I decided to further investigations as concerned the use of plants for the improvement of health system in Africa.

My interest on the German's development cooperation was still one of my priorities. Join with my studies of international relations, German studies and the experiences I have acquired working at the local level with the GTZ in Cameroon, I decided to undertake on a great project that has to do with the understanding the global environmental management procedures and German's position as concern the attempt of global governance. One of the most interesting things in my academic background was Prof. Dr. Dittmann's approval of supervising my PhD thesis. Through this, I had the chance to widen the scope of my knowledge in a new and very fascinating field of academic research and this, of which before then, I have been studied the German world only from the outward perspectives.

This research would not have been possible without Prof. Dr. Andreas Dittmann, who was the first supervisor who accepted me not only as a student but also as a son and provided me with all the necessary support which I dearly needed for the completion of this work. Without his support, I would not have made it possible. Above all, I am very thankful to Prof. Dittmann for all the insights he gave me during all my stay in the Institute of Geography of the University of Giessen. He gave me the opportunities to get involved in several projects that were not always related to my PhD research thesis but that have contributed a lot for my formation as a geographer.

Special thanks go to Prof. Dr. Regina Kreide. My participation to her seminars and colloquium on Global Justice in 2011 and to other colloquium was quite helpful towards my understanding of international power strategies and brought new insights in the realization of this work.

I am grateful also to Prof. Markus Fuchs and Prof. Peter Winker for their acceptance to evaluate this work and for their numerous encouraging messages.

Particular thanks to all the German institutions that have opened their doors (GTZ-ProCGRN Benin – Dr. Oebel, GTZ-ProPSFE Cameroon – Dr. Carillo, Mr. Mambo, Mrs. Laure Takou) and gave me access to field investigation as well as to access to information.

I am very grateful to the Konrad Adenauer Foundation whose scholarship was necessary for the fulfilment of this work.

A great thanks also to all my colleagues of the Institute of Geography in Giessen for their advice, technical and psychological support (Mrs. Eva-Maria Peter who did adopt me as a son during my whole stay in Giessen, to Lisett Diehl and collaborators from the cartography whose support is difficult to measure; to Wiwin Widiyanti, Ary Retnowati, Alexander Songoro, Andre Starrmann, Dr. Christiansen, Sayed Maqbool and Alex Comninos for their technical and constructive advice.

Thanks to my friends who committed themselves to the fulfillment of this difficult task (Ekollo Charles Edmond, Muriel Mben, Jude Nkuo Kuma, Lameck Mwewa, Mrs. Djandjie Hortense Lucie, the family Kokoye in Benin, family Daum and Hofmann, Mentu Bogue, Mevis Oguebinike, Yohanna Arfiyne in Germany). Special thanks to Paule Judith Keugni Tchawa, Armand Ngomsi and Teupa Perside for their constant support.

Great thanks to Kunze family in Koblenz for their general supports, to my two-years old daughter Noubissie Nehanda and her mum for their support and patience, to my whole family in Cameroon who has suffered a lot from our geographical distance. To all my professors in Cameroon (Prof. David Simo, Prof. Kum'a Ndumbe III, Prof. Albert Gouaffo), Germany, France (Prof. Robert Charvin), USA, Switzerland (Prof. Elisio Macamo) and Italy, I say thank you very much for the knowledge you impacted in me.

Abbreviations

AAA: Accra Agenda for Action

ACDI: Canadian cooperation

ADAFD: Arbeitskreis der Deutschen Afrika-Forschungs- und Dokumentationsstellen

ADB: The African Development Bank,

AFD: the French Development Agency

AFLEG: African Forest Law Enforcement and Governance

AU : African Union

AVC: Village-Hunter Association

BMZ: Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Entwicklungszusammenarbeit

BOBEEFAG: Bonakanda-Bova Bee Farmer Group

BRICS: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

BSLM: Biodiversity and Sustainable Land Management” Project

CAADP: Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program

CBD: Convention on Biodiversity

CBFP: Congo Basin Forests Partnership

CBNRM: Community-Based Natural Resource Management

CBOs: Community Based Organizations

CDF: Comprehensive Development Framework

CDG: Carl-Duisberg-Gesellschaft

CENADEFOR: Centre National de Développement Forestier

CFEDP: Community Forestry and Extension Development Project in northern-central Namibia

CFN: Community Forest in Namibia

CFNEN: Community Forestry in the North East regions.

CIFOR: Center for International Forestry Research

CIG: Commune Initiative Group

CIM: Center for International Migration

CLCAM: Caisse Locale de Produits Agricole

CODEV: Conservation Développement

COMIFAC: Commission des Forêts d’Afrique Centrale

COVAREF: Committee for the Valorisation of Wildlife Resources

CRPU: Cashew Regional Producer Union”

CSD: Commission on Sustainable Development

CSD: Council for Sustainable Development

CSOs Civil Society Organizations

CSR: Corporate Social Responsibility

DAAD: Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst

DAG: Development Assistance Group

DDT: Dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane

DEA: Directorate of Environmental Affairs

DED: Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst

DEG: Deutsche Entwicklungsgesellschaft für Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit),

DFG: Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft

DFID: British Development Cooperation

DIE: Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik

DOAG: Deutsch-Ostafrikanischen Gesellschaft

DSE: Deutsche Stiftung für Internationale Entwicklung

EA: Environmental Assessment Policy

EITI: Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative

EMA: The Environmental Management Plan Act

EMAB: Environmental Management and Assessment Bill

EU: European Union

FAO: Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations.

FDI: Foreign Direct Investment

FESP – PFSE: Forest and Environment Sector Program

FLEGT: EU Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade

FMU: Forest Management Unit

FRG: Federal Republic of Germany

FSC: Forest Stewardship Council

FSP: Forest Strategic Plan

FSP: Forest Strategic Plan

FSUP: Forest Sector Umbrella Program

GDC: German Development Cooperation

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GDR: German Democratic Republic –

GEF: Global Environment Facility

GGFP: Gambian-German Forestry Project

GGP: Green Growth Program

GNH: Gross National Happiness Index

GNP: Gross National Product

GTZ: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit

GTZ-IS: GTZ-International Service

HDI: Human Development Index

ICF: Investment Climate Facility for Africa

ICMM: International Council on Mining and Metals

IEM: Integrated Environmental Management

IFF: International Forum on Forest

IGOs: Intergovernmental Organisations

IMF: International Monetary Fund

INGO: International Non Governmental Organizations

INRM Natural Resource Management System

International Development Association

InWent: Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung
IO : International Organisations
ISI : Import Substitution Industrialization
ITTO: International Tropical Timber Organization
IUCN : International Union for Conservation of Nature
JPOI: The Johannesburg Plan of Implementation
KfW: Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau
KNP: The Korup project
MAB: Man and the Biosphere
MAWF: Ministry of Agriculture, Water & Forestry
MCP: Mount Cameroon project
MDGs: Millennium Development Goals
MDR: Ministry of Rural Development
MDRI: Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative
MEAP: Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries
MEHU: Ministry of Environment, Habitat and Urbanism
MINAGRI: Ministry of Agriculture
MINEF: Ministry of Environment and Forest
MINEP: Environment and Protection of Nature
MINFOF: Ministry of Forest and Wildlife
MINTOUR: Ministry of Tourism
MOCAP: Mount Cameroun Prunus Management
NBSAP: National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan
NCFNP: National Commission in charge of the Fight against Nature Pollution
NDP National Development Plan
NDP1: First Namibian development plan
NDP2: Second Namibian development plan
NDP3: Third Namibian development plan

NEMP or PNGE: National Environmental National Plan

NEPAD: New Partnership for Africa's Development

NFAP: National Forestry Action Program

NFFP: Namibia-Finland Forestry Programme'

NFPs: National Forests Programs

NFRP: National Forestry Regeneration program

NGOs: Non Governmental Organisations

NPSDD National Program for Social Dimension of Development

NRM: Natural Resource Management

NTFPs: Near Timber Exploitation and Transformation

OAU: Organization of African Unity

ODA: Official Development Aid

OECD: Organisation for Economic and Development

ONADEF: Office National pour le Développement des Forêts

ONAREF: Office National de Régénération des Forêts

OPEC: Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries

PAE: Environmental Action Plan

PAGEFCOM: Project on Communal Forest Management

PBF: Projet Bois de Feu

PDF: Forestry Development Project

PDF: Programme de Développement Forestier

PFB: Projet Flore Benin

PGCBMC: Community-based Coastal and Marine Biodiversity Management Project.

PGE: Projet de Gestion environnementale

PGFTR: Program of management of local Terroirs' forest

PNCGAP: National Program of Conservation and Management of Protected Area

PNP: Pendjari National Park

PoWPA: Program of Work on Protected Area

PPT: Pro-Poor Tourism

ProCGRN: Program of Conservation and Management of Natural Resources

ProPSFE: Programme d'appui au PSFE

PRRF: Projet de restauration des ressources forestières dans la région de Bassila

PRS poverty reduction strategies

PRS: Poverty Reduction Strategy

PRSP: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

PSMNR-SWR: Program for Sustainable Management of Natural Resources in the South-West Region of Cameroon

REDD: Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation

SADC: Southern African Development Community

SC: Sustainable Consumption

SCAC: Service de Coopération et d'Action Culturelle

SCM: Social Commun Minimal

SCRP : Stratégie de la Croissance pour la Réduction de la Pauvreté

SDGs: Sustainable Development Goals

SFID: Société Forestière et Industrielle de la Doumé

SGPR: Strategy of Growth for Poverty Reduction

SLA: Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

SP: Sustainable production

ST-EP: Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty

TC: Technical Cooperation

TFAP: Tropical Forest Action Plan

UN: United Nations

UNCED: United Nation Conference on Environment and Development

UNCHE: United Nations Conference on Human Development

UNCSD: United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development

UNCTAD: United Nations Commission on Trade and Development

UNDP: United Nations Développement Program
UNEP: United Nation Environment Program
UNESCO: Commission on Humans and the Biosphere
UNFCCC: United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNFF: United Nations Forum on Forests
UNFPA: United Nation Population fund
UNSO: United Nation Sudano-Sahelian Organization
URPA: Union Régionale des Producteurs d'Anacarde
USA: United States of America
USSR: Union of Socialists and Soviet Republics
WB: World Bank
WCN: World Charter of Nature
WCP: World Climate Program
WCS: World Conservation Strategy
WFP: World Food Program
WHC: World Heritage Convention
WSSD: World Summit on Sustainable Development
WTO: World Trade Organisation
WWF: World Wildlife Fund
WWI: World War I
WWII: World War II
ZEL: Zentralstelle für Ernährung und Landwirtschaft

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0. Introduction

Power relations have been since claimed to be one of the most important tools that govern the relationship among humans and between states. Power is interconnected with law, politics and the capacity of submitting the other to realize the will of the hegemonic entity. In the legal geography, it is acknowledged that every aspect of law includes some spatial frame of reference and that political power should be coupled with law's right to create the penalty of death (BRAVERMAN, BLOMLEY, DELANEY and KEDAR 2013). The exercise of power and violence is done by state in order to legitimate its force within a cleared defined territory. BLOMLEY (2003) argues that violence plays an important and integral role in the legitimation, foundation and operation of private property. This means that the control over property is only possible if some sets of laws and rules have been put down by one hegemonic entity that is able to use power and violence in order to legitimate its point of view. SINGER (2000) argues that property ownership is the right to regulate relation among people by distributing powers to control valued resources and the power over property gives the hegemon the right and power to exclude others to use a resource and to transfer it.

All these philosophical thoughts are good ideas that could be used to identify the relationship between Africa and Europe since the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 where several European powers met in order to discuss and set rules of power over the African continent. This conference has created what is often defined as colonial legacy which still have strong impacts in African relationship with Europe today.

The Berlin Conference has the advantage to be classified both in term of global governance, since it introduced trans-boundary interactions between a wide array of actors that has had political, economic transformative process over other political entities. The same conference is embedding several governmentality aspect because each European power present on this conference has developed different power technologies and techniques in order to change and transform the part of territory he was given full power. Finally, the Berlin conference is having a strong biopolitic orientation since it was able to develop strategy of control and changing of people's life in a sustainable manner.

Germany was not only the organizer of the Berlin Conference but also a colonial master, who exercise some decades of colonial rule in some African territories. After her defeat from the WWI, Germany was, according to the Versailles Treaty obliged and forced to withdraw from

the global governance scene where she has been active and also to abandon all her colonies over the world.

Nevertheless, the colonial system put in place by Germany during its colonial period, the established norms, the political system and legislation could be claimed to still be in force in her African colonies.

The global governance feature of the Berlin conference has had the advantage of creating colonial machinery with, of course different entities, but sharing the same values and the same vision. Even though the victory powers succeeded to remove or to reduce the spatiality of power of Germany at the international sphere for some decades, they however followed the regulation of the colonial system of exploitation and submission of the other.

No one could argue that one colonial legacy was better than another, then it was a system of expropriation, subjectification and extroversion which was necessary to legitimate the international power and importance of the colonial master.

After the independence of several African countries, the relations between the former colonial power and the new independent African territory were still marked by serious signs of coloniality. In fact, the new independent African have adopted colonial norms and legalized it in their domestic affairs.

At the end of direct colonial rule in Africa several systems of international realm were created and enforced by international institutions, which developed several norms and knowledge in order to maintain their hegemony over those who believed in it.

Power was not so much related with military intervention but was far more close to the complexities and techniques of knowledge production, within and between societies, groups and regions. The admission of someone's knowledge is the recognition of his power and the engagement into a long process of disempowerment. Knowledge production has become a political issue because it also legitimizes power relations between an actor, who think, who is qualified to judge, to admit and to determine what is good, how things have to be done, who is qualify to do that and who can be included and who should not be included (POTTIER in POTTIER 2003: 2). Therefore knowledge production is closely bound with unequal power relations and process among stakeholders.

Global governance is strongly related to knowledge production and knowledge management. In the global governance framework some relevant questions emerged such as those related to

the world representations, to problem understandings, to the representation of realities, to the matter of establishment of dialogues.

At the global level power and control are important elements in knowledge creation since a multitude of actors are involved in this process.

From a post-modern perspective, the notion and concept of development occurs in the frame of knowledge creation and exercise of power that can only be used as an instrument of domination and reproduction of social and political inequality (FERGUSON 1990, ESCOBAR 1991).

The ideas defended in the concept of sustainable development which was internationalized by the Brundtland Commission were already en vogue in several African communities. The power relation related to this concept does not allow its internationalization because of their status as “under-developed”. They were therefore unable to produce any internationalized recognized and admitted knowledge since those people were already legitimized and portrayed as inferior, childlike and incapable of looking after themselves (YOUNG 2003).

The creation of the FRG in 1949 marked the reintroduction of Germany as equal partner in the global governance system. The desire to gain an international recognition and to appear as a global motivated Germany to be active at the international level and to be committed for the worldwide implementation of international agenda.

The frame of development cooperation was therefore an appropriated tool, which was used by Germany in order to be an active partner as the global scale. This is how Germany was reintroduced in African domestic affairs and has become a global player in some development sectoral issues. The promotion of sustainable development has become a key concept of the German development cooperation after the Rio Summit.

0.1. Research questions and hypothesis

Since several decades, several African countries have been subjected to different development strategies mostly coming from western world. Since the introduction of the concept of sustainable development in the international development agenda, several strategies have been developed first of all in regard to the understanding of this concept, secondly on the appropriated measures of achieving a sustainable society. Diverse points of view on sustainable development were developed from different point of the world. However, a general understanding has been adapted by the international community.

The principal question of this analysis is to investigate the knowledge-power relation coupled with the concept of sustainable development and to highlight the fact that, just as the concept of development was used during decades as a tool of domination of Africa, it is the same situation with sustainable development. My argument is that the conception, understanding and internationalization of sustainable development and its related strategies as well as other development strategies launched in the same historical context, are means of subjectification of African states. In addition, I argue that the German development policy was developed as a mean of fulfilling the international development requirements.

Namibia and Cameroon were two former German colonies that were handed over to South Africa, France and Great Britain respectively while Benin has been colonized by the French only. The German development cooperation has developed “the program of sustainable management of natural resources” in 2007 that was implemented in the three countries. The aim of the program was to contribute to the achievement of a global society.

The principal questions are to know if the development cooperation is used by the German as tool of gaining back her former colonial power over Africa. The hypotheses included into this question is that, since Benin has never been a German colony, the actions of Germany should stressed mostly on Cameroon and Namibia and Benin should be in one way or another marginalized.

The second principal question of this work is to investigate the sustainable power strategies put in place by the global dominant system in order to control and divert African countries from their “development” priorities. The hypothesis related to this question is that, environmental protection matters are used to legitimate foreign intervention into African domestic affairs. This integration of foreigners into African development issues is enforcing an extroverted economy, which, instead of been a national solving strategy, rather enforced African exploitation by multinationals. The sustainable development discourse is failing to meet the requirements and expectations of the local people who are victimized through an international domination system rooted in the colonial period. International forest and biodiversity management strategies which have been enforced through global environmental summits are legitimizing colonial expropriation of people’s right over those resources.

Finally, Germany, by supporting this global environmental discourse through her development cooperation contributes in best case to maintain of status quo and in the worse case to the aggravation of people’s living standards and the depletion of natural resources,

which, in conformity with colonial legacy, continues to be exploited at the expense of local people and the benefit of a small elites.

My argument is that sustainable management of natural resource has existed in Africa since a long time and that those management strategies are scarcely taken into consideration by domestic governments which, by the search of financial support, in the frame of development cooperation, give high priorities to international agreements.

Building a sustainable society in Africa through the management of natural resource should, from my point of view, include seven principal factors that are depending to each other and which should be given priority both from bottom and up conception and implementation strategy. The achievement of a sustainable society is not the requirement of international and national actors alone, all stakeholders, and all points of views should be taken into consideration in this long process.

0.2.Methodology

This research is firstly based on the narrative approach consisting of capturing events and their signification in their temporal and spatial interrelations with other similar events. Therefore the description and profound analysis of four environmental summits that have strongly modified the global environmental discourse over the forty last years are the central documents used in this analysis (Stockholm 1972, Rio 1992, Johannesburg 2002 and Rio 2012). This first step is the basement of the analysis which highlights how global events influence and shape domestic policy and impact sustainably people behaviors according to the interests of the most powerful nations. Inspired from the Foucauldian concept of governmentality, biopower and biopolitics, international power techniques and technologies of creating norms and pushing governments to adhere to it will be used to show how African environmental discourse was subordinated by powerful states.

Field research was carried out in 2010, 2011 and 2012 in Germany, Cameroon and Namibia. Qualitative interviews with some German experts from DED and GTZ responsible for the management of natural resources were realized in order to have a global understanding of the German development program first of all for the related case studies. Secondly, those interviews offered the possibilities to understand the different mechanisms of the German development policy.

Further qualitative interviews were realized in the frame of within-case analysis in Benin, with the kind support of the ProCGRN Natitingou, Cameroon and Namibia. The within-case

interviews offered the possibilities of meeting governmental officials responsible for forest management and biodiversity and of bilateral cooperation with Germany, with some “local chiefs”, project managers and responsible of some civil societies organization. It is therefore obvious that a qualitative interview could only lead to a qualitative debriefing and analysis (Jones 1985: 58). As Jones requires, the transcription of the interviews were done and used as direct quotation inside this analysis. It is also required that the result of the analysis should be presented in forms of impression and hypothesis with strong interpretative features (see last chapter). Near these interviews it was possible to visit some German projects related to forests and support of local initiatives could be considered as the empirical part of this analysis.

0.3.Outlines of the study

This research is presented in seven chapters. The first chapter deals with the conceptualization of global governance, governmentality, biopower and biopolitic, development and related paradigms and natural resources management.

The second chapter analyzes the procedures and mechanism of global governance of natural resources in the frame of the Stockholm conference of 1972, Rio Conference of 1992, Johannesburg Conference of 2002 and the Rio Conference of 2012.

In Chapter three, the relations between Germany and Africa in terms of natural resources management are analyzed from historical perspectives in order to put in evidence Germany’s introduction and activities in the global management of natural resources.

The in-case study of German development cooperation is the focus of chapter four, five, six that are analyzing the case of Benin, Cameroon and Namibia respectively.

Chapter 7 provides concluding remarks on global environmental management in Africa and the German contribution to the achievement of this global environmental agenda.

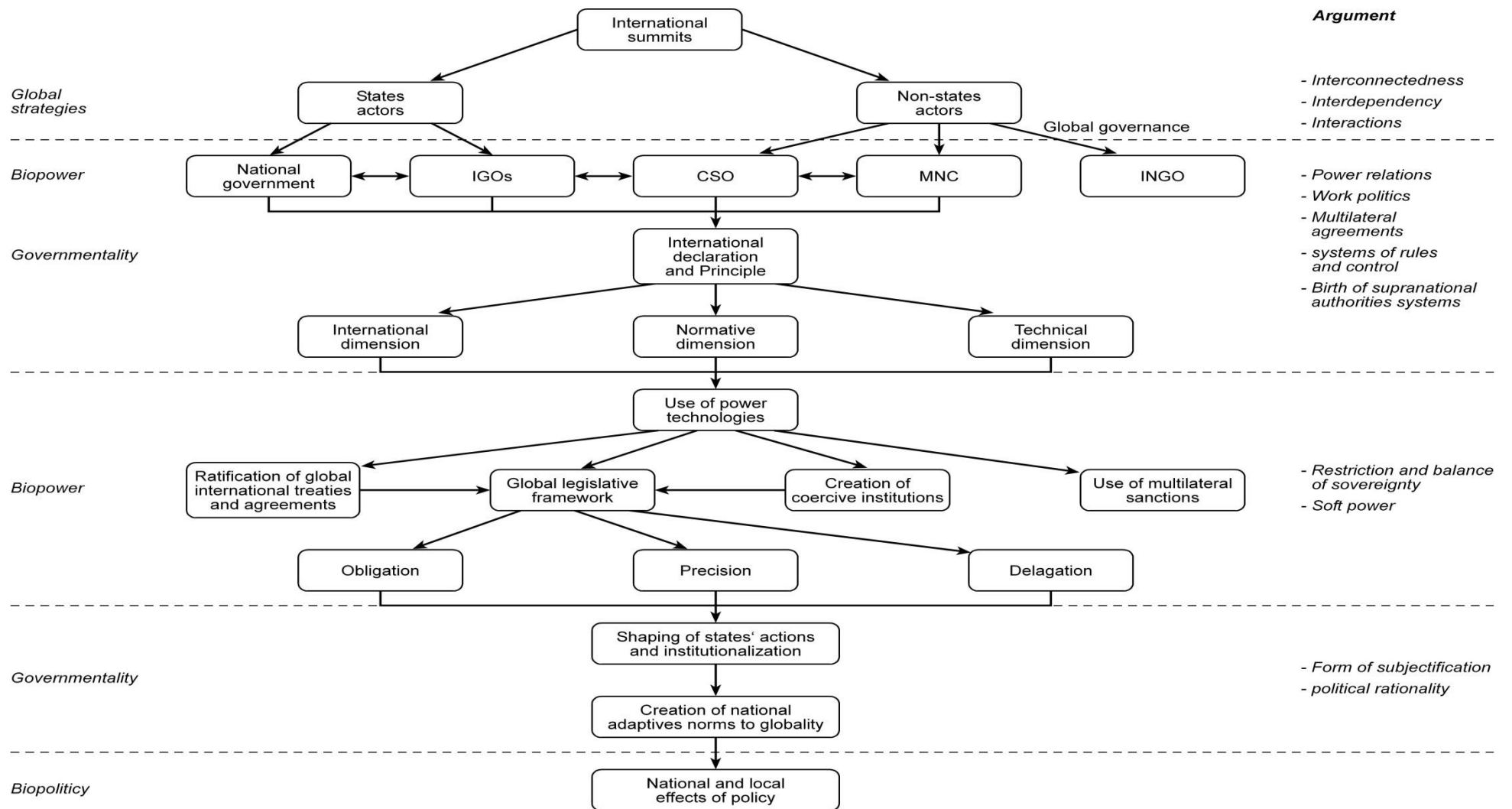


Figure 1: Conceptual framework: Global governance, Governmentality and Biopolitics (Tchigankong Noubissié 2013)

1. Conceptual Framework

„Concepts are the most basic tool science has at its disposal (...). Concepts fulfill the central function of ordering and structuring our perception of the world,, (DINGWERTH and PATTBERG: 2006: 186)

1.2. Conceptualizing Global Governance

Whereas some scholars are asking why the world is so difficult to govern (BJOLA and KORNPORST 2011), an important question will be to know if it is possible to govern the world. It is to this end that the concept of global governance emerges.

“The different understandings of ‘global governance’ in various contexts derive from disagreement about the precise meaning of both the terms ‘global’ and ‘governance’.” (PATTBERG 2006: 2)

The concept “Global Governance” is made up of two words: “Global” and “Governance”. The term global in its international relation acceptance refers to “the move beyond the scope of solely international or inter-state relations incorporating the plurality of actors now capable of influencing the system” (EDWARD and CLARKE 2004: 6). DINGWERTH and PATTBERG on their side argue that the term “global” could refer on the one hand to human activities taking place at the top-level scale and on the other hand to the sum of all scales of activities (DINGWERTH and PATTBERG 2006: 188). SCHOLTE claims that 'global' in reference to global governance “designates activities and conditions on a planetary scale” and “suitably highlights planetary realms as having become significant social domains in their own right” (SCHOLTE 2008: 22).

1.1.1. Conceptualizing Governance

The word “Governance” stems from the Greek word “Kubernân” meaning piloting a ship or boat and is claimed to have been used first by Plato to mean how to govern human beings. It shifted to Latin “gubernantia” keeping its original meaning and was later on translated into English by governance (TOUPANE 2009).

The term has been brought up to date in the 1990s by economists and political scientists working for international institutions to mean “the art and strategy to govern” but with the aim of differentiating governance as strategy from government as institution and to promote a new or “better” strategy of managing states and public affairs (HUYNH-QUAN-SUU 2009). If Governance was having a clear and distinct meaning in the past, its actual meaning is controversial and varies from one understanding to another. However, it remains always related to its etymological understanding of government or structures and processes of governing the other (WEISS quoted by DINGWERTH and PATTBERG 2006: 188).

Generally, governance is understood as a mode of management of complex issues (PIERRE and PETERS 2000: 23; HERMET AND KAZANCI GIL 2005 quoted by JOUMARD 2009). FROST (2004) claims that it is impossible to speak about governance without speaking about government and understands governance as “the guidance and harmonization of certain activities” (FROST 2004: 41). Arguing in the same perspective, DINGWERT and PATTBERG claim, “governance is closely connected to the activities of government¹”. They quote Gerry Stocker who defined governance as part of human activity concerned with creating the conditions for ordered rule and collective action (DINGWERTH and PATTBERG 2006: 188). In its common understanding governance means “act, manner, office or power of governing” but also “government, state of being governed, method of government or regulation” (WEISS 2000: 795).

From this definition, the overall implicit or explicit reference to state or government and the actions they are undertaking as well as the status of object of this governance is noticeable. Nevertheless, BRÜHL and ROSERT (2008) argue that governance is a kind of mixture between order and intentionality and the capacity to get things done. With this statement, governance is about policy conception but also and mostly about policy implementation. It has an implicit normative orientation due to its conception but also a purposive one. The ruling system in place is the central element in charge of general co-ordination.

CLARKE (2004) distinguishes five types of governance: (1) Normative governance having an ideological orientation and aiming at creating a model society functioning through norms shaping our behavior and helping to stabilize the system; (2) Technical governance dealing with practical terms of reshaping the society through arrangements; (3) Social governance which is defined as a system within which state and non-state interact; (4) Institutional governance which deals with the implementation of the fixed and adequate norms and (5) Effective governance defined as the result of the transformation of existing societies following the established norms (CLARKE 2004: 256-265).

From this classification, it is important to highlight that the meaning of governance varies from one domain to another, from one field research to another. Economists understand governance as a means of managing companies’ transactions and focus on necessary transactions needed for the functioning of an economic system. Governance consists therefore

¹Governance mostly refers to way or strategy to govern whereas government refers to institutions and leaders (TOUPANE 2009: 99)

on analyzing financial transactions and how economic networks function (TOUPANE 2009: 100).

In geography and mostly in economic geography, governance is meant to design and regulate the mode of economic spheres focusing on spatial organization and proximity of involved actors. It is defined as all various strategies regulating institutions and local procedures and describing how public and private actors interact in a concrete spatial delimitation as well as the coordination of their actions and the strategies they are developing to have access on resources. Governance here deals therefore with geographical and institutional proximity of actors. Geographical conception of governance focuses on regional matter, regional planning and development of a concrete space. It analyzes physical and human network intersections and existing dependency and interdependency between involved actors as well as the existing exchange system amongst them and their relation with the environment, regulating the global system (national, international, economic, political and social systems).

Governance makes sense when it deals with all these interdependency structures and their openness concerning space management (TOUPANE 2009: 101). From geographical understanding, governance is mostly related to territorial governance looking at territorial decision-making procedures in regards to involved actors, networks relevance, conflict emergence and the related negotiations, as well as all activities related to the development of a concrete space (TOUPANE 2009: 101).

Political scientists perceive governance as a public action reconfiguration process and the emergence of new intervention strategies and modalities of transformation of public action (HOLEC and BRUNET-JOLIVALD quoted by TOUPANE 2009). As new actors have been integrated in the management of public affairs, it is no longer possible to speak about government but rather about governance. The reconfiguration of this system is only possible with the use of power relations at different administrative and institutional levels. Power is an important factor in policy implementation. It is an important element, which ensures that state policies are better co-ordinated and well done (ANTTIROIKO 2004: 4). Nevertheless, it could happen that governments concede to give up a part of their power to other actors such as regulating agencies and private organizations. Consequently, the concept of power shift or power fragmentation is used in such cases (TOUPANE and JOUMARD). This is why the Commission on Global Governance defined governance as: “the sum of the many ways

individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs” (Quoted by WEISS 2000: 796).

STARQUIT (2001) claims that the variation of governance signification is mostly related to its Anglo-Saxon use and understanding, which minimizes the state's role through the promotion of neoliberalism with strategies such as privatization of public services and deregulation. Sharing the same point of view JOURMARD (2009) argues that this understanding of governance comes from Thatcher's experience of governing British municipalities applying financial constraints and privatization of public services and the promotion of civil society.

This neoliberal perspective of governance was given a new impetus by Bretton-Woods institutions. Governance defined from this perspective aims at reducing state's role and action by promoting individual initiatives and action of private groups, hindering public administration classes, which are considered as corrupt and destroying the system which is supposed to be rebuilt by actors coming from the civil society (JOURMARD 2009: 11). The idea behind this conception is that public administrations no more have any monopole on undertaking actions. There is an attempt to modernize or purify public administration through governance and through the implementation of some set of rules. Governance is, therefore, understood as an instrument of power by the World Bank and defined as “the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources” (Quoted by WEISS 2000: 797).

Governance under World Bank understanding relies on three pillars: the form of political regime, the process of authority exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources and the capacity of governments to design, formulate and implement policies (WEISS 2000: 797). The definition UNDP and OECD applied to governance is mostly related to the World Bank, which, in the difference of UNDP, introduces citizens as actors also able to exercise some rights. The OECD, on the other hand, stresses on the role of economic operators and benefits distribution among rulers and ruled in its conception of governance (WEISS Ibid).

Stocker has formulated five main principles that encompass the concept of governance. Governance could: (1) be a mode of government; (2) mobilize a set of governmental and non-states actors inter-acting; (3) break responsibility borders between public and private sector of

activities in their economic and social solving orientation; (4): create an interdependency network between all the participants for collective action; (5) argue that it is possible to act and to solve problem without state intervention or authority through the use of new governmental tools and techniques replacing state's control by action coordination and orientation (quoted by JOURMARD 2009: 19). Indeed, governance has emerged as a reaction to representative system characterized by its pyramidal rationality where the majority was claimed to work at the expense of the minority or vice-versa. With governance, both majority and minority could find way of actions and inter-actions. This is why Ernst-Otto CZEMPIEL defines governance as “capacity to get things done without the legal competence to command that they be done” (Quoted by MOSHIRZADEH 2011:117).

The definition of governance as a norm comes from the Tokyo Institute of Technology referring governance as “complex set of values, norms, process and institutions by which society manages its development and resolves conflict (...). It involves the state but also the civil society at the local, national, regional and global levels” Quoted by WEISS 2000: 797 - 798). The understanding of governance as a system of global shared values was introduced at the end of the 90s as a paradigm which argues that it is worthwhile to define a set of universal values inspiring and leading to good practices both in business domain, government affairs and organization charged to manage globalization (TOUPANE 2009: 99). This understanding of governance has been adopted by international organizations and will be gradually transformed in what is commonly known today as global governance.

1.1.2. From Governance to Global Governance

Put together “Global Governance” appears to be far more complex. Global governance conceptions vary from one discipline to another from one author to another. An attempt would be made to clarify this concept through an historical background, a theoretical analysis of the concept, its changing meanings, its aims and the used mechanisms.

1.1.2.1. Global Governance: historical background

Dating global governance is another problematic issue depending on what is placed at the center of investigation: political, economic or social evolution of societies. From a political perspectives, the seeming indications that a global political system was forming comes from Europe when European powers defeated Napoleon in 1814 and came together to work for

peace maintaining rules and tried to develop strategies aiming at avoiding forthcoming threats (MITZEN 2011: 52). From this idea, it could be also argued that the erection of the League of Nations after the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 could be seen as early signs of global governance. From this statement, global governance was closely related to the concept of international governance in the sense of how international issues are managed and regulated at the global level with strategies such as international conventions, international law and international regimes (MOSHIRZADEH 2011: 117).

These regulations were also adapted after WWII with the difference that under the hegemony of the United States, international global organizations have emerged and other multilateral groups were created with the aim of promoting United States' economic, political and socio-cultural values throughout the World (DREZNER quoted by MOSHIRZADEH). But it was at that time difficult to speak about global governance because of the resistance and the emergency of a contra-force under the umbrella of communism and the resulting conflicting discourses slowing the expansion of US values in the world. It is only at the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Berlin Wall that this rival discourse was removed at the international level and the globalization trend could be increased and directed by the winner system (MOSHIRZADEH 2011: 118).

The geopolitical orientation of this political action was control over world's space just as PASTOR points out: “by the mid-point of twentieth century, international institutions and values, established by the leadership of the United States, began to define the world’s space” (PASTOR 2004: 156). UNDERHILL claims that it is the feeling or the will of understanding the interdependence and what it meant for the understanding of the world around us, the tension between domestic issues and those of other states which brought to the desire to create a global monitoring system during 1960 (UNDERHILL 2004: 115). The economic perspective claims that global governance started in Europe since the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century with the process of globalization characterized at that time as “overcoming particularity by technological means” (WALLERSTEIN cited by WARD 2004: 24-25).

Globalization as a global phenomenon is claimed to have started in the late 1960s with increased level of international trade an effect of the Kennedy Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). This was followed later by the abrogation of the Bretton Woods Agreement and with the globalization of production and the increase of

foreign direct investment (AGNEW 2004: 102). Since 1960, the world economy has undergone rapid changes, with international trade rising and the spread of corporations throughout the world, the birth and launch of Euromarkets in the early 1970s but also the oil crisis which highlighted the tight relationship between economy and politics as influential factors influencing trade policies among states (UNDERHILL 2004: 116).

Globalization as a world economy only emerged after the collapse of the Soviet System in 1989 (AGNEW 2004: 102). The idea of globalization starting in 1960 is contested by ANTTIROIKO. He argues that it had already started with the expansion of European culture across the planet via colonization and cultural imperialism. It could also be seen as a process referring to “the stretching of social relations and institutions across space and time”. ANTTIROIKO also qualifies all kinds of activities, which are influenced by other events happening in other parts of the globe and the reverberation effects of local actions and actors at global level (ANTTIROIKO 2004: 3). The object of global governance consisting of analyzing the world interconnectivity is clearly expressed with the explanation of globalization as a process.

“The concept of globalization refers to such processes as an erosion of institutional boundaries, a new consciousness of the world as a whole, increased regional and global interdependencies, and accelerated growth of economic activity that spans national and regional political boundaries.”(ANTTIROIKO 2004: 3).

It is this global view of an interdependent world that brings Weiss to argue that global governance is a post-World War construct marking the end of one period and trying to depict the dynamics of a new epoch. It was a strategy to apply the notion of governance to the globe with a high variety of actors, proving that states alone were no more structuring the international system (WEISS 2000: 806).

PASTOR argues that the essence of global governance is to analyze the set of problems, which have emerged with the new world order. It is about looking after the consequences of international economic regulations and institutions on other countries and the consequences of the expansion of global trade over financial collapse and depression in other part of the world. Speaking about global governance according to him is to look at intergovernmental organizations and non-governmental organizations that have emerged as consequences of the new world order (PASTOR 2004: 145). Not so far from this point of view, MOSHIRZADEH argues that global governance has to focus on issues and problems which have emerged as consequences of globalization and which have to be dealt with at the global level. (MOSHIRZADEH 2011: 118) just as Frost quotes:

“Structures of global governance emerge as a response to globalisation. As globalisation gathers pace the need for new forms of guidance and harmonisation will grow and we can expect that new forms of global governance will be created “(FROST 2004: 41).

1.1.2.2. Global Governance: definition

“Global Governance appears to be virtually anything” (FINKELSTEIN 1995: 368)

This statement evidences the fact how it is difficult to define the concept global governance. This difficulty is obvious due to the complexity of the term “governance” itself. Common and different scholarly understandings of the concept, their convergences and divergences would be highlighted in order to come to a common conceptual framework. Global governance would be defined according to its paradigmatic understanding, its use, its aims and visions and through its strategies.

Before defining global governance from a paradigmatic point of view, some clarifications have to be made between international governance and global governance. As discussed in the former part, the concept international governance was first used to mean the global governance systems including states and intergovernmental organizations. However, due to globalization and other enumerated factors such as the end of the Cold War, numerous non-state actors got involved and were introduced into the governance system and processes. The common acceptance of global governance is concerned with this new composition of actors in the framework of international relations, their roles and activities (BRÜHL and ROBERT 2008: 6-7).

From an academic point of view, global governance deserves attention because it is focusing on trans-boundary interactions between a wide array of actors at various policy level and points out a variety of steering mechanisms and spheres of authority that states and non-states actors are using in contemporary world politics (DINGWERTH and PATTBURG: 2006: 196). This is why ROSENAU defines global governance as: “the sum of myriad—literally millions of—control mechanisms driven by different histories, goals, structures, and processes” (ROSENAU quoted by DINGWERTH 2008: 5).

Global governance perceived from a paradigmatic understanding is related to the above discussed historical factors which have motivated the blooming of this concept. PATTBURG (2006) differentiates three paradigmatic understandings of global governance: its first orientation is related to globalization processes with its economic implications, coupled with

the political transformative process it has created. The second perspective looks at global governance as a political strategy or program resulting first as a reaction to globalization, aimed at looking for adequate political responses to this phenomenon. The last understanding of global governance is its perception as a hegemonic concept and process aimed at spreading out neo-liberal agenda in the international political agenda.

In its first understanding, global governance is looked upon as a concept that “encompasses different systems of rule at different levels of human activities as an organizing social principle beyond hierarchical steering and the sovereign authority of nation states.” (PATTBERG 2006: 10). It is characterized from this apprehension by the fact that new non-states actors come into play in the governing process and occupy a central place in the global governance process.

As a political program, global governance is having a normative orientation and could be perceived easily at the international relation scene. From PATTBERG's understanding, it remains close to the globalization process and its economic connotations of global transactions in goods, services, capital and people but also dealing with the consequences of these actions on national governments' ability to governing or keep control over their territorial control and management (PATTBERG 2006: 12). From this understanding, global governance should be understood as a political concept that society has put in place, whose focus is on developing political strategies to address urging global problems. The relevant factor in this understanding relies on the fact that, societies are not acting in an autonomous way but rather act collectively and according to globally developed strategies and measures encroaching individual state's authority and accountability (DINGWERTH and PATTBERG: 2006: 193).

Global governance is claimed from this standpoint to be an observable phenomenon embedding a multiplicity of processes and actors as well as the interactions taking place between them. These actors are supposed to have non-hierarchical relationship because, as PATTBERG claims, there is no central authority exercising power at the international and transnational level (PATTBERG 2006: 15). Global governance therefore functions through some set of institutions regulating, national, international and transnational actions. Also, as BRÜHL and ROSERT assert: “the politicians use the concept global governance to highlight the

interconnectedness of world politics and the necessity of finding better ways of governance” (BRÜHL and ROSERT 2008: 6).

The last understanding of global governance is connotated with power and its hegemonic orientation. Here, global governance is nothing else but “a discursive attempt to conceal the nature of the current neo-liberal agenda” (PATTBERG 2006: 13-14). Global governance is supposed not to focus much on state failures in the globalization process but to be “a hegemonic discourse to disguise the negative effects of neoliberal economic development on a global scale” (DINGWERTH and PATTBERG: 2006: 196). In order to do so, global governance is claimed to be a framework in which the “establishment of a more encompassing political and normative framework by which the external sources of local problems can be internalized (VÄYRYNEN 2005: 171).

From this classification, BRÜHL and ROSERT adds that the normative strand of global governance deal with conceptualizations and system reshaping reckoning that some adaptations in the governance systems have taken place and advocating for a new and better efficient system (BRÜHL and ROSERT 2008: 7). FALK has the same point of view when he considers global governance as “a normative project of humane governance which seeks to create ‘a set of social, political, economic and cultural arrangements that is committed to rapid progress...’” (FALK quoted by CLARKE & EDWARDS 2004: 5). The normative connotations are oriented to some set of standards put in place and are suppose to be guidelines for progress.

Global governance could also be understood from its purposive orientation. It could be assumed that global governance is striving for the establishment of international bodies responsible of creating and codifying norms supposed to be in the interests of states and non-state actors (CLARKE 2004: 274). To this aim, global governance appears to offer a platform on which states and diverse groups of non-states actors must learn to work for a better cooperation for more efficiency (CLARKE & EDWARDS 2004: 7). For this purpose, global governance has attempted to shape and regulate the international system through the promotion of intergovernmental cooperation, regulating economic, social, and ecological transactions with particular focus on international problems and the development of an international agenda for collective action taking place in a decentralized framework system (CLARKE and EDWARDS 2004: 1 and VÄYRYNEN 2005: 175-176).

From this viewpoint, global governance emerges as a platform on which consensual processes are negotiated and on which common affairs are managed in a cooperative manner by multiple actors in regard to the plurality of interests enabling power-relations to come into play. Global governance will therefore be transformed in a sphere of political influence through which the international institutional landscape and world politics is being realized. The purposive orientation of global governance is related to its problem solving orientation through the settings of norms and rules of behavior, which should have a border-spanning and transnational spreading effect (PATTBERG 2006: 14-15). Global governance could be compared to a sort of non-institutional world government or federation that “could rule a globalized welfare state and impose equal and equitable regulation on all countries and peoples” (LIPSCHUTZ 2004: 219).

To sum up, FINKELSTEIN's position on global governance as purposive act could be raised as based on three main activities: “(1) governing without sovereign authority, (2) relationship that transcends national frontiers, (3) doing internationally what governments do at home” (FINKELSTEIN 1995: 369). This purposive act from Finkelstein's viewpoint is having a solely political orientation and seems to focus on state's actors and their authority. PATTBERG distinguishes six purposive orientations of global governance: it “(1) ascribes special relevance to non- state actors, (2) analyses multiple spatial and functional levels of politics and their interaction, (3) is concerned with new modes and mechanisms of producing and maintaining global public goods and (4) highlights the establishment of new spheres of authority beyond the nation state and international cooperation” (PATTBERG 2006: 10).

Global governance is close to becoming a global political orientation or vision of globalization process and its consequences are capable of spreading from various human and state activities moving beyond political, economic, ecological and socio-cultural contexts and dealing with global challenges that humankind is permanently confronted with. This could be seen in this quotation of the German Parliament:

“As the world becomes increasingly globalized and economic activities grow beyond national regulatory frameworks, it becomes more necessary to politically shape economic, social and environmental processes on a global scale. How the global challenges can be democratically managed has recently begun to be discussed under the heading of “global governance.” (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2002a: 67).

The need for more cooperation among governments and non-state actors and for a platform within which their actions could be coordinated as well as the spanning field of activities of

non-state actors and the emergence of supra-state actors constitute the core of global governance (DINGWERTH and PATTBERG: 2006: 193-194).

After viewing global governance from its purposive orientation, a procedural analysis of global governance is also relevant for its understanding. According to WEISS, global governance is the shift of authority location in the context of integration and fragmentation based on ROSENAU's definition of global governance as a “system of rule at all levels of human activities in which the pursuit of goals through the exercise of control has transnational repercussions” (Quoted by WEISS 2000: 807). The concept fragmentation refers to the phenomenon of ‘glocalization’ of politics through new social alliances enabling new actors to find new political opportunities in spaces above and below existing states (MURPHY 2000: 796).

FINKELSTEIN analyzing this definition adds that “rule” in this definition is close to “control” meaning that ‘the controllers seek to modify the behavior of other actors (ROSENAU in FINKELSTEIN's words 1995: 368). From this perspective FINKELSTEIN sees global governance as “any purposeful activity intended to control or influence someone else that either occurs in the arena occupied by nations, or occurring at other levels, projects, influence into that arena” (IBID). This definition of global governance has some “power” connotations implicitly positioning one actor as the controller and the other as the controlled.

Global governance could also be understood as a mechanism aiming to “capture and describe the transformation of the international system” (WEISS 2000: 808). Speaking about global governance means looking at a form of global organization in which governments are supposed to have sacrificed their authorities in profit of a higher supranational authority. The procedure of trading-off national sovereignties to supranational organizations is another perception of what global governance could be (VÄYRYNEN 2005: 167). Therefore, any time this process or phenomenon is observed in international politics, it is logical to argue that it is about a global governance framework. VÄYRYNEN makes this statement clear by asserting that this procedure is characterized not by the formation of transnational civil societies per se but by the fact that various actors have fully succeeded to get introduced in the global political process which leads to a permanent decline of states in favor of private sector and other civil society organizations (IBID: 168).

The exerted power of these organizations over states pushes the state to share her power and her authority generating what DINGWERTH and PATTBERG name “multiple sphere authority” a sign of the emergence of a multipolar new world order (DINGWERTH and PATTBERG: 2006: 197). Therefore, CLARKE and EDWARDS remark that: “Global governance is therefore not only an empirical reality, but the changing global environment and the demands of new policy challenges make it a necessity” (CLARKE & EDWARDS 2004: 6). This new policy should deal with interlinkages between several societal actors and governmental institutions, which, through global governance channels, have successfully established new modes of governance marked by their transnational nature.

This trans-nationality implies that global governance cannot be a static phenomenon but a dynamic process moving over time and space and embedding normative, technical and institutional dimensions which are used in order to reshape the international system. Its dynamism means that this process and the coupled norms, institutions and rules are intended to be integrated across borders and to find corporations inside national structures. From this point, it is obvious that the trans-nationality of global governance will result in a sort of tension creating process, bringing states and non-state organizations to be permanently under a sort of in and out spand system.

From the perspective that each actor has his own strategy, field of action, aim, vision and orientation, the tension created through their mix-up could be subjected to an imbroglio in international affairs regulating system if the framework for co-ordination is not operating well. In fact, with the global governance approach, the responsibilities of the actors appear confused in such a way that it is difficult to define clearly, which actor is responsible for which action. This situation brings Frost to consider global governance as “a vague phrase generally taken to refer to the means by which, as one author puts it, a ‘nobody-in-charge world’ is managed” (FROST 2004: 41). ROSENAU corrects this definition by asserting that: “global governance refers to more than the formal institutions and organizations through which the management of international affairs is or is not sustained. The United Nations system and national governments are surely central to the conduct of global governance, but they are only part of the full picture.”(ROSENAU quoted by DINGWERTH and PATTBERG: 2006: 189). This is to say that United Nations institutions are in charge of regulating or implementing the global governance system. In short, the procedural understanding of global governance is mostly dealing with identifying and describing transformation processes the

world politics went/is going through and their implications over state sovereignty and governance matters.

In all, global governance is a widely politicized concept dealing with international relations among states and non-state actors. It is a system of understanding the world politics as a multilevel system made up of local, national, regional and global political processes which are interconnected, interlinked and interacting in an inseparably way through various mechanisms (DINGWERTH and PATTBERG: 2006: 191). It is also dealing with the emergence of new spheres of authorities held by non-governmental organizations, transnational corporations, and intergovernmental organizations acting hand in hand or independently of sovereign nation-states. It could also be a hegemonic concept dealing with norm creation and setting leading to “a discursive struggle about who decides what for whom” (DINGWERTH and PATTBERG: 2006: 196).

Using global governance as a scientific concept is to be made aware of its polysemy and the fact that a commonly accepted definition does not exist so far. This is the reason why global governance will be used from its empirical understanding in order to know how and why norms and rules are established and implemented at the global sphere and which strategies and actors are used for their implementation and what aims have been achieved through this process at the national and local level. ANTTIROIKO's definition of global governance as “ the power relations of national, international and multinational actors in political and economic life which shape the world order and have a direct or indirect influence over regional economies, nation states and localities” (ANTTIROIKO 2004: 4), fits best to this analysis. Before coming close to this, it is important to understand global governance mechanisms; it means how the system operates and functions.

1.1.2.3. Mechanisms of global governance

Mechanism is mostly defined as a system of parts that operate or interact like those of a machine or as an instrument or a process, physical or mental, by which something is done or comes into being (source). This definition of mechanism will be used in this part of the analysis in order to describe how the system of global governance functions or has been established in its historical evolution.

Although the roots of global governance are traceable before the creation of the United Nations and with the spreading process of globalization, the system of sustainable global ruling of the world today still refers to agreements signed within the UN framework. It is to this aim that “increased number of international agreements and UN resolutions and declarations were achieved in order to deal with the issues of international concern” affecting the sovereignty of states (ANTTIROIKO 2004: 4). To this extent some regulations, norms and rules were put in place in order to direct or modify the conduct of all the actors involved within the UN and other international organizations² management framework.

The first step was the establishment of bodies and an agenda to which all actors would adhere to adapt into their institutional framework. As CLARKE claims, this concerns: governance mechanisms are sometimes created and entrenched through legal principles and regimes. These legal arrangements can be realized through a set of criteria such as obligation³, precision⁴ and delegation⁵, each of which can be accessed from low to high levels, enabling categorization from soft to hard codification (CLARKE 2004: 267). From these principles, the first mechanism put in place is the setting up of international law and a global agenda followed by principles such obligation, precision and delegation. These principles places individuals, communities, organizations and institutions under a system of legal regulation controlled by the UN leading to the creation of international and multilateral agreements and customs.

The setting of a global legislative framework is supposed to be convenient to all the involved actors that, through their signatures and ratifications, they fully agree to follow the established rules and norms and to implement it in their local or national structures according to the agreements. These rules and norms are mainly established through flexible governance strategies such as summits, high-level conferences and declarations (ANTTIROIKO 2004: 10). It

2 “By definition an international organization is any public association or institution which assembles legal or other persons from at least three countries subject to the law of international organizations. They fall into two categories: international intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs). An organization is ‘intergovernmental’, in practice, if it is established by an agreement engendering obligations between governments. An international NGO, sometimes abbreviated to INGO, in turn, is any international organization which is not established by such an intergovernmental agreement.”(ANTTIROIKO 2004: 10).

3 Obligation means “states are legally bound by rules or commitments and therefore subject to the general rules and procedures of international law.”(CLARKE 2004: 267).

4 Precision means that “the rules are definite, unambiguously defining the conduct they require, authorize or proscribe” (CLARKE 2004: 267).

5 Delegation is “characterized by the granting of authority to third parties for the implementation of rules including their interpretation and application, dispute settlement, and possibly further rule making”(Clarke 2004: 267). It also denotes the extent to which a legal measure assigns responsibility third parties (CLARKE 2004: 271).

is at this level that the procedural dimension of governance comes into play. It emphasizes on the activities of different actors, on the policies they have to follow as well as the instruments they have to use in order to reach the defined goals. This dimension is accompanied by a structural one, which define norms, rules and networks between the participating actors and finally, defining the functional dimension related to political resource allocation and material outcome, thereby facilitating the implementation of these norms and rules (PATTBERG 2006: 15).

In short, as highlighted by CLARKE (2004), the transition from purely normative arrangements to soft and hard codification has become increasingly rapid over the past decade. There is no further need to present the importance of legislation on mediation of different actors and stakeholders interest, which need to be codified. However, in the framework of global governance, legislation is a front line tool used to introduce normative principles into law which could later on be transformed into concrete law through different mechanisms. This invariably influences actors to fulfill even some actions they are unable or unwilling to commit. These binding obligations can therefore restrict actor's behavior and sovereignty (CLARKE 2004: 267-270). CLARKE and EDWARDS also argue that the increasing scope of international law has consequently change the attitude of states and governments towards their responsibilities, which have chosen to restrict their sovereignty by signing treaties and agreements (CLARKE & EDWARDS 2004: 2)

A state's agreement or commitment to international treaties seriously modifies its function, often appearing to move upwards to meet international requirement and sometimes downwards if a better partnership is established with non-states actors which restricts its role in the framework of global governance (SCHNEIDERMAN 2004: 67). International agreements often obliged states to balance their sovereignty with non-state actors, which are required to work hand in hand with states, sometimes as lobbyists to create what Clarke and Edwards name 'Global Compact', a sort of good partnership between the private and public sectors (CLARKE & EDWARDS 2004: 3). Non-states interests occupy a great part in international agreements. As CLARKE and EDWARDS remark: "The international system increasingly reflects the decisions, aspirations and actions of non-state actors" (CLARKE & EDWARDS 2004: 4). This is because decisions made at the international level have direct impacts on both states and citizens alike to the extent that, citizens often use non-state means and channels in order to

act or to react. It is this representation desire that seems to have motivated the integration of non-state actors into the decision-making procedures at the international level.

It is claimed that this strategy will contribute to a better participation an efficient actions in the governance process. However, states remain the central actor in the international system and the core institution of political authority which is flowing between global and local needs, pursuing social and economic goals at the national level without overseeing its adherence to international rules and agreements. They retain a central role of shaping domestic political will through authoritative decision-making procedures by so doing, contributing to national and local security. Therefore, the state still remains the legitimate institution in charge of organizing people and to work for their well-being. (PASTOR 2004: 14, UNDERHILL 2004: 120, Islam 2009: 32, CLARKE & EDWARDS 2004: 10). In addition, the state as an actor in the global governance process is the primary force involved between international, transnational and domestic pressures. Its historical sovereign functions have not been deleted but only transformed.

The creation of international bodies and institutions responsible of the internationalization of political decision-making and acting at the global level through UN organizations have an impact at the regional and national structures and allow these structures to be active at transnational level. At this level, the focus is mostly oriented to the political framework and global policy implementation through institutional facilities. The ruling strategy is mostly qualified as a top-down governance strategy but is highly criticized because it underestimates the impact of NGOs and other local organizations working and having an impact at the micro level (CLARKE & EDWARDS 2004: 11). These micro initiatives, sometimes qualified as “from below initiatives” contribute to create a voice and political impact of diverse groups with different interests and stakes from the local to the global level without necessary connecting to national-state institutions (AGNEW 2004: 104).

Another offshoot of this international system is the creation of coercive institutions having hegemonic powers, which they can use in order to force the members to respect their obligations or their assignments. In this regard, power is defined by ROBERT DAHL as:”the ability to get others to do what they otherwise would not do “(ROBERT DAHL quoted by PASTOR 2004: 151) and NYE defined soft power as the ability of “getting others want what you want” (NYE quoted by PASTOR 2004: 151). Pastor further argues that this desire to

develop coercive institutions and to exercise power over others is the result of one model which has imposed itself to the other in such a way that it has become attractive and is used to reinforce the image of its owner now appearing as a great power. This process allows him to set some norms that would be considered as universal and therefore constraining other states to follow the defined norms. There are therefore no norms and “normativity” without the use of power (PASTOR 2004: 152).

Theorists of structural realism argue that it is impossible to understand the international system without reference to the power relationship among states. This power relation in the framework of global governance operates through soft-power system with international laws and their aptitude to shape actions of policy-makers, state and non-state actors as discussed above but also through military power. Even in the framework of global governance, power has remained the key and an inescapable purpose to ensure that the prescribed rules and norms are being implemented (CLARKE & EDWARDS 2004: 2-10). Multilateral sanctions exerted through multilateral organizations are one of the best means of power used in the framework of global governance (CLARKE 2004: 263). These power relations can influence identity building through different kinds of globalization structures aiming at creating a global political identity mainly with mass media and other means of global communication. Finally, it promotes the integration into the global world economy notably through the liberalization of the economy at the global scale with an increased share of economic activities (HELD quoted by ANTTIROIKO 2004: 6-7).

One can notice that regulation appears to be one of the most functional tools used by global governance, which explicitly means that power is managed and exerted in a hierarchical manner at the global scale over other actors. The global actors have the possibility of regulating the actions of other members of the group (VÄYRYNEN 2005: 176). In practical terms, global governance operates through a “multiple multilateralism system relying on the inherited international architectural structure of 1945 which has given birth to numerous global regulatory bodies which are entailed by the United Nations system and several intergovernmental institutions -mostly finance and trade organizations”.

SCHOLTE distinguishes six different types of global governance bodies: intergovernmental, trans-governmental, inter-regional, translocal, private, and public-private hybrids (SCHOLTE 2008: 22). From this classification, he claims that intergovernmental bodies or agencies

comprise conventional multilateral institutions operating through state-based ministers and diplomats working according to the commitment of the suprastate secretariat (IBID: 22). Transnational organizations as second body are concerned with civil servants from multiple states pursuing the governance strategies of their governments through informal collaboration by organizing conferences and memoranda of understanding (IBID: 22-23). Macro-regional grouping of states also influence the global governance framework through interregional arrangements. As far as trans-localism is concerned, it is dealing more with sub state arrangements occurring at the provincial or municipal level, bringing the concerned authorities to collaborate directly without state mediation.

The role of private actors in global governance framework is focused more on global arrangements of affairs through business consortia and civil society associations, which are able to develop trans-planetary extension mechanisms and administer governance in a top-down or bottom up perspective according to their interests (IBID). The last global governance institutions are hybrids organizations functioning through hybrid arrangements and involve in global regulation with institutions combining public, business and civil society's elements (IBID: 23).

All the above-mentioned points are the mechanisms set in place in order to ensure the applicability of global governance. Leading international organizations, agencies and nation-states play a great role in setting the world agenda and have a direct impact on ongoing decisions and related actions. They are involved in creating norms and regulations in the wake of conferences and declarations, which all serve as a base to legitimate their global policy and actions at the global level. Their actions could take place in the form of direct mechanism systems, when these global institutions undertake direct action at the regional, national or local level without any state's intervention, or through indirect mechanisms when it happens that nation-states are obliged to serve as mediation elements through which actions would be implemented. Notwithstanding, this is often according to the global principles of the responsible organizations.

As SCHOLTE (IBID) pointed out, some global regulatory arrangements have substantial impacts on national policies and there can be contradictory interests or aims and procedures between states and non-state actors using global governance instruments. Even if it happens that states are integrated through delegation process into the institutional operations of global governance

agencies their powerful position at the international level plays a great role. Therefore, it could happen that they cannot exercise effective voice because powerful states dominate the agenda as well as the intergovernmental and trans-governmental arrangements. These powerful states are able to do this by controlling a multitude of organizations, who work to spread their policies and defend their interests, worldwide (IBID: 30). With the help of these mechanisms, it happens that power-exercising strategies completely modify policy-making procedure of other states and define the future life of persons and populations mostly weak ones. It is in this frame that the concept of governmentality, biopower and biopolitics come into play.

1.2. Conceptualizing governmentality

The concept governmentality was created by the French philosopher Michel Foucault in the 1970s. LEMKE sees two semantic orientation of this French concept. First of all, relying on Senellart's argument, he claims that governmentality stems from the French word "gouvernemental" meaning things with which the government is concerned in order to rationalize governmental practice in the exercise of political sovereignty. This first standpoint looks at governmentality to be focusing on "multiple and diverse relations between the institutionalization of a state apparatus and historical forms of subjectification" and "endeavors to show how the modern sovereign state and the modern autonomous individual co-determine each other's emergence" (LEMKE 2007: 44).

The second standpoint is that governmentality is composed by "gouverner" (governing) and "mentalité" (mentality). Here, governmentality is bound with power relations exerted through technologies of power or political rationality allowing them to be in move. It is about "forms of power and processes of subjectification" (LEMKE 2011: 2). From this etymological analysis, the concept of government, subjectification and power appears to be central in governmentality perception with government as the central element of both power and subjectification. The process of subjectification is oriented to individuals or population. This is why, FERGUSON and AKHIL see governmentality as "all processes by which the conduct of a population is governed" namely through "institutions and agencies, including states, by discourses, norms, and by self-regulation techniques for the disciplining and care of the self" (FERGUSON and AKHIL 2005: 114). They finally claim that governmentality is "a form of power exercised over populations which assumes the frame of the nation-state" (FERGUSON and AKHIL 2005:123). Therefore, the government or the nation-state has to develop strategies

such as norms, regulation and other techniques in order to ‘discipline’ the population and bring them to take care of themselves. This makes the concept of subjectification a bit clear.

From this quotation, it is easily observable that FOUCAULT prioritizes the power orientation of governmentality especially when he stresses: “The technologies of domination of others and those of the self I call "governmentality" (FOUCAULT 1988: 19). These technologies of domination aim to determine the “conduct of conduct” of humans according to governmentally calculated means. To this aim, the government is obliged to develop some mechanisms, mostly institutions, functioning inside and outside the state and which will be able to manage all domains concerned with human life and the environment for better productivity (FERGUSON and AKHIL 2005: 114-115).

Foucault further adds that: “governmentality presupposes rational forms, technical procedures, and instrumentations through which to operate and also, strategic games that subject the power relations they are supposed to guarantee against instability and reversal (FOUCAULT 1997: 203). Governmentality appears to be an “alternative analysis of political power and government in modern societies” and is concerned with the “governmentalization of the state” (BABU 2009: 89). However, BARNETT argues that if governmentality is dealing with power-relations. It is in no way dealing with oppression relations because of its supposed positive orientation of power which should facilitate the production of willing and active agents of administration and management and which can also be refigured by those agents for “action at a distance” (BARNETT, quoting GORDON 2001: 16-17).

FOUCAULT also highlights the fact that governmentality is covering a wide spectrum of activity such as individuals, several other things, richness and land management (FOUCAULT 2004: 17). LEMKE therefore argues that governmentality is concerned with the study of “the autonomous individual’s capacity for self-control and how this is linked to forms of political rule and economic exploitation” (LEMKE 2011: 4). To sum it up, by governmentality, FOUCAULT means three main things:

- (1) the discipline dispositive or technologies which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security;
- (2) The structures or institutions and knowledge production
- (3) The disciplining process or rather the result of the process of disciplining (FOUCAULT 1991: 102-103)

Gordon, by claiming that governmentality is about how to govern (GORDON 1991: 7) raises the question which was preoccupying Foucault when he created the concept of

governmentality. He wanted to draw out an art of government raising three principal questions: who can govern? How best to govern and to be governed? How to govern oneself and others? (INDA 2005: 2). These questions investigate what Foucault names political governmentality, assessing the way in which the behavior of a set of individuals became involved in the exercise of power (FOUCAULT 1997: 68). Governmentality as a concept covers a range of history of ideas and history of social institutions (MINSON quoted by BARNETT 2001: 7). If governmentality is an invitation not to oppress individuals and for a better use of power, it is also instructing or introducing a project for the development of better government practices.

1.2.1. Governmentality and the “Art to Govern”

Taking government as “the right disposition of things, arranged as to lead to a convenient end”, FOUCAULT argues that the ‘things’ the government has to be concerned with are men (humans) in “their relations, their links, their imbrications with those other things which are wealth, resources, means of subsistence, the territory with its specific qualities, climate, irrigation, fertility, etc. Government is concerned with men in their relation to other kinds of things, customs, habits, ways of acting and etc., men in their relation to that other kinds of things, accidents and misfortunes such as famine, epidemics, deaths, etc” (FOUCAULT 1991: 93). INDA, referring to FOUCAULT’s perspective, sees government in its closed relation to governmentality and defined it as “the conduct of conduct” and to all “more or less calculated and systematic ways of thinking and acting that aim to shape, regulate, or manage the comportment of others”. It encompasses all activities of the state and its institutions and all rational activities aiming to influence or direct the behavior of human beings by acting upon their hopes, desires, circumstances and environment (INDA 2005: 1, see also LEMKE 2011 : 2). So, government could be understood as “a sort of activity aiming to shape guide or affect the conduct of some person or persons” (GORDON 1991: 2).

From FOUCAULT’s standpoint, in order to govern humans and territory, the ruler has to learn to rule himself. The ruler, according to FOUCAULT should exercise his power with patience, should have wisdom and diligence (FOUCAULT 1991: 96). All this knowledge has led to the establishment of some treatises focusing on the art of government, concerned with the government of oneself and others and what is required to be considered as the best governor (FOUCAULT 1991: 87).

First of all, governing the state therefore means to be able to be placed in the upwards-downwards trajectory. In order to govern the other, one should learn to govern himself, his good and his patrimony (upwards perspective), and, when a state is well ruled the individuals will behave as they should (downwards perspective) claims FOUCAULT (FOUCAULT 1991: 91-92).

Secondly, FOUCAULT describes the art of government as an economic activity which is “the correct manner of managing individuals, goods and wealth within the family and of making the family prosper (FOUCAULT 1991: 92). Governing the state should therefore aim at “exercising control towards its inhabitants, and the wealth and behavior of each and all, a form of surveillance and control”. This implies that the art of government is mostly concerned with the “art of exercising power according to the model of an economy (FOUCAULT 1991: 92). Government therefore disposes things to “an end which is convenient for each of the things that are to be governed”. It has to ensure that “the greatest possible quantity of wealth is produced, that the people are provided with sufficient means of subsistence” (FOUCAULT 1991: 95). It is at this price that the sovereignty is attained because “sovereignty is not exercised on things, but above all on a territory and consequently on the subjects who inhabits it” (FOUCAULT 1991: 93).

This art of wealth creation is what FOUCAULT calls political economy which is considered a government method aiming to ensure national prosperity through power organization, distribution and limitation in a given society (FOUCAULT 2004 : 15). Political economy should create wealth for the state and the citizens and ensure a better competition between states (FOUCAULT 2004: 16). Finally, political economy is oriented to all governmental practices and their global effects (FOUCAULT 2004: 17).

FOUCAULT distinguishes three dimensions of government: the reasons of government⁶, the techniques of government⁷ and the subjects of government⁸ (INDA 2005: 2). From FOUCAULT analysis, the population should appear as the end of the government that should have as end “the welfare of the population, the improvement of its conditions, the increase of its wealth, longevity, etc.” The tactics Foucault proposes is that the government uses the population in

6 Defined by INDA as “forms knowledge, expertise, and calculation that render human beings thinkable in such a manner as to make them amenable to political programming” (INDA 2005: 2)

7“Domain of practical mechanisms, instruments, and programs through which authorities of various types seek to shape and instrumentalize human conduct” (IBID)

8“Covers the diverse types of individual and collective identity that arise out of and inform governmental activity” (IBID)

order to achieve these goals. He finally argues that population “is the subject of needs of aspirations but it is also the object in the hands of the government vis-à-vis what the government wants but it is often ignorant of what is to be done [...] The population is the fundamental instrument of the government” (FOUCAULT 1991: 100). A population could be better governed only if the government has developed a “constitution of a savoir” creating knowledge on all the processes related to the population, “making possible the continual definition and redefinition of what is within the state’s competence and what is not” (FOUCAULT 1991: 103). This process will facilitate the rationalization of state affairs⁹ and create a sort of “raison d’Etat” (reason of state)¹⁰ which brings the state to be governed according to the rational principles intrinsic to it.

Implicitly, the state has to be governed in such a way that the state reaches a strong stability, wealth and appears powerful in front of incoming dangers (FOUCAULT 2004 : 6). The state therefore appears to be governmentalized and this governmentality allows its survival. This is obvious from the perspective that humans, their desires and aspirations differ from one group to another just as nature does. This implies that state’s rationality varies from one state to another and each government must find principles which constitute its rationality or political rationality (FOUCAULT 1991: 97, see also FOUCAULT 2004: 6). In this regard, INDA highlights that “Political rationalities may thus be generally conceptualized as intellectual machineries that render reality thinkable in such a manner as to make it calculable and governable” (INDA 2005: 7). The aim of the art to govern is to give any state the ability to self-limit its own objectives, to be ready to ensure its independence and to develop some strength which will allow her never to be in an inferiority status at the international level (FOUCAULT 2004 : 8).

In brief, the art to govern or the governmentalization of the state is concerned with the thoughtful capacity of better governance and a reflection on the best governance strategy. It constitutes the self-awareness of a government; the manner that the internal and external governance strategy has been conceptualized. It deals with tactics developed by the state or government, allowing for a better conduct and regulation through specific forms of rationality.

⁹Rationality of government means a “way or system of thinking about the nature or the practice of government (who can govern? What governing is? What or who is governed?) capable of making some sort of that activity thinkable and practicable both to its practitioners and those upon whom it was practiced” (Gordon 1991: 3)

¹⁰ Foucault defines ‘Raison d’Etat’ as the rationalization of a practice bringing the state to be located between an existing state and a state to be built (Foucault 2004: 6). The reason of state prompts the state to be aware of the fact that each state has its own interests and should be ready to defend it by keeping in mind that it should never tend to have any global domination position over the others. (Foucault 2004 : 8)

It further defines the adequate decision and action to undertake with appropriate technical means in order to achieve the welfare of the population (HINDESS 1996: 106; FOUCAULT 2004: 4). But also Foucault has tried to combine the “microphysics of power with the micropolitical question of state” in order to see how the state could better use its power without been restrained to be only a power engine. In this respect, power is supposed to be used in governmental practices in order to have the intended effect. As such, the use of governmentality should be reduced to its mobile effects (LEMKE 2011:11).

1.2.2. Governmentality and power

Scott defines governmentality from the position of “governmental” and “rationality”. According to him and relating to Foucault’s writings, governmentality is the governmental rationality meaning that it is concerned with questions such as “how to govern oneself, how to be governed, how to govern others, by whom the people will accept to be governed and how to become the best possible governor”. Therefore, governmentality appears to be a new form of political rationality combining power from a totalizing and centralizing standpoint and power from an individualizing and normalizing perspective (SCOTT 2005: 32-33). Both approaches of power in the governmentality frame would be analyzed.

As INDA argues, the first analytical theme of governmentality is to focus on the political reasons or rationalities underpinning governmental actions. The exercise of power is conceptualized together with different ways diverse authorities exercise power to achieve the intended goals within the discourse framework (INDA 2005: 7). Quoting NEALE, BABU claims that the discourse on governmentality starts with the position on how political power is exercised not through governmental institutions but mostly through their impacts on individual freedom and on social life (NEALE, quoted by BABU 2009: 89).

Foucault does not see power as an integrity principle; he rather looks at it as a domain of relation which has to be completely analyzed within the framework on their effects on human beings. He further argues that, the concept of governmentality has been consciously introduced to this aim: analyzing the manner human conduct is being conducted (Foucault 2004: 191-192). Governmentality should therefore be concerned with all kinds of activities decrypting how micro-power and governmentality procedures function at the level of human activities (FOUCAULT 2004: 192).

FOUCAULT further sees politics as a means of power relations and the life of the city and their exercise as being the governmentality (RABINOW 1997: xxviii). He therefore understands power as “a perpetual relationship of force whose only goal is submission, the norm of power has no internal limitation: power seeks only victory” (RABINOW 1997: xvii). Power should be exercised in the framework of power-relations, bringing agents to be in contact and to be ready to have choice and judgment, without this freedom, it is not possible to speak about power (BARNETT 2001: 17). Power relations appear as a strategic game bringing several entities together and motivating some of them to develop some strategies of control over others. These strategies are designed in order to conduct the involved parties by avoiding or not allowing themselves to be conducted or to be in the reverse position. The conducted will therefore be controlled through different power strategies in order to reach the “state of domination”. Between the ‘Conductor’ and the ‘Conducted’, some technologies of domination have been established which allow the first to govern the second (RABINOW 1997: xix).

This is exactly why FOUCAULT argues that power is mostly related with the ability to guide someone’s conduct. It means, it is related with strategies aiming to govern the self-government of others by structuring and shaping their field of action. To this aim, the concept of governing the mentality of the other finds its clear acceptance and understanding. The recourse to violence is not excluded in this process of governing the other, that is, violence will often be used to create consensus or coercion and can be erected as the source of power-relations (LEMKE 2011: 3-4). Consequently, power is present in all human interactions and is used to structure the field of action of others through ideological manipulation, advice and all kinds of exploitation. However, as LEMKE continues to argue, this use of power does not radically mean that power is only bound to pejorative connotations. It could also lead to positive action when exercised with good rationality to the interest of the other by “empowering” or “responsibilizing” him for example (LEMKE 2005: 5). As Lemke puts it, this positive connotation appears a bit paternalistic and characterizes the kind of father-children relationship with the difference that it does not take away the freedom of the subject. *Ipsa facto*, it is imperative to make a clear distinction between power and domination.

Power relations could be claimed to have active its effects when some entities try to determine the conduct of others. The important point here is that the conducted are ready to give up some aspects of their liberty and accept to be guided by the conductor, whereas, in the

domination state, the conductor and the conducted are having an asymmetrical relationship putting the conducted in a weak and subordinating position. The conducted does not have much choice and is obliged to follow the rules of the conductor giving him the whole rights of actions. The central element between the state of power and the state of domination is the so-called “governmental technologies” serving as the framework in which both the conductor and the conducted are obliged to follow or to work with. Whenever it happens that the conducted has the possibility to manoeuvre or to influence these governmental technologies, they will be in a state of power, because the conducted still have some major areas of action, when it is not the case, whenever the action of the conducted is limited or marginalized, it becomes a state of domination. In this case, the technologies of domination are the systems regulating the relations between the conductor and the conducted and determining the final state of relation established between them (LEMKE 2011: 5-6).

Governmentality is intended to investigate these relations of domination and power by focusing on the technologies of domination and the techniques applied. It means investigating if the conducted has developed any strategies to act upon before analyzing the technologies set down by the conductor in order to integrate the conducted into his dominated sphere and structures. Two assumptions have to be made here. Firstly, that the conducted or the conductor, with their technology of self-domination succeeds to integrate other entities into his own framework. Secondly, that these entities (conductor and conducted) have a contact point, where one drives the other and directs his conduct. It is at this melting point that the concept of government makes sense and that the governing strategy begins with all its complexity and the use of coercive means and processes (FOUCAULT quoted by LEMKE 2011: 4-5). In order to motivate or to drive someone into some structures, different mechanisms have to be used. With this approach, there is the problem of arriving at a consensus. Another but stricter method entails the use of violence, conquest and war. The government’s ability to rule would be evaluated in this power relationship. It is about looking at the singular mode of action of governments and examining it whether it is warlike, juridical or not (LEMKE 2011: 4).

The government has to introduce a kind of disciplinary power in order to operate at the micro level. Disciplinary power is all strategies developed by the government in order to habituate and control the mind or the body to a particular activity by working upon the mental and physical capacities of subjects. This occurs through discrete strategies and operations (SCOTT

2005: 34). This strategy is named modern governmentality aiming to reorient political rule to multitude of locations and decomposing power into several relationships of political rationalities, technologies and practices that enable the emergence of disciplinary systems of power. This disciplinary system of power is seeking to know how norms influence behavior and get transformed as a normal regular phenomenon and get erected as a positive conduct governing the action of a free individual. The aim of the government is therefore to regulate the conduct of individuals and groups by incubating them some specific ethical competencies and style, bringing them to be considered 'modern' (BARNETT 2001: 15).

This situation is sometimes described as "Foucauldian anthropologies of modernity" and refers to developed strategies of subjecting modern governments (INDA 2005: 2). Norms are instituted as power through the means of knowledge creation, which legitimizes some rationalities bringing actors to foster and rely upon it as the base of their action. By doing this knowledge turns to be the normative background upon which all objects have to be understood in the governmental practice. It creates the frame upon which every concept has to be understood before any action can be undertaken, creating meanings and ways to manage and deal with some issues (INDA 2005: 8). Those who create knowledge have the power because they create the platform on which their concepts appear as universal and where those who do not participate to this knowledge creation are dominated and submitted. That is the reason why RABINOW asserts: "Knowledge is not a natural faculty but a series of struggles, a weapon in the universal war of domination and submission" (RABINOW 1997: xvi).

In summary, power in the framework of governmentality is focused on the analysis of the techniques of power, of power knowledges used to observe, monitor, shape and control the behavior of individuals and groups (GORDON 1991: 3-4). Governmentality is therefore centered on studying these power strategies, the assemblages of knowledge, authorities and different kinds of techniques which aim at influencing or shaping the conduct of individuals and groups of people, directing and managing their actions and affecting their individual or collective welfare (INDA 2005: 7).

As FOUCAULT highlights, power in the framework of governmentality is based on disciplinary power: "with the notion of governmentality, power in modern societies are exercised through institutions, procedures, analysis and reflections and on calculations and tactics. It involves minute regulations of the body and other visible activities, which rely for their operation on

the production of knowledge about those subjected” (FOUCAULT quoted by BABU 2009: 89-90). In fact, power is to be found in institutions not in anybody’s possession and these institutions intend to use it to modify humans’ behavior, bringing political or governmental action not to be neutral but to be oriented to some biological purposes.

1.2.3. From governmentality to biopolitics and biopower

Biopolitics and biopower are two concepts also created by Michel Foucault that are related to the exercise of power over human beings. As far as the concept of biopolitics is concerned, Foucault points out in his book ‘La volonté de savoir’ that it is only at the second half of the 18th century that human life started to be the main interest of political strategies. From this time on, power techniques and different regulatory mechanisms have been developed in order to frame human life and bodies and to take control over biological process in a given society. That is what he named biopolitic, i.e. discipline strategies aiming to control individuals and mechanism aiming to control the masses. GENEL argues that, the difference between disciplined power and biopolitics lies in the fact that, when power is related to the individual, one can talk about disciplined power whereas when it is concerned with the masses, it is referred to as biopolitics.

Biopolitics is concerned with human beings, not so much with their bodies but as a multitude of humans considered as a global people, living together and who can be affected by the power policies impacting their everyday life. Biopolitics deals with all kinds of subjects related to human life such as birth, death, and illnesses, etc. subjects disturbing or improving their personal fulfillment as human beings.

FASSIN (2006) on his part adds that biopolitics could be defined as the politics of life, politics having the livings as object and subjects, a population politics. It is all political strategies aimed at regulating, building and producing human collectivities. Whenever this politics is oriented to a small group of persons, obliging them to be governed through a set of disciplinary measures that affect their bodies, habits and establishing a new social order, this situation has been described by FOUCAULT as anatomo-politics.

Biopolitic helps understand all kinds of dynamics concerning human beings as well as developing strategies to govern them. It is about the art or interaction between biological knowledge and political power. It contributes to perceiving the different modern power strategies aimed at controlling people’s life, by prescribing norms they have to be submitted

to and how these norms contribute to build their identity and the 'world' they are obliged to live in (CROUFER 2012: 2). It is from this premise that FOUCAULT introduces the concept of biopower as a specific power technique influencing individuals and populations.

Biopower could first of all be related to space management and all regulatory frames, which are far beyond the body's discipline and propagating a new life program and system. The concept biopower is concerned with the power someone or institutions could have on people's life, it is how life gets transformed into a power object, it deals with all social practices impacting individuals and collective human bodies influencing their life-path. It is about power technologies impacting people's life. With biopower, Foucault tries to show how power is modified as soon as it has life as an object. GENEL (2004) invites us to change our perception of power in order to understand the mechanisms of biopower. By doing that, one will realize that, as far as life is concerned, the power to withdraw life held by sovereigns is transformed into power to sustain life, to be in charge of life and to work to sustain life.

Biopower is therefore analyzing the positive mechanisms of life management and life support (GENEL 2004:8-10). It has succeeded to put life and life's mechanisms at the center of political moves and to bring power to be an agent of transformation of human life. Biopower is, understood therefore, as any political strategy engulfing human life, their life milieu and their subsistence space. The population is swamped by political power, which seeks to control and master their life for an 'abundant life'. This biopower has been institutionalized through its introduction into national policy (GORDON 1991: 5). Life becomes the fundamental aspect of political activity through which biopower is institutionalized in the form of biopolitics.

The downside of biopolitics and biopower is related to the fact that they can generate counter-politics when individuals start to formulate their needs and imperatives, which should be integrated into the political agenda. Gordon speaks of "counter demand" and Foucault of "strategic reversibility of power relation" meaning that individuals and population have shifted their position as objects of biopower and biopolitics and impose resistances. From a governmentality perception, it is no more "the conduct of conduct" but as Gordon places it, the "counter-conducts" (GORDON 1991: 5). It is from this point that one can speak about power-relations in Foucault's understanding of power as "actions on others' action" and "power is only power when addressed to individuals who are free to act in one way or another".

In order for power to be active and to be considered as power, the individuals or population submitted to power forces should have their free will, they should be placed in a position of reaction or resistance. This makes power a dynamic and non-static process (GORDON 1991: 5). Through biopolitics and biopower, life turns against the system which is intended to take control over it. As GENEL indicates, political struggles find their roots inside life in which the right to live, to happiness and satisfaction of need imposes themselves as an answer to procedural power, allowing the subject to resist to all subjection process of power technologies (GENEL 2004: 28). The link between biopolitics, biopower and governmentality lies in the fact that governmentality is understood as conduct of conduct or action over actions, which analyses the freedom possibilities of subject from these power-relations. Governmentality is therefore, concerned with bodies, population and government strategies (FASSIN 2006: 36 and GENEL 2004: 28).

The notion of biopower has been adopted by several Italian scholars, mostly philosophers. The most famous of them are: GIORGI AGAMBEN, ANTONIO NEGRI, PAOLO VIRNO, and ROBERTO ESPOSITO. They have tried to introduce or to adapt the concept of biopower in the contemporary world and debates. They have proposed a new reading and understanding of this concept, which has finally led to a paradigm shift in the comprehension of what biopolitics is all about. A particular attention should be paid to NEGRI and HARDT's understanding of biopolitics and biopower because, their analysis is not much oriented to Agamben's understanding of biopolitics. Agamben sees biopolitics as life's politicization, or analyzing the conditions of living together or the pure biological understanding of biopolitics.

HARDT and NEGRI's understanding of biopower is not too distant from Foucault's definition of biopower as the discipline of bodies and the regulation of the life of a population and the fact that this biopower is confronted with other forces that resist it and is able of react and create new forces. Biopolitics from this perspective is considered as an event, which has the capacity to put the continuous biopower forces into trouble. This phenomenon will disturb the established normative system from breaking down historical continuity. HARDT and NEGRI further argue that biopolitics is concerned with knowledge and truth production through resistance, fight and social practices. This experience transforms knowledge into life forms because by living together, knowledge could be renewed. This is possible only if the population goes through some common experiences together that affect their bodies and their

living together. This process facilitates the perception of their identity and enforces their common feelings. This is what they termed the “commons”. They defined “commons” as all activities that have been developed by a people, which are not submitted to any private ownership and state authority. This includes activities, which tend to be withdrawn from any public and private control strategies.

The result of this process lead the people to what HARDT and NEGRI qualify as “the multitude”, a new political subject. Multitude includes the mass of people who are differentiated to others by some particularities. These particularities have brought them to form a block having their own living strategies, languages and means of cooperation (CROUFER 2012: 3-4). BANCE argues that the multitude includes all types of population likely to be physically and morally exploited, all those who are excluded from the market society, the poor and the marginal people. The multitude should not be confused with population, people, nation or a social class, for it is related to any exploited group of persons (BANCE 2013: 14-15).

Therefore, the aim of biopolitics is to organize and secure these organizing systems, to evaluate social life modalities in order to favor new forms of life (CROUFER 2012: 4). Biopolitics from HARDT and NEGRI’s perception is a form of material and immaterial production moving far beyond the traditional border of economy and having impact on socio-cultural and political levels and contributing to creating material goods, social relations and new forms of life (HARDT and NEGRI from BANCE 2013: 5). This concept of biopolitics and biopower appears to be confused to the term “Empire” in HARDT and NEGRI’s explanation. Since the “Empire” is not working on the base of territoriality and expand beyond political borders, HARDT and NEGRI looks at it as a decentralized deterritorialized apparatus of government integrating progressively the world into its own borders resulting in the fact that the Empire is found everywhere and anywhere thanks to its network capacity and abilities.

Through their power, the “Empire” can break down the sovereignty of nation-states to their benefit and regulate domestic policies (BANCE 2013: 11-12). This procedure provides them the right to exert power over others through their national and supra-national institutions (BANCE 2013: 3). BANCE claims that the United States are the central piece of the “Empire” and have to deal with other states, multinationals and international political, economic, humanitarian or military organizations in order to preserve the global order (BANCE 2013: 12).

HARDT and NEGRI claim that, the multitude is at the center of the game with the “Empire”. They could work for or against the “Empire”. It works for the “Empire” whenever it contributes to its development, allowing its transformation and adaptation to all kinds of resistances and works against it every time it strives to get freed from all kinds of exploitation and expropriation (BANCE 2013: 14). They highlight the fact that for the “Empire” to keep its power, it must develop a constituent strategy, enabling its ability to elaborate norms, to create institutions and to design the framework into which all actions should take place (BANCE 2013: 17). This last explanation of NEGRI and HARDT clearly enlightens the link between biopower, biopolitic and global governance. It leads to the understanding of trans-governmentality, understood as governmentality modes that are set up on a global scale including new strategies of discipline and regulation implemented by transnational alliances and organizations and supported by complex networks of international and transnational funding groups (FERGUSON and AKHIL 2005: 115).

FERGUSON and AKHIL further argue that this trans-governmentality is not a sort of global government or suprapstate but a reflection of nation-states desires at the transnational level (FERGUSON and AKHIL 2005: 123). The question is to know if all states have the same interests, the same desires and the same objectives. How far can they come close in order to cooperate to some achievements and succeed to maintain some balance in their domestic and foreign policies in regard to their internal and external aims? How could cooperations be perceived in the framework of governmentality?

1.2.4. Governmentality in the frame of global governance

Theories in international relations differentiate several approaches trying to determine how and why states are brought to cooperate or collaborate. The approaches in vogue are the realists and the institutionalists. While the realists explain cooperation in terms of non-hierarchical structures in which states function in an anarchic system, using power as a coercive means to defend and fulfill their interests in order to survive and promote hegemony, the institutionalists see cooperation as a rational procedure of self-interest. However, they argue that some strategies have to be respected by the involved partners, making all of them to become more prosperous. These strategies are concerned with the set up of certain norms, rules, practices and decision making-procedures, shaping expectations and motivating actors

to cooperate. The creation of independent institutions creating these norms, charged with its implementation, and regulating the game is therefore indispensable. These institutions are charged with collecting information about the behavior of states and to make judgments about their compliance or non-compliance with established rules and norms (SLAUGHTER 2011).

In order to know who is responsible for the global governance process and how agendas are made and according to which criteria, the points of view are very different depending on which school of thought is employed in analyzing this phenomenon of global governance. Maul for example, argues that traditionally, the global governance agenda is issued from a super power's will, which works in a sort of hegemony and imperium idea and who believe that it is their duty to determine the world order and world politics. They also have the right to behave as gods by being able to punish all those who are not ready to respect the set rules and also to reward those states who are ready to implement and fulfill the prescribed rules (MAUL 2009: 41). From this point of view, global governance can only take place in a hierarchical and secured structure, with powerful states setting down the agenda and orienting other countries to that direction.

SENGHASS on his part argues that we are still in a unipolar world dominated by the United States, which politicizes the world, bringing other countries to follow her tendencies. Mostly a majority of the western countries supports her in these efforts (SENGHAAS 2009: 63). Close to this point of view is MÜNKLER, who presents a more pragmatic view on global governance. He argues that it is easy to see at the international level the actor who has the capacity and ability to modify the world and spread his point of view and perspectives and therefore to substantiate this ability to govern the world (MÜNKLER 2009: 224).

BERGMANN and HAAB rejoining FUKUYAMA's claim that the international system and the global governance are structured from a unipolar system dominated by the USA appearing as the hegemon and ordering the world according to its interests. This was the case after the fall of the Berlin Wall until the 9.11 events. Since then, it looks like the world has entered into a sort of polarity system in which power is divided into different states. Nevertheless, as they argue, these states should be considered as internationally powerful states, possessing military, economic, cultural and ideological resources, thereby hindering the formation of counter forces. These elements enable them to generate international norms and rules to ensure their implementation. They should be and are ready to sanction all those who block their ways.

Whenever it happens that a power has the ability to bring weaker states to follow her will and politics and also to influence their domestic affairs, BERGMANN and HAAB describe it as an imperial power and not more as pure hegemony (BERGMANN and HAAB 2009: 284-85). SENGHAAS argues that the power constellation nowadays is dominated by the USA, the EU, and the BRIC-States, which possess a privilege in the creation of world and international political agenda (SENGHAAS 2009: 63).

Should it happen that one state is powerful in such a way that it has the willingness and capacity to determine and maintain essential rules in interstate relations and to enforce these rules, we are in an asymmetrical hegemonic leadership in which the hegemon plays a distinctive role and where his partner has to show deference (KEOHANE 2005: 46). KEOHANE (2005) argues that hegemonic powers have historically emerged after world wars, this hegemonic power is often responsible to set down some international regimes which should set implicit or explicit principles, norms and decision-making procedures motivating actors to converge in the frame of international relations (KEOHANE 2005: 57). It is in this frame that the United Nations emerged after the Second World War as the will of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union but mostly reckoned as being Roosevelt's idea (DYKMANN 2012: 80).

This is how some international institutions were created after the second world war and succeeded to affect national control and to shape the international order by creating a framework of constitutional principles defining property rights in order to control other states (KEOHANE 2005: 62). This is to say that, realists firmly believe that powerful states, in order to pursue their interests have created international regimes governing international cooperation, providing policies aiming to facilitate their private objectives:

“the UN as the only authentic world organization with idealistic goals (and, on the other hand, categorical repudiations and assessments of the overall failure of the United Nations), the UN’s origins trace back to old-fashioned national and great power interests and imperial motives, but then developed in a different direction as its mostly Western creators had anticipated” (DYKMANN 2012 : 81).

This is the reason why MEARSHEIMER, a neorealist, defines international institutions as a “set of rules that stipulate the ways in which states should cooperate and compete to each other” (Quoted by SIMMONS and MARTIN 2001: 194). The institutionalists have another point of view on the motivation of international cooperation. According to them, international relations and cooperation is motivated by interdependency characterizing the world. They argue that good

and bad influences can be exported and advocate democratic governments to expand their activities in order to protect their citizens and to adapt compatible policies in order to avoid discords (KEOHANE 2005: 243).

This interdependency legitimates the necessity of global governance with a world functioning according to some norms and values with the co-existence of cultures in this age of globalization. They believe in the creation of some form of co-existence and to work towards its achievement (MÜNKLER 2009: 222 and HÖFFE 2009: 250). They see global governance as an issue in which interdependence creates interests substantiating cooperation between states, which should be aware of the malleability of these interests and get engaged in the fulfillment of the ideals (KEOHANE 2005: 7-8). Interdependence motivates policy coordination in the frame of international regimes in charge of creating norms, principles and organisms. For them, harmony of interest is the key word of global governance and international cooperation.

From this point of view, the UN was created in order to ensure peace and cooperation between world nations, to save future generations from war and secure human rights and equal rights for everyone, promoting justice, freedom and social progress for its entire member. International Organizations (IO) which emerged after the post-war as organs or branches of the UN were in charge of dealing with rising problems of interdependence and appeared as supranational authority able to bring answers to and solve problems by way of collective action. In order to do so, they sought to shape rules and norms and to be able to influence domestic politics and decision-making. They also thrive to regulate international politics mostly through formal structures and multilateral treaty-based agreements supervised by the UN. From this time on, the concept of international regimes became common in international cooperation. International regimes (or institutions) are responsible for defining rules, norms, principles and procedures related to international behavior and regulate international governance (SIMMONS and MARTIN 2001: 192-193).

For institutionalists, international institutions are therefore defined as a “set of rules meant to govern international behavior” (IBID: 194) and to allow states to realize available mutual benefits through cooperative solution. The interconnectedness between the realists and the institutionalists’ approaches of international institutions is obvious. They agree that there are concerned with a set of rules aiming to govern behavior at the international level with the difference that the realists add the aspect of competition and power exercise in these areas.

To set norms and rules as well as to govern order requires the use of power or at least a minimum amount of discipline and order, which in turn could be maintain or established only through soft or hard power in order to bring members and actors to adopt the desired behaviors and shape the required expectations. It is a rule-driven project. Rules and norms are unavoidable in international regime and cooperation having as consequence that they are mostly viewed as normative apparatuses in which some critics argue that they are often far away from empirical facts and analysis.

International cooperation in the frame of international institutions with the presence of non-state actors is what is understood as global governance. The idea of conducting others, viewed from a governmentality perspective of governing, some scholars have argued that the mentality of the international system is simply an “initiative of the first world” who together constitute a “nascent global state” “whose function is to realize the interests of transnational capital and powerful states (...) to the disadvantage of “third world” states and peoples”. Giving it therefore an “imperial character” (CHIMNI 2004: 1-2). He argues that the UN is serving the neo-liberal agenda and promotes the interest of transnational capital. Through the increase of transnational capital, that sovereign “third world” economic space is being seceded to international institutions. Global governance is replacing numerous national laws and jurisdictions by uniformizing its global standards and orders. It therefore limits states and people’s autonomy, forcing them to adopt social policies that do not suit their individual culture and stage of development. Powerful economic countries influence poor ones through the prescriptions of conditionalities to which a state has to comply with in order to receive loans (CHIMNI 2004).

Furthermore, the UN is considered as “the key international political institution in the world, (...) limiting the sovereignty of the “third world” and affecting its ability to shape the future world order”, turning to the cooperate actors for financing its organizations and therefore obliged to adopt corporate management philosophy. It is a medium used by the Western power block to exercise a global monopoly over the legitimate use of force managed by western conglomerates of North America, Western Europe, Japan and Australasia states. UN depends for both its resources and political direction on the West under the United States as hegemonic power, which can mobilize the UN to its own interests (CHIMNI 2004).

In fact, economic poor countries are obliged to submit their economic, social and political sovereignty to international institutions and to follow global established rules and norms. They are unable to effectively participate in the negotiations leading to the adoption of relevant treaty regimes and important decision-making procedures. Just as CHIMNI argues, the international system has a weighted voting system giving Northern states a dominant voice in the decision-making process, ensuring that economically poor countries are unable to influence in any way the content of conditionalities imposed upon them (CHIMNI 2004: 20).

International institutions conduct the conduct of other states by framing issues for collective debate, recommending specific policy and responses to collective problems in their normative framework and evaluating the policies of member states from their own norms and rules and from their particular vision of world order through which global actions are undertaken (CHIMNI 2004: 23). It is from this frame of global governance and governmentality that the following concepts would be analyzed.

1.3. Overview on development discourse

1.3.1. From the Second World War to the end of Colonialism

The end of the Second World War was escorted with several other changes in the world starting with the Universal Declaration of Human Right in 1948 reaffirming that human beings were all equal but preceded before by the launching of the Marshall Plan in Europe. The Marshall Plan has the advantage of bringing the USA at the forefront of international affairs and their erection as a super power. If everyone was henceforth considered to be equal, this therefore means that there should be justice and equality everywhere in the world. It is in this atmosphere that Truman states his four points, which many scholars consider as the starting point in our contemporary development age in international relations. Attention is mainly related to point four of this statement seeking the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas and to relieve the suffering of the people, to free them from the old imperialism and to lead them into a program of development based on the concept of democratic fair-dealings (RIST 1997: 71).

With this statement, the die was therefore cast. A new age was launched with a full assistance program consisting of alleviating poverty, fighting “primitive” and stagnant economic life, producing more food, clothing, materials and some technologies to allay needed people’s life and the desire to promote industrial activities in other nations. In this program, greater

production was understood to be the key to prosperity and peace. Democracy would have to fight hunger, misery and despair and will lead to personal freedom and happiness (RIST 1997: 72). The age of European imperialism was supposed to be outdated. There should no more be any type of exploitation for foreign profit but for internal one. This program could be considered a priori as a great philanthropic program aiming at achieving Condorcet's desire of abolition of inequality between nations of the world. Anyway, the fact that it tries to keep distance from the typical European expansion model now qualified as "old imperialism", it has introduced a sort of "new imperialism" in his procedure and terminology.

Just as the Europeans did some decades before, the Americans have developed a sort of binary opposition, positioning them as the new centre of the world and the ones responsible for the future and well-being of other nations in the world. If the old imperialism looks at the other in terms of primitive vs. civilized, the new imperialism introduced the concept of underdeveloped vs. developed.

Concerning the matter of procedure, Truman's program presents development as a transitive phenomenon, which should be performed by one agent upon another, contrasting it to underdevelopment, which is presented as a natural state. Underdevelopment was seen as a state of poverty and as a cause of oppression, hunger, diseases and despair, whereas development was considered as a state of wealth, constant growth and never getting exhausted (RIST 1997: 73-76).

Another aspect is the fact that development was considered as a sort of tournament, placing industrial nations at the top of the line and other nations that are lagging behind them in industrial development at the bottom of the line. The first ones consider themselves "developed" and to have found the best paths to attain this status and the second ones as "underdeveloped" and are called upon to follow the already traced paths with the great hope of reaching the final state known as "developed". The first one has henceforth created a development program or "law of development" (in this case the Truman Program) reposing mainly in the idea of an acceleration of growth as the focal point of development. This action should be pursued through an international effort aiming at alleviating "underdevelopment" in the world through an increase in production and better use of the world's natural and human resources. The key concept was to "encourage everyone to produce more", increased production was supposed to be the key to prosperity and happiness (RIST 1997: 74-76).

Since then several development schools of thought emerged with most of them focusing on economic development. Modern and neoclassical development theorists such as HIRSHMAN, ROSENSTEIN-RODAN, LEWIS, CHENERY, LEIBENSTEIN, MYRDAL, NURKSE, ROSTOW and KRUEGER, explain economic development in terms of growth processes requiring the systematic reallocation of factors of production with a high contribution of modern technology allowing the development of the primary sector and high increasing returns in the industrial sector.

ROSENSTEIN-RODAN development theory focuses on an industrial based economy and facilities with the “big push theory”. “Balance growth development theory” was an idea of NURKSE, advocating for an expansion of production activities in order to increase the size of the market. As far as the “Critical minimum effort thesis” is concerned, it was conceived by LEIBENSTEIN as a strategy calling for discrete addition to investment “income growth forces dominate induced income-depressing forces” (THORBECKE 2006: 3-4). ROSTOW brought out in the year 1958 what is known as the “Stages of Economic Growth” mainly focusing on European economic history but also trying to look for some ways new decolonized countries might use to promote their economic growth. This was therefore, seen as the main aim to enter in the global era (RIST 1997: 94).

ROSTOW distinguishes five dimensions all societies have to pass through. These are mostly economic related ones which should be followed in a diachronic way moving from a traditional society (1) gathering all the means necessary to attain the preconditions for take-off (2) the take-off (3) then the drive to maturity (4) and finally the age of high mass-consumption (5) (RIST 1997: 94). The traditional society is described by ROSTOW as the level zero of the society qualified as the state of underdevelopment featured by a low level of productivity and the ignorance of modern technology allowing nature to be exploited. The recommendation here is an invitation to industrialize, which will promote technological development, thereby facilitating more production. The increase in production will create more funding opportunities enabling the society to reach the stage of precondition of take-off simply based on economic growth. This economic growth will lead to general welfare and better life in the society and will disintegrate traditional societies and prepare the establishment of the modern one.

ROSTOW argues that external forces may foster these changes and saw colonialism as a means for the organization of traditional society whose role would be production for exports, aiming to fill the vacuum, which Europe was already confronted with. “Underdeveloped” countries would not have striven to develop if they were not in contact with “modern” countries, which introduced concepts such as nationalism, entrepreneurial spirit, science and motivation for productivity. The break from traditional societies would not have occurred without any resistance. The take-off stage will be realized after the achievement of this break and the struggle for growth incorporating the notion of compound interest relying in the new tradition of accumulation. The signs of this take-off are the doubling of the GNP, the commercialization of agriculture, industrial blooms and modern technology deployment¹¹. The “drive to maturity” would be achieved in an estimated period of 40 years after the take-off stage and could be seen through more modern efficient production methods. The increase in production will also lead to its distribution and an increase in consumption, making the last stage to be complete (RIST 1997: 95-98).

Relating to social evolutionism theory, this theory purports that progress has the same substance and that all nations have to pass through the same stages in order to reach the final one qualified first of all as civilized and secondly as the “developed” stage. As far as the concept of development is concerned, it is argued that just as plants have to pass through several stages in order to reach maturity level, human societies are supposed to go through four stages to reach to the state of development: Directionality (1) meaning the purpose to be achieved is economic growth; Continuity (2) meaning no break and no leaps; Cumulativeness (3) meaning the transit from a lower to a higher level conducting to a state of culmination; Irreversibility (4) denoting the fact that when a level has been cleared no recession will be admitted (RIST 1997: 27). The similarity with ROSTOW's theory is obvious.

This idea of natural evolutionism based on the evolution of plants was also present in the social evolution paradigm. According to this paradigm, all societies were supposed to go through the stage of savagery, barbarism before reaching civilization. If Europe's aim was to bring development through civilization to other nations in the colonial era, the aim of bringing development became focal point in the post-colonial era. Considering this, ROSTOW argues that “underdeveloped” societies should welcome technological means enabling more production and as a precondition to take-off. The development of trade is a sine qua non

¹¹ Some of these points mainly the one related to the commercialization of the agriculture was further pointed out by Moore as one of the fundamental point of modernization. (MOORE 1966: 10)

condition to develop because trade is hereby considered as the best engine of growth (RIST 1997: 91 and 96). In addition, just as LATOUCHE argues, with the understanding of development reposing on growth, the belief reinforces the idea of cumulateness in a linear time and the belief in humankind's mission of total domination of nature. He strengthens this idea by asserting that: "without the myths which support the claim to mastery of nature, and without the continuous, linear and cumulative schema of time, the ideas of "progress" and "development" really have no meaning "(LATOUCHE 1996: 38). Development paradigm from the 50s and 60s were based on industrialization as it is made clear in this quotation:

"During the '50s and '60s, the idea that industrialization could lead to development, regardless of the a country's initial conditions and characteristics, encouraged a "common list" of rules and prescriptions said to be conducive to replicating, in poorer areas, the economic paths of the most advanced countries" (BATTAGLIA, BELLÙ, DIENG & TEDESCO 2011: 17).

The most important point is that the new independent countries in Africa and in other parts of the world came to believe on this US development strategy. Even the Bandung Conference of 1955 strived to bring "Third World" countries to get engaged into this path. In fact, these countries came to believe in an international cooperation based upon mutual interests and respect of justice. But they also came to believe the concept of development is first of all: "an economic matter of production and accumulation based upon private investment and external assistance" (RIST 1997:85). They therefore looked at development as something universal that will also happen to them with the help of foreign capital and the introduction of modern technologies (IBID: 87).

The industrial revolution paradigm of the post-war period was the development strategy followed by economically advanced countries, which emphasized on the industrial sector and the promotion of capital accumulation as a major source for economic growth. To be developed or to be considered as developed meant to be industrialized (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 43). This paradigm requires countries to follow up some set of ingredients such as the accumulation of physical capital through export led production, then human capital and technical changes. These had to be motivated by mechanization, improvements in the production system in factories, division of labor, market liberalization, more or less state intervention depending on the level of intervention.

Governments could play an important role in human capital accumulation as well as by promoting private investments and the removal of market constraints (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 45-46). This paradigm also advocate for urbanization and the formation of manufacturing

towns, the migration of workforce from rural to urban areas and is claimed to lead to development through industrialization by contributing to solve poverty problems through employment and job creation (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 48- 53). It has been criticized because of its bad effect at the social level and the inequality it generates benefiting only some elites as well as its negative environmental effects on eco-systems (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 53).

This paradigm was adapted by PAUL PRESBISCH for Latin American countries into the so-called Import Substitution Industrialization Strategy paradigm (ISI) as an industrial policy relying on center-periphery relationships (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 54). Its aim is to encourage the industrialization of countries and to create high growth rates and productivity, by emphasizing on redistributive issues, which have considerable impacts on the transformation of society. It advocated strong government intervention to promote industrial sector, to grant loans to the production sectors and to develop trade policies protecting domestic markets. This paradigm has failed to cover labor problems and change people's standards of life's (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 60).

As far as foreign aid is concerned, its mechanisms were reinforced through the publication of the "Lewis Report" in 1951 dealing with the UN "Measures for the Economic Development of Under-developed Countries" advocating for the establishment of Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development enabling industrialized countries to deliver aid (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 16). It should be pointed out that from the end of the Second World War until the beginning of independence of former colonies; development was understood as a new construct, aiming first to confirm the economical progress of industrial societies and to invite the newly independent countries to follow "modernity" in order to develop. Industrialization and economic growth were the key words during this period. Industrial activities therefore had to play an important role, proving how dynamic a society is. This was in sharp contrast to agricultural activities, which appeared as passive and outmoded.

1.3.2. From the end of colonialism to the globalization era

The post-independence period was a time of several agitations in the newly created African states. Several African countries got engaged in this development program stated by Truman. However, the ideological war leading to the Cold War contributed a lot to this phenomenon in Africa propelling the USSR as another leading force. New independent states in Africa were caught striving to conform to the development program, inheriting and incorporating all the

underdevelopment qualifications related to them and fighting to change themselves. This entailed giving up their values systems and adopting westernized values in order to be considered westernized and accepted. The great hope was to get access or to benefit from the offered aid supposed to lead them to development. Africa was therefore moving from the modernization myth to the development myth, being forced to travel through the development path defined for them by others.

Development aid was thought to lead to development and RIST concludes that: “in gaining political independence African Nations forfeited their identity and their economic autonomy” (RIST 1997: 79). According to RIST, the spread belief relies in the assumption that development should first of all happen with economic growth. From this statement, it occurs that, in order to “create” development, the “developer” has to intervene in the internal affairs of the “underdevelop” nation, to direct the development path. The “growth and aid” strategy were considered the only way to achieve development. It also contributed to create a relationship of dependency upon the donor and “offered” gift as a process of domination of the donor over the receiver (RIST 1997: 77 and 79):

“Predominant development thinking during these decades focused on country GDP growth as the target to follow, independent from the status of the country, i.e., whether classified as capitalistic, communist or included in the “third world” block. Economic growth should have been pursued with industrialization and the capital accumulation dynamics that themselves became synonyms of the development process” (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 16)

Contrary to Truman’s vision who wanted an end to the “old imperialism”, the “new imperialism”, apart from its contribution to the independence process of former colonies, did not realize any dichotomy with colonial system in international domains. LATOUCHE mentions that development was one of the best methods of achieving westernization. The development doctrine has spread via the Western model of consumption and economic accumulation¹², the religion of science and technology (LATOUCHE 1996: 20).

Debates on development during the 1960s were mostly oriented to the dualism between the urban modern-industrial sector and the rural traditional-agricultural sector and strive to seek how both sectors could be complementary. This idea explains development as a push for the backward sector to produce resources for the industrial sector and therefore promote economic development. At the second half of the 1960s, great emphasis was made on the role of agriculture in development as the main suppliance activity. This had to be co-related to the

¹² This is in perfect accordance with point four of the natural development strategy (related to plant evolution) mentioned later.

industrial sector by making agriculture the base of economic development because of its possibility to increase productivity and serve as an engine for the modern sector. This was the cornerstone in development during this period as economic growth continued to remain predominant during this period and required ameliorated price systems, market, exchange rates and commercial policies for appropriate production as well as allocation of investment and public expenditures in agricultural and industrial sectors (THORBECKE 2006: 6-10).

The “big push” was the main idea of the time and encouraged states to develop initiatives related to the prevailing economic process. Governments were considered as central and driving forces of development and were supposed to coordinate and scale problems bound with capital accumulation (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 16-17). Development cooperation in the 1960s was marked by the birth of the Development Assistance Group (DAG) and the International Development Association – a consortium of donors countries introducing a new understanding of development aid as reposing on delivering of monetary and technical assistance to less industrialized countries (BATTAGLIA et al. & Tedesco 2011: 16).

The 1950s and 1960s also witnessed the introduction of the capital flow paradigm aiming at providing low income countries with direct financial inflows with the belief that development will occur with the help of international capital distribution to less industrialized countries and through distribution of technical assistance (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 116). This paradigm has encountered several changes over time, as it would be highlighted in other parts of this analysis. This paradigm estimates that development could be made possible through the injection of capital flows into a distinct country. Economically poor countries were therefore, invited to develop strategies to attract enough external capital in order to boost their economic sector and other sectors of activities (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 116). This paradigm is based on three pillars: foreign aid¹³, foreign direct investments and remittances delivered through trade, government, financial development, education, private sector and research and development. The latter are considered as external sources of funding necessary for capital accumulation and important for the take-off for development (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 116-117).

13 The most common type of Foreign Aid is the Official Development Assistance (ODA) understood as “flows to developing countries and multilateral institutions provided by official agencies, including state and local governments, or by their executive agencies” and directed to some means such as: “(1) being administered with the promotion of the economic development and welfare of less industrialized countries as its main objective; (2) being concessional in character and containing a grant element of at least 25 per cent (calculated at a rate of discount of 10 per cent) and being undertaken by the official sector” (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 117).

This paradigm sees aid as the most important solution to “cure” “underdeveloped” countries from their “underdevelopment” with a strong belief that they are unable to solve their problems alone and that, financial support will help them to catch up. Aid and investment were/are thought to be alternative solutions to this “disease”. Efficient institutions with “good” fiscal, monetary systems stand at the core of this paradigm followed by “sound policies” (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 121).

This paradigm has been criticized because of its tendency to generalize cases and the belief that strategies, which have functioned somewhere will automatically function elsewhere. Other scholars such as STIGLITZ (2002) point out conditionalities that are bound to donor’s financial support as hindering domestic policies and targets. It is also argued that aid allowance creates dependency of poor economies towards rich ones and that aid is motivated most often by political, economic, or strategic reasons of donor countries. It has also been claimed that aid weakens the capacity of “poor” countries to govern their affairs and creates a lack of accountability of domestic governments, making them hand over control of their destiny to foreign governments (BATTAGLIA et al 2011: 121-125). MOSLEY (1987) characterized the 1950 – 1960s as a decade in which most developed countries began to formulate a policy towards the “Third World” under the coordination of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD working for the coordination of Western policies. Historically, the 1970s are claimed to be characterized by increasing political and economic interconnectedness amongst countries because of the first and second oil crisis in 1973 and 1979, and also the boom in food prices in the 1970s (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 17-18). This period was characterized by the introduction of social factors into the development debates due to the failure of the GNP oriented development strategy and the resulting unequal income distribution within countries, which necessitated a shift in focus to poverty and standards living as concerns to address in the development debate. Growth as the source of economic and social development became more and more criticized. Development started to be understood as both growth creation and poverty alleviation through different strategies. This period also saw the integration of an integrated rural and agricultural management approach as a paradigm to address the issue of development. This was followed by the role of the informal sector and the promotion of employment as a source of development.

The World Bank and the World Employment Program came up with strategies, which sought to promote development by striking a balance between population growth and employment,

appropriate labor technologies, ameliorated income distribution, encouraging the informal sector and traditional agriculture. The concept of development was recalculated and came to include some variables such as education, nutrition, health, fertility, infant mortality and birth rate. Emphasis was placed more on the causality between population growth and economic development. By integrating these factors, it was argued that development now encompasses growth but should also deal with social factors. It was assumed that this approach will lead to an improvement in living standards of all social groups, especially the poorest. These strategies were the promotion of wealth distribution through growth redistribution and the fulfillment of basic needs with the allowance or creation of projects directed to the poor and benefiting to them.

In addition, there were several structural changes which were supposed to follow up these strategies such as land reforms, focus on family and private consumption, the promotion of rural development and technical activities, which were deemed beneficial to the traditional. Modernizing agriculture was also considered as part of this project. During the 1970s, development was also perceived to start from the bottom scale of the society and to continuously spread out to the top (THORBECKE 2006: 10-14). This view on development was mostly criticized by neo-Marxist and dependency theorists who argued that the role of rural areas is to remain at the periphery and is restrained to the production of raw materials for the modern industrialized countries. Development also came to be understood as a discourse whose aim is to keep periphery countries in a backward position. They compared this as an ideology of the neo-colonial system and advocated for an adoption of self-reliance strategy based on indigenous technologies and local forms of organizations (THORBECKE 2006: 12, 13-14).

The most dominant development paradigms of this period were the agriculture-based development paradigm, which explains development as a shift from agriculture to an industrialized-based economy and the “natural resources export-led strategy”. As far as the first one is concerned, development was supposed to be supported by agricultural and rural activities. A country was thought to be eligible to follow this path if it was able to generate at least 29 percent of its GDP from agriculture and to employ 65 percent of the labor force in this sector. Agriculture was given great prominence because of its capacity to “narrow income disparities and in providing food security and delivering environmental services” (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 31).

With the inward-oriented agriculture development based paradigm also referred to as the rural development paradigm or the territorial development paradigm, this approach places emphasis on agriculture and community-based development, and sees agricultural activities as the main instrument of trade and growth and therefore as the center of the development process. The thesis is that agricultural activities can contribute to food security only when they are inward-oriented; it means it should be able to produce sufficient food for the national market. This paradigm appears important because of its orientation towards self-reliance through economic and social growth promotion, its role for poverty reduction through food security and the positive effects it could have in improving other sectors in the economy. It nevertheless requires a strong commitment of state's institutions for market regulation, the availability of appropriate means of production, the development of technological and transport infrastructures and price stability programs (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 31-38).

With regards to the natural resource export-led strategy, inspired from oil rich countries, it is believed that natural resources can be a great opportunity for economic development and a source of economic growth and development and requires good management skills and performance (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 112). It is argued that countries depending on natural resources have often developed poor industrial services and depend on agricultural and natural resource-based activities as sources of income (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 102). The stress on natural resource abundance and their socio-economic linkages is still nowadays much discussed. This paradigm claims that revenues from natural resource export could power the development process and encourages natural resource abundant countries to export them in order to create trade and accumulation wealth (IBID). Many authors, however, argue that in resource abundant countries, there is a strong negative relation between natural resource endowment and economic growth. Natural resource rich countries are very often characterized by slow economic growth and that this export orientation of their economy scarcely lead to broader development outcomes, mostly when the goods are not processed before their export (SACHS and WARNER 1997 quoted by IBID). This natural capital endowed countries have also proved to direct less attention on the valuation of social, human and physical capital and also experience low flows of trade and foreign investment. They are also vulnerable to corruption, low education level and less domestic investments (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 103) because:

“In countries characterized by an abundance of natural resources, there are often lower incentives to invest in human capital, mainly because of high levels of non-wage income”(GYLFASON, HERBERTSSON and ZOEGA quoted by BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 103).

This paradigm has also been criticized because of its export-led development understanding and the fact that natural abundant countries are often subjected to the risk of civil wars that negatively affects the development process, disturbing institutions and governance. Moreover, natural resource abundant countries are most often governed by autocratic regimes. They rely on extractive policies for rent seeking and profits are often reserved for privileged classes or specific groups. Thereby restricting other social groups from benefiting from these resources, which invariably slows their development, restricting their freedom and personal fulfillment and consequently the state's national economic growth (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 110-111).

Proponents of natural resource curse or the Dutch disease phenomenon have observed that increase in exploitation of natural resource is linked to a low manufacturing sector. If a country succeeds to increase the revenues of its natural resources this could automatically lead to an increase in foreign currency exchange. This has had the consequence that most of these countries used this increase revenue for the purchase of luxury goods (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 111). In order to overcome the Dutch disease, it is highly recommended that natural resource abundant countries should engage in industrialization in order to process their natural resources and to develop direct inputs through engineering services and equipment to promote their development which will create spill-over effects in the whole society (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 112). To sum it up, development concepts in the 1970s shifted from agricultural and industrial growth dualism to a sort of growth and social development ones introducing human factors into the development debate.

„In terms of development targets, the '70s showed a shift in focus from growth-based objectives to redistributive issues and the fulfillment of basic needs, integrating agriculture and rural development in meeting livelihood goals. Meanwhile agricultural and rural issues became more micro-focused, with increasing attention on emergency activities and the role of NGOs“(BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 19).

The 1980s were characterized by several financial crises in several parts of the world, mostly in economically poor countries and casted doubt on the international financial system and its survival strategies, bringing some scholars to considered it as a “lost decade”. This period was oriented towards stabilization ideologies commonly known as “Structural Adjustment Policies” claiming to create local conditions as prerequisites for development. The idea behind this concept was to create a sort of “order” framing development process in some countries. No development was supposed to occur without these set of orders. These prerequisites included the promotion of human development as principal elements of “global

development”. This meant the formation of important human capital who would be responsible for economic propulsion. This entailed the formation of human capital with the appropriate knowledge and skills to facilitate innovation and resource allocation and spillovers effects.

The second approach was the promotion of trade and growth through an outward-oriented economy with liberalization policies, which were supposed to promote growth and to introduce poor economies into the world market structures. Finally, there was a major focus on the role of institutions to facilitate or coordinate all these processes. This decade was also characterized by sound efforts to understand “poverty” and to develop strategies to measure it, mostly influenced by SEN's definition of poverty as closed to the freedom of a person to choose her path. This choice is supposed to be possible only if this person is able to fulfill a minimum level of wellbeing.

In the 1980s “poor” countries also strove to achieve macroeconomic stability as prerequisites of development and focused on putting institutions and policies responsible for managing economic development complexity such as deficits in balance of payments, budget deficits, and both internal and external imbalances in demand and supply etc. Development was mostly an outward oriented concept. It was supposed to be realized through export activities and implementing World Bank and IMF strategies. “Poor” countries were sometimes forced to rely on market forces and much attention was placed on the private sector. Notwithstanding this attention, governments were paradoxically urged to implement adjustment policies to be “strong”. This decade appear as a “pro-market and anti-government rhetoric” and fostered the idea of aid as a path to stimulate development (THORBECKE 2006: 15-19).

The most topical paradigm of the 1980s was the Washington Consensus Paradigm which appeared as a new development strategy, with its prescriptive orientation. This paradigm considered that states had failed to promote or create development and needed some guidelines, which would enable them to be able to stimulate their economic sector. This paradigm aimed at creating free market economies by instituting pro-market agendas and to implement policies that would help this aim to be realized. It meant setting down conditions for macroeconomic stability and outward oriented-growth strategies (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 74).

Furthermore, this paradigm made it feasible to export neo-liberal economic policies and doctrines throughout the world and mostly in poor economies. It allowed financial institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF to have direct influence over domestic policies of several countries through Structural Adjustments Programs used as a set of ingredients to structure the domestic policies of economically poor countries, as a pretext for them to develop. These policies were in fact advocating for the implementation of liberalized international trade as condition for FDI attraction and excluded all countries not following this “development mainstream” from any FDI support (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 75-76). This paradigm has allowed the World Bank and the IMF to make 958 adjustment programs across the world from 1980 to 1998 (EASTERLY 2001). This consisted mostly in privatizing public companies and organizations, introducing free market economy programs and policies, reducing international trade barriers and to reorientate public expenditures toward sectors of high economic returns at the expense of less productive ones (IBID).

The sub-branches of this paradigm are what BELLU names the “Trickle-down Growth-led development”. This paradigm claims that if it happens that a rich minority benefits from the free market system, this will automatically bring the poor to also benefit from it. The free market distribution channels regulate itself upon request that national governments withdraw from the market sector (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 78-79). This paradigm has been criticized because evidence shows that countries that refused to follow these recommended paths such as East Asian tigers and Chile encountered economic growth during the 90s, whereas a majority of countries that followed this approach witnessed little or no growth. The fact that this paradigm neglected income inequality in the world and has not developed any strategies to this regard and disregards participation in the development process is also highly criticized (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 81-82).

In summary, it can be pointed out that development concepts have shifted to growth in the 1960s to industrial and agriculture balance strategies in the 1970s with more or less regards to human activities and well-being and also on attempts of solving poverty problem and alleviate unequal wealth distribution through the promotion of income-creating activities. The financial crisis of the 1980s and the failure of several adjustment strategies aimed at creating conditions to promote economic growth as well as poverty alleviation have shown the weaknesses of such strategies. Humans appear to have been only one element of the development process but not as the most important factor of life. Growth creation by all means mostly through agriculture and industry, which were to be coordinated by persons endowed with required

aptitudes and capabilities, were the defining themes in this period. In addition, it is important to raise the outward orientation of the concept development, which continued to be a Western doctrine and construct and their inaptitude and inability of converting theory to reality in their strategies of development.

1.3.3. Development doctrine in the global era

The 1990s were marked by the fall of the Berlin Wall and the spread of democratic governments all over the world. Several political institutions were invited to expand the power and voice of people, to work according to participatory concepts and decision-making processes as important conditions to promote development. In order to do so, several economically poor countries went through the so-called “stabilizing” and “adjustment” programs striving to put them on the appropriate path of growth. Poor governance was claimed to be responsible for underdevelopment and good governance aimed at fighting corruption and to complete the transition into world market economy were presented as the cornerstone to create development. Just as in the 1980s institutional and political requirements remained at the centre of discussion and recommendations. There was a paradigmatic shift from the promotion of the Western model of development to the East Asian one as well as a continuation in the ideals of Washington and the IMF on trade liberalization and deregulation of financial systems.

State institutions were supposed to play a great role to reinforce the market and to create better institutions that would accelerate economic growth and enhance socioeconomic development and development outcomes. The facilitation of the emergence of better macro and microeconomic environment for efficient economic activities was assumed to be in harmony with institutional bases of peace, respect for law and order and rules to attract domestic and foreign investments. In line with this, was the need to promote better education and health care infrastructures to foster growth in human capital, which was considered as essential for economic development.

Political stability appeared therefore as a central concept for development as well as the respect for freedom and the fight against corruption. This would occur only if social capital is better valorized and if participatory measures in the development process are implemented in order to avoid marginalization and exclusion of social groups that could later on endanger

institutional stability. All social groups were supposed to benefit from development processes and to contribute to make it possible. It is under this philosophy that the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) came out with the concept of human development and created the Human Development Index (HDI)¹⁴. It is a new tool for measuring development, which is claimed to have challenged and changed attitudes towards development by “enlarging people’s choice” but focusing on the fact that people should be aware of the fact that income is necessary for them to realize their full potentials but should not be taken as an end (SANT’ANA 2008: 11).

Development was called to focus not more on income and wealth per se but on people and to contribute to their well-being through the formation of human capabilities and the aptitude to use these capabilities. The UNDP differentiates three basic dimensions of human development: calculated based on health, adult literacy and capita income. Other dimensions such as political freedom, human rights, personal security and fair income distribution were also considered as important factors of measurement of HDI. The HDI acknowledges that growth is not synonymous to progress, which does not automatically need enormous amount to facilitate the process of development (SANT’ANA 2008: 11).

Apart from putting humans at the centre of interests in the 1990s, the UNCED introduced the concept of sustainable development¹⁵. This advocated for the introduction of environmental challenges into the development discourse and claimed to have a lasting orientation of development putting nature and nature capital as a variable of development and delivering environmental tools and bio-physical limits to development (SACHS 1997). This new philosophy was launched internationally throughout the world after the Rio-Conference of 1992.

Furthermore, the 1990s were marked by skepticism regarding governments as actors of development and the belief in their inability to raise production in the agricultural and industrial sectors. Besides, critical points were raised about aid dependency, aid effectiveness as well as aid conditionality (THORBECKE 2006: 20-26). Since the 2000s development concept was more oriented to its institutional understanding and pledges for institutional quality. Economic growth continued to play a great in the understanding of development but was/is recognized as not being enough to promote development. The focus is now made on the

¹⁴ This idea will be discussed in the subsequent point.

¹⁵ This would be discussed in more details in point 1.3.4

tradeoff between growth and poverty reduction. Governments are also supposed to be highly involved in the creation of better policies and institutions to improve economic conditions as well as human development in order to reduce inequality gaps in human welfare without forgetting environmental conservation. Paradoxically governments were urged to follow liberalization policies as a precondition to takeoff (THORBECKE 2006: 27-32).

The Millennium Development Goals proved to be a highly effective strategy of creating development. Before analyzing this point, it is important to look into details what were the main strategies advocated to create development over this decade. As far as the capital inflow development paradigm is concerned during the 1990s, it was characterized by a decrease in financial assistance but with incentives to promote structural reforms and liberalization strategies. All these were supposed to enable the injection of private capital as an appendage to “financial globalization” which made inflows of private capital more important in development assistance. It was thought that this would lead to an increase in FDI because of several acquisitions that would have direct links to privatization of public enterprises (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 116).

Confronted with the matter of growing poverty, the Pro-poor development paradigm was developed as a response to that problem which recommends that some distribution mechanism channels should be put on place in order to bring the poor to benefit from free market revenues (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 93). Growth was/is supposed to make sense only if it is associated with equitable distribution of income and the promotion of income generating activities. These could only be made possible by efficient administrative and institutional framework enabling a trickle-down mechanism. This paradigm is mainly concerned with fighting inequality. It aimed at reducing the gap between the rich and the poor and appealed for the establishment of sound fiscal systems, good institutions, democracy, gender issues, health and education oriented policies, FDI and better resource management (IBID). There was/is a strong belief that all human problems could be solved with growth-driven policies working for the reduction of absolute and relative poverty.

The Pro-growth paradigm has been criticized because of its lack of clarity and its inability of explaining how to concretely resolve poverty on an empirical way. It could not clearly define the types of activities that have to be developed in order to forge a way out of poverty (small or large-scale activities). Also, this paradigm has not been able to elucidate what kinds of

policies have to be developed in order to solve social problems related to the state of poverty and to support the poor (inclusion, self-reliance, empowerment gender issues) (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 100). The lack of concrete plans has as consequences the fact that this paradigm appears to be ineffective.

The end of 1990s witnesses many development paradigms mostly influenced by Asian countries. Some scholars and institutions came up some paths and attitudes to follow in order to develop. Concerning the Asian case, two main paradigms should be differentiated. It is about the so-called “East Asian development Paradigm” and the “China development paradigm”. As far as the first paradigm is concerned, it is inspired by development strategies used by Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore and more or less China which are argued to have developed their own industrial successes through a mixture of Western and non-Western precepts and a strong reliance on cultural beliefs.

In fact, this paradigm has shown that, industrialization was possible with strong state intervention and strategic trade policies. It relies on developing a stable export-oriented macroeconomic environment, conducive to industrial progress and a strong belief that “shared growth path” and “efficient coordination mechanisms” would lead to the transformation of the whole society and generate long-term development results (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 64). As opposed to the Washington Consensus, this paradigm requires political leaders and economic elites to work hand in glove for the benefit of the poor and middle social classes in the frame of pro-growth policies. These strategies have enabled these countries to overcome their lack in natural resources and to get integrated into the global economy through a learning process, which started back in the 1960s. Their aptitude to create favorable conditions for the development of the economy and to attract foreign capital is also recognized as contributing factors (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 65-66).

These countries also avoided to follow free market system by adopting a sort of “strategic openness-based development approach” consisting of balancing openness and protection according to commodities, partners and business periods (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 67). Enterprises were supported by their governments, which were moderated export incentives and coordinated industrialization policies in a homogeneous way across the region. Confucian and Buddhist ethics and beliefs also represent part of the explanation to the success of this paradigm. Proponents of this point argue that some Asian values such as honesty, loyalty,

diligence in work, etc. have supported development in remunerative terms and non-remunerative terms. This philosophy is supposed to have contributed to the reduction of attitudes such as corruption and the respect for the environment and encouraging entrepreneurship, work ethics, risk behavior, etc. (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 68). The East Asian development paradigm deserves attention because it has had positive impacts on poverty reduction, high employment rates and has also contributed to the improvement of human welfare (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 70).

Concerning China's path to development, it is characterized by the presence of an important labor force and the improvement of institutional management and resource allocation all of them being at the base of a "market-socialist economy" which has contributed to stimulate rural areas through farmer's production and non-rural areas through township-village enterprises (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 72-73). China's developments strategies comprise inter alia "gradual reforms, continuous strain for innovation, export-led growth and state-capitalism" (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 73). China's path to development is mostly criticized because it is led by a "non-democratic regime" and this strategy appears to be unsuitable for other countries because it is claimed not to be sustainable and takes place at the expense of the environment (IBID).

Whatever the case, drawing relevant insights from the East Asian development paradigm and the Chinese one, it was possible to formulate a new approach to development, which appeared at the end of the 1990s, known as the Comprehensive Development Framework Paradigm (CDF). The World Bank and the IMF with the aim of "explicitly dealing with balancing sound macro-economic policies and growth with effective poverty reduction with a greater attention to institutions" launched this paradigm (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 82). Each "developing" country was invited to articulate its own development framework according to some guidelines, strategies and policies supposed to be implemented to achieve a successful development. The CDF is assumed to be a "long-term multidimensional approach to development, grounded in a set of principles decided voluntarily by each participating country (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 82-83). They are supposed to "promote development strategies that facilitate the transformation of society by identifying the barriers to change and its potential catalysts" (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 83). It further claims that the development of a country has to "ground its roots in the needs of the country itself; it has to take into account the strengths of the country as well as its weaknesses" (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 83).

This approach also claims to strive towards the elimination of poverty, the reduction of inequality, and to improve people's opportunities and to foster the interdependence of all dimensions of development: economic, social, human, financial and environmental (IBID). Proponents of this approach, however, advocate for strong institutions, the participation of civil society, infrastructural development, macroeconomic stability, trade and privatization. They paradoxically advocate for countries ownership over their development process although it prescribes some common set of principles that should be followed by these countries. Policymakers in "underdeveloped" countries were told to focus on these principles in order to achieve short and medium-term results mostly through the development of "Poverty Reduction Strategy" (PRS) which "should incorporate accurate information on inputs, outputs and outcomes of any strategy implementation as well as information on budget expenditures and poverty data"¹⁶ (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 85).

At first sight, one is tempted to think that this strategy has learnt from history but in fact, it is a copy of the Washington Consensus continuing to view development as driven by external forces. The fact that it prescribes some principles countries have to follow questions its will to promote development because it is not made clear if there is any harmony of interests between the set principles and domestic needs. Moreover, as Easterly argues, this paradigm relies on extreme complicated bureaucracy base on Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) whose "preparation requires planning that would overwhelm the most sophisticated government bureaucracy anywhere, much less the under-skilled and under-paid government workers in the poorest countries" (AFD, quoted by BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 92).

1.3.4. Sustainable development and related paradigms

As a compound word, consisting of two terms "sustainable" and "development" a particular attention has to be first given to these concepts taken apart before analyzing it as a whole. Sustainability is understood in the Environmental Sustainability Index Report as a characteristic of dynamic systems that maintain themselves over time (ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY INDEX REPORT 2005: 11). To "Sustain" from its earliest understanding, means "to support, to uphold the course of or keeping into being". This concept widened over the time to mean "to provide with food and drink, or the necessities of life" (O' CONNOR

¹⁶ TINGBÉ-AZALOU (2008) argues that PRS and PRSP should fulfill three main criteria: (1): Actors' participation, (2): include no classical constraining conditionalities, (3): should lead to vast public expenses programs which will be financed by several sources.

quoted by PEZZOLI, 1996: 6). The concept “sustainability” comes originally from forestry, fisheries and groundwater and is mostly used to “bridge the gulf between development and environment” (ROGERS, JALAL & BOYD 2007: 22). The idea of dynamism and chronological unending process embedded in this perception exemplifies the linear dimension of the concept of sustainability.

The idea of a system could here undermine the presence of some interdependent and interactive elements working or coming together in order for the system to function. ROGERS et al. (2007) think that the concept of sustainability is first of all an attempt to bring the concept of development close to the environmental one. Sustainability is more and more becoming a measure or an indicator of sustainable development as well as a philosophy following the principles of sustainable development. The concept “development” on its part, embraces continuous change and evolution in a variety of aspects in human society. As ECLAC claims, “what is sustained, or has to be made sustainable, is the process of improvement of the human condition (or better, of the socio-ecological system to which humans pertain), a process that does not necessarily require indefinite growth in the consumption of energy and materials” (ECLAC 2001: 5).

1.3.4.1. Overview on historical evolution of the concept sustainable development

The concept of sustainable development could be better understood if historical events leading to its conception are underlined. ROGERS et al. (2007) assert that Thomas Malthus could be seen as the first one who started pointing out the importance for humankind to get oriented in the direction of a sustainable development. Defending the idea that the population was growing in a geometrical ratio when the human kind subsistence was on its part growing in an arithmetical ratio, Malthus was already presenting some unequal ratio between human needs and environmental potentialities by the end of the 18th century.

Several scholars have criticized Malthus’ theory, but its ideas continued to animate discussion on resource availability and were put back at the centre of discussion in 1973 by the Club of Rome. This club shared the common concern that humankind was confronted with a complex quandary of problems caused by a series of interrelated problems going far beyond the aptitude of traditional institutions and political spheres. The book published by MEADOWS, D. H., MEADOWS, D.L, RANDERS, J. & BEHRENS, W. W. in 1972 on behalf of the Club of Rome postulates that, if the world population growth continues in an exponential way, this will have

an output on industrial and agricultural production, and affect natural resource consumption. There would be a surge in pollution rate because of all the above-mentioned activities. This would result to a restriction on global resources by 2050 to 2070.

Despite the fact that the Malthusian Theory had focused mainly on food and energy consumption, a real attention was highlighted ten years later by the publication of a report by the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1983, which led to the famous report known as the BRUNDTLAND REPORT. This commission internationalized the concept of “sustainable development” and defined it as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generation to meet their own needs”. This concept stressed on widespread environmental degradation in the world and the global inequalities between natural issues and development needs. The BRUNDTLAND REPORT also advocated a sort of development, which would take into consideration the needs of the poor, economic growth without harming the environment. This perspective supposes a synthesis between nature conservation strategies as well as human development means.

Conserving nature, however, according to some scholars started just with the creation of the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) in April 29, 1961 by a group of European leaders from different fields who intended to bring up an international fundraising platform to support some conservation groups at the worldwide scale. Nevertheless, this point of view is highly criticized because as (COMBES MOTEL 2009) has argued, the issue of conservation was already going on since the publication of the IUCN Red List of Threatened Species in 1951. One year after the creation of the WWF group, Rachel Carson published a famous book Silent Spring (1962) showing DDT poisoning effects on birds and fishes. This book got a great audience and sensitized humankind on the negative effect their everyday activities could have on some natural elements. The year 1965 was imprinted more and more with the concept of development, which led to the creation of the United Nation Development Program (UNDP) as the main body of the United Nation to promote a worldwide development. One of its main important aims was to bring each country to have control over its own future and to work together in order to achieve development (ZIRING, RIGGS & PLANO 2005: 498).

Paul R. EHRLICH in his book The Population Bomb published in 1968 warned about the dangers of overpopulation, which according to him would bring humanity, mainly children, to

mass starvation and advocated a control or limitation on population growth. This book also had a larger audience despite its pessimistic view on the future. Nevertheless, it had an effect on politicians at the international level who later initiated, as a response to it and to the development problem, the creation of the United Nation Population fund (UNFPA) one year later. This organization had the task to address population issues and among other things to build the knowledge and the capacity to respond to needs in population and family planning (SULLIVAN ROBINSON, R. 2010: 10). Giving all these alarming statements, it was not surprising when the Club of Rome and the Meadow Report decided in 1972 to focus on this path as already mentioned above by keeping an alarm on the issue of economic growth.

One year earlier (1971) the FOUNEX REPORT ON DEVELOPMENT AND ENVIRONMENT had been published by a Swiss agency focusing on the damages and disruptions, which have emerged out of the development style of the “advanced countries” on the human environment and the extended dangers beyond national boundaries threatening the world as whole. This report recognizes that industrial or development activities tend to be accompanied by environmental destruction and sought to warn “developing countries” against the dangers and mistakes linked to this development style operation in the industrial countries (see Chapter 1.3 of the report). The report recognizes economic development as a cause of environmental problems and pleads for uniformity between economic development and environmental protection (Chapter 1.5).

The FOUNEX REPORT led to the organization in Stockholm from 5th to 16th June 1972 of the first international conference dealing with environment and development issues and bringing out some 109 recommendations. This report recognizes the potentials of humankind to “transform his environment in countless ways and on an unprecedented scale” (first statement). In addition, it highlights that “The protection and improvement of the human environment is a major issue which affects the well-being of peoples and economic development throughout the world”. Furthermore, it insists that this protection and improvement of the human environment should be the “the urgent desire of the peoples of the whole world and the duty of all governments” (2nd statement). This report also mentions that the environmental related problem in “developing countries” are due to underdevelopment and invite this countries to direct their efforts to development but by keeping in mind the

obligation of safeguarding and improving the environment and invite the industrialized nations to “reduce the gap between them and the developing countries”.

Even though this report raises the question of industrialization and technological impact on environmental destruction; it does not however invite the industrialized nations to restrain their negative impacts on the environment (4th statement) but rather focuses on its 5th statement on population growth and its influence on environmental deterioration. The common idea of sustainable development was however presented on the 6th statement of the report when it urges to: “defend and improve the human environment for present and future generations”. The United Nation Environment Program (UNEP) was therefore created in 1972 in order to carry out and implement the goals and principles stated by the Stockholm Conference. It was supposed to act as the “environment conscience of the United Nation system” (UNEP 2010).

With the publication of the book “Small is Beautiful” Schumacher (1973) tried one year later to keep the alarm on by presenting the industrialized countries as over-exploiting natural resources for economic purposes and to be unable to preserve or appreciate environmental utility. In reaction to this point of view, the UNEP together with the United Nations Commission on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) organized a five-day expert’s symposium in Cocoyoc, Mexico from the 8th to the 12th of October 1974. The aim was to identify the economic and social factors that lead to environmental deterioration.

The Cocoyoc meeting declared that political leaders, governments, international organizations had to look for strategies in order to seek for a solution for the poorest people throughout the world without violating the planets resources and environment. The Cocoyoc symposium however, did not give much importance on resource limitation but rather on their economic and social misdistribution and misuse and stressed more on “human development” and not so much on the “development of things” in respect to the needs of humans (UNCTC 1985: 2).

Later on, attention turned back to climate considerations five years later with the organization in 1979 in Geneva of the World Climate Conference. This conference concluded that anthropogenic carbon dioxide discharges have a long-term effect on climate change. This conference ended up with the creation of the World Climate Program, which was supposed to

work hand in glove with all nations and to stress the relevance of work on climate change issues and to develop mathematical models to simulate and assess the predictability of climate system (WMO 1979: 3).

The debate about the gap between nature conservation and development was reopened in 1980 by the IUCN, UNEP and the WWF with their common publication “World Conservation Strategy (WCS), living resource conservation for sustainable development”. They argue that: “conservation and development have seldom been combined that they often appear incompatible”. They criticize the conservationist point of view that “The result [is] not to stop development, but to persuade many development practitioners, especially in developing countries, that conservation is not merely irrelevant, it is harmful and anti-social” (IBID: 10). The book invites humans to come to terms with reality when requesting for economic development and enjoyment of the riches of nature and to take into the account the needs of future generations (IBID: 1).¹⁷

Ten years after the Stockholm conference, the United Nations adopted the World Charter for Nature (1982) relying on 24 points which could be summarized in three main points: respect towards nature and ecosystems, integration of nature conservation into socio-economic development strategies and the introduction of all these principles into the legal system of all nations (World Charter Of Nature). Ferrero and Holland argued that the originality of this document was the fact that it officially perceives the respect for the natural world as the main reason for protecting environment (FERRERO & HOLLAND 2002: 28).

On behalf of the United Nations, the Norwegian Prime Minister Mrs. Gro Brundtland was nominated in 1983 to head an independent commission responsible for investigating global environmental and development questions. The United Nations Commission on Environment and Development was therefore created with the aim of developing a global agenda for change and a long-term environmental strategy taking into account the interrelationships between people, resources, environment and development on a global scale (STEURER & MARTINUZI 2007: 147). This Commission later made a famous publication “Our Common Future” presented in 1987. According to STEURER and MARTINUZI, this commission focused its findings on both the “what” and “how” of policymaking in a sustainable development

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The use of the sustainable development concept could be already noticed at the first written words of this publication and its overall meaning today.

program strategy they presented (STEURER & MARTINUZI 2007: 147). The concept of sustainable development was now completely recognized and brought into general use in several spheres. Thenceforth, the concept sustainable development became famous and is being used at almost all levels of human activity. Everyone is trying to adapt or to use it according to his/her interests and fields of activities.

Summarily, it can be observed that the concept of sustainable development has a long history and has tried throughout this period to find the right balance between problems related with human growth, human relations and attitudes towards nature. The relationship that human beings are supposed to have together in the sense of global share of wealth, poverty reduction, the belief in human welfare and the well-being of nature is at the center of investigation of this concept. From the 1970s up to the 1980s, a changing socio-cultural environment made new development concerns questionable. The industrial development model that was put forth had to be rethought mostly concerning the negative externalities of natural resource exploitation. An analysis of the meanings and understandings of this concept is quite important for the continuation of our work.

1.3.4.2. Sustainable development paradigm

Rogers, Jalal & Boyd differentiate 57 definitions of sustainable development, 19 principles, 12 criteria, 4 conceptual frameworks and 28 sets (ROGERS et al. 2007: 42). This means that it is impossible to go throughout all the complexity of sustainability, the attention will be focused on relevant information and analysis that is important for this work. From BRUNDTLAND's definition of sustainable, FIGUEROA et al. argue that this notion is based on two main ideas: to give priority to the needs of the world's poor and the idea of limitations in the ability of the environment to meet present and future needs (FIGUEROA et al. 2010: 2-3). They further comment that sustainable development places human beings and human welfare above environmental and ecological considerations; introduces intra and inter-generational justice principles; strives for global justice and equity and the awareness of the limits of nature. All these principles were erected as norms, values and goals and have become standards for political action and change (IBID).

ELLING argues that sustainability stresses a lot on ethics, inviting humans to act in relation to something more superior than them in a sort of Kantian ethics and utilitarianism (ELLING 2010: 33). In the same line, AGGER and JELSOE see sustainability as a vision for a good life,

whereby through ethics humans view nature as something which “ought to continue as long as possible” (AGGER & JELSOE 2010: 63). Sustainability is therefore a concept that goes beyond ethical values, encompassing individual and societal norms and values because the concept still has some difficulties to be established as norms with mutual understanding and still lacks some social recognition (ELLING 2010: 34). AGGER and JELSOE further argue that sustainable development is unthinkable without ethics as it is clear in this quotation: “without ethics, the demand for sustainable development becomes an unfounded claim. And although there often are arguments for a sustainable development without mentioning ethics, it will stay as a tacit precondition, attracting meaning to the argumentation from the beginning to the end” (AGGER & JELSOE 2010: 63).

AGGER and JELSOE go ahead to point out that, sustainable development is an ethical idea based on four ideas. Apart from meeting the needs of the poor and future generation and the maintenance of natural resources and nature, it should strive for social fairness by working for a fair distribution of resources within global population (social fairness), revitalize economic growth by producing more with less, fighting poverty and environmental degradation (sustainable economy) (AGGER & JELSOE 2010: 63).

Sustainable development concept is sometimes described as a political project aimed at developing an integrated decision-making process, which is capable of balancing economic and social needs of the people with the regenerative capacity of the environment (ROGERS et al. 2007: 42). They argue that the problem with sustainable development lie in the fact that it is sometimes understood as system stability and as part of the dynamics of nature and society, by analyzing how stability can be connected to development in its varied forms in space and time. It requires that we understand that the world develops at many different levels and rhythms and humans understand nature functions only within timescale and develop strategies to adapt themselves to their environment (AGGER and JELSOE 2010: 64-65). In this regard therefore, sustainable development offers “a relevant framing of the debate on broad and far-sighted issues. It is a normative way to organize politics at a higher level, a frame or strategy, a planning of planning that helps us to organize our comprehension of complex systems across scales of time and space” (AGGER and JELSOE 2010: 65-66).

As discussed in the precedent point, discussions around sustainability are perceived as a reaction to the overall development policies mostly relying on economic considerations over

the last 20 years without enough considerations to social and environmental levels (STRANGE and BAYLEY 2008: 118). Sustainability concepts claim to explore the relationship between economic development, environmental quality and social equity (ROGERS et al. 2007: 42). From this perspective, sustainable development is defined as:

“a development that considers the long term perspectives of the socio-economic system, to ensure that improvements occurring in the short term will not be detrimental to the future status or development potential of the system, i.e. development will be “sustainable” on environmental, social, financial and other grounds” (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 8-9).

It is a revolutionary concept ringing the death of humankind’s ways of doing business, producing goods and services and requiring a change in attitude in using the earth’s resources as if they were inexhaustible. It equally acknowledges the existence of obscene poverty and fabulous wealth living side by side and that many cannot access the natural world. A break or stop is indispensable otherwise; the future of the planet and humans will be at risk. Sustainable development shares the vision that the future should be better planned, healthier and requires an understanding of the natural world as well as human social world as two connected entities (BLEWITT 2008: 10). It is a concept that envisages a process of change in which “the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development” are to be overhauled and should be in accordance with future and present needs (ROGERS et al. 2007: 42).

According to SANGINGA, OCHOLA and BEKALO, sustainable development should be based on local-level solutions derived from community initiatives and should be closed to an “environmental entitlements” enabling poor people to have access on natural resources and use them in order to produce environmental services necessary for their livelihood (2010: 23). Several scholars agree on the fact that sustainable development should embed three main aspects: economic, social and environmental, all of them followed or preceded by the term “sustainable”. From an economic perspective, “sustainable” stands for producing goods and services on a continuous basis and for avoiding extreme sectoral imbalances in the economy. Environmental sustainability on its part is related to all developed strategies aimed at maintaining stable resource base by avoiding over-exploitation of renewable resource and the depletion of non-renewable ones. Social sustainability is focused on distributional issues and equity and should create adequate provision for social services. According to Harris, these three aspects are considered as the base of sustainability that should strive to find the right balance between these issues (HARRIS 2000: 6).

BRANDT defines social sustainability as “a system of social regulation mechanisms able to sustain the social coherence of a society or land use system” (BRANDT 2010: 43). He goes ahead to argue that sustainable development should be concerned with the involvement of social institutions in the implementation of a development project, putting ecology at the center of interest. IGNACY SACHS looks at social sustainability as a reaction to the dominance of the economic discourse spread by international organizations understanding of sustainable development. He argues that social sustainability should be understood far beyond the absence of war and should take into considerations factors such as civic violence and state oppression of citizens destroying community and undermining people’s sense of hope (BLEWITT 2008: 21).

According to SEN, a sustainable society should be based on principles such as “equity, democracy, human and civil rights, and a continuing enhancement of people’s ability to do what they have good reason to value. It means being able to conceive of alternatives, being able to act and think differently and having the capacity and opportunity to do so” (quoted by BLEWITT 2008: 21). Therefore, sustainability should work for the improvement of the quality of life, making use of minimal resources as possible, with the needs of future generations taken into consideration.

Concepts such as “sustainable economic growth” stand to mean that GNP per capita is increasing over the time and not threatened by feedback or social impacts (Pearce et al. quoted by ROGERS et al. 2007: 43). Economic systems should be managed for improving both actual and future living standards and enable humans to live from the dividends of their resources with regard to the generated capacity of the environment. It is the acknowledgement that economic development is subjected to some sets of constraints related to the use of resources and the actions of humans on their environment. The economic orientation of sustainability is, therefore related to developmental and environmental policies, striving for environmental protection and raising sustainable levels of welfare (ROGERS et al. 2007: 44).

Scholars such as Wolfgang SACHS have emphasized on the ecological and social aspects and have put the concept of eco-development, back in 1988 to mean minimal material production and consumption. The ecological orientation of sustainable development is mostly related to “the maintenance of ecological processes and life support systems, the preservation of

diversity as well as the sustainable utilization of species and ecosystems” (ROGERS et al. 2007: 44).

Others compare sustainable development with Western hegemony of restraining poor countries from using their natural resources in order to achieve global needs (SHIVA quoted by FIGUEROA et al. 2010: 4). The same point of view is shared by Banerjee, who argues that sustainable development is mostly a Western construct, “defined by the dominant economic paradigm, and is informed by colonial thought which has resulted in the disempowerment of a majority of the rural populations in the developing world (...) and remains a very real danger of marginalizing or co-opting the traditional ecological knowledge of indigenous peoples and others who depend on their land for their livelihood” (quoted by BLEWITT 2008: 21).

In this discourse the ideas that most environmental problems and degradation are caused by the poor, that population growth necessarily leads to environmental degradation, that the poor are too poor to invest in the environment or lack technical knowledge for resource management are glaring (ROGERS et al. 2007:51). The counter-argument is that the wealthier classes cause more environmental damages and that GDP and technological development are having more negative environmental impacts than population growth. That the poor do care on their environment and are willing to invest in it but are in need of favorable conditions, property ownership and control over their resources to be more efficient is a fact. Finally, the “indigenous” knowledge in the possession of the poor is “more appropriate or even better suited to support their habitat” but is often ignored because of the established power-relations imposed on them by technologically advanced countries, which ends up undermining their knowledge (Rogers et al. 2007: 52). This statement leads Adam to pledge for a development which should be “what human communities do to themselves rather than what is done to them by states, bankers, experts, agencies, centralizing planners and others” (quoted by BLEWITT 2008: 21).

As far as nature conservation is concerned, this aim is assumed the most important goal of sustainable development, which is often defined as being about “protecting and conserving the planet’s natural environment and promoting social equity and a degree of economic equality within and between nations” (BLEWITT 2008: 13). From a neo-liberal approach of sustainable development, it is argued that technological modernization can create “green capitalism” and lead to capital accumulation through the process of ecological modernization freed from all moral considerations. As a reaction to this point, the Council for Sustainable

Development introduced the concept of “Corporate Social Responsibility” (CSR). This was done in order to design the role of business within the sustainability discourse (ibid: 5). Neo-liberal sustainable development has also been referred to as “non-declining natural wealth and the maintenance of a constant stock of natural capital” (PEARCE et al. quoted by BLEWITT 2008: 5).

From these misunderstandings, two main schools of sustainability are differentiated: the “Strong” one, on the one hand, looking at nature as good, which should be preserved, and on the other hand, the “weak” relying on innovation and technologies, arguing that scarce resources could be replaced by new ones through a substitution processes. In the midst of these differences, HVID argues that sustainability is a meeting point of several actors attempting to “civilize global society and create sustainable balance between human production and consumption on the one hand, and regeneration of resources, both natural and human on the other hand” (HVID 2010: 15). He claims that sustainable development is the development of social, natural and economic resource and the creation of equilibrium and a balance making regeneration possible with sustainable systems been adaptive and having the capacity to change (IBID: 17). From his perspective, the need for sustainability occurred because of a one-sided exploitation of natural and social systems.

Based on LEFEBVRE argumentation, HVID argued that repetition habits and the spread of capitalism and modern technology as well as bureaucracy have reduced human relation to nature to a repetitive exploitation and condemn repetition because it is “brutal, tiring, exhausting and tedious” (IBID: 23). Their conclusion is that sustainable development is a consequence of repetitive one-sided work system destroying nature and humans as well. Arguing on the same line of thought ELLING (2010) invites humankind to put Kantian notion of “temper-ethics” at the centre of human action bringing them to reconsider the consequences of their acts as good or bad. He analyzes sustainability as our duty, as societal norms which should be introduced in our norms, habits, traditions and culture and constitute the “autonomy of the subject” and the “emancipation of the individual” (ELLING 2010: 33). According to him, sustainability is in strong contradiction with modernity because it asks humans to act in relation to nature’s capacity and to create new norms, habits and cultural habits aimed at re-establishing nature as the limit. He further recommends control of social action and introduction of rational criteria, which would help in controlling our attitudes towards nature (IBID: 35).

ELLING argues that “the point of departure for sustainability must be taken in society’s own structure and not in the relation between society and nature. It must be taken in what nature can cope with” (IBID: 39). ELLING goes further to assert that, this requires that every society should try to strike a balance with itself and call this process the “internal dynamic” otherwise; all the imposed sustainability strategies will be broken. He invites us to go beyond the existing capital rationality and to develop a new rationality for neo-liberal systems like a “free play for the market” which will consist of removing all kinds of barriers and resistance.

If sustainable development is claimed to be a reaction to an anarchic exploitation of nature by privileging economic growth, some authors argue that, sustainability is not possible without a market system. Central to the nine developed strategies ROGERS et al. proposed to achieve sustainability, is the idea that humans should “leave everything in the pristine state, or return it to its pristine state, develop so as to not to overwhelm the carrying capacity of the system, leave future generations the option or the capacity to be as well-off as we are, reinvest rents for non-renewable resources”. There are other propositions such as “sustainability will take care of itself as economic growth proceeds, polluter and victim can arrive at an efficient solution by themselves, let the market take care of it, internalize the externalities, let the national economic accounting systems reflect defensive expenditures” (ROGERS et al. 2007: 23). These strategies to achieve sustainability are contradictory per se. Besides its recommendation for action, there are some recommendations for inaction with precepts as “sustainability will take care of itself” or an invitation to let the market take care of sustainability, whereas some authors have argued that greed is mostly responsible to environmental damages (ROGERS et al. 2007: 51).

This is the reason why, the concept of “Green Growth Paradigm” was introduced in 2005 due to the fact that sustainability was challenged by scarcity of resources mostly because the last decade was marked by increased environmental degradation, climate change and a reduction in natural resources. Three hundred and forty delegates from 52 countries decided to launch this program in order to promote sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) which argues that poor people should be mostly concerned with all development policies, which should provide them with social services through improved environmental facilities as a path to sustainability. This paradigm advocates participatory mechanisms of civil society in policy planning and implementation cycles. This approach presumed to be environmentally and

socially correct because it addresses “the environment while improving opportunities for the poor to participate more fully in society and improve their quality of life” (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 143). According to this approach, sustainability is the core of the growth process and recommends a shift from production perspective to well-being and sustainability. Growth should be accessed with environmental and social aspects in order for it to make any sense (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 144).

As BLEWITT argues, sustainable development is a process that requires a holistic way of looking at the world and human life; it invites us to tolerance and understanding with the recognition that other people may not share our perceptions, values, philosophies, aims and ambitions. It is an invitation to understand that “the world is multi-faceted, fragmented and complete” because sustainable development is “the product of many stories, worldviews, values, actions and perspectives, which to be fully appreciated, requires a readiness to listen to others, respect differences, suspend established opinions, and see with other’s eyes while allowing other voices to resonate and be heard (...). It requires dialogue and is a dialogue of values” (BLEWITT 2010: x).

For this reason, Cairns recommends that strategies to sustainability need to be “both top-down and bottom-up and ethically grounded in a language and literacy comprehensive to whatever the organizational level or geographical location people find themselves living and working in. This will enable effective communication, social learning and leadership to emerge, hopefully affecting the paradigm shift in thought and action required” (quoted by BLEWITT 2008: 22). He concludes that sustainable development is “a dialogue of values” (IBID: 24).

The sustainable development paradigm is therefore concerned with key factors such as: “poverty, population, pollution, participation, empowerment, good governance, accountability, decentralization, predictability, policy and market features, prevention and management of disaster and transparency” (ROGERS et al. 2007: 47). It means that sustainability should focus on analyzing the complex link between resource allocation, and utilization in connection with poverty but also, to develop strategies to avoid natural disasters.

It is good to know how poverty causes resource depletion in the process of survival and at the same time to highlight the fact that economic development goes hand in glove with resource depletion and degradation. The proposition of this paradigm is that poverty must be reduced

by meeting basic needs and that strategic policies must be undertaken in order to minimize environmental and social consequences of uneven development. A good balance should be found between rural and urban development for population equilibrium through a better regional and international cooperation (ROGERS et al. 2007: 51).

The sustainable development paradigm has often been seen as a utopian idea and as an illusion and criticized because it does not include reflection on how to abolish the existence of modern economic systems, which have a negative impact on nature management and creating social inequality. Other authors argue that environment could not be seen as a real entity separated from social practices and human experience (environmental realism). They argue that sustainability is an “environmental idealism” understanding the nature in terms of values and argue that environmental problems have become social construct (MACNAGHTEN and URRY 1999).

Sustainable development is also considered as a “vague, self-contradictory and incoherent” concept incapable of being put into practice because it tries to show that development is possible without any exploitative economic paradigm (BLEWITT 2008: 23). From the nine ways to achieve sustainability, ROGERS et al. argue that leaving or returning everything to a pristine state will never happen because “nobody is going to do that. (...) Because it would involve a tremendous amount of pain and anguish”, as far as the carrying capacity of the globe is concerned this is difficult to value and to define.

Concerning the fact that sustainability will take care of itself, it is argued that, as long as people per capita income will rise, they will better take care of the environment, meaning that poor people are unable to take care of it. The argument has been that they are preoccupied more by survival issues. This idea advocates economic growth as a solution for sustainability. People and countries should develop as fast as possible in order to be able to take care of their environment. Nevertheless, the facts prove that economic development remains a great challenge in several parts of the world. The proposition of polluter and victim relation is claimed to be difficult to implement at a larger scale because of high transaction costs. Internalize an externality will be also difficult because externalities are not easy to quantify and to value in terms of costs to be internalized. Leaving the future generations with the capacity to be as well off as we are is the core principle of sustainability. However, Rogers, Jalal and Boyd argue that it is not obvious because nothing ensure us that we have the

capacity to do that (ROGERS et al. 2007: 23-26). According to them, the solution of a market consisting of pricing pollution and permits trading off pollution rights with similar market operations, getting investment rents from non-renewable resources and investing them in renewable resources appear more realistic.

Sustainable development framework adapted for this analysis consists of analyzing the relationship between human development and environment, human's participation as stakeholders¹⁸, e.g. how they influence and are integrated in development initiatives, share their knowledge and keep control over their resources. It is also about mutual information sharing processes in development planning from top-down to bottom-up approaches in policy-planning procedures. It also deals with how the matter of shared responsibility is discussed and attributed and consensus building established. It is to know about the level of ownership in planning, monitoring and implementation of sustainable development oriented projects and programs, the development substance of these projects and programs as well as the related activities with regard to socio-cultural, economic and ecological goals.

To sum up, in accordance with Francesco DI CASTRI: "There are so many definitions and even opposite interpretations of sustainable development that – paradoxically – "it is now a term that inherently eludes definitions" (DI CASTRI 2003: 50). If the concept of development is mostly related to the idea of progress and human well-being, sustainable development is an attempt to widen this well-being to environmental concerns. It is a concept, which embraces several sectors of human activities from economic, to environmental, as well as from social to cultural values.

In this work, sustainable development is used as a process covering four main levels of activities: economic, social, ecological and cultural. Francesco DI CASTRI has developed this understanding through the metaphor of a chair, made up of four distinct legs representing these levels of activities, which should be integrated in policymaking procedures and in the implementation of activities aiming to reach sustainability. DI CASTRI emphasizes that considerable efforts should be made in order to find the right balance between these four levels. The chair should be balanced and flat in such a way that anyone finds himself comfortable when sitting on it.

18 Particular attention in this analysis will be given to: poor, disadvantaged groups of people, minorities, government, private sector and civil society

From DI CASTRI's argument, the ecological level should be concerned with activities such as management of biodiversity, ecosystems, habitats, endangered species, with pollution matters and global natural resource management. The social leg should be concerned with institutional framework, development of infrastructures, educational and legal systems, health and medical issues, promotion of good governance through democratic processes, participation, empowerment, decentralization and management of human resources. This frame has to be distinguished from the cultural one dealing with religion and culture, ethics and behavior, people's motivation and desires, their perception of freedom and rights, as well as emotional responsibility, values and perception of realities and information sharing system. The last point is concerned with economical activities such as the valuation of natural capital, goods and services related to environmental elements, employment created from environmental activities, their impacts on the quality of life, the promotion of fair-trade and equity.

In this work, an analysis would be made to understand if economic activities of valuation of natural resources are deteriorating or improving environmental milieu and economic standard and life quality of the concerned people. About environmental management, the concern would be to analyze the impact of degradation of natural resources at the local level. The social analysis would focus on living standards, the rate of poverty and the gap between the rich and the poor, participation and decentralization issues in the management procedures of natural resources as well as with legal and political institutions. Finally, the role played by cultural values in natural resource management in our related case studies would be analyzed and if they play any national or international role in the political framework.

1.4. Development cooperation as global governance and governmentality of development

“Development cooperation is a new mode of international relations. In the modern sense of the word, development cooperation has been carried out only after the Second World War. But in a short period of time, it has become an institutionalized mode of international relations. Today, almost every country is engaged in development cooperation in one way or in another. Research of development cooperation is thus a challenging task for the study of international relations” (SIITONEN 1990: 1).

The global governance of development is concerned with strategies, which were developed in the frame of international cooperation in order to foster or to promote development. It is about strategies put in place by international actors to achieve development. This relies mostly on the philosophy and perception one has on the international system. Giving this situation,

attention would be oriented towards debates of development cooperation and strategies to implement development at a worldwide level. One can logically assert that development strategies became a field of global governance after the 1990s when UN member states started to organize conference processes in order to build consensus on what development should be and how to promote development at a global scale. If the UN became a great player in the promotion of development, it is because of the feeling that a sort of “conference fatigue” and “lost decade” got installed, discouraging governments to develop any policy related to development. There was a need of a coordinated international cooperation working for the promotion of development. In order to do so, international agreements and arrangements as response to development failures were launched.

The problem now is to know if coordinated policies aimed at promoting development were able to bring any impulse to this aim and how the dynamics of international development cooperation functions. What are the main challenges and strategies developed by the different stakeholders? It is in this frame of promoting development that several perspectives come into play. In this light, KEOHANE distinguishes two main approaches of looking at cooperation among states: the realist and the institutional approaches.

The realists argue that international politics and cooperation is ruled under the hegemony of the United States and consider world politics as a state of war in which states unit compete in order to safeguard their interests, creating fundamental conflict of interests. Based on Machiavelli’s philosophy of separation of political moral from private moral and the non-existence of moral authority and Hobbes’s ideas of men living in a state of nature in which only powerful states are able to maintain law and moral, they argue that states are guided to search for their own interests (SIITONEN 1990: 10). This version of international cooperation is oriented towards rational calculation of national interests as the main determinant factor of cooperation among states (SIITONEN 1990: 12).

Therefore, regimes are constructed based on principles shared by the US and that the US contributed to build up all these international institutions and is mostly responsible for their maintenance. So rules, norms, principles and decision-making procedures taking place in international institutions are reflecting US wishes and aims (KEOHANE 2005: 7).

The idea of global governance through cooperation emerged with Grotius who pledged for the separateness and independence of states and advocated for the creation of a superstructure in charge of governing international relations. This structure should formulate juridico-politic principles to which the international community must comply with in a sort of international norms relevant for international cooperation (SIITONEN 1990: 11-13). This philosophy is closed to the institutionalist's view of international cooperation as a sign of interdependence and complementary interests between states and the creation of international institutions as a sign of shared economic interests among states and a need of policy coordination among states for better efficiency. They argue that cooperation between rich and poor countries could take place without one arguing that rich and powerful nations are in a situation to exploit the poor and weaker ones (KEOHANE 2005: 10).

As far as cooperation among states is concerned they are mostly characterized by two main pictures: harmony or discord of interests. Whenever it happens that the involved partners develop an attempt to adjust their policy in order to meet the demands of the other, there is harmony of interests. In harmony of interests, the partners develop policies aiming to attain the others' goals. The actions of involved entities should be brought in conformity through negotiation in which actor adjust their political behavior to the preference of others (KEOHANE 2005: 51). In case of discord, no attempt is made in order to reach the fixed results. In this instance, governments regard their common policies as "hindering the attainment of their goals and hold each other responsible for these constraints". Discord often happens when some political entities are obliged to change their policies and oppose a sort of resistance to the proposed goals and strategies creating policy conflict or conflict of interests, because each government is supposed to follow its own self-interests (KEOHANE 2005: 52).

From this perspective, KEOHANE points out that, cooperation could be understood as a sign of harmony if, no communication and influence is taking place among the partners. Nevertheless, crisis of interests sometimes develops among states in their attempt to cooperate and governments have to make frantic efforts to look for better solutions with actors striving to find or create harmony of interests through international negotiations in order to pursue complementary policies and attain their common goals.

Cooperation from an institutionalist perspective is therefore understood as mutual adjustments in order to meet mutual interests (KEOHANE 2005: 12). It is any "act of working together to

one end” opposed to competition which aims at “seeking or endeavoring to gain what another is endeavoring to gain at the same time” (MEAD, quoted by SIITONEN 1990: 5). Realists on their part argue that cooperation or international cooperation could not be well followed without any hegemonic¹⁹ relationship. A need of hegemonic stability is required in order to facilitate relationship between states. This hegemonic leadership could be led by one or by two or more states which decide to share the leadership burden for more legitimacy in order to ensure their domination and exploitation of other states (KEOHANE 2005: 37-38).

In order to construct world politics, hegemon needs deference of other states and therefore supervises the relationship through a hierarchical system of control. This hegemony in international relations creates some kind of asymmetrical form of cooperation in which, from a realist point of view, the hegemon appears to provide his partners with leadership, norms, rules and principles and those ones should offer him deference (KEOHANE 2005: 45-46). This point of view joins ADLER-KARLSSON’s one when he defines cooperation as “the reverse, positive side of conflict” and as “a euphemism for the new forms of power struggle, or the dominance of richer and more powerful nations over poorer and weaker” (Quoted by SIITONEN 1990: 5). Cooperation should be distinguished from competition in which the common goal is no more shared. It should also be distinguished from rivalry in which the goal of the stakeholder is to hinder the other part to gain or to reach its own goals (SIITONEN 1990: 6).

Concerning development cooperation, it could be analyzed and understood according to three philosophical thoughts in international cooperation. Realists see development cooperation as a field in which power relations could be exercised. This idea could be made clear with the emergence of the development discourse, paradigms and strategies as a construct or a “regime of truth” to which some entities are obliged to go through the act of coercion or of domination. In order to do so, states should cooperate to foster or promote “their development” or their “vision of development” the powerful states have upon the weaker ones. The point here is the emergence of a sort of “battle of truth” and “battle of rules” between stakeholders in order to create or to bring “development”. In these battles as in any other one, the use of power is indispensable.

19 Hegemon is supposed to fill four main points: he must have control over raw material, control over source of capital, control over market, competitive advantage in the production of highly valued goods. Hegemony in turn is defined as „a situation in which one state is powerful enough to maintain the essential rules governing interstate relations and willing to do so“. It is „the ability and willingness of a single state to make and enforce rules, the ability to lead“ (KEOHANE 2005: 32-39).

Power over development discourse, knowledge and development rules are exercised over other states in a form of normative power. Escobar for example argues that the discourse of development emerged in this framework and deals with present hegemony of some richer states over others. They try to maintain domination and exploitation by dismantling the so-call “underdeveloped” countries. According to him, development is a construct of developed countries which is associated with huge institutional apparatus working for their worldwide promotion such as the World Bank, the IMF and a knowledge which emerged through a number of theories produced by “international organizations and scholars at North American and European campuses” (ESCOBAR 1984: 383). Development is consequently a systematic discourse put in place by Western “developed” countries in order to create, manage and control the activities of “underdeveloped” countries politically, economically, sociologically and culturally and has given birth to powerful mechanisms insuring their permanent domination over those new labeled countries (ESCOBAR 1984: 384).

Development cooperation belongs to a “series of political technologies intended to manage and give shape to the realities of “underdeveloped countries” (ESCOBAR 1984: 384). It should also contribute of bringing certain countries to live in conformity to certain types of economic and cultural patterns, namely the “American way of life” (ESCOBAR 1984: 378 and 382). Indeed, through development cooperation, powerful states use their position in order to compel weaker ones to accept their economic, socio-cultural and political systems into their own system as a sign or a path to development. This strategy is often followed by economic imperatives (ESCOBAR 1984: 382).

Development cooperation from this realist approach is a means of exploitation and domination through different forms of subjection. The common mechanisms are repression, sexual preferences, opposition to specific programs and technologies, educational strategies, and the promotion of some political practices as well as political activities (ESCOBAR 1984: 383). The development discourse has enabled development cooperation to be seen as an “establishment and systematization of a set of relations” among states by passing through some institutions and practices dominated by powerful countries (ESCOBAR 1984: 385). This set of relations put countries to face of their responsibilities according to the norms and principles drawn up by the most powerful ones. Such aspects include “the progressive incorporation of problems to be dealt with, the professionalization of development with the

emergence of “development experts”, “development studies” with strong normative orientation and components (ESCOBAR 1984: 387).

Development cooperation from a realist point of view is a strategy to “penetrate, integrate, manage and control countries and populations in increasingly detailed and encompassing ways” through regulated knowledge (ESCOBAR 1984: 388). From an institutionalist perspective, the ECDPM argues that development cooperation is all about institutional development with institutions central to the process of development and poverty reduction. Institutional development became famous after 1990 when it was believed that institutional arrangements will “constraint the impact, effectiveness and efficiency of development aid” (ECDPM 2007: 6). Thus development could be made possible through “more effective coordination of policy among governments” and require a mutual adjustment of their policies according to their shared interests (KEOHANE 2005: 12).

The institutionalist approach of development cooperation is related to the fact that development institutions should focus on the needs of the poor and empower them (ECDPM 2007: 7). Development cooperation has therefore been institutionalized at various levels from international organizations, national planning bodies to local level development agencies working as agents of “the deployment of development” in a form of network and system of rule (ESCOBAR 1984: 388). With institutionalist, development appears as a “mode of thinking and source of practices” and has become an omnipresent reality in the framework of development cooperation. Better institutional cooperation is supposed to help “poor countries” through different sort of programs and interventions to escape from their poverty or their “underdevelopment”. Here also, the discourse on development is in nothing different from those of the realists; only the means to achieve development seem to differ. Even in the institutionalist conception of development cooperation, “discourses, techniques are produced, recorded, stabilized, modified and put into operation” through the network of development institutions, international organizations, bilateral institutions and voluntary agencies at the national, regional and local level of the focus countries (ESCOBAR 1988: 431).

ESCOBAR argues that these institutions are dominated by Western countries who also exercise power relation through normalization, the development of new mechanisms of power “embodied in endless programs and strategies” which, as a system “determined what could be said, thought, imagined in the space of development” (ESCOBAR 1992: 24). Institutions are the

means used by development cooperation in order to pave the way for development characteristic of “rich” societies (ESCOBAR 1992: 25). The role of institutions is to serve as a harbinger of development programs in the frame of development cooperation together with some multinational cooperation.

Development cooperation has become a legitimate tool of being introduced into national and local policies of other countries resulting in what Escobar calls “development colonized reality” (ESCOBAR 1992: 25). As a reply to ESCOBAR’s criticisms, institutionalists like HOTLAND argue that institutional development is a “complex, messy, risky and experimental area, with tangible results emerging only over a long period of time”. To this extent, development cooperation from an institutionalists perspective could only be evaluated in a long-term perspective of development agencies which should generate genuine value based on adaptability and responsiveness with principles such as “ownership”, “participation”, “decentralization” “process approaches” and “budgetary support” (ECDPM 2007: 7). In response to their orientation to the “South Countries”, institutionalists argue that their aim is to connect the south and the north in a working partnership procedure in a dynamic and constantly changing process (IBID).

The last version of development cooperation is imprinted with the idea of social justice arguing that development cooperation should focus on global and international equity and contribute to “equal citizenship, entitlement to a social minimum, equality of opportunity and fair distribution” (MAXWELL 2008). SEN, relying on RAWISAN’s conception of social justice asserts that justice should be close to fairness and should pay attention to everyone’s interests, concerns and liberties. In order to reach this aim, it is important that people get involved in rules and principles through a cooperative exercise. Priority should be given to liberty followed by equity and efficiency in the distribution of opportunities. To this end, development cooperation is supposed to work for greater fairness of all people everywhere what SEN names “Grand Universalism”. However, he also argues that, “National Particularism” cannot be shirked and appears as the great challenge because nations are made up of people with different identities, values and political units. This procedure will have to deal with multiple identities, different concerns and demands to which it will be obliged to supplement or to compete with. It is important to motivate nations to implement international equity principles in order to create global international justice (SEN 1999).

SEN goes ahead to claim that, this strategy is charged with high ethical stature; the cooperation between states is not more oriented towards domination, power or seeking of interests but rather for ethics and humanitarian purposes. SEN believes that global justice could be implemented through institutions and international agencies through some set of arrangements including contracts, agreements and exchanges between states, with the contribution of firms and businesses, social groups and political organizations as well as non-governmental organizations that operates across borders. Development cooperation should pose the issue of justice and fairness at the center of its action. This could be easily achieved through institutions because “individuals live and operate in a world of institutions, many of which operate across borders” (SEN 1999: 124).

MAXWELL highlights that concerns for social justice is becoming more and more a driver of development policy and cooperation among states motivated by core values and no more special interests such as liberty, security and justice for all (MAXWELL 2008). The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) appear as a good illustration of this social justice development thought. Using the UN, it was possible to introduce social justice and distributional principles such as income distribution with its principles of: (1) “Eradicating extreme hunger and poverty”, (2) Achieving universal primary education, (3) Promoting gender equality and empower women, (4) Reducing child mortality, (5) Improving maternal health, (6) Combating HIV/AIDS Malaria and other diseases, (7) Ensuring environmental sustainability, (8) Developing a global partnership for development.

As explained by SEN, several institutions working beyond borders have made this concept their showpiece. This includes researchers, scientists, policymakers, and representatives of NGOs, UN agencies, the World Bank, IMF and the private sector (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 100-101). Apart from been oriented towards coherent and inclusive social policies, the protection of human rights and the assurance of good governance, the Millennium Declaration has been embraced by several institutions. Reasons being that, it has introduced a development-oriented macroeconomic framework, have pledges for the adoption and diffusion of green technologies and sustainable resource management strategies. Besides, it has equally set down some strategies, mechanisms enabling stakeholders to reach the defined goals (BATTAGLIA et al. 2011: 101). In addition, because state’s representatives have the feeling they have participated to its conception and that it does not appear as a foreign discourse.

Nevertheless, the MDGs are the result of success and failures of historically developed and implemented UN development conferences and appear to be famous because it has allowed a building consensus on development priority in the 21st century to emerge after the conference fatigue of the 1990s. Some scholars are quite skeptical on the development program proposed or implemented through the MDGs contents and indicators. As far as the contents are concerned, Maxwell argue that realizing global justice is an aim far beyond achieving income, health and education as planned by the MDGs. It is also about having more access to the means to implement the planned goals by mentioning who is accountable to what. Social justice requires greater investments in social issues through the introduction of better distribution issues at the global through the national and to the local level; it is about bringing poor and rich countries to be accountable to each other and to translate thoughts into actions (MAXWELL 2008).

Concerning the indicators, Easterly for example asserts that “the MDGs are poorly and arbitrarily designed to measure progress against poverty and deprivation” (EASTERLY 2007: 2). He argues that setting targets and indicators create more inequality and injustice because it makes some regions look better off and other worse off according to the value of the set “arbitrary” and “unclear” indicators.

To sum up, this analysis made clear that development cooperation could be a means of directing power from rich countries over poor countries through knowledge and discourse creation from powerful states and oriented towards weaker ones. It could be a means of directing political, economic, as well as socio-cultural actions of other states. The concept of governmentality from its original conception of directing the mentality gains here its complete significance, namely from the realist philosophical perception of development cooperation. The concept of global governance of development was also made clear through the analysis of institutional and social justice conception of development cooperation. It was shown that development was developed as a norm and should go through some set of principles and carry over through international institutions to some parts of the world with the motivation of social justice.

As far as governmentality of development is concerned, the post-modern critics as Escobar underscore that development is an instrument of domination, a concept created to reproduce

relation of social inequalities through discourses and techniques. It organizes a type of knowledge and a type of power mostly through labeling, forcing actors to be controlled by this discourse and to act inside the defined and prescribed framework set by the powerful actors (GARDNER and LEWIS, quoted by POTTIER 2012: 9). Power in the development discourse is related to “the partial and biased understandings that have emanated from the unreflexive application of a western scientific rationality (...) that has exacerbated rather than reduce inequalities” (MARSDEN quoted by POTTIER 2012: 4).

Post-modern scholars mostly see development in terms of knowledge-power, structured through tools of control and surveillance regimes and as a foreign concept functioning with binary opposition forces such as scientific vs. non-scientific, rational vs. irrational, developed vs. undeveloped, active vs. passive and knowledge vs. ignorance. They argue that development discourse is marked with disjuncture and the praise of western scientific knowledge structured around the growth of ignorance of others. Their perspective on development has been criticized with the argument that they are not stressing a lot on the practicability of development and that it fails to determine the direction of power which could also be used by development recipients who sometimes contribute to development policy contribution (COOPER, PACKARD and HOBART quoted by POTTIER 2012: 10).

A remedy to this opposition of knowledge and power, LONG recommends a positive approach on the development discourse advocating for guiding principles such as discontinuity and transformation in knowledge formation emerging as “a product of interaction and dialogue between actors and to understand that knowledge is characterized by a dynamic quality of interrelation, which reinforce and transform the actors”. He further argues that knowledge is a social construction resulting from a particular context and it is constantly evolving, being reshaped and emerging at the points of intersection between actors’ lifeworlds (LONG and VILLARREAL quoted by POTTIER 2012: 15-16). So, LONG is not considering knowledge on development as a source of power but rather as a contributive frame of action in which “recipients of development assistance often develop their own solutions by redesigning that which is on offer” (POTTIER 2012: 16). Knowledge, he argues, is an interface generated and transformed in relation to the everyday contingencies and struggles.

However, as Gardner and Lewis as well as SCOONES and THOMPSON underscore, between resource-rich and resource-poor countries (in financial terms), a power relation in form of

authority and subordinate will always occur and drive their interrelation. Under these circumstances, those having power will always produce discourses of development (quoted by POTTIER 2012: 17). The fact remains anyway that some financially poor countries are endowed with a lot of natural resource but are qualified as “underdeveloped”. This raises the issues of natural resources management and development.

1.5. Natural Resources

1.5.1. Defining natural resources

MARANGA, MUGABE and BAGINE (2010) assert that the meaning of natural resources is keeping changing over years and is characterized by strong divergences in disciplinary conceptualizations mostly related to the meaning of what a resource is. Natural resources are commonly defined as materials from the earth that are used to support life and meet people’s needs in the sense that all material substances used by humans or other living organisms could be defined as natural resources. They are all material and components of value people get from the environment, which can exist free from any human intervention. They are all variety of goods and services necessary for our everyday life (BOJÖ 2000). They fulfill both human and environmental functions.

According to the WTO, it is difficult to define precisely what natural resources are and no common definition is accepted by common sense. According to this organization, natural resources could be defined as: “stock of materials that exist in the natural environment that are both scarce and economically useful in the production or consumption, either in their raw state or after a minimal of processing” (WTO 2010: 46). From this definition it is clear that to be considered a natural resource, a material should fulfill some characteristics such as exhaustibility, uneven distribution across countries, negative externality consequences in other areas, dominance within national economies and price volatility (IBID: 47). This definition is characterized by a strong economical orientation and is closed to the concept of natural capital defined as “any stock of natural resources or environmental assets that yields a flow of useful goods and services into the future” (DALY quoted by MCDONALD, HANLEY and MOFFATT 1999: 74). From a socio-cultural perspective, natural resources are defined as “those components of nature which are being used or are estimated to have a use for people and communities” (BORRINI-FEYERABEND, PIMBERT, FARVAR, KOTHARI and RENARD 2004: 7)

Worthington's definition of natural resources is close to its general conception of "everything that is derivable for the use of man from any part of the universe" (WORTHINGTON 1964: 2). Natural resources are made up of biotic and abiotic parts of nature; the living and the non-living respectively, which interact, form various types of ecosystems. Generally, natural resources are divided into "renewable" and "non-renewable" resources. The former are biotic and the latter abiotic. Renewable resources are considered as those natural materials, which could be used by humans and can be regenerated by natural processes, they are considered endangered if their use is faster than nature's ability to rebuild them. As far as non-renewable resources are concerned, they are functioning in an opposite way to renewable ones in the sense that they can be exhausted if sustainable management strategies are not taken into consideration.

To sum up, natural resources are considered as all materials or substances supplied by the earth and its processes that humans use to support their life and meet their needs. They include the atmosphere (oxygen for human respiration, wild fauna, domestic animals and also carbon dioxide), hydrosphere (water and water resources and their different uses), lithosphere (soil, its micronutrients for agricultural activities, stone, sand, gravel, flora and fauna, minerals, oil, coal and gas) and biosphere (food from crops, biomass from forests). All these resources could be a source of natural capital but also of high socio-cultural value for humans. They build the sum of raw materials provided by nature, which can be the source of several activities leading to the manufacture of new products. In this analysis, attention would be focalized on natural resources from their lithographic and biosphere understanding. It means on forest ecosystems and forest's biodiversity (plant and animal species).

The term "forest" is derived from the Latin word "foris" meaning "outside" (SINGH & VISHWAKARMA 1997: 1). It is commonly defined as an ecosystem or assemblage of ecosystems dominated by trees and other woody vegetation. More precisely, forest is "a minimum area of land of 0.05-1.0 ha with tree crown cover of more than 10-30 per cent with trees with the potential to reach a minimum height of 2-5 meters at maturity in situ". It may consist of "trees of various storeys and undergrowth cover a high proportion of the ground" (SCHOENE, LUEPKE and NEEF 2006: 4). The UKFS defines forest as "land predominately covered in trees with a canopy cover of at least 20% or in smaller areas known by a variety of terms including woods, copses, spinney or shelterbelts" (UKFS 2011: 4).

The forest is not an easy sphere to define because it is perceived differently from one region to another, from one type to another and from one person to another according to the value and valuation people are having or making out of it. The UNEP, FAO and UNFF (2009) argue that more than 800 definitions for forests and wooded areas are in use in the world (Ibid: 8). Anyway, in the common definition of forests, words such as trees (5m) and tree crown covering (at least 10%) and expanding on a minimum area size of 0.5 ha are common. Particular attention would be paid on forest ecosystem defined as “a dynamic complex of plant, animal and micro-organism communities and their abiotic environment interacting as a functional unit, where the presence of trees is essential” (Ministerial Conference on the Protection of Forests in Europe 2002: 6). Forest biodiversity or forest biological diversity on its part is defined by the Convention on Biodiversity (CBD) as “the variability among forest living organisms and the ecological processes of which they are part including diversity in forests within species, between species and of ecosystems and landscapes” (THOMPSON, MACKAY, MCNULTY and MOSSELER, 2009: 4).

Humans, their cultural, economic and environmental needs would be integrated in the conception of forest ecosystem. Some countries are endowed with trees whose height is sometimes lower than 5m but consider those areas as a forest. This is the reason why, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) requests countries to choose a definition of forest tailored to their needs (SASAKI and PUTZ 2009: 227). Relying on this, a definition of forest would be given according to the studied countries. This analysis would be oriented to some specific biome categories such as temperate and dry tropical, moist forest, grasslands, dry lands and mangroves.

Scientists are often concerned with several research questions about the forests. Amongst the issues often investigated is forest biodiversity. Biodiversity in the forest could be measured through some sets of indicators based on descriptive e.g. qualitative and quantitative data survey realized periodically facilitating biodiversity evolution over a distinct period of time. This requires a lot of ecological knowledge. BONHÊME (2012) differentiates three main types of biodiversity: “remarkable biodiversity” concerned with space management such as national parks, and other protected areas and delimited forest environment useful for wildlife; “ordinary biodiversity” useful for ordinary citizens such as amusement parks, recreation park and “functional biodiversity” related to the role of biodiversity to the sustainable operation of ecosystems and environmental services (IBID: 22). She indicates that, any work on

biodiversity should be focused on one of these points what she names “target biodiversity”. To this extent the “Target biodiversity” of this work would be plants (mostly trees) and animal (mammals) diversity living or present in the forest (See also SINGH, SINGH and DEY 2004).

Whether it is about forests or about biodiversity, these two natural elements are bound with a multitude of uses and non-values. Use value refers to the role that forests and biological resources have directly or indirectly to people either in the form of consumption of their provided resource or in the form of services including market products for nature but also aesthetic, amenity, spiritual, religious and totemic values of species. Non-use values include resources that are not directly consumed by humans but which play a great role in the production of other goods and services like ecosystem services (PERRINGS 2005: 110). This is to say that forests and biodiversity are not just valuable to humans but to species and ecosystems. Scholars speak on intrinsic and existence value related to them and argue that they play four main great roles: regulation (e.g. climate, water purification), provision (food, fresh water, and medicine), support (habitat provision, water cycling) and cultural (recreation, spiritual and religious concerns) services.

1.5.2. Natural resource management

“The relationship between human utilization of natural resources and natural resources degradation is still poorly understood in the scientific world, and understanding of the complex relationship between environmental changes and their social, economic, cultural and political context is poor” (BUCH-HANSEN, OKSEN and PRABUDHANISTISARN 2006: 50)

Natural resource management refers to the strategies of utilization of natural resources planned, introduced or implemented by a government, an institution or a group of people. It deals with the planning and rational utilization of vegetal, mineral and animal resources in a given biotope or ecosystem. Natural resource management is concern with the developed framework and issues addressed and applied in order to use a natural resource. It is about required and produced knowledge set up in order to use natural resources. It also refers to scientific and technical principle forming a basis for sustainable conservation, use and governance of natural resources (SANGINGA, OCHOLA and BEKALO 2010: 12).

BORRINI-FEYERABEND et al. (2004) define natural resources as “the organization, rules, practices, means, knowledge and values allowing communities to exploit and conserve their natural resources” (IBID: 5). They argue that natural resource management is closely bound to social regulation of population dynamics and the technological and social capabilities to

exploit natural resources. This includes the knowledge of the local environment, technology and know-how, which facilitates the conservation of natural resources defined as wise use of these resources, embedding components of culture such as social organization, magic, religious beliefs and prevailing values (IBID: 6). They assert that natural resource management is first of all a matter of social institutions by arguing that:

“in all culture, (...) one can also find some explicit social institutions directly related to the management of natural resources with inclusion/exclusion rules limiting access to natural resources to communities and individuals belonging to special groups (...) customary regulations or written laws aimed at making individual use of resources compatible with collective interests and social organizations in-charge of establishing and enforcing rules through persuasion, negotiation, coercion, etc.” (BORRINI-FEYERABEND et al. 2004: 7).

Natural resources management cannot be excluded from the socio-political frame because it has to be governed by legal systems and policy statements, which should regulate and set down some judicial administrations for adjudication and arbitration, responsible for addressing conflicts. It is recommended that the national legal system of management of natural resources should be on local custom, religion and should take into consideration the variables of every ethnic group (BANGINE et al. 2010: 148). So, governments should develop devices and instruments that will influence behavior and the adoption of appropriate means and technologies as well as the creation of adequate institutions working for the promotion of sustainable management of natural resources which should be coupled with poverty alleviation (NYARIKI, SANGINGA, YEMSHAW and KAKURU 2010: 391).

Natural resource management starts to be a controversial concept mostly when it is bound with qualitative “sustainability”. In this case, “sustainable management of natural resources” refers to the existing link between resource use and sustainability and their variation if the concerned resources are renewable or non-renewable. From this perspective, strategies are far to create unanimity because every strategy varies from one research perspective to another and from one perception²⁰ to another. An economist and an ecologist will disagree on what strategy to implement as far as the management of a natural resource is concerned.

Natural science disciplines will look at natural resources as assets or reservoirs of energy and materials. It will tend to focus on the maintenance or alteration in the distribution of natural resources and natural ecological systems. Sociologists would be tempted to understand natural resource management from a social deconstruction perspective embedding social, political and cultural context in investigating the causes and effects of production, livelihoods, and

²⁰ Perception defined from its etymology „perceptus “meaning „the act of taking possession, obtaining, receiving” but also “our principal means of obtaining information about the world, the ways in which the world acquires meaning for us” (GIMENEZ 1993: 31).

socio-ecological systems (BUCH-HANSEN et al. 2006: 51-52). Social science perception of natural resource management is mostly about investigating how “human activities are related to natural resources”. It tends to develop a kind of knowledge focused on the understanding of social and economic processes related to natural resource management. BUCH-HANSEN et al argue that this knowledge is mostly developed and influenced by Western epistemological foundations and paradigms and are favored by policy makers given low opportunity to local science and knowledge to emerge (IBID: 50).

Natural resource management is strongly bound with the study of access and utilization of natural resources; it deals with how natural resources support local livelihoods but also with the degradation of natural resources. Viewed from this perspective, the matter of subject and object is a great issue whenever someone is dealing with natural resource management. Policy makers should develop or adopt rationalist policies and take into account the point of view, interests and knowledge of the involved stakeholders in the promulgation of strategy that would be employed in the natural resource management process at the local or national level in order to avoid resistances and frustrations.

As argued by LYNAM, DE JONG, SHEIL, KUSUMANTO and EVANS (2007), “stakeholder engagement has evolved from a marginal concern to a driving force”. As BUCH-HANSEN et al. argue, a partial strategy of natural resource management, which does not take into consideration the above-mentioned points could result in accusation, ignorance about people’s practices and the limitation on their rights and access to natural resources (IBID: 51). Coming out with a natural resource management strategy implies to be aware of the fact that stakeholders have different competing demands and obligations which policy makers have to reconcile (LYNAM et al. 2007). SANGINGA et al. (2010) assert that natural resources management should be concerned with the inclusion and participation of local residents, which should work in strong cooperation with governments in order to ensure the socio-environmentally sustainability of the resource (IBID: 24).

According to LYNAM, et al. natural resource management is a context specific exercise, which should develop tools and concepts of natural resource management within the context of natural resource presence. They further argue that conventional natural resource management has a technical connotation and approach and is based on five main steps: The creation of goal statement, constraints or problems assessment and opportunities for achieving the goal, the identification of ways to solve problems, the selection of the “best” way and finally the

implementation of this solution. However, the drawbacks of this strategy are that it “excludes the knowledge, preferences and values of people affected or concerned by the outcome”. This issue has led to the introduction of the concept of “participatory management of natural resources” which lays a great importance on community perspectives in natural resource management by eliciting their knowledge, values and preferences because:

“There is increasing recognition that positive changes are more likely to be initiated when the attitudes, beliefs, or preferences of the people managing or depending on resources are considered in the identification of problems and the development of solutions” (LYNAM et al. 2007).

Therefore, near the conventional management strategies, it is important and advisable to (1) develop local view consisting on diagnosing and informing strategies, knowledge, values and preferences of local people and introducing them in the decision making process. (2) Develop a co-learning method in which groups share and exchange their experiences. (3) Develop co-management methods involving actors in the learning and decision-making processes (LYNAM et al 2007). LYNAM et al. (2007) differentiates several participatory tools including the Bayesian belief networks and system modeling tools, relying on software packages facilitating the development of formal representation of problems and questions. This discourse is based upon values and ordering for multiple entities such as participatory mapping, used to develop spatial representation and relationships of real world structures and objects; the Pebble distribution method to clarify the understandings and priorities of the participants; future scenarios, to help people learn about the future and anticipate unexpected scenarios, people’s hopes and aspirations, embedding projection scenarios helping to identify the consequences of the current situation into the future; pathway scenarios designing the route to follow and alternative scenarios ranging possible alternatives for the future; SPIDERGRAMS used for discourse-based valuation processes and groups defined values; Venn diagrams representing social relationships among stakeholders and power differences between them; and finally Who Counts Matrices used to identify stakeholders “whose well-being is closely linked to forest management” and which relies on seven dimensions: their proximity to the forest, pre-existing rights, dependency to the forest, poverty, local knowledge, forest-culture integration and power deficits.

The concept of co-management has been introduced to support this participatory idea but is mostly seen from a bottom-up perspective as “a political claim by local people to the right to share management power and responsibility with the state” (MCCAY and ACHESON quoted by BORRINI-FEYERABEND et al. 2004: 65). It is mostly oriented to political exercise of power and responsibility sharing in the decision making process between governments and local resource

users and should promote mutual aid, adaptive management, participation, networking and collaboration. Just as with participation, co-management supposes a real consultation and involvement of local people and shared authority between central and local agencies, the involvement of local people in policy formulation, planning, management and evaluation (STEVENS quoted by BORRINI-FEYERABEND et al. 2004: 66).

This notion advocates for a sustainable livelihoods approach of management of natural resources asserting that local communities and mostly the poor ones are having access to a range of livelihood resources with a strong connotation of resiliency, which is supposed to ensure the long-term productivity of natural resources (SANGINGA et al. 2010: 29-31; SERRAT 2008). A similar approach is the CBNRM (Community-Based Natural Resource Management) which is understood as a mechanism addressing both environmental and socio-economic goals. It is claimed to balance the exploitation of natural resources with its conservation by valuating the ecosystem by advocating a strong devolution of decision making, power and authority over natural resources to communities and community-based organizations²¹ (WASONGA, KAMBEWA and BEKALO 2010: 165).

Several other strategies related to natural resource management have been developed by scholars and include Integrated Natural Resource Management System (INRM). This strategy is claimed to use a holistic approach of natural resource management. It is argued that it provides an operational framework supposed to facilitate intervention in this domain. It is based on drivers such as land-use and climate change, population growth, poverty, socio-political interests, changes to technological adoption and working for their interrelation to one another within a defined ecological system (BANGINE et al. 2010: 109-163).

Nevertheless, NOVELLINO raises some issues concerned with participation, co-management and power in the natural resource management process. He points out that communication among the stakeholders on the best strategies to manage natural resources is not a given factor because of differences in cognition, expectation, background knowledge, language and attitudes. Considering knowledge as typical for a distinct group appears sometimes as subjective and as an arbitrary element because one cannot clearly assume that a given

²¹ The clear distinction between co-management and community management relies on the fact that the resources are solely managed by local communities in the later one whereas the former one involves several players such as central government, local authorities, local communities and so on, making that communities are not more the only player involved in the management process (BALLET, KOFFI & KOMENA 2009: 56).

knowledge from a given community of people fit their mutual comprehension. One can never be sure that the studied people have disclosed their knowledge and have made their needs explicit. So the person retransmitting this knowledge to the other could be subjected to misinterpretation and misrepresentation of people's knowledge creating or reinforcing stereotypes among the involved actors during a participatory process.

Coming out with local knowledge supposes a concrete knowledge on psycho-cultural dynamic and moral values undermining a given society. This is the base of a better and constructive communication among the stakeholders. If these points are not taken into considerations, it could result to a sort of "introduced needs and identities that did not reflect people's aspirations and self-image" simplifying people's local knowledge²² through "excessive emphasis on one activity at the expense of others" (NOVELLINO 2012: 273-278).

POTTIER warns against the fact that, local knowledge is constantly challenged by global knowledge so that a sort of power relation occurs whenever the complexities and techniques of knowledge to use about natural resource management are placed at the center of debates. In accordance with NOVELLINO, he argues that transnational hegemonic power shape local knowledge uniformly through a process of disempowerment (POTTIER 2012: 2). Therefore, local knowledge should be understood in terms of encompassing "not only people's understandings of the social universe they inhabit but also their rights" (POTTIER 2012: 4). Local knowledge is about people's awareness about their rights. The question here is about to know who is defining whose rights and from which perspective and with which representation. The fact is that: "local knowledge "does not exist in isolation", "never stands still, is "dynamic and strategic", "continually shaped and reshaped" (POTTIER 2012: 5).

So, natural resource management is related to the production of knowledge on how natural resource management is supposed to take place. The production of knowledge, the naming procedure is a political activity bound with power relation given someone the power, authority and legitimation to produce knowledge and decide what should appear local, universal and global, which knowledge or technique is for a particular relevance in the natural resource management process and which is not. All these strategies are translated and implemented for

²² NOVELLINO's definition of local knowledge will be the one used in this work because of its broad and comprehensive character. He defines local knowledge as: " empirical knowledge of plants, animals and of the environment and to people's ideologies, moral values, norms of conduct, and to that knowledge people rely in the course of socio-ecological adaptation" (NOVELLINO 2012: 293-294).

the purpose of national and international use in international policy discourses and set down as norms and rules to follow even inside specific local settings (POTTIER 2012: 3).

Conclusively, natural resource management is confronted as BORRINI-FEYERABEND et al. put it, to two main challenges: to respond appropriately to the ecological characteristics of a given environment aiming at preserving environmental integrity. Secondly, it is concerned with social fairness in order to avoid conflicting interests. Natural resource management is not a given process, it results from complex negotiation practices linked to knowledge interfaces of production and implementation (local wisdom, know-how and technical knowledge) embedding endogenous and exogenous views of knowledge, structured through politico-economic experience and could be translated into a strategic framework by policy makers. There is the likelihood of misconceptions and misrepresentations among stakeholders based on their power-relationship. A sound natural resource management strategy should have political (governance, power and control), economic (goods and services) and socio-cultural (social institutions and beliefs) dimensions. Participation and co-management have occurred as respective concepts attempting to fill inequality in natural resource management and to empower local communities. Nevertheless, some open questions remain, namely who is empowering whom through which means and from which perception of problems?

1.6. Summary

The aim of this chapter was to raise the debate on fundamental concepts. It was important to highlight some historical backgrounds explaining the emergence and use of those concepts. The chapter also aimed to show that development, development cooperation and natural resource management have emerged in a frame of global governance using governmentality as procedures for their implementation. The conceptualization of global governance led to the understanding that the governance of people and nations has become an aim in international politics for several decades. Financially powerful countries have merged and have dominated the international system, developed institutions, norms, rules and principles and have motivated other nations to join their established frame. This built frame has emerged as a global institution creating knowledge and labeling nations, peoples and influencing their behaviors and actions. This last procedure put in evidence the link between global governance and biopolitics highlighting the effects of global policy making on people at the international, regional, national and local level.

The intensive discussion on development issues in this analysis revealed that knowledge creation and knowledge use is crucial and inherent to the development discourse. This development discourses were created and went through several metamorphoses over time according to the agenda of the most powerful nations. It has been integrated into the global governance policy of “those who name the world” and was instrumentalized as a tool of control and domination through procedures of order and structures were put in place by strong nations through mechanisms of international organizations, assigning roles and patterns to other nations of the world. Over time, the concept development has encompassed several changes in its meaning according to the ruling agenda. It is oriented sometimes on creating growth and the ultimate valuation of natural capital. Alleviation of poverty through a strong focus on economic means could be considered as the second high stage of this concept. Human considerations were introduced into this debate later on with some focus on social patterns before introducing environmental factors when the rulers realized that the planet was in peril. The terms “developed” and “underdeveloped” or “developing” have become more a matter of semantics and is more and more adopted as a matter of collective identity characterizing some countries and part of the world.

The action of naming and labeling does not resume only in development discourse but is concerned also with natural resource definition, management and values. Here also, the dominant paradigm orders and structures what natural resources are, how it should be used and how it should be conserved. By dominating the debate through the creation of space in which norms, rules, principles, knowledge and mechanisms should interact, those who create these concepts have successfully imposed their patterns, point of views, know-how, perspectives to others and are able to manipulate the world and its living organisms.

Global governance, governmentality, development and natural resources appear to be part of one and the same reality. Creating knowledge has now become the most important strategy of power; it governs people’s mentality and predisposes their action according to set norms and principles. Global governance is now a matter of global knowledge creation and the promotion of universal principles and norms divulged in forms of shared values for global societies aiming at influencing the duration of governments, policy-making and to modify and affect people’s behaviors, conduct and relationships. Implicitly, states are therefore losing their sovereignty over their land and its resources by implementing alienating strategies; adapt

themselves to a global truth instead of developing their national truth, loss power authority and forget or abandon its responsibilities to foreign or newly introduced actors.

The adoption of foreign technologies by governments could lead to a complete failure of national governance. In this work, the term governance would be coupled with the understanding of all kinds of interventions, regulatory processes, mechanisms and institutions concerned with changes in natural resource management (NRM) incentives. It would also be understood as all the set of knowledges and decision making procedures influencing the behaviors of people and organizations in the management of natural resources through which political actors influences NRM (NYARIKI et al. 2010: 395).

The subsequent chapters would deal with concrete facts highlighting the interconnectedness between global governance and governmentality of natural resource management in Africa. The analysis would focus on how natural resource management became a problem, how some management strategies and processes were formulated as problems and the various dimensions of the resulting problems. Moreover, the matter of how authorities are accountable for vocalizing natural resource management strategies at the global level is one of the focus points of this analysis. It would also explore how global governance practices and programs of management of natural resources have cultivated particular types of individual and collective identity and forms of agency. Finally, it would be about analyzing if global governance has succeeded to mold human conduct and if it has brought individual and collective wellbeing and which technologies of domination were applied to implement the desired strategies.

2. Global Governance and Governmentality of Natural Resources in Africa

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the issue of global governance and governmentality of natural resources in Africa. The thesis here is that, African introduction into the global environmental governance is only a formal and institutional one. The argument is that African intrinsic values represented since the colonial time and related to natural resource management have not changed so far. African perspectives in natural resource management remain at the margin of the global environmental and development discourses, which appear as a tool of embarking African countries into an old system exploitation, which therefore perpetuates their dependence to the global system erected. The analysis will be oriented towards international agenda, agreements and strategies put in place in order to manage natural resources. As highlighted in the former capital, forests and forest biodiversity would be at the center of this analysis when speaking about natural resources.

This work would argue that international technologies of environmental government have been discussed, adapted and used as instruments of authority and as a form to conduct African countries, making them to give up more of their duties and having fewer rights in environmental management issues, a situation that is enforced through international laws and legislation. An attempt to problematize these issues in the African context and their effects on national governments, individuals and populations with particular attention to forests and forests' biodiversity would be made in this chapter. It will also explore how environmental issues, processes and phenomena became formulated as problems and get introduced into global discourses. It is about investigating how these problems were giving form in international discourses; analyze the kinds of knowledges that were created through them and to see how governmental practices and programs were influenced by this global environmental policy. Finally, it will also analyze how global international environmental governance was able to mold human conduct and to influence individual and collective identity.

MANSFIELD argues that the history of global environmental politics started with European colonialism and the appropriation of others' land, the transformation of ecosystems into agricultural plantations and the transport of plants and animals around the world (MANSFIELD 2007: 235). The contemporary global environmental politics is rooted in modern

environmentalism and has global environment as an object of study emerging from the fears about global population growth and the effects of industrialization (IBID). She argues that global environmental politics is related to global environmental governance, implying the existence of an arena of debate for political discussions about environmental problems producing knowledge on global environmental issues.

Special attention would be paid on formal environmental politics of UN and conventions and their extension into national environmental politics in Africa, namely about the United Nations Earth Conferences. Particular attention would also be paid on Earth Summits such as “The United Nations Conference on Human Development” (UNCHE; STOCKHOLM 1972), “The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development” (UNCED; RIO DE JANEIRO 1992), “The World Summit on Sustainable Development” (WSSD; JOHANNESBURG 2002) and “The United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development” (UNCSD; 2012). The analysis of these conferences will raise evidence on key issues about global power relations, the play of a dominant framework, equity and the relationship between environment and development.

2.1. The Stockholm Conference

The Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment held from the 5th to 16th June 1972 was the first UN conference dealing with global environmental issues gathering representatives from several countries (133) in the World as well as UN-Organizations. It was concerned with negative environmental effects of the industrialization, population growth and the depletion of natural resources (MANSFIELD 2007: 237, DOBNER 2010: 97, SOHN 1973). This conference came out with a basic declaration and resolution on institutional and financial agreements as well as recommendations, action plan and principles aiming at inspire and guide people of the world in the preservation and enhancement of the human environment (SOHN 1973: 423).

For the first time in the history of environmental management, this conference proposed the establishment of (1) an intergovernmental Governing Council for Environmental Programs in charge of providing “general policy guidance for the direction and coordination of environmental programs”, (2) an Environmental Secretariat, (3), an Environmental Fund in

charged of providing additional finances for environmental programs and finally an Interagency Environmental Coordinating Board for the purpose of ensuring cooperation and coordination among all bodies concerned with the implementation of environmental programs (IBID). The operative plan was concentrated on environmental assessment through an Earthwatch system designed “to identify and measure international environmental management” (IBID). The conference adopted an action plan of 109 recommendations divided into 6 issues: human settlements, natural resource management, pollution of international significance, educational and social aspects of the environment, and international organizations.

The conference took place during the Cold World period characterized by strong ideological struggles and the North-South misunderstandings on development issues and also by the Oil Crisis (DOBNER 2010: 98; NAJAM 2005: 307). SOHN claims that agreements were reached among major groups of countries during this conference, but points out that it was difficult to motivate “developing countries” which were reluctant to participate and to agree on some issues of the conference. The participants did not always consent on the point if the declaration should have a legally binding character regarding the relations between states and individuals or not. It was not clear if it should be handled by national legislation or international one or if it should contain a separate section with general principles of rights and duties of states concerned with the environment or if it should emphasize on the responsibilities of states and a need for solidarity in order to overcome environmental problems. The matter of domestic and international policies to follow resulted to the recommendation that, states should legislate on the declaration “internally to protect and preserve the environment, as well as on the need for international cooperation for the same purpose” (SOHN 1973: 427).

2.1.1. On global environmental issues

The aim of the Stockholm Conference was to “create a basis for comprehensive consideration within the United Nations of the problems of human environment”, therefore its denomination as such, and to “focus the attention of governments and public opinion in various countries on the importance of the problem” (SOHN 1973: 425). The declaration issued the following statement “the protection and improvement of the human environment is a major issue which affects the well-being of peoples and economic development throughout the world”.

The conference was motivated by the following observation: “We see around us growing evidence of man-made harm in many regions of the earth: dangerous levels of pollution in water, air, earth and living beings, major and undesirable disturbances to the ecological balance of the biosphere, destruction and depletion of irreplaceable resources”. It is believed that a point has been reached in history when we must shape our actions throughout the world with a more prudent care for their environmental consequences (...). Through fuller knowledge and wiser actions, we can achieve for ourselves and our posterity a better life in an environment more in keeping with human needs and hopes.

Out of the 26 principles of this declaration, mention would be made of key items: (1) “man (...) bears a solemn responsibility to protect and improve the environment for present and future generations” (2), “The natural resources of the earth including the air, water, land, flora and fauna and especially samples of natural ecosystems, must be safeguarded for the benefit of present and future generations through careful planning”, (3) “ the capacity of the Earth to produce vital renewable resources must be maintained and, wherever practicable, restored or improved”, (4)“The non-renewable resources of the earth must be employed in such a way as to guard against the danger of their future exhaustion” (5) “The discharge of toxic substance or of other substances and the release of heat (...) must be halted in order to ensure that serious or irreversible damage is not inflicted upon ecosystems”.

From all the above, one can see that the idea of sustainable development related to the management of natural resources for the present and future generations was already present since 1972 as well as the orientation of global policy to a global responsibility to protect the environment and its resources. The idea of sustainable management of natural resources was also clearly described as well as the distinction between renewable and non-renewable ones and the actions to undertake accordingly to (maintenance, restoration and improvement for the former and protection from exhaustion for the later). The intention to create a global knowledge on environmental management coupling with environmental protection and sustainable management was also raised. The matter of making those actions of environmental protection possible at the global era raises the issue of shared responsibilities.

2.1.2. The matter of shared responsibilities

The Stockholm Declaration reflects the fact that: “the protection and improvement of the human environment is a major issue which affects the well-being of peoples and economic development throughout the world; it is the urgent desire of the peoples of the whole world and the duty of all governments”. The dyes were cast with this statement evoking the responsibility of peoples and governments all over the world toward environmental protection. Everyone, every country was concerned with environmental issues, which have impact on their well-being as far as humans are concerned and on their economic development as far as countries are concerned.

As such, in order to safeguard those aspects, peoples and governments were supposed to go through some rules and be committed to respect and implement the set norms and principles in their domestic legislation. Those responsibilities were clearly identify and allotted to different countries according to their “development” status. As far as the “Developing Countries” are concerned, the declaration indicates that: “most of the environmental problems are caused by under-development. Millions continue to live far below the minimum levels required for a decent human existence, deprived of adequate food and clothing, shelter and education, health and sanitation” and recommends that “Developing Countries: “must direct their efforts to development, bearing in mind their priorities and the need to safeguard and improve the environment”.

However, this declaration implicitly invites “Developing Countries” to follow another development path, than the one used by “Industrialized Countries” by noting that: “in the industrialized countries, environmental problems are generally related to industrialization and technological development”. With this statement, it was clear that “Developing Countries” should not strive to industrialization and technology as far as those instruments are harmful to the environment. They should rather care about: “natural growth of the population” which “presents problems for the preservation of the environment”, and develop “adequate policies and measures to face these problems”.

The sixteenth principle gives a clearer picture “demographic policies which are without prejudice to basic human rights and which are deemed appropriate by governments concerned should be applied in those regions where the rate of population growth or excessive population concentrations is likely to have adverse effects on the environment of the human

environment and impede development”. In other words, “Developing Countries” are not developed because of their demographic status, controlling demography means going through a development path and will contribute to save the environment. The Malthusian connotation and character of this idea is put in evidence and not more the exploitation of natural resources and raw material. These countries should paradoxically understand that: “stability of prices and adequate earnings for primary commodities and raw material are essential to environmental management”.

With regard to “Industrialized Countries”, they are only considered as being victims of their development. Their responsibility is concerned with making an “effort to reduce the gap between themselves and developing countries”. The management of this issue brought reluctance from “Developing Countries” which considered the Stockholm Declaration at the time as a distraction and a threat to their interests. Those countries were motivated to industrialization and technological progress and had the feeling that the ratification of this declaration will enhance the existing unequal economic relations and technical dependence and keep them in a durable situation of poverty. Their point was that, “Industrialized Countries” were hindering them to have comfortable standards of living they have created in their own countries and wanted to keep them as nature reservoir for a planetary balance (NAJAM 2005). Most of those countries at that time preferred pollution and environmental deterioration to poverty. They aspired to development (with industrialized countries as role models) and took part to this conference because it was claimed that this issue on development would be raised and discussed at global environmental governance level (Ibid).

The matter of shared responsibility was clearly stated through global statements and commitments such as those mentioned in the former point on environmental issues and the promotion of better cooperation among states for better or successful environmental management. This cooperation will be motivated by states’ actions and limitation and coordinated by UN Organizations.

2.1.3. Development and development cooperation for better environmental management

The final statement of the declaration raises some development issues, which should contribute to environmental preservation, implicitly recognizing that people are only part of the environment. Therefore, it advocates global cooperation among states not only for environmental purposes, but also for people's well-being. The declaration also "...calls upon Governments and peoples to exert common efforts for the preservation and improvement of the human environment, for the benefit of all people and for their posterity", and to support "the just struggle of the peoples of ill countries against pollution". The declaration also argued that "economic and social development is essential for ensuring a favorable living and working environment for man and for creating conditions on earth that are necessary for the improvement of the quality of life".

It also pointed to the fact that financially rich countries should support financially poor countries. It further encouraged the governments of rich countries and international organizations to be aware of the "underdevelopment" status of the "Developing Countries" and to be sure that "the environmental policies (...) should enhance and not adversely affect the present or future development potential of developing countries, nor should they hamper the attainment" especially since it is recognized that environmental protection requires a lot of funding which, as the declaration asserts, will be made available through development cooperation as evidenced through this statement: "resources should be made available to preserve and improve the environment, taking into account the circumstances and particular requirements of developing countries and any costs which may emanate from their incorporation of environmental safeguards into their development planning and the need for making available to them, upon their request, additional international technical and financial assistance for this purpose".

It is admitted that environmental issues could only be resolved through state's cooperation out of any kind of discrimination because "cooperation through multilateral or bilateral arrangements or other appropriate means is essential to effectively control, prevent, reduce and eliminate adverse environmental effects resulting from activities conducted in all spheres". Development cooperation is also supposed to deal as a means of "free knowledge creation and transmission of environmental management issues from northern to southern countries (PRINCIPLE 20).

2.1.4. Socio-economic issues for better environmental management

As far as social aspects are considered, the Declaration considers that humans are at the center of environmental management and that “Of all things in the world, people are the most precious. It is people that propel social progress, create social wealth, and develop science and technology”; Humans have the abilities and capabilities to transform their environment positively or negatively. It invites humans to be committed to environmental protection because it “affords him the opportunity for intellectual, moral social and spiritual growth”. Environmental destiny is close to human destiny.

After acknowledging that “man has the fundamental right to freedom, equality and adequate conditions of life”, the declaration highlights that this adequate conditions of life could only happen in an “environment of quality” enabling him “a life of dignity and well being” and that “economic and social development is essential for ensuring a favorable living and working environment for man”. The declaration affords some responsibilities to humans who have “a special responsibility to safeguard and wisely manage the heritage of wildlife and its habitat”. These actions would be well performed only if humans are ready to acquire “fuller knowledge and wiser actions”. Also the declaration invites to fight against all forms of discrimination, oppression and foreign domination policies (PRINCIPLE 1).

From all these statements, it could be observed that humans have a lot of duties regarding environmental management. They are considered as the most important environmental element whose action should be oriented to balance environment management. However, the declaration called for “compensation for victims of pollution and other environmental damages”. Moreover, it could be noted that the declaration, apart from granting continuous responsibilities to humans, did not focus much on how environmental management could improve living standards of people although it clearly recognizes that people living in “Developing Countries” are lacking descent standard of living. Also, the declaration presented very briefly the cultural role of the environment.

Looking at the link between nature management and economic development, the declaration only put in evidence the matter of price stability and earnings of primary commodities and raw materials (PRINCIPLE 10) without indicating how these elements could contribute to economic progress. From all the analysis of the different aspects of this declaration, it is easy to notice that, the aim of this conference was to raise environmental issues whereas socio-

cultural and economic issue were merely mentioned, without any keen attention. This raises a fundamental question – what is the orientation of global governance in this declaration?

2.1.5. Aspects of global governance and governmentality in the Stockholm Declaration

The matter of interdependence and the will to set down a transnational environmental policy cutting around the domestic-international divide involving states and raising the activities as well as the attempt to motivate domestic policies to get conformed to the “global” norms are quite glaring in the Stockholm Declaration. Added to this is the need to set down a universal system of understanding environmental problems and dealing with them, as well as the motivation for the creation of supranational borderless bodies all constitute tenets of the declaration at Stockhom. To these must be added the issue of the plurality of actors (states, citizens, international organizations), which are supposed to be active in environmental management all appear as normative, technical and institutional dimensions of governance endorsed by the Stockholm Declaration.

All these elements have contributed to shape and regulate international environmental governance with the introduction of new environmental policies, which explain how environmental issues of the world should be politically organized, together with the desire to establish global institutions responsible for global environmental management. With regard to governmentality, the attempt of directing governments’ actions, the seeking of population welfare and the desire to improve their living conditions and all other actions aiming to shape human conduct would be of particular interest in this analysis. Some elements of the declaration would highlight all these aspects.

Most aspects of interdependence have already been mentioned in point 2.1.3. The seventh statement of the declaration notes that “a growing class of environmental problems, because they are regional or global in extent or because they affect the common international realm, will require cooperation among nations and action by international organizations in the common interest”. From here, it is clear that environmental problems do not have any frontier and have to be handled in partnership among states for their common interests. Striving for the defense of the common interest and the invitation for partnership among states and organizations are one of the most famous aspects of global governance. Furthermore, the role of local and national governments as well as citizens, the policies and actions they should

undertake or follow for better environmental protection and management, is also mentioned in the declaration (see POINT 2.1.1 and 2.1.4). These issues put in evidence its normative character and reveal its attempt to conduct the conduct of other stakeholders involved in environmental management.

The creation of a normative knowledge embracing actions to be undertaken (Principle 2, 3, 6, 7, 12, 13), strategies to develop (PRINCIPLE 9, 11, 14, 19), mistakes not to make (Principle 15), duties, responsibilities and recommendations (PRINCIPLE 1, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26), which are supposed to be taken into consideration by governments, citizens and international organizations are all part of the declaration.

That the Stockholm Declaration is based mostly on duties, responsibilities and recommendations to follow. Its global orientation led to the creation the same year of the United Nations Environmental Program, with headquarters in Nairobi – Kenya. This made it the first UN organization whose seat is in Africa. It was a bait to break down the reluctance of African countries against environmental protection and ask for their support (NAJAM 2005: 309) and also as the environmental awareness of the UN system (UNEP 2002: 4). The Declaration on the Human Environment and its principles are considered as the “first body of soft law in international environmental affairs” (LONG quoted by UNEP 2002:4). What were the achievements of this Declaration?

2.1.6. Achievements and efficiency of Stockholm Declaration and its consequences

“The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (...) was the event that turned the environment into a major issue at the international level” (UNEP 2002:4)

UNEP (2002) claims that the Stockholm Conference contributed to articulate the rights of people to live in a descent environment and has influenced the policy of several international organizations such as the former OAU (Organization of African Unity) and of more than 50 governments which came to see the idea of protecting the environment as a fundamental human right. In addition, this conference also motivated the enactment of legislation on the environment at national levels in 31 different countries from 1971 to 1975. Above all, environmental issues became more and more part of national and regional agendas. Multilateral environmental agendas were signed notably for the protection of wildlife, which were protected through actions at the global level and enforced at domestic levels by

governments. These include the Ramsar Convention²³ (1971) which contributed to the creation of more than 1, 100 Ramsar site areas with a surface area of 87, 7 million ha dedicated to wildlife conservation. The World Heritage Convention (1972) CITES²⁴ which helps to managed about 5,000 animal and 25 000 plants. The CMS²⁵ (1979) on its part has contributed to the protection of more than 1100 avian, terrestrial and marine species (CMS 2004, UNEP 2002: 5-6).

UNEP (2002) argues that the conference also contributed to narrow the point of view on environmental issues between developed and developing countries. In all cases, its lasting impacts could be considered as the creation of the UNEP, the motivation for cooperation on environmental issues, its contribution for public education and public awareness on environmental concerns and its contribution to broaden the number of people addressed with environmental management at the international level. It has also created disciplinary measures on ways and means related to human behavior towards nature with the establishment of a sort of conduct to follow.

To summarize, the Stockholm Conference was adapted to environmental problems of the time and motivated by environmental thought en vogue in the 70s that has put great emphasis on demographic and pollution problems. Although no concrete resolution was made about biodiversity and forests management, one can claim that these two concepts were embedded into the concepts of natural resources, or plants and animal that was promulgated at Stockholm.

This declaration also presents environmental problem from a global perspective. It has produced some sets of decisions related to environmental management. It has banned the way to prosperous multilateral agreements on environmental issues and natural resource management. It has established international policies and laws on environment that have lasting effects on domestic environmental policies and legislation of member states. It has

²³ Focuses originally on bird life and habitat and was enlarged to the conservation of waterfowl and their habitat, actually concerned with water quality, food production, wetland areas and general biodiversity. Parties were obliged to create nature reserves, encourage waterfowl populations, and supply information on implementation of policies related to the sites (UNEP 2002: 5)

²⁴ The Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora controls or bans international trade in endangered species (UNEP 2002: 6)

²⁵ The Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild animals is the sole international treaty that seeks to address conservation issues of migratory animals. It is considered as “one of the first global treaties on the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity created long before the creation of other biodiversity-related conventions”

multiplied the set of actors concerned with environmental issues and has tried to raise the debate on environment conservation and development. However, the effects of economic growth on environmental problems was assessed briefly and no clear recommendation on what strategy to use in order to create a synthesis between economic and environmental harmony was proposed. This might have been influenced by the ideological differences reigning at the time.

In addition, parties from “Developing countries” were frustrated and had the feeling that their development preoccupations were not taken seriously and were given low priorities by the organizers. This is surely what motivated UNEP and UNCTAD to organize two years later an experts dedicated meeting in Cocoyoc in Mexico in order to identify economic and social factors leading to environmental disturbances and also as results of broken pledges as put in evidence through the following statements:

“Its [UN] hopes of creating a better life for the whole human family have been frustrated. It has proved impossible to meet the inner limit of satisfying fundamental human needs. On the contrary, more people are hungry, sick, shelterless and illiterate today” (The COCOYOC DECLARATION 1974).

Near these human preoccupations, the declaration also highlights the issue of global environmental management with great pessimism “new and unforeseen concerns have begun to darken the international prospects. Environmental degradation and the rising pressure on resources raise the question whether the outer limits of the planet’s physical integrity may not be at risk” (IBID).

The Stockholm Declaration made an outright position to the issue of environmental policy as oppose to other skeptics like the Club of Rome and other Malthusian theorists alike. This stand is very evident in this quotation: “the failure of the world society to provide a safe and happy life for all is not caused by any present lack of physical resources. The problem today is not primarily one of absolute physical shortage but economic and social maldistribution and misuse; mankind’s predicament is rooted primarily in economic and social structures and behavior within and between countries” (IBID). This statement indicates a clear insistence by the Stockholm Declaration on the responsibilities of environmental degradation by claiming that environmental mismanagement is responsible for economic and social problems and those problems should be resolved first at the global level with international actors’ contribution to their resolution. This declaration argues that solving socioeconomic problems will result to better environmental management because the physical capability of the environment is still available. This declaration pleads for equity in management and

distribution of natural goods and services provided by the environment within and between nations.

The Cocoyoc Declaration was explicitly against all forms of imperial and economic hegemony and power relation, it pleaded for more justice and distribution among states. In opposition to the Stockholm Conference, which advocated for price stability of raw materials, this declaration argued that: “the very cheapness of the [raw] materials was one element in encouraging the industrialized nations to indulge in careless and extravagant use of the imported materials” (IBID). The issue of poverty and environmental depletion was also raised in this declaration, which argued that unequal economic relationships contribute directly to environmental pressures and that economic and egoist greed of powerful states and people is responsible for human and environmental problems:

“exclusive pursuit of economic growth, guided by the market and undertaken by and for the powerful elites, has the same destructive effects” (IBID).

Economic progress is an element of power in the field of international relations. This economic power – based on material – is a sign of material wealth, which in turn creates material poverty at the local and at the international level:

“At the local as at the international level the evils of material poverty are compounded by the people’s lack of participation and human dignity, by their lack of any power to determine their own fate” (IBID).

Therefore, a better redistribution of power, a reform of the global economic system and the respect of differences among people and nations appear as urgent and necessary means to overcome human and environmental problems according to the Cocoyoc Declaration. The characterization of poverty as underdevelopment could be better understood by overconsumption characterizing development and putting in evidence the finite carrying capacity of the biosphere that violates the outer limits of nature. It advocated for a development centered on humans and not on things, for an economic progress aimed at improving living conditions and satisfying basic needs mostly of the underprivileged sections of society. It also called for a modest pattern of consumption among the rich. These are all elucidated by this quotation: “A growth process that benefits only the wealthiest minority and maintains or even increases the disparities between and within countries is not development. It is exploitation” (IBID).

Furthermore, the Cocoyoc Declaration called for an open-minded and complex free relationship amongst states and argued that development is not a linear process inviting one state to imitate another one. Development could be achieved through different roads and

procedures, therefore, no “catch-up” and “development gaps” exist among nations, which should not bother themselves with these concepts but to focus on improving the quality of life for all in compatibility of the needs of future generations.

As far as development cooperation for the purpose of the management of nature is concerned, the Cocoyoc Declaration argued that environmental concerns should not be used neither as a means of dependence on outside influences and power nor to be used as a matter of political pressure or an exploitative instrument depriving countries and people’s of their natural resources. It sees development cooperation as a frame of mutual benefits and for collective self-reliance, fairer redistribution of resources, fostering on “self-confidence, reliance primarily on one’s own resources, human and natural, and the capacity for autonomous goal-setting and decision-making”. The international system should therefore strive to support self-reliance.

Finally, as action plan for better management of natural resources and development, the COCOYOC DECLARATION invited political leaders, governments and international organizations to focus on programs that satisfy the basic needs of the poorest peoples all over the world. The satisfaction of basic needs will “ensure adequate conservation of resources and protection of the environment”. In addition, conclusions such as the creation of a “new more cooperative and equitable economic order” and the promotion of national sovereignty over natural resources were all parts of this declaration. The declaration also highlighted the principle of solidarity with future generations; the development of “resources-conserving and environmentally sound technology, the establishment of an international taxation system aiming at providing automatic transfers of resources to development assistance” could be raised as important issues of this conference.

In summary, this declaration, which is supposed to be a reaction to the one at Stockholm and which appeared during the period of ideological differences in the 1970s was characterized as highly impregnated with socialist ideas and as anti-western. At that time, it looked like a victory of one ideological system. However, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, it made this declaration full with important ideas of justice, equity and self-reliance to stand out of the picture in the 90s (Bernier 2011). This period also saw the emergence of the new Earth Summit in Rio the Janeiro.

2.2.The Rio Summit

Twenty years after the Stockholm Conference, Rio de Janeiro hosted an Earth Summit entitled “United Nation Conference on Environment and Development” (UNCED). This conference focused on the state of global environment, the relationship between economics, science and environment, all seen from a political context and dedicated to sustainable development with the participation of 105 nations of the world, representatives of 178 countries, NGOs and other members of the civil societies (MEAKIN 1992: 1-3). The commitment of the Rio Conference to sustainable development is a result of the institutionalization of the concept by the BRUNDTLAND COMMISSION and the attempt to associate economic and environmental issues in such as way that one could not be a danger to the other and vice-versa.

MEAKIN argues that the aim of the conference was to seek “agreement on concrete measures to reconcile economic activities with the protection of the planet to ensure a sustainable future for all people” (MEAKIN 1992: 3). During this conference environmental issues such as: “the protection of air, land, water, conservation of biological diversity, forests, and natural resources, and sound management of wastes and technology” were raised. Concerns about patterns of development that causes stress to the environment, poverty in “developing countries, economic growth, unsustainable patterns of consumption, and demographic pressures and their impacts on the international economy” were debated. World leaders were appealed to look for alternative activities at reducing the risks to the planet (IBID: 4).

The Rio Conference adopted the Rio Declaration, which took the rights and responsibilities of states in environmental concerns further. The Rio Declaration could be seen as a reaction to the continuous environmental depletion that followed the Stockholm Declaration mostly favored by economic activities and the hope to create a compromise on environmental management/protection strategies between industrialized and developing countries. In Rio, the interests of industrialized countries and those of developing countries were divergent. The first ones wanted to update the Stockholm Declaration, whereas the second ones wanted their sovereignty to “get developed” to be secured as well as the acknowledgement that industrialized countries are responsible for damages to the environment and that there is a need for a third developmental strategy in accordance with environmental principles.

Legally, the Rio Declaration is claimed not to be systematic and legally binding, however, as a part of UN decision, members of governments of the UN could be brought to be morally bound and obliged to stick and to implement the set principles. This Declaration was enforced by a program of action for sustainable development known as “Agenda 21” and Forests Principles. In the frame of this work, particular attention would be paid to these issues “Forest Principles”, biodiversity, development and development cooperation.

2.2.1. The Rio Declaration, Agenda 21 and the theorization of sustainable development implementation

The argument here is to debate if the Rio Declaration succeeded to take into consideration the concept of sustainable development as meant in this work (it means taking into account ecological, social, cultural and economical aspects). It is about analyzing which aspects have been develop in order to bring states and non-state actors to have theoretical and technical means to implement globally and locally the principles set down through this declaration. The Rio Declaration wants to be in harmony with the Stockholm Declaration and is an attempt to update it to the environmental problems the world has been confronted with in the earlier years. It was dedicated to finding the right balance between economic and ecological values. It is divided into 27 principles, which will be highlighted and explained according to the aims and goals of this study with particular regards to forest and forest biodiversity.

Agenda 21 is a set of programs adopted one year after the Rio Declaration, explaining how sustainable development could be achieved in various domains of activities. It is divided into some 2500 recommendations bound to social, economic and ecological problems and is accepted as one of the most famous international instruments to implement sustainable development. Some principles set down at Rio equally have some activities to undertake in order to implement those principles in the Agenda 21. These correlations have been made in the frame of this work with regards to institutional, economic, ecological and cultural activities necessary for the better management of forests and forest biodiversity and also the frame with which development cooperation should happen between developed and developing countries.

2.2.1.1. Rio Declaration and the promotion of sustainable institutional framework

“National (...) institutional capabilities (...) are essential to the conservation and sustainable development of forests” (DESA 1992 PRINCIPLE 12b).

Aware of the fact that national and international institutions are responsible for governing societies and humans the Rio Declaration, through some sets of principles, has developed some guidelines that involve parties should take into consideration in order to strive for the achievement of a “sustainable” society through environmental management. The Rio Declaration asserts that no sustainable development is feasible without sustainable institutional framework and lists some characteristics, activities; formalities and transformations states and non-state actors have to go through in order to be ready to plan and implement any activity considered as sustainable. In this case, states and mostly governments of “developing” countries have to follow principles and norms such as decentralization, good legislation, having operative institutions as well as their readiness for cooperation. This institutional framework is the base of any success of all activities at the national and international level.

The declaration focuses a lot on participatory aspects, which is supposed to enhance the understanding of all citizens of the action plans of their governments and to develop their willingness to bring their contribution to their advancement. Participation is possible only through decentralized structures, information sharing strategies and public awareness of population. Participation appears as a prerequisite to the success of all activities related to sustainability as made clear in PRINCIPLE 10:

“Environmental issues are best handled with participation of all concerned citizens, at the relevant level. At the national level, each individual shall have appropriate access to information concerning the environment that is held by public authorities, including information on hazardous materials and activities in their communities, and the opportunity to participate in decision-making processes. States shall facilitate and encourage public awareness and participation by making information widely available. Effective access to judicial and administrative proceedings, including redress and remedy, shall be provided” (UNCED 1992).

Emphasizing on environmental issues, this principle clearly identify how governmental issues should be handled through participation of people (particular attention are paid to women, young people and local collectivities²⁶) in decision-making procedures. Also, it highlights how governments and citizens’ knowledge could influence general policy-making processes

²⁶ See PRINCIPLES 20, 21 and 22

and how good operative legal and administrative institutions could facilitate this participation by enabling people to contribute by shaping and reshaping it, if associated with procedure.

As such, an operative institutional frame would allow governments and citizens to elaborate efficient legislations concerned with human relations towards environment and to reduce any abuses over environment and compensation for adverse effect of environmental damage (Principle 11, 13) and which will be agreed as norms by all involved stakeholders. Furthermore, states should come out with sound political frame which takes the interests of all the stakeholders into consideration, promotes solidarity among them and which is against any form of discrimination and inequity and should contribute to create general peace and development (PRINCIPLE 23, 24, 25). This is supposed to be obvious if they participate in the policy making process. Finally, governments should be ready or willing to cooperate with other governments, non-governmental organizations and international organizations “in a spirit of global partnership”. If states and non-state actors take up these considerations, poverty would be eradicated, disparities in standards of living would decrease and the majority of people of the world will meet their needs, according to the Rio Declaration (PRINCIPLE 5).

It is also important to examine some of the issues raised in Agenda 21, which recommends countries to develop policies dealing with the eradication of poverty and requires parties to develop “country-specific programs to tackle poverty” (PARAGRAPH 3.1). It required the development of an environmental policy “that focuses mainly on the conservation and protection of resources and that must take due account of those who depend on the resources for their livelihoods” (PARAGRAPH 3.2). Governments were also called upon “to implement policies and strategies that promote adequate levels of funding and focus on integrated human development policies”, “to develop for all poverty-stricken areas integrated strategies and programs of sound and sustainable management of the environment” (PARAGRAPH 3.4). Governments should also integrate environment and development issues in their policy planning in order to strive for a sustainable development (PARAGRAPH 8.1, 8.7):

“Governments, (...), should adopt a national strategy for sustainable development (...). This strategy should build upon and harmonize the various sectoral economic, social and environmental policies and plans that are operating in the country” (PARAGRAPH 3.4).

The same principle of decentralization and participation is mentioned in the Forest principle 2d in which governments are required to promote forests management through the inclusion of interested parties in the development, planning and implementation of national forest

policies. In addition, these national policies and strategies should contribute to “the development and strengthening of institutions and programs for the management, conservation and sustainable development of forests and forests lands” (Principles 3a). This is to say that, as far as environmental management is concerned, and also as far as forests management is concerned, governments, governmental institutions, strategies, policies, play a great role for the success of any initiative. They must stand surety for a sound sustainable management of natural resources and should ensure that the rights and duties of the affected peoples have been respected and effectively integrate social, economic, cultural and ecological aspects in all strategies and decision-making (PRINCIPLES 5a, 5b, 6b).

All those concerns for developing national strategies, plans or programs for the conservation and sustainable use of forest and biological diversity and their integration into relevant sectoral plans, programs and policies are supposed to be taken over by institutional frames of states and governments in order for them to be seen as having sustainable institutions.

“National policies and/or legislation aimed at management, conservation and sustainable development of forests should include the protection of ecologically viable representative or unique examples of forests, including primary/old-growth forests, cultural, spiritual, historical, religious and other unique and valued forests of national importance” (DESA 1992 PRINCIPLE 8f).

In addition, governments should introduce and carry out environmental impact assessment, (PRINCIPLE 8h), and all aspects related to “the production, consumption, recycling and/or final disposal of forest products” (6b), should take account of the pressures and demands imposed on forest and forests resources and develop intersectoral means to deal with them (9c) in their forests national policies.

Concerning biodiversity, governments should “develop national strategies, plans or programs for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity” and “integrate, as far as possible and as appropriate, the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity into relevant sectoral or cross-sectoral plans, programs and policies” (CBD Article 6 and 10). These political strategies should be the reflection of concrete actions such as to “identify components of biological diversity important for its conservation and sustainable use” (Article 7).

Several measures for the conservation of in-situ and ex-situ biodiversity as described in Article 8 including activities such as the establishment of a system for protected areas and the promotion of “environmentally sound and sustainable development” came out as a result of

the Agenda 21. Activities such as the respect, preservation and maintenance of knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities and the development or maintenance of necessary legislation and/or other regulatory provisions for the protection of threatened species and populations were also top on the agenda. Finally, the “support of local populations to develop and implement remedial action in degraded areas where biological diversity has been reduced” is also a relevant recommendation of the CBD. All these elements will build the backbone of this analysis. Irrespective of all these, it could be seen that governments are confronted with considerable challenges in environmental management that could become a means for economic development.

2.2.1.2. Towards the promotion of sustainable economic framework of environmental management

The Rio Declaration, the Forest Principle and the Convention on Biodiversity predominantly assert in their second, first and third principles respectively that: “States have (...) the sovereign right to exploit their own resources”. But this statement is always preceded or followed by the mention: “in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law” although the concept cannot be clearly identified in the named Charter. The development of a strategy clarifying and explaining how natural resources could be a means of producing economic values is made clear in Agenda 21 and the Forests Principles. The matter of natural resource exploitation and conservation is the core of sustainability problematics. So, the FOREST PRINCIPLES asserts:

“States have, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law, the sovereign right to exploit their own resources pursuant to their own environmental policies and have the responsibility to ensure that activities within their jurisdiction or control do not cause damage to the environment of other States or of areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction” (DESA 1992: PRINCIPLE 1a).

The AGENDA 21 in its introductory remarks advocates for the promotion of: “sustainable development through trade liberalization, making trade and environment mutually supportive, encouraging macroeconomic policies conducive to environment and development”. It requires governments to “to relate the elements of the international economic system and mankind’s need for a safe and stable natural environment” as far as social issues are concerned (UNEP 1994 PARAGRAPH 2.3 and 2.4). Therefore, states should strive to:

“An open, equitable, secure, non-discriminatory and predictable multilateral trading system that is consistent with the goals of sustainable development and leads to the optimal distribution of global production in accordance with comparative advantage is of benefit to all trading partners”. (UNEP 1994: PARAGRAPH 2.5)

To this aim, forests in general and natural forests in particular “constitute a source of goods and services” (DESA 1992: PRINCIPLE 6e) and could be a means of creating direct economic spinoffs and states are recognized to have the sovereign and inalienable right to use and manage it to promote their socio-economic development and according to their needs. But this utilization should be on “the basis of national policies consistent with sustainable development and legislation, including the conversion of such areas for other uses within the overall socio-economic development plan and based on rational land-use policies” (DESA 1992: PRINCIPLE 2a). In line with this, sustainable forests management strategies should be established under the umbrella of sustainable patterns of production and consumption, the eradication of poverty and the promotion of food security. These rules had to be followed in order to be qualified as “sustained and environmentally sound development of forests” as required in Article 7a of the Forest Principle. As far as trade of forests products were concerned it stipulated that it should be in accordance with international trade laws and practices carried out through free international trade with the “Reduction or removal of tariff barriers and impediments to the provision of better market access and better prices for higher value-added” (13a, 13b).

The FOREST PRINCIPLE also advocated for an international trade in timber and other forest products as a means to achieve a long-term sustainable forest management and stands in opposition to all measures restricting this procedure (PRINCIPLE 14). As far as its implementation is concerned, AGENDA 21 highlights some requirements notably the expansion of processing, distribution and improvement of marketing practices and the competitiveness of the commodity sector (2.14). These goals are all aimed at encouraging the private sector and to promote the creation of a domestic economic environment (2.38).

Regarding biodiversity, no clear financial means was granted to it in the CBD. Some implicit paragraphs mentioned some economic values of associated biotechnologies (ARTICLE 19). However, AGENDA 21 in its recommendation in paragraphs 15.4 and 15.5 required governments to analyze relevant costs and benefits in regards to socio-economic aspects of biodiversity, promote economic understanding of its importance and to undertake studies to evaluate the economic potential and implications of the conservation and sustainable use of biological biodiversity and genetic resources. It is evident that, before and during the conference, no concrete economic value was attributed to biological diversity. The parties

didn't develop any strategy enabling them to charge biological diversity with any financial value. Therefore, they tried to look for ways and means to attribute value to biological diversity. This is the reason why the most important attention related to biodiversity during the Rio Conference was dedicated to its conservation. This aspect would be discussed later. To sum up, it could be argued that the Rio Declaration, The Forest Principles and Agenda 21 called for more economic activities, which appear to have advantage over conservation issues. This idea is made clear by the following statements asking governments to:

“Deal with the root causes of environment and development problems in a manner that avoids the adoption of environmental measures resulting in unjustified restrictions on trade” (UNEP 1994: PARAGRAPH 2.22d).

Trade therefore had predominance over conservation. In all cases, whenever it is about institutions or trade, humans, their well-being, their culture and other aspects are in the core of those activities.

2.2.1.3. Achieving sustainable socio-cultural society through a better management of natural resources

“Human beings are at the centre of concerns for sustainable development. They are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature” (UNCED 1992: PRINCIPLE 1)

Social aspects of the Rio Conference, Agenda 21, Forests Principles and Convention on Biological Diversity involved issues such as how to combat poverty, to change consumption patterns, to slow demographic dynamics, to promote better health and human settlement conditions through better environmental management. Issues such as equity, gender, education, infrastructure and legal system also play a great role in the understanding of social issues in environmental management. Particular attention would be paid to social aspects of human-environmental relationship in the sense of environmental spinoffs to social well-being and vice-versa.

About environmental management for poverty alleviation, the fifth principle of the Rio Declaration states that eradicating poverty is an indispensable requirement for sustainable development. To this aim, governments are required to undertake actions described in paragraph 3 of Agenda 21 which could be summarized as follow: the development of an environmental policy that must take due account of those who depend on the resources for their livelihoods. The declaration went ahead to urge member states to work towards the development of an environmental strategy that would have focus “on resources, production

and people and should cover demographic issues, enhanced health care and education, the rights of women, the role of youths and of indigenous people and local communities and a democratic participation process in association with improved governance” (UNEP 1994: PARAGRAPH 3.2).

Human well-being could not be achieved, according to this principle without economic growth. Therefore, states and non-state actors were invited to strive for the development of economic growth strategies “that is both sustained and sustainable and direct action in eradicating poverty by strengthening employment and income-generating programs” (UNEP 1994: PARAGRAPH 3.3). By so doing, the entire population of parties should have sustainable livelihoods based on sustainable resource management and poverty eradication. Therefore, governments are required to provide their people with the opportunity to earn a sustainable livelihood, to develop integrated human development policies (PARAGRAPH 3.4).

To this regard, activities to promote involve rendering assistance to the most disadvantaged groups. This involves giving communities “a large measure of participation in the sustainable management and protection of local natural resources in order to enhance their productive capacity” (PARAGRAPH 3.7). Projects should also aim to generate remunerative employment and productive occupational opportunities, to empower community organizations and people to enable them to achieve sustainable livelihoods. This should all be geared towards promoting sustainable use of resources for basic human needs, to strengthen mechanisms to enable communities to gain sustained access to resources needed by the poor to overcome their poverty and finally to make available lines of credit and other facilities (PARAGRAPH 3.8).

Furthermore, the strong emphasis on demographic factors during the Stockholm Declaration is not clearly stated in the Rio Declaration and only appear in Agenda 21 advocating for birth control under, based on mutual understanding of women and men, access to education and the legislation system (PARAGRAPH 3.7e). Formulating integrated national policies for the environment and development, which would reflect demographic trends and factors was perceived as a form of recognition of the role played by human beings in environmental and development concerns. This was thought to mitigate both the adverse impact on the environment of human activities and the adverse impact of environmental change on human populations (PARAGRAPH 5.3 and 5.4). As such,, interactions between demographic processes, natural resources and life support systems should be better understood and strategies to

mitigate the adverse impacts of environmental change on human populations should be developed and implemented (PARAGRAPH 5.6).

Under this accord, humans were obliged to change their patterns of consumption and to avoid unsustainable lifestyles, which place immense stress on the environment. To this regard, there was need to develop “a multipronged strategy focusing on demand, meeting the basic needs of the poor, and reducing wastage and the use of finite resources in the production process” (PARAGRAPH 4.5). The need to “promote patterns of consumption and production that reduce environmental stress and which strives to meet the basic needs of humanity” (PARAGRAPH 4.7) was also emphasized. Likewise was the need to encourage “greater efficiency in the use of energy and resources” (PARAGRAPH 4.17).

With regard to social aspects bound to forests management, it is acknowledged in FOREST PRINCIPLES 2a that forest resources and forest lands should be sustainably managed to meet the social needs of present and future generations. This article goes further to recommend the full participation of women in all aspects of management, conservation and sustainable development of forests (5b). The need to secure access to fuel wood was also pointed out, as stated in principle 6a: “the demands for fuelwood for household and industrial needs should be met through sustainable forest management, afforestation and reforestation”.

Related to biodiversity no clear and directs social incentives were explicitly pointed out in the principles apart from the role of women and their participation. Although the preamble raises some issues such as the need to be conscious of social values, the text is mostly oriented towards cultural values of biodiversity. This is clearly highlighted when it indicated that there exists a “close and traditional dependence of many indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles on biological resources”. It also pointed out that “sharing equitably benefits arising from the use of traditional knowledge, innovations and practices relevant to the conservation of biological diversity and the sustainable use of its components” is an important tool of biodiversity management. These ideas are transformed into obligation through ARTICLE 8j and 10c, which recommend governments to introduce, respect and protect local knowledge into their legislation on biodiversity conservation and an equitable benefit-sharing strategy from biodiversity management. However, AGENDA 21

clarifies and explains the social role of biological resources²⁷ and highlights how it should be managed for social well-being and also put in evidence the fact that humans are mostly responsible of its degradation²⁸.

To this aim, AGENDA 21 asserts that the participation and support of local communities are elements essential to the success of any biodiversity conservation program. It goes further to add that this participation should ensure their opportunity to economic and commercial benefit derived from biodiversity management (PARAGRAPH 14.4g). Therefore, governments were required to put down a legislation, which would safeguard traditional local knowledge, methods and innovation which are useful for sustainable management of biodiversity and which should ensure a fair sharing of the benefits from its management (PARAGRAPH 15.5e).

Moreover, governments were urged to establish a process to empower indigenous people and communities by adopting policies taking into consideration their needs, by protecting those communities from activities that are not environmentally friendly. They were also mandated with the task of developing sound methods of production aimed at ensuring a range of choices and to improve the quality of life in communities and motivate them to participate to sustainable development. This was perceived as a means to enhance their capacity building through exchange of experience and knowledge on natural resource management practices. Finally, it was seen as a means to “commit financial and other resources to education and training for indigenous people and their communities to develop their capacities to achieve their sustainable self-development, and to contribute to and participate in sustainable and equitable development at the national level” (PARAGRAPH 26.9 and the previous one). The same strategy was prescribed as a method to respect and safeguard local community’s cultural links with biological resources and their usage. These recommendations all come to highlight the fact it is quite an important role to search for and to reach a sort of sustainable conservation of natural resources for humanity.

²⁷ „Biological resources feed and clothe us and provide housing, medicines and spiritual nourishment” (UNEP 1994: PARAGRAPH 15.2)

²⁸ „The current decline in biodiversity is largely the result of human activity and represents a serious threat to human development” (IBID).

2.2.1.4. Towards a sustainable conservation of natural resources

Environmental management and conservation was amongst the key aspects the Rio Conference tried to address. It was important to develop a global environmental strategy striving for the protection of the integrity of the global environmental system (See PREAMBLE OF THE RIO DECLARATION). Therefore, the declaration firstly invites humans to have a productive lifestyle in harmony with nature (PRINCIPLE 1). In order to create this harmony, principles of sustainable development should be taken into account namely the fact that the tendency to economic development should not be a reason for neglecting environmental concerns: “the right to development must be fulfilled so as to equitably meet developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations” (PRINCIPLE 3).

Out of the measures discussed within the context of institutional framework raised above that dealt with governmental rights and duties of integrating environmental protection into development strategies (PRINCIPLE 4), the convention also highlights issues such as the reduction and elimination of unsustainable patterns of production and consumption (PRINCIPLE 8). It also advocated for the promulgation of effective environmental law, standards and norms reflecting prescribed global targets. It also comment on the negative effects of pollution (PRINCIPLE 11 and 13) and sought to discourage and prevent the transfer of dangerous environmental substances (PRINCIPLE 14). Signatories at Rio also accepted to develop precautionary approaches to prevent environmental degradation (PRINCIPLE 15), the need to internalize environmental costs (PRINCIPLE 16) and to realize environmental impact assessment (PRINCIPLE 17). All these principles are those dealing with the environment as an object. Beside these, other principles of this declaration touch the issue of environmental management but with regards to human well-being, culture, environmental administration and cooperation for better environmental management. The quotation below clearly exemplifies the global status of forest management and the different threats to which forest and forests resources are confronted with as well as the related consequences.

“Forests worldwide have been and are being threatened by uncontrolled degradation and conversion to other types of land uses, influenced by increasing human needs; agricultural expansion; and environmentally harmful mismanagement, including, for example, lack of adequate forest-fire control and anti-poaching measures, unsustainable commercial logging, overgrazing and unregulated browsing, harmful effects of airborne pollutants, economic incentives and other measures taken by other sectors of the economy. The impacts of loss and degradation of forests are in the form of soil erosion; loss of biological diversity, damage to wildlife habitats and degradation of watershed areas, deterioration of the quality of life and reduction of the options for development” (UNEP 1994: PARAGRAPH 11.10).

Regarding forests management and conservation, the FOREST PRINCIPLES asserted that: “appropriate measures should be taken to protect forests against harmful effects of pollution, including air-borne pollution, fires, pests and diseases, in order to maintain their full multiple value” (2b). It also called for the global and vital role of forests in maintaining ecological processes and balance to be recognized, protected and enforced through appropriate policies and legislation (4). It was highly recommended that “efforts should be undertaken towards the greening of the world” and that actions towards “reforestation, afforestation and forest conservation” should be taken (8a). FOREST PRINCIPLES also sought to increase forest cover and productivity and to achieve global forest conservation through the incorporation of environmental costs (13c), the development of adequate policies and incentives aimed at reaching forest conservation (13e).

Concrete actions described in Agenda 21 are concerned with appropriate institutional enforcements meaning that forest-related national institutions should be enhanced in order to promote efficient management and conservation of forests as well as the strengthening of their capacities and capabilities (PARAGRAPH 11.2) and also, an update of technical and human resource information on forest management in

“Enhancing the protection, sustainable management and conservation of all forests, and the greening of degraded areas, through forest rehabilitation afforestation, reforestation and other rehabilitative means” (UNEP 1994: PARAGRAPH 11 B).

The greening of suitable areas, the consideration of land use and land tenure patterns, the maintenance of existing forests through conservation and management, were all key aspects addressed a Rio Conference or Agenda 21. The sustainability and expansion of areas under forest and tree cover, in appropriate areas through “the conservation of natural forests, protection, forest rehabilitation, regeneration, afforestation, reforestation and tree planting, with a view to maintain or restore the ecological balance and expanding the contribution of forests to human needs and welfare” was required. Finally it has to facilitate, support and implement the Forest Principles, were all issues addressed at Rio Conference (PARAGRAPH 11.12).

Regarding sustainable biodiversity conservation, governments are required to identify components of biological diversity that are important for conservation, and to monitor them, to identify processes and categories of activities which have or are likely to have significant adverse impacts on their conservation and to maintain and organize the relevant data (CBD: Article 7). This included protected areas or areas in which special measures to conserve

biological diversity are developed and implemented. Conserving biodiversity also means the protection of ecosystems and natural habitats in which trees and animal species are involved, or to rehabilitate or restore them when degraded. This also includes the promotion of the recovery of threatened species and preventing them from introduced alien species which could threaten their evolution and to conduct impact assessment likely to affect biological diversity (ARTICLES 8, 9 10, 14).

AGENDA 21 further recommends the need to undertake in-situ and ex-situ protection measures and to enhance the participation and support of local communities (PARAGRAPH 15.3). Most of these actions are supposed to be undertaken by governments. As such, the international community has a primordial role to play within the framework of development and international cooperation.

2.2.1.5.Promoting global partnership for the achievement of sustainable development

“States shall cooperate in a spirit of global partnership to conserve, protect and restore the health and integrity of the Earth's ecosystem. In view of the different contributions to global environmental degradation, States have common but differentiated responsibilities. The developed countries acknowledge the responsibility that they bear in the international pursuit to sustainable development in view of the pressures their societies place on the global environment and of the technologies and financial resources they command “(DESA 1992: PRINCIPLE 7).

The RIO DECLARATION attaches great importance to international cooperation and partnership dedicated to conservation issues. The declaration states clearly the role to undertake at the domestic as well as at the international level and clarifies the role of international partners in the described principles, their duties and their rights. Developing countries are mostly concerned with the agreements. The reason is that they do not have enough financial means to come through huge environmental challenges and are subjected to encounter a lot of difficulty by implementing the final decisions (See PRINCIPLE 6). The RIO DECLARATION invites states to cooperate in order to “to strengthen endogenous capacity-building for sustainable development” through scientific and technological knowledge, transfer and diffusion of technology (PRINCIPLE 9).

As discussed in point 2.2.1.2, the RIO DECLARATION also requires states to cooperate for economic purposes with a strong belief that economic growth is a means to overcome environmental problems (PRINCIPLE 12). To this aim, AGENDA 21 describes a set of activities, which should be implemented by states such as the promotion of sustainable development

through trade. Cooperation should contribute to promote “an international trading system that takes into account the needs of developing countries” (PARAGRAPH 2.9a) but also “provide assistance to developing countries upon request in the design and implementation of commodity policies and the gathering and utilization of information on commodity markets” (PARAGRAPH 2.16c).

Technical cooperation should be committed to strengthen “national capabilities for design and implementation of commodity policy, use and management of national resources and the gathering and utilization of information on commodity markets” (PARAGRAPH 2.18, 2.38). This stress on trade in environmental management is due to the fact that: “trade measures have been used in certain specific instances, (...) to enhance the effectiveness of environmental regulations for the protection of the environment” (PARAGRAPH 2.20). Therefore, even though great importance is given to trade, the most relevant challenge is to ensure that “trade and environment policies are consistent and reinforce the process of sustainable development” (IBID). Finally, states were required to “cooperate in good faith and in a spirit of partnership in the fulfillment of the principles embodied in this declaration and in the further development of international law in the field of sustainable development” (PRINCIPLE 27).

Concerning financial cooperation, states and international institutions should also “continue to support debt-reduction packages related to commercial banks, with a view of ensuring that the magnitude of such financing is consonant with the evolving debt strategy” (PARAGRAPH 2.27). In line with this, states were required to work towards growth-oriented solutions to the problem of developing countries with serious debt-servicing problems (Paragraph 2.30, 33.14). “Developed” countries on their part were invited to develop some reforms in order to promote appropriate savings measures that will contribute to generate funding for the implementation of sustainable development in developing countries (PARAGRAPH 2.31).

Regarding technical cooperation, it was agreed that it should be oriented towards transfer of environmentally sound technology, but these technologies should not be covered by patents or lie in the public domain and should develop effective responses to the needs of developing countries in this area (PARAGRAPH 34.10). “Developed” countries were also required to promote, and encourage the private sector and to develop effective modalities for the access and transfer of environmentally sound technologies in particular to “developing” countries

and provide them financial resources to acquire environmentally sound technologies in order to enable them implement measures to promote sustainable development (PARAGRAPH 34.17).

With regards to communities, it was also agreed that development cooperation should provide technical and financial assistance for capacity-building programs to support the sustainable self-development of indigenous people and their communities. It also sought to increase the efficiency of indigenous people's resource management systems by promoting the adaptation and dissemination of suitable technological innovations (PARAGRAPH 26.5c). In addition, it also sought to commit financial and other resources to education and training for indigenous people and their communities to develop their capacities to achieve a sustainable self-development, and to contribute to and participate in sustainable and equitable development at the national level (PARAGRAPH 26.9).

Pertaining to ecology and protection of the environment, it was decided during the General Assembly on the Conference on Environment and Development of December, 22 1989 that “developed” countries should identify ways and means to provide new additional financial resources to “developing” countries in order to help them promote environmentally sound development programs and project. It also called on the “developed” countries to provide additional financial resources for measures directed towards environmental problems of global concern and to support countries for which the implementation of such measures would constitute a high burden. Moreover, they should create a special international fund and other innovative approaches to ensure the most effective and expeditious transfer of environmentally sound technologies to “developing” countries (PARAGRAPH 33.1). Therefore, “developed” countries were committed to provide financial resources and technology to “developing” countries, without which it would be difficult for them to fully implement their commitments. Such an approach would serve the common interests of “developed” and “developing” countries and humankind in general, including future generations (PARAGRAPH 33.3).

Support in this regard could take the form of grants or concessional financing (PARAGRAPH 33.10), provided by the private and public sectors of “developed” countries, in according with their commitments to reach the United Nations target of 0.7% of GNP for ODA. This paragraph also reminded “developed” countries of the fact that they had promised to augment

their aid in order to reach that target as soon as possible and to ensure a prompt and effective implementation of Agenda 21 (PARAGRAPH 33.15).

Also concerned with global environmental management, the Global Environment Facility (GEF) should cover incremental costs of relevant activities under Agenda 21 in developing countries (PARAGRAPH 33.16). Regarding forests, the Forest Principle asserts that forest conservation requires intensive international cooperation and should be supported by the international community (PRINCIPLE 1b) and that international institutional arrangements should facilitate cooperation in the field of forest (PRINCIPLE 3b).

Concerning financial cooperation, it declared that:

“Specific financial resources should be provided to developing countries with significant forest areas which establish programs for the conservation of forests including protected natural forest areas. These resources should be directed notably to economic sectors which would stimulate economic and social substitution activities” (DESA 1992: PRINCIPLE 7b).

This quotation clearly points out the need for financial resource allocation to be oriented towards forests activities that are able to create economic subsidies and substitution activities making people less dependent on forest activities or exploitation. This diversion from forest exploitation aims at creating a greener world. In addition, “developed” countries were called upon to support forest conservation measures put in place by national governments that aimed at sustainable management of forest resources (PRINCIPLE 9a and 9b). Emphasis was placed on supporting the afforestation and reforestation strategies of developing countries through the provision of additional financial resources (PRINCIPLE 10). AGENDA 21 also required providing technical support in forests management concerns (PARAGRAPH 11.15) and capacity building of all involved stakeholders in that sector by “developed countries”(PARAGRAPH 11.19).

Support to biodiversity conservation on its part also acknowledged that important investments are required to ensure conservation of biological resources and recommended contracting parties to cooperate for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity (CBD Article 5). It is hoped that this cooperation would contribute to provide access and transfer of relevant technologies for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity (ARTICLE 16). It was also perceived as a means to promote the training of personnel and exchange of experts (ARTICLE 18), and finally they should provide additional financial resources to enable “developing” countries to meet and fulfill the obligations of the convention (ARTICLE 20). All these actions are also described in Agenda 21 paragraph 15.7.

2.2.1.6. Summary and discussion on Rio Declaration, Agenda 21, Forest Principles and CBD

The RIO CONFERENCE, AGENDA 21, the FOREST PRINCIPLES and the CONVENTION ON BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY prompt us to conclude that these conferences could be considered as the starting point of global environmental mechanisms. Theories were developed on global environmental policies with a framework, targets to reach (through distinctive activities) and related to environmental and human concerns described in detail in Agenda 21. These conferences served as an action tool for all stakeholders, national or international organizations, states and non-state actors. They also put a strong emphasis on the link between poverty and environmental protection, arguing that poverty could be seen as the major cause and effect of global environmental problems (SANGINGA et al. 2010: 21).

A closer analysis of the Rio Declaration, shows evidence of a continuity of the ideals of the Stockholm Conference because most of the principles of the Stockholm Conference could be identified in the Rio Conference in several parts (Principle 1 of Rio = Statement 1 of Stockholm, Principle 2 of Rio = Principle 21 of Stockholm, Principle 3 of Rio = Statement 1, 11, 13 of Stockholm; - Principle 4 of Rio = Statement 8 of Stockholm and 14; - Principle 5 of Rio = Statement 2; - Principle 6 of Rio= Statement 9, 11, 12, 13; - Principle 7 of Rio = Statement 7, 13, 24, 25; - Principle 8 of Rio = Statement 5 and 16; - Principle 9= Statements 20 and 18; - Principle 10 of Rio = Statements 19, 20, 22; - Principle 11 of Rio = Statements 17, 23; - Principle 12 of Rio = Statements 10, 21, 22; - Principle 13 of Rio = Statements 6 and 7; - Principle 14 of Rio = Statements 7; Principle 15 of Rio = Statements 18; - Principle 16 of Rio = Statements 6, 17; Principle of Rio = Statements 21 and 22; Principle 19 of Rio = Statement 24; - Principle 22 of Rio = Statement 15; - Principle 23 of Rio = Statements 1 and 5, - Principle 24= Statement 24).

Some new ideas were introduced in principles 5, 20, 21, 25, 26 and 27. These principles are related to poverty alleviation (5), the role of women in natural resource management (20), the role of youth and the creation of global partnership (21), the interdependence between peace, development and environmental protection (25), pacific conflict resolution in environmental affairs (26) and cooperation in a solidarity frame dedicated to the implementation of the set principles (27).

Although the idea of sustainable development was already present in the Stockholm Conference, the Rio Conference theorized it and attempted to withdraw it from an abstract

ideal to a concrete fact. But the analogies between the two conferences show that little things have changed so far. Apart from the introduction of Convention on Biodiversity and the two other ones, together with the publication of the Forest Principles, the Rio Declaration is the proof that environmental concerns have not changed very much.

Just as the Stockholm Conference was in harmony with environmental and development perspectives and perceptions of its time, this was also the case of the Rio Conference. As discussed in point 1.3.3.2 of this work, the development paradigm of the 1970s were oriented towards the promotion of industrial growth as a main factor of development. This was still a central theme at Rio, which uphold the understanding that growth was not possible without the transformation of natural resource, which was paramount to create this economic growth. This idea comes in opposition with principle 9 of the Stockholm Declaration, which asserted that underdevelopment is mostly responsible for environmental depletion.

The 1980s slowly introduced humans at the center of development but continued to advocate the fact that development was only possible through economic growth and trade relationships among states. Promoting an outward-oriented economy could also be noticed in the Rio Declaration. Indeed, both the Rio Declaration and the Stockholm Conference could appropriate situate the role of economic activities *vis-à-vis* environmental problems. The conference participants also had considerable difficulties in situating the effects of economic activities on nature.

It is not surprising that the concept of poverty alleviation was introduced in the Rio Declaration, because the need to understand the phenomenon of poverty was already characteristic of developmental debates by the end of the 1980s. Also, the fact that the principles for measuring HDI in the beginning of the 1990s were part of Agenda 21 signify a twist in the perspective of development issues, as well as the introduction of non-state actors in environmental concerns. They all showed a level of skepticism regarding governments as actors in the development process. This attitude is largely in consonance with the international philosophy of the 1990s. However, these human factors do not undermine the strong existing market structures that emerged following the introduction of free market programs and policies, characterized by the reduction of trade barriers and the reorientation of public expenditures toward sectors of high economic returns as being typical of the 1980 to 1998 era.

EASTERLY (2001) described considers this situation to have been deeply imprinted in the Rio Declaration.

Therefore, it could be argued that apart from bringing a good elaborated framework on environmental management for development, the Rio Conference, just as the Stockholm Conference did not bring any substantial change in environmental matters, which remained subordinated to the economy. The Forests Principle is a good illustration to this assertion because, whereas some contracting parties were expecting a legally-binding convention on forests aimed at reducing deforestation, this idea didn't succeed to get introduced into the convention. On the contrary, the convention continued to advocate for environmental-friendly use of forest without stating clearly what is hidden behind the concept and how it is supposed to happen. Neither the Rio Convention, nor in the Forests Principle nor Agenda 21 concretely addressed these concerns.

States were allowed to exploit their resources as long as it did not harm other countries. This clause raises the question how depletion in biodiversity can be measured at the global level. The conference had pledged to be dedicated to environmental sustainability, yet it still allowed measures destructive to the environment, while at the same time it called for the respect of human rights and culture. Is it possible to merge all these interests into one frame? A tree or an animal, which can have high spiritual and social values for a community, could be seen as a huge source of economic revenue for an investor. This raises another question – how to find a right balance between all the stakeholders, mindful of the fact that development is a process, which should be understood far beyond its materialistic perception.

There is no gainsaying that the Rio Conference had good intentions, as it also took into considerations some factors of the Cocoyoc Conference such as the modification of life and consumption patterns. It equally promulgated the development of a pollution tax regarding environmental depletion. In addition, by putting forward the concept of sustainable development at the core of its action, the Rio Conference has succeeded to integrate environmental, economic and socio-cultural issues. This is a great advance in comparison to the Stockholm Conference.

Finally, if Stockholm appears to be centered mainly on environmental issues, the Rio Conference deserves additional credits because it placed humans (mostly women), their

interests and their knowledge (particularly indigenous knowledge) at the center of environmental concerns. Nevertheless, this phenomenon also explains why environmental problems were not giving adequate attention. Furthermore, an observation could be made on the fact that the principles agreed at in this convention targeted mostly “developing” countries, whereas “developed” countries were supposed to bring in only their support based on their frame, strategies and willingness. Did the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) held in Johannesburg bring any change or evolution to this scenario?

2.3.Johannesburg Summit

Globally, it is argued that although Rio set down important principles and action plans for sustainability, significant efforts still has to be made in this direction. The positive impacts of Rio are concerned with the fact that several governments have elaborated national plans integrating Rio principles and Agenda 21. Enterprises have made substantial efforts in order to integrate economic, social and ecologic factors in their strategic and management plans (UN 2002a: 3).

Taking place in 2002, the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) was more imprinted by former conferences dealing with social, environmental, development and mostly economic issues and the creation of specialized organizations such as the Commission on Sustainable Development in 1993 (CSD) and the United Nation Forum on Forests in 2000 (UNFF). A brief overview on some relevant conferences is necessary for the better understanding of stakes and challenges that confronted the Johannesburg Conference.

2.3.1. Preparing the globalization of development and environmental issues

After the Rio Conference laid the foundation for implementing the concept of sustainable development at the international level, some strategies and practices took place at the domestic and international levels. Amid this adventurism, new questions and new gaps became relevant to the sustainability discourse, thereby necessitating new international discussions and conferences aimed at looking for solutions on implementing sustainable development globally. The focus will be oriented towards sustainable development, forest and biodiversity.

One year after the Rio Conference, the UN Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) was established with the aim of following the commitments undertaken by member states

which ratified the Rio Declaration. It is a subsidiary institutional organ of the ECOSOC in charge of ensuring effective follow-up of Rio agreements and the implementation of the principles of Agenda 21 (KAASA 2005: 19). This institution clearly designed to coordinate every point co-related with the Rio Conference such as: to monitor Agenda 21 implementation, the evolution of its financing support, the monitoring of official development assistance, insuring the implementation of environmental conventions, promote dialogue and build partnerships for sustainable development between governments, the international community and other groups. It equally strives to provide recommendations to the General Assembly of the UN in the form of policy guidance for future initiative aimed at achieving sustainable development (IBID. 31).

An evaluation of the work of this institution reveals that it was unable to evaluate the implementation of Agenda 21 because of the lack of a measuring performance baseline. Also, the fact that due to its non-binding character, governments do not have any obligations to implement the agreement and the CSD is not a legal authority endowed with mandatory power to oblige states to submit required information, partly explain the failures of this accord (IBID 32). However, the CSD gathered 80 reports from 1993 to 1997 from 114 and 105 countries and from 1998 to 2002 from 149 countries, mostly “developing” countries.

The advantages of having reports is that it provides an opportunity to obtain direct information from governments according to their efforts to implement sustainable development, the difficulties they are confronted with and to prepare future international meetings to think globally what could be achieved at the domestic level. The disadvantage of this report system has to deal with their credibility and reliability. It is generally difficult to verify the exactitude of their contents and their regular provision could appear as high pressure for government officials and institutions, which might end up question the correctness of the provided data.

Due to the fact the CSD cannot exert any influence over states and governments and concerns itself only with report analysis, it could not achieve any direct substantial policy guidance from 1993 to 2002. As a result, its mandate as policy guidance institution has been deluded (IBID: 33). As KAASA points out the most important achievement of the CSD is the promotion of dialogue and building partnerships for sustainable development between governments, the international community and major groups (IBID: 37). This institution has created

interdependency among stakeholders involved in sustainable development issues. It is claimed to have been an action-oriented dialogue platform, which has enabled various types of actors to identify and implement future policies and actions contributing to the achievement of sustainable development. Unfortunately, this dialogue does not always have major impact on the intergovernmental process because governments do not always receive their conclusions (DODDS quoted by IBID: 38).

In addition, it is through the CSD procedures that the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests (IPF) was established during the third session of the CSD in 1995 after long negotiations on whether an international convention on forests should be established. This idea got a lot of support from the EU, Germany, Canada and Finland. Another school of thought spearheaded by countries such as the US, China, Australia, Colombia and Brazil wanted the creation of an intergovernmental forum on forest. It was the opinion of the later that materialized.

The aim of the IPF is to “formulate options for action to support the management, conservation and sustainable development of all types of forests and report back to the CSD” (Chasek quoted by Ibid: 36). It was also responsible of ensuring international dialogue on forest, building international consensus and formulating approaches for action. It was replaced in 1997 by the International Forum on Forest (IFF) which brought important recommendations in forest management and led to several discussions on international arrangements on forests and also led to the creation of the United Nations Forum on Forests (IBID: 36) in 2000. This institution aims at promoting the “management, conservation and sustainable development of all types of forests and to strengthen long-term political commitment to this end” (UNFF 2011:1). These recommendations include a possible treaty on forest, series of propositions to limit afforestation and generate more revenues from forest sectors and the conception of an international legal forest framework for 2005 (UN 2002a: 5).

In fact, the positive information regarding forest management includes the observation that almost all countries of the world have adapted national forestry programs but experience different evolution rates and that 10% of the world forest areas have been transformed into protected areas of 1st and 5th IUCN category (NATIONS UNIES 2001: 33). Notwithstanding, the drawbacks since then reveal that the total area covered by forest has reduced from 1990 to 2000 mostly in Africa (-52, 6 million of ha lost), Asian and Pacific (-7), Latin America and the Caribbean (-46, 7) countries. European and North American countries gained forest cover

during the same period with 9, 3 million of ha for protected areas 1st and 3, 9 million ha for the 5th category of protected area (UNEP 2002: 91). During this period almost 94 million ha of forests were lost at the global level (UN 2002a: 17).

All this information is proof that more actions are supposed to be implemented for forests conservation. As far as biodiversity is concerned, no substantial decision was made before the WSSD apart from the yearly Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity. Discussion on development was marked by the publication of the MDGs and MDGs Declaration, the Monterrey Consensus on financing for development and the Doha Convention.

The year 2000 was dedicated to the enforcement of globalization and this globalization was supposed to be an “inclusive globalization (...) built on the great enabling force of the market” and with the strong belief that market alone was also not sufficient to achieve globalization (UN 2000a: 3). Attaining globalization therefore “requires we think afresh about how we manage our joint activities and our shared interests, for many challenges that we confront today are beyond the reach of any state to meet on its own. At the national level we must govern better and at the international level we must learn to govern better together” (IBID). To this aim, this declaration asserts, “we must put people at the centre of everything we do. No calling is more noble, and no responsibility greater, than that of enabling men, women and children in cities and villages around the world, to make their lives better. Only when that begins to happen will we know that globalization is indeed becoming inclusive, allowing everyone to share its opportunities” (IBID).

These statements brought state representative to publish the millennium declaration at the early months of the Millennium, asserting in accordance with this philosophy that the central challenge of the 21st century “is to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for all the world’s people” (UN 2000 b: 2). So, policies and measures should be formulated at the global level in order to bring “developing” countries to respond to the great opportunities globalization offers through growth and sustained efforts in domains such as freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, respect for nature and shared responsibilities (IBID).

Regarding the last two points, (respect for nature and shared responsibility) and the issue of poverty alleviation, it planned to create “an environment at the national and global levels which is conducive to development and for the elimination of poverty”. This organization

should also strive to promote “good governance” at the international level and to mobilize the resources needed to finance the sustainable development of “developing” countries (IBID). It was also thought that poverty alleviation would be made possible only through a program aimed at canceling all official bilateral debts mostly for the heavily indebted countries but only if those countries are ready to show demonstrable commitments to poverty reduction (IBID: 4).

With respect to nature, the Millennium Declaration made sustainable development the center of its interests and asserts that humanity, children and grandchildren should be protected from the threat of living on a planet destroyed by human activities with insufficient resources to fulfill their needs. The declaration equally reaffirmed its support for the principles of sustainable development and Agenda 21 (IBID: 6). In fact, this means that environmental actions should be coupled with new ethic of conservation and stewardship. These actions have to be oriented towards intensive collective efforts for the management, conservation and sustainable development of all types of forests and the full implementation of the CBD (IBID, SIMONIS 2000).

Concerning forests, it has been observed that 3, 9 billions of ha of the world’s total area was covered by forests in 2000 (17% in Africa, 14% Asia, 5% in Oceania, 14% in North and Central America, 23% in South America and 27% in Europe) but with a deforestation rate of 14.6 million ha per year (UN 2001: 33). One of the strategies to deal with this deplorable situation is tied to the MDGs, which include the enhancement of cooperation and coordination on forest-related issues among relevant organizations, public and private partners, the strengthening of political commitment to the management, conservation and sustainable development of forests (IBID.). Challenges related to forest’s management included aspects such as financing the sustainable management of forest, technology transfer, fair trade of forest products and the establishment of a global forest legal system (UN 2001a: 33).

As far as biodiversity is concerned, it is also acknowledged that the loss in biodiversity is happening at an alarming rate of 3, 400 plants and 5, 200 animal species endangered and facing extinction (IBID.). The proposed solution of the MDGs is to ensure the universal ratification of CBD and the Cartagena Protocol of Biosafety of 2000, which aimed at protecting the environment without disrupting world food trade (UN 2001b: 34).

In this regard, some action plans have been developed. With regard to poverty alleviation the remedy proposed is the promotion of development through sustained and broad-based economic growth, which would be achieved through increased official development assistance (ODA)²⁹. It also called for an improvement in market access for exports from developing countries, support for social initiatives focusing on poverty reduction as well as capacity to provide social services and capacity building for poverty assessment, monitoring and planning (UN 2001: 19).

The second relevant proposition or plan is concerned with the mobilization of domestic resources as the base of self-sustaining development, the promotion of private capital flows, good governance strategies based on participation, rule of law and combating corruption. International partners are urged to increase their ODA which was only at the rate of 0,06 % in 2000 while their requirement was 0,7 of their GNP. This MDGs strategy also requires a great distinction between the portions of ODA spent on development and those for humanitarian assistance and relied on the provision of the International Conference for Financing Development in Monterrey to come out with precise strategies on financing and implementing development assistance worldwide. Associated strategies include debt relief provided to eligible countries through the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC) by the IMF under a range of conditions (UN 2001: 26- 29).

The heads of states and governments met some couples of months before the Johannesburg Conference in March 2002 in Monterrey in order to address the challenges of financing development around the world. This meeting was concerned with issues such as poverty eradication, achieving sustainable economic growth and the promotion of sustainable development in order to make globalization equitable and inclusive (UN 2003b: 5). This conference estimated that there were “dramatic shortfalls in resources required to achieve internationally agreed development goals, including those contained in the United Millennium Declaration”. As such, it strove to mobilize financial resources needed to fulfill internationally agreed development goals, through the promotion of sound policies, good governance, the mobilization of domestic resources, the attraction of international flows, the

²⁹ In this work, ODA will be mostly considered as the proportion of bilateral ODA defined as finance flow from one country to another including “grants or loans to developing countries and territories on the OECD Development Assistance Committee list of aid recipients that are undertaken by the official sector with promotion of economic development and welfare as the main objective and at concessional financial terms (if a loan, having a grant element of at least 25 per cent). Technical cooperation is included. Grants, loans and credits for military purposes are excluded. Also excluded is aid to more advanced developing and transition countries as determined by the Committee” (UN 2003:73).

promotion of international trade, the increase of international and technical cooperation for development and sustainable debt financing system (IBID.).

From this conference the idea of fighting poverty through effective use of trade and investment is candidly expressed as well as the creation of institutions which are accountable and with a holistic approach towards global challenges. By recognizing that each country has primary responsibility for its own economic and social development, countries were urged to work for the promotion of “national and global economic systems based on the principles of justice, equity, democracy, participation, transparency, accountability and inclusion” (IBID: 6). This strategy includes: (1) domestic savings as a means of financing investments in goods and humans, sound economic policies and solid democratic institutions responding to the needs of the people; (2) the mobilization of international resources for development focusing on foreign direct investment, international trade, financial and technical cooperation for development in order to achieve the MDGs.

Relevant aspects in this direction are concerned with reaching the 0.7% target of GNP, harmonization of operational procedures of donor countries and the reduction of transaction costs in ODA disbursement, the promotion of untying aid, the use of development frameworks owned and driven by “developing” countries and embodying poverty reduction strategies and debt alleviation (IBID: 14). Donors countries promised to add 30 billion USD for extra funding of development by 2006 (UN 2002a: 4). This conference also announced the beginning of sound globalized development politics as made evident with the following statement:

“To build a global alliance for development will require an unremitting effort. We thus commit ourselves to keeping fully engaged, nationally, regionally and internationally, to ensuring proper follow-up to the implementation of agreements and commitments reached at the present Conference, and to continuing to build bridges between development, finance, and trade organizations and initiatives, within the framework of the holistic agenda of the Conference” (UN 2003b: 21).

To sum up, apart from focusing on globalization of world economy and interdependency among states, nothing substantial has changed in environmental and development issues. Strong emphasis on economic growth promoted through trade, investments and ODA flow remains at the center of development policies. The desire to bring states and governments to face their responsibilities could be claimed as an innovation but they remain bound in the framework of global development and environmental policies and should integrate global values and measures in order to expect to be eligible in development financial procedures. Emphasis on economic values and the understanding of development as growth has not

changed over time. After the Rio Conference, the vision of development did not record any global and shared vision on sustainable development acknowledging the indivisible link between development and the environment (UN 2001a: 5). Forests and biodiversity concerns remained unchanged and even got worse over time. Whatever the case, the MDGs developed some monitoring system of evaluation of forests and biodiversity conservation issues at the national and global level. The question is to know if the WSSD brought substantial evolution to all these points.

2.3.2. The WSSD and the globalization of Sustainable development

The post-Rio period was characterized by great economic prosperity of enterprises and industrialized countries, benefited most from the situation. They took advantages offered by globalization with trade liberalization and capital markets, together with privatization and deregulation of economic activities. By the year 2000 world exports of goods reached 6,3 billion USD of dollars. Several countries of the world experienced economic growth and their standards of living improved but other countries were not able to have access to all the advantages offered by globalization and continued to experience serious gaps in living standards at the national and international level. It is in this context that globalization has been criticized because it perpetuated poverty, enriching richer nations at the expense of poorer ones, with a resultant consequence that it endangered the economic activities, cultures and the environment of poorer countries.

Fifteen percent of the global population living in high income countries uses 56% of global consumption rate while 40% of low income countries only use 11% of global resources (UN 2002a: 19). GNP per persons grew by 280 % in Asia and in South America by 63% while it sunk in Africa by 17% (CHAUVEAU and ROSÉ 2003: 236). It is within this context of awareness of an interconnected world that the WSSD Conference was organized and could not get rid of the challenges that arose as a result of globalization. Therefore, the conference sought to look for opportunities to bring each nation and all people to have some benefits from the globalization process.

The WSSD was committed to sustainable development and to build a “equitable human and carrying global society, cognizant of the need for human dignity for all”. It also strove to “assume a collective responsibility to advance and strengthen the interdependent and mutually

reinforcing pillars of sustainable development, economic development, social development and environmental protection at the local, national, regional and global levels” (UN 2002b: 1). As stated in the Johannesburg Declaration “the Johannesburg Summit has confirmed that significant progress has been made towards achieving a global consensus and partnership among all the people of our planet” (IBID: 2).

Mindful of the fact that globalization has added great challenges to global environmental management, the WSSD has committed to fulfill sustainable development at the global level through poverty eradication, changing consumption and production patterns, protecting and managing the natural resources for economic and social development and reducing the ever-increasing gap between the “developed” and “developing” worlds (IBID).

The WSSD aimed at globalizing environmental and development concerns by building human solidarity and promoting dialogue and cooperation on environmental and developmental issues. This was done through mutual help, facilitating access to financial resources, opening of markets, capacity building and the development of human resource at the global level (IBID: 3). It is striving to put in place a political dynamism to implement sustainable development (UN 2002a: 1). It is important to highlight the fact that this summit “recognized the reality that global society has the means and is endowed with the resources and capacity to address the challenges of poverty eradication and sustainable development confronting humanity”. It is also important to point out the fact that “sustainable development requires a long-term perspective and broad-based participation in policy formulation, decision-making and implementation at all levels” (UN 2002b: 4).

The inclusion of stakeholders from different backgrounds, states and non-state actors, national and international organizations, local and regional groups to act together and to be united to save the planet and promote human development is paramount to achieving a sustainable development. The publication of a plan of implementation by the World Summit on Sustainable Development containing socio-economic as well as environmental targets to achieve in a time-bound period has contributed to globalize not only environmental and development policies but also to coordinate the role of involved stakeholders.

The WSSD assumes to comply with Rio principles and to achieve Agenda 21 and other international commitments to development and MDGs. It is dedicated to close and enforced

the loopholes that appear in the implementation of these principles (UN 2002a: 1). Governments showed their commitment to adopt the Johannesburg Declaration and action plan, which is oriented towards reducing the economic gap within and among countries, which is one of the contributory factors for negative impacts on the environmental system (IBID).

To this aim the Johannesburg plan advocates for the development of policies and measures at the national and international levels, formulated and implemented with the full and effective participation of “developing” countries in order to give them the means to respond to globalization challenges (UN 2002b: 37). By signing and ratifying the Johannesburg declaration, world leaders agreed their engagement to contribute to achieve a sustainable society based on sustainable development principles (IBID).

To sum up, the conference does not define itself as a forum on poverty but rather as a forum aimed at discussing issues directed at which type of development is advisable for “developing” and for “developed nations”. The actions highlighted are concerned with economic growth and social development coupled with environmental protection. This conference strived to be in harmony with the questions raised by its time: the globalization era and to look for alternatives to achieve a balance between economic, social and ecological challenges related to globalization. Due to the fact that governments alone could not come through these global expectations, the WSSD has succeeded to raise attention of other actors from different background who agreed to bring their contribution to its implementation. Environmental issues were coupled together with developmental ones and with a multitude of actors acting at the global level and striving for the same goal. As such, it can be asserted that the WSSD was a fundamental pacesetter working towards achieving a globalize and environmental friendly world. The conference focused a lot on problems such as water, sanitation, energy, agriculture, and biodiversity as well as ecosystem management. Our attention would be directed towards these two last points.

2.3.3. The contribution of the WSSD towards the sustainable management of natural resources

Confronted with the fact that although many conventions had been ratified and implemented, yet environmental degradation was getting worse, the Johannesburg Declaration and action plan was supposed to come out with concrete measures dealing with afforestation measures which would have better impacts than those proposed or implemented by the Rio

recommendations. Therefore and under the assumption that human activities are negatively impacting the ecosystems, the WSSD plan acknowledges that sustainable development would be made possible only if natural resources are managed in a sustainable and integrated manner (UN 2002b: 20). This integration is concerned with a fair balance of economic, social and sustainable management of natural resources oriented towards resource protection.

Concerning biological diversity, the plan asserts to be in conformity with the CBD and requires the integration of the convention objectives into global and national policies and to relate them to poverty eradication. Recommended activities and initiatives embraced issues such as the promotion of community-based sustainable use of biological diversity, the promotion of sustainable tourism and the development of ecological networks and corridors in hot spot areas. It equally aimed at controlling invasive alien species, the recognition of the rights of local and indigenous communities, promoting indigenous peoples' effective participation in decision-making procedures and the promotion and safeguarding of fair and equitable sharing of benefits raised out of the utilization of genetic resources (IBID: 33-35).

As far as forests management is concerned, the plan did not come out with a special forest management plan but rather advocated for a forest management which will achieve sustainable development through poverty eradication. Therefore, it recommended governments to support the UNFF strategy of implementation for sustainable forest management and to the conservation and sustainable use of forest biodiversity. Governments are required to develop and to take immediate action to promote sustainable timber harvesting methods, to accelerate the implementation of the IPF, to support indigenous and community-based forest management systems and to ensure community participation in forest management initiatives (IBID: 36).

Under this accord, governments are also requested to enhance political commitment to achieve sustainable forest management and to endorse it as a priority on the international political agenda and to take immediate action on domestic forest law enforcement. They are equally called upon to take immediate action on domestic and international trade in illegal forest products, including forest biological resources and to develop and implement initiatives addressing the needs of poor people suffering from deforestation (Ibid). As mentioned earlier, the Johannesburg plan of action focused on new environmental problems such as energy,

water management and agricultural sustainability. Forests issues had a marginal place during the discussion (ANDERSON and MORGENSTERN 2003: 2).

2.3.4. Socio-cultural measure related to the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation

The Johannesburg Plan of Implementation (JPOI) is mostly related to the MDGs implementation strategy dedicated to poverty alleviation but with particular attention to the development of the rural sector and the promotion of agricultural activities through the transfer of sustainable agricultural techniques, knowledge and natural resource management to small and medium-scale farmers and rural poor in developing countries. Apart from other aims already described in the MDGs, the Johannesburg plan focuses on the improvement of reliable, affordable, socially, economically viable and environmentally sound access to energy services and resources with improve access to modern biomass technologies and fuelwood sources. Governments have to provide safe low-cost technologies to their citizens that enable them to conserve fuel for cooking and to promote their sustainable use. Finally, the provision of support for natural resource management is supposed to allow the creation of sustainable livelihood for the poor (IBID: 8-12).

Governments are requested to develop national programs for sustainable development and local community development strategies and country-owned poverty reduction strategies in order to empower people considered as poor and to enable them increase their access to productive resources (UN 2002b : 9). They should also strengthen industrial development based on poverty eradication and sustainable management of natural resources by mobilizing resources enhancing industrial productivity, and also by providing financial and technical assistance to increase income-generation employment facilities and the promotion of small and medium-sized enterprises (IBID: 12). Efforts towards the promotion of tourism activities which contribute to social and economic development such as ecotourism and cultural tourism should be enforced through sustainable tourism and to respect local traditions and cultures and promoting indigenous knowledge in natural resource management (IBID: 48). All these actions require a huge amount of financial capital and raise the role of international partners to achieve the set goals. Governments were confronted with new challenges as made clear through the following plan recommending them to:

“Create and strengthen partnerships and international cooperation to facilitate the provision of increased financial resources, the transfer of environmentally sound technologies, trade, capacity-building, forest law enforcement and governance at all levels and integrated land and resource management to implement sustainable forest management” (UN 2002b: 36)

2.3.5. Development cooperation incentives

“We will work together to help one another gain access to financial resources, benefit from the opening of markets, ensure capacity-building, use modern technology to bring about development and make sure that there is technology transfer, human resource development, education and training to banish underdevelopment forever.” (UN 2002b: 3)

This introductory statement of the WSSD highlights the various aspects, which international cooperation is invited to contribute in the framework of the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation. This quotation is oriented on purely “developmental” goals promoted through the enumerated activities. In Johannesburg, it was openly acknowledged that means and resources needed to overcome global poverty are available and that political will of developed nations should motivate them to reach the internationally agreed levels of official development assistance. Multilateral institutions were invited to be effective and to shape global governance structure working to achieve sustainable development (UN 2002b: 4).

Governments were therefore committed to “act together, united by a common determination to save our planet, promote human development and achieve universal prosperity and peace” (Ibid: 5). In line with this, they were invited to undertake different action related to the Plan of Implementation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development and to achieve its socio-economic and environmental recommendations. Some relevant points of these recommendations are concerned with the establishment of a world solidarity fund dedicated towards poverty eradication and to promote social and human development in “developing” countries. The summit also recommended providing financial resources, technical assistance and knowledge transfer, build basic rural infrastructure, and transfer basic sustainable agricultural techniques and knowledge to “developing” countries. Increasing food availability and affordability, including pre and post-harvest technology in crops and food management, improve access to modern biomass technologies and fuelwood sources and supplies and commercialize biomass operations were all part of the recommendations of the summit. Also, “developed” countries were urged to provide financial and technical assistance, facilitate access to reliable, affordable, economically viable, socially acceptable and environmentally sound energy services to “developing” countries (IBID: 13).

Closely related to these pro-poor initiatives, international partners were requested to work hand in glove with the governments of “developing” countries and to assist them and mobilize resources to enhance industrial productivity. They were also requested to encourage their competitiveness through the transfer of environmentally sound technologies and to provide

financial and technological support, as appropriate, to rural communities and to enable them benefit from safe and sustainable livelihood opportunities. Beside this, international partners were also required to support the development of safe low-cost technologies that provide or conserve fuel for cooking and water heating and finally to provide support for natural resource management for creating sustainable livelihoods for the poor (IBID: 12-13).

Related to the matter of resource management and especially to biodiversity conservation, states agreed to:

“Ensure that our rich diversity, which is our collective strength, will be used for constructive partnership for change and for the achievement of the common goal of sustainable development” (UN 2002b: 3)

International partners were therefore requested to provide financial and technical support to “developing” countries, including capacity-building, in order to enhance indigenous and community-based biodiversity conservation efforts (IBID: 33). They should “develop and implement initiatives to address the needs of those parts of the world that currently suffer from poverty and the highest rates of deforestation and where international cooperation would be welcomed by affected Governments” (IBID: 37).

As far as Africa is concerned, the partners were requested to:

“Provide financial and technical support to strengthen the capacity of African countries to undertake environmental legislative policy and institutional reform for sustainable development and to undertake environmental impact assessments and, as appropriate, to negotiate and implement multilateral environment agreements” (UN 2002b: 45)

Closely tied to these activities, they should also provide financial and technical support for afforestation and reforestation; build capacity for sustainable forest management, including combating deforestation and measures to improve the policy and legal framework of the forest sector (IBID).

Signatories to this accord were also called upon to support Africa’s efforts to attain sustainable tourism through the implementation of projects at the local, national and subregional levels. Initiatives such as the establishment and support of national and cross-border conservation areas were highlighted. Also, the assistance of host communities in managing their tourism projects for their maximum benefit, the enhancement of conservative support of Africa’s biological diversity, the sustainable use of its components and the fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising out of the utilization of genetic resources were also

described as relevant activities (IBID: 48). All these measures were supposed to be implemented according to what was discussed during the Monterrey Consensus.

To sum up, from Rio to Johannesburg as NAJAM (2005) asserts, southern problems and voices were not so much integrated in global environmental concerns before Johannesburg. Developing countries were almost excluded to global environmental governance and the Johannesburg conference offered them the opportunity to incorporate their developmental and environmental concerns into the documents and decisions by emphasizing on their implementation. NAJAM adds that southern countries' expectation from the Johannesburg Conference was oriented towards the observation that the Rio promises had not been respected. Therefore, they wanted Johannesburg to give them the assurance that every decision would be implemented this time.

According to NAJAM, the fundamental problem is due to conflict of interest between “developed” and “developing” countries. The former seem more concerned with environmental issues while the later focuses on developmental ones. The introduction of some social betterment decision for “developing” countries in Johannesburg is considered as one of the most positive impact of the southern voice during the debate. Nevertheless, as ANDERSON and MORGENSTERN (2003) argue, the conference did not bring any assurance that the goals set at Rio and Agenda 21 as well as the ideals developed in Johannesburg would be implemented. They argue that, the Plan of Implementation was not having any binding measure and it showed few signs of political will and practical steps developed to achieve Agenda 21. This conference was unable to specify or to develop clear indicators and implementation strategies at the global and domestic level and to share responsibilities and means of execution to the stakeholders. Relevant is the fact that, even though it was acknowledged that the Rio Principles and Agenda 21 had not been implemented properly, the conference avoided to look for alternative ways to solve this problem but rather developed new problems associated to the unsolved ones such as water, agriculture and energy management.

During the Rio Conference, it was observed that less trust was given to governments as seen by the enforcement of the role of civil society organizations that were invited to work hand in glove with governments. In Johannesburg, the failure to achieve this cooperation between states and non-state actors for the better management of social, economic and ecological problems motivated the integration of a new actor – private enterprises – into environmental

concerns. The introduction of enterprises and economic organizations and the strong emphasis on economical growth as a means to protect the environment could be attributed to the fact that, states and non-state actors were confronted with a lack of financial means to enable them implement the set goals. The question that arises from all these situations is to know if enterprises motivated to gain and to maximize their profits are able to develop a sustainable strategy for resources management, which respects the nature.

Whatever the case, the conference proved its strong orientation towards economic growth as the main pillar for environmental protection and does not see any development outside this frame. This is the reason most of the recommendations in the frame of domestic and international policies incorporated the matter of economic progress, international capital flows, international trade geared to facilitate financial and technical cooperation and empower financially poor countries that cannot afford any action without these financial means. Economic growth is perceived as the developmental engine according to this vision. All that is not bound to any economic value is relegated to the background and any protection measures should also be bound with economic value or do not have to be discussed. What counts in international discussions and decisions should be bound to an economic value that should be evaluated in economical terms.

Under these circumstances, financially viable countries and organizations have a strong power over financially poor countries and organizations. In the framework of development cooperation, although it has been agreed that the amount of financial means dedicated to “developing” countries would be increased, benefiting countries are obliged to fulfill several conditions and to follow restrictive measures in order to be eligible to have access to these funds. This raises the question of power and the matter of priority in the implementation of international decisions at the domestic level in financially poor countries. From Stockholm to Johannesburg via Rio, no substantial measures have been taken towards forest management and the conservation of biodiversity. The principles remain present, but their implementation is lacking due to several factors, which are not always evoked or taken into consideration in international summits.

Since the Stockholm Conference, the role of international partners could be reduced to financial and technical support. Some apparent practices maneuvers seem to be given to “developing” countries but their financial weakness leaves them at the mercy of their rich

partners and contributors. Sustainable development appears to be firstly a matter of economics and international policy orientation of powerful countries over weaker ones. Whereas environmental measures are not internationally binding, development cooperation issues are regulated and binding with trade regulating all the other concerns. From Rio to Johannesburg no substantial progress has been made in order to make sustainable development possible, as it was planned. Environmental issues still remain a great challenge. This is the reason why the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (UNCSD) was organized back in Rio in July 2012.

2.4.The United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (UNCSD)

“Sustainable development will never advance unless the economy serves as its motor (...). If we are facing social marginalization, environmental decline, stumbling economies and violent conflict, it is because of the gaping chasm between what is promised and what is done.” (HALLE, NAJAM and BEATON 2013: 8, 13)

2.4.1. Global overview on global environmental governance and development issues since the WSSD

In order to prepare the UNCSD, the UNEP delivered a comprehensive assessment on environmental and developmental matter since 1972. It points out that from 1972 to 2012 over 500 international treaties and agreements on environment had been signed among states with almost 100 billion USD committed to the environment from 1998 to 2007 (UNEP 2012: 464 and 468). The post-Johannesburg conference has seen the emergence or reactualization of new concepts and strategies related to environment and development issues namely the “Green Growth Program”, the Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness, the Gleneagles Conference in 2005 followed by the Doha Declaration on financing development in 2008 and the reactualization and internationalization of the “Gross National Happiness” (GNH) Index in 2011. All these conferences have had important inputs and output on the UNCSD.

2.4.1.1.The Green Growth Discourse

The Green Growth Program is closely linked to the 5th Ministerial Conference on Environment and Development in Asia and Pacific held in Seoul in March 2005, which came out with an environmentally sustainable economic growth approach or “Green Growth”. This approach aimed at enhancing synergies among the three pillars of sustainable development through the promotion of economic growth, social development and equity and environmental

protection (ECOSOC 2005). In fact, the conference notes that although economic growth plays a great role in poverty reduction, it has considerable impacts on environmental sustainability and advocates for a simultaneous action towards environmental protection and social development keeping in mind the interlinkages between nature, culture and human livelihoods with the promotion of environmentally sustainable consumption patterns. It purports that environmental protection is far to be an obstacle to economic growth but can be an object and a set of opportunities to sustainable growth if sound environmental infrastructures and development of environmental technologies are well promoted.

Therefore, environmental protection should be seen as a “source of business opportunities” and should be better managed in an inclusive form of interaction between environments; the economy and traditional culture, all of them existing as market potentials.

In addition, the conference pleaded for urgent action to address global environmental issues mostly in “developing” countries and for the integration of environmental policies and regulations into development planning processes and the necessity to introduce growth into a development strategy which is environmentally sustainable. It was perceived that this integration would contribute to achieve Green Growth through the improvement of environmental governance taking into account the linkages between environment and poverty. Such policies would eventually reduce pressure on unsustainable economic growth through the introduction of environmental costs, the promotion of eco-efficiency strategies and sustainable consumption patterns and poverty reduction through environmental friendly production strategies and environmental protection. As far as implementating this idea is concerned, the conference highly recommends to take into account “the economic, social, cultural and geographical location of the region” in a Green Growth policy framework.

The Green Growth program advocates for policies in favor of an ecologically sustainable economic growth strategy relying on the social dimensions of sustainable development and aiming to use the environment as an engine of economic growth and commercial activities. This implies the establishment of eco-markets and all sorts of investments serving as a tool for nature protection, directed to poor people, and enabling them to improve their living standards. It is also an attempt to promote sustainable consumption patterns and to motivate people to adopt and introduce it into their cultural and spiritual values.

2.4.1.2. Harmonization of development cooperation policies: Paris Declaration

Closely related to environmental oriented policy conferences were conferences, which were more specialized on development and development cooperation issues. Concerning development cooperation, heads of multilateral and bilateral development institutions met in Paris in March 2005 in order to “take far-reaching and monitorable actions to reform the ways to deliver and manage aid” (OECD 2005:1). This strategy served as a tool to implement the MDGs. The focus of this conference was on harmonizing and aligning the aid delivery system of partners and consisted of strengthening the development strategies of partner countries. It also sought to align aid with partner countries’ priorities, to eliminate duplication of efforts and to simplify donor’s aid policies (IBID). It invites aid delivery institutions to be guided by development strategies and priorities established by their partner countries and to monitor it in such a way that it demonstrates real progress at the country level.

In order to have access to these aids, partner countries should develop and implement national development strategies focusing on poverty reduction and translate them into operational programs and encourage the participation of civil society and the private sector (IBID: 3) and to undertake institutional and procedural reforms ensuring a better management of aid and other development resources. These would help donors to bind their funding according to the developed strategies in order to promote aid efficiency and will facilitate reliable assessments of performance.

Also, aid receiving countries had to integrate specific capacity strengthening objectives into their national development strategies, publish timely and transparent reports on budget execution, mobilize domestic resources, build institutions and establish governance structures that deliver effective governance and equitable access to basic social services for their citizens. Donor countries and institutions on their part, committed themselves to provide reliable aid and to disburse aid in a timely and predictable way in order to respect schedules. They also pledged to make progress on untying aid (IBID: 5). Both donor and receiving countries committed themselves to promote a harmonized approach to environmental assessments through specialized technical and policy capacity and enforcement of legislation (IBID: 7) and to jointly assess the mutual progress to objectives.

With the Paris Declaration aid receiving countries are supposed to have ownership on the different development policies to which donor countries should be aligned and act through national institutions of receiving countries. Donor countries were called upon to work in harmony through some sets of arrangements and agreements. Both donor and receiving countries should strive to expected results, feel mutually accountable on agreed policies towards their respective citizens and should manage the results jointly. All these points were renewed three years later in the Accra Agenda for Action (AAA) and during the debate on efficient manner of financing development in Doha during the Doha Declaration on Financing for Development in December 2008. In this regard, state representatives recognized the fact that domestic economies are interwoven in the global economic system and that effective use of trade and investments could be used as opportunities to fight against poverty as discussed earlier in the Green Growth Program (UN 2009: 5).

The particularity of this conference is concerned with its focus on reducing the inequality between and among countries through strong financial infrastructures and the strong belief that international trade is an engine for development and sustained economic growth. It promotes the implementation of globalization policies as a mean of financing development with the argument that a well-functioning multilateral trading system would be a benefit to all (IBID: 13-14). In addition, this conference clearly asserted that developing countries that hinder trade liberalization would not benefit any international support (IBID: 15). Aid for trade is therefore the required solution to assist developing countries to promote their own development. This will enable them to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the international trading system (IBID: 16). Nevertheless, the Doha Conference raises the issue of reinvigorating the global partnership for development as described in MDGs 8 years after the financial crisis of 2007 and its impacts on the global economic slowdown regarding the financing of development (IBID: 29).

2.4.1.3. African development at the core of development debate: The Gleneagles Conference

Almost the same cooperation strategy was advocated during the 2005 Gleneagles Conference held from the 6th to the 8th July, which had African development at the center of interest and adopted a huge report on poverty and development questions in Africa entitled “Our Common Interest” published by the Commission for Africa. This conference aimed at creating a “strong, peaceful and prosperous Africa”. Inside this report, Africa is considered as a stagnant

continent which should be “developed” by the “developed” world through an increase in aid. This conference sees the issue of development assistance as a “moral duty” (COMMISSION FOR AFRICA 2005:10). Capacity³⁰ and accountability³¹ are revealed as the two main weaknesses of African development during the last fifty years. Whereas donor countries could contribute to overcome the first problem, African leaders have to deal with the second one. Investment for economic growth would help to boost African development, solve poverty problems and to invest in people.

Therefore, African countries had to decide and lead their development and economic policies, drive forward plans to reduce poverty, promote economic growth and good governance. As far as development assistance is concerned, it was asserted that the relation between Africa and industrialized countries relies in three main pillars: trade, debt and aid (COMMISSION FOR AFRICA 2005: 23). Although in acknowledge some irregularities in trade and debt management, the report firmly believed in aid efficiency in Africa (IBID: 24). Therefore, G8 leaders set down the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI) and committed themselves to allow substantial financial resources to African countries which have set down national development strategies and which are committed to good governance³², democracy and transparency (G8 2005). G8 countries also promised to double their aid to Africa by around 25 billion USD by 2010. They also pledged to cancel the debts of heavily indebted poor countries, which are eligible. This was seen as a means to contribute in building African capacity to trade, and to invest in infrastructures needed for business and finally recognizing that: “progress in Africa depends above all on its own leaders and its own people” (IBID).

Compared to previous conferences, a turning point of the Gleneagles Conference is related to its subjectivization of development as a concept and as knowledge with the argument that different cultures manifest their ideas and vision of development in very different ways. From this perspective, it was agreed that African development should be perceived and discussed firstly from a cultural perspective³³ embedding notions such as well-being, happiness, human dignity before moving into political and economic issues (COMMISSION FOR AFRICA 2005: 26). Donor countries were invited to provide assistance in a long-term planning to enable

³⁰ Defined here as “the ability to design and deliver policies” (COMMISSION FOR AFRICA 2005:12).

³¹ Defined as “how well a state answers to its people” (IBID)

³² African governments are invited to abandon their position as ineffective states and to develop government ability to create right economic, social and legal framework enhancing economic growth and people participation with growth understood as an activity principally driven by the private sector (IBID: 24).

³³ Culture defined here as shared patterns of identity, social values that are transmitted (IBID: 26).

African countries to develop long-term strategies (IBID: 30). They were also requested to enable governments of recipient countries to be answerable to all their people (IBID: 31). The conference also pleaded for the provision of grants rather than loans in order to avoid debt burden (IBID: 54).

It is also relevant to highlight the support of G8 leaders to the EITI³⁴ and EITI countries (Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative). The Gleneagles summit is considered as the most ambitious forum on African development due to its commitment to increase development assistance. It has contributed to the provision of 100% debt cancellation of HIPC qualified countries (One 2013: 7). This conference was full of interesting ideas and inputs on development and development cooperation taking into consideration social and political factors but also clamoured for a strong economic growth as an indispensable means to achieve development and change in governance to make aid effective.

2.4.1.4.Introducing subjective matters in development discourse: Gross national happiness discourse

The Gross National Happiness Index (GNH) was introduced by the 4th King of Bhutan in 1972 as the goal of the country's national policy, with the argument that GNH is more important than GNP and that the government should strive to create happiness for its people (URA, ALKIRE, ZANGMO, WANGDI 2012: 6). A great paradigm shift happens in development discourse with the introduction of this index that claims to strive towards the orientation of the people and the nation to happiness. The GNH is claimed to analyse the improvement of the conditions of “not-yet-happy people” and is concerned with the strong conviction that “development of human society takes place when material and spiritual development occurs side by side to complement and reinforce each other” (IBID: 7).

Creating happiness means fighting against collective suffering, serving others, living in harmony with nature and to realize our existence as human beings through complete

³⁴ EITI is a global initiative which was launched in 2002 in order to contribute to a better management of extractive natural resources. It urges governments and extractives industries to publish independent revenues generated reports about payments made by companies and revenues receive by government in order to ensure transparency in resources management. The contribution of the civil society in this process is essential and indispensable. This strategy will enable the prudent use of natural resources and its role as engine for sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction because the produced wealth is supposed to benefit to country's citizen (PRESCOTT 2008). The problem with this initiative is based on the fact that it does not consider forest activities as an extractive activity closely related to extractive industries and focuses mostly on mineral resources.

fulfillment. The intriguing question here is how to measure happiness. It is argued that happiness could be considered as a multidimensional concept embedding not only subjective factors such as well-being and individual satisfaction of needs but is also concerned with the pursuit of collective happiness. The developed index set as norm measures happiness at the base of nine factors: psychological wellbeing, time use, community vitality, cultural diversity, ecological resilience, living standard, health, education, good governance (IBID: 1 and 13). The sum of all these factors helps to create some results oriented indicators given in sufficiency percentage of satisfaction enjoyment such as unhappy (less than 50%), narrowly happy (from 50 to 65%), extensively happy (66 to 76%) and deeply happy (more than 77%) (IBID: 2).

From this understanding Ura et al argue that the GNH offers a holistic vision on what development is and should be, meaning that development should be perceived far beyond material satisfaction.

The GNH approach was normalized and globalized through the UN resolution 65/309 adopted by the UN General Assembly in July 2011 asserting that the pursuit of happiness is a fundamental human goal, which embodies the spirit of the MDGs and recognizes the limit of the GDP as incompatible to the measurement of people's happiness and well-being (UN 2011). The motivation to this normalization is based on the observation that "unsustainable patterns of production and consumption can impede sustainable development". Besides, there is also the need for "a more inclusive, equitable and balanced approach to economic growth that promotes sustainable development, poverty eradication, happiness and well being of all peoples" which would contribute to "achieve the Millennium Development Goals" (IBID).

This position of the United Nations, although it continues to advocate for economic growth, raises the fact that it should be closely linked with individual and collective patterns of well-being necessary for the achievement of the MDGs. The UN requires its members to "elaborate additional measures that better capture the importance of the pursuit of happiness and well-being in development with a view to guiding their public policies". Therefore an expert and governmental meeting with more than 800 participants from around the world was organized on the 2nd of April 2012 in New York under the recommendation of the United Nations in order to define a new economic paradigm oriented towards development issues. This meeting has introduced factors such as well-being and happiness of all life on earth, ecological sustainability as key element of economy, fair distribution and efficient use of resources as

well as healthy balance between natural, human, social and cultural elements (ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF BHUTAN 2012: 10).

The recommendations, which came out of this meeting, are concerned with issues such as the enforcement of GNH approach because it integrates inclusive economic development and it is a sustainability based and wellbeing centric model. It focuses on the achievement of happiness through global altruism expressed in terms of the development of the sense of interconnectedness and global responsibility (IBID: 39). This global altruism is a bottom-up process, which involves an individual action to altruism and will contribute to solve global sustainability because it creates a “We” identity, which would be extended from one generation to another, beyond the self, the family, the tribe, the nation to the earth. Policy makers were therefore invited to create “the most happiness in the world and the least suffering for both present and future generations” (LAYARD in IBID: 42).

Related to the issue of happiness in the world, is the issue of metrics in policy decision making. It recommended the creation of a system concerned with the measurement of economic performance and social progress, which is beyond the standard measures such as GDP and would take into account equitable development including all strata of society. STIGLITZ argues that an indicator embracing individual and family well-being, sufficient employment and decent work, social capital and connectivity will have a transformative effect on the understanding of global economy and the development process (STIGLITZ in IBID: 44). Sachs reinforces this idea, when he raised the issue of the “paradox of affluence” asserting that greater income does not automatically lead to greater life satisfaction and that with lower levels of income, outsized levels of life satisfaction and happiness could be achieved. The extreme focus on growth has led human societies to reach planetary boundaries. Sachs therefore pleads for the establishment of “Sustainable Development Goals” (SDGs) which will incorporate issues such as better management of natural resources, consumption patterns, self and collective satisfaction and happiness (SACHS in IBID: 45).

Since it has often been argued that ecosystems play a great role in terms of services and contributes to human wellbeing; the promotion of a healthy ecological system was required through the development of an index, which enables the measurement of ecological wealth based on the relationship between nature availability (biocapacity) and nature use. It is anticipated that this index would be used as a means of avoiding “ecological overshoot” and having a “Comprehensive Resource Accounting” (WACKERNAGEL in IBID: 47-48). SHIVA

goes further to claim that the present ecological crisis is caused by the economy system, which was firstly separated from ecology, from society and later on from sustainable forms of production. The environment was perceived as a tool aimed at serving the society and to contribute to human wellbeing. She advocates for the creation of an economical new paradigm shift that will have its roots in the production of natural, social and cultural health (SHIVA in IBID: 48-49).

Arguing that inequality and inequity are constantly going up and creates global disorder, it was required that global cooperation should strive towards inter and intra-generational fair distribution. The most important prerequisite to achieve this aim is leadership that should work to create an inclusive and balance society and ensure access to essential goods and basic services for all in such a way that everyone will live with respect and dignity. This leadership should put people and people's interest at the core of its action by empowering them so that they can use and realize their full potential (BACHELET in IBID: 50). Inequalities and inequity are supposed to be reduced only if employment and social policies oriented towards social inclusion are promoted so that people do not feel discriminated and out of the system (CHIBBER in IBID). This would allow governments to distribute income and environmental benefits across different population groups and to fight against any form of vulnerability.

This interconnectedness between the environment and economic imperatives implies global policy should reward policies, which reduce future intra and inter generational future risks and vulnerabilities. It should also focus on assisting countries to conserve the integrity of their natural environment and the diversity therein, while ensuring that natural resources are used in an equitable manner and in a sustainable way (KAKAR in IBID: 51). It could be observed here that local governments appear at the center of development policy. They should focus their action to the creation of happiness and wellbeing of their people through social inclusion, empowerment and better natural resource management. They have to be conversant with what constitutes wealth in their societies and to support all kinds of community-based activities aimed at improving community life, wellbeing and efficient use of resources.

From the above discussions, it is evident that the post Johannesburg period was marked by remarkable and an intense debate on development and environmental management issues. These debates saw the emergence and the rising to fame of an entirely new perspective of looking at development – the happiness perspective – which sometimes produced “radical”

views, as it greatly diverged from established notions of knowledge, wealth and development. It is amidst this scenario that the UNCED was organized. This opens the avenue to evaluate the ideals of the UNCED.

2.4.2. The UNCED and the search for a new narrative in development discourse

From its inception, the UNCED was confronted with a great challenge related to global governance management and the satisfaction of all involved stakeholders. The evolution of global environmental management has highlighted the fact that since the Rio Conference of 1992, where states and state governments and representatives appeared as the most important stakeholders, the situation evolved with the introduction of new stakeholders. These new stakeholders came along with new interests in the management of environmental matters such as local populations, enterprises, NGOs working for the preservation of the environment, which all gained a lot of experience on environmental issues and have developed a lot of expectations.

In addition, the fact that decisions were not always followed by implementation brought some stakeholders to advocate for a strategy shift. If the pre-UNCED was mostly directed towards a global-local approach, its limitations have motivated people to promote a local-global approach as a solution or strategy of management of global environmental issues. It is thought that local governance could better contribute to reconstruct global governance and could be used as a tool to achieve the set goals. The failure to reconcile environmental and development issues appears as the central problem, therefore the motivation to create a new development discourse which will better fit the reality and which would be far from pure political discourse and easily appropriated by local communities and domestic governments motivating them to action.

Furthermore, the matter of poverty alleviation or poverty reduction appeared as an old-fashion idea. BATES-EAMER, CARIN, LEE LIM and KAPILA argued that the entry of emerging countries such as China, Brazil and India in the development cooperation system have lead to a conceptual shift of poverty reduction to inclusive growth which is now focusing more on fighting increasing inequality in a world where poverty rates is claimed to be constantly decreasing (2012: 4). The argument here is that half a billion of people escaped from poverty from 2005 to 2010 (GERTZ and CHANDY 2011). But the matter is that poverty is solely

defined from an economical perspective by these authors as the capacity to live with more than USD 1.25 a day³⁵. They explained that poverty is nowadays a result of inequality between rich and poor households and the unequal income distribution between households, government and corporations. Bad governance is at the core of rapid poverty increase because states are unable to perform their main functions. Fragile states are therefore condemned to remain in the spiral of poverty (IBID). From this argument, it could be observed that economic poverty is indisociable from political management of affairs.

GERTZ and CHANDY further plead for a paradigm shift from global poverty reduction because it no longer makes sense to have it as an aim since it is not more a global problem. Its global legitimacy could no longer be justified as far as middle-income countries are no more confronted with the same financial challenges compared to low-income countries, which must overcome mostly political challenges, which should be driven by domestic factors. They finally argue that pro-poor policies are now out of date (IBID).

Also, the Bellagio Goals were proposed as post-2015 development agenda in 2012 and advocated to go far beyond poverty alleviation in development discourse. The concept strives to develop a holistic and comprehensive path towards development based on lessons from development theories and history, enabling conditions for better lives and oriented on “the essential endowments necessary for individuals to achieve their fuller potential”³⁶. These goals would be applied to both “developing” and “developed” countries and would require individual countries to come up with their own development targets based on their own context and patterns and the creation of global targets from the collection and deduction of these countries targets (BATES-EAMER et al 2012: 5).

They therefore advocate for: (1) inclusive economic growth for dignified livelihoods and adequate standards of living. Core aspects of this principle include the creation of employment, distribution of income considering equity. It also advocated for growth moving hand in glove with the fight against inequality. This was perceived to have considerable impacts on livelihoods and standards of living (P. 10), (2) sufficient food and water for active

³⁵ This conception is highly criticized by BATES-EAMER et al argue that poverty should be more than GDP and could not only be defined in terms of income and the price of minimum required for basket of goods and services but should also include factors such as lack of education, health, housing, empowerment, employment and personal security (2012: 9).

³⁶ This idea was derived from IFRC definition of development as a strategy enabling everyone to achieve their full potential and to lead productive and creative lives with dignity according to their choices whilst fulfilling their obligations and realizing their rights (IFRC 2010: 11).

living, (3) appropriate education and skills for full participation in the society, (4) good health for the best physically possible, mental and social well-being, (5) security for ensuring freedom from violence, (6) gender equality enabling men and women to participate and benefit equally in society, (7) resilient communities and nations for reduced disaster impact from natural and technological hazards, (8) quality infrastructure for access to energy transportation and communication, (9) empowering people to realize their civil and political rights, (10) sustainable management of the biosphere, enabling people and the planet to thrive together and (11) global governance and equitable rules for realizing human potentials (BATES-EAMER et al. 2012).

2.4.2.1. Enforcing Green Growth development approach as mean to achieve sustainable development

HALLE, NAJAM and BEATON (2013) argued that the UNCSO needed to create new reforms and to launch a new kind of dialogue in order to find the right balance among the losers and the beneficiaries of sustainable development and raise the issue of abandoning the economy system. The UNCSO responded to it by announcing its interests to the Green economy approach and evidenced in point 12 of its declaration: “We express our determination to address the themes of the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, namely, a green economy in the context of sustainable development and poverty eradication” (Point 12, UN 2012). The UNCSO advocates for a green economy as a political option to be implemented in order to achieve sustainability through social inclusion and improvement of human welfare and driven towards the maintenance of healthy functioning of the earth’s ecosystems, striving towards poverty eradication by creating facilities regarding employment and decent work for all (POINT 56 of IBID).

Domestic governments, enterprises, private sectors as well as international development cooperation agencies are required to work together for the implementation of the green economy described as a cornerstone of sustainable management of natural resources. Green economy is supposed to guarantee environmental sustainability and is presented as the only measure which would promote equitable and inclusive economic growth namely through technical and technological facilitations for “developing” countries (POINT 60-74). With all these recommendations, the UNCSO strengthen the idea that should the economy support

sustainable development, it would have gradual but positive impact on social equity and environmental protection for the benefit of all. Green economy is about integrating socio-economic development into environmental sustainability.

2.4.2.2. The creation of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

The foremost important outcome of the UNCSD was the creation and development of the SDGs which are supposed to be universally applicable and which aim at balancing the environmental, social and economic dimensions of sustainable development (UNEP 2013: 2). The SDGs emerged as a continuing program aiming to replace, complete or directed towards the gaps of the MDGs and is considered by some scholars as a “post-MDGs” program supposed to be launched from 2015 till 2030 (LOEWE 2012). It emerged as a proposition of the governments of Colombia and Guatemala, which proposed it to replace the MDGs through the merging of MDGs goals and environmental issues (BATES-EAMER et al. 2012: 24).

In the adopted document “The future we want” of the UNCSD, it was argued that MDGs still plays a great role in developmental issues but that its targets have to be extended to some sets of coherent actions leading to sustainable development. These items were supposed to include developed goals of Agenda 21, JPOI and were supposed to be in accordance with international laws, take into account national differences and be built upon commitments. It was highlighted that the SDGs should incorporate all three dimensions of sustainable development and their interlinkages, be action-oriented, concise, easy to communicate, limited in number, aspirational, global in nature, universally applicable to all countries, respect national policies and priorities (UN 2012: PARAGRAPHS 245-247).

Experts, international organizations and governments were therefore confronted with a great challenge because the required expectations were too high and the issues are not easily attainable.³⁷ Development strategies of several parts of the world³⁸ have been discussed separately during the UNCSD. They have all strong connotations and inclusive correlations to the three dimensions of sustainable development advocated by the UNCSD and are having

³⁷ The issues were discussed in details about: Poverty reduction ; Food security and nutrition and sustainable agriculture ; Water and sanitation; Energy; Sustainable tourism; Sustainable transport; Sustainable cities and human settlements; Health and population; Promoting full and productive employment, decent work for all; and social protection; Oceans and seas; Climate change; Forests; Biodiversity; Desertification, land degradation and drought; Mountains; Chemicals and waste; Sustainable consumption and production; Mining; Education; Gender equality and the empowerment of women

³⁸ Small island developing countries; Least developed countries; Landlocked developing countries; Africa; Regional efforts; Disaster risk reduction.

strong impact to each other. Should one take into scrutiny the matter of poverty reduction as an example, it could be argued that a country or a community could not claim to achieve it without achieving food security, having secured access to water and sanitation facilities. This also goes hand in glove with improved sources of energy and ensuring social wellbeing for all its citizens through their education, gender balance, health, improved population policies and employment facilities. The same example could be applied to the other points. Environmental and human needs are equally represented as subjects to be introduced into SDGs framework but the danger consists in the fact that its oversimplification could give priority to one issue (environmental for example) over another or to the fact that the developed indicators do not really fit or solve the proposed problem in a sustainable manner.

Moreover, political strategies which could be considered as very relevant to the achievement of these goals such as good governance are quite absent in this recommendation may be due to sovereignty aspects. It could also be discussed that these recommendations are partial because it claims to be global but do not put in evidence the role – environmental, social and economic rights and duties – of Western countries as if “developing” countries alone were the only ones concerned with the set challenges. In addition, the matter of building commitments was not an easy one because of divergent views and perspectives on what was supposed to be taken into consideration and how it should be divided and structured in order to achieve the global ideals and which indicators should be used as a good tool to measure sustainable development.

Experts from Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) consisting of 25 organizations ³⁹ and supported by 1,400 CSOs for example expressed the hope of a program structured in 17 goals embedding aspects such as: (1) sustainable consumption and production (2) sustainable livelihoods, youth and education, (3) climate sustainability, (4) clean energy, (5) biodiversity, (6) water, (7) healthy seas and oceans, (8) healthy forests, (9) sustainable agriculture, (10) green cities, (11) subsidies and investment, (12) new indicators of progress, (13) access to information, (14) public participation, (15) access to redress and remedy, (16) environmental justice for the poor and the marginalized, (17) basic health. The government of Colombia and Guatemala on their part came out with 8 goals: (1) combating poverty, (2) changing consumption patterns, (3) promoting sustainable human settlement development, (4)

³⁹ 10 organizations from industrialized countries and 15 from developing countries

biodiversity and forests, (5) oceans, (6) water resources, (7) advancing food security, (8) renewable energy (UNDESA 2012: 2).

The strengths of CSOs indicators are about their global perception and their global solving-perspectives raising in details development and environmental failures over time and proposing specific oriented goals to take into consideration in order to overcome these failures. Its weaknesses can be attributed to the fact that the goals are split into too diverse categories which could be part of the same frame and its lack of correlation. Sustainable consumption and production would surely have some positive impacts on environmental improvements, leading to the establishment of healthy forests, clean energy, green cities, healthy seas and oceans. Access to information, public participation, environmental justice, sustainable livelihoods, education and so forth are at the core of poverty reduction and human development. From the CSOs proposition to those proposed by the government of Colombia and Guatemala, there is a great conceptual and summarizing evolution because, all the 17 points raised by the CSOs could be integrated into the 7 points proposed by Colombia and Guatemala with point (3) excluded because the CSOs didn't raise explicitly the issue of human settlement.

According to Loewe (2012) from the German Development Institute, the SDGs must learn from strengths and weaknesses of the MDGs and only adopt MDGs strengths in order to be efficient. He recommends that it should consist of easy understandable manageable goals with deadlines, be more comprehensive, be correlative, outcome-oriented, specified through indicators, be country specific, realistic and ambitious. He further argues that MDGs and SDGs should be coordinated and designed in an integrated agenda embedding poverty and sustainability issues. He therefore calls for the establishment of an international global agenda divided into two parts, the first one concerned with human development⁴⁰ and the second one with the creation and protection of global public goods⁴¹. These two points would have the advantage of limiting “the marginalization of goals for poverty reduction” and “ensure that the most important criteria for sustainable development would at least be taken into account” (IBID).

⁴⁰ This will be concerned with the reduction of income poverty, food security, education, health and family planning, infrastructure, environment, resilience, good governance (LOEWE 2012)

⁴¹ Aspects such as climate change limitation; joint global management of oceans, the atmosphere, space, the polar regions, fresh water resources; containing infectious diseases; improving the stability of financial markets; creating an open, rules-based and fair system of world trade; curbing international terrorism; disarmament of anti-personnel mines and weapons of mass destruction (IBID).

Compared to the points discussed during the UNCSO Loewe raises the issues of peace, security and disarmament which according to him were first of all absent to MDGs goals and could be considered as one of its main weaknesses and claims that they should be part of the SDGs and the necessity to separate national targets from global ones. Directly related to this, BATES-EAMER et al. developed the “Bellagio Goals” as post-MDGs program, which should be concerned with: (1) inclusive growth (measured in terms of income poverty and economic growth), (2) livelihoods and employment (working opportunities and working conditions), (3) standards of living (shelter, well-being, social security), (4) food (nutrition input and nutrition outputs), (5) water, (6) sanitation, (7) security, (8) education and skills, (9) gender equality, (10) disaster reduction and resilience, (11) infrastructure, (12) civil and political rights, (13) environmental sustainability (climate change, biodiversity – proportion of land covered by forests, proportion of fish stock, proportion of species threatened with extinction, trend in ecological footprint), (14) global governance (economic rules – capacity and tariffs imposed on import and agricultural products) (2012: 30-58). From these proposed goals, it could be observed that the GNH principles have been introduced with targets such as living standards but that the matter of sustainability has not encountered any serious evolution, neither have the described indicators.

Finally, the SDGs, which were finally adopted by the Sustainable Development Committee, were argued to be mostly focused on two main priorities: the protection of the earth’s life-support system and poverty reduction (GRIGGS et al. 2013: 305). Six goals were definitely adopted for 15 more years and are concerned with people’s needs and the planet’s use and are concerned with (1) thriving lives and livelihoods, (2) sustainable food security, (3) sustainable water security, (4) universal clean energy, (5) healthy and productive ecosystems, (6) governance for sustainable societies (IBID: 307). From these goals, it could be observed that the first six goals of the MDGs were summarized in goals one and 2 of the SDGs and that the seventh goal has been extended to environmental issues such as energy, sustainable use and protection of ecosystem, water security which all contribute in build a sustainable society.

Compared to the Bellagio goals, the aim was not so much to promote inclusive growth at any cost but to strive for a balance between human and environmental needs and protection. It can also be observed that human health issues, which are so important in the MDGs were not taken into consideration by the SDGs, unless it is introduced into the first or last point

“governance for sustainable societies”/” thriving lives and livelihoods”. This highlights its strong environmental orientation.

2.5. Assessment of forty years of global environmental management

This point is about analyzing if there has been any substantial evolution on global environmental discourse since the globalization of environmental issues, with the advent of the UNCHE and if there has been any evolution in the integration of development issues and environmental management. It could be argued that from the UNCHE to the UNCED the perception on environmental management has shifted positively because, in the global development agenda at the time, the use and transformation of the environment were perceived as an essential means to promote economic and social development. As NAJAM (2005) puts it, Southern countries were at that time reluctant to environmental protection because they perceived this “new” idea as a Western attempt to hinder their own economic and social development. He claims that the establishment of the UNEP in Nairobi as the only UN institution based in Africa was an international strategy used to bind Southern resistant countries to global environmental issue and to require their support. The counter argument was that, “developing” countries were invited to look and adapt another development path, which would be friendlier to environment.

Due to the fact that the strategy designed in the UNCHE, UNCED and its Agenda 21 were ambiguous, and appeared to bind firmly the extractive use of the environment for economic development, contemporary research has proven that they are not so incompatible to each other as it appeared previously: economic development could be achieved simultaneously with environmental protection. The UNCED deserves attention because it was a tool used to introduce other environmental issues such as forest, biodiversity, climate change, desertification and matters such as poverty alleviation mostly related to vulnerable groups such as local communities, women and young people. The input of development cooperation in environmental matter did not change so much over time because their actions were directed from the UNCHE towards strict environmental protection, the awareness rose during the UNCED that pure environmental protection without accounting for human needs was not possible. Therefore, poverty alleviation and environmental protection were coupled in the UNCED.

The contribution of the WSSD was its ability to provide valuation techniques useful for conservation policies namely through the attribution of quantified economic value to natural resources such as biodiversity whose conservation was made difficult in the past due to a lack of concise attribution of economic values. All these were made possible through the scientific contributions of Pearce and Moran (1994), HANLEY and SHOGREN (2001), NUNES and DEN BERGH (2001). During four decades of global environmental management it could be observed that the same environmental questions have been debated decade after decades and that some of the most discussed issues and implementation strategies were surely changing in denomination but not in their nature from one conference to another.

Sensitive issues such as forest management, which have a global ecological, social, cultural and economic role, never had any strong binding legal commitment related to its sustainable management each time it was discussed at international conferences. The only time forests received a dismal attention was in the adoption of the Rio principles on forests, which until today remain a non-binding instrument compared to the Convention on Biodiversity. No substantial efforts have been made even after the creation of international institution responsible for sustainable forest management such as the UNFF and the IPF (RUIS 2001). It was also observed that all the conferences emphasized on the importance of trade in the framework of development. Nevertheless, as SINGER (2009) argue, the global protectionist economic policy of wealthy nations plays a great role in accentuating the poverty level of “developing” nations and that their fair introduction into the global market would reduce poverty significantly than any amount of aid (IBID: 111).

Finally, it could be argued that all development debates at the global level, which were organized after the UNCED, introduced environmental issues always advocated for economic growth as the main strategy to overcome poverty and environmental damages. This undesirable situation became the mainstay in international discussions on environmental related issues albeit the existence of different discourses related to the introduction of environmental protection as part of cultural elements fashioning human lives and contributing to their well-being. As NAJAM argues, if financially poor countries were reluctant to get engaged in environmental discourses during the 1970s, the 1990s marked their full enrollment in environmental protection strategies. They came along with a secret wish or desire to accomplish their full development in the frame of sustainability in such a way that during the

WSSD those countries were committed to face the so-call Rio disappointments (NAJAM 2005: 312).

He further raises the fact that the denomination of all those conferences on global environmental issues was not haphazard. The UNCHE was a reflection of human actions on the environment, enabling the understanding of global environmental challenges. In another light, the introduction of the wishes of financially weak countries in global environmental discourses enabled the UNCED to take place. As such, the UNCED had to deal with environmental and development issues simultaneously, leading to the launching of the concept of sustainable development which was politically globalized during the WSSD (P. 313) and which would be explored in this analysis by examining the SDGs and the discussed UNCSD by 2030.

The transposition of global environmental as well as global development challenges from one decade to another, from Rio to Rio is a pointer to the fact that although some substantial theoretical and less practical progress have been made in these domain, global governance of environmental and development spheres have not succeeded to meet the expectations that it formulated for itself. An overview of how Africa was introduced into this global governance and development issues with great expectations deserve a particular attention.

2.6.Africa's introduction in global environmental governance and its impact on natural resource management

Natural resource management and natural resource conservation have a long history and cannot be separated from the evolution of humanity. They have become a part of cultural identity and everyday activities. Human societies have developed several kinds of relationships towards nature, from natural use to natural conservation since ages. EAGLES, MCCOOL and HAYNES (2002) argue that the establishment of protected areas for examples is not a new phenomenon; it is an activity, which could have its roots over two millennia in Asia and almost one millennium in Europe. This makes natural resource protection appears as a universal behavior of humankind over the ages.

This part of this analysis will give a diachronic overview of natural resource management in some Sub-Saharan African countries in order to put in evidence the fact that Africa has been

introduced into a global system of natural resource management and to examine the impact of this introduction into the global system on the state of African natural resources. This overview would be divided into three main parts: the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial strategies of natural resource management in Africa. By doing this, it would be easier to elucidate the issue of governmentality and biopower on the effects of natural resources in Africa.

2.6.1. Overview on pre-colonial management of natural resources in Africa

“Africa can neither be explained nor understood without first unraveling the continent’s colonial experience” (NDEGE 2009: 3).

Speaking about pre-colonial societies is an attempt to break down the conception that the history of some communities just started with colonial rule. As SPIVAK asserts, the history of pre-colonial societies could be easily recovered but warns against any tendency to nostalgia which could be detrimental in the exploration of those societies mostly if the analysis is related to the critic of imperialism (quoted by LOMBA 2005: 21). MUROMBEDZI (2003) warns that, access and use of natural resource in pre-colonial Africa have tended to be romanticized over time because it is difficult to describe precisely how natural resources were managed in pre-colonial Africa. FENSKE (2003) argues that explaining pre-colonial ways of managing issues in Africa is necessary to understand modern Africa. The question remains anyway to know how reliable are pre-colonial sources because, as KWASHIRAI (2012) states, African pre-colonial history has been dominated by colonial experiences and legacies.

In pre-colonial Africa, whenever a cultural group was implanted over an area, it will therefore establish its authority over land and forest area, which would be placed under the authority of the chief (MATOSE and WILY 1996: 198). MUROMBEDZI (2003) argues that natural resources in pre-colonial African societies were characterized by conservation activities such as “the allocation of totems”, “low population densities, unsophisticated agricultural and hunting practices” building the routine of economic, social and religious life. AFOLABI OJO (1996) also supports this claim.

Pre-colonial African societies developed strategies to deal with natural resources, which today would be considered as sustainable. These methods were part of social life such as constant migration from less abundant resource areas to more abundant ones. This happened when a

community realized that an area was no longer favorable for economic activities with the expectation of leaving sufficient time for the area to recuperate. Also, limited technological means of hunting implied that hunters were unable to deplete wildlife (MUROMBEDZI 2003: 21). Nature conservation was established as a cultural event celebrated through rituals and worship of some natural elements considered as sacred such as groves, trees, some wildlife which were sometimes protected through some myths. Traditional rulers therefore sacralized some natural elements as soon as it was realized that they were becoming scarce in order to prevent their extinction (IBID: 22, LUBBE 2003: 138). Therefore, natural resources in pre-colonial Africa cannot be separated from religious and spiritual practices, which have led some African communities to develop a kind of ecological spirituality.

As LUBBE claims, African communities do not see any dualism between material and spiritual realities. This enforces their belief that all natural elements are alive, have some rights and deserve some respect (LUBBE 2003: 135 and 140). This belief has been the foundation of animist tradition arguing that spirits inhabits natural elements. Therefore, there were religious rituals for several human activities such as hunting, fertility of land, protection of people against illnesses and so forth, making sure that some natural elements were considered important in the identity building of a people as the baobab tree was/is for the Tonga people (KWASHIRAI 2007: 826).

This pre-colonial understanding and perception of natural resources and the desire of African communities to live in harmony with nature has contributed a lot to the preservation of several natural elements at that time. Elephant, eland, buffalo, fish, Zebra and other animals were considered as sacred species in several African communities. There were sometimes venerated or feared and viewed as agents of witchcraft or sorcery as it was the case of animals such as snakes, hyenas and owls, which are object of several superstitious beliefs in several African communities (KWASHIRAI 2010, SARFO-MENSAH and ODURO 2007). LUBBE (2003) adds that this perception of natural resources have brought Africans to be place under a position of enjoyment of natural element without being enslaved to the desire of their possession (IBID: 141). Several forests were considered “sacred” and in such designated forests, cutting down trees was strictly forbidden because the dedicated parcel was culturally charged with spiritual values (KWASHIRAI 2007: 826, YLHÄISI 2006: 6).

From a social perspective, social institutions agreed that land and forests were “communally owned by all people, but vested in the king or chief who had the trust of the people”. Communities were ruled by customary laws and had but user rights on allocated land and had to respect political loyalty, rules and taboos because natural resources were perceived as “Common Property Resources for the good of the greater community”. All those rules were precise, codified and enforced but not written (KWASHIRAI 2008:150; DEGEORGES and REILLY 2009: 736). From this perspective, it can be observed that communities were having a strong control over their land, forest and forest’s products and were responsible of their management.

Apart from this, it could be argued that African communities develop a so-called “indigenous” and technical knowledge related to their wildlife and ecosystems, which were introduced in policy, religion, customs and practices and were part of the global identity of a given community. Forests and woodlands for example were perceived as a source of survival and livelihood, which could be generous by helping to fulfill necessary needs, as well as ungenerous when it becomes a source of various diseases and the refuge of wild animals and evil spirits (KWASHIRAI 2007:819-820, SCHNELL 1946: 34-35).

As KWASHIRAI (2007) points out, during pre-European Mataberland and Mashnaland, forests supplied people with firewood as a source of energy, building material and leaves for livestock. It was also a source for herbal medicine and food in the form of meat provided by wildlife. All these resources were easily accessible and too often free (Ibid). Aware of the fact that their lives could not be separated from forests, several communities develop parallel activities such as animal domestication and crop breeding (IBID). SARFO-MENSAH and ODURO (2007) added that the Akans in Ghana had a deep attachment to land and forests because of their perception that their ancestors came from deep inside the forest.

Pertaining to technical knowledge, it was mainly oriented towards sustainable natural resource management strategies or to the understanding or use of some natural elements as responses to social problems. The San in Namibia for example developed a recipe made up of a mixture of some plants and parts of wildlife in order to develop a medicine efficient against tsetse fly. In addition, healers of the Ndebele or Swazi for example were using leaves, roots and barks of particular trees to cure several human and animal diseases, making forest to be viewed as “pharmacy” (IBID: 825).

This social relationship to natural elements did not imply that economic activities were not relevant or that natural resources were not exploited for economic motives. MUROMBEDZI (2003) highlights that pre-colonial societies were characterized by subsistence economy, which however, made the landscape never to be completely humanized; crop rotation and field abandonment were used as ecological strategy for land recovery. NDEGE (2009) related the Kenyan experience by arguing that economic activities varied according to local groups who were either thriving agricultural economies, pastoralist forms of production or a mixture of crop cultivation and livestock keeping. There were also groups of people who were too close to nature and thrived on hunting and gathering. He is in strong accordance with MUROMBEDZI that pre-colonial economies were primarily oriented to collective rather than individual accumulation.

As FENSKE (2010) argues, some pre-colonial African empires like the Yoruba, Songhai and Akan Ashanti in West Africa were involved in long distance commerce, selling mineral or wildlife resources such as gold, copper, ivory, rhinoceros horns, and other forest products. Kings, chiefs and lords controlled natural resources having a great trade value. They were charged with their redistribution (IBID). In some kingdoms, some production areas were already divided for palm oil, fishing or copper production, as it was the case in the Luba kingdom in the actual DRC, making those kingdoms to have some monopoly in the production of some goods that were a response of trade and social demand (IBID).

Trade was also used as an important tool to raise political power and kingdom independence as by the Lozi in actual Zambia and northern Namibia (IBID). Apart from trade with neighbor kingdoms, communities used natural resources such as forest and forest products in order to fulfill their needs in construction, energy, human and animal food, to get cured, etc. (LEROY, DERROIRE, VENDÉ, LEMÉNAGER 2013: 16). Natural substances sometimes played several roles as the teak wood in western Matabeleland in Zimbabwe which provided food, medicine, water, firewood, timber and ornaments to the community (KWASHIRAI 2007: 816-817). KWASHIRAI (2010) adds that “resources were managed on a common property basis, either community or ethnically based” under the control of rulers who were responsible for land allocation without withdrawing trees, wildlife and water from the control of the whole community.

KWASHIRAI goes further to point out that, most African communities were already having both an understanding of absolute and relative poverty generally measured in terms of minimum means necessary for a person or family survival in comparison to the community living standards. Extreme poverty and extreme richness were not so popular because poverty was associated with witchcraft or a curse as well as rich peoples who were perceived as exploiters of poor people's labor through sorcery. Therefore the robust extended family was used as a tool for social security in which begging was discouraged and where wealthier persons had to contribute to the enrichment of poor ones by enabling them to perform some agricultural and livestock activities as it was the case by the Kuronzera and the Kupemha people in Zimbabwe (2008: 149). In another dimension, MULINGE and LESETEDI argue that pre-colonial African communities were not having any sizable monetary economy and lacked financial and economic infrastructure necessary to engage into corruption (1998: 18).

As far as ecology is concerned several pre-colonial communities were sometimes submitted to weather circumstances such as drought⁴² which contributed a lot to ecological imbalance in their regions impoverishing soil and contributing to deforestation as it was the case by the Ndebele or among the Mbelwa's Ngoni and Tumbuka in Southern Malawi (KWASHIRAI 2007: 824). The use of traditional weapons such as spears or axes and the "spiritual" or "sacred" perception of trees and animals contributed a lot to the development of a non-aggressive relationship with forests and animals. Furthermore, the fact that some communities such as the Akan consider that plants and animals are living entities possessing the same physical and spiritual composition as human beings with the only difference that they do not possess any soul, brought them to look at all these elements with strong reverence and to work for their permanent conservation. As such, forest undoubtedly deserved a strong reverence because it was believed that heavy spirits leaving in trees inhabited them and which can be dangerous and vindictive when harmed by humans (SARFO-MENSAH and ODURO (2007).

Because several pre-colonial African communities succeeded to establish a link between social, ecology, economic and cultural relations linked to natural resource management, scholars such as KWASHIRAI (2007) and DEGEORGES and REILLY (2009) argue that they had developed a "relative sustainability model". The conservation of forests as well as wild fauna "was stepped in community-based rules, beliefs and taboos" (KWASHIRAI 2010). DEGEORGES and REILLY (2009) add that those African communities did not accomplish that for any

⁴² Although this lack of rain was associated with sin committed against the environment such as cutting down trees and grasses which are believed to preserve moisture during prolong drought (HARUNA 1997: 230).

ecological purpose but for self-preservation. So, nature was already used in pre-colonial Africa as a source of development providing communities with indispensable goods necessary for their complete personal and community fulfillment.

With the passing of time, people developed different kinds of strategies to return nature's favor to them. All these interlinkages between pre-colonial African peoples and their approach towards nature are evidence to the fact that from time immemorial, African communities had developed sustainable conservation practices developed out of their environmental experience. These experiences were further institutionalized by communities themselves and were enforced through customary laws with which the communities could easily identify with. These laws were important for group cohesion without nature stopping to fulfill economic, social and cultural needs.

Pre-colonial African communities often worshipped nature and its elements considering that their aim was to safeguard the harmony of nature ensure their survival. This does not however mean that pre-colonial societies were perfect societies concerning natural resource management. KWASHIRAI (2010) argues that some kings and ruling elites with great political and social prestige, created some problems related to resource allocation, which was not always divided in a fair and egalitarian manner or made sure that some class of people were excluded from the use of some resources which were often monopolized by an elite class (MADDOX 2006: 103).

In addition, as HARRIS (1980) assert, several pre-colonial societies were having strong impact on savanna expansion because they were using fire to clear areas and KOFI (2011) points out that Ghanaian traditional rulers were already exploiting and exporting timbers abroad before colonization. Nigeria on its part was already involved in the production of palm oil, which was exported to Great Britain since the institutionalization of the slave trade. Clearing vast forest regions for agriculture and cultivating yams later on, together with the production of large amount of ivory in East Africa which were exported from the Swahili cities to India in the begin of the nineteenth century all point to intensive use of natural resources (MADDOX 2006: 106-108).

2.6.2. Colonial governmentality and natural resource management in Africa

The colonization of Africa by the Europeans was followed by tremendous changes in political, economic, social and cultural levels. Colonial powers developed strategies in order to maintain and extend their authority and to have control over territories and its resources and did not respect the existing traditional rights (WASONGA, KAMBEWA and BEKALO 2010: 168). This strong political control was coined with strong economic exploitation of their colonies and the disturbances in values and world perception, which were applied in natural resource management. By doing this, colonial masters developed a “colonial policy” which created an economic imbalance, political disturbances, interrupting and transforming permanently the social, cultural and political lives of African societies and African people over decades (ALEMAZUNG 2010: 63). In order to have full control over African resources, colonial masters developed several strategies which can be called colonial governmentality and which consist of a tandem of technologies of domination and exercising power, which was dispersed through social institutions (PELS 1997: 176).

Based on legal geography, it would be analyzed how colonial masters created laws, which have affected social spatiality. Based on “critical legal geography” theories, it would be highlighted how colonial legal decisions have profoundly disturbed African communities creating social, economic and political inequalities through the establishment of legal institutions, conventions and practices enforcing and reinforcing the colonial system of oppressive inegalitarian relations (KEDAR 2003). These aspects would be analyzed into three parts. First of all particular attention would be given to strategies developed for land and the control of natural resources, secondly on the introduction of a new economic system and thirdly, the change in social and cultural values Africans had on natural resources.

2.6.2.1. Gaining full control over land and natural resources

“No document hereafter made, purporting to grant or convey any rights over or interest in land, forests, or minerals, or monopoly in economic products, save and except the right to occupy building land for the erection of a native house, will be recognized in any way by the Government, unless it shall bear the signature of the Governor” (LUGARD 1922: 307).

The marking point of colonialism was the Berlin Conference which divided African territories in a subjective manner and which made largely autonomous cultural groups into nation frameworks and thereafter, subjecting them and their resources through colonial governance and laws. To this regard, colonial powers developed rights such as “the discovery right” which enabled them to be able to remove a king’s sovereignty. They also developed

“founding ownership over the land”, “the vacant land ideology” arguing that the European law does not recognize African land owning system – land belongs to God and is in temporal hands of communities – and were considered “terra nullius” (WILY 2012, MADDOX 2006: 104-105, HAMMOND, ANTWI and PROVERBS 2006: 22).

As KILLINGRAY asserts: “effective colonial government rested on two basic pillars: firstly, the maintenance of law and order to uphold the authority of the administration; and secondly the collection of adequate revenue with which to finance the running of the colony” (KILLINGRAY 1986: 411). On the basis that African territories were qualified as “non-appropriated lands”, (KING LEOPOLD quoted by HERBST 2000: 80) or “Backward Territories” (LINDLEY 1926) colonialists have developed several strategies to gain full control over “new” African territories not only with military and police forces but also with a strong colonial administrative framework. In pre-colonial African communities, rules were exercised over a concrete spatial territorial domain where human subjects were ruled by communities’ rules, which could not be extended beyond their geographical space. Notions such as sovereignty, power, legal systems all what is used to describe a nation were also present in those African kingdoms (YOUNG 1994, NGULUMA 1980: 219).

Colonial masters gained control over African lands through legal channels signed in forms of “treaties” by traders or “explorers” (AFRICAN UNION 2010:6) made by representatives of European governments or by private bodies in order to support their claims for international recognition of territorial possession (TOUVAL 1966: 280). In fact, as NGULUMA points out, these treaties were in fact “cession of land treaties” and were already used as a strong legal instrument prior to the Berlin Conference. They were also a tool of international relationship through which militarily strong states dominated and exploited weaker communities because the parties were not possessing equal capacity to exercise their rights and assume obligations (NGULUMA 1980: 218-219).

Contrary NGULUMA affirmed that: “most of the treaties signed between African rulers and European state agencies prior to the Berlin Conference did not involve the cession of land” (NGULUMA 1980: 219). It could be argued that some explorers such as Stanley who worked for King Leopold II, signed land cession treaties during his sojourn in the Congo. These treaties were purported to have been done with some kings in the name of the International African Association of the Congo. These treaties indicate that 450 kings gave all their

sovereignty over their territories to Leopold II. A case to point is the treaty with the Kings of Ngombi and Mafela who “freely of their own accord, for themselves and their heirs and successors forever, do give up to the said Association the sovereignty and all sovereign and governing rights to all their territories” (STANLEY 1885: 195).

Similar “agreements” were signed by colonial commercial firms working on behalf of their governments such as the Royal Niger Company working on behalf of the British government which signed several treaties with African kings who gave “the whole of their territories to the company and gave to their assigns forever full jurisdiction of every kind” (PEARSON 1971: 77). Several similar “treaties” were signed by The German South West African Company; the Portuguese Nyasaland Company; The International Congo Association and The Italian East Africa Company (NGULUMA 1980: 222). Through these treaties, the African leaders gave the cession of rights over their land to Europeans sometimes with Europeans use of utter fraud, coercive measures and inducement (TOUVAL 1966: 282-283). The Europeans drew all the treaties and offered them to African chiefs and kings for acceptance who signed without understanding their socio-economic and cultural implications with the strong belief that they still had final rights on the ceded lands (NGULUMA 1980: 222-223).

“The resources found in the colonies belonged to the colonial state, and the state had the final say in how (or if) their exploitation occurred” (MADDOX 2006: 123)

The signature of all these treaties gave Europeans full control over African lands and African resources as made evident in the “agreement” signed by STANLEY with the chiefs of Ngombi and Mafela: “All roads and waterways running through this country, the right of collecting tolls on the same, and all game, fishing, mining, and forest rights, are to be the absolute property of the said association, together with any unoccupied lands as may at any time hereafter be chosen” (STANLEY 1885: 195). This procedure was expropriating Africans from their sovereignty not only over their lands but also over their resources and was later on strengthened through the introduction and setting of political, legislative and military domination structures which did not always match African legal and political understandings.

As a matter of fact, the British government has introduced an “Indirect Rule Strategy” in their colonies which co-opted native institutions into British governmental institutions by ensuring that, “native’s” ruling would not endangered their political power and economic interests. LUGARD points out that African rulers should not raise or control armed forces, appropriate and redistribute land and that: “it is undesirable that leases or licenses should be granted to

non-natives for the collection of sylvan produce which the natives are capable of exploiting themselves such as palm-fruit, wild rubber, gum copra, etc” (LUGARD 1922: 314). To this regard, the colonial administration was concerned with:

”The supervision of the native administration and the general direction of policy; with education, and the collection and control of direct taxes, which involve assessment and close relations with the native population; with legislation and the administration of justice in courts other than the Supreme Court; and with the direct government and welfare of the non-native section of the population” (LUGARD 1922: 95).

As such, in British colonies, a Forest and Agriculture Department was created and managed by a forest officers whose role consisted on ensuring that all the forests and lands were handed over to the British Government (LUGARD 1922: 330). The British government later developed ordinances related to forest exploitation consisting of delivering forest licenses and ensured the transformation of wild forests into “properly-organized plantations of oil-palms (IBID: 522).

Contrary to the British, the French, Portuguese, Germans and Belgians introduced the “Direct Rule” in their colonies imposing their national colonial policy directly over Africans regardless of the existing political structures en vogue in the concerned communities, centralizing therefore the decision-making procedure. As a matter of fact, the forest policy in the French colonies was ruled by Jules Ferry’s colonial motivation consisting of increasing French geopolitical power, economic expansion and humanitarian duty (GUILLARD 2010: 11). French colonial possession of forest was estimated to 100 million ha and was considered as a non-exploited resource by French colonial politicians, who created “L’Office des Forêts Coloniales” which was in charge of developing a forestry policy and supply France with timber products and regulate forest exploitation inside within the colonies (IBID, See also LAPIE 1928).

In addition the French introduced the public forest estate through a Decree in 1935 which created state property to all forest qualified as vacant and without master and which aimed at classifying forests as reserved/classified or protected forests (BARROW, KAMUGISHA-RUHOMBE, NHANTUMBO, OYONO and MOUMINI 2008). Whatever the case, NDEGE (2009) asserts that there was no substantial difference between the so-called direct and indirect rule because, as he argues, both led to loss of sovereignty and the replacement of local leaders. All colonialists were reflecting orders from their Mother Country rather than seeking any kind of consensus with local communities. They exercised dominant executive and legislative powers; formulating policies, which will better serve their own interests, therefore centralizing, ethnizing, and racializing power.

Colonial governments introduced land and forest alienation policies, which ensured their access to more fertile lands to European settlers and displaced local people to less fertile lands (MISANA, MUNG'ONG'O and MUKAMURI 1996: 81-83). They further introduced a process which withdrew vast tracts of natural forest out of the hands of local people into the hands of the state consequently removing local tenure and control over those areas and undermining any sense of local responsibility for their maintenance and management (MATOSE and WILY 1996: 199). MATOSE and WILY (1996) further argue that the establishment of indirect rule in British colonies had reconstructed the identity and governance system of African communities. In Burundi for example the order of the Congolese administrator of 1st July 1885 asserts that no person was allowed to occupy land without titles and that vacant land will be considered state property (AMANI 2009: 11-12). In French colonies, the colonial government develop quite complicated legislation strategies on forest and hunting which were very restrictive to local people and softened for privileged Europeans and which paradoxically liberalized international arms circulation mostly for safari hunting operators (HARDIN 2002: 14).

In Ghana, the British administration attempted to introduce in 1894 the Crown Lands Ordinance in order to control natural resource revenues by having full control over forest lands and minerals and rejecting the fact that local people had inherited lands from their ancestors (KOFI 2011: 129). Similarly, in Tanzania the Germans and the British authorities established forestland regimes regulated by legal instruments to ensure that local people had no ownership rights over the forests and forests resources (RUGUMAMU 2001: 118).

To sum up, one is tempted to agree with MUROMBEDZI (1998) that colonial policy of land and natural resources relied on centralization of policies and legislation facilitating the state's control over resources through the "King Games concept of legislation" in British colonies and the "Code Forestier Francais" in French ones. Apart to have developed strong legislation and institutions ensuring their control over resources, it is important to keep in mind that economic motivations appeared as the basis of colonial policies. The new arrangements put in place by the colonial administration have contributed to put local authorities such as chiefs and spirit mediums in a vassal position, which produce serious negative impacts on the economy, social and cultural life of local people, modifying their access to natural resources as well as their perception.

2.6.2.2. The economic extraversion of African natural resources

“Colonial rule over the vast east, central and southern African region, dating from the late part of the 19th century was not uniform and was not easily established. It was only after a series of wars, punitive expeditions, scorched-earth policies and oppressive campaigns that a semblance of obedience to foreign rule was accepted by many of the indigenous communities” (MISANA, MUNG’ONG’O and MUKAMURI 1996: 80)

As raised here by MISANA et al (1996), after signing the “agreements” with some local chiefs or kings, European colonialists used oppressive campaigns in order to bring communities to accept the rule they have set down resulting to changes in institutional arrangements for the control of land and natural resources. KAMERI-MBOTE and CULLET argue that their motives was nothing else than increased access to natural resources necessary for European industrial development. Therefore, several African territories were subjected to the implementation of new colonial laws and policies related to the management of natural resources, which were mainly concerned with the extraction facilities and their transportation from the colonies to the metropolises (KAMERI-MBOTE and CULLET 1997: 23). This was largely the case because colonial policy was substantially based on an extraction strategy (HUILLERY 2008:11).

As a matter of fact, colonial masters brought fundamental transformation in African perception of their natural resources, forest and woodland with the introduction of new exploitation system and control strategies, which could be summarized in the capitalization of African natural resources and social relation for economical purposes (MATOSE and WILY 1996: 200). The former belief of Africans that land was not a commodity and a simple factor of economic production was profoundly disturbed when intensive and extensive agricultural activities were introduced by European settlers and commercial companies (KHAPOYA 2012: 126-127).

MISANA et al assert that it is during the colonial era that African economies were introduced into the global economy through the transformation of their natural environment into land farming areas for the production of crops such as tea, tobacco, coffee and cotton. Colonial policies forced peasant farmers to sell their labor or to grow cash crops. This led to specialization of some African territories in the production of tobacco as it was the case with Tanzania, Malawi and Zimbabwe, peanuts and cotton for Mozambique for example (MISANA et al. 1996: 83). West African countries were specialized in agricultural activities and Equatorial Africa were subjected to mining activities (HUILLERY 2008:11).

This specialization in cash crop production of some territorial units seriously affected African economy and food sufficiency and often created severe famine in some areas (KHAPOYA 2012: 126-127). In addition, cash crop production was strictly reserved for Europeans and local people were not allowed to challenge colonial settlers until the 1950s. This made the European settlers to have a strong monopole on the global economic activities, which Africans had been forcefully introduced to. This would later strengthen the introduction of inter-colonial trading facilities ensuring that trade should only happen among French colonies for the benefice of France. This strategy was also applicable for other colonies (KHAPOYA 2012: 131). Through this phenomenon, African land and resources were used and destined for European markets, consumption and factories, thereby perpetuating the extroversion of African economies for the economic progress of Europe (BROWN 2003: 344; OPOKU 2006: 19).

Colonial economic policies was used as an instrument to incorporate pre-capitalist communities into the colonial and international economic system characterized by geographical disarticulation which enclaved development activities in a few urban areas and structural disarticulation which limited the range of economic activities (NDEGE 2009). It succeeded to change African subsistence economy into an export oriented economy, which was relatively new to the people's understanding of economy and natural resources, which were now given a monetary value, completely disturbing social and economic organization of African societies, putting down the roots of colonial capitalism (NUSCHLER and ZIEMER 1980: 56 - 57).

Driven by the need for food and an increasing demand for timber for housing and construction industries in countries such as Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, large forest areas were cleared in East Africa. These areas were later converted into plantations for different cash crops by colonial governments; this resulted to the decline in several types of forests and animal species (ABWOLI, BUYINZA, LUOGA and ONGUGO 2009: 316). The forest department in Tanganyika for instance was erected by the British government in order to expand timber production through the duplication of sawmills devoted to the exploitation of thousands of acres of forest while the German colonial government focused more in clearing land for agricultural purposes (HAMILTON and MWASHA 1989: 39 - 41). In Zimbabwe, the British colonial administration developed forest exploitation activities as one of the most important pillars of their economy by establishing commercial value on some tree species that had a

high commercial worth and handing their exploitation to timber concessionaires by granting them logging licenses such as the Matebele Timber Trust (KWASHIRAI 2008).

Regions with high valuable quantity of commercial timbers experienced the establishment of timber industries and were established as reserves and concessionaries properties out of access for local people who were evicted from the set area through a governmental ordinance declaring the area “a Commercial Forest Area” resulting in the resettlement of the evicted communities (MADDOX 2006: 105). The establishment of concessionaires was later on followed by the establishment of timber mills, which have accelerated deforestation and soil erosion leading to serious and chronic environmental problems motivated by the reckless over-exploitation of forest for maximum profit of concessionaires which felled all types of trees (IBID).

In French colonies for instance, concession companies were granted full rights and recognized as indirect rulers of areas endowed with rich resources, granting them the monopoly on exploitation of all natural products. In return, the companies had to give 15 % of their benefits to the colonial administration. By doing this, the colonial state was a tool for the promotion of foreign investors who had cheap access to timber concessions, ensuring that the produced wealth should be controlled and retained by European companies (HARDIN 2002: 12, OPOKU 2006: 19).

As far as wildlife is concerned, it was also a source of economic income through the selling of ivory and different kinds of animal skins, which was facilitated by the introduction of firearms enabling a massive destruction of fauna, which were worsened with sportive hunting consisting of killing for pleasure for trophy without always valuating the animal meat and skin. All these wildlife related activities provided several European settlers with viable economic base and led to the extinction of several mammal species (GIBSON 1999). The Boers for instance exported One million antelope skins annually since 1870 from South Africa. Other animals such as springboks were hunted close to extinction by 1896 in the same region and in Namibia, a further 90, 000 kg ivory were exported only in the year 1855 bringing species such as white rhino and elephants close to extinction by the end of the 19th century in southern African countries.

West African countries experienced similar scenarios with the exportation of 6, 625 kg of ivory in 1909 and fluctuated between 2, 694 to 4, 105 kg by 1917 in the Sangha region (DEGEORGES 2006). The economic estimation of ivory exported from German colonies in Africa is also interesting. In Cameroon, it is estimated to an average of over USD 8, 5 million a year, while in Tanzania, it was USD 3, 4 millions and USD 400, 000 for Togo (Ibid 2006: 399). In general, 848 tonnes of ivory were exported between 1879 to 1883 all over Africa and 65, 000 killings of elephants every year since 1905 and 2 million elephants were killed between 1880 to 1910 (WÄCHTER 2008: 31).

In addition as CRAWHALL (2006) asserts, colonialism offered the opportunity to create a periphery in political and economic sphere by the fact that it has put hunting and herding people and all communities who refuse to get introduced into the market economy by practicing autochthonous agriculture at the periphery. He adds that this strategy has contributed to create and enforce the idea of “indigenous” understood as people living at the underclass of capitalism and colonial economy whose economy relies on gathering, herding their food instead of growing it. The capitalist system further considers these people as an economic cancer of the capitalist relation of production competing with the system through their autonomous modes of subsistence.

2.6.2.3. Natural resource conservation and the changing patterns on natural resource perception

Before pointing out the different strategies which have been developed and implemented with regards to forest and wildlife conservation in colonial Africa, it is relevant to highlight the shift of perception related to natural resources which operated during that time from the colonialist to the colonized and the matter of power of knowledge in conservationist perspective.

By losing their sovereignty over their lands, most African communities did not know that they were also losing sovereignty over their knowledge and that they would thenceforth be subjected to be judged according to outside criteria. In order to do so, colonial masters developed a set of strategies in order to separate Africans from their cultural beliefs, convictions and life style. Regarding natural resource management, it could be asserted that African cultural and economic practices were perceived as a threat to Europeans. Colonialism

was mostly characterized by the production of colonial knowledge, which was an intrinsic part of colonial domination helping colonial masters to exercise their power and keep an overall control over their colonies (ADAMS and MULLIGAN 2003: 4).

MUROMBEDZI (2003) asserts that European colonization was marked by European Enlightenment's dualism between nature and humans, the first appearing as a resource subjected to be used by the second. Rationality was a core concept, which was supposed to remove all kinds of irrational practices in human behavior. With this ideology, local knowledge and beliefs were considered as irrational and primitive in which the order of the colonized is discussed to be a disorder (LEE and HITCHCOCK 2001: 260). This equally applies to colonized knowledge and skills. Natural resource management was rooted in European values of considering nature as nothing else than a resource "for human use and wildness as a challenge for the rational mind to conquer" (ADAMS and MULLIGAN 2003: 5). NUSCHLER and ZIEMER (1980) argue that the contact between the colonial dominant cultures with African dominated culture has led to an identity crisis, which roots itself into assimilation policies promoted by the colonizers aiming to create elites who will later on perpetuate colonial domination.

DORE (2001) points out that colonial governments undermined traditional authority and traditional management strategies of natural resources mostly through the individualization of property (OPOKU 2006). Traditional leaders lost completely control over natural resource management they were having during the pre-colonial era. The ecological and religious perception of natural resources en vogue at that epoch began to dwindle in influence and foreign ethos were placed at the centre of conservation issues. The colonialist promoted a strong exploitation of resources for economic progress. The sense of common property has gradually disappeared and has been replaced by individual property. The pre-colonial norms of societal control limiting great impact of plundering have been replaced by colonial "displacement and disfranchisement of traditional resource management system" imposed to communities whose practices were perceived as backward and ineffective. Therefore, custodians of natural resources such as chiefs, kings and spirit mediums were dethroned by colonial governments (MUKWADA 2008: 40-41).

Local laws, mediums and chiefs who were perceived as a stance of conservation have lost all power in values transmission, which appeared out of date and "traditional" with the

promotion of “enlightened” and “modern” ideas which brought the young and future African generation to have little respect to their ancestral values and political leaders. This situation was enforced by western beliefs and values carried out through Christian churches which had a substantial effect on the reduction of the potential of eco-religion promoted in the pre-colonial times. The fact that the traditional authorities lost their political power has led to the loss of knowledge power on conservation issues, values, rules and regulation (MUKWADA 2008: 49). The promotion of individual property led to a decrease in social cohesion and sense of collective social responsibility with individual values and interest outweighing collective interest and values. In this case, as MUKWADA points out, efficient measures related to conservation have less chances of success (MUKWADA 2008:50).

Individual property right seems to have completely broken down the fundamentals of community management of natural resources. Under this base, it could be argued that colonialism has undermined the cultural based of sustainability through the imposition of religious and ethics, which were not always in harmony with nature conservation and which have modified the behavior and motivation of local people towards conservational issues, as made evident by TARINGA (2006: 212). This also had a great impact on people’s rights and responsibilities towards nature, which was given less consideration as those given to distant families and communities. This change in value system epitomizes the impact colonial rule had on the ways local people see themselves in relation to their environment.

Social institutions and its related legal systems, education, human resources and infrastructures were also completely disturbed by colonial authorities. First of all, the social life and the strong connection of people to their land were strongly modified with the establishment of national parks. By placing a great importance to economic development and farming production, colonial governments first of all introduced a regulation which gave them the right to intervene in local peasant affairs through the introduction of land-use planning which transformed completely all forms of traditional knowledge but which also enable their eviction from their land (HILL and KATARERE 2001: 259). They argued that inequitable distribution of land pushed people to an intensive use or overexploitation of resources leading to resource depletion and degradation. As consequence, colonial authorities established “state forests” for conservation purposes, which was differentiated from “indigenous forests” in Zimbabwe. The result of this procedure has been the subjection of people to environmental and social constraints and their inability to diversify their sources of income (IBID: 252).

Conservation issues in the colonial era took place under the strong supervision of the Germans and the British who established the first reserves in the 1890s. Ten years later, they called a joint conference in order to preserve African wildlife. They called on other colonial powers to enact the set legislation including, the bans on killing of young females, the establishment of closed seasons to allow wildlife population to grow, hunting secured through a license system, a ban on the use of traps, snares and poisons. They also prohibited Africans to access to firearms and the creation of reserves for wildlife protection (MADDOX 2006: 145; ENGHOFF 1990: 96). Also, forest reserve areas in Africa were established during the colonial era by 1920s, with the establishment of regulations aimed at controlling access to forests.

They were also concerned with protective measures such as banning burning of forests and savannah regions, the protection of hill and mountain slopes, the preservation of economic forests and the granting of concessions to foreign firms for exploitation (MADDOX 2006: 146). All these regulations were done without consultation and to the detriment of local people and has altered land-use rights as discussed above, but also deprived Africans of access to resources, new land, forest products, grazing, game meat on which they had long relied on. They were also excluded from access to fuel wood, hunting, fishing and to create new agricultural areas (HILL and KATARERE 2001: 265-266; MADDOX 2006: 105).

So forest reserves, games reserves and national parks were created in the 1930s with the claim of protecting natural landscapes and valuable resources (MADDOX 2006: 137). Other colonial powers merged inside this conservation programs and developed cooperative strategies through the creation of a wildlife conservation lobby which organized a strategic conference in Paris in 1931 aiming to develop efficient tools for the protection of African fauna and flora (MADDOX 2006: 148). Motivation to these conservationist issues was both ecological but also ideological as Adams and MCSHANE (1996) argued.

Firstly, it should be pointed out that Europeans did not want to change Africa's image of wilderness, which they invented and wanted to preserve, so it was important to secure and maintain Africa's ecosystems and their large numbers of animals, which is a source of lasting attraction for Europeans throughout the world. Secondly, it was also a matter of securing permanent presence of animals for hunting activities. By doing this, as WEST, IGOE and BROCKINGTON argue Europeans imposed their virtualization of dichotomy nature/culture on places and people to whom this distinction did not previously exist. They have succeeded to

separate and categorize people and their surrounding through the imposition of discursive means of conservation, development and practices and to create institutions responsible to strengthen and implement this ideal of mirroring western imaginaries of nature and culture in which nature is presented as static object separate from human beings. The impact has been the forceful exclusion of people from their land (MADDOX 2006: 255-256).

Through this process, local people were alienated from their lands and colonial authorities have criminalized their practices related to natural resources. Inspired by the Yellowstone model of erasure of the social history of local peoples land use, colonial governments claimed conservationist policies as a means of protected areas establishment. This led to the use of the same strategy of dispossession of local peoples all over Sub-Saharan Africa, from South Africa under Apartheid, to the San Bushmen's plight in the East, West and Central Africa with the claim that local people's relationship to the environment was having profound impact on conservational goals. Consequently, some local populations showed resistance to the creation of protected areas or to the established management norms because it led to their impoverishment and contributed a lot to their marginalization.

By creating National Parks, colonial governments have transformed local people's hunting and grazing areas into closed areas they cannot use and over which their access is submitted to strong regulation, restricting their traditional access rights and land use and destroying their traditional land tenure systems. Africans were not allowed to hunt except under the direction of Europeans who retained the right to shoot any animal explained by the European aristocratic hunting traditions reserving hunting for the elite (MADDOX 2006: 143-144). All developed activities, which were not following the norms, even if it was in accordance with traditional practices, were considered illegal (illegal logging) or poaching (related to wildlife management), pastoral practices and land management techniques resulting in a strong disturbance of local community dynamics and resistance towards protected area establishment, operation and maintenance.

This precarious situation placed local peoples into a position where illegal logging and poaching appears as one of the best subsistence option. This led to strong police and military intervention and the use of permanent state violence and power relationships in protected areas management (NEUMANN 2004). New human resources and institutions were needed to have a full control over the set protected areas. It is in this frame that new officials were

trained for anti-poaching, as national park guards during the colonial periods and institutions such as army, police and prisons were enforced to bring discipline (IBID: 828). All these elements prove that colonial governments' management of natural resources was based on structural violence multiplying killing incidences of wildlife agents and "poachers".

As far as wildlife management is concerned, Neumann points out that, it was dominated with a discursively constructed superiority of Europeans represented as hunters and a sporting event, killing in "sweet reasonableness and moderation" while Africans are presented as poachers hunting in a wasteful way and as "indiscriminate slaughterers". This has resulted on the one hand in the creation of a discursive construction of identities assimilating Africans to poachers and Europeans to "compassionate, sporting and conservation-minded hunter and on the other hand with the association of Africans as poor, uncivilized, practicing wasteful destruction of scarce resources contrasting with European conservation-minded "sustainable hunting" (NEUMANN 2004: 825-826).

Cattle destruction is indirectly related to colonialism in the sense that, it has introduced rinderpest a cattle disease which is claimed to be long present in Europe and never in Africa and which spread throughout the continent killing and infecting almost 80 percent of the cattle (MADDOX 2006: 104). All these conservational issues have contributed to the separation of several communities first of all from their lands, forests and animals but also from their culture and social institutions. It has led to changing of people's social, political and economic behaviors and needs.

At the end of the day, it seems as if Foucault's idea explained in his publication "Discipline and punish, the Birth of Prison" (1975) could be easily applied in colonial ruling system of natural resources. Colonial governments have put in place a normative power system aimed at disciplining colonial subjects through the establishment of a set of punitive penalties for those who were not ready to follow the norms. These norms have isolated the communities and individuals and introduced and exerted colonial power in all human activities. It has enabled colonial authorities to have full control over people's minds, souls, bodies and behaviors and to put in place power techniques represented by colonial institutions and an administrative engine. This administrative regime set down strong regulations alienating local peoples and their rights, modifying society's relationship to individuals based substantially on power relation putting individuals and communities in a coercion apparatus in order to assert

colonial moral, representative, political, economic, social structures and technical authority over resources and local peoples. It is also obvious that the strong orientation of colonial governments towards economic profits and the related social exclusion in regards to natural resource management cannot be a sustainable mode of natural resource management.

Colonialism also introduced “development” as a colonial ideology after 1950 understood as a means of using scientific knowledge “to better manage the use of resources as well as investment in new and appropriate technologies” and motivation to suppress the revolts of indigenous people (MADDOX 2006: 137; MOSLEY 1987: 21). This was promoted with activities such as mechanization of agriculture, land irrigation and the promotion of reserved forests and parks put directly under the control of the colonial government. Furthermore, the British colonial government published the “Colonial Development Act” in 1940 requiring all colonies to come out with a development plan, which were supposed to be supported by the metropole. These strategies failed because it meant too much labor for Africans for little return but saw the adoption of some of those strategies by some African elite (MADDOX 2006: 138).

Conclusively, it could be agreed with ADAMS and MULLIGAN (2003), CHABAL and DALOZ (1999) and NUSCHLER and ZIEMER (1980) that colonialism through colonial administration eradicated pre-colonial political and economic traditions and transformed all levels of African societies profoundly from the political relation via economies and ending to social metamorphoses by creating new landscapes. This invariably changed the relation between humans and nature as well as the propagation of new ideologies, which have contributed to put down the roots of colonial legacy. It succeeded to create some association of identities bound with meanings and knowledge, which differentiate colonial conservationist strategies of natural resources opposed to local or indigenous depletion strategies. African subjects were therefore integrated pejoratively into the colonial discourse and new identities were dedicated to them. Most relevant is also the fact that African communities were sustainably excluded from the management of their natural resources, which was enforced through institutional means and methods.

2.6.3. Post-colonial management of natural resources in Africa

The colonial period and the colonial strategy of management of natural resources in Africa was mainly based on exclusion and control of people's access as well as the imposition of discursive strategies and technical means of management of natural resources provided mainly by colonial authorities. The question in this part of the work will consist of pointing out if there were any substantial changes in the post-colonial strategies related to the management of natural resources.

The concept of "Postcoloniality" is a contested one. Scholars have different understandings on what it means and to what it refers to. If the issue of colonialism makes more unanimity, the prefix "post" is one of the great problems in the debate because scholars as DE ALVA asserts that postcoloniality should be decoupled from decolonization arguing that many communities are still subject to the oppression system put into place by colonialism (quoted by LOOMBA 2005: 17). The second critic is concerned with the fact that post-colonialism is too close to the history of colonialism and can give the impression that the history of the concerned societies start only with colonial rule (LOOMBA 2005: 20). She further argues that postcoloniality refers to "a process of disengagement for the whole colonial syndrome" concluding with HULME that "post-colonial should be a descriptive not an evaluative term" (IBID: 20).

According to CHABAL and DALOZ (1999), post-colonialism in Africa could be understood under two main paradigms. The first one is concerned with the REAPPROPRIATION and successful adaptation of the Western state model to the African context valorizing the interests of a small political elite focusing on the colonial and post-colonial persistency, which can be found in state management procedures in Africa. The second model argues that postcoloniality has failed to be implanted in Africa because of cultural factors, which have hindered the transfer of Western values and the importation of Western political structures.

Therefore by postcolonial in this part of the work, the focus would be given firstly to the first understanding of "Post" as "After the colonial normative and administrative ending process" and secondly on the "otherness" created throughout the colonial process in a descriptive but also evaluative process. Through an historical analysis, an attempt would be made to know if

there has been any changes in the management of natural resources at “the end of colonialism” and with the “indigenization” of politics and other spheres of activities in Africa.

2.6.3.1. Overview on of post-colonial natural resources policies in Africa

“The African elites that took over the newly independent states from the late 1950s also inherited many of the same conceptions as the former colonial governments. They often pursued policies that removed control over land and local resources from local communities” (MADDOX 2006: 138)

CHABAL and DALOZ (1999) assert that Africa in its post-colonial context was confronted with a dilemma on interaction of ancestral norms and the adaptation of modern logic conformed to the Western template. In order to understand the postcoloniality aspect of natural resource management in Africa after colonialism, it is relevant to point out if post-colonial policies, administrative and legal institutions brought any evolution towards all the frameworks regulating the access to natural resources. Also, it is imperative to evaluate if the social and economic conditions undermining peoples and communities has been given enough consideration in policy, law and in their implementation.

KAMENI-MBOTE and CULLET (1997) argue that the impact of colonial rule on natural resource management in Africa did not encounter any change after the independence of African countries because several post-colonial governments carried out the institutional and legal frameworks established and enforced under colonialism. It adopted a centralized strategy of colonial policy and not much has been done to tailor domestic laws to the needs of the communities. Local communities are still not involved in policy-making procedures. Their practices and knowledge were also not taken into consideration (KAMENI-MBOTE and CULLET 1997: 27; WASONGA, KAMBEWA and BEKALO 2010: 168; IUCN 2006; ENGHOF 1990: 98).

As far as environmental laws are concerned, it is argued that they are “a relic of their colonial past” advocating for the rational management of natural resources in accordance with international environmental laws. These laws have often neglected local environmental knowledge and their formalization into the domestic system with strong focus on state management and control of natural resources and its integration into the colonial economy (IBID: 28; CHERU 1992: 497).

As a matter of fact, the Communal Areas Act adopted in Zimbabwe in 1982 is argued to be a “virtual replica of the Tribal Trust Land Act” adopted by the British colonial government in 1967 (DORE 2001). MADDOX (2006) explained the reasons of this adoption of colonial

policies to the fact that these newly “independent” countries were made up of people who were trained under colonial regimes, adapted and believed in the development paradigms promoted by colonialists. This made them to have Western societies as the good model to imitate in order to catch-up and abandon their “underdevelopment”. This was strengthened by international aid agencies, which promoted Western development paradigms obliging new independent states to get aligned to its principles in order to be eligible (IBID: 162). In addition post-colonial states were built on European models and traditions deepening colonial ideological legacy of colonialism (ADAMS and MULLIGAN 2003: 5).

As far as community’s restrictive access to natural resources are concerned, post-colonial authorities have followed the model of establishment of protected areas that exclude local communities from their management, putting everything under the control of public authorities. The control over resources was understood as a critical element of state power (MADDOX 2006: 138). Relying on the South African example, MUROMBEDZI (2003) asserts that conservation issues were strengthened during the post-colonial era with several protected areas proclaimed and functioning on the bases set by colonial institutions. These projects gave less regards to the conservation approach and livelihood practices of local population, but rather imposed alien and arbitrary rules and hindering people’s access to their ancestral lands and resources. Local communities were therefore disenfranchised from the management of natural resources, which was mainly characterized by top-down approaches leading to resentment and apathy of rural communities towards conservation and governmental agencies (WASONGA, KAMBEWA and BEKALO 2010: 168).

The result of these strategies have been at first sight, the decline of post-colonial state legitimacy and at the second sight the creation of resistance and a set of conflicts opposing local populations and state agencies leading to the destruction of objects supposed to be conserved. Local populations have often claimed to be exploited and alienated by natural resource management policies and saw wildlife conservation policies in the same way they saw colonial policies – as an oppressive means of denying them access and rights over resources and their natural heritage as well as no access to land and their important religious and historical sites. The whole spectrum was geared towards the benefit of the government and foreigners who are allowed to visit the established protected areas whenever they want. This led local communities to legitimate illegal resource extraction as a form of resistance (MADDOX 2006: 138-141; LANGE 2004: 905; MAPEDZA 2007: 840).

The decreased of wildlife species have been dramatic with the continuation of this exclusive policies which made animals to be partly secured only in the park reserves and no more outside them. An illustration to this is the fact that the number of wildlife species in Eastern Africa drop down significantly from 1960 to 1976 (HAMILTON 1982: 275-278) due to resistance to established norms. The needs for financial means led to massive killings of elephants and rhinos and other herbivorous species (GIBSON 1999: 15). This policy continued till the end of the 1970s during which protected areas were exclusively separated and managed without any consideration to external entities and were considered as ecological islands (HANON 2008: 8).

This strategy encountered tremendous changes after the creation of the IUCN and the creation of the first nature biosphere in 1976, which led to the introduction of new concepts in conservation discourses such as “buffer zone” and “transition zone”. These enabled a progressive involvement of humans in protected areas for recreational purposes for a “buffer zone” and development activities for a “transition zone” (HENS and BOON in BOON, HENS and OVIEDO 2012: 2).

Under FAO recommendation and pressure of civil society organizations, several African governments have shifted during the 1980s to the promotion of CBNRM programs, which was a response to participation crisis as well as to fuel wood crisis of the 1970s (BROWN 2003: 353). COX, VILLAMAYOR-TOMAS and HARTBERG, (2013) argue that CBNRM has enabled a change in the perception of natural resource management in Africa because it does no longer appear as an externally imposed governance strategy, disregarding all local forms of knowledge and belief systems, which are relevant for natural resource management. CBNRM was later on presented in the UNCED as a prerequisite for sustainable development (LEACH, MEARNS and SCOONES 1999: 225).

The 1980s experienced the development of participatory forest management supported by financially viable countries as part of the recommendations of the SAP initiatives (AMANOR 2003). KAMOTO, CLARKSON, DORWARD and SHEPHERD (2013) assert that this strategy is facing huge implementation problems in Africa. Instead of promoting decentralization and devolution processes necessary for its good operation, several African countries have strived to formulate decentralizing and devolution policies, which are also, include burdensome

regulatory frameworks and limited transfer of authority and power to local organizations and communities. Amanor (2003) shares the same point of view and argues that participatory forest management in Africa is still marked by high technocratic top-down framework, which enables local communities to participate but only under the programs of global and national agencies instead of creating a platform where rural people will make their own inputs into natural resource policy. This has resulted to the fact that the rights to forest resources to rural peoples would not be restored and communities would be blamed for using inappropriate resource management strategies.

AMANOR (2003) further argues that this participation is in fact rooted in a neo-liberal philosophy giving less attention to distorted forestry practices of industrial firms and alienation of rural people by the policies whose role solely consist of controlling the use of natural resources. Therefore, DUFFY (2006) observes that in practice, there are no fundamental changes between colonial and post-colonial conservation and natural resource management strategies due to the fact that communities continue to be confronted with burdensome bureaucracy obliging them to be qualified for land entitlements before they are deemed appropriate resource users and managers.

Furthermore MAPEDZA (2007) adds that co-management strategies have also sidelined local communities and their indigenous knowledge systems valuating more exotic knowledge appearing as more internationally accepted in opposition to local knowledge unique for a given culture, society or geographical area. Given this situation, it could be observed that, even with the introduction of some co-management strategies introducing local populations in the management and decision-making procedures in natural resource in Africa, there have been no fundamental changes in postcolonial Africa. As AGRAWAL (1997) points out, the West was able to colonize other regions of the world because of its superior knowledge and techniques of control and warfare, which allowed it greater power, which provided the West the possibility of guiding actions (AGRAWAL 1997: 476). This enforces MAMDANI's (1996) idea of rural communities remaining subjects rather than citizens in the postcolonial period in Africa.

CHABAL and DALOZ (1999) argue that post-colonial African states were hybrid states mixing Western norms introduced under the colonial rule with the values inherent to African social systems. This argument could be verified in some countries where pre-colonial conservation

strategies exist near colonial ones. A good example is the KATCHIKALLY community in Gambia where customary laws on natural resources have contributed so much on the preservation of crocodiles and forests and have promoted eco-touristic activities (GITHITHO in JOFFROY 2005).

This analysis highlights the fact that post-colonial African natural resource management institutions did not succeed to come out of the strategic position of the implemented dominant discourse already en vogue during the colonial period. They remained subjected to the dominant rationale and were unable to develop their own alternative ways of managing natural resources according to their internal driving forces. They continued to be vested into Western knowledge, based on authority, shaping the language, behaviors and attitudes of governments and people. These procedures made African subjects to experience a kind of depersonalization bringing them to be defined according to the dominant discourses put in place since the colonial period. They had to look at themselves and develop their internal strategies only according to extroverted perspectives. This enforced their alienation since they acted no longer according to their needs and vision but mostly according to the reflections and aspirations of external forces.

This destruction of African states has generated what CHABAL and DALOZ (1999) called “the political instrumentalization of disorder”. This is based on the fact that Africanized colonial institutions have failed to manage and to get identified with those structures because, as they claim, African political elites have never developed any interests for developing their own state apparatus as this system seems to serve them so well. They concluded that post-colonial African states are a décor and a pseudo Western façade unable to come alone closely to their own deep problems and challenges.

2.6.3.2. Africa’s appropriation of global environmental narratives and its impacts

This subsection would present an analysis and throw more light to Africa’s introduction and participation in the global environmental debate and if subalterns’ voices on natural resource management have brought any changes in natural resources management and perception. NAJAM (2005) argues that African governments through their participation in global environmental debates have two great expectations: a systemic change of global negotiations characterized by exclusion and the desire to move from the periphery explained by the “long-standing economic, political and geographic differences” between African and Western countries.

It is generally argued that Africa got introduced in the global governance process after the 1990s marked by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the spread of the “democratic wind” all over the continent. With the “advent of democracy” several African countries were confronted with different governance reforms and with administrative decentralization processes which were promoted partly by the Rio Conference of 1992 as a relevant strategy for better management of natural resources and equitable sharing of benefits (GERMAN et al., 2010: 1). Also this period experienced the entry of new actors called civil society embedding NGOs, Community Based Organizations (CBOs) and indigenous authorities in the sphere of natural resource management (RIBOT in GERMAN et al. 2010: 29).

Ninety six percent of African countries have ratified the Rio conventions and have developed some strategies to implement them (UNEP 2001: 3). In addition to its commitment to those conventions, some African countries have taken some steps to abandon the former centralized management of natural resources by the state and have involved other actors in the field of natural resources management. It motivated states to merge decentralization and co-management in natural resources management by creating a political and legal environment ensuring that local needs and visions are taken into consideration in natural resource management.

KAMERI-MBOTE and CULLET, however highlights that the majority of African countries did not succeed to implement what had been discussed and decided during the Rio Conference of 1992. They could not achieve the wish of merging environmental management with better living standards of their population due to a strong political failure in the articulation of environmental and development agenda at the national and regional level (KAMERI-MBOTE and CULLET 1997: 51). This idea is in strong contradiction with AMANOR’s (2003) idea, arguing that African countries have embraced the participatory mechanisms promoted by Rio with regards to forests management. He claims that immediately after Rio, some African countries strived to develop strategies, which were thought to be in accordance with the proposals of the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Forests.

Related to this issue of African compliance to international protocols, some issues related to environmental and developmental management in Africa could be raised. UNEP (2001) points out that UNCED had mostly contributed to institutional development in natural

resource management in Africa, which casually effects on consensus building, participatory processes and the involvement of private sectors. Many African countries have in fact established institutions responsible for the management of natural resources after Rio. They have also developed national strategies for the implementation of Agenda 21, which were drawn up and enacted as discussed in Rio at the national level. Committees responsible of the enhancement of a mutual supportive relationship between trade and environment were also promoted and came to action. In addition, Rio has motivated many African countries to increase the surface of protected areas in order to save both wildlife and endemic species. Some wood exploiting companies active in Africa were forced to adopt the eco-labeling procedure for their exports.

However, all these procedures have not contributed very much on the sustainable management of natural resources all over the continent. From an ecological perspective, the UNEP reports that African environment has continued to decline after Rio. Natural resources and ecosystems have constantly been depleted due to the strong dependence of governments and people on natural resources necessary for economic growth and the improvements of their standards of living. Africa is losing almost 1,3 million ha of forest every year out of its 520 million ha with an annual deforestation rate of 0.7 % between 1990 and 1995, which has put forest's wildlife population under increasing pressure due to the loss in habitats.

The reasons raised embrace demographic pressure, poverty, production and consumption patterns, illegal logging, grazing pressures, illegal cultivation, the demand for fuelwood and charcoal, oil and mining exploitation and forest fires. In response to this problem, a number of countries have established national forest action plan to control forest exploitation and forest management. Insofar as almost 400 million people, living in Africa relies directly or indirectly on the forest for their livelihood (CIFOR 2005: 4), it would be difficult to redress the situation without significant restructuring of international trading systems, consumption patterns and putting and maintaining responsible leadership in many African countries.

As far as development issues are concerned the situation is scarcely better. If the years 1980 to 1989 were considered as a lost decade in Africa, the period 1990 to 2000 did not experience a leap forward with an average economic performance of 3%. Many African countries were confronted with major political and economic problems during this decade with strong financial poverty persistence having as consequence the inaccessibility of

economic goods and services to many African households and deepening the dependence of rural peoples on natural resources. In addition, the external debt of sub-Saharan Africa was estimated to USD 324.7 billion. Those countries had to liberalize their economies to service foreign debts and this has had an important impact on environmental degradation, since governments had to use natural resources in order to earn foreign exchange from exports commodities. As Johnson (2011) argues, Africa needs at least a growth rate of 7% per year in order to promote well-being in its whole society. Its integration into the global system has not changed so far, with its stagnating position of 3%.

Only some countries⁴³ in the world have reached the target of the Official Development Assistance (ODA) of 0.7. This ODA increased however from USD 8.5 billion between 1974 and 1984 to USD 22.1 billion from 1990 to 1996. This has also increased the extent of aid dependence of African countries, which rose from 2.7% in the first period described above to 5% during the second period. But there has been a great decline in ODA flow to African countries since 1992. This was not the case with the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)⁴⁴, which rose from UDS 8 billion in 1990 to 10 billion in 1996 and was concentrated only in Angola, Egypt, Nigeria, South Africa and Morocco. The amount of FDI is marginalizing compared to the global amount of USD 44 billion invested in the world in 1990 and 244 billion USD in 1996 evidencing the fact that African countries continue to be marginalized in terms of FDI amounts with only 3% of global investment. It could therefore be observed that Africa is playing a marginalizing role in the global economy system with a limiting role of “supplier of cheap labor and raw material” which resulted to the fact that “Africa has remained the poorest continent despite being one of the most richly endowed regions of the world” (UNEP 2001: 11).

As far as the outcome of the WSSD in Africa is concerned, it enhanced the creation of the NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa’s Development) as a framework for sustainable development in the continent. This organizational unit has made poverty eradication its banner, striving to fight income poverty as well as human poverty (Economic Commission for Africa 2008). In accordance with the JPOI, developing countries are required to present concrete plans and actions. Under the initiatives of the World Bank and the IMF many African countries have developed national development plans incorporating poverty reduction

⁴³ Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden

⁴⁴ Africa’s FDI is usually coming from Europe and to lesser extent from North America (ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA 2008:120).

strategies (PRS) and PRSPs for countries requiring debt alleviation. According to the Economic Commission for Africa (2008), these have contributed to reduce the incidence of poverty in a number of countries in Africa but points out that income inequality remains one of the great challenges of Africa because no change has been registered from 1990 to 2004.

In relation to the sustainable consumption (SC) and production (SP) patterns launched in Johannesburg, the “Eco-labeling initiative” was promoted since 2007 in order to expand the market access of African products in regional and international markets through the improvement of products environmental profiles. However, if SP patterns are already common in many African countries, SC patterns are still facing several challenges due to the poverty gap among people and within countries.

African countries have realized considerable progress in the fields of sustainable tourism, which has contributed so much to its economic development. In fact, Africa has registered an increase of 8% in this area. Coupled with the Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) activities, sustainable tourism activities in Africa based on ecotourism and nature parks development have contributed through the initiative of the Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP), launched by the WSSD, which enforced the establishment of community-based tourism projects and associations, has been of benefit to most disadvantaged populations mostly in countries such as Namibia and Uganda. However, sustainable tourism activities are still fragmented and lack coordination between governments. Its informal nature and lack of adequate financial support are challenges inherent in such small, medium and micro enterprises.

2.7. Summary

“The ultimate objective of global governance is to promote ‘development’ for all societies and individuals (...). Development must be a comprehensive and holistic process integrating the economic, social, political, environmental and cultural aspects in dynamic fashion” (Bates-Eamer et al 2012: 26).

Based on this quotation, it is relevant to do a review of what happen since Africa got introduce into global governance and analyze if it has as stated promote the development of its societies and individuals in a comprehensive and holistic approach.

The analysis of four international conferences related to global environmental governance has pointed out that strategies were undertaken at the global level in order to guide and harmonize activities related to sustainable management of natural resources since decades. Ordered rules and the promotion of collective action stand at the center of all these international forums on

environment and development which describe actions and method of regulation as well as intentionality. The publication of principles as well as implementation strategies, the creation of some institutions in charge of global governance of some issues present in all these conferences highlights clearly its governmentality aspect through the realization of normative, technical, social and institutional governance.

The weak point of this global strategy is related to its effective governance or its capacity to get things done and to transform the societies according to the norms it has developed itself or even the insurance that the set policies are better coordinated and well done.

The management of African natural resources could contribute to promote economic growth as well as people's well-being in rural and in urban areas. Although participative strategies have been promoted in natural resources management since Rio, the outcome of this chapter is that the introduction of African countries inside the global economy and conservation system could be dated from the colonial time which created and promoted new forms of knowledge related to resources management strategies as well as defining what development is and should look like. By adopting colonial narratives of resources management strategies coupled with the following of development doctrine set down by colonialists, African countries get involved inside a global discourse in which it holds neither the means nor the finality. The fact is that several African countries have not strived to adapt or to introduce positive pre-colonial conservation patterns at the post-colonial era in their resource management policies and waited for international pressure to implement co-management strategies as well as community-based natural resources management strategies which anyway still remain strongly marked by external criteria and characterized with low governmental readiness to empower local people and to devolve communities significant jurisdiction over resources (See Wily 2002:31).

If the Rio conference succeeded to spread the idea of sustainable development throughout the world, it could be asserted that Africa fully embraced the concept after the WSSD but African governments are still placed in a great dilemma of overcoming debts burden and exploiting their natural resources to solve this problem. Besides this, the matter of forest exploitation for economic growth has not be centered during the international conferences due surely to divergent perspectives on this issues and the involvement of rich multinationals realizing huge profit through this exploitation with local population still playing a marginal role which can be resumed in the exploitation of NTFPs. The consequence is that, forest's area continues to get lost and the revenues of forest's activities barely have any impact of the promotion of local and national development.

It was also made clear that from Rio to Rio, development issues were integrated into environmental management and that a clear dichotomy of roles and actions were explicitly mentioned dividing the role of stakeholders. As far as African countries are concerned, they were all integrated into the frame of developing countries which encounter serious environmental problems due to their states of poverty and which need urgent help of industrialized countries in order to build a better future. This idea was mostly enforced during the WSSD in Johannesburg where it was made clear that Africa alone cannot solve all his problems. Africa needs to be empowered by industrialized countries in form of funding, capacity building, knowledge and information as well as transfer of technical support. Africa has therefore to follow and implement the normative frame put in place at the global sphere in order to have a chance to be “developed” according to the dominant discourse. This frame evidences the fact that there has been no substantial change in Africa perception in dominant discourse imposed since the colonial period consisting on infantilizing Africa which continues to be subjected to different external forces and norms and which has to be thought and constructed according to the dominant knowledge of a continent always on the need of something, involved into a representative framework of poverty and underdevelopment justifying consequently external interventions and actions and domination through conditionalities attached to the global bound legislative and executive frames. The hypothesis that Africa has not been included inside the global governance procedure but remains at the margins could therefore be verified since Africa’s role and situation in the global governance system has not encountered any change since its introduction as a periphery since the colonial period. The fact that development issues and natural resources management for the promotion of development have been subjected to global environmental and developmental conference over forty years without any substantial changes highlight the fact that Africa has lost the power to speak and to submit its problem at the global level. Although some insights have been done by discussing global injustice between developed and developing countries over decades, no concrete actions have been taken to reduce the gaps among them even since the promotion of globalization which has instead contributed to the propagation of inequalities within and among nations.

3. Germany and development cooperation in Africa in the framework of global environmental governance

The main argument of this chapter is that Germany has been one of the main actors that has introduced Africa to the global management of natural resources with regard to nature conservation; presently, and since the colonial era. This chapter also defends view that Germany African policy is embedded in global governance in such a manner that multilateral agreements have a primary place in Germany's relationship with Africa. Some of the principles that have been internationalized are enforcing some colonial legacies.

Firstly it will discuss narrative changes related to Germany's colonialism motivations with particular regard to natural resources management. Secondly, the analysis will highlight the fact that the German position has not changed so much according to natural resources management in Africa with particular consideration towards forest and biodiversity conservation which have later on gained great importance in the framework of German development cooperation with African countries.

3.1. Germany from colonialism to Weltpolitik in Africa: an overview

The German colonial period was marked by two influential rulers adopting two different foreign policies, namely, the Chancellors Bismarck and Wilhelm II. An Overview on their policies and their impacts on Africa will be raised in this part of the analysis.

3.1.1. Germany colonial policy in Africa

Germany relationship with Africa dates back to colonial expansion. As much literature already exist on this topic, an overview of the main characteristics of German motivations, colonial policy and colonial strategies of managing natural resources in German colonies in Africa as well as its influence on other African colonies occupied by other colonial forces will be highlighted.

The German colonial experience was marked by the political influence and rule of Bismarck and other political and commercial groups who motivated Bismarck who was initially reluctant towards any colonial enterprises. The first German companies which acted with the support of the German Empire in African coastal areas did so in order to defend Germany from international competition, and to ensure, enforce and maintain Germany's new created position as superpower at the European level (STRANDMANN 2009: 9). Germany was

influenced by British colonial model and wanted to create influence areas and enlarge its financial sphere abroad in order to confirm its position as an imperial power and secure its national prosperity.

Supported by German liberal and imperial political groups which urged Bismarck to create empires at the overseas level as a mean of consolidating the new created German empire of 1870/1871, Bismarck did not see any motivation to pursue any colonial policy before 1884 (HENDERSON 1993: 33). Bismarck's interests focused on Europe and he was not ready to get involved into any political actions, which would add any political or economical burden to the Empire (STRANDMANN 2009: 27) as evidenced by Bismarck's famous quotation to the colonial enthusiastic WOLF:

“Your map of Africa is really quite nice. But my map of Africa lies in Europe. Here is Russia, and here is France, and we are in the middle. That is my map of Africa” (WOLF 1904: 16).

Based on four main factors namely demographic pressure, emigration interests, industrialization and patriotic fervor, politicians like Friedrich FABRI, traders such as Adolph WOERMANN, intellectuals like RATZEL who pledged for the establishment of German possessions overseas, Bismarck was obliged to develop a colonial policy by 1884. The first argument was related to the fact that more 40, 9 million people were living in Southwestern part of Germany during that period and needed some new settlements in the colonies. Those colonies would receive an overflow of this population and absorb some German immigrants resolving this social problem, which could have led to secondary ones such as criminality and revolution. Almost 3 million German citizens emigrated between 1815 and 1871 (SMITH 1978: 4, HENDERSON 1993: 32, WEDI-PASCHA 1992: 11-12).

The industrial argument centered on the fight against pauperism, the creation of new markets for German products, and securing access to raw materials as Germany already depended on foreign countries for her supply in raw materials (HENDERSON 1993: 31, WEDI-PASCHA 1992: 14). Colonial ideologists such as FABRI who claimed that Germany needed to secure her material basis in order to survive supported this idea. HÜBBE-SCHLEIDEN another colonial ideologist shared the point of view of an industry as mean of power and the necessity of an industrial development preventing the degeneration of German people and ensuring German strength (SMITH 1978: 23-24). Colonies were envisioned as trading areas protecting not only German markets and ensuring her access to raw materials but also serving as an outlet of German manufactured goods putting; down the base of German economic colonialism.

The patriotic fervor was oriented towards maintenance of German's position as superpower not only in Europe but also overseas. In addition, colonies were seen as a mean of maintaining German culture and prevent its decline (WEDI-PASCHA 1992: 22). It will enable the "heroic German with his agrarian culture (...) to prosper in the colonies and Germany to continue to its road to greatness and dominance" (Smith 1978: 25). Such idea was supported by ideologists such as Carl Peters.

KOPONEN (1994) argues that Bismarck's colonial policy did not function as a strict formal colonial policy as the French policy which was endowed with strong bureaucracies policed by armies which were working for the subjugation of natives. He wanted to develop a kind of mercantile colonialism; therefore, his main interests were oriented towards commercial and economic purposes. Therefore, he planned to hand over the direction of colonies to traders and salesmen of commercial houses.

WEDI-PASHA (1992) argues that Bismarck's colonial policy was a strategic tool used to merge German and French interests in Africa, which will facilitated the relationship between the two countries and prevented any French revanchist action; also it enabled Germany to be an active country at the international level and promote German's interest in Africa. GRAICHEN and GRÜNDER (2005) argue that economic activities motivated Bismarck's colonial policy due to the fact Germany was in a transition phase between from an agrarian to an industrial state and had to secure its access to raw material and to markets. Bismarck colonial policy was in PERRAS' (2008) terms a pragmatic expansion, a manipulative social imperialism aiming at overcoming the economic depression. This idea is also supported by KNOLL and HIERY (2010) who claim that German colonial ideology was basically economically oriented and focused on markets and raw material needed to enforce its industrial power (See also ROSE 2013: 100).

Nevertheless, Bismarck engaged very prudently in an African colonial policy compared to the colonial policy of other European powers. This is the reason why he convened the Berlin Conference from 1884-1885 in order to avoid any misunderstandings with other powers already active on the African continent (WESSELING 1991). In Bismarck's understanding, the African policy was subordinate to European policy (see Wolf quotation above) and to German commercial interests which finally motivated him to pursue a colonial policy GLOANNEC (and MOLT 1995: 7, 14). Bismarck's international policy depended on a set of alliances determined together with other European powers.

In summary, it could be argued that Bismarck's interests in Africa were mostly oriented towards commercial and trading issues. He saw Africa as full of potential trading opportunities coupled with emigration facilities for the growing German population; both factors ensuring first of all the economic growth and social stability of the German Empire.

Germany was able to conquer some territories in Africa through some sets of "treaties" with "local chiefs" and with the help of traders such as Lüderitz (for German Southwest Africa – today Namibia in October 1884), Carl and Adolf Woermann (for Togo and Cameroon in July 1884) and William O'Swald for German East Africa (today Tanzania) (HENDERSON 1993, SCHINZINGER 1984, FISCHER 2001, ROSE 2013, OKUPA 2006).

As far as natural resources are concerned, their selling and buying were negotiated at the coastal level under the coordination of local chiefs continuing to keep control over goods circulation inside the territories (FISCHER 2001:29).

This policy of economic imperialism and migrationist colonialism launched by Bismarck (PERRAS 2008: 157) was later on followed by two other varieties of colonial policies described as "Weltpolitik" and "Lebensraum".

3.1.2. The Weltpolitik of German colonialism

The concept Weltpolitik was a fashionable word before 1914 and is used to mean "world policy" and to characterize Germany's foreign policy on a worldwide scale; it also refers to the aggressive style of German diplomacy between 1890 and 1914 aiming at expanding the German Empire. Related to the German colonial experience, Weltpolitik is used in order to describe the economic colonialism understood in terms of trade, plantations, or mining important to root the German economic imperialism and to expand German industry and markets and sources of raw materials (WOODRUFF 1978). Weltpolitik has legitimized the territorial expansion into agricultural areas and inner colonization. This policy was introduced during the reign of William II and was supported by strong nationalism. William II, after dismissing Bismarck, had strong personal control over the government; mostly in foreign affairs. Bismarck wanted Germany to intervene in all international affairs in Europe and elsewhere in the World. This period was characterized by high militarism, economic dynamism, and aggressive nationalist foreign policy (SCAIFE 2004: 60, GOLLWITZER 2008: 102). By doing this, William shifted from a Bismarckian Eurocentrism to a world policy or global politics motivated by Germany's presence and "place in the sun" making Germany a

focus point of global issues, reinforcing Germany's claims to global importance (PENNACCHIO in THACKERAY 2004: 66).

As far as German African colonies were concerned William II wanted to achieve a colonial conquest similar to those achieved by other colonial powers. From 1st of April 1890 the management of colonies from the German department of Overseas of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Auswärtiges Amt) shifted to the new created "Colonial Department" of the same ministry under the supervision of Krauel replacing Kusserow and later of Kayser who established the Colonial Council working for the benefit of German economy (FISCHER 2001: 45; SMITH 1978: 44-47). During this period the hinterlands of the colonies were explored and wars against internal groups refusing to confer their land's sovereignty were waged (HENDERSON 1993: 74). Communities were therefore deprived from their lands, considered as "land without masters" and administered according to German's understanding of State management (FISCHER 2001: 44) and managed through imperial decrees recognizing the lands as imperial domains (Kronland) (SCHINZINGER 1984:48). The newly occupied lands were dedicated to agricultural activities used for export products under the control of German settlers and colonial organizations such as the DOAG (Deutsch-Ostafrikanischen Gesellschaft) which were usually sent to German markets (IBID: 50). So, lands were transformed into coffee, cotton, cacao or rubber plantations, near livestock activities. New plants were introduced in some colonies such as sisal-agave when lands were not productive for certain products such as coffee. One particularity of the reign of William II aggressive policy was the introduction of Germany into several international crises and colonial rivalries (GLOANNEC 1995: 8).

3.2.Natural resources management in German colonies

The management of natural resources in German colonies varied from one colony to another. Colonies were differently endowed with natural resources. German East Africa, covering an area of almost 1 million km², was endowed with natural resources such as vast arable land and raw materials necessary for industries such as rubber, cotton and sisal (TETZLAFF 1970). This colony was less endowed with forests; with a forest cover of less than 7% made up by 2/3 of dried forests and poor in mineral resources reduced at that time to salt, glimmer and gold (SCHINZINGER 1984: 28). As far as wildlife is concerned, German East Africa was and is still one of the main areas populated with important wildlife and flora species mostly found in the northern part of the territory (WÄCHTER 2008:19).

Togo covering an area of 87 000 km² was endowed with some primary forest area found in some rare places on the coastal area and also offered opportunities for the cultivation of cotton, palm-oil, coffee and cacao with its fertile lands. Similar to German East Africa, Togo was also poor in mineral resources (SCHINZINGER 1984: 33). The amount of wildlife was also prominent in northern Togo (WÄCHTER 2008:19).

During the German colonial period, Cameroon – initially covering an area of 500 000 km² which was later on extended to 782 000 km² after the Morocco-treaty in 1911 – was endowed with almost all types of climates found in Africa with gives the country a great variety of vegetation types including tropical forest and complete desert areas. The presence of an active volcano in the region of southwestern Cameroon made the region useful for the production of cash crops products such as coffee and cacao, whereas the northern parts of the country mostly dedicated to the production of cotton and livestock activities. Cameroon was considered the German colony most endowed with timber products present inside its primary forests. During the German colonial period, the mineral resources of the colony were not yet discovered and valued (SCHINZINGER 1984: 30-31). WÄCHTER (2008) argues that Cameroon was endowed with and extraordinary natural diversity of wildlife and vegetation species found almost everywhere inside the colony.

German South-West Africa was considered as the driest colony covering an area of 825 000 km² characterized by constant water scarcity, tropical climate, dried savannah and dried forests in the north-eastern part of the territory; 1% of the total area was used for agricultural coupled with livestock activities; in opposition to other colonies, mineral resources such as diamond, copper, galena, gold and cassiterite was the main focus (SCHINZINGER 1984: 29-30). The colony was endowed with important wildlife species found in areas such as Etosha Pan, in Naukluft, Waterberg and endemic floristic species found inside the Namib Desert (WÄCHTER 2008:18).

Particular attention will be paid in forest and wildlife management in German colonies and their implication on local people and to the colonial administration.

3.2.1. Natural resource management policy in German colonies

The German colonial forest management policy varied from one colony to another according to its forest cover. German colonies were unequally endowed with forest areas. It is important to give an overview on forest areas including their wildlife and their management in German colonies.

3.2.1.1. Overview of forests and wildlife in German colonies

The state of forest in German East Africa was mostly concentrated nearby Usambara Mountain (2230 m) characterized by tropical rainforest and facilitated by rich precipitations above 2000 mm. The colony was endowed with several types of forests such as mangroves, cloud forests, dry forests with the presence of steppe forests with Miombo trees species of the *Leguminosae* family such as *Brachystegia*, *Julbernardia* representing more than 80 % of all the trees (HESMER 1986: 168-169, ABDALLAH and MONELA 2007). Mountain forests were present in the north-eastern part of German East Africa near Kilimanjaro, Usambara, Ulugururu and Meru localities and were characterized by dense forest trees such as *Juniperus procera* covering an area of 1 360 000 ha in 1913; the *Juniperus procera* tree species were used for the production of African pencil cedar and for several other purposes, therefore, it was high demanded and each tree was sold for 200 Mark (HESMER 1986: 171, CONTE 2004: 74, MEYER 1909: 54-62). Nevertheless, SCHANZ concludes that German East Africa could not be considered as a wooded colony (1914: 6).

Wild fauna in German East African forest were very rich during the German colonial period with hominidae such as chimpanzees, gorillas and several *cercopithecus*, *antelopes*, *red river hog* (*Potamochoerus porcus*), *turaco* (*Corythaeola cristata*), African Grey Parrot (*Psittacus erithacus*), etc. Rodents, ruminantia, bats species and canivora and other species such as elephants, rhinoceros, giraffe which populated the steppe areas (MEYER 1909: 63-64; WÄCHTER 2008: 19).

In opposition to German East Africa, Togo was characterized by poor forest areas mostly covered with Mangroves, very poor forest gallery and periwinkle forests. Many parts of the colonies were covered by dry forests and scrubs. A small part of rain forests were found in the western part of Togo during the German colonial time and was covering an area of about 3000 ha. Nearby, in the north-western part of the colony the forest area extending from Buem to the Asuoko river was endowed with special tree species such as *Piptadendia kerstingii*, *Erythropheum guineense*, *Albizzia brownei*, *Detarium senegalense*, *Azelia Africana*, *Khaya klanii*, *Chorophora excelsa*, *Celtis integrifolia* and covering an area of 30 000 ha. According

to Metzger, the global area of tropical rain forests present in Togo during the German colonial period was estimated at 60 000 ha and were located in mountainous areas and those areas rich with rivers. In these forests, trees reached a high of between 50 and 60 meters (cited by Hesmer 1986: 236 and 238, Passarge in Meyer 1910: 37-38). Gallery forests were foremost located alongside long rivers areas and covered an area of 75 000 ha (HESMER: 238, KLOSE 1992: 125).

In Togo, the wildlife presence also varied according to the geographical vegetation. The animals living in the small forest areas included mammal species such as monkeys, tree pangolin (*Manis tricuspis*), Bushbuck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*), several types of birds species. In steppes areas animals such as Aardvark (*Orycteropus afer*), leporidae, antelope, carnivora such as Hyaenidae, lions, among others (PASSARGE 1910: 44). Animals species in Togo were less spectacular than in German East Africa due to the small land coverage in which they were living (WÄCHTER 2008: 18).

As far as German South West Africa was concerned, it was considered as the least forest-endowed colony (SCHANZ 1914: 21). It was characterized by poor precipitation status in coastal areas which made the appearance of some plants species possible but which disappeared progressively as soon as one got deeper into the center of the colony. Thus the area was since then already considered as a desert; in this regard the closer one moves to the northern and eastern part of the colony, the more one finds precipitation and some vegetation patterns mostly qualified as woods savannah. So, the steppe ecosystems mostly present in the southern part of the colony characterized by the virtual absence of any trees species (SCHULZE in MEYER 1910: 154-157). These steppes contrasted with bush savannah in the northern part of the colony in which one could have seen more dense types of trees characterized by Schulze as dry forests crossing the Ambo Land (today Ovamboland) with a typical Kalahari vegetation. Most of these trees were *Acacia detinens* Burch., *Acacia dulcis*, *Acacia trispina*, *Acacia hereroensis*, *Combretum primigenium* (Omumborombonga tree), *Ficus damarensis*, etc. both the two last tree species could have reached a high of 15 meter (IBID: 158-159). HESMER (1986) argue that Namibia could not be considered as a forest colony and mention the fact that, the word forest is almost inexistent in all reports related to Namibia, in which, whenever it was ever mentioned, the adjective “dry” (forest) explicitly accompanied it.

German South West Africa was characterized by very rich and diverse wildlife species spread throughout the colony. The majority of mammal species were present in the Okavango region where species such as elephants, hippopotamus (*Hippopotamus amphibious*; mostly in

Kunene, Okavango and Zambezi) together with rhinoceros. Giraffe (*Giraffa capensis Lesson*) were mostly present in northern part of Kakaoveld. More than 80 % of wildlife of this colony were present in the Okavango and Zambezi region and included species such as antelope (*Aepyceros melampus Lichtenstein*), the sitatunga (*Tragelaphus selousi Rothsch.*), reedbuck (*Cervicapra arundinum*), warthog (*Phacochoerus africanus*), Scrub hare (*lepus saxatilis*) etc. (SCHULZE in MEYER 1910: 168-174; WÄCHTER 2008: 18).

Cameroon was the forest richest German colony⁴⁵. HESMER (1986) argues that Cameroon was the only German African colony endowed with a large surface of forest. It possessed dense closed rain forests forming a large belt of 150 km from the Gulf of Guinea to deep into the frontier with Gabon, Congo and Central African Republic. While the coastal and central areas of Cameroon were characterized by abundant rainfall (from 1000 to 2000m), the northern part was already submitted to sahelien conditions (under 1000m) (JENTSCH and BÜSGEN 1909). The coastal area was covered by mangroves forests and alluvial land, the center and northwestern with cloud and high forests, southwestern, south and southeastern with tropical evergreen rain forests and the northern part with shrubberies and thorns forests. According to WOOD (1977), almost 16 million of Cameroon's forest area was covered with tropical rainforest (cited by HESMER 1986: 207). According to the Reichskolonialamt (1913) 1/3 of the whole colony was covered by primary forest (See also JENTSCH 1911).

The abundance of forests area in this German colony meant the possibility of having access to timber for export. Therefore some trees species such as *Lophira alata* which were widespread in the humid coastal area of Cameroon and in which Cameroon was having an indisputable monopoly in whole Africa. Other important species were also found such as *Chlorophora excelsa*, *Terminalia superb*, *Triplochiton scleroxylon*, *Diospyros crassiflora*, *Pterocarpus soyauxii*, *Entandophragma cylindricum* and *Khaya ivorensis* (HESMER 1986, JENTSCH 1911, SCHANZ 1914).

As far as forest's animals are concerned, Cameroon was far more endowed in several species such as buffalos, hippopotamus, leopards, bats, gorilla, reptiles and bird species (MEYER 1909: 445-446, WÄCHTER 2008: 18). A summary of some important wildlife species in colonial Cameroon was published by the REICHSKOLONIALAMT (1913: 65-68).

⁴⁵ Estimates of forest area ranged from at 9 million ha (JENTSCH 1911: 1) while Person argue that it was estimated to 17, 5 million of ha (quoted by HESMER 1986: 207) while SCHANZ (1914) estimated Cameroon forest area from 15 to 20 million ha.

Taking all the above mentioned information, it could be observed that German colonies were endowed with different kinds of forest areas including diverse biodiversity types. Relevant is the issue how of those resources were supposed to be managed and which strategies were developed by the German colonial government.

3.2.1.2. German colonial forest and wildlife policy

German colonial forest and wildlife policy before the beginning of the 20th century was marked by two great strategies: exploitation of resources than their protection. The aim of the German colonial forestry was to transform the “Urwald into Wirtschaftswald” in order to develop softwood forests aiming to replace African hardwoods and “supplement German forestry as a raw material source (SUNRESI 2012: 314).

The German colonial experience in Africa went through the steps discussed in points 2.6.2 and the next points 2.6.2.1, 2.6.2.2 and 2.6.2.3 of the present work. All colonized territories were submitted to new political system, resources were used foremost for the development of the metropolis and values related to those natural resources changed over the time.

As LINDLEY (1926) argues, the treaties the German signed with local chiefs involved them considered as independent ruler and possessors of the territory. However they were paradoxically obliged to “cede all sovereignty rights, all the rights which, according to European ideas, are comprised in the sovereign rights of a Prince (...) all rights which (...) are comprised in an idea of sovereignty including the right to have their own administration” (39). All German colonial possessions were considered as “Schutzgebiete” (protected territories) and were treated as if they were German territory with Germany assuring jurisdiction over foreigners. This idea was enforced with the Law of 15th March 1888 which stipulated that all German protectorates should be considered as German territory (LINDLEY 1926: 205-206). All the colonies were placed under the administration of the German Foreign Ministry (Auswärtiges Amt) in Berlin from 1894 to 1907 and administered in African territory by governors (HESMER 1986: 164). The important policy-making processes were put directly under control of the colonial administration in Berlin supervised by the Colonial Director of the Colonial Department or Office before 1907 located at that time in Wilhelmstrasse (KOPONEN 1995: 102). This Colonial Department which has developed a kind of uniform policy decisions for all colonies required however all colonial administrators to adapt them according to local circumstances. Colonial officials and their auxiliaries were therefore responsible of the implementation of policies set down by Berlin (ibid: 112).

As far as forest management is concerned, the German Botanic Center for colonies (Botanische Zentralstelle für die deutschen Kolonien) was created on the 1st April 1890 by the German colonial administration in order to fulfill three main tasks. Those tasks were: collection of knowledge about useful plants growing in the colonies, informing farmers about the culture of plants and their different sorts as well as about plant diseases, and finally informing German industrial societies about all sorts of possibilities related to the industrial and agricultural use of plants present in the colonies (HESMER 1986: 164; KREYE 2009: 129-130).

From this perspective, it could be argued that German colonial forest policy was motivated by two (or three according to the perspective) main goals: exploitation of plants, their transformation for industrial or agricultural purposes and scientific research, which could be argued to be also tied to issues of exploitation.

In regard to this, an overview of implementation of this forest policy in the German African colonies has to be put in evidence with emphasis on the case countries.

As far as Cameroon is concerned, although the Duala Chiefs who signed treaties with German colonialists mentioned the fact that they will continue to have control over land, cities and villages of Cameroon towns, the Germans occupied the whole land far beyond the sphere of authorities of the Duala Chiefs. They have also introduced on 15th June 1896 an imperial decree stating that all unoccupied lands were considered as Crown land or the property of the German Empire (NGUIFFO, KENFACK, MBALLA 2009, KUM'A NDUMBE III 2008, SCHINZINGER 1984, GRAICHEN and GRÜNDER 2005, GRÜNDER 2004). With this ordinance, no local person was allowed to possess more than 6 ha of land (GUILLARD 2010). The German Colonial Office in Berlin considered Cameroon as an "economic colony" whose aim was to produce wealth for the German Empire. Policies in this regard were developed: all natural resources were declared state property, and a law of contract was enacted in 1892 (MBATU 2006: 15). Based on the treaty they signed with Duala Chiefs, the Germans invaded all the forest corridors occupied by the Batanga, Duala and the Bassa and incorporated them as state's property (OYONO 2005a).

From 1896 to 1899, German forest policy in Cameroon was dedicated to the exploitation of forest resources through two German concession companies namely the Gesellschaft Süd Kamerun created in 1898 with the support of von Puttkamer and the Gesellschaft Nordwest Kamerun (1899). Both companies were active in forest areas occupying almost 2/5 of the total

area of the colony – 7 200 000 sq ha. (SINGER 2008: 23, LANZ 2000: 106). The first company exploited the rich southeast region and had control and management over the whole concession area, its land and resources; establishing a German monopoly on the exploitation on some tree species and ivory which were abundant in this region. The second company exploited the southwest and northwest regions (LE VINE 1964: 26).

Furthermore, as raised above, the German colonial administration was also engaged in scientific research on forests in Cameroon. To this aim, botanic researches was undertaken by the German botanist Schlechter in 1898 after the creation of the botanic garden in southwest Cameroon (The Botanical Garden of Victoria) ten years earlier and the creation of a forestry school where officials were trained to safeguard the colony's timber. The aim however remained the study of important timber necessary for German industries (RUDIN 1931: 253 and 277). The colonial forest and wildlife administrative framework would later be put in place by OTTO SCHORKOPF (1880-1913) in 1907, followed three years later by the creation of a forest service (Oberforster) (GUILLARD 2010: 71; LAPIE 1928). The colonial forestry policy in Cameroon gave particular attention to the exploitation of timber resources relying on botanical research to present them as good opportunity for business (RUDIN 1931: 276). OYONO (2004) argues that the commercial extraction of Cameroonian timber began with the German colonization in 1892. As the Germans moved further into the interior of the colony, timber extraction became more extensive and systematic (LANZ 2000: 106, OYONO 2005b). As a consequence, the German exploited 1 660 tonnes of timber in 1905 and 22 847 tonnes in 1913 (LAPIE 1928) at a value of 950 000 marks (almost 486 000 €) (OYONO quoted BY ELOUNDOU 2012: 41). 44 000 tonnes of timber were consequently exported from Cameroon to Germany between 1910 and 1913 (OYONO 2005b: 5) with a global value of 1 228 000 marks (SCHANZ 1914: 16). The most wanted and extracted forest products were apart from commercial essences such as Gutta-percha, Acacia catechu (*Senegalia catechu*), mangroves woods, Camphor tree (*Cinnamomum camphora*), Strophanthus and Cinchona for medical uses, Khaya tree (African Mahogany), Bubinga (*Guibourtia* spp.), Padouk (*Pterocarpus macrocarpus*), ebony (*Diospyros revaughanii*), Teak (*Tectona grandis*), Cedrus (WESTERMANN 1909: 79-88, SCHANZ 1914: 15).

In 1912 four forestry officers were at the service of the Cameroonian colonial administration and were foremost responsible of the protection of forest from “exhausting culture methods used by indigenous people” (SCHANZ 1914: 17).

Besides this, it is relevant to mention that the Germans had institutionalized the marginalization of local peoples access right to all forest resources through the publication of decree proclaimed in 1896, 1900 and 1913 restricting local communities right of access to their own forest resources (OYONO 2004: 9). Also Germans converted rainforests and tropical forest into plantations mostly in coastal areas of the colony; expropriating peoples from their land (LANZ 2000: 104-105). OYONO therefore conclude:

“For the German colonial administration, the establishment of land concessions for agricultural purposes was an effective way for, de facto and de jure, grabbing customary land and forest on the one hand, and for installing and consolidating a trading system based on the great capital” (OYONO 2013: 4).

As far as wildlife management in Cameroon is concerned, it was also put under the control of the German administration which published some decrees or wildlife acts since 1892 firstly related to hunting fees, licenses and gun permits with local people allowed to possess hunting guns only under special conditions (RUDIN 1931: 154 and 315). German’s wildlife management was focused firstly on the exploitation of ivory in the region of Yaounde, Southeastern, Buea region and Ngila in far north. Germans gathered abundant quantity of ivory from these regions apart from Ngila with ivory institutionalized as payment mean for several goods such as fine, gunpower, taxes motivating more and more pressure for the killing of elephants (RUDIN 1931: 205, GRÜNDER 2004: 143-145, QUINN IN NJEUMA 1989:136). SCHINZINGER (1984) argues that the exports of ivory from Cameroon to Germany rose between 1907 and 1912 with a value of 1 000 000 mark only in the year 1907 (See also WESTERMANN 1909: 90). An amount of 86 to 148 tonnes of elephants tusks were exported every year from German East Africa corresponding to the killing of more than 12 000 elephants together with hippopotamus teeth and rhinoceros horns (19 tonnes in 1900) (WÄCHTER 2008). A similar scenario could have been observed in other colonies in relation to wildlife which were also exploited for their pelts or feathers (mostly from ostrich) as in Namibia where both pelts and feathers were sold in 1907 for the amount of 222 000 mark and for 4 200 000 mark in German East Africa (WESTERMANN 1909: 90, CALVERT 1915).

All these elements of the German relationship towards African natural resources and their management in German colonies lead to the observation that forest and wildlife were unequally distributed in the German colonies. Furthermore, Germany has developed strategies to show the economic values of these natural elements in order to be in accordance with colonial policy of exploitation of colonies for the development of the metropolis (See table 1 and 2). The biggest losers were the local population who were alienated from access to the resources that belonged to them over centuries. In Cameroon for example local people were

prohibited from exploiting forestry concessions since 1912 with the argument that they were unable to transport the timber to the coastal areas (SCHANZ 1914: 16). This exclusion was quite a strategic one because, as SUNRESI (2012) argues, Germany was confronted at that time by a great scarcity of woods, which were threatened by peasants and needed to secure her wood supply by bringing the forests in her colony under state control. Therefore, a Bavarian forester Georg Escherich was sent to Cameroon in order to study the colony's potential for a large-scale timber industry and to develop strategies aiming at the transformation of Cameroonian Urwald forestry into a productive forest economy. In Escherich's plans, "deciduous trees and their wastes were supposed to be used for cellulose for paper pulp, textiles wood sugar, alcohol and acetone" which made African colonies more profitable for the metropole (SUNRESI 2012: 318).

However some naturalists and scientists raised some years later the alarm bell of resource depletion and required German colonial government to develop conservationist issues.

Tree Species	Quantity (tonnes)	Values (million marks)
Dye Wood	24 113,9	2,5
Mahagony	30 001, 9	2,7
Eben, Teak and Guaiacum	12 172,7	2,6
Cedrus	18 616, 8	5,5
Timber from coco tree	1 071,5	0,1

Table: 1 Export of tropical timber from Africa to Germany in 1907 (Source: KOLONIAL WIRTSCHAFTLICHES KOMITEE in Warburg and WOHLTMANN 1909)

Year of exploitation	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907
German East Africa	–	–	–	–	67 922	38 845	35 101	21 000	18 983
Cameroon	14 189	57 650	113 812	160459	95 718	88 217	149 640	118 831	94 807
Togo	–	–	–	–	1 520	3 430	5 166	2 340	5 570

Table: 2 : Economic value and export of timbers in German African colonies in marks (Source: KOLONIAL WIRTSCHAFTLICHES KOMITEE in Warburg and WOHLTMANN 1909)

3.2.2. From exploitation to protection of natural resources in German colonies

The protection of natural resources in German colonies the subject of grand debates between nature users and nature protectors. The colonial ideology was of course an one of exploitation, and thus some peoples found it weird that nature had to be protected instead of being exploited. This is the reason why Büsgen, a German naturalist and university professor asserts in 1910 that “in Kamerun ist der Wald wie früher wohl auch in Europa, noch ein Feind der Entwicklung” ⁴⁶(quoted by GUILLARD 2010). The debate between exploitation for economic development on the one hand and protection for ecological and eventually economic development on the other was already present. WÄCHTER (2008) argues that one of the great challenges at that time was to know if nature protective issues could go hand in hand with economic progress in the colonies, as was already the case in Germany. The most widespread argument was concerned with the idea that colonized territories should be included into the global economy through the delivery of several kinds of products including wildlife and forests products. Germany was in need of efficient, effective and productive colonies able to sustain its economic program (WÄCHTER 2008: 61). For this reason even though some protective issues have been taken in regard to forest and wildlife management in German colonies, these measures were rarely decoupled from economic gains and profit. This will be made evident in the following points in regard to forest and wildlife protection in German colonies.

3.2.2.1. Forest protection in German colonies

BÜSGEN, raised in 1910 the fact that Cameroonian forests were submitted to extreme exploitation and transformation of forest areas into farming ones. He also raised the issue of bush fires and asks the colonial government to publish regulation related to forests use and to put all forest under the control of the government. The same professor internationalized his idea of forest protection during the first congress on tropical agronomy held in 1910 in Brussels (GUILLARD 2010). BÜSGEN´s recommendation would be taken into consideration only two years later when the German forest office developed forest legislation and policy aiming at controlling forest resources in Cameroon. This policy delimited and stipulated control over forests reserves, the control of forestry operations, introduction of concession contracts with societies offering enough guarantees for sustainable exploitation of forests and the creation of experiment gardens used for the study of some forest species (OBAM 2004).

⁴⁶ „In Cameroon, as well as in Europe in the past, Forest is considered as an enemy of development“(Own translation).

They also created the Forest Service that was responsible for the control and harvesting methods used by forests concessions in order to promote improvements in logging and extraction of forest resources (MBATU 2006). In addition, the German administration has introduced taxes on permits for exploitation of forest resources and coercive methods for people not respecting the set laws and has followed BÜSGEN instruction of introducing forests and its management under the control of the colonial government (ELOUNDOU 2012). The forest legislation of 1912 published by the German government in Cameroon placed emphasis on local population actions in and near “governmental” forests for “protective issues” that were strictly forbidden to undertake any kind of action in the delimited areas. Several kinds of strategies were developed to reach this aim. The taxes set down by the German administration could rarely be paid by local people. Additionally the described logging strategies required technologies that were non-accessible and thus *de facto* excluded local people from any kind of exploitation of the resources.

Togo is the colony whose German forest’s protection could be better perceived because the German administration has created several trial gardens and has reforested several dried areas between 1905 and 1909 with tree species in an estimated area of 4 000 ha which was strictly protected by an ordinance of the Governor of 5th August 1912 (TÉTÉ-ADJALOGO 1998: 96-97). In German East Africa the German colonial government also implemented a forest reserve policy through which forest reserves were created in 1912 covering an area of 742 108 ha embedding essential trees species in regions such as Rufiji delta (KING 1916: 113-114). The drawbacks of this strategy were the physical exclusion of local communities from the newly created areas. People were relocated to new areas. This led to their revolt against the German administration and legislation that prohibited bush fallowing and other local practices. In the German mind and policy, Africans were clearly responsible for main threats related to forest conservation practices such as bush fire (called wild burning) by the Germans as well as for agricultural practices were considered as a main threat to German conservation policy (SUNRESI 2006).

3.2.2.2. Wildlife protection in German colonies

Wildlife protection was concerned with strong restrictive measure due to the observation that the amount of animal species was permanently decreasing. As a matter of fact elephants, rhinoceros and hippopotamus became scarcer to see mostly in German East Africa and so everywhere in African regions where intensive hunting activities for sport or for animals skins and pelts were enabled (WÄCHTER 2008:32-33, NELSON, NSHALA and RODGERS 2007: 235).

It could be argued that the global governance of African wildlife started during the colonial period with the London Convention of 1900 dedicated to protect wildlife species and natural resources in Africa and to prevent the disappearance of rare and threatened wildlife species. The principal focus points were the creation of reserves and the enforcement of legislation related to wildlife management. Although colonial power such as Germany, Belgium, Spain, France, Italy, Portugal and England took part to this conference, none of them have ratified its conclusions (IUCN 2006:37, WÄCHTER 2008: 69)⁴⁷ each power has striven to adopt its recommendations according to its colonial priority.

In this regard, Seitz, the governor of Cameroonian colony has already developed some strategies in order to control the hunting of elephants and hippopotamus in his ordinance of 29th November 1892 and has published measures related to the creation of elephant reserves in his ordinance of 25 February 1900. After the London Conference, the Governor introduced hunting system permits obligatory for any person performing a hunting activity. The governor had all the rights over wildlife resources and could temporary or definitively ban the hunting or capture of all animals according to their level of extinction and the priority of the colonial government. Animals such as elephants, buffalos, antelopes, and gazelle were protected under some circumstances such as the prohibiting the capture or killing elephants whose tusks did not weigh more than 2 kilograms. Furthermore, the killing or capture of female and young species as well as the destruction of a herd of animals of any species, the used of poison in hunting was prohibited. (ROSSETTI 1911b: 630-631, REICHSKOLONIALAMT 1913: 83-85).

Hunting permits were delivered with the amount of 100 marks and were differentiated from one hunting class to another according to the price and the hunted species. However and paradoxically, the hunting permit of Class C costing 5000 marks allowed its possessor to kill all animal species (ROSSETTI 1911b: 633) and allowed animals to be killed whenever they were found in any farming plantation (P. 637). All these laws were directed towards Germans and other Europeans citizens. Local people had to follow other rules of conduct such as hunting without permits within their ethnic boundaries and the strict ban on hunting species such as elephants, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, giraffe and ostriches. They also allowed hunting using tools such as arrows and bows. Particular ordinances or wildlife acts were published in regards to precise animal's species such as gorilla (*Gorilla gorilla diehli*), whose hunting and killing were strictly forbidden (Ordinance of 6th May 1908), Bannerman's *Turaco* (*Tauraco*

⁴⁷ Dernburg, the German the German Colonial Secretary since 1907 was not willing to ratify this convention in so that, by 1911 Germany and Portugal were considered as colonial power hindering the implementation of this convention (WÄCHTER 2008: 69-70).

bannermani) by the ordinance of 18th November 1909 whose hunting and capture were forbidden during two years in Buea district from 1st of January 1910 (ROSSETTI 1911b: 638-645, REICHSKOLONIALAMT 1913: 87-89).

A protected area considered as Colonial State Natural Reserve was created in the Sanaga region and was extended to the Nyong River region and described as a paradise of elephants and other animal species (REICHSKOLONIALAMT 1913: 92-93).

Similar Wildlife Acts were proclaimed by the Rechenberg, the governor of German East Africa (WÄCHTER 2008) with the difference of the creation of 15 game reserves totaling 30 000 km² which were placed under the supervision of local chiefs (BALDUS 2001) and wildlife legislation proclaimed in 1891 (NELSON, NSHALA and Rodgers 2007: 236).

The scenario was a bit different in German West Africa, because the concept “hunting” was defined according to the wildlife Act published by Oskar Hintrager, governor of the colony on 15th February 1909 as the hunting of following masterless animals: elephants, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, giraffes, zebras, buffalos, ostriches, wild boars, several birds species and types of antelopes (ROSSETTI 1911a: 453, REICHSKOLONIALAMT 1913: 113-119). According to this ordinance, the hunting of animal species such as elephants, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, giraffes, zebras, buffalos, elks, kudus, ostriches and birds species such as vultures, springhahnvögel, owls, serpentaires and flamingos, the killing of young antelopes and gazelles without horns and females species, and the removal and destruction of ostriches and guinea fowls eggs was prohibited without authorization of the governor or any other colonial authority. The governor alone could authorize the hunting of those species through the deliverance of a hunting permit priced between 1000 and 5000 marks a year (ROSSETTI 1911a: 454-458).

Local people were obliged to be in possession of a hunting permit in order to hunt with a gun and this only within their local boundaries and were not allowed to hunt all the above described species whose hunting was closed from 1st of November to end of February. Also the wildlife ordinance in Namibia had the particularity of not having a territorial extension because the ordinance recognized that it did not have any effect in enclosed parcel of lands as well as the fact that hunting remain free in terra nullius and non-exploited lands (IBID: 459-460). Everyone desiring to hunt in occupied and exploited farmlands required the authorization of its owner. Any contravention of this by-law was subject to a 300 to 5000 marks fine or to imprisonment for a period of three months. The hunters were not the only

ones concerned with this law but also everyone buying or exchanging bush meat, eggs or feathers of these protected species (IBID: 462-466). Special ordinances were proclaimed in regards to seal, (4th March 1909) whose hunting was regulated by administrative decrees.

In addition, several nature reserves were created by the German colonial administration and were localized in eastern Grootfontein, in Etoscha pan (1907) and Swakopmund (REICHSKOLONIALAMT 1913: 121-122, DIECKMANN in HOHMANN 2003: 41).

To resume, it could be argued that, measures aiming at the protection of forest and wildlife species in German colonies were already in vogue before the London Convention of 1900. GIBIBL (2006) argues in opposition to WÄCHTER's argument that Germany was one of the colonial powers which promoted the preservation of wildlife in Africa and has succeeded to influence British colonial administration in this regard. He further argues that the German are the ones who made the issues of wildlife conservation an international concern and acknowledges the fact that the London Conference of 1900 has initiated "the gradual exclusion of Africans from access to the wildlife resources of their continent (GIBIBL 2006: 122).

Beside this, it could be observed that the German administration was in strong harmony with the colonial ideology in vogue at that time which was based on the theory and ideology that native people were foremost responsible of the depletion of natural resources because of their lacking of knowledge and the using of techniques described as harming nature. Also, one can argue that the German colonial administration introduced and implemented natural resources management strategies which alienated local people from their rights to their resources and restrained their activities without offering them other alternatives. This idea is made evident with the inclusion of some measures such as hunting permits whose costs could not be available for local people or the delimitation of their influence area mostly in regards to hunting within their local boundaries as made evident in this quotation:

"The result of these measures (colonial regulations) was to convert (...), wildlife from a locally used and customarily managed component off the natural resource base, to a resource which Europeans largely possessed exclusive legal access to" (NELSON, NSHALA and RODGERS 2007: 236).

In addition, it could be also observed that, there were some important divergences in conception and application of wildlife acts in Cameroon and German West Africa where the administration gave the impression of not having a full control over the whole countries and where land-owners appear to have been freer in regard to resources present within their delimited areas. All the set policies had strong influence on local people's life.

3.2.3. Biopolitics and biopower of German colonial natural resources management

This point is concerned with the argument that German colonial resources management strategies could be considered as regulatory techniques aiming at framing local people's life, to discipline them and to keep a strong control over their everyday life. This is understood in terms of the perspective of Biopolitics. Those sets of policies and the respective creation of institutions could be considered as mechanisms and systems of power aiming at having strong control over space management, modifying people's lives, and transforming people into objects of power. Finally, it will be argued that, as already discussed in point 1.2.3, those people (or objects of power) have developed a sort of power resistance by not respecting the rules set by the colonial institutions.

Based on Foucault's analysis of modernization, SIMO (2005) argues that colonization could be considered as a mean of education and domestication of natives and has as a final objective their forceful introduction into the new dynamics of colonial society by making them useful in the exploitation and transformation of their country.

Firstly, the German natural resources colonial policy and legislation have had tremendous influence over territorial identity of indigenous communities and have introduced an authoritarian discourse to the strategies, which have been used for "better" resources management. It has also introduced the problem of equity in access to resources and institutionalized the violence of inequity by keeping local communities as objects subjected to laws and policies undermining their rights over their resources.

Some explanations could be raised in order to make these assertions clear. In the case of Cameroon, when the German colonial legislation stipulated that local communities were allowed to hunt only within their territory, this could be first of all explained as an attempt to control their power over their space and the stock of resources present in their neighborhood. This strategy could be also interpreted as dangerous for local resources management because no mention has been made of the stock of natural elements present within this territory resulting in their exhaustion as long as people are not allowed to move beyond the space set down by the colonial administration.

Secondly, the delimitation of some areas or their handing-over to some colonial concessions without regard to the inhabitants had surely led to the modification of their living style and economic activities. This could be better illustrated by raising the case of communities that

used to practice farming and hunting in a rotative form. Obliging them not to move beyond the colonial territoriality has led them to change their economic living style and to develop new farming and hunting practices.

Thirdly, as OYONO (2005a) points out based on the case study of Cameroon, before German colonization, migration among ethnics groups was extensive and territorial identities were built according to the contact with other tribes. The exchange of values and goods characterized the economic life of those people because each ethnic territorial group had several options to exchange for the exploitation of its natural resources and has developed adaptive solutions in regard with the cooperation with other ethnies. OYONO concludes that this identity construction came to an end after the German colonization in Cameroon which subordinated people to German policies and legislation and alienated them from their rights to their resources and lands. This subordination of local rights to resources was evident through the introduction of two types of rights and laws to resources shared between private concessions or property and state's property (the elements mentioned in the former points of this analysis about German West Africa for example could also be framed in this idea) (see NGUIFFO, KENFACK and MBALLA 2009).

WATTS (1994) also highlights the fact that the German colonial administration has alienated land of Bakweri people living around Mount Cameroon and has forced them to live into poor land restricted reserves that resulted into the propagation of diseases, the falling of birthrate and cultural crisis. This example also evidences the biopolitical aspect of colonial decisions related to natural resources management in Cameroon as well as in Namibia and other German colonies. WAKOLELE and OLOUKPONA (quoted in KUM'A NDUMBE III 1986: 90 and 111) point out, the case of Hereros and Damaras who were dispossessed from access to their land and resources and points to Togo as the second case. SUNRESI adds that the relocation of people from one region to another caused mortality because people were brought into new regions and zones where they had no immunity to local diseases (2012: 136).

As reaction to these alienation policies over resources, several revolts took place in Cameroon and other German colonies (ARDENER 1996, HENDERSON 1993:110, SMITH 1978: 61-63, NEUMANN 1997: 47).

To sum up, as SUNRESI (2012) asserts, Germany's colonial administration has been long frustrated by African control of inland resources and aspired to have full control over interior land and to use it for greater profits in the beginning of her colonial project. The development

and promotion of German “Weltpolitik” had endowed her with military force capabilities which have helped her to conquer African inland and to exploit the resources of her colonies for the benefits of the motherland all this in respect with colonial ideology. Colonial strategies had had tremendous effect on African societies which were profoundly transformed and divided into classes with African people being named as indigenous with second-class needs and rights and European colonizers known as citizens and possessing most of the rights. Therefore, African communities through colonialism were forcefully introduced into a system alienating their rights and access to their resources as well as the control over their destiny. The development of German Weltpolitik ideology went beyond Africa and was one of the main causes of the WWI, which resulted to the defeat of Germany and the loss of her colonies in 1918. Since that period, Germany has developed strategies to regain a political and economic interest in Africa. The main issue is we are now concerned with is the question of whether the emergence and introduction of development cooperation policy in Africa has been used as a tool for Germany to regain control over her lost colonies.

3.3. Germany and Africa: From colonization to cooperation

The end of German colonial ambitions and domination is well documented. Some aspects in this regard deserve some particular attention. At the end of WWI and by the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was accused and blamed for several crimes perpetuated in her colonies and in Europe during the war (MACLEAN 1918). One of the important points of this treaty was its article 119 which stipulates that: “Germany renounces in favor of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her oversea possessions” (Majesty stationery office 1919). Although some German colonies stressed their commitment to strive for their self-determination at the end of the WWI (KUM’A NDUMBE III in KUM’A NDUMBE III 1986: 360), article 22 of the Treaty of Versailles transformed colonial territories into mandates governed by Allied powers. The seizure of German colonies led to a sort of colonial melancholy (SCHWARZ 2002) and resistance to the Versailles Treaty in Germany as well as in German colonies with several political movements and ideological claim in the Weimar Republic and after. Most argued from the German side was that the Versailles Treaty could be qualified as a strategy aiming to “rob” Germany’s colonies (Kolonialraub) and that all the allegation of German crimes were colonial lies (Kolonial Schuldliüge) (ZINTGRAFF 1929, SCHNEE 1926). In German former colonies on the other hand, some groups were formed and swore oath of allegiance to the last German emperor and wanted the Weimar Republic to gain back control over their colonies (STOECKER in KUM’A NDUMBE III 1986: 335). A multitude of literature emerged in the post WWI in Germany which motivated Germany to undertake a

colonial return in Africa and was supported by politicians and economic groups in Germany. This idea of having back their colonies was present in the 1930s with the South African government's wish for a German colonial return in Africa supported by the national socialist regime. This alternative got the support of Chamberlain, the British prime minister at that time, who spread the idea of a more aggressive Germany not only requiring its former colonies but a complete restructuring of Africa (KUM' A NDUMBE III 1974, KUM' A NDUMBE III 1980, KUM' A NDUMBE III 1986). Britain was ready to return Germany's colonies back as a survey realized by the "Daily Mail" in April 1934 makes it evident with 2/3 of British citizen favorable to this idea (DER SPIEGEL 1969: 73).

As Germany lost WWII, her attempt for colonial return also failed. In addition, Germany was again subjected to be as new dominated by the winners that were now leading the new world order.

Could it be argued that Germany continued to have any idea of returning in Africa for colonial purposes in the frame of development cooperation launched in 1949 by Trumann? An overview on the evolution of German development cooperation with African countries has to be evoked after the Truman's discourse until the introduction of Germany's development cooperation into the framework of global governance.

3.3.1. Germany post – colonial relationship with Africa

Post-WWII Germany continued to develop some relationships with African countries through the channel of different organizations, Christian networks and scientific institutes which could be qualified as been part of German foreign and development policy. Germany started an institutional foreign and development policy only after the creation of German's states in the 1950s (DANCKWORRT 1990: 13).

One of the major impacts of WWII on international relation was the formation of two main political blocs (Western and Eastern), the division of Germany into two States (the German Democratic Republic – GDR and the Federal Republic of Germany FRG) and African independence (KUM' A NDUMBE III 1986: 364). These events have put Germany and the rest of the world into a great dilemma with their strong ideological but also hegemonical orientations. The other relevant aspects raised by the WWII was, as Truman wished, the "end" of colonialism and the advent of "independent" States mostly in Africa (see point 1.3.3.2.). All those factors taken together will contribute to analyse the German position in Africa at the post-colonial period.

One should raise the fact that Germany's post-colonial relationship with Africa is a controversial issue according to the understanding one gives to the concept of post-colonial. As understood in this study, it could be argued that German colonial rule in Africa was a short one. Coming at the last position as colonial power, Germany was obliged due to war constraints to abandon its colonies and has therefore strived to gain back control over its colonies without any great success till its introduction into the development era. KUM'Á NDUMBE III (1986) argues that before African independences the GDR was active in supporting African countries in their struggle for independence as claimed in the communist ideology while the FRG was supporting its allies, which continued to be active colonial powers as the bloc ideology required. Since the Marshall plan was promulgated to support the Western bloc, the Comecon was initiated for the Eastern bloc and each part of Germany was supposed to follow the strategy put in place by the bloc leading countries. As there were no independent African countries at that time, the issue of development cooperation by the two parts of Germany with African countries could only be analyzed after the independences of those countries, but also as ENGEL and KAPPEL (2004) argue because 1955 marked the readmission of Germany into international politics. This readmission meant for some German first rank politician such as SCHLACT:

“das deutsche Kolonialreich in einer neuen Form wiederherzustellen, wozu die wirtschaftliche Expansion nicht ausreicht; sie ist durch kulturelles und politisches Eindringen zu ergänzen“ (quoted by KUM'Á NDUMBE III 1992: 62).

It means that Germany was planning to build back a German Empire if not with economic expansion through cultural and political influence.

3.3.1.1. From African independences to the global era

Numerous African countries gained their independence between 1950 and 1965 and West Germany was reluctant to recognize East Germany until 1972. Both were looking for recognition as legitimate representatives of the German people (BLUMENAU 2011: 4). Concerning the African-German relations before the 1990s, one could only speak about East vs. West German-African relationships. In this perspective, a global overview will be raised to the particularity of relations the two Germanys undertook with Africa in particular regard to development cooperation. This point of the analysis will not focus on East German foreign policy (See WINROW 1990, SIEBS 1999, MUTH 2000, SCHOLTZSECK 2003) but will raise some issues related to ideological and incentives of African development cooperation used by the two Germanys till the end of the cold war.

The evidence of development cooperation in the divided Germany was its introduction into the Hallstein-Doctrine at least until the recognition of East Germany by West Germany on 21st of December 1972 (DÖRING 1999: 22). In order to gain recognition and influence from new independent African states financial and economic incentives were used by both states in order to motivate those states to adhere to their respective ideologies and wish to be considered as the “Alleinvertretungsanspruch”⁴⁸. Development aid or cooperation was one of the famous tools used among others. The Hallstein-Doctrine was quite rooted in the foreign policy of the both countries, with each bloc presenting itself as the better one with better ideology respectful of democracy and human rights and model to follow in order to reach a sort of development status with each bloc using the weaknesses, methods of the other to be put in the limelight.

The beginnings of west-German official development cooperation was not an easy one and has brought great administrative challenges to the new created state which was in a dilemma concerned with the official position of development cooperation which was neither considered as pure foreign policy nor economic cooperation policy (SCHOLZ 1979:61).

As far as FRG is concerned its economic miracle (Wirtschaftswunder) of 1950 was often put forward in order to motivate new independent African countries to follow her path to development by promoting liberal policies and not the communist way leading to poverty as exemplified by the case of GDR (KUM´A NDUMBE III 1992: 20). For West-Germany, development cooperation was first of all having a political function of binding more African states to the western bloc in order to be in harmony with allies’ ideology and philosophy of convincing African states that “liberty, individualism and capitalism were morally superior to totalitarianism, collectivism” (UNGER 2007: 147). Humanitarian and economic functions also accompanied the political one (GRAWE 1983:5).

In opposite to BLUMENAU (2011) and GRAWE (1983) who argue that the Federal Republic of Germany´s development aid did not have any ethic or altruistic aim, UNGER (2007) argues that it was oriented towards auto-assistance (Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe). BLUMENAU (2011) and GRAWE (1983) further argue that, Konrad Adenauer was pushed to develop this development policy by the United States which wanted the Federal Republic to develop a strong development aid program. UNGER (2007), in opposite to this, claims that the FRG adapted this recommendation according her national interests and not always in order to be in harmony with the western bloc as it is often argued (BLUMENAU 2011, KUM´A NDUMBE III

⁴⁸ Sole representation (See DÖRING 1999, BLUMENAU 2011).

1992). These interests were based firstly on the consideration of factors such as post-colonial legacies and its implicit meaning of working in accordance with colonial policies of permanent allies power now acting as (neo) colonial power in Africa (as in Namibia, South Africa, Algeria, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Congo, etc.).

Secondly, development aid was used as a tool of prestige for the FRG demonstrating her economic importance and power by distributing financial aid to African states where Eastern ideology was not taken as model.

Thirdly, development aid was perceived as a means to bind new independent countries to NATO's sphere of influence, to associate them to the European Economic Community (EEC) (mostly French colonies).

Finally, aid was an instrument used in order to maintain new independent countries as raw material suppliers for western markets (see map 1 for the principal export to Germany) (BLUMENAU 2011: 16, KUM'Á NDUMBE III 2006: 150-161, HANSEN and JONSSON 2011, MOLT 1995). Willy Brandt will therefore later on assert that politics rarely has friendly relationship with trade and mentions that Germany will rather favor trade over political relationships with her partners 'countries (GLOANNEC 1995: 19). This trade with African countries also had a marginal position with only 6,4 % of imports and 5,6 of exports and constant decreasing of German investments moving from 5,7 % in the 1960s to 3,7 % in 1981 (Ibid: 11).

In the 1980s, West-German development policy was coupled with exploitation of raw material from her "developing partners" so that a strong dependency relation was installed among those countries and the FRG in Brandt's understanding of development as "mutual dependency as key condition for the survival of humanity" (GRAWE 1983: 5). Economic objectives planned by Brandt became the main objective of West-Germany development policy defined as the "promotion of economic and social development of Third world countries" (GRAWE 1983: 8). The introduction of social factors into development policy was not an accident. The idea behind was concerned with the theory or ambition that the development cooperation should first of all be oriented towards humans and to the government in order to be qualified as efficient and fulfill people needs in food, water, health, housing and education (GRAWE 1983: 9-11). In addition, West-German's development cooperation was supposed to improve other's life standards (KRABBE 1986). However, West-German development policy remains closed to the concepts of trade, economic and foreign policy till to the 1980s, but with strong differentiation among countries qualified as been poor

(LDC) and those which were considered as “emerging”; the first receiving strengthened technical and financial help, and the second financial support only under difficult conditionalities (NUSCHELER 1995: 381).

West-German experts sent in the field of development aid in Africa were often criticized for their living styles far away from the population. They were supposed to work for the improvement of their living standards and not to valorize their personal interests. This situation has raised the necessity of creation of a ministry and institution responsible for the development of the framework of West-Germany’s development cooperation. On the 14th November 1961, the Ministry for Economic Cooperation (BMZ) was created and was responsible with development issues and policies of “Third World” countries together with the German Foreign Ministry, the Economic Ministry, and German Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Forests. The BMZ later was designated as the leading ministry for development cooperation one year later and put in place two years later the fundamentals and programs of the Federal Republic development policy; implemented mostly by the founded Technical Cooperation with the German foreign ministry is in charge of multilateral cooperation (KUM’A NDUMBE III 1992).

NUSCHELER (1995) argues that this ministry resulted as a political concession to churches which were required to work according to the framework of a specialized ministry and was consequently considered as a second zone ministry supervised by other ministries (See also SCHOLZ 1979: 64-68). Nevertheless, this ministry was responsible of the conception and execution of German development policy according to the Federal Chancellery decree of 23th of February 1964 by putting down the fundamentals and programs of development policy which will be implemented through the channel of technical cooperation (TC). This mission was widened on 15th of December 1972 to the responsibility towards bilateral and multilateral financial cooperation resulting in the fact that the BMZ was since then responsible of planning, fundamentals, coordination of all bilateral and multilateral development policy of the FRG (HÖFFKES 1986: 38). Its first action in Africa was dedicated to the promotion of economic growth and revenue distribution but not so much towards basic needs fulfillment which were seriously taken into west-German development policy only after 1976 (BOHNET 1988: 70-78). By the 1970s, the development apparatus of the FRG was already in place and ready to function through its different development institutions and agencies operating through the channel of political institutions or foundations such as Konrad-Adenauer, the Hans-Seidel, the Friedrich-Erbert, Friedrich Naumann and Heinrich-Böll Foundations,

economic institutions such as the KfW (Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau), DEG (Deutsche Entwicklungsgesellschaft für Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit), GTZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit), DED (Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst), cultural and scientific organizations such as ADAFD (Arbeitskreis der Deutschen Afrika-Forschungs- und Dokumentationsstellen), Goethe Institut, Inter Nationes, DAAD (Deutsche Akademische Austauschdienst), DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft), CDG (Carl-Duisberg-Gesellschaft) and DSE (Deutsche Stiftung für Internationale Entwicklung), DIE (Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik), etc. employing more than 110 000 persons in 1980s (KUM'Á NDUMBE III 1992, DANCKWORRT 1990: 14, KRABBE 1986, SCHOLZ 1979).

The bilateral development cooperation of FRG and Africa was since 1976 dominated by BMZ, GTZ and KfW with a vertical relation existing between BMZ and GTZ, the first institution was responsible of political and strategic planning while the second one's action is based on operative and decision-making matters. The problem raised by this institutional framework is that it spends 18% of their given budget only for administrative matters such as project examination, which finally occupy more than 50% of project execution (STOCKMANN 1990 60-61).

The other difficulty utters by STOCKMANN (1990) is the fact that those institutions were confronted with overload of capacity. BMZ for example was involved in the creation of projects dedicated to recipient's countries and happened to be confused by recipient's countries projects, which it has to examine, evaluate and select and hands them later on to GTZ experts before their implementation according to the available resources and more often without lack of knowledge to those projects.

In summing up to FRG's development cooperation, it could be mentioned that the creation of BMZ could be seen as a great step in West-Germany's development policy. The focus of the 1970s were (1) the promotion of peace policy, (2) to work in harmony with UN and OECD development principles, (3) the promotion of "real" independence of new African nations, (4) the promotion of world economy and advent of fair exchange instruments among industrial and developing countries and spent 13, 4 billion DM during this decade as global amount of ODA in developing countries (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1977a).

In the 1980s the focus of FRG's development policy was oriented towards the increase of comestible foods and development of rural sector and the fight against the overexploitation

and destruction of ecological dry and humid tropical regions, the fight against social inequity and persistent poverty and debt alleviation (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1987).



Draft: Tchigankong Noubissié
Cartography: Diehl

Map 1: Principal exports from Africa to the FRG

In contrast to the GFR, the GDR did not want to use the concept of development aid and cooperation. Their argument is that it is an important tool used by capitalist and imperialist powers in order to show their superiority. GDR defined it as a mean of exportation of capital from imperial countries into developing countries in order to strengthen the neo-colonial exploitation of “Third World” countries (KIPKE 1988: 27; DÖRING 1999: 41).

The GDR saw development cooperation as “social aid” whose principles should be oriented towards sovereign equality, non-discrimination, mutual advantages and anti-imperial solidarity (DÖRING 1999: 37). The strategy that the GDR claimed to follow was the development of a kind of cooperation and relationship with “Third World” countries, which will not be limited in trade relation but will also serve as a tool to fight against imperialism. This relation was supposed to contribute to the development of the productive power of target countries by the promotion of the transformation of raw materials in the producer countries (IBID: 38).

In spite of denying the existence of FRG, the GDR rather focused on their ideological divergences of social vs. capital and fascist orientation and presented itself as the result of a democratic process of class struggle (BLUMENAU 2011: 11). African independence movements have been also instrumentalized by the GDR, which aligned its policy with notions such as decolonization and self-determination and saw independence of new states as rooted into Marxist ideology and expected the newly independent countries she had helped to reach this status to adopt its ideological framework (see map 2 highlighting GDR focal countries and focal projects) (BLUMENAU 2011; FRAUDE 2006; ENGEL and SCHLEICHER 1998, CLAUSNITZER 1974). Whereas the FRG was divulging ideas such as lack of freedom and despotism towards her neighbor sister, the GDR, was emphasizing her fight against any form of colonialism and neo-colonialism and made it the showpiece of its recruitment of new countries in her team or Eastern bloc. The other aspect of contrast is related to the fact that the GDR selected its partner’s countries dedicated to the communist ideology or having any anti-imperialist orientation due to its financial constraints (BLUMENAU 2011, DÖRING 1999). The main concepts associated with GDR development cooperation were the security of basic needs of developing countries, the promotion of a participatory approach of rural inhabitants, the protection of natural resources and food security (DÖRING 1999: 42). The “Commission for Developing Countries” and the “Politbüro” were the institutions responsible of policy shaping and making of the DDR. This commission was assisted by the Scientific and Technical Cooperation (WTZ⁴⁹) and the Scientific Cultural Cooperation offices (KWZ)⁵⁰ and supported by the “Brigade der Freundschaft” (NUSCHELER 1995: 387, DÖRING 1999).

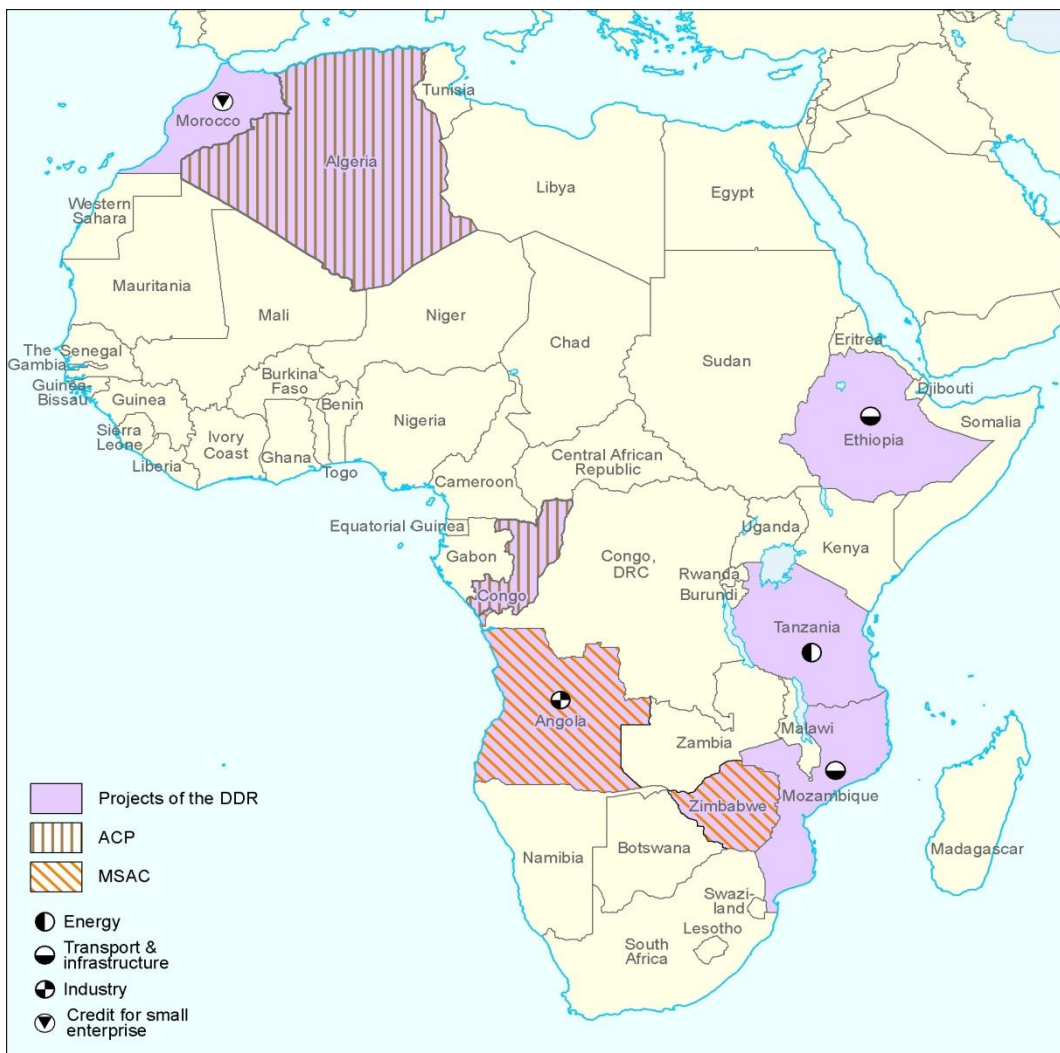
GDR’s development policy was qualified as efficient as far as its political aims were concerned and due to the fact that it was able to fulfill more expectations of her African partners countries despite her limited financial capacities (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1982a). Its

⁴⁹ Wissenschaftlich-Technische Zusammenarbeit

⁵⁰ Kulturell-Wissenschaftliche Zusammenarbeit

contribution to the creation of communist parties and government as well as the acquisition of long terms supplying contracts and the propagation of socialism culture enforced some relationship with new independent countries (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1982b).

Nevertheless, SCHLEICHER (1996) argues that this ideological orientation of the GDR shifted at the end of the Hallstein-Doctrine when the United Nations recognized both GDR and FRG. The GDR published a decree asserting that her development policy will be coupled with her economic interests in her partners countries at the end of the 1980s and that African countries could be her raw material providers (see also VAN DER HEYDEN 2005). In addition, the imperial policy of the FRG, which has been criticized by the GDR, was also followed by the GDR directly or indirectly in Africa (VAN DER HEYDEN 2005). In praxis of development cooperation in African countries, there was no substantial difference between the two Germans undertaken almost the same action such as the provision of medical assistance, formation of experts, ministry cooperation etc. (SCHLEICHER 1996: 242-245).



Map 2: GDR focal countries and related projects

Draft: Tchigankong Noubissié
Cartography: Diehl

From this contrastive global presentation of development policies of both FRG and GDR in Africa, it appears that both were rooted into the ideological conflict put in place by the Hallstein-Doctrine but also that, those two countries were rapidly captured by their national interests which supplanted those of their respective blocs. As far as African countries are concerned, after winning their independence from formal colonial powers, they were integrated in the very deep framework of governmentality put in place by development cooperation ideology. This ideology was used and instrumentalized by the two Germans, which claimed officially to act for their development but which in fact worked for the preservation of their own interests and those of their representative's ideological blocs. The use of financial and technical means to motivate or constrain those countries to follow their directives were the most important instrument of power directed towards those countries. The ideological orientation of both countries hindered their focus on colonial claims but was more rooted in the seeking for own interests and international prestige. Pre 1990s development aid in Africa was dominated by the FRG, which raises its aid support from 1% in 1960 to 20 % in 1967 with a strong focus on the banking approach to development cooperation (see map 3 for an overview on the projects). Their action was based on the support and financing of a project aid approach, which fulfilled commercial, economic and managerial criteria involved in the philosophy of "soziale Marktwirtschaft" expected to produce similar effect as the "Wirtschaftswunder". Every project financed by the FRG had to fulfill these requirements together with the commitment of shared responsibility, local contribution of recipient countries, financial discipline and a vis-à-vis policy based on the fact that aid should not be given to governments to support actions done by private enterprises in Germany (STREETEN 1972: 9-10, Molt 1995: 17). Moreover, the foreign aid of Germany's official development assistance fluctuated between 0, 32 and 0, 43 % from 1976 to the end of the cold war (ROBINSON 2007: 42).

STREETEN (1972) concludes that this extreme conditionalities and project selection of the FRG had not helped her so much to gain any influence in development policy in Africa because recipient countries were already used to submit projects fulfilling German criteria to the FRG and were looking for financing by other development institutions. STREETEN also criticizes the fact that German development approach although focused on the technical approach of "help toward self-help" were having local concerns for local conditions into which the projects have to be implemented resulting in the difficulty in identifying suitable projects. All these elements support the idea of governmentality of West-Germany development aid in Africa.

Another significant point is to know if this development cooperation has contributed in any way to promote what she has claimed to do in Africa during this period.

KRABBE (1986) gives a negative answer and raises the dichotomy between rhetoric and praxis of FRG's development policy which relied on a governmental approach which promotes the interest of state elites and dirigism instead of promoting a market economy investment which will have a strong influence on people's well-being (see also FÜRST and HESSE 1986). KRABBE therefore comes to the observation that GDR was had a considerable advantage in this domain because they had put human needs approach at the basis of their development aid and finally asserts that state's economy approach in Africa is too expensive and inefficient. He recommends that instead of sending German experts for the implementation of development cooperation, it will be better to transfer the funds through private channels of economy. ELSHORST (1990) adds that the development policy of the FRG should be more involved in the economic and social sectors of activities. It should not focus so much on political issues and should be defined by others and be strongly rooted into societies 'needs because, a successful development cooperation could only be ensured if it "encounters the prospects of the partner's country" (NAGEL 1998: 65). SCHIMANK (1983) brings up the issue of multitude of West-German development agencies and institutions, which make her development policies difficult to understand, and to frame. The argument is that those institutions could develop development policies, which will be in accordance with global West-German development policies, but whose implementation could be diverted from the global strategic targets, so that these policies will be globally considered as a failure and advocates for an introduction of development policy into foreign policy but with strong emphasis on societal issues. By evaluating West-German development cooperation at the end of the 1970s, SCHOLZ (1979) asserts on the one hand that the government has succeeded in integrating development policy in the framework of West-German development politics by motivating several organizations to get engaged in this framework. This development policy has also raised the attention of European Community to their engagement for "Third World" countries whose future and well-being will surely influence their community. On the other hand, SCHOLZ (1979) argues that West-German development cooperation will be confronted by far greater challenges in the coming decades such as increase in population, ecological damage, depletion of raw materials, and political instability in developing countries. All these factors will make West-German development policy one of the most challenging issues.

All in all, it could be observed that development policy promoted by Germany's (mostly west-Germany) was in significant harmony with international debate about development in the different development decades. The promotion of development through economics in accordance with modern theories of the 1960s, then the introduction of some basic needs criteria in the 1970s, and the attempt to overcome "poverty" in the 1980s.



Draft: Tchigankong Noubissié
 Cartography: Diehl

Map 3: Focal projects of FRG in Africa in the 1980s

Did any change occur after the reunification of Germany? Have they tried to merge their interest by taking into account development incentives of African countries?

3.3.1.2. Post-Unification Germany's development cooperation with Africa

The 1990s were characterized by the fall of the communist system and the introduction of new concept in the world's repartition which was divided into an industrialized rich "Northern", "poor" "Southern" countries replacing the concept of "Third World" and "emerging countries" in between those two categories (KLINGEBIEL 2013: 31).

The 1990s in Germany was influenced by the unification, which was characterized by the victory of Western bloc over Eastern bloc and the fall of the Berlin wall. This political victory brought also several changes in political frame of Eastern Germany, which was obliged to adopt the FRG's administrative structure. Development cooperation was not left out of this process. All the institutions and programs of GDR disappeared after the unification, so the MWZ was cancel as well as other related offices (NUSCHELER 2005: 453, DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1990c). Theoretically, the German parliament has advocated for the integration of all experiences and knowledge of international economic cooperation of the FRG and GDR and the use of aims, objectives and instruments of development policy of both former countries till 1st of September 1990. It was relevant for the German Federal Government, that GDR's development projects, institutions and personnel in development cooperation were integrated into the apparatus of FRG (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1990a).

The German Federal government claims to have selected GDR's development projects which were mostly focusing on human matters such as poverty alleviation, food security and education. The motivation was to show that there was a political unification of the two political entities but also because a unified (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1993: 42).

The unified Germany has therefore set new principles of development policy based on changing the East-West-Conflict into a North-South community of liability in such as way that Germany will play an increased role at the international level and contribute to the resolution of global problems. This idea is based on the argument that "the great world's problems are not concerned with German-German or East-West problems, but with the structural inequity between northern and southern" (LOTHAR DE MAIZIERE quoted by DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1990a). The German parliament has therefore put in place a collective German development and North-South development policy whose strategy was to contribute to the resolution of global problems by contributing at least 0, 7% of GNP for development policy with poor countries through debts reduction and to make credit reflux from development funds available to developing countries (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1990a). As the German unification treaty was concluded on 3rd of October 1990, 64 of GDR's

development projects out of 106 ongoing in 15 developing countries were carried over by BMZ, four by the German foreign ministry and four other by German NGOs. Those projects were dealing with sectors such as education, health and agriculture and were implemented by GTZ, CIM and DED with an additional financial support to BMZ projects up to 120 million DM in 1991. African countries which were concerned with those projects were Angola (13 projects), Ethiopia (8), Algeria (3), Tanzania (5), Congo (3) and Zimbabwe (2) (HUMPERT 2008: 20, DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1993: 43).

After Germany's reunification the German minister Carl-Dieter Spranger, responsible of development cooperation has elaborated and introduced in 1991 new relevant criteria for German development cooperation with partner's countries. These were concerned with human rights, people's participation to political decision-making process, rule of law and insurance of legal clarity and transparency, market and social orientation and development-oriented state action (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1995b: 48).

It could be therefore noted that, the end of the Cold War brought an end to the geostrategic uses of German development cooperation with Africa. Former "communist" countries were able to receive development cooperation without any kind of vindictive strategy. International issues had strong national implications and the German development cooperation did not constitute an exception to the rule. The 1990s could also be considered as the decade, which brought German development cooperation in the era of "sustainable development" and global governance.

3.4. Global governance and sustainable development in German development cooperation in Africa

This point argues that the German development cooperation has long strived to be in harmony with global principle and to be a tool of implementation of global development strategies.

3.4.1. Evolution of natural resources management in German development cooperation

German development cooperation has for long active in Africa in the domain of natural resources management and more precisely in land, forest management and fisheries sectors. From 1960 to 1972, German development cooperation has dedicated more than 1 244 millions DM in this sector which constituted (11%) of her global financial development cooperation. This was mostly implemented through the channel of technical aid by the DSE, CDG, and transmitted through bilateral cooperation (with 775 million DM). It was supposed to help

“developing countries” to ensure their sustainable access to food and fish and to develop strategies to use forest and forest resources sustainably (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1973). However, the German development cooperation was following her path in this domain but also showed commitments to the achievements of international agenda related to sustainable management of natural resources.

3.4.1.1.Strategy to the UNCHE

Natural resources management and environmental protection in German development cooperation has a long history and could be framed in the 1970s bringing the proof of an early engagement in the international procedure of environmental management. Straight after the Stockholm Conference of 1972, German development cooperation has already developed environmental friendly strategies, which are introduced into her development policies with partner’s countries:

“Die Bundesregierung wird die Entwicklungsländer durch ihre Entwicklungshilfe unterstützen, die Umweltbedingungen für ihre Bevölkerung zu verbessern und Umweltschäden möglichst zu vermeiden” (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1973: 19).

The strategy developed for the implementation of this program is about supporting “developing countries” to implement the action plan of environmental program set up by the UNCHE as already discussed in point 2.1, 2.1.1, 2.1.2 and point 2.1.3. This action plan emphasizes on economic and social development and the necessity that rich countries should offer a financial and technical support and make resources available to preserve and improve environmental matters. The German parliament and BMZ agreed to undertake actions in order to implement those principles in developing countries in such a way that the environmental conditions of the population will be improved and environmental damages will be prevented (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1973: 69, DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1977b: 39). Since then, development in German cooperation was considered infeasible without the improvement of people’s living conditions and the protection of the environment (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1973: 79). Moreover, the BMZ and the KfW have introduced examination guidelines related to development projects since 1972 which were supposed to embed an environmental aspect (Prüfleitlinie für Umweltaspekte). Therefore, projects should fulfill these measures in order to be selected and the GTZ will execute a project some few years later only according to its environmental pertinence and its ecological effects (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1983: 85).

In order to bring any contribution, the German program was advocating for national governments to implement environmental plan strategies in their national policies with strong considerations to human and ecological balance before the German cooperation will decide to

bring any contribution (IBID: 88). But as far as the concrete implementation of these goals and principles are concerned no great specific action has been undertaken in this framework apart from the promotion of environmental education (Umweltbezogene Ausbildung) in the German development cooperation (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1977). It could be supposed that the creation of GTZ on January 1st 1975 had at aim the promotion of this technical cooperation which would be an active mean in the implementation of such kind of international decisions in “developing countries”. The other possibility could have been the difficulty of “developing countries” to implement UNCHE agenda so that, as planned, the German cooperation had had difficulties to develop her own program in this regard. This would have been surely the reason why the “technical advisor approach” has been developed in the 1980s by the German development cooperation and mostly implemented by the GTZ based on the principles that environmental institutions should be created and promoted (GTZ 2001a: 29). This “technical advisor approach” aimed at promoting personal and public performances and was funded with 22, 5 million DM in 1978 for the promotion of goods and services in “developing countries” (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1980a: 25). Although no ministry dealing with environmental matters was directly created after the launching of this approach in Africa, several projects however were already related to it before the 1980s as in Southern Sudan where German technical advisors were implicated in a project on Timber and forest economy and in Cameroon with a project on biogas technology. Other African countries were concerned with projects focused on the promotion of agriculture (Algeria, Benin, Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Chad, the DRC, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Cameroon, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Rwanda, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Zambia) and forest management (Ethiopia, Liberia, Chad) (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1980a) (see map 3). After the 1980s, German development cooperation has focused more on environmental issues mostly in rural areas. These issues were related to problems such as land degradation and desertification, salinisation, erosion and deforestation of tropical forests while urban areas were confronted to problems such as air and water pollution. The enunciated arguments to explain these problems in German cooperation were: population growth, poverty, migration to the cities and agricultural activities, and the proposed solutions were the promulgation of environmental policy and law and their implementation. These policies should be concerned with spatial and urban planning as part of regional development planning (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1983: 18). Therefore, German cooperation has promoted 43 projects in 32 developing countries which are related to the protection of natural resources and which have been integrated in the framework of conservation of natural resources. Project

related to soil, water, flora and fauna management and preservation and other projects related to fight against poverty leading to the destruction of natural resources such as forest were given high priority (IBID: 49).

In 1983, the German government has developed a forestry program which was financed with 126,5 million DM and embracing issues such as forest's conservation, afforestation, improvement of forest production and protection of forest's resources [this amount has practically tripled in two years with 405 million DM for the same purpose in 1985 (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1985: 48)]. The related projects embedded issues such as forest inventories, advisory services by introduction of appropriated methods for forest's management, and afforestation of deforested areas in dried and mountain regions in Africa (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1983: 86). In addition, a program dealing with capacity building and institutional development of African countries was also introduced in the frame of land use policy as well as forest legislation, administration, management, use and planning. The focus country to these programs was Benin (IBID). In 1988 the contribution of German development cooperation in the forest management sector was focused on advisory services in for the formulation and implementation of environmental policies, the promotion of strong institutions and capacity building. It was endowed with a budget of 735, 6 million in 1985 and 737, 6 in 1986 making 12, 8 and 13 % of the global development budget respectively and occupying the third priority in German development cooperation (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1988: 50 and 141). Environmental issues in German development cooperation in the 1990s could be summarized in the following assertion:

“Zentraler Ansatzpunkt für die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit im Umweltschutz ist, die Partner zu befähigen, ihre eigenen Umweltstrategien zu erarbeiten, sie bei der Gesetzgebung zu beraten, die Verwaltung bei der Umsetzung zu unterstützen und geeignetes Personal für diese Ausgaben auszubilden“ (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1990c: 33).

This means that, by 1990s, the German development cooperation already had a great commitment and experience in environmental matters in the framework of development cooperation so that, by these years, her development cooperation was almost embracing all environmental recommendations presented during the UNCHE including sustainable forest management and the conservation of biological diversity (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1995b: 63). Environmental protected was one of the most important focus points of German development cooperation with countries such as Morocco and Tunisia benefiting support for the formulation of their environmental policy and means of implementation of concrete actions of other partner in this sector (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1990c: 40). This priority of environmental management is made evident with larger budget increasing in this sector (146

million DM in 1984 and 304 in 1988, 389 million DM for F.C.) with projects related to sustainable forest management taking 45 % of the global financial amount and 33 % of the technical in the frame of the “BMZ-Tropenwaldprogramm” (ibid: 41-42). Furthermore, Germany was one of the most active countries engaged in the preparation of the UNCED.

3.4.1.2. The German development cooperation and the UNCED

A narrow observation of the Rio conclusion will lead to the conclusion that German development cooperation was advocating for environmental management and mostly protection far before the publication of the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21 (see former point). It could be therefore argued that, the German government was in strong accordance with Rio principles and decided to make the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21 one of her national and international priority mainly under her development cooperation program:

“Die Bundesregierung wird ihre bi- und multilateral entwicklungspolitische Zusammenarbeit an der Agenda 21 ausrichten“ (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1993: 40).

Therefore, the German development cooperation strived to the realization of sustainable development and was divided into six main points after the UNCED: (1): the promotion of structural reform in partner’s countries, (2): fight against poverty, (3): the promotion of education, (4): the integration of environmental dimensions in all developmental action in partner countries, (5): the promotion of specific programs and projects related to environmental and natural resources protection and (6): the fight against global environmental danger (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1998: 205).

This support has been made possible into the context of financial and technical cooperation at the bilateral and multilateral level as promulgated in Agenda 21 (see point 2.2.1.5) whose plan is to use the GEF network as a mean of covering incremental costs of relevant activities in developing countries. For this reason, the German government decided to fund 780 millions DM to the GEF (out of the globally required amount of 6, 7 billion DM) (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1993: 40). This amount was reduced to 390 million DM in 1995 (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1995b: 40) and Germany was to be the third most important fundraiser of the GEF after USA and Japan. Within the context of bilateral cooperation, the German government agreed to support the implementation of Forest’s Principles and Convention on biological diversity in developing countries (IBID) and to support her partners’ countries with an amount of 300 millions DM a year (Country Monitoring Report on Germany 2008: 14). This commitment of the German government towards nature protection was made evident with the transfer of more funding to the BMZ mainly out of the “Einzelplan 23” budget

whose contribution raised from 76% in 1989 (7, 012 billions DM) to 77% one year later (7, 865 billions DM) (IBID: 45-46). With these means, environmental protection has become since Rio one of the focal points of German development cooperation which has thereby started to feel responsible for the promotion of an ecological friendly development in every partner's country. Her action was divided into four main points: support for the elaboration of national environmental policies, promotion of institutional framework indispensable for environmental and resources protection, the conception and implementation of environmental friendly projects in the context of development cooperation, and to contribute at the international and regional level to solve environmental problems (IBID: 49, DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1995b: 61). In addition to this, the promotion of participative methods in the management of natural resources was also part of natural resources management program of German development cooperation (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1995: 61). It has resulted that the number of environmental and resources protection related projects have increased in German development cooperation such that their costs were estimated to 264,5 million DM of technical cooperation (24, 3% of global costs) and 508 million of financial cooperation (18% of global costs). Those projects included forests' management, water sanitation, environmental protection of urban areas, energy supply, agriculture and the promotion of national environmental associations (IBID : 50). As far as Africa is concerned, she has been the continent that has received the most important part of technical cooperation after the Rio conference. This assistance was mostly dedicated to environmental and resource protection, agriculture, education and social issues (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1993: 64). From the global amount of the "Einzelplan 23", 51, 9 % was dedicated and spent in Africa. In regards to forests management in Africa, the German government asserts that:

"die Wälder in den tropischen Regionen der Erde zu schützen und zu erhalten ist eine der wichtigsten Aufgaben der Gegenwart und daher seit Jahren ein Hauptziel der deutschen Entwicklungspolitik. Von besonderer Bedeutung ist die Einbindung der Walderhaltung in umfassende Strategien einer nachhaltigen Entwicklung" (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1993: 50).

This assertion and strategy is in strong accordance with Rio and Agenda 21 principles and aims but also with FAO's Tropical Forest Action Plan (TFAP) which is use by the German government as an appropriate instrument for the coordination of international forest's protection (IBID: 112). Therefore, the BMZ has developed a "Tropical Forest Program" (Tropenwaldprogram) whose aim is to bring a positive contribution in order to stop forest destruction, to integrate forest protection and conservation into the global development planning of tropical countries. This program is aimed at protecting livelihood of indigenous people, to integrate forest's resident's peoples into the network of competent NGOs and to

take into consideration all global links between environment and development (IBID). This program was granted with an amount varying between 250 to 300 million DM (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1995b: 42). This program was implemented through the help of 310 projects worldwide with Africa granted with a global amount of 721, 7 millions DM from 1992 to 1999 (See figure 2). Its executive institutions were GTZ, KfW, DEG, CIM, DED, DSE/ZEL (Deutsche Stiftung für Internationale Entwicklung/ Zentralstelle für Ernährung und Landwirtschaft/(DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1995: 16, DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1997: 17, DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1999: 22-23). Moreover German cooperation has been active seen 1993 in the establishment of forest certification in a cooperative work with CIFOR (Center for International Forestry Research) in the frame of FSC (Forest Stewardship Council) and ITTO (International Tropical Timber Organization) (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1995b: 62). This strategy has contributed to the certification of 800 000 ha of forests area in 1999 through FSC and the decrease of forest degradation in countries such as Zambia where 1, 3 millions were saved and 210 000 in South Africa (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1999: 16). In addition, the German development cooperation was deeply involved in the promotion and implementation of National Forests Programs (NFPs) in the framework of its bilateral cooperation (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2001a). These programs are strongly related to the PRSP and to the National Strategies of Sustainable Development of partner's countries and aims at the conservation, management and sustainable development of a country's forests, in such a way that it will fulfill the needs of actual and future generations (GTZ 2003: 7). The BMZ has supported Uganda and Gambia for example in the implementation of these NFPs in the framework of project "Forest Sector Umbrella Program" (FSUP) from 1996 to 2002 coordinated by GTZ which helped to come out with a national forest action plan and new approaches for forests sustainable management, as well as new forest and legislation policies in Uganda. Concerning Gambia, it has benefited after the Rio conference from two main projects financed by the German governments: "The Central River Division Forestry Project" and "Upper River Division Forestry Project" (Gambian-German Forestry Project [GGFP]). Those two projects have contributed to implement model of forest management at the local level, which have contributed to improve ecological and socio-economical living standards of local people as well as their rights of access to their resources and led to the fact that more than 230 communal forests were created in Gambia by 2001 (IBID: 10-13).

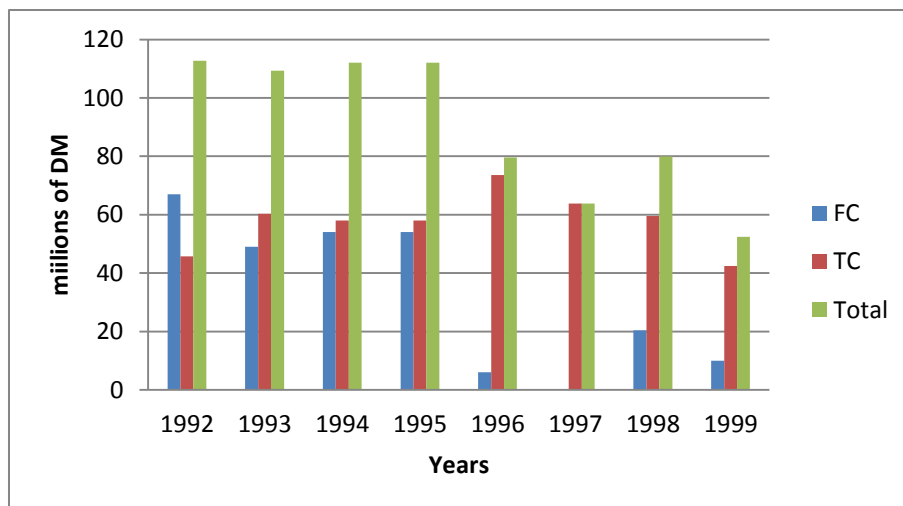
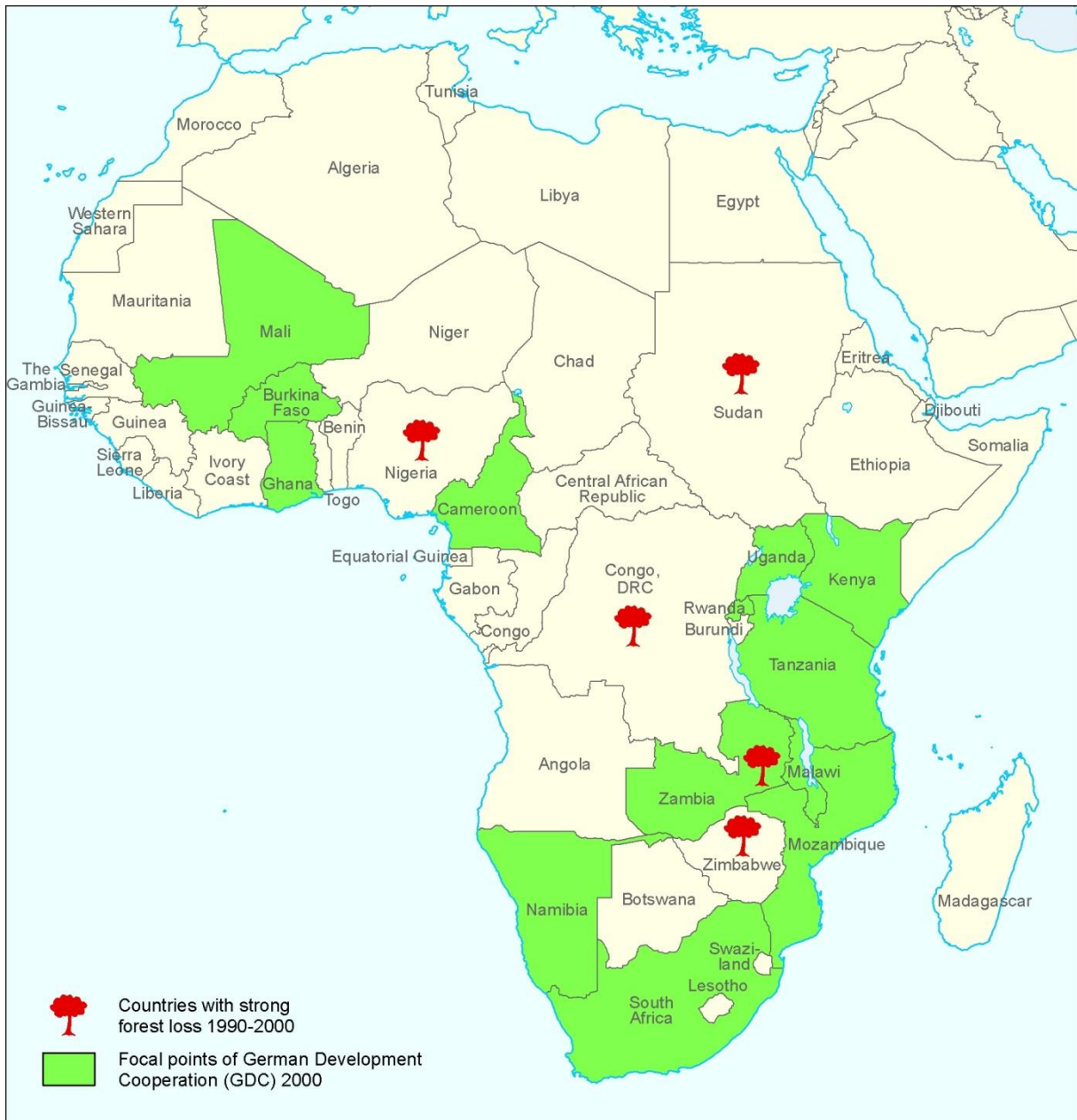


Figure 2 : Financial contribution of GDC with African countries after the Rio Conference in millions of DM from 1992-1999 (own representation from DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1995 and 2002b).

The combination of forest protection and poverty reduction appear as one of the most important strategies of German development cooperation. As a matter of fact, German cooperation has supported a project using participatory methods of forest and forest's resources conservation in the Selous Protected Area in Tanzania by helping to erect a buffer zone inside the Reserve which has seven years later contributed to conserve its forests and natural resources. It has also created incentives opportunities for local population living around the park. Similar contributions have been implemented in Gambia which benefited from advisory service of GTZ to create communal forests and fight against bush forests as well as in Ivory Coast (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1997a: 15-16).

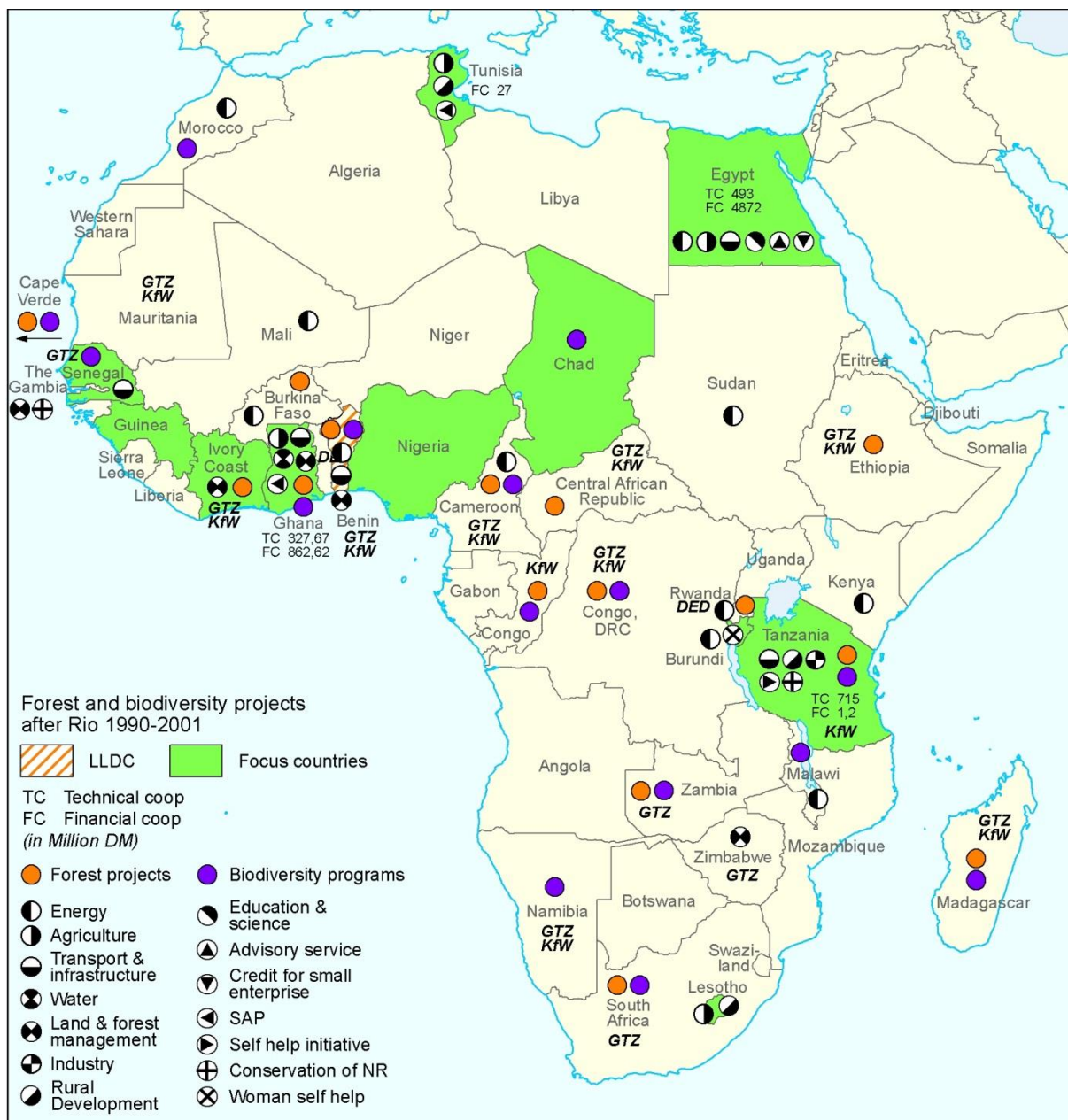
Similar actions were planned for biodiversity conservation as stated in the CBD benefiting 125 millions DM for both technical and financial support each year (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2002b: 8). After reiterating her commitment to finance the implementation of biological diversity convention, through international and bilateral mechanisms, Germany has convened to support developing countries in putting in place necessary means for biodiversity conservation based on advisory services in the conception and implementation of biodiversity conservative strategies (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1995c: 39-41). She has also planned to enforce institutions working for biodiversity protection and the creation of protected areas with a strong focus on biodiversity hotspots of protected worthy areas (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1997b). These actions will focus more on human resources as well as institutional enforcement in partner's countries and aim at enabling them to plan and

implement concrete measures related to the CBD. These measures will later on be financed through the channel of GEF and the German technical cooperation, which was granted the amount of 5 millions DM to the achievement of this goal (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1995b: 42). Therefore, the BMZ has created four main sectoral projects: (1) “Implementation of biodiversity convention” (Umsetzung der Biodiversitätskonvention-BIODIV) in 1994 piloted by the GTZ whose aim was to support individual measures for implementation of CDB in developing countries. The activities of this office was related to the creation of protected areas, the security of traditional knowledge, local people’s access to genetic resources, the implementation of the Cartagena protocol and exchange of information in the frame of Clearinghouse Mechanism. This process was enforced in 1997 with the incorporation of a research group and sectoral concept “Conservation of biological diversity through nature protection” in BMZ piloted by GTZ, KfW, DED and other institutions. This program has been advising regional organization in Africa such as the COMIFAC and the African Union, for access and benefit-sharing of genetic resources in South Africa and Madagascar through the enforcement of their legal framework (KASPAREK, SCHULZ and AMEND 2000, GTZ 2009a, GTZ 2005, GTZ 1995). The second project (2): Protected Areas management and Transition-Zone development Project (Projekt Schutzgebietesmanagement und Randzonenentwicklung-ABS/LISTRA) which was concerned with merging using and protection interests through participatory approach and motivated local population to understand, support and accept the creation of protected areas. Focal countries were Uganda and Benin among others (GTZ 1997a, GTZ 1997b). (3): The project „Securing Agrobiodiversity in rural area“(Sicherung der Agrobiodiversität im ländlichen Raum – AGROBIODIV) aimed at reducing the loss of information related to genetic resources indispensable in food and agricultural sector (GTZ 2001b). The final project (4): the “Tropical Ecology Program („Begleitprogramm Tropenökologie“- TÖB) which began since 1989, was oriented towards sustainable use of tropical ecosystems with strong focus on use of tropical forests focal points were Madagascar, Tanzania, Niger, Ivory Coast, Ethiopia and South Africa among others. It was funded with more than 30 millions DM (GTZ 2000, DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2002b: 12).



Map 4: Forests Loss and the GDC

Draft: Tchigankong Noubissié
Cartography: Diehl



Map 5: Forest and biodiversity projects before and after the UNCED

Draft: Tchigankong Noubissié
 Cartography: Diehl

In summary, it could be argued that German development cooperation for environmental protection was strongly involved into the global environmental policy and has contributed much to their implementation in its African partner's countries in the framework of bilateral and multilateral cooperation of Forest Principles and CBD. This contribution has been made available through channels of financial and technical cooperation, the first one providing the means and the second one implementing concrete projects at the local and regional level to reduce deforestation and promote afforestation and to create protected areas. In addition, German cooperation has done much in the institutional development of environmental policy and legislation in several African countries, by contributing in the creation of environmental

ministries, providing advisory service in environmental matters and supporting NGOs strongly involved in improving forest's resident peoples. The German government is therefore committed to the implementation of CBD and has undertaken actions required by this framework such as conservation, protection and sustainable use of biological diversity as well as fair distributions of use of genetic resources. Her contribution to the creation of protected areas and the fight against illegal timber exploitation and certification of forest's product is also relevant for the implementation of Forest Principles. However, as highlighted in map 4 several countries that were confronted to strong forest loss were not German focal countries.

It could be finally observed that all the points recommended by Rio and discussed in 2.2.1.5 have been included into German development cooperation with Africa; evidencing the fact that the German development cooperation was fully introduced in the global governance of natural resources after the UNCED in Rio. German cooperation has supported more than 310 projects oriented towards sustainable forest management in 66 countries (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2001a: 57).

Germany's engagement for the protection of forests and its biodiversity was made evident by the publication of BMZ forest concept shortly before the WSSD in May 2002. The aim of this concept (Forests and Sustainable Development) was to formulate Germany's priorities and fundamentals in the development cooperation domain and to merge the interests of different actors (governments, civil societies, private sector, and indigenous peoples) living in partner countries, and to support them in the protection and sustainable management of forests (BMZ 2002). How did this strategy continue after the WSSD?

3.4.1.3. The German development cooperation and the WSSD

„Die Bundesregierung hat sich erfolgreich dafür eingesetzt, dass auf dem Weltgipfel für Nachhaltige Entwicklung in Johannesburg auch das Thema Schutz und nachhaltige Nutzung der Wälder behandelt werden wird. Die Bundesregierung geht davon aus, dass in den Abschlussdokumenten des Gipfels auch zur Umsetzung des Waldarbeitsprogramms der Konvention über die biologische Vielfalt aufgerufen wird“ (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2002b: 9).

More generally, the WSSD was part of discussion on global aims and targets discussed in the MDGs. Therefore, German development cooperation, apart from following up her old thematic in development cooperation with Africa has introduced new concepts. In 2000 the main topics of German development cooperation with Africa were: the promotion of democracy, rule of law, good governance, promotion of civil society, freedom of the press and freedom of expression, peace and justice, protection of natural resource and sustainable fight against poverty (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2001b). Since 2000, German cooperation in the forests sector happened in the framework of collaborative choice that offers the

opportunity of project management by partner's countries with NFPs as central instrument (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2004a: 11).

By 2004, the aim of German cooperation for forest protection had not changed much and continued to be related to the involvement of all concerned actors in the management and sustainable use of forests in its partner's countries. One minor addition to this strategy involved the German government openly affirming that its action in this domain was oriented towards the achievement of the global ecological function of forests management (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2004a: 10). Therefore, German development cooperation has decided to carry over the Forest Sector launched in May 2002 after the WSSD with financial support of 14 million euro (from 2005-2008) (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2005a:19). With this sector approach: (1) the indispensable and important auto equalizing feature of forest should be conserved sustainably and (2) forests should be used as a means to fight against poverty and sustainable development by improving and securing livelihood and the essential needs of the living forest population and promote rural development (BMZ 2002: 12). To achieve this aim, German cooperation has planned to implement international policies in forests sectors. It means to work in accordance with Rio Forest's Principles and Agenda 21 aiming at fighting against deforestation, the promotion of institutional management of forests as stated by the International Panel of Forests (IPF) in 1997, through the promotion of NFPs. Furthermore, German cooperation will have to focus on the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests' (IFF) aim of designing forest's policy in the framework of an International Agreements⁵¹ on Forests in 2000 dealing more with UN cooperative actors in forest's management (UNFF) and finally contribute to the implementation of CBD (IBID).

The second important point of this German forest sectoral program is to ensure social participation of important actors, to take into account the needs of local population and equitable sharing of benefits and gender differences. Third, all forests management projects of German development cooperation should involve an ecological and Certification approach (FSC) and show a political coherence by harmonizing all other development projects. They should also be part of NFPs and National Strategies for Sustainable Development (NSSDs) safeguarding ecological and social standards (IBID, see also DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2004a: 10-11, Bös* 2010: 36).

⁵¹ Authors whose names are marked with this sign (*) were interviewed experts whose contribution is detailed in second volume of this analysis.

Following the WSSD, German development cooperation has been active in Africa at the regional and bilateral cooperation level. One of the most important contributions of the WSSD in forest management in Africa was the creation of the COMIFAC (Commission des Forêts d'Afrique Centrale) which is dedicated to the protection of forests of Congo Basin countries.⁵² COMIFAC has received strong support from German cooperation since 2005 (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2005a: 22, BMZ 2011a: 89, Bös* 2010: 38-39). This support was including the facilitation of Congo Basin Forests Partnership (CBFP) from 2007 to 2010 with an estimated amount of 53 million € (SEEGERS and SCHIPULLE 2010, BMZ 2007: 4). Germany has also supported the EU Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade (FLEGT) program in several African countries since 2003 (mostly Central African Countries through the African Forest Law Enforcement and Governance - AFLEG) aiming at forests law enforcement and good governance of forests (Deutscher Bundestag 2005a: 27, DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2004a: 18, DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2004b: 6). The second area of regional support is concerned with the SADC (Southern African Development Community) forests region covering a forest area estimated to 27 000 hectares. The support of German cooperation in this region is oriented towards the marketing techniques of NTFPs coming from dried communal forests and enabling local population to have access to international markets,⁵³ as well as improving the management of cross-border conservation areas (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2004a: 21, BMZ 2011a: 92).

As far as bilateral cooperation is concerned countries like Madagascar have benefited from a German project aiming at fighting against bushfire and CO₂ gas emissions at the local level and piloted by the GTZ in 2002 with a financial support varying between 100 000 and 170 000 € (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2005a: 25, BMZ 2010: 30). Moreover, countries like Tunisia benefited from German support of sustainable management of forest ecosystems, Cameroon from a program for management of natural resources, Tanzania from forest political advisory support, and Benin from sustainable management of natural resources⁵⁴ (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2004a). Finally, German cooperation has launched a three years research project on the "Genetic Fingerprint" of tropical timber in 2004 aiming at determining the origins of exploited timbers based on genetic research and reducing illegal exploitation of forests in tropical areas in Africa (IBID: 29).

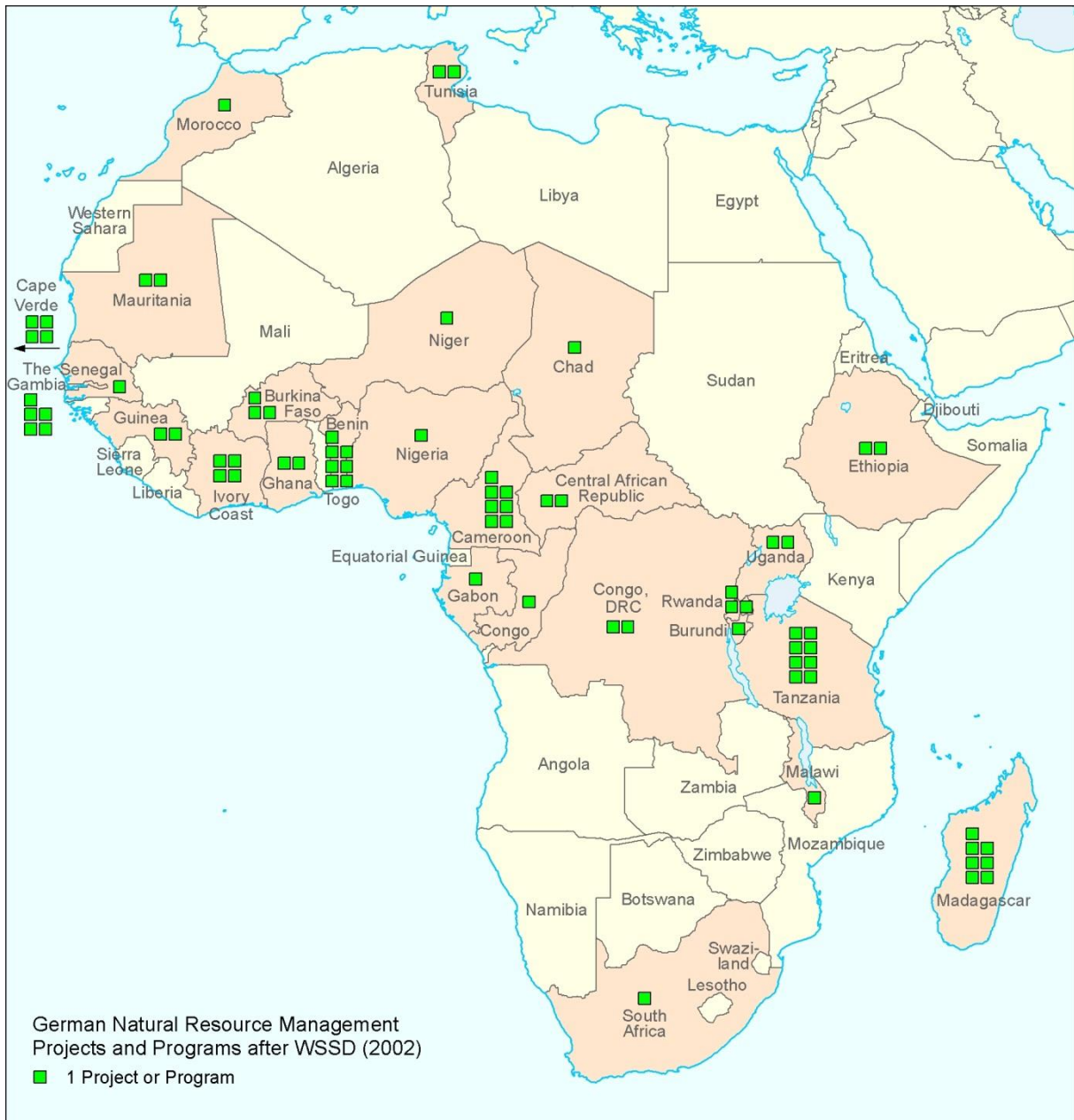
⁵² Burundi, Cameroon, Republic of Congo, Chad, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rwanda, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo and of Sao Tome/Principe. They cover a forest *area* of more than 180 million hectares

⁵³ This project is piloted in Malawi, Botswana, Namibia and Mozambique

⁵⁴ Benin and Cameroon are parts of case study in this analysis. More detailed information on German project will be raised in chapters four and five.

Concerning the biological diversity, the actions of the German government continue to be related towards the implementation of CBD recommendations in the framework of the BMZ sectoral project: “implementation of biodiversity convention” as already discussed in the former point with an annual budget of 60 million €. One of the specificities of German development cooperation for the protection of biodiversity after the WSSD was to focus more on the establishment of cross-border protected areas (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2002c). In this context, the BMZ launched in 2008 a “biodiversity sectoral project” which aims to actualize the former concept “conservation of biological diversity” of 1997 (see point 3.4.1.2) (BMZ 2008a). However, the most important aims remain unchanged. In 2008, the BMZ was supporting 150 projects related to conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity components relying on management of protected areas, access to genetic resources and biological security with an amount of 500 million € from 2009 to 2012 (IBID). This was the case of the Lobeke national park in Cameroon for example (RUFFERT 2007, see GTZ 2010)

To summarize, it could also be observed that the German actions have been in harmony with the WSSD and JPOI as well as at the international level by cooperating with IPF and UNFF. Germany is also involved in forests management in the frame of her bilateral cooperation. She has developed and implemented sectoral projects dedicated to the realization of WSSD conclusions. Rhetorically and concretely, it could be argued that the actions of German development cooperation have been striving to contribute to the fulfillment of sustainability as designed during the WSSD and the former global environmental summits. Those actions embraced the promotion of conservative and sustainable management of resources, the support of indigenous and community efforts towards managing resources, and the promotion of reliable, affordable and economically viable society.



Draft: Tchigankong Noubissié
Cartography: Diehl

Map 6: German Natural Resource Management Projects and Programs after WSSD

3.4.1.4. The UNCSA and outlook of German cooperation in natural resources management in Africa

“Wir stehen vor der höchst anspruchsvollen und komplexen Aufgabe, für die Zeit nach 2015 eine international vereinbarte, global ausgerichtete und auf alle Länder universell anwendbare Agenda mit einem kohärenten Zielsystem zu entwickeln, um Entwicklung nachhaltig zu gestalten. “Business as usual“ ist keine Option. Die zentrale Herausforderung besteht darin, eine Agenda zu erarbeiten, in der wesentlichen Aspekten nachhaltiger Entwicklung angemessen Rechnung getragen wird und in der ein anderes Partnerschaftsverständnis, gute Regierungsführung sowie Finanzierungs- und Wirkungsmessungsfragen wesentliche Aspekte sein werden“ (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2013: 1-2).

This statement demonstrates the German motivation for continuing working for the achievement of sustainable development at the global level. Germany wants to be involved in sustainability issues without any kind of national interest.

It is relevant to raise the fact that the GIZ was created on January 1st 2011 from a merger of GTZ GmbH, InWent, and DED which was accepted by the German parliament on July 7th 2010 (HOLGER 2010: 8). The German government has developed a strategy, which is supposed to fit with post-agenda program of sustainable development. As discussed in point 2.4 and mostly point 2.4.2.1 the UNCSA which aimed to work for the achievement of sustainability through a “Green Growth Development Approach” was supposed to promote social inclusion and improvement of human welfare coupled with a healthy functioning ecosystem.

Therefore, the German government has launched the post 2015 agenda for sustainable development, which aims at eradicating poverty and transforming economies through sustainable development, presented as an important path to reach the Post 2015 agenda (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2013: 2). The German commitment to sustainability and ecological perspectives has not changed so far. In this program, the government argues that its actions to achieve the post-2015 agenda will be oriented towards the realization of development at the global level, which will go hand in hand with sustainable measures and ecological values. Moreover, in the baseline of this post2015 agenda, it is argued that its actions at the global level will embrace activities such as the protection of natural resources, climate and biodiversity as well as ecosystems. The German government wants to make sure that its partner’s countries will be endowed with means enabling them to develop sustainable use of natural resources and resource efficiency (IBID).

Germany has planned to promote Green Economy in the frame of its development cooperation with her partners ‘country with the argument that she has gathered sufficient experience in implementing this kind of policy. Therefore, her future actions in developing

countries will be concerned with capacity enforcement of her partners, in order to make them capable of speeding up their progress by boosting their local wealth through the enhancement of the value of their natural and social capital (NIEBEL in BMZ 2011b). Thus, even before the promotion and validation of this concept at the global level, the German government was already engaged on this path consisting of assisting German business corporations to get engaged in developing countries, and by strengthening the national and international framework of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) (IBID). This is evidenced by the fact that Germany has been always striven towards a neo-liberal approach for sustainable development as discussed in point 1.3.4.2 of this analysis and which is in strong contradiction with the above-mentioned quotation of “business as usual ist keine Option”.

Furthermore, the German government Green Growth strategy wants to promote environmentally friendly subsidies and the management of natural resources so that it will offer economic growth opportunity for local people (IBID). Restructuring economic parameters and creating incentives appear to be important steps towards promoting green economy by improving production methods as well as consumption patterns. Therefore, the re-skilling and awareness-raising of producers could enhance their commitment to environmental and social production standards as well as improve environmental management systems (BMZ 2011:11). German development cooperation wants to create the right conditions and incentives to this purpose in her partner countries through capacity building, finance and investment provision and leveraging international agreements and processes. Germany’s actions in this regard in Africa include projects such as “Investment Climate Facility for Africa” (ICF- 2007-2014) piloted since Tanzania, “Support to the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program” (NEPAD/CAADP - 2007-2012). Forests and biodiversity projects included in this framework are “Support for the Central Africa Forests Commission” (2005-2014), “SADC Sustainable Forest Management and Conservation Program” (2009-2011) and “Geothermal Facility in East Africa” (2011-2015) (BMZ 2011a). After the UNCSD, the German government wants to remain active in the process of natural resource management and has added the amount of development cooperation in this activity which rose from 159 million euro in 2008 to 370 millions in 2012 (BMZ 2013: 109). A cooperation with the German ministry of environment (BMU) which finances natural resources management projects and programs in developing countries with a supplement of 50 million euro, could be considered as a sign of a great commitment to conservation issues (IBID). When considered with her traditional conservative and natural resources management support, one could argue that German development cooperation is striving towards realizing

the SDGs and green economy because some of her actions in this area now covering activities such as coupling agricultural activities with industrial production and the promotion of sustainable production strategies. This innovation is supposed to integrate the economic value of ecosystems to political and economic decision-making procedures (IBID). Support to REDD-Mechanism (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) in the forest of the Congo Basin appears to be one of the most important roles of the German development cooperation in forests management and conservation in Africa in the framework of UNCSD. The other point is concerned with the enhancement of partnership with civil society organizations (CSOs) in the forests sector in Africa as required by the UNCSD which are granted a financial support of 15, 5 millions euro and the implementation of the Nagoya protocol as far as biodiversity matters are concerned (IBID: 110).

To summarize, it could be argued that, the German government has developed institutional means to couple her international actions in regards to global environmental concerns far before the internationalization of environmental matters. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union (and even before), it could be argued that West-Germany's actions towards a global strategy of management of natural resources were in strong conformity with global environmental international standards set up during environmental summits. However, it could be also discussed that Germany appears to have a pioneering role in this domain since the colonial time because, it could be observed that, even before the internationalization of some concepts during the international summits, Germany has already experience them at the national or international level. The next point will analyze if German development cooperation has also embarked on a process of shaping global development discourse and the development cooperation system, as has been the case with natural resources management in Africa.

3.4.2. Strategies to the implementation of global development discourse

The argument in this point of the analysis is that, German development cooperation has been integrated into global development discourse.

3.4.2.1. Thematic conformity

According to the BMZ development reports, Germany⁵⁵ was fully introduced into global development discourse after her participation to the international development strategy for the second United Nation development decade (second development decade). This UN resolution required all developing nations to formulate their national employment objectives with particular attention to education, health, nutrition, housing facilities, well-being of children and gender equality. Economically advanced countries endeavored to provide 1% of their GNP to help developing countries. Financial and technical assistance was presented as a mean of promoting the economic and social progress of those countries (See UN 1970). In reaction to the UN action program, German development cooperation issued guidelines oriented towards the fight against unemployment, the promotion of environmental friendly education, infrastructures improvement of rural areas, the expansion and diversification of industrial sector, capacity enforcement, improvement of living conditions of people through nutrition, and health and family planning programs (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1973: 17, DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1977b: 6-9).

The UN launched the third development decade in the 1980s with its strong focus on income poverty, improvement of agricultural development through the acceleration of production, rising of investments and imports as mean of growth's acceleration, and the elimination of hunger and malnutrition (UN 1980). In regards to this, Germany adopted a basic needs approach to her development cooperation which gave great priority to the fight against absolute poverty and facilitates people's access to nutrition, drinking water, health, housing and education facilities. These actions were divided into three main branches of activities: rural development, promotion of access to energy and the protection of natural resources (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1983: 29-31). Furthermore, German development cooperation was in strong accordance with the structural adjustment programs launched in the 1980s by the World Bank and have supported their implementation coupled with a natural resource export-led strategy, evidencing its ideological harmony with the 1980s development discourse discussed in point 1.3.3.1 (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1985: 95, DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1988: 57, DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1990b: 51).

⁵⁵ West-Germany is meant in this sentence

The resolution of the fourth international development decade aimed at being responsive to social needs through the significant reduction of extreme poverty, the utilization of human resources and skills and coupled with environmental soundness and sustainability and debt-service matters (UN 1990). In response to this, German development cooperation published its focal points which were oriented towards fight against poverty as a cross-cutting developmental issue, the promotion of private initiatives and indebtedness oriented problems, and conservation of natural resources. Moreover, the German strategy promoted gender issues, migration control and SAP programs (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1993: 32-39, DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1995b: 49-50).

The Millennium Declaration of 2000 aimed at promoting freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, respect of nature and shared responsibility, cooperation in field of peace, security and disarmament, development and poverty eradication, environmental protection, and the promotion of human rights, democracy and good governance (UN 2000b). German development cooperation has positioned itself as a main tool of implementing the MDGs focusing on four key areas: (1) social justice⁵⁶, (2) economic performance⁵⁷, (3) political stability⁵⁸ and (4) ecological balance⁵⁹ (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2001c: 17). According to the MDGs realization, the German government asserts its commitment to engage in the implementation of combating HIV/AIDS, malaria, hunger eradication and access to drinking water as well as urban development (ibid). To this aim, the German government has launched the “Action Program 2015” oriented towards poverty alleviation in developing and transformation countries (BMZ 2003: 12, NUSCHELER 2005: 579). This poverty reduction strategy of the Action Program 2015 was aimed at merging the poverty reduction strategies of partners countries in the framework of bilateral cooperation through PRSP and NSSD presented as insurance of people’s participation (IBID: 20). The aim of this program could be divided into four main key issues, political, social, economic, and ecological.

As far as the implementation of the Paris Declaration is concerned, the German government has published in 2005 its “Operational Plan 2005/2006” which aimed first of all to be a strategy to implement the MDGs, but also as an instrument of implementation of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (BMZ 2008b: 20). This plan was coupled the Accra Action Plan of 2008, divided into seven domains of activities (BMZ 2011c), and regrouped into three

⁵⁶ With strong orientations towards poverty reduction impacts and social balance

⁵⁷ Promotion of Pro-poor growth and economic cooperation

⁵⁸ Promotion of peace, Human rights, democracy and equality

⁵⁹ Conservation of natural resources as support of livelihood

overall objectives: ensuring the good governance of aid, its effectiveness and efficiency, and its sustainable financing (BMZ 2008c: 9).

In regard to the MDRI put in place during the Gleneagles Summit, the German government has agreed to contribute around 3,3 billion euro up to 2054 directly to the World Bank and the African Development Fund in order to support them in the financing of the MDRI (BMF 2011: 23-24).

The GNH approach promoted by the UN is still under strong analysis by the German governments which is supporting a project in this regard in the framework of the “Global Leadership Academy Program” funded by the BMZ and implemented by the GIZ and coordinating the “Global well-being Lab” (SOMMER 2013: 42-43).

It could be concluded that Germany’s development cooperation is a tool for implementation of global development discourse because Germany has developed a strategic program which matches to international development strategies and positioned herself as one of the main global actors in the framework of implementing and coordinating global development discourse. However, if it has been observed that there is a strong thematic co-relation between Germany’s development policy, some disparities appear in terms of respecting global financial requirements.

3.4.2.2. Fight against poverty or international visibility?

From figure 3, it could be observed that the German development cooperation is one of the most important international financing countries (DAC) as far as the global amount of their development cooperation is concerned. However, the German government is trapped by its financial progress and continues to register a substantial fall in its contribution according to the international GNI recommendation of 0,7 % (See figure 4).

Furthermore, it could be argued that even though Germany spent a huge amount of money in the framework of her development cooperation, the great part of this amount is spent in infrastructures and development of public utilities services such as transport, communication, water supply systems and energy productions (See figure 7). All these activities have strong technical and technological connotations, which enforce the idea that German development cooperation is primarily technical cooperation.

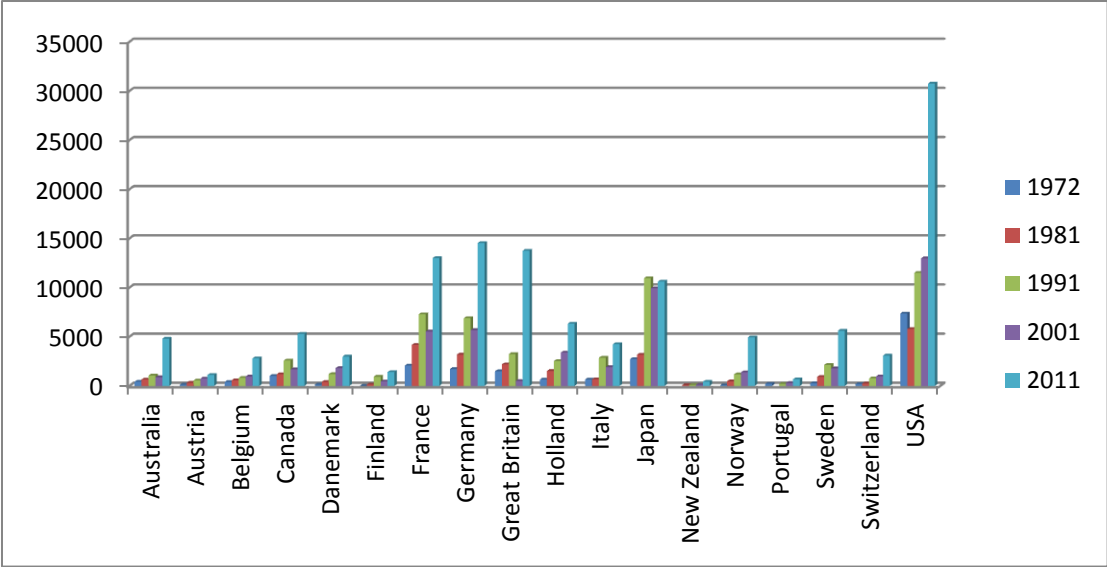


Figure 3 Global amount of ODA by DAC countries compared in four decades in millions of USD

(Source: Own representation from Deutscher Bundestag, BMZ and OECD reports)

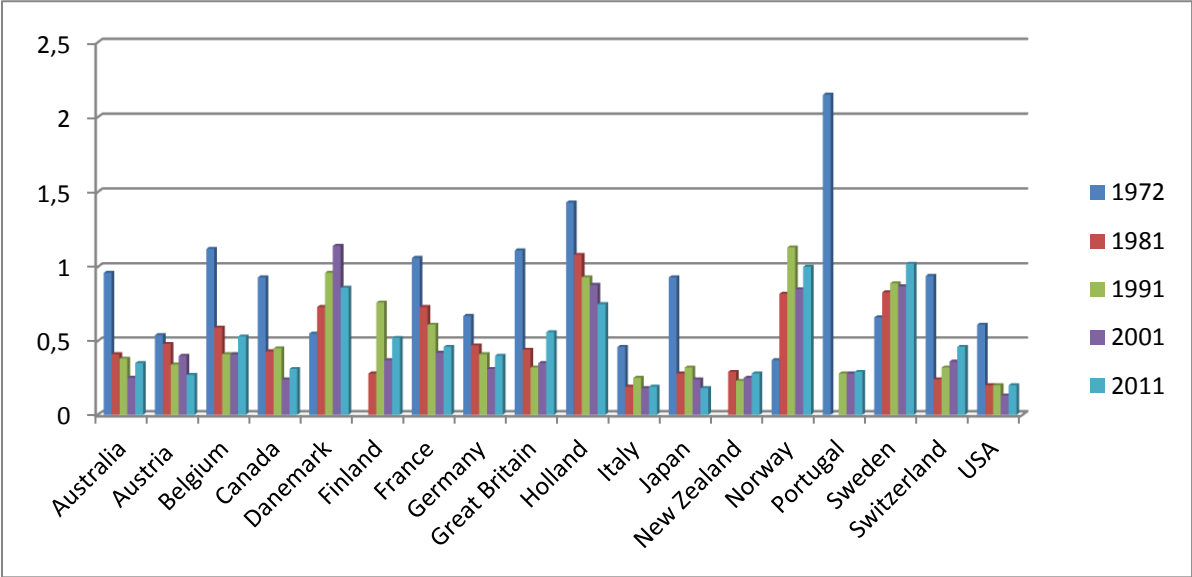


Figure 4 : Global amount of ODA by DAC countries compared in four decades (in % of GNI)

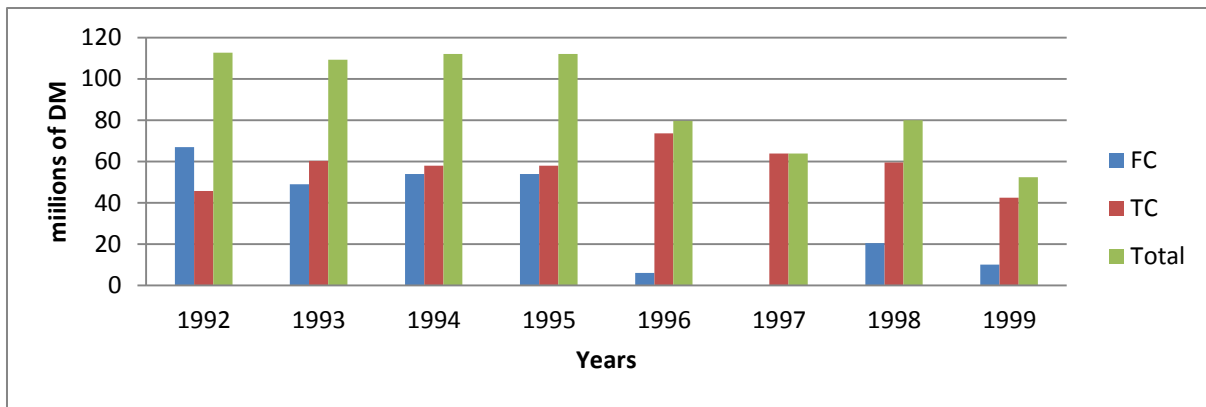


Figure 5 : Financing forestry programs in the GDC after Rio (Source: Own representation from DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG and BMZ Reports)

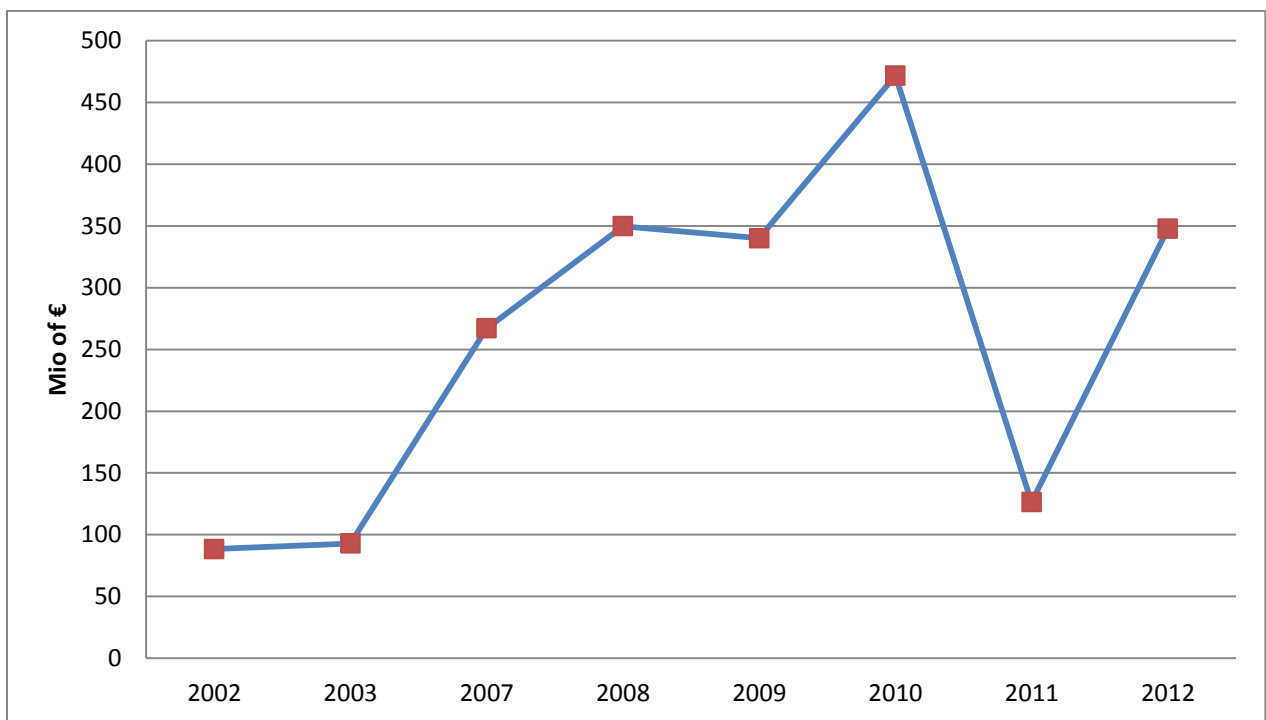
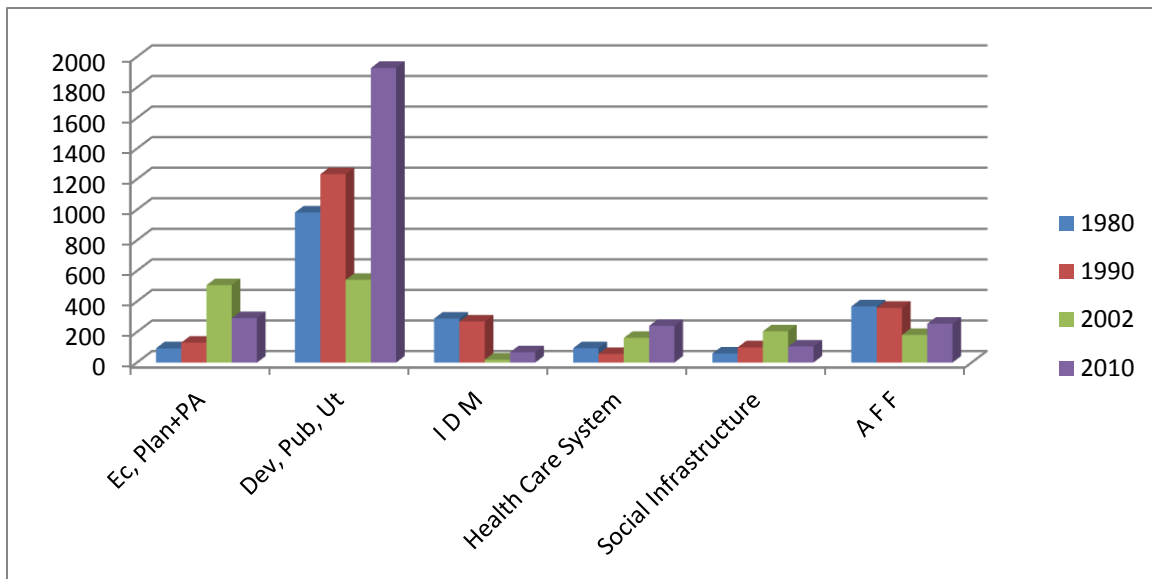


Figure 6 : Evolution of environmental protection in the German development cooperation after the WSSD (Own representation from DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2005b: 245 and MARTENS 2012: 26)



Ec, Plan + PA = Economic Planning and Public Administration

Dev, Pub, Ut = Development of Public Utility Services

IDM = Industry-Mining-Construction

AFF = Agriculture-Forestry-Fisheries

Figure 7 : Investment in GDC by Sector of activities (Source: Own representation from DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG and BMZ REPORTS 2009 AND 2010)

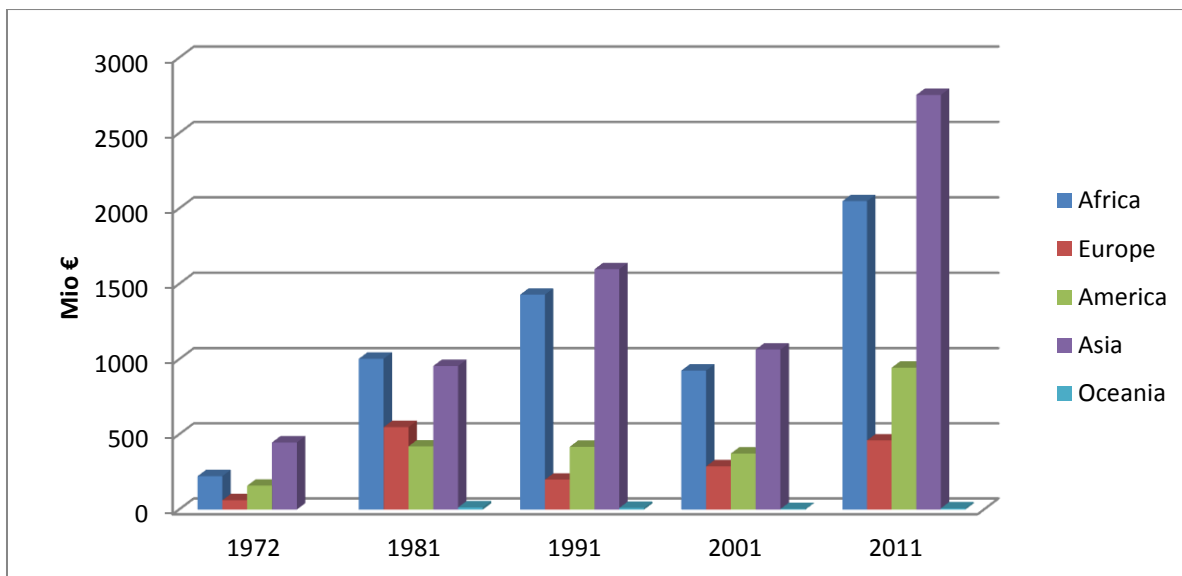
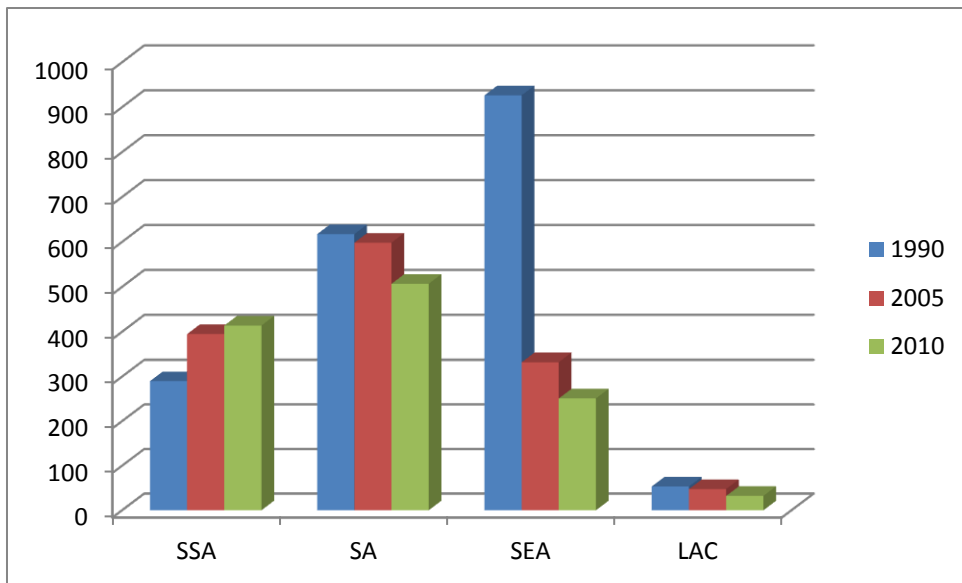


Figure 8 : Amount of German bilateral aid by world regions (Source: Own representation from DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG and BMZ REPORTS)



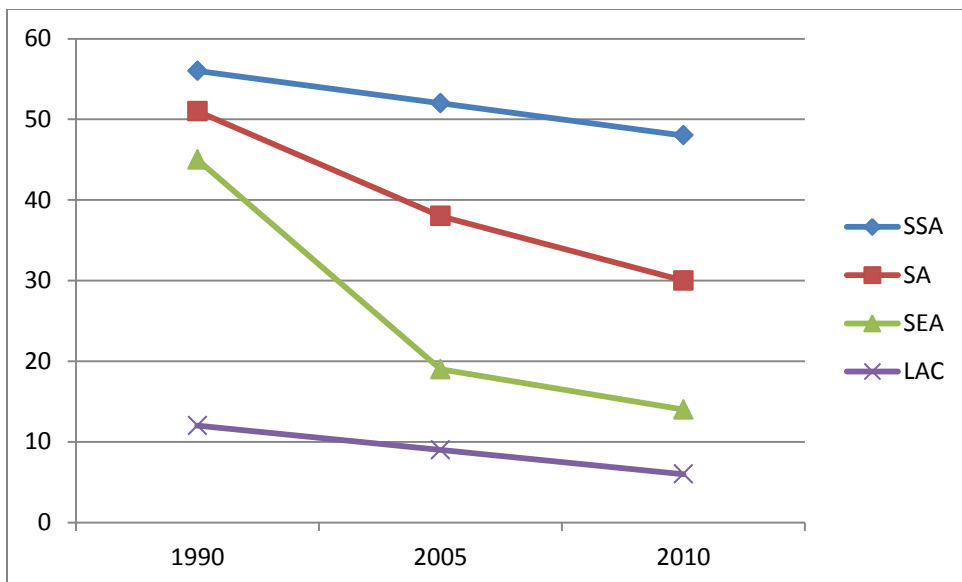
SSA - Sub-Saharan Africa

SA - South Asia

SEA - South-Eastern Asia

LAC - Latin America and the Caribbean

Figure 9 : Number of people living with less than 1, 25 USD/day (Source own representation from World Bank Data <http://iresearch.worldbank.org/PovcalNet/index.htm?1> (10.11.2013))



SSA - Sub-Saharan Africa

SA - South Asia

SEA - South-Eastern Asia

LAC - Latin America and the Caribbean

Figure 10 : Percentage of people living with less than 1, 25 USD/Day (Source modified from UN 2013: 6)

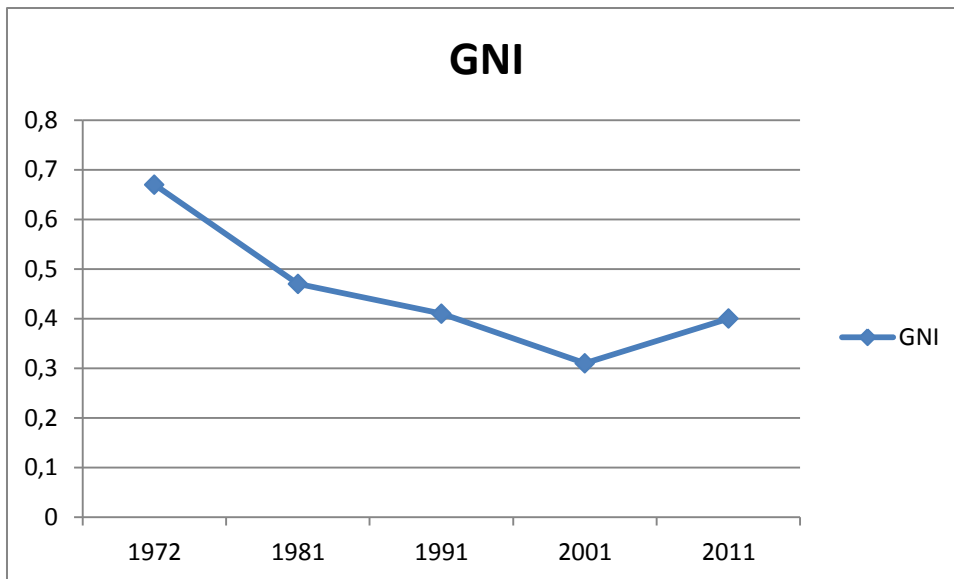


Figure 11 : Evolution of German ODA by GNI (Source: Own representation from DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG, BMZ and OECD REPORTS)

In addition, one may ask if the goal of the GDC is to fight against poverty or to be present at the international area through the framework of development cooperation. This idea is supported by the fact that, although Asian countries show relatively significant progress towards the elimination of extreme financial poverty (as made evident in figure 9 and 10), figure 8 shows that the amount of the German development cooperation in Asian countries has experienced continuous growth since the 1980s. If the fight against poverty was the most important aim of German development cooperation, one could argue that African countries would have had more financial support from the German government.

The commitment of the German government towards global environmental issues is evident with technical cooperation gaining more and more interests in this domain since the Rio conference (figure 5). Even though the amount of the German bilateral cooperation encountered a substantial decline after the WSSD (figure 6), the German contribution or dedication to environmental protection experienced a growth until 2011.

If environmental matters occupy theoretically and financially an important role in the German development cooperation, the fight against poverty and Germany's commitments to international ODA by GNI standards still face huge challenges. German development cooperation is facing a remarkable decline in this domain since the 1970s.

3.5. Summary

This Chapter is the core of this analysis and has strived to investigate the links between Germany and Africa in terms of political and environmental management with regard to colonial and post-colonial perspective. The argument or hypothesis mentioned in the introduction asserts that Germany's development policy in Africa is rooted in the framework of global governance, which, in regard to environmental management, has its root in colonial times could be confirmed. It has been discussed that, Germany's relationship with Africa is rooted in colonial period and that, as far as natural resources management is concerned, Germany introduced management strategies during the colonial time which legitimated colonial possession and control over African resources. This German strategy was globally legitimized through the London Convention of 1900 and has led to the establishment of several protected areas, which have contributed to the institutionalization of expropriation of local people from their own resources. It has also introduced structural violence strategies and problems of equity in the management of natural resources in German African colonies. The use of natural resources for economic progress during the German colonial period was a short one due to German scientists and naturalists who had early warned about the danger of losing natural resources and the necessity of promoting their sustainable use. Since then, Germany has introduced some protective strategies and natural resources management institutions which were later on reinforced by the financial valuation of protected resources. To this aim, natural resources protection was at a crossroads between legitimizing their exploitation by financially more endowed peoples at the expense of financially poor ones through the introduction of tax systems and hunting permits. Germany's post-colonial relationship with Africa is characterized by several thematic and tactical shifts moving from an ideological confrontation of using development aid for ideological purposes in pre-unification Germany, to a substantial support of implementation of global international agenda. As far as natural resources management is concerned, the analysis has evidenced the strong existing relations between global natural narratives and German introduction into this global international agenda. Both global and German international global environmental policies have strong thematic correlations. To every recommended international agreement of environmental management, Germany has developed an adaptive solution, which has been integrated into her bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Although participative measures have been introduced in the framework of natural resources management, this strategy could be argued to rely on methods involving structural violence. Expropriation measures related to the creation of protected areas are common in Africa where several protected areas were created

without the development of further alternatives for local populations and this, since the colonial era. This strategy has been enforced in the global discourse of management of natural resources and is strongly supported by German development cooperation, which dedicated sufficient financial and technical means for the implementation and respect of this colonial international legacy. This idea could therefore evidence the second hypothesis of this chapter arguing that the German development cooperation is rooted into the colonial narratives of conservation of natural resources.

Finally, the German commitment towards poverty alleviation and promotion of development in Africa still remains an opened question. There is a strong paradox in the distribution of German financial and technical cooperation in the framework of bilateral cooperation among countries and population in need of “help”. The contribution and distribution of Germany development cooperation by regions in the world is not fulfilled according to needs of poverty alleviation. The comparatively lesser concern for social activities and the focus on administrative and the development of public facilities in German development cooperation questions the sustainability of Germany’s development cooperation in Africa. Furthermore, it could be argued that Germany has found herself embedded in her national financial progress, which, according to the international agreements requires her to fulfill the basic quota of 0,7% of her GNI which is encountering a tremendous decline in terms of international developmental requirements. This put Germany’s thematic engagement at loggerheads with her practical financial commitments, despite the huge amount of her contributions in this domain.

The next three following chapters will analyze Germany’s commitment in the implementation of the global environmental agenda in two German former colonies (Cameroon and Namibia) and Benin and the consequence of this cooperation with regards to the development of those countries.

4. Benin and global environmental management

The aim of this chapter is to analyze natural resource management strategies in Benin in the framework of global governance. The idea defended in this chapter is that, just as German development cooperation has adapted strategies with regards to global environmental and development discourses, so has Benin. My hypothesis is that Benin's action towards sustainable management of natural resources has been fully introduced into global environmental and development discourse, but also that the country was unable to develop the required international strategies which are themselves unable to resolve completely Benin's national constraints in the domain of natural resource management .

Germany has been very active in natural resource management in Benin for decades. The thesis of this Chapter is that, instead of striving for the resolution of Benin's inherent challenges with regards to national resource management, German development cooperation is foremost focusing on the implementation of a global political agenda in this country. This chapter will highlight some limits of the implementation of global environmental and development discourse at the national and local level both by national and international actors.

4.1. Natural resource management in Benin

4.1.1. Overview on Benin's natural resources

The republic of Benin is situated in West Africa and is bordered by the Republic of Niger in its northern part, Burkina-Faso in the north-west, and the Togolese republic in the western, by the Atlantic Ocean in the south, the Federal Republic of Nigeria in the east. The country covers an area of 112 622 km²⁶⁰ and possesses 124 km of coastal area (CNDD 2008: 5).

Five types of vegetation characterize Benin. (1): the shoreline vegetation with floristic species such as *Remirea maritima*, *Ipomoea brasiliensis*, *Chrysobalanus icaco*, including some small savannah areas populated with *Lophira lanceolata*, *Schizachytium sanguneum* and *Loudetia phragmitoides*. (2): the Guinean-Congolian vegetation type is characterized by semi-deciduous dense forest with trees species reaching 25 to 30 meter high such as *Triplochiton scleroxylon*, *Terminalia superba*, *Celtis adolfifrederici*, *Anogeissus leiocarpus*, *Diospyros mespiliformis*, *Ceiba pentandra* and *mimusop andogensis*. (3): the Guineo-Sudanian vegetation type includes wooded savannah and Guinean woodlands. Species such as *Isobrlinia doka*, *Anogeissus leiocarpus*, *Khaya senegalensis* and endemism such as

⁶⁰ This number varies according to difference sources. 114 763 km² by ABE (1998:4).

Encephalartos barteri are found in this area. (4): the Sudanian vegetation type includes several savannah plants formation dominated with shrub and herbs layers and dried dense forests dominated by species such as acacia, *Schizygium guineense*, *Pterocarpus santalinoides*, *Khaya senegalensis*, *Dalium guineense*, *Pentadesma butyracea*, *Pandanus candelabrum* and *Khaya grandifoliola*. (5): the Inselberg and hill vegetation shelters mostly *Afrotrilepis pilosa* plant species (MEHU 1998:3-4, ABE 1998: 28-35).

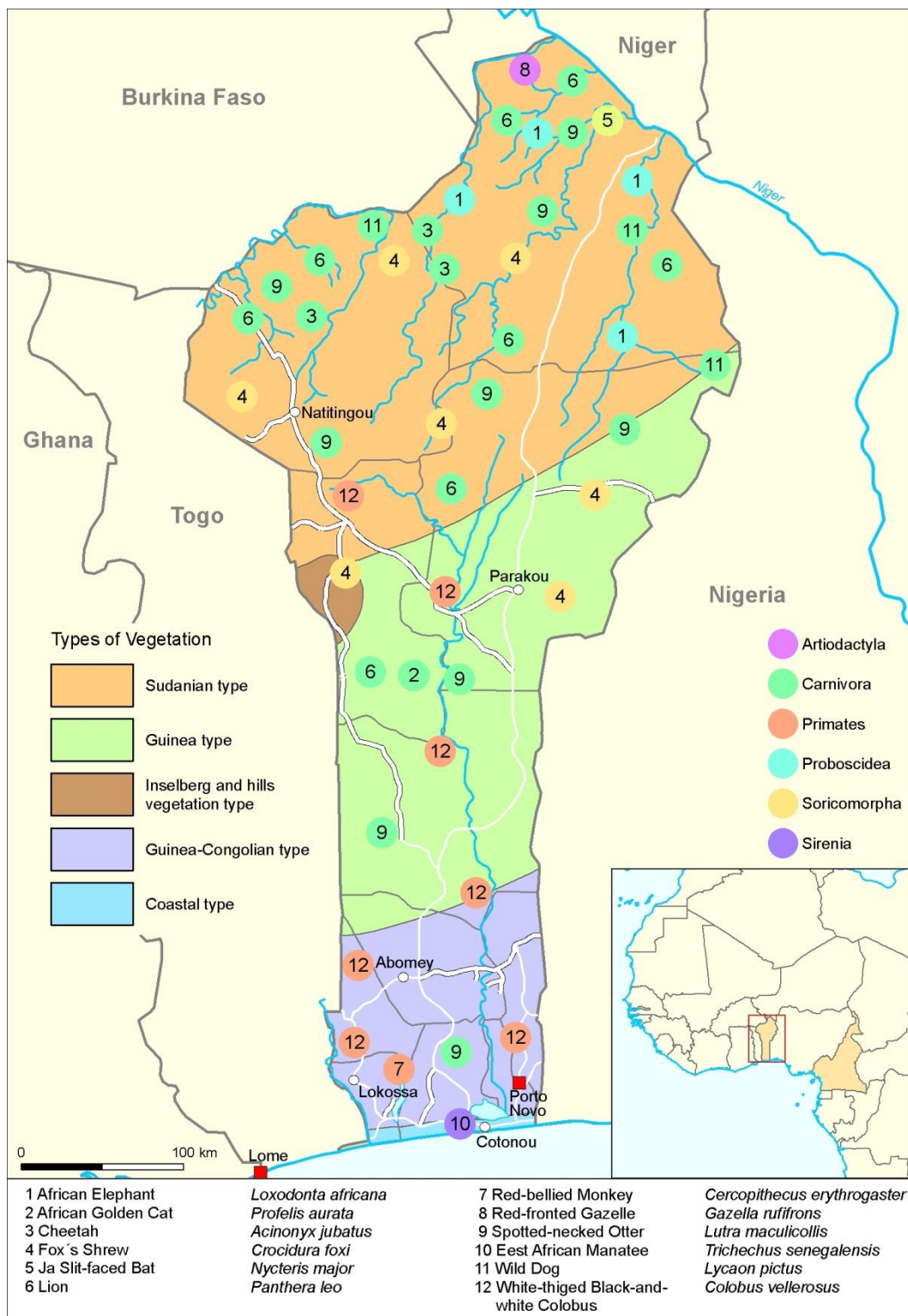
The vegetative cover of Benin is estimated at 42% with a predominance of savannahs, which have resulted from anthropic actions over forested areas (MAHAZOU, TCHIWANOU and AVONOMADEGBE 2004: 2). They argue that Benin covers a forest area estimated at 2 650 000 ha⁶¹ and has a floristic capacity of 3000 species (FOSA 2005: 32). As a matter of fact 65% of Benin's vegetation is made up of small trees vegetation with forests and gallery forests covering only 1% of the national territory (FOSA 2005: 26).

As far as terrestrial wildlife is concerned, it includes a variety of animal types such as reptiles, birds, invertebrates' animals and mammals. As far as mammals are concerned they are mostly localized in the northern part of the country and are living mostly inside protected areas (BANQUE MONDIALE 2010: 2). They are divided into two grand sorts: big and small mammals, common and rare species. The most famous species of big mammals include species such as

Covering elements	Surface Area	Percentage	cheetah, leopards, damalisques and giant pangolin (MEHU 1998: 12-13) (See map7)
deciduous, semi-deciduous and gallery forests	63.125	0,55	
Open forest	1.274.375	11,13	
Arboreal savannah	6.095.625	53,23	
Arboreal and saxicolous savannah	235.000	2,05	
Saxicolous formation	162.500	1,42	
Periodically flooded Areas	2870625	25,07	
Cultivated areas	647500	5,65	
Teak plantations	6875	0,06	
Coconut plantation	11875	0,1	
Bare ground	45625	0,4	
Water surface	32500	028	
Agglomeration	6875	0	
Total	11.452.500	100	

Table: 3 : Terrestrial cover of Benin (modified from FOSA 2005:27)

⁶¹ LEHOUX & CHAKIB (2013) estimate this area to 4, 56 million ha and 2, 89 million ha of wooded areas.



Draft: Tchigankong Noubissié
Cartography: Diehl

Map 7: Vegetation and principal mammals distribution in Benin

	Woodland and wooded Savannah	Dense Forests	Gallery Forests	Arboreal and Grassland Savannah
Alibori	496762	11944	79505	1386883
Borgou	393058	17233	81891	1317719
Atacora	205.989	632	42.099	1.462.815
Donga	216.624	23.434	44.536	607.690
Collines	162.860	12.926	29.960	797.132
Zou	16.375	487	6.587	130.074
Couffo	2.320	-	1.860	26.183
Mono	-	-	-	-
Ouémé	-	54	-	-
Plateau	11.386	1.876	1.472	72.225
Atlantique	246	72	-	4.264
Litoral	-	-	-	-
National	1.505.620	68.658	287.910	5.804.985

Table: 4 : Forests, Woodland and Savannah distribution by regions in Benin (in ha) (SCHMIDT-SOLTAU 2008: 11)

4.1.2. Roles and functions of natural resources in Benin

Forest and biodiversity have multifunctional roles in Benin, which could be divided into two main functions: the function towards the nature itself and its function in fulfilling human needs. The anthropic function of forest and biodiversity vary according to the origin, culture and social status.

4.1.2.1. Socio-cultural roles and functions of natural resources in Benin

The socio-cultural lives of several peoples in Benin depend on forests and forest resources. Several people rely on forests and forest's resources as a mean of fulfilling their basic needs in food, healing, jobs, housing, gender balance, and for aesthetic, spiritual and other uses.

The population of Benin is estimated at 9212 million inhabitants who are divided into ten main cultural groups: the Fon, Adja, Yoruba, Bariba, Fulani, Betamaribe, Yao-Lokpa, Otamari, Yom and Dendi (MASSODE 2012⁶², HELDMANN 2008: 120) (See map 8).

More than 90% of household's needs in energy in Benin are covered by the forest sector that supplies households with fuelwood and charcoal (GOUTHON 1998: 25). Fuelwood and charcoal cover 80,3 % and 13,4 % of energy need in Benin with biomass still presented as the main important source of energy used by households for cooking (MEPN 2008: 21).

⁶² MASSODE distinguishes only 8 ethnical groups

Forest agrifoods are mostly included as sub-category of non-timber forest products (NTFPs). Benin's forestry areas possess forest agrifood, which are supplied in forms of fruits, nuts, seeds, tubers, flowers, saps, and other edible products that contribute directly to households' food supplying systems (CODJIA, ASSOGBADJO and MENSAH EKUÉ 2003). 162 edible forest agrifood are consumed in Benin. These are mostly fruits species (60%), leafy vegetables (20%), seeds (9%), roots and tubers (6%), saps (3%) and flowers (2%). 59 % of these species are found in forest and 41% into open wooded areas and savannas. The most famous of these vegetal species are *Adansonia digitata L* whose leaves, flowers and seeds are consumed uncooked or broiled, *Parkia africana* whose fruits are used for the cooking of different soups and *Vitex donania* whose fruits are used to make refreshing drinks and leaves for soups. Several NTFPs are collected, used and sold mostly by women in southern and northern Benin but also by men by the Fulani (IBID, SANI and OUSMANE*⁶³ 2011: 246, LEHOUS and CHAKIB 2013).

In addition, local people in Benin use some NTFPs and timber products as mean of construction such as the *Borassus aethiopum* that is used as framework of the house (CODJIA, ASSOGBADJO and MENSAH EKUÉ 2003).

From the 3000 floristic species of Benin 814 are considered as having therapeutics properties. From the 507 plants among them, which have been already studied, 1980 recipes have been catalogued as mean of curing 3457 diseases. Financial poverty in Benin leads 2/3 of the population mostly from rural areas to use medicinal plants for curative purposes. This sector employs officially 8000 traditional healers (FOSA 2005: 32).

Although traditional authorities are subordinated to governmental authorities in Benin, they continue to have a substantial power and respect in the communities they are leading. In Benin, there is no understanding of kingdom without "sacred forests" which represent a spiritual dimension of power. Some forest areas in Benin are dedicated to voodoo ceremonials and for divination, purification and spiritual purposes. Trees such as Iroko (*Milicia excelsa*), baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) (for veneration), kola nut tree (*Cola acuminata*) (for libation), Afzelia (*Afzelia africana*), Sterculia (*Sterculia setigera*), African custard-apple (*Annona senegalensis*), *Anogeissus leiocarpus*, African Ebony (*Diospyros mespiliformis*), African mahogany (*Khaya senegalensis*) appears as the most common worshiped species in Benin. Ethnic groups such as the Fon, Yoruba and other local groups proceed to some ritual

⁶³ Authors whose names are marked with this sign (*) were interviewed experts whose contribution is detailed in second volume of this analysis.

ceremony under those trees according to their needs and tradition (ZOHOUN 2011; AGBOMENOU* 2011: 100-103; DAH ALLIGBONON* 2011: 152-153; BADJAGOUN* 2011:181; JUHE-BEAULATON 1999a). The belief in relic trees hosting specific spirits that protect humans and could fulfill their wishes is spread all over Benin. Those trees are deserved profound respect, are worshiped and regularly full with gifts (LANGEWIESCHE 2004: 202, KOKOU and SOKPON 2006). Moreover, useful trees such as shea tree (*Vitellaria paradoxa*) are protected from destruction in the Bariba culture because of all the services it brings to the community (SANI* and OUSMANE* 2011: 249).

Wildlife is the first source of proteins for rural people in Benin who have a great preference for mammals' species. The rural population increasingly eyes other species such as reptiles, birds and insects. The *greater cane rats* (*Thryonomys swinderianus*) belong to one of the most preferred mammals, which are seriously hunted by the rural population in Benin (Lehous and CHAKIB 2013:6; CODJIA and ASSOGBADJO 2004: 342-344). Honey belongs to one of the most important insect product in Benin, which is used for nutritious, rituals and curing purposes.

It could be therefore observed that forests and its resources have a great socio-cultural importance for the population in Benin. They are used as main means of fulfillment of their social and cultural needs since 49% people are active in the agricultural, hunting and forest sector (CAPO-CHICHI in AHJUCAF 2008: 55). Near these socio-cultural functions of forests, people and government rely on forests and its resources as mean of natural capital for economic purposes.

4.1.2.2.Economic and ecological roles and functions of natural resources in Benin

According to MEPN (2008), Benin could not be considered as a richly forested country when she is compared with her neighbor countries such as Ivory Coast, Ghana and Nigeria as already mentioned above.

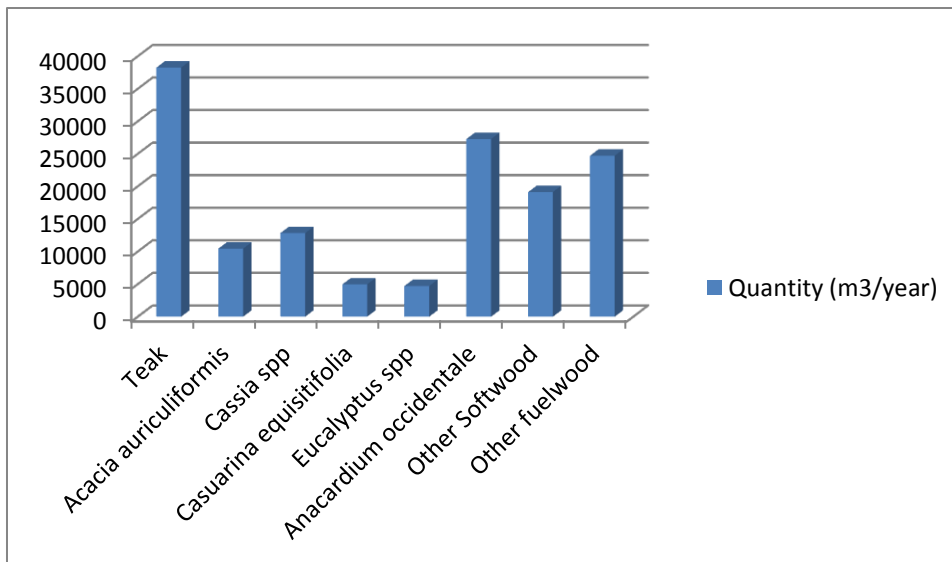


Figure 12 : Main used wood in Benin (modified from FOSA 2005: 29)

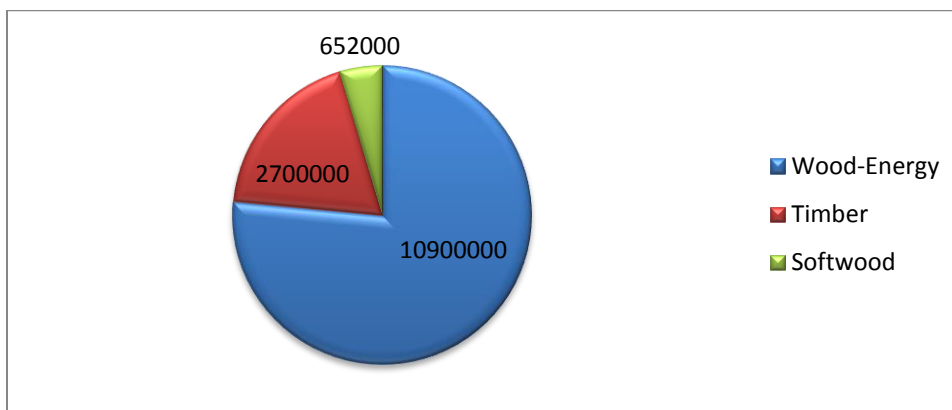


Figure 13 : Annual wood availability in Benin (own presentation from FOSA 2005: 39)

As made evident by figure 12, teak, Anacardium occidentale and Cassia spp appear as the most produced tree species in Benin. The most coveted wood species of industrial companies are *Milicia excelsa*, *Azelia africana*, *Khaya senegalensis* and *Pterocarpus erinaceus*, while species such as *Manilkara obovata*, *Rhizophora racemosa* and *Avicennia africana* are coveted as fuelwood and for charcoal production by both industrial enterprises and the local population (TCHIWANOU 2001). The first category mostly uses timber for exportation and for the production of furnitures and construction material while the second category is focused on the production of fuelwood and charcoal production. 398 logging companies and 1261 suppliers of forest products with 80 enterprises in the sector of wood and furniture were registered in 1996 in Benin. The majority of these enterprises are interested in the exploitation and transformation of softwood such as teak, whitewoods, redwoods and timbers whose annual exploitation is around 112 000 m³ (FOSA 2005: 37-38). This sector is dominated by six enterprises (see graph 21) among which ONAB (Office National du Bois) is the only

public company, which was created in cooperation between Germany and Benin in the 1980s and is mostly specialized in the production and exploitation of teak woods. The other companies are private ones specialized in the exploitation of teak and other wood species. Woods from different forest will be exported in the original logs or manufactured into deals, boards or other timber products to main cities, neighbor countries (mostly Togo) and abroad, principally in China and India (RAHMANE* 2011: 264).

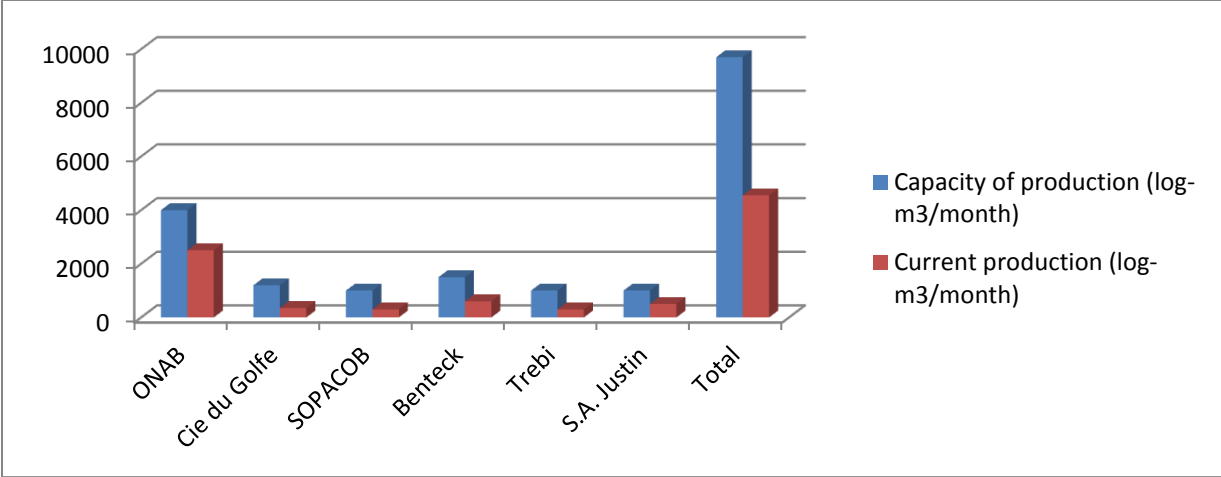


Figure 14 : Main important wood production and transformation companies in Benin (Source: modified from FOSA 2005: 21-22 and

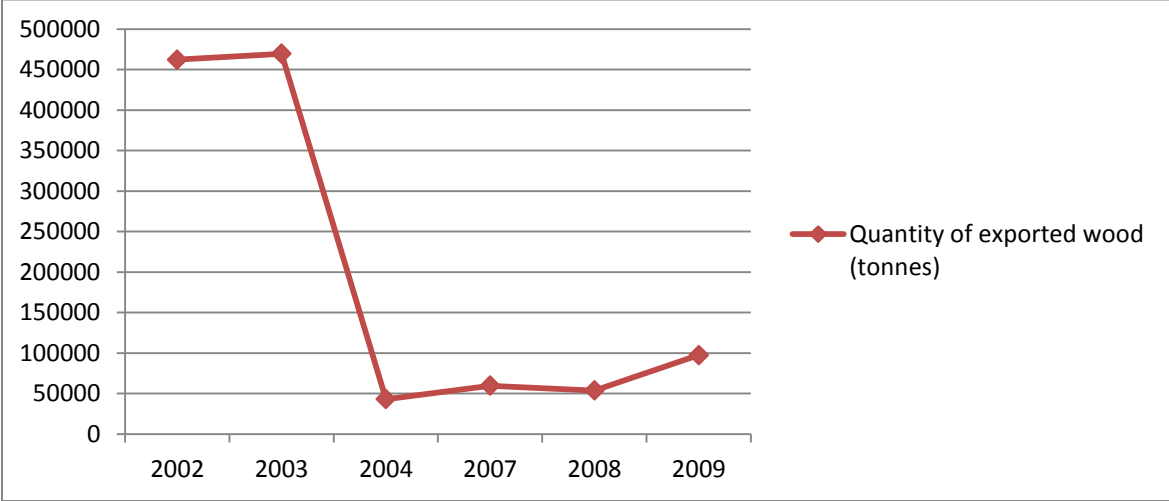


Figure 15 : quantity of wood exported out of Benin (Own presentation from INSAE 2006, INSAE 2009, INSAE 2012a)

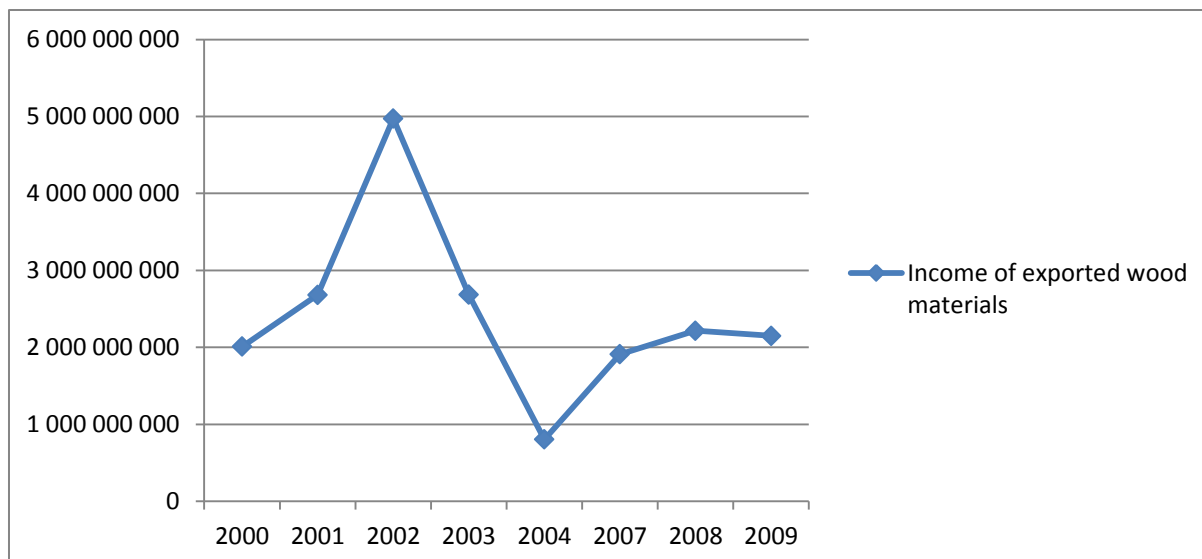


Figure 16 : Income of from wood material exported out of Benin (Own presentation from INSAE 2006, INSAE 2009, INSAE 2012a)

Harvesting wood products has been an income generating activity for both industrial and private's initiatives which reached its peak in 2002 and have encountered a sort of stability since 2007 (figures 15 and 16).

The fuelwood sector employs approximately 20 000 people in Benin and produces annual sales of almost seven billion FCFA. Fuelwood and wood charcoal are sold on the public highway and enable small farmers to improve their incomes during the dry season (SINSIN and KAMPMANN 2010: 531).

However, TCHIWANOU (2001) argues that it is difficult to measure the contribution of the forest sector to Benin GDP and estimates this to be 2, 8 % without the involvement of industry and wood transformation. Involving this sector raises the contribution of forest sector to 6% of Benin's GDP (BANQUE MONDIALE 2010: 2). As far as the production of charcoal is concerned, the CES (2011) asserts that since 2011, 50 kg of charcoal cost 6500 CFA Francs in urban areas. It could be deduced from this information that charcoal production contributed to create an estimated amount of 7 052 420 CFA Francs (10 767, 05 €). A cubic meter of wood is sold at the price of 51 000 FCFA for outsourcing market and 70 000 in the inner markets since 2009 (FATONGNINOUGBO 2013). Based on this figure, it could be argued that the six above mentioned companies were able to create a total income of 486259, 51 Euros for the internal market and 354274, 76 for the external market (See figure 17).

As far as wildlife is concerned, both government and the local population benefit from the financial income of the two national parks present in Benin, both of which are endowed with

several animal species. Figure 18 puts in outlines the amount of gathered and shared money among the actors. CHARDONNET argues that part of this amount is very low for both the population (0, 21 €/person/year) and the national park institution (only 14% of expenses) (2009: 44). Empirical research in the hunting zone villages in Porga, Tanougou where tracker-hunters assert that they are having a better life and better earnings which changed from a monthly earning of 3000 FCFA (~ 4, 58 €) to a daily earning of 10 000 FCFA (~15, 26 €) (KAH* 2011: 209; YOUMANOU* 2011: 227).

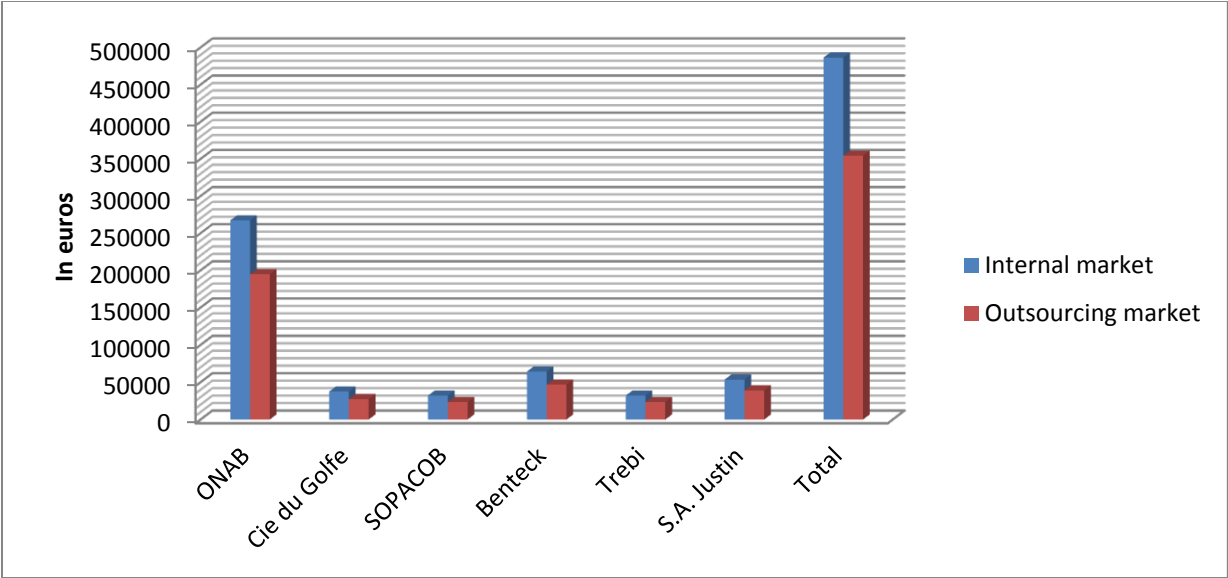


Figure 17 : Estimated amount of wood commercialization in Benin (own presentation from FOSA 2005)

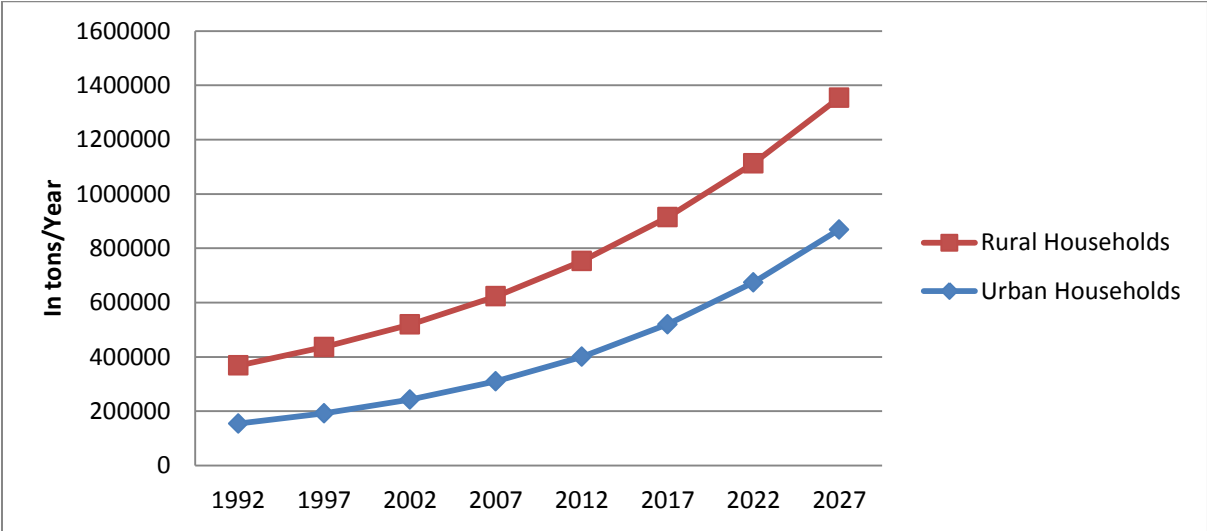


Figure 18 : Charcoal demand in Benin (own representation from FOSA 2005: 20)

Both animal and forests derived resources are source of income for both government (through taxes in inner and external market) and the local population. Estimation of revenues from NTFPs and other derived animal sources are presented in figure 20.

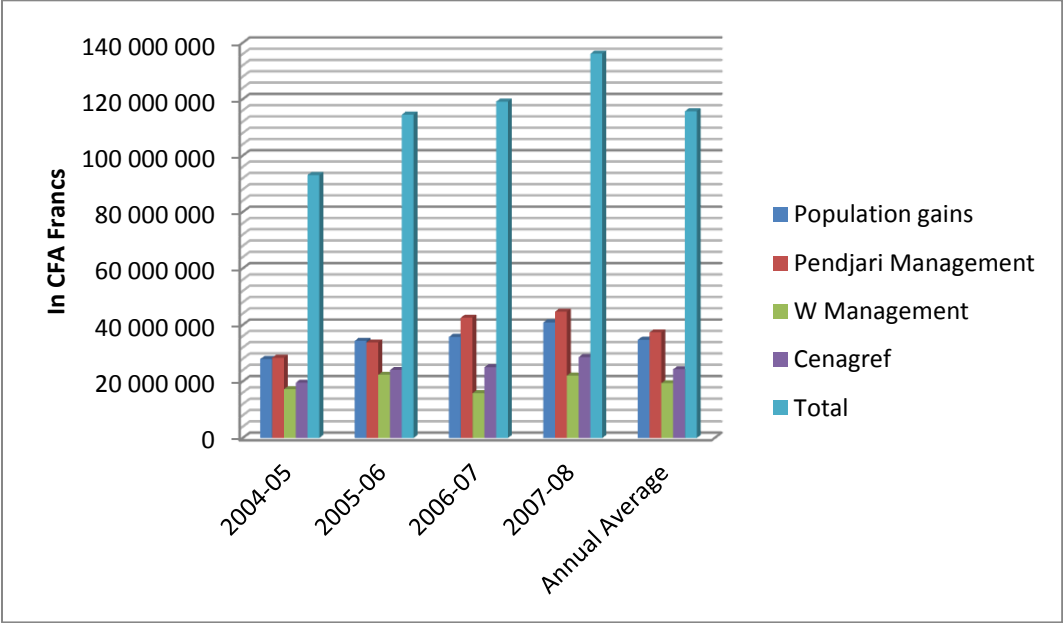


Figure 19 : Income and income distribution of Benin's national parks (Own presentation from CHARDONNET 2009: 44)

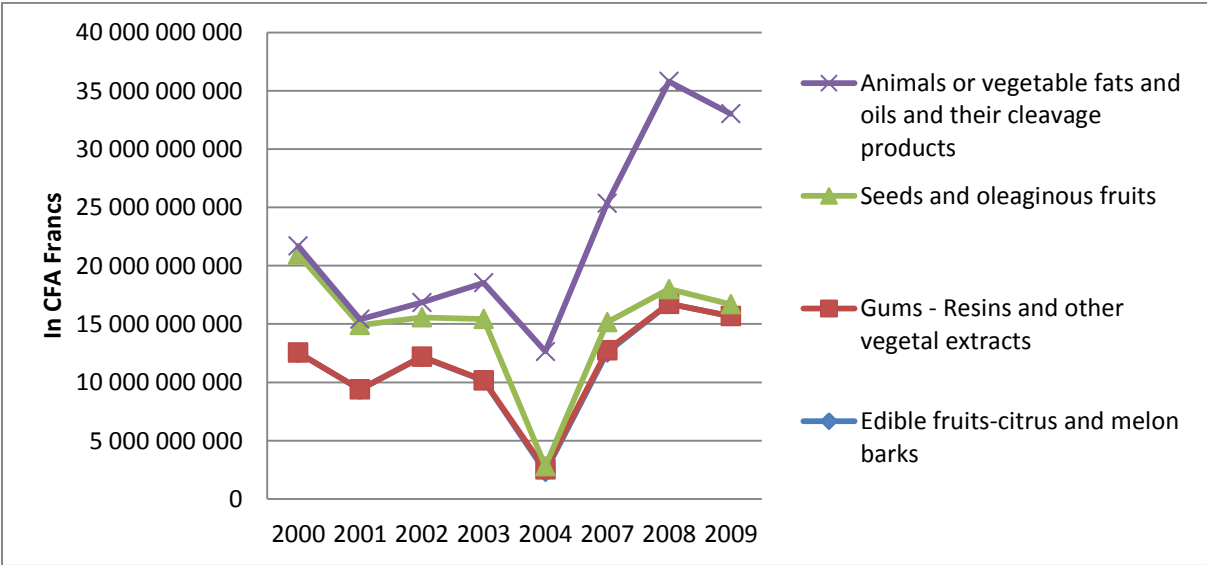


Figure 20 : Income from NTFPs and derived animal resources (Own presentation from INSAE 2006, INSAE 2009, INSAE 2012a)

As far as ecological value of forest and biodiversity in Benin is concerned tables 5 and 6 give an overview on the importance of Benin's forest in displaying carbon build-up and on some most important mammal species.

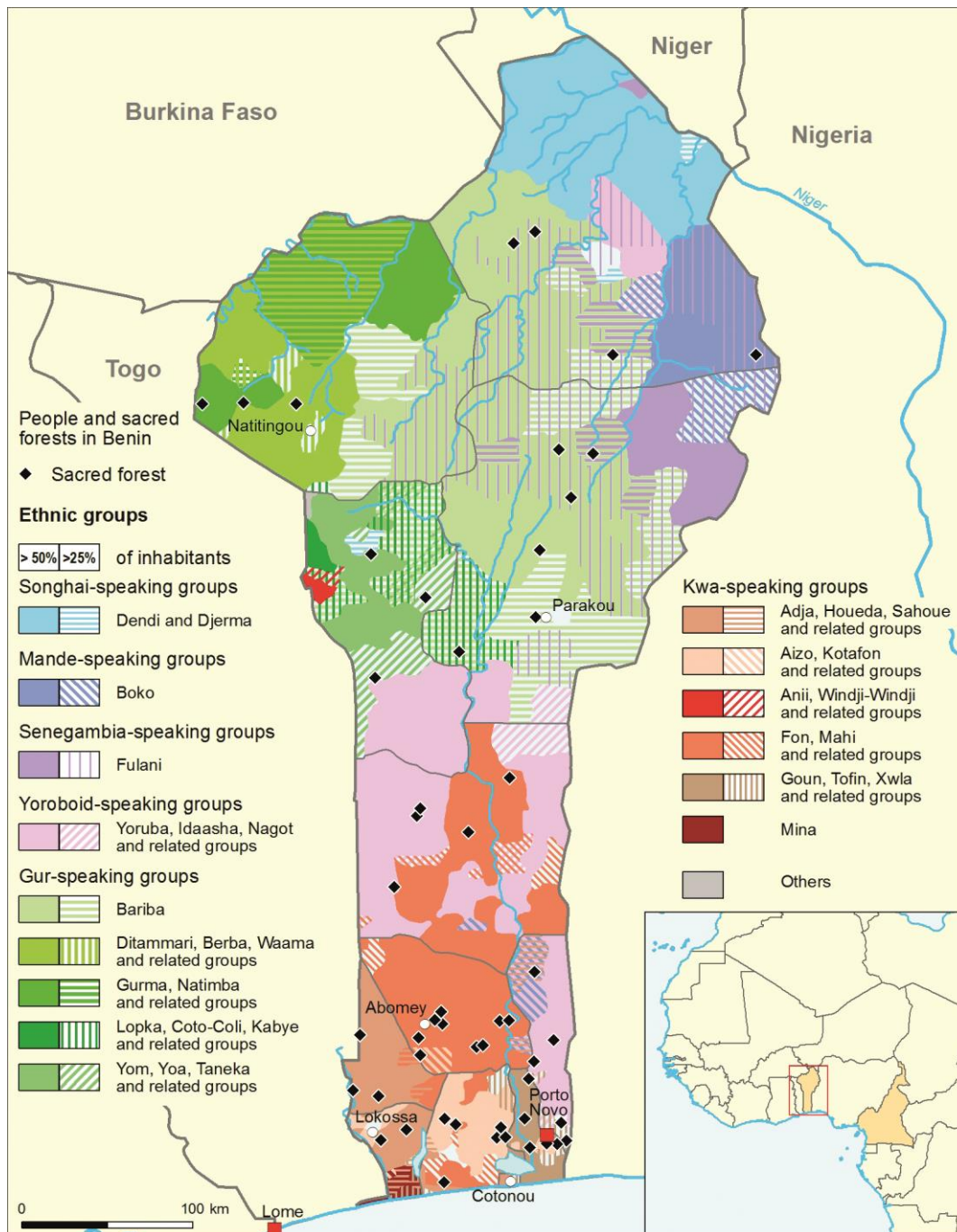
To sum up, natural resources present required elements necessary for the fulfillment of the four dimensions of sustainable development as discussed in point 1.3.4.2. They have social, economic, cultural and ecological values, which could be managed for the achievement of sustainable development. However, natural resource management is subjected to some constraints and challenges.

Terrestrial Cover	Surface Area	Quantity of Timber in 2000	Quantity of Timber 2006	Quantity of Timber in 2011
	000 ha	000t	000t	000t
	28,74	5287	5584	5898
Gallery forests				
	324,82	14439	17066	20171
Arboreal savannah				
Arboreal and saxicolous savannah	566,79	22065	26080	30825
	140,93	1939	2008	2079
Agricultural savannahs				
Plantation	1,66	38	83	183
Total	1062,94	43768	50821	59156
ha. (tons)		- 41,2	- 47,8	

Table: 5 : Displaying carbon build-up in Benin (modified from FOSA 2005: 42 and FAO 2011: 132)

Animal Species	Scientific names	1976	1987	1996
Elephants	Loxodonta africana	NA	850	NA
Buffalos	Syncerus caffer	2 200- 5 000	2 000	2069
hippotragus	Hippotragus equinus	4 400-5 800	1 250	3 861
Bubale		7 100- 11 800	1 300	1 792
	Alcelaphus bubalis			
Damaliscus	Damaliscus lunatus	1 100- 2 200	170	NA
		33 100-50 700	6 000	5 378
Kob	Kobus kob			
Defassa waterbuck	Kobus ellipsiprymnus defassa	3 000-4 400	7 00	165
Bohor reedbuck	Redunca redunca	8 00	NA	1 655
Céphalophe	Sylvicapra grimmia	1 400-4 400	NA	3 198
		10 500-15 000	3 000	2 482
Warthog	phacochoerus africanus			
		6 600-10 100	NA	2 095
Oribi	Ourebia ourebi			
Hippopotamus	Hippopotamus amphibius	NA	280	NC

Table: 6 : Most important hosted mammal species in Benin (modified from FOSA 2005: 35)



Map 8: Dominant ethnic groups and sacred forests in Benin

Draft: Modified from Impetus Atlas Benin

Draft Tchigankong Noubissie

Cartography: Diehl

4.1.3. Constraints and challenges of natural resource management in Benin

Natural resource management in Benin is confronted by several challenges and constraints, which will be divided into two main parts in the framework of this study namely the ecological and institutional, and the socio-economic constraints and challenges.

4.1.3.1. Ecological and institutional constraints

Forests and wildlife strongly depend on climate because temperature and precipitation play an important role in the formation of vegetation types (SINSIN and KAMPMANN 2010: 590).

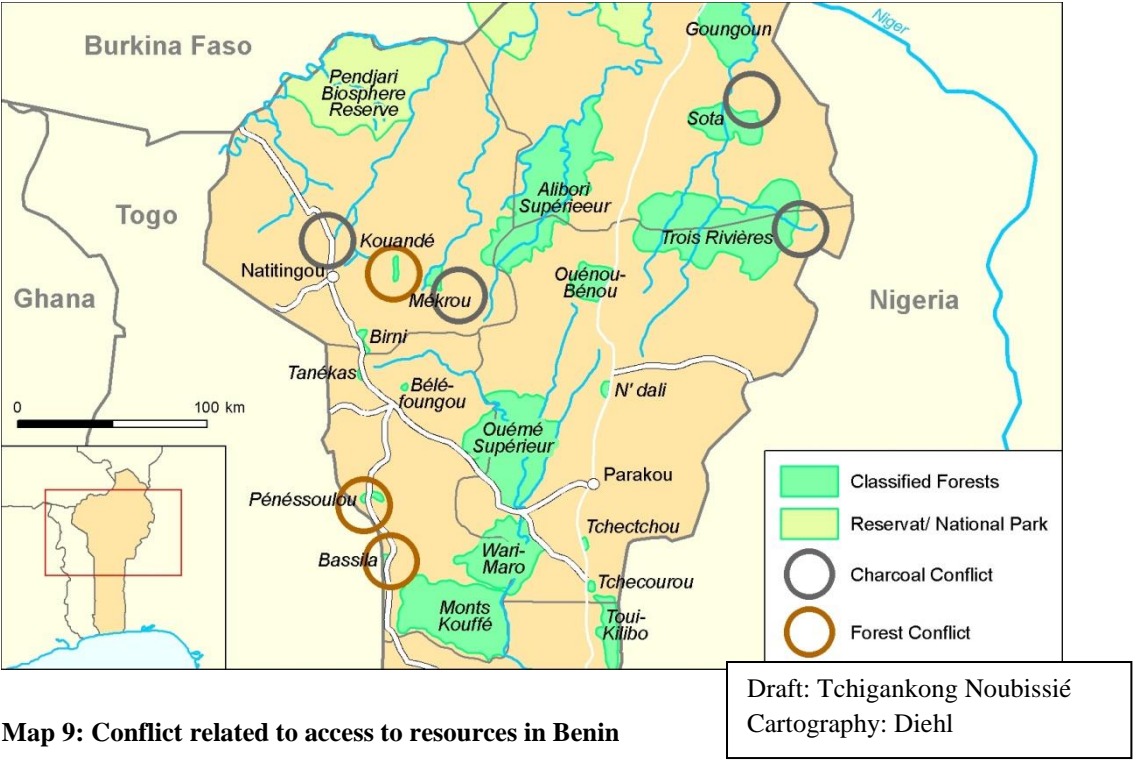
Figures 21 and 22 present the main trends in temperature and rainfall in Benin, several parts of the country have been subjected to high temperature and precipitation changes since 2005. Benin has been subjected to decline of rainfall of up to 9% the last two decades (BANQUE MONDIALE 2010: 48). This Rainfall decline is mostly coupled with high temperature, which leads to water shortage and vegetation decline. This phenomenon has had a great impact on forest repartition and on wildlife's conservation, as well as on ecosystems and their geographical distribution. Challenged by lack of water and food, some animals could move far beyond their usual areas and be exposed to all dangers. Humans could be subjected to the same scenario. The investigation in Porga village in northern Benin has led to the observation that several farmers' communities were threatened by serious drought, which impoverish their lands, kill their domestic animals. Some famers were tempted to hunt in order to survive, while wild animals such as elephants were moving well beyond the normal breeding range in search of all necessary nutrients (See interview with KAH* 2011, figures 1 and 2, p. 205-212).

The World Bank estimates the effect of climate change in Benin to 107, 35 million USD and the costs of environmental degradation to an annual balance of 3 to 5 % of GDP (BANQUE MONDIALE 2010: 3).

As far institutional constraints are concerned, it is mostly related to governance of natural resources and human resources. TCHIWANOU (2001) asserts that corruption is a pernicious problem in the forest management sector in Benin, which favors illegal logging, fraud in forest exploitation and falsification of taxes documents. Corruption opens the floodgates to systematic violations of fundamental forest legislation

As RAHMANE* (2011) claims, institutional problems are the main cause of environmental depletion in Benin. He argues that the effect of existing forest policy and law is not tangible at all at any level. He raises the case of the law prohibiting the use of chainsaws in the exploitation of forests and the fact that, all loggers without any penalty use this instrument. In

addition, the institutional framework regulating forest exploitation in Benin is not clear and remains pure rhetoric. It stipulates what has to be done but not how it has to be implemented. The role of involved actors is not clearly defined and the means of implementation of defined policies are often missing. Authorities who are responsible of forest management and protection are uncomfortable in the fulfillment of their mission (2011: 263-266). Therefore OURO-DJERI*, the General Deputy Director of Environmental management asserts: “we are not in lack of forest legislation or policy, what is lacking is to implement and respect them” (2011:112). While the CES (2011) argues that the forest and wildlife sector in Benin is has enough management personnel, information from the field study contradicts and assert that the forest sector is deprived from enough managing personnel having limited intervention capabilities (DOUSSIÉ* 2011: 222, RAHMANE* 2011: 268). This problem is also close to other one, such as the lack of adequate regulation, the non-clarification of environmental rights, the distribution of duty and power of involved administration as well as political coercion and pressure exercised over different stakeholders (CES 2011: 26).



Map 9: Conflict related to access to resources in Benin

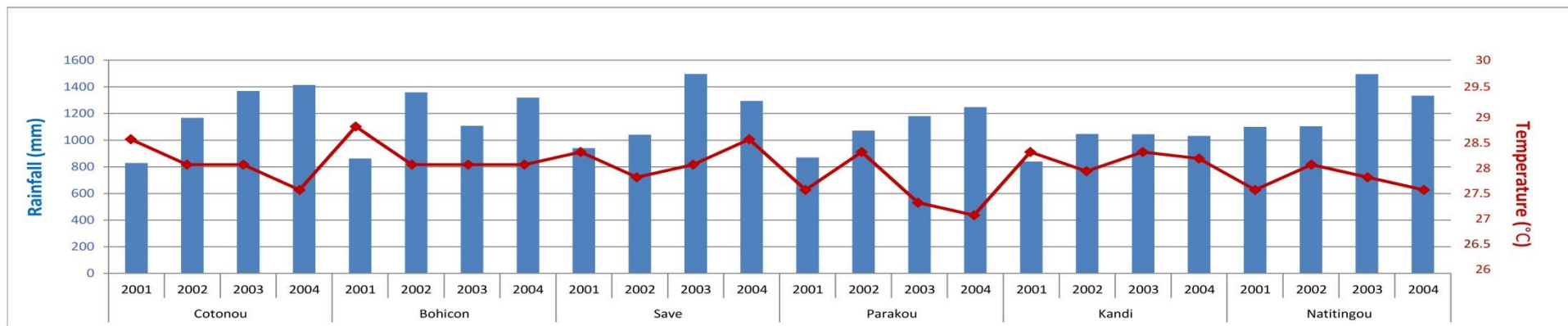


Figure 21 : Evolution of rainfall and temperature in Benin by stations (Own presentation from INSAE 2006, INSAE 2009, INSAE 2012a)

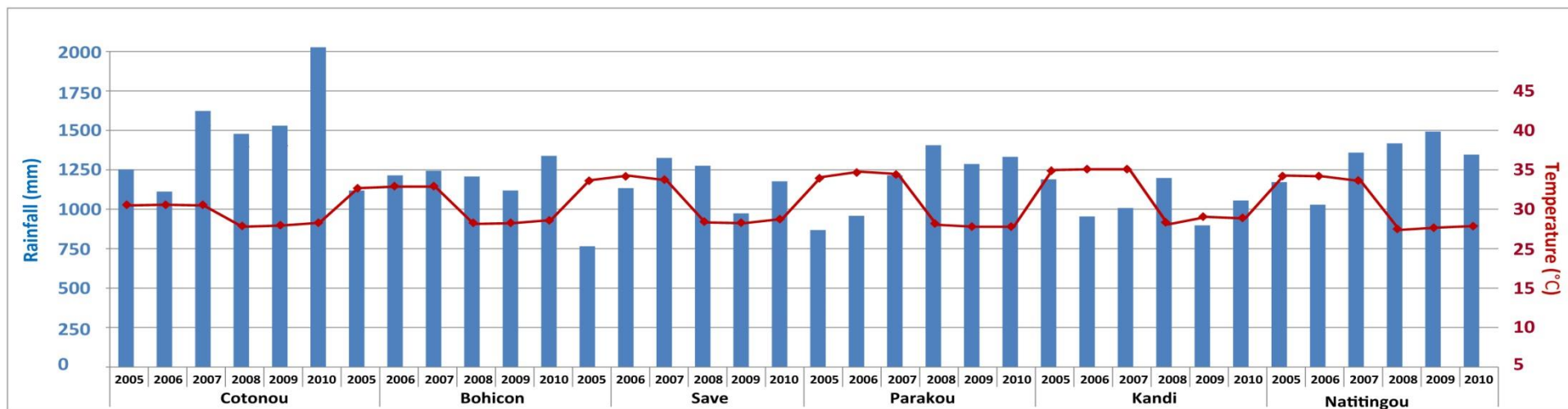


Figure 22 : Evolution of rainfall and temperature in Benin by stations (Own presentation from INSAE 2006, INSAE 2009, INSAE 2012a)

4.1.3.2.Socio-economic constraints

As far as socio economic reasons for natural resources depletion in Benin are concerned, they are related to human socio-cultural and economic practices harming their natural environment.

Financial constraints have been a constant motivation of humans to transform their environment. In Benin, activities such as agriculture, animal breeding and poaching lead to serious environmental damages. Local farming practices relying on slash and burn agriculture as a basic technique lead to the stripping of several forested areas and the depletion of several small mammals and to soil erosion (CES 2011: 21).

Livestock activities are presented as the second main harming human activities to forests. In fact, several breeders in Benin are using bush fire in order to clean their surroundings, their farms and as a mean of plants regeneration important for the feeding of their animals (SANI and OUSMANE* 2011: 252). Furthermore, livestock breeders, helped by agricultural activities which have facilitated their introduction into remote forested areas, usually lead their animals into those forests during their transhumant activities (FOUSSENI* 2011: 275). Therefore more than 1 300 000 cattle coupled with those coming from neighbor countries such as Burkina Faso, Niger, Mali and Nigeria together with ovines and caprine animals consume many ligneous forest species (CES 2011: 22).

Forest exploitation activities mentioned in point 4.1.2.2. such as logging activities and charcoal production have tremendous consequences on nature management especially since there is no strong institutional and regulatory follow-up in this frame. In graph 26, the constant augmentation of wood exploitation in Benin could already be noticed. CES (2011) asserts that Benin has experienced a 226% increase in her wood production from 2008 to 2010 while charcoal production has moved from an annual production of 39 000 tons in 2009 to 62 500 tons in 2010 (59%).

The global wood consumption in Benin is estimated to 4 800 000 tons every year (ADF 2001: 18). The lack of domestic gas as well as its expensive price as an energy supplying means increase charcoal demands both in rural and urban areas in Benin as figure 18 evidences. In this graph it can be seen that the charcoal demand is encountering gradual increases in urban areas since 2007 and has surpassed the demand of rural areas. This implicitly means that rural areas will be motivated to produce more charcoal for urban areas where it is highly demanded and better paid. The same scenario will be observed for wood demand in urban areas in the

year 2022 meaning that forest exploitation will be subjected to serious human demand in other to fulfill their needs not only in industrial and logistic level but also mostly for energy supply. The explanation to this is the increase of Benin population who will leave more and more in urban areas meaning that rural area will be depopulated in the process of rural exodus (figure 31).

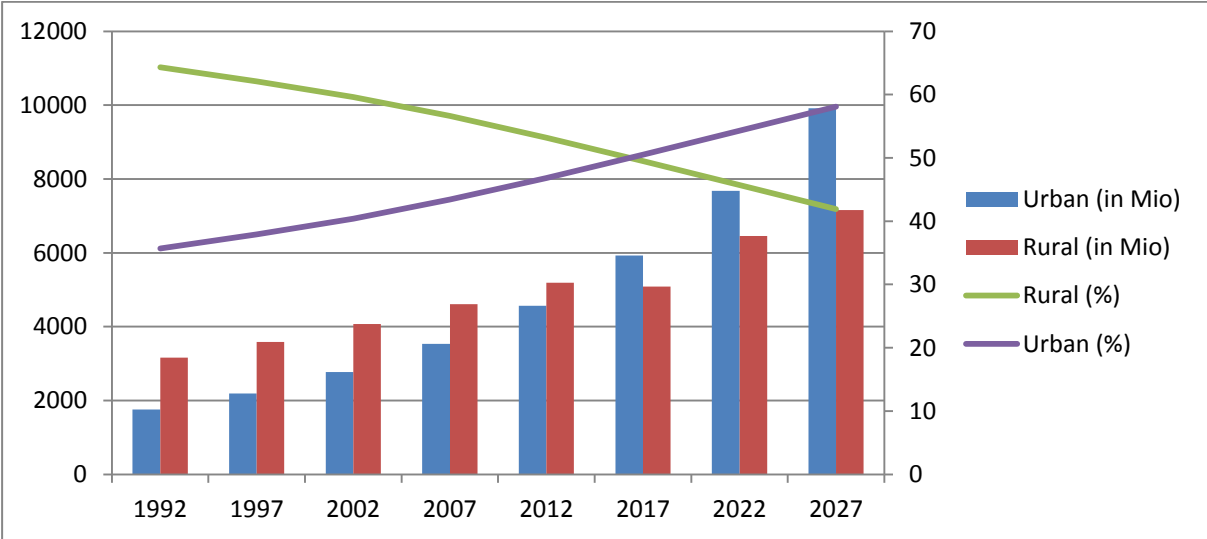


Figure 23 : Population evolution and trend in Benin (Own presentation from INSAE 2006, INSAE 2009, INSAE 2012a and FOSA 2005)

OUROU-DJERI* argues that the sector of charcoal production is one of the most environmental harming activities in Benin because, charcoal producers do not have any agreement for that activity and exploit wood resources in an anarchical manner mostly in Borgou, Alibori, Donga and Atacora regions (2011: 110).

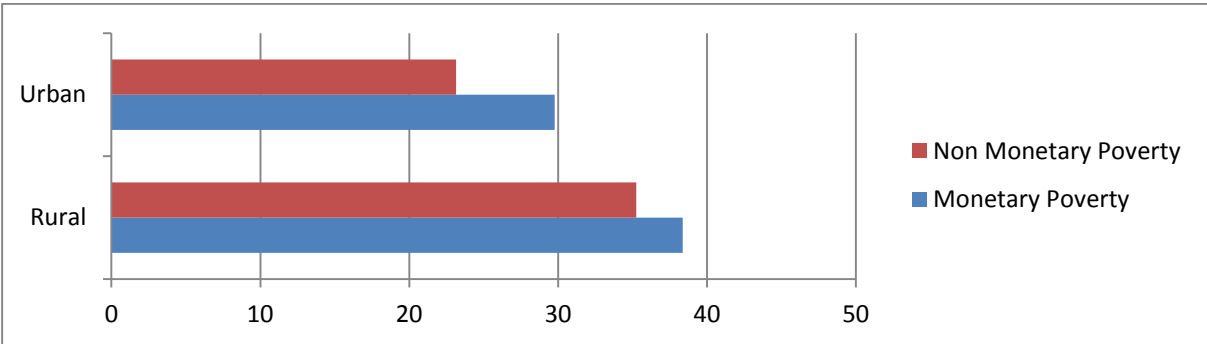


Figure 24 : Poverty repartition in Benin in 2011 (Own presentation from FMI 2011 : 7)

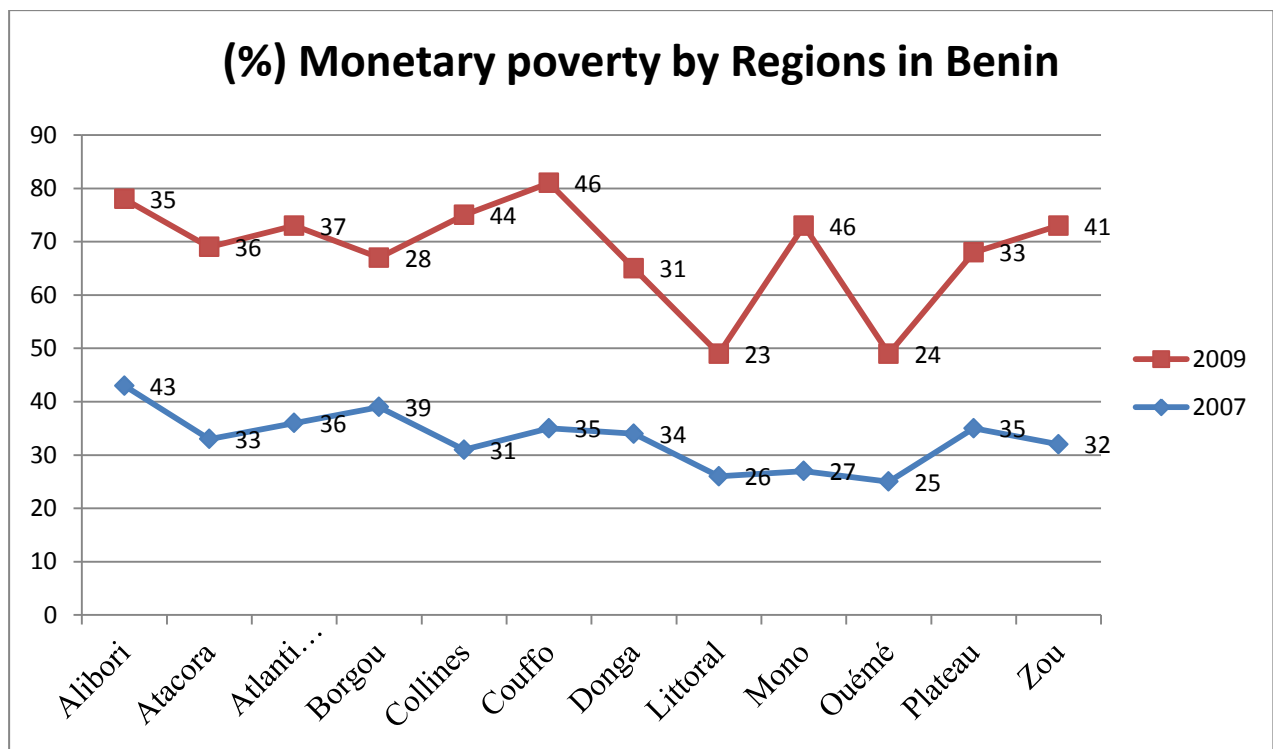


Figure 25 : Monetary poverty by regions in Benin (Own presentation from FMI 2011 : 8)

The other point is that rural population who live closer to demanded wood resources as well as forestry administration constantly face financial pressure from economic operators who, due to their monetary poverty (figure 31) give way to money temptation sometimes to the detriment of ecological, social and cultural value of their resources (CES 2011: 26). RAHMANE* highlights for example the fact that local population in Bassila division are very committed to natural resources protection and conservation because of their multifunctional role inside their community. However, some people, due to their monetary poverty, give way to illegal exploitation of those resources more often during the night to forest loggers who offer them some financial compensation (2011: 266).

All these factors evidence the fact that natural resources could not be better managed without a sustainable fight against all forms of poverty.

4.2. Benin introduction into global environmental management discourse

As in several African countries, the national forest policy in Benin was institutionalized during the French colonial period in 1906 through the creation of the “Forest and Farming Service” (LAVIGNE 2005). This process has of course withdrawn local chiefs and kings and local population from all their rights over forests and its resources. During the colonial period, several forests in Benin were classified and population rights over forests were reduced to gathering dead woods and the collection of fruits. Forest classification was bound to

restrictive protective measures, which were implemented during the period of 1940-1950 all over the colony (TCHIWANOU 2001, ABE 1998) and has had an important impact on socio-cultural and economic repercussion on local people who were often obliged to abandon some worship areas localized inside those protected areas. This has led to the desacralization of several areas that were sometimes transformed into farming areas (ASSOGBA 2009: 2; JUHE-BEAULATON 2007). The classification of forest areas in Benin was the result of the botanist Auguste Chevalier who sent out an alarm signal on forest depletion in Benin in 1933 (JUHE-BEAULATON 2007).

However, these restrictive management strategies of forests continued after the independence of Benin, discussed in point 2.6.3.1. through the adoption not only of colonial administration but also of its restrictive measures. However, these measure were not part of a global forest or wildlife policy but were administered through some sectoral legislative texts (mostly decrees⁶⁴) aiming at managing the concerned resources (CAPO-CHICHI in AHJUCAF 2008: 56).

It is in this constrictive atmosphere that Benin was introduced into the environmental global management system. The effect of the UNCHE was already visible in Benin in 1974. The government has created new institutions in charge of sensitizing citizen on environmental issues such as the National Commission in charge of the Fight against Nature Pollution and for the Promotion of Environmental Improvement (NCFNP). Moreover, a UNESCO commission on man and the biosphere (MAB) was created four years later (RÉPUBLIQUE DU BENIN 1993a: 9-12). Furthermore, the UNCHE has allowed Benin to cooperate more with international organizations such as FAO, UNEP and PNUD in the environmental sector (Kana GABA 2005: 285). Practical governmental procedures were concerned with interministerial decrees regulating fishing and sale of shrimp was adopted in January 1974. Before this issue, Benin has ratified several environmental conventions such as the Conservation of Tuna and Tuna-like Species in the Atlantic and the adjacent seas in July 1968, CITES in May 1983, and the Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals in 1979. However, the ratification of those conventions was not always followed by practical measures at the national level. The post-colonial administration has created or enforced colonial laws on forestry and wildlife management such as the law as the law on nature protection and hunting

⁶⁴ Decree N° 82-435 of December 30th 1982 prohibiting bush and forest's fires in the Republic of Benin, Edict N° 388 of July 22nd 1981 prohibiting the use of chainsaw, Edict N° 5/088/CAB prohibiting forest exploitation in BORGOU region (LAWOGNI and SADELEER 2002: 9).

practices of September 1987 which has resulted in the division and distinction of several forests types⁶⁵.

As far as usage rights is concerned in this law, it was a compilation of restricting activities inside the States Forest Domain putting all these resources under the control of the administration which is the only institution able to deliver any authorization of access to the concerned resources. Activities such as tree felling, tree grafting, tree delimiting, and tree incineration, as well as all clearance activities were prohibited (Article 25 to 28). In addition, human induced bush and forest fires were prohibited in all the territorial coverage (Article 38). The rights of collectivities were reduced in the gathering of wild forests fruits (Article 28).

Any person failing to observe the provisions regarding exceptional overstepping of this law shall be punished by a fine of from 5000 (~7, 63 €) to 50 000 (~76, 33 €) FCFA and 15 days to six month imprisonment (Article 61). Therefore, it can be observed that environmental management in Benin was until the 1990s coupled with a lot of coercive measures adopted from the colonial period and relies profoundly on structural violence incentives. Did Benin's introduction into the global environmental management system influence Benin natural resources?

4.2.1. Benin in the framework of the UNCED

Environmental protection was introduced in the constitution of Benin in December 1990 (CAPO-CHICHI in AHJUCAF 2008: 56). From the three environment related articles, only one is dealing with global environmental protection in Benin and article 174 of this constitution stipulates the applicability mechanisms of international convention in Benin (LAWOGNI and SADELEER 2002: 3). Therefore, natural resource management in Benin is foremost a legal issue (KANA GABA 2003: 94-95). Environmental matters have led to the creation of the Ministry of Environment, Habitats and Urbanism (MEHU) in 1991 in order define an environmental national policy and its implementation as well as a legislative framework (GABA BOCO 2005: 286-287). Benin has adopted the three Rio conventions CBD, UNFCCC and UNCCD and has set some institutional and legal frameworks for their implementation at the national and local level (RÉPUBLIQUE DU BÉNIN 2012: 18).

⁶⁵ It is about the law n° 87-012 of 21st September 1987. This distinction includes State's Forests embracing (1) natural forests and artificial forests, (2) classified forests restricting usage rights of individuals and collectivities, (3) protected forests – all other forests that have not been subjected to any classification and (4) reforestation areas (Titel I, Articles 3, 4, 5 and 6). According to this law, the State Forest Domain also includes natural reserves and hunting zones (Titel II, Article 8) (UNEP and UNDP 1998).

4.2.1.1. Institutional and legislative framework

One of the most important inputs of the Rio Conference of 1992 in Benin was the motivation of the Benin government to adopt actions and global policy related to environmental management in the framework of sustainable development. This was divided into two main strategies: sectoral regulation and regulation for the promotion of sustainable development (CAPO-CHICHI in AHJUCAF 2008: 56). Thus, the government of Benin has committed itself to formulate an environmental policy and legislation as well as programs and projects related to environmental protection and sustainable management. This procedure was supposed to be followed by newly created national, quasigovernmental and interministerial institutions responsible for the implementation of those policies (RÉPUBLIQUE DU BÉNIN 1997). Tables 7 and 8 give an overview on those institutions that were responsible for forests and wildlife management in Benin. It can be observed that Benin has developed ways of implementing the Rio principles of forest and the CBD at the institutional level in the framework of sustainable development. Therefore, by 1999 the institutional framework of management of natural resources was set down according to the UNCED policies in Benin.

The MEHU and the Ministry of Rural Development (MDR- later Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries – MEAP) is responsible in decision-making in ecosystem management.

Ministries	Decree of creation	Responsibilities
MEHU	Decree n° 92-17 of January 1992/ Decree N° 97-301 of 24 th April 1997	Environmental Management and Safeguarding
CES	Law n° 92-10 of 1 st July 1992	Ensure political support to MEHU action in the domain of environmental protection
MDR	Decree N° 97–279 of 11 th June 1997	Facilitate the exploitation of natural resources at levels which are consistent with national satisfaction while respecting essential ecological balances
MCAAT	Decree N° 97-59 of 20 th February 1997	Ensuring functioning of commercial, handcrafts and the tourism sector
MJLDH	Decree n° 97-30 of 29 th January	Design, control and implement national and

	1997	international policy in the service of justice
MENRS	Decree N° 97-271 of 09 th June 1997	Design and implement national policy in education and scientific research
Source own modified from ABE 1998		

Table: 7 National institutions responsible for forest and wildlife management in Benin after Rio

Organizations	Decree	Responsibilities
COMPOFO	Order No 226 MDR/DC/CC/DFRN/ of 20th April 1995	Reorganize forest policy, ensure the function of forestry services
ABE	Decree No 95 of 20 th February 1995	Implement the Environmental Action Plan (PAE)
CENAGREF	Decree 96-73 of 02 nd April 1996	Efficient management of game reserves, hunting zones, national parks through the participation of local people
Environmental Police	Decree No 96-115 of 2 nd April 1996	Oversee the application of environmental legislation
CBDD	Decree No 96-325 of 06 th August 1996	Implementing sustainable development measures in accordance with the Netherlands-Benin agreements; promote and coordinate the funding and monitoring of partners' activities
CNCDB	Order No 0023 of 18 th September 1997	Implement the CDB in Benin
CNDD	Decree N° 99-641 of 30 th December 1999	Implement the Rio Convention and mostly national Agenda 21
Source own modified from ABE 1998		

Table: 8 : Quasi-governmental Agencies responsible for forests and wildlife in Benin after Rio

Later on Benin published her ENVIRONMENTAL ACTION PLAN (PAE)⁶⁶ in 1993 which is based on three main axes: (1): the changing of behavior through the rising of living standards of the Beninese, (2): the precise tracking following of Benin natural resources and (3): the improvement of living environment of people (RÉPUBLIQUE DU BÉNIN 1997: viii). The challenges that the government has decided to overcome, were related to the fight against

⁶⁶ Plan d'Action Environnemental

social⁶⁷, economic ⁶⁸ and ecological issues⁶⁹. The correlation between this plan and the principles of sustainable development is clearly expressed: “Benin environmental policy will take into consideration sustainable development principles ...A great importance will be given to projects which improve environmental quality together with the recovering of short and long-term investments” (REPUBLIQUE DU BENIN 1993a: 62)⁷⁰. This strategy is supposed to happen in a participatory (actors) and integrated (sector) approach at all the levels with particular attention to groups playing an important role in environmental management such as young people and women. In addition, the PAE is described as a tool of coordination, which will facilitate the cooperation between all the involved ministries in environmental management (JUHÉ-BEAULATON 1999b).

In forest sector, the PAE has planned to give priority to scientific knowledge and rational management of forest resources. This management should go hand in hand with conservation strategies coupled with income creating activities for the local population. Concerning biodiversity, the main measure was concerned with the promotion of conservation of vegetable and animal species in their natural environment. Environmental education was also described as a relevant issue in this action plan.

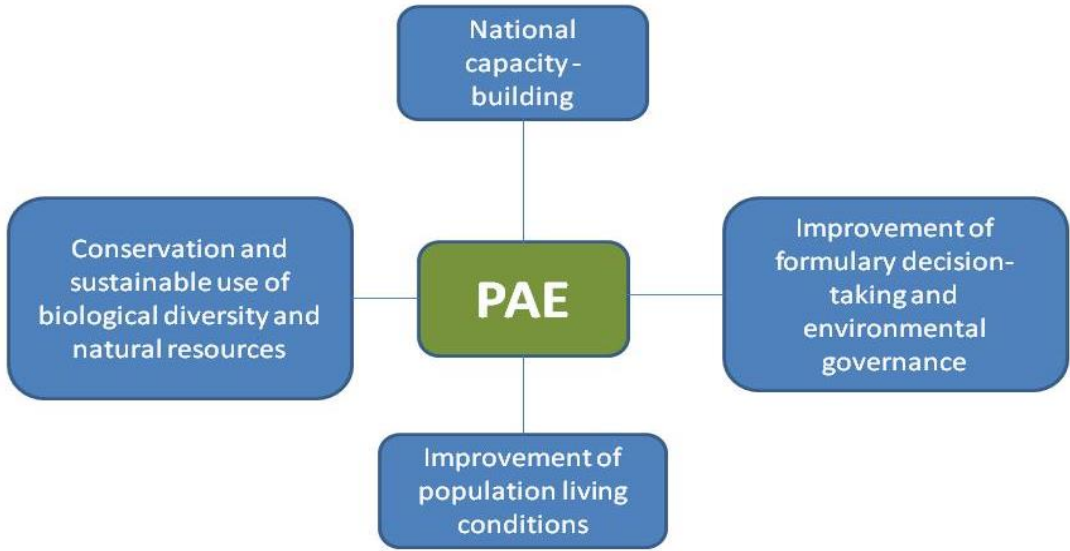


Figure 26: PAE and objectives

⁶⁷ Fight against the degradation of social conditions and infrastructure, resources usage conflicts as well as demographic expansion
⁶⁸ Fight against poverty extension and reduction of productive capacities
⁶⁹ Fight against direct and indirect threats on biodiversity, ecosystem destructuration (RÉPUBLIQUE DU BÉNIN 1993 60)
⁷⁰ Own translation from French into English.

As far as the implementation of this plan is concerned, several ministries and institutions were responsible for its implementation: the MEHU, the Direction of Environment, Ministry of Rural Development, Ministry of National Education, Ministry of Information, Ministry of Justice, etc. (KANA GABA 2003: 95).

The project for environmental management (Projet de gestion environnementale – PGE) was launched in 1996 for a period of five years in order to create national capacity in environmental matters, and to support institutional services and information systems (RÉPUBLIQUE DU BÉNIN 2008: 51).

Moreover and in accordance with the Forest Principles, the government of Benin has adapted a forestry regime through the law n° 93-009 of July 1993 (RÉPUBLIQUE DU BÉNIN 1993b). The main difference between this law and the forestry code law of 1987 is not so evident apart the fact that natural reserves have become national parks and that hunting zones are no longer considered as the state's property (Chapter 1, Article 8). In addition, emphasis was placed on human bush fire that was associated with strong prohibition and associated coercive measures (Article 57) as well as livestock straying activities inside protected areas (Article 58). The confiscation of the property involved in any fraudulent forest activities and imprisonment of one year for minor violation to three years for serious offence (Articles 77 and 83) were the main addition of this forestry regime. This law was enforced in 1996 through the publication of the Implementing Directive Decree n° 96-271 of July 2nd 1996 (RÉPUBLIQUE DU BENIN 1996). The government has adopted a forest policy in 1994, which was coupled with priority actions. The conservation and rational management of forest resources and the guarantee of uses of these forests for the promotion of goods and services for the local population is claimed to be the main aim of this policy (RÉPUBLIQUE DU BENIN 2012a).

Wildlife management experiences a similar scenario with the adoption of law n°93-011 of August 1993 regulating hunting and ape-based ecotourism aiming at implementing not only the CITES convention but also the CBD. This action was followed by the classification of Pendjari National Park (PNP) as a Biosphere Reserve through the Decree n° 94-64 of March 21st 1994 (LAWOGNI and SADELEER 2002: 6). The wildlife policy in Benin is mostly based on mammals management and conservation in protected area and hunting zone of W National Park and Pendjari National Park covering respectively an area of 579 147 and 281 359 ha (7, 64% of the national area) (ABE 1998).

These institutional and political frameworks of forest and wildlife management were strongly coupled with legislative frameworks covering international conventions that Benin has committed to implement. An overview of forests and wildlife legislative framework adopted after the UNCED could be observed in the following tables.

Law/Decree/Order	Date of publication	Objectives
Order n° 512 MDR/DC/DF RN	03-09-1992	Regulating the onset of the major hunting seasons 1992 –1993 in Benin
Law n° 93-011	03-08-1993	Regulation of hunting practices and ape tourism
Order n° 93-426 MDR/DC/CC/ CR	24-08-1993	Regulating the onset of the major hunting seasons 1993 –1994 in Benin
Decree n° 94-64	21-03-1994	Classification of PNP as a Biosphere Reserve
Order n° 441 MDR/DC/DA CS/DFRN/SA	4-08-1994	Regulating the onset of the major hunting seasons 1994 –1995 in Benin
Decree n°96-73	02-04-1996	Management of wildlife reserves
Order n°024/MDR/DC/CC/CP	31-01-1997	Management of wildlife reserves
Order n°035/MDR/MCAT/MF/DC/SA	11-02-1997	Regulation of hunting practices and ape tourism
Own presentation modified from ABE 1998 and LAWOGNI and SADELEER 2002		

Table: 9 : Legal framework on wildlife management adapted after Rio in Benin

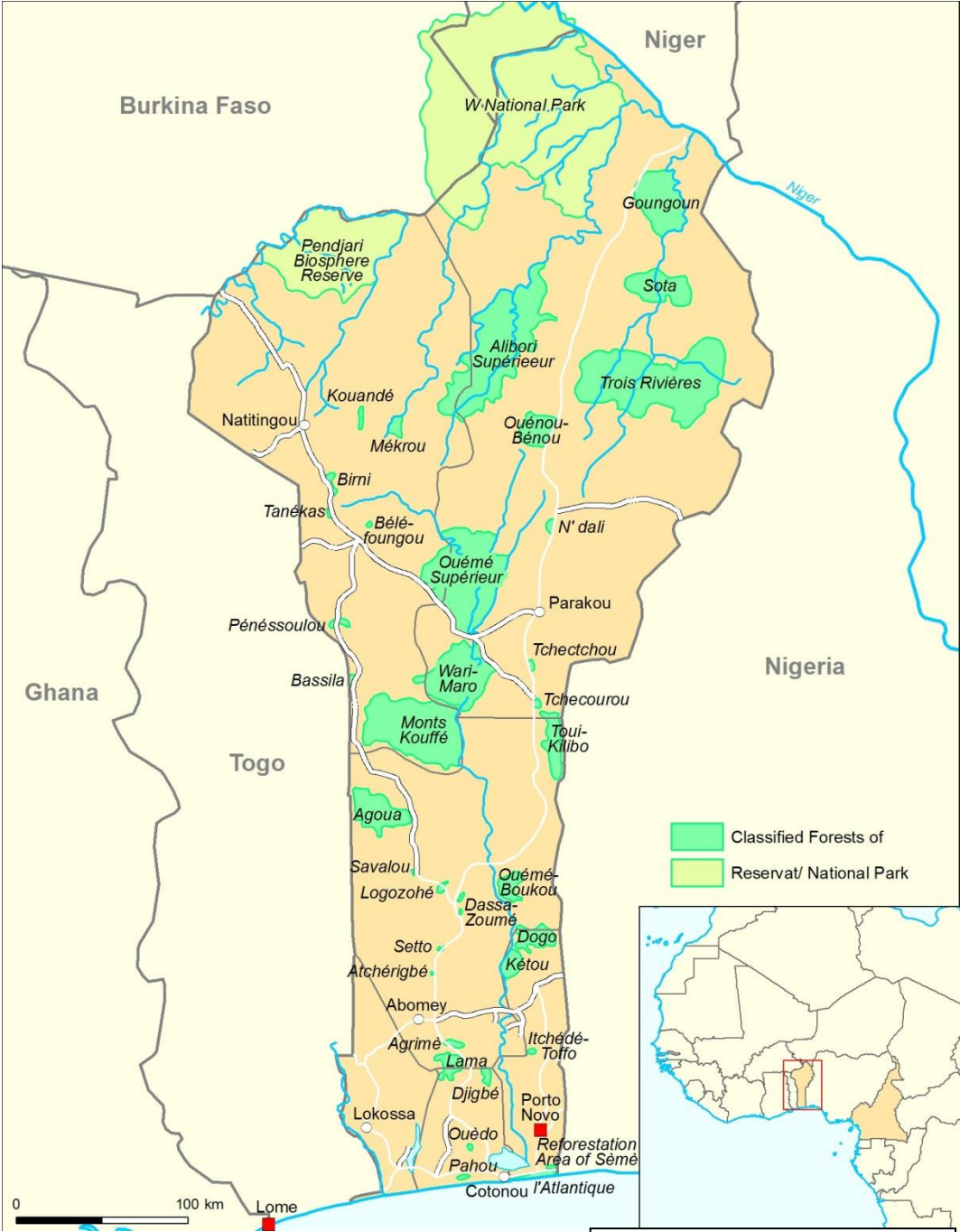
Law/Decree/Order	Date of publication	Objectives
Decree n°92-82	27-03-1992	Adoption and transmission to the National Assembly of the draft law on forests regulation
Order n°783 MDR/D- CAB/CC/CR	30-12-1992	Establishing a coordination committee for vegetation protection
Order n°694 MDR/DC/CC/CP	30-12-1993	Regarding the task allocation, organization and functioning of the National Sensing and monitoring Center

		of Forest Cover
Law n°93-009 PR/MDR/MJL	02-07-1993	Outlawing the Forest Regime in Benin
Order n°74-26	22-03-1994	Outlawing taxes, duties and fees on forests licenses
Order n° 128 MDR/MR/DC/CC/CR	07-03-1995	Related to the monitoring of import phytosanitary and vegetal of export of plants products
Order n° 226 MDR/DC/CC/DFRN/SA	20-04-1995	Establishing a follow-up and implementation of Benin forest policy
Decree n°96-271	02-07-1996	Applicability of Law n° 93-009
Interministerial Decree n° 343 MDR/MCAT/DC/CC/SA	16-08-1996	Prohibiting the exportation of raw teak wood and charcoal
Decree n° 97-193	24-04-1997	Establishing a coordination committee for fighting against Desertification
Own presentation modified from ABE 1998 and LAWOGNI and SADELEER 2002		

Table: 10 : Legal framework on forest management adapted after Rio in Benin

ABE (1998) argues that this entire legislative framework on forest and wildlife management in Benin was the result of the willingness and readiness of the government to implement international principles. However, this diligence has led to the lack of any global strategic level at the national level. Some environmental laws appeared incoherent and incompatible with human means of existence namely for people living around the resources that are submitted to strong legislation. Furthermore, a number of people completely ignore the existence of these laws and continue to live indifferently to them. This is the reason why the government has decided to introduce a new legal framework described as the “blueprint law on the environment” (Loi Cadre sur l’Environnement) in 1999 through Law n° 98-030 of 12th February 1999. The particularity of this law relies on the fact that it aims at protecting the environment through the description of preventive and anticipated actions. It aims at restoring degraded sites and ensuring the balance between development and environment. According to this law, the MEHU is responsible of development and implementation of national environmental policy, for its coordination and execution. This ministry must ascertain all programs and projects at the national level respect the provision of this law. In addition, the CNDD and ABE have to be involved in the implementation of this law. In fact, this law does

not bring any substantial change with regard to the former environmental laws on forests and wildlife management already en vogue in Benin. Its great concern is related to the fact that the tasks and duties of some governmental and quasigovernmental institutions are specifically defined (RÉPUBLIQUE DU BÉNIN 1999).



Map 10: Protected areas in Benin

Draft: Tchigankong Noubissié
Cartography: Diehl

4.2.1.2. Natural resource management activities in the frame of UNCED

After setting up institutional and legislative framework, the government of Benin has developed a set of projects and programs related to natural resource management whose strategy was detailed in its Agenda 21 published in 1997 (RÉPUBLIQUE DU BÉNIN 1997).

Natural resource management was unthinkable in Benin without better territorial management. This is the reason why the government has introduced the Program of Natural Resources Management (PGRN) for the development of rural land ownership plans for the protection and sustainable management of lands from 1992 to 1999 (LE MEUR 1998: 7 and 14). This program was pursued later on under the denomination of PGTRN as a multi-faceted program of rural development, land reform and decentralization in order to strengthen rural productivity and sustainable resource management in a participative manner (BERRY 2011: 134). The PGRN aimed at reducing the process of natural resources degradation through institution-strengthening measures and capacity building. The focal point of this program was in northern Benin (ABE 1998). This program deserves consideration because it has contributed to understanding the challenges related to wildlife conservation inside the PNP. In fact, one of the main results of this program was that wildlife is endangered because the surrounding population was not involved in the management process. The program has become a mediation platform between the governmental Military Forest Force and the local population having which have conflictual relations. The dialog has facilitated their cooperation in the management of national park as it will be discussed in point 4.4.2.1. (YADE* 2011: 191).

It was supported by the World Bank with financing of up to 24 million USD (ZEBBA 1994: 53). The PGTRN has contributed to establishing several committees responsible for forest protection and for the fight against illegal forest exploitation through the creation of strategic control positions with the deep cooperation of local people. This program was technically supported by the GTZ and the French Development Cooperation (AFD) (LE MEUR 2006: 354-355).

Forest management projects and programs in Benin were developed progressively with projects such as the Forestry Development Project (Programme De Développement Forestier – PDF). The aims were amongst others, the development and execution of an industrial plantation program and the plantation of 3800 teak trees inside the classified forest of Lama and the maintenance of 410 plantation areas in Toui and Lama. The project was financed by the World Bank and is claimed to have contributed at 84% to the realization of plantation

creation and to have stopped illegal logging inside its area of investigation (World Bank 1992).

The UNSO (United Nation Sudano-Sahelian Organization) project aimed at setting up natural resources measures, which ensure the conservation of biodiversity and the exploitation of NTFPs. This project was also concerned with participatory forest management and village afforestation programs for carbons reduction goals. This project is claimed to have had three major impacts on rural integrated development that has enabled inter-sectoral actions. In addition, it is argued that it has taken into consideration the needs of the local population and has finally had a global effect on carbon reduction and effects of climate change. The GTZ and UNDP have deeply supported this project (FAO 2004, Ousséni and Djogbenou 2006).

The project of restoration of forest resources (Projet de restauration des ressources forestières dans la region de Bassila - PRRF),⁷¹ as were the three former ones, was been launched before the adoption of the Rio Principles of forests by the government of Benin. It was divided into five mains phases. The two first phases (1988-1995) aimed at restoring degraded gallery forests and savannahs in the region of Bassila. The third phase (1996-1998) was concerned with the establishment of a joint development zone with the participation of local population and focused on controlling farming and livestock activities, bush fires as well as the promotion of economic activities through the exploitation of NTFPs. The fourth phase (1998-2001) was dedicated to competence transfer to targets groups. During the last phase (2001-2004) of the project, the population was supposed to manage forest resources sustainably. This project was strongly financed by German development cooperation in the form of non-repayable grants and technically followed by GTZ and the GFA Terra System (Comlan 2003; Trekpo 2003).

The project of plantation for wood fuel provision (Projet Bois de Feu – PBF) started in the mid of 1980s and, during its first phase, has to deal with the fuel wood provision measures in southern regions of Benin. This project was divided into two main phases. The first phase (1986-1998) of the project was oriented towards reforestation strategies coupled with sensitization and population education to reforestation and natural resources recovery (Juhe-Beaulaton 1999b). Coastal areas of Benin were solely concerned with the first phase of this project that was mostly implemented in Atlantique, littoral, Ouémé plateau division (Sinsin and Kampmann 2010). In figure 27, it can be observed that there is an annual variation in reforestation of plantation of state and rural plantation and also that this reforestation

⁷¹ This project will be presented in detail in point 4.4.2.2.

policy has been in continuous decline since 1993. The project has succeeded in creating plantations which an estimated area of 10078 ha after 14 years (Akpado 2000).

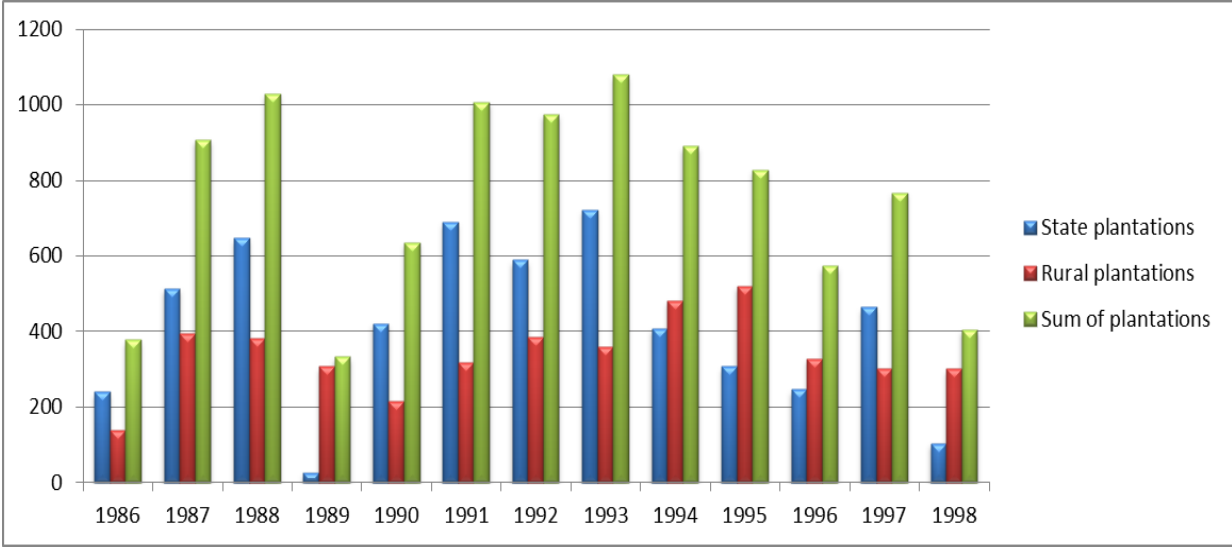


Figure 26 : Evolution of reforestation activities during PBF I in Benin (in ha) (Own presentation from Akpado 2000)

The African Development Bank (ADB), Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and the World Food Program (WFP) financially supported this project in the form of grants. It is claimed to have overreached its principal objective of creating plantations covering 5 900 ha and to meet the needs of 28 000 households (ADF 2001).

The second phase of this project was more ambitious and aimed at managing (5000 ha) of state and rural forests respectively and to enrich 50 000 ha of natural forests. The organization of wood fuel sector, the promotion of women activities and the substitution of fuelwood as well as the dissemination of improved woodstoves for households were also targeted as main activities.

In addition to reforestation projects, scientific cooperation between the government of Benin and the Dutch cooperation in the framework of flora project (Projet Flore Benin – PFB) contributed to gather scientific information on some plants species in the whole country since 1997 (Yedomonhan, Akoegninou and Adomou 2009: 82).

Apart from this formal project the government of Benin has instituted a project which plants 1000 trees a year inside all communities with the aim of reaching the number of 480 000 trees a year in the whole country.

As far as wildlife is concerned, the government has developed projects and programs aiming at implementing the CBD. One of the most important programs was the National Program of Conservation and Management of Protected Area (PNCGAP) that was launched two years after the Rio conference. The goals targeted by this program were national capacity building in conservation and management of protected areas, the protection of national parks and hunting zones, the protection, enhancement and rational management of the natural environment and buffer zone. The participation of local communities to environmental protective initiatives and their progressive integration in responsibility taking process were presented as long-term goal of this program (République du Bénin 1998: 40).

Corrolaries' projects concentrated on adopting better system of monitoring and surveillance in order to fight against poaching activities were coordinated by CENAGREF inside the national parks and hunting zones.

To summarize, it can be observed that, the government of Benin has developed strong relative institutional, legislative, administrative frameworks for the management of natural resources that are congruent with the Rio Declaration, the principle of forest and the CBD. Natural resources protective activities were undertaken under the coordination of several national and international organization and several attempts were made to consider economic and social needs in these conservative measures. According to the United Nations, Benin has developed policies, programs and legislation compatible with Agenda 21 in forest, biodiversity and the fight against poverty (UN 2002c: 27).

However, as it will be discussed in the following point, the Rio conference only appear as the fundament of natural resource management in Benin. The government will be more and more engaged at the national level in order to respect its international agreements.

4.2.2. Benin the frame of the WSSD

4.2.2.1. Institutional and legal framework

The government of Benin participated to the WSSD and has committed to implement the JPOI by introducing three main measures in its natural resource management namely economic growth, the promotion of socio-cultural development and the efficient management of natural resources (République Bénin 2012b: 5). Actions related to sustainable development in Benin were detailed in the national strategy of sustainable development published in 2005 (MEHU 2005). It is after the WSSD that the government published its national action on conservation of biological diversity (République du Benin 2002).

Prior to the WSSD, the government of Benin has initiated in 2001 the National Program of Environmental management (PNGE) whose aim of the implementation of the PAE and the execution of environmental policy, programs and legislation, was launched in 2002 in order to replace the PGE. PNGE's main objective was to contribute to poverty reduction through the creation of conservation capacities and sustainable use of natural resource (ABE 2008: 8). A project supported by GEF, SCAC, GTZ, FAO, UNEP, UNDP, IUCN, the government of Canada and Venezuela was created in order to ensure the implementation of this program (PAMO-PNGE⁷²).

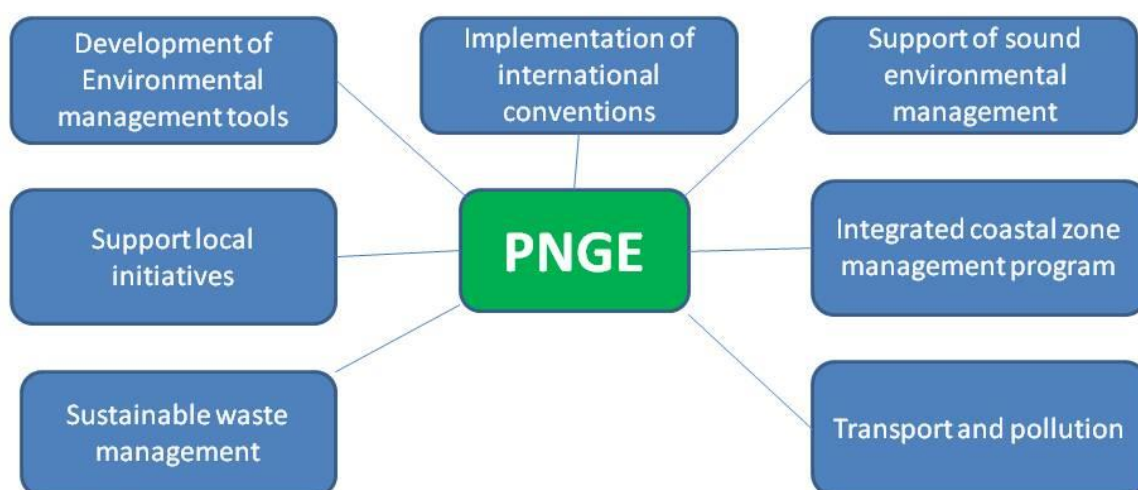


Figure 27 : PNGE and objectives

The main important evolutions in natural resource management after the WSSD are marked by the introduction of a law on decentralization that handed more power to municipalities in 2003. In addition, new laws on wildlife management were introduced in 2004 (Law 2002 016 of 18th October 2004), on forests and forest products exploitation, together with wood import

⁷² Projet d'appui à la mise en œuvre du programme national de gestion de l'environnement

and export modalities in 2005 and 2007 respectively (n° 2005-708 of 17th November 2005 and interministerial order n° 2007 n° 0053/MEPN/MIC/DIC/SGM/DGFRN/DGCE) (AVONOMADEGBE 2008).

The PNGE was coupled with the National Program of Sustainable Management of Natural Resources aiming at implementing the JPOI launched one year after the WSSD. This program is mostly concerned with management of forests, national parks, and hunting zones and other environmental good and services. It is a multi-actor program serving as mainframe of activities in the former mentioned management spheres (SCHIMIDT-SOLTAU 2008: 24-25).

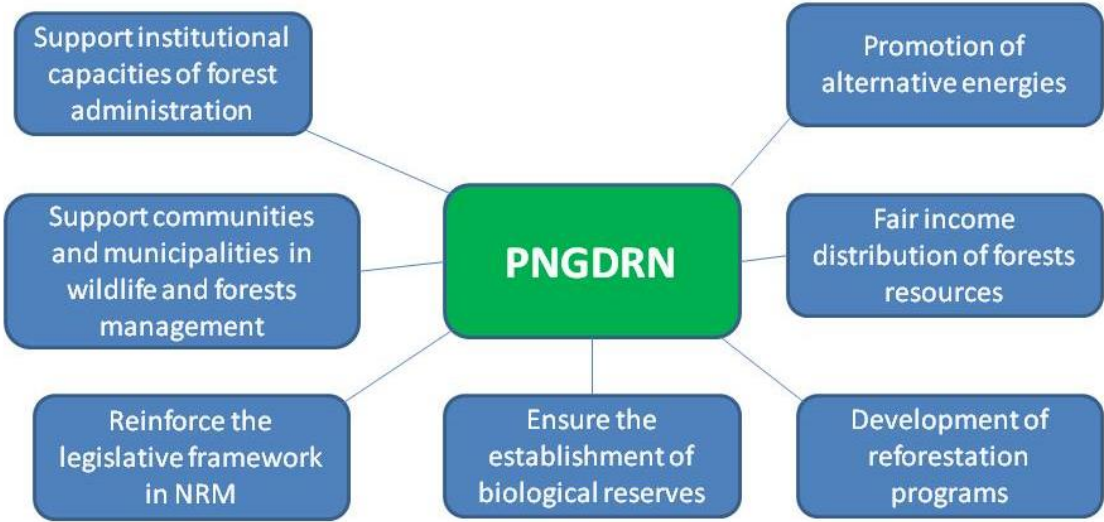


Figure 28 : PNGDRN and objectives

Schmidt-Soltau (2008) argues that this program has the advantage of taking into consideration the interests of all involved actors in natural resource management by placing the sustainable management and valuation of natural resources as central framework of its activities. This program is presented as a framework of reforms and investments and is supposed to ensure Benin’s attractiveness to private investments in the exploitation of renewable natural resources and other environmental good and services. This program also has the advantage of improving governance and of integrating civil society and private sector into the management of natural resources. It facilitates the transition from a project to a program approach, which will facilitate budgetary financing needs and improve development cooperation efficiency in this sector according to the Paris Declaration principles (RÉPUBLIQUE DU BÉNIN 2012a: 14). An overview of PNGDRN cor-relation to sustainable development is presented in figure 30.

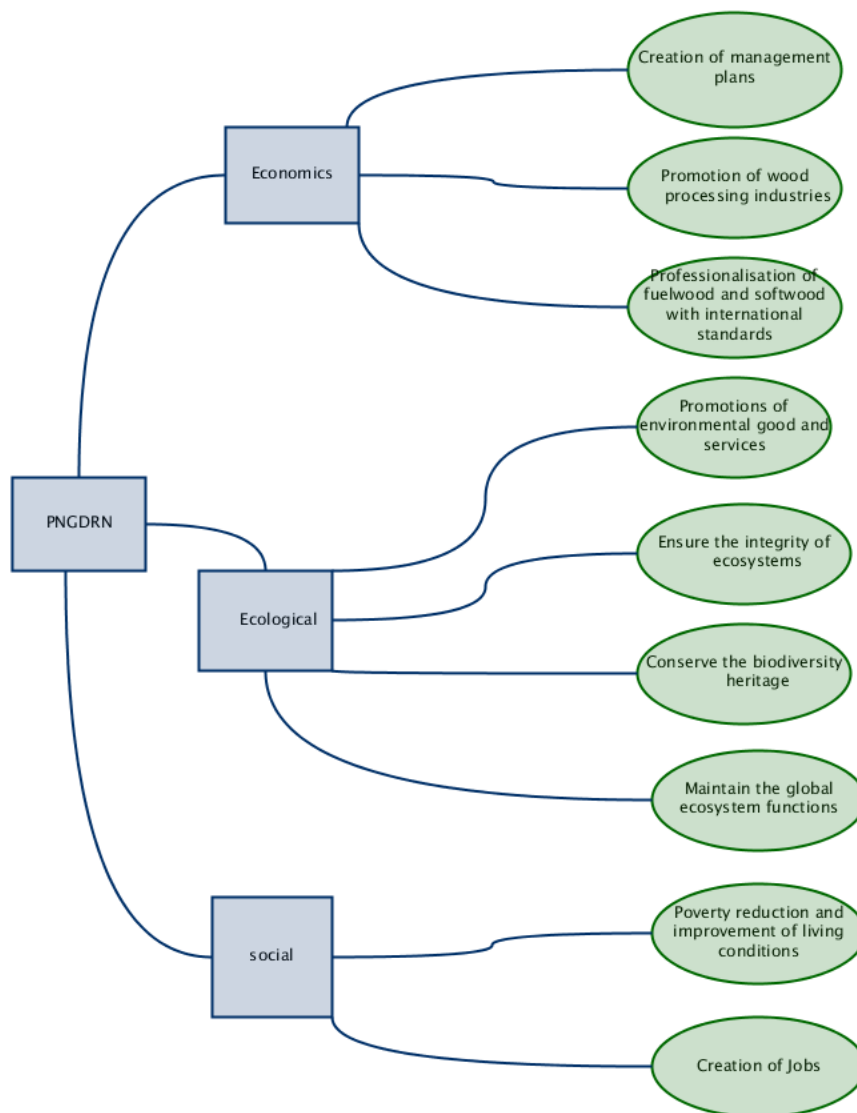


Figure 29 : PNGDRN and sustainable development

As far as the institutional framework is concerned, the MEHU was transformed into the Ministry of Environment and Protection of Nature (MEPN) whose mission was to contribute to implement the PNGE and the PNGDRN. In addition, environmental concerns have become a high priority of the Benin government because its budget has almost doubled with an increase from one billion in 1992 to three billion CFA in 2004 (ABE 2005:8-9). The PNGDRN is argued to be in harmony with national and international priorities of environmental protection and sustainable management of forests and natural resources (RÉPUBLIQUE DU BÉNIN 2012a).

4.2.2.2. Natural resource management activities in the frame of WSSD

The 2000s was a period full of activities in forest and biodiversity management in Benin. Several projects and programs have been developed and implemented at the national or local level in this sector.

National projects and programs include the PANA (support project to climate change adaptation – 2005-2007), the support project on the elaboration on communication on climate change in Benin (2007-2009), the self-assessment program on national capacity enhancing strategy for global environmental management (ANCR-GEM 2006-2008), the special program on reforestation and restoration of land (PSRRT- 2007-2009).

Forestry projects developed and implemented during this period at the local level included the Forest management of Agoua, Mount Kouffé and Wari-Marou (PAMF) launched in 2001 for seven years and aiming firstly at developing an integrated and sustainable management system of concerned forests. The second main objective of this project is to ensure income for local population through related business activities (BAD 2008). This project was financially supported by the ADF and BADEA in form of grants and implemented by MEPN (MEPN 2009a: 56).

The PGFTR⁷³ (Program of management of local Terroirs' forest) from 2002 to 2012h was concerned with forest management of 16 forested areas, which have started in with the PGRN. The World Bank, the GEF and BAD funded this project (Kakpo, Akpona, Kouchade, AWESSOU 2012). Kakpo et al. (2012) argue that this program has been extended in order to complete the country's poverty reduction program launched in 2003. This program aimed at sustainable management of forest resources and degraded lands. This program was highly supported by financial institutions such as World Bank, GEF and AFD.

The support project on communal forest management (PAGEFCOM) was launched in 2007 for six years and involved 23 municipalities in Atlantique, Zou and Collines regions. This project aimed at improving living standards of communities through sustainable management of forest and was financed by the African Development Fund (ADF 2005).

As required by the JPOI, the government of Benin has followed-up her fuelwood project from 2004 to 2010 also with the aim of reducing poverty through sustainable management of forests through the increase of balance between the demand and supply in wood-fuel and alternatives sources of energy. Related activities included sustainable wood production, the

⁷³ Programme de Gestion des Forêts et Terroirs Riverains

promotion of substitute forms of energy, the diffusion of information and formation. The project was funded by the ADF and BADEA with a global amount of 15 millions USD (BAD 2012).

The second project in this framework was the energy supplying project (PFSE) and its affiliated branch “rational management of biomass energy and alternative energy” (GERBES), which aimed at developing sustainable fuelwood for households through a system of forest management on 300 000 ha in Middle Ouémé division. This project expects to supply 675 000 tons of fuelwood a year (République du Bénin 2011).

In 2011, a project aiming at integrating cultural values in forest’s conservation in Sahelian region in the framework of the project of integration of sacred forests into the system of protected areas (PIFSAP). The restoration of gallery forests and development of biodiversity in the Sudano-Sahelian greenbelt around the Ouémé River and the community capacity building in using traditional values in order to promote and value natural resources. The overall role of the project is to create biodiversity conservation zones and to make it a carbon sink and a site of promotion NTFPs. Atacora, Atlantique, Alibori, and Borgou regions were the focal points of this project (République du Bénin 2013).

Concerning wildlife management, several programs were developed and implemented under the coordination of CENAGREF.

The program of conservation and management of national parks (PCGPN) was launched in 2000 for a period of eight years in order to protect biodiversity of PNP and W National Park as planned by Law n°98-030 of 12th February 1999. This program aimed at enforcing a watch system inside the national parks. One of its most important goals consists of reducing people pressure on wildlife and flora resources and to promote their participation national parks management as well as scientific research and ecotouristic activities. The GTZ/KfW, GEF, World Bank supported the project technically and financially at the level of the Pendjari National Park while the EU support was oriented to “W” National Park. French development cooperation supported ecotouristic action in the PNP and the Dutch cooperation supported development measures in bordering areas of PNP. The global financial support is estimated to 30 million USD (CENAGREF 2005).

The national project on action for CBD in protected area was launched in 2006 in the framework of (Program of Work on Protected Area - PoWPA) under the coordination of CENAGREF for a six-year period. The aim of this project was to work for the

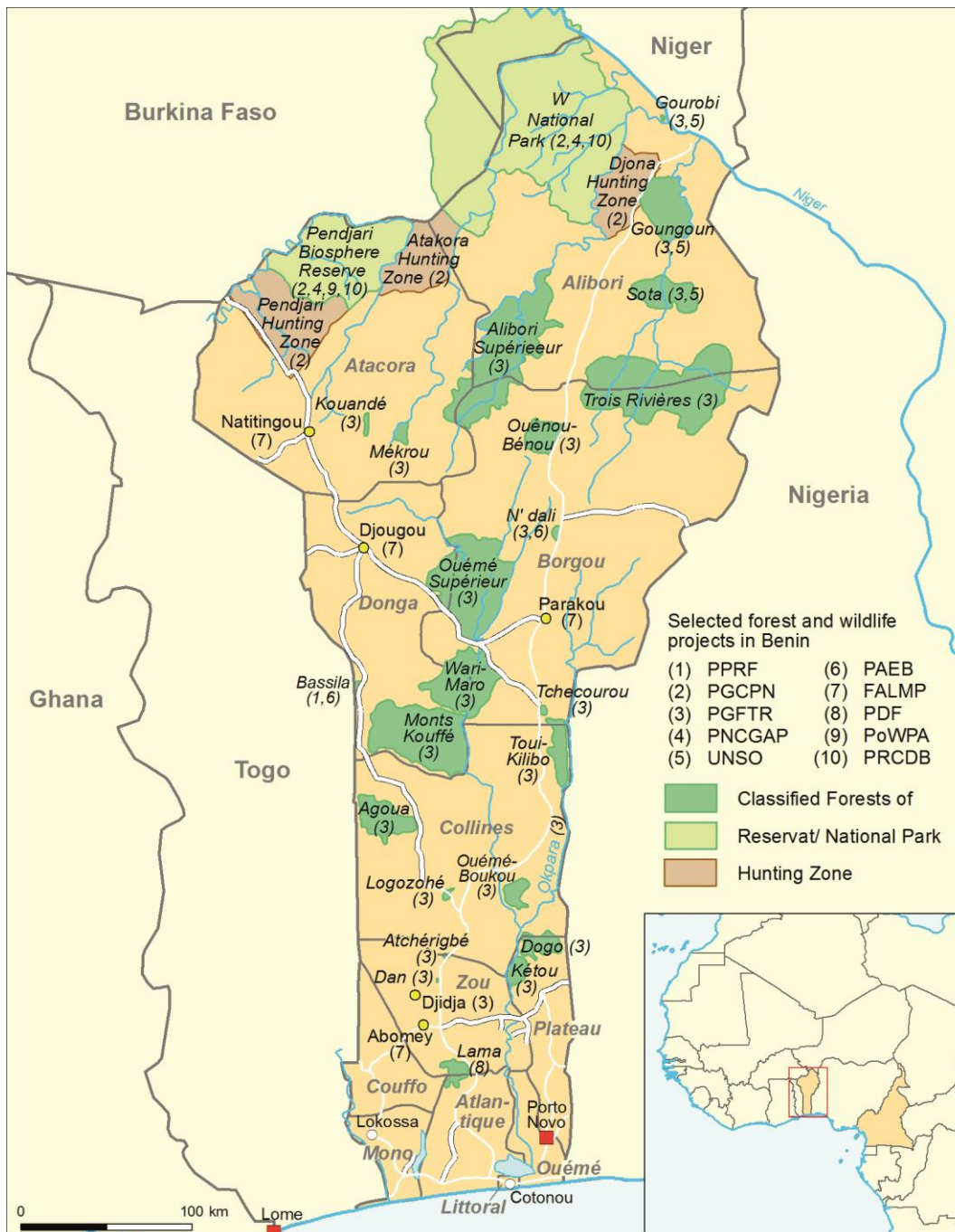
implementation of the Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity of Kuala Lumpur whose main objective is to ensure the accurate operational system of protected areas through a participatory process. This project was financed by the GEF, UNDP and UNOPS (MEPN 2010, MEPN 2011).

The community-based coastal and marine biodiversity management project (PGCBMC) aims at promoting the participatory conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity of coastal wetlands and marine resources started in 2008 with a global funding of 11, 6 million USD for a six years period (FOLEA 2013).

The support project for the development of protected areas (PAP-AP) aiming at creating wildlife reserves in classified forests of Agoua, Mount Kouffe, Wari-Marou and Lama in the Collines, Zou and Atlantique regions was launched in 2009 and was financially supported by GEF for four years period (MEPN 2009a).

In summary, Benin has developed national and institutional capacities, which are playing an essential role to the conservation and sustainable management of natural resources as required by the 12b principle of the Rio Declaration. The government has developed several guidelines that involve parties in the management of natural resources as well at the national level as at the local level. All the introduced measures are theoretically and practically – according to the conceived projects and programs- in harmony with the principles of sustainable development as developed in Agenda 21 (see map 11).

After the WSSD, the government of Benin has strived to develop sound environmental policies presented mostly in form of programs. Those programs have motivated several financial and technical resources, which have been provided in the framework of bilateral and multilateral cooperation, enabling institutional and technical implementation of governmental programs. The compliance of the WSSD to the achievement of Agenda 21 in Benin is also evidenced through the fact that, most projects and programs on forest and biodiversity management were actually implemented after the WSSD in Benin.



Map 11: Forests and biodiversity projects in Benin

Draft: Tchigankong Noubissié
 Cartography: Diehl

4.3. Benin's introduction into the global development discourse

The government in Benin found itself in the crossroads between international development requirements and national development strategies.

The government has strived to develop national development strategies such as the program for urgent social action aiming at implementing the SAP program launched in the country in 1989 at the national level.

The internationalization of the HDI motivated the government to adopt a new development policy resumed in the "National Program for Social Dimension of Development" in 1994. Through this policy, the government advocated for the promotion of decentralization, subsidiarity principles and coordination of development partners aid. Moreover, this program aimed at promoting pro-poor development strategies.

Three years later, a strong focus on poverty in the development understanding of the government brought the "Social Commun Minimal"⁷⁴ into being. This was the object of the "National Program of Community development". It aims at promoting communal development and addressing people's needs in education, health, income generating activities, food security, and road infrastructures. International pressures pushed the government to develop a population policy in order to influence demographic variables, women's status, and to fulfill food and education needs.

Since 1998, the government of Benin decided to promote development through growth and to increase capita per growth to 6, 7% in 2002 as well as the increase of the secondary sector (TINGBÉ-AZALOU 2008).

The publication of the MDGs was followed by the adoption of several development strategies in Benin from 2002 to 2003 aiming at appropriating the MDGs policy and has decided to focus more on achievements in the education, health, and access to drinking water sectors (SOUMARÉ 2004).

In accordance with the Washington Consensus that was later on enforced through the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) and later on during the Monterrey Consensus, the government of Benin has developed several PRSPs in the beginning of the 2000s in order to be eligible to requirements for the HIPC plan. These document were transformed into the Strategy of Growth for Poverty Reduction (2007-2015) (SCRIP –

⁷⁴ Minimal social income

Stratégie de la Croissance pour la Réduction de la Pauvreté). These documents are considered as the main reference instrument for international development aid and the fight against poverty at the national level (CESS 2010, INSAE 2012b).

As far as the implementation of the Paris Declaration is concerned, although the government has developed national strategies in this regard, experts from CESS argue that its implementation is still challenged by several factors. As far as ownership is concerned, the government has succeeded in publishing national development policies and strategies described in the PRSPs and the SCRP. However those strategies are often incoherent with each other. Alignment and harmonization are argued to happen according to the international criteria. The contribution of development partners is claimed to be oriented towards national strategies. The government has introduced a program budget in order to facilitate the monitoring and evaluation of development projects and programs in every ministry and to achieve the principle of “Managing for Results”. Efforts have been made in order to involve parliamentarians and non-states actors in the conception and evaluation of development strategies in order to develop the matter of “Mutual Accountability” (CESS 2010, OGOUNCHI* 2011: 95).

All these development policies are highly criticized by Benin officials who argue that development partners, in relation to this Paris declaration are free to choose their field of action according to the PRSP. It happens to be that the chosen fields of activities are not necessarily important government priorities. Benin is obliged to remain at the margins in this procedure (OGOUNCHI* 2011: 95).

In addition, the new orientation of the government towards the promotion of growth which is highly supported by donors’ countries creates doubt by Benin officials who are afraid that growth will not promote development. They also argue that this pro-growth policy leads to actions of the government that are not more oriented to resolve important human development issues (OGOUNCHI and OURO-DJERI* 2011).

German development cooperation has been active in the field of sustainable management of natural resources in Benin for decades. The next point of this analysis will highlight the particularity of German development cooperation in Benin in this field as well as its concrete actions.

4.4. Germany's contribution to natural resource management in Benin

“Both countries – Benin and Germany- will cooperate in order to enhance socio-economic development of their people” (RÉPUBLIQUE POPULAIRE DU BÉNIN 1978, Article 1).

The Benin-German bilateral relations date back to October 17, 1960 – two months after independence - as the FRG was closely bound to market economy and were in good harmony since Benin was involved into the liberal system from 1960 to 1971 (HADONOU-AMOUSSOU 2007). Before 1990, Benin had development cooperation with both GDR and FRG but some experts argue that the relationship was more close to FRG even during the time since 1974 when Benin decided to adopt a Marxist ideology. The government in Benin was striven to an economic development though its Marxist orientation and the relationship with USSR and communist countries such as China, and it relied mainly on military and technical cooperation (NATABOU 1983: 43). Benin had strong commercial relations with GDR and both countries signed a trade agreement on June 19, 1961. This trade cooperation did not function that well due to the strong link between Benin and France. Since then, June 19, 1961 the FRG has put in place development cooperation measures with the republic of Benin based on grants; facilitating the installation of German industries and trading companies in Benin; and economic, cultural and technical cooperation issues (NATABOU 1983).

As far as the technical and economic cooperation is concerned, it aimed at bringing technical and scientific assistance through the sending of German personal, material in Benin. From Benin independence until 1990, Germany has signed 33 cooperation agreements with Benin. Those agreements were mainly related to the implementation of projects in the primary and secondary economic sectors. They focused on the development of information, water and electricity supplying system, equipment of armed forces, administrative reforms, rural development (infrastructures) and trade (HADONOU-AMOUSSOU 2007: 14).

Benin is claimed to have become one of the most important partners of German development cooperation since she has chosen to take the path of liberal democracy since the 1990s. After the publication of the MDGs, German development cooperation decided to contribute to its implementation in Benin and has developed priority sectors of activities such as communal development, decentralization, and integrated water management, the fight against poverty, environment and protection of nature. Three German development cooperation agencies were since 1990 active in Benin: The GTZ, KfW and DED (NADOHOU* 2011: 131).

The aim of the GTZ is to follow-up the political, economic, ecological and social development of Benin with the aim of improving people living standards as well as their

future success. The focal points of activities of GTZ, according to the bilateral terms of cooperation with Benin, are based on three main axes: environment-protection and sustainable management of natural resources in rural areas, decentralization and communal development, and integrated management of water and water distribution systems. However, the GTZ also undertook some activities in other sectors such as the promotion of education, health, vocational training and promotion of crafts. Since 2002, the GTZ has developed a sectoral program-approach to natural resource management under the supervision of MAEP and MEPN implemented through the program of conservation and sustainable management of natural resources (ProCGRN). The GTZ (PDDC) coordinates similar programs on decentralization and communal development aiming at making municipalities more efficient. The last program managed by the GTZ is related to water supply in rural and urban areas. The GTZ is active at different levels (macro, meso, micro) and cooperates with nine ministries in Benin. The focus areas of activities in Atacora and Donga regions in northern Benin are justified by the high poverty index registered in this region (KACHELRIESS-MATTHESS 2004).

Concerning the KfW, its role relies on ensuring sustainable development through the promotion of economy, social and ecological matters. Their main sectors of activities include financing of investments as well as exports and projects. KfW is involved in Benin through the financing of economic and social infrastructures as well as in reform programs, financing micro-projects through loans to small and middle-sized enterprises (KACHELRIESS-MATTHESS 2004).

The DED has been active in Benin since 1964. Its mission is related to the fight against poverty, civil management of conflicts, ensurance of peace and self-determined development. The main fields of activities of DED include the strengthening of civil society, the promotion of decentralization and deconcentration, economic development and employment promotion. DED cooperates with institutions and grass-roots organizations (KACHELRIESS-MATTHESS 2004).

Environmental management in Benin was introduced in the framework of German development cooperation only after the Rio conference. Both countries signed and agreements on December 30, 1992 for the creation of coordination committee in the framework of the project on grasscutters (RÉPUBLIQUE DU BÉNIN 1998: 32). Other agreements were signed on May 10, 1994 for the implementation of the project on plant protection, followed by the PRRF already presented above on May 16, 1994, on grasscutters breeding in June and finally on the implementation of PGRN in Atlantique region in June 22 of the same year (HADONOU-

AMOUSSOU 2007: 20-21). The focal points of German development cooperation in Benin are clarified in figure 31.

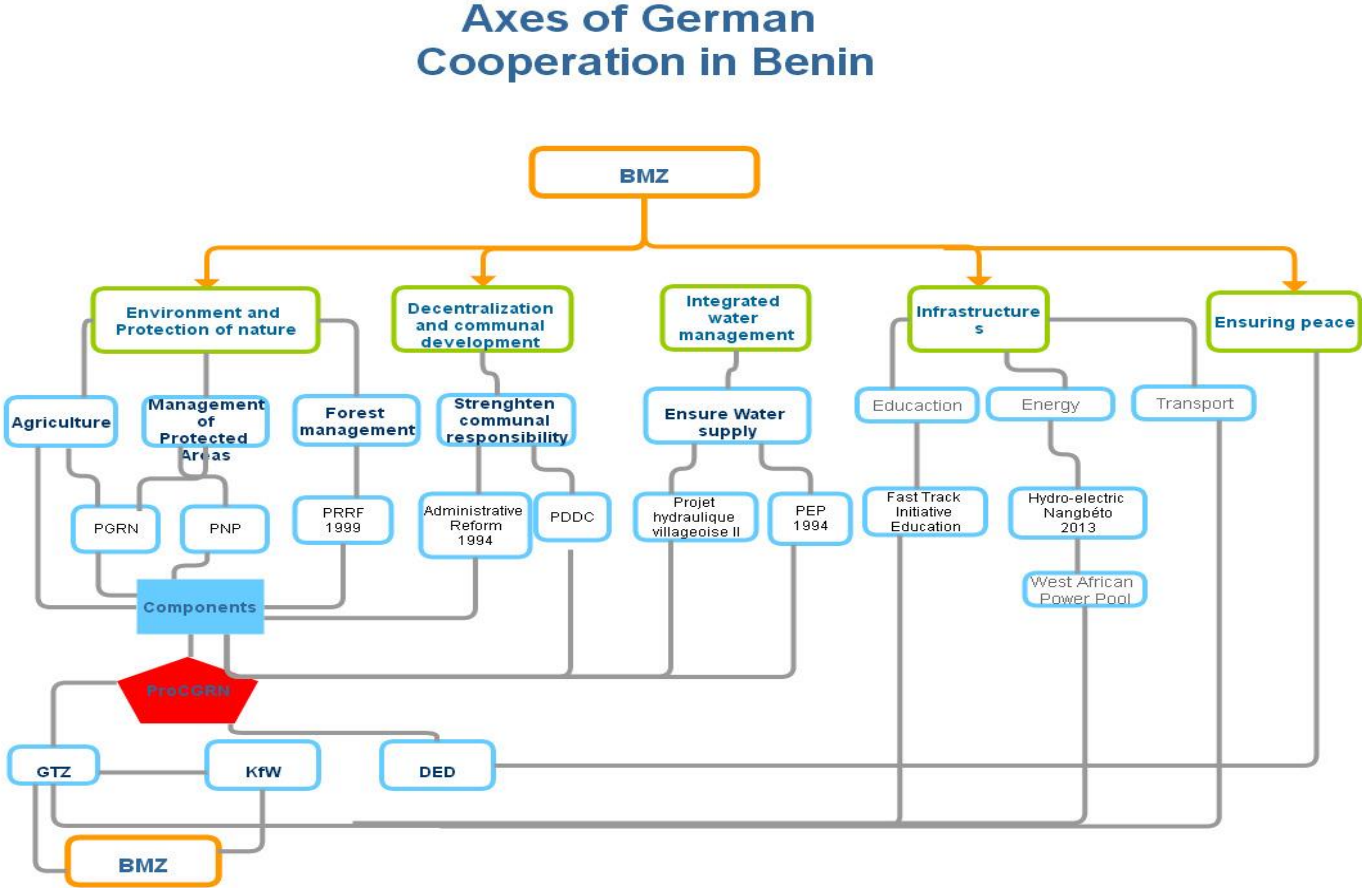


Figure 30 : Focal points and strategies of German development cooperation in Benin (2008)

4.4.1. Global overview on Germany's natural resource management in Benin

As mentioned above, the role and contribution of Germany to the management of natural resources in Benin became clear during the program ProCGRN (Program of Conservation and Management of Natural Resources) and the affiliated PDDC.

In fact, the ProCGRN officially started in January 2004 and included several former projects on natural resource management as well as on land tenure such as the PRRF, PGRN, PGTRN and PPLCEC (BANZHAF 2004). The global aim of ProCGRN is to make sure that rural populations are able to generate and reap the economic benefits of sustainable management of natural resources through a path of consensus among involved persons and institutions. This program, which is supposed to end in 2014, aims to increase the income of 50 000 households by up to 40%; mostly those concerned with agricultural and forestry activities. The secondary objectives of the program are concerned with water availability during dry season as a proof of fighting against desertification. Atacora and Donga regions located in northern Benin were the focal points of ProCGRN activities. The motivation of this choice was explained by its vulnerability in several domains such as monetary poverty, strong deforestation impacts, land properties matters, hunger and population growth (DOUSSIE* 2011: 213).

In order to make it possible, ProCGRN has first developed a management plan of the PNP so that it will enable its surrounding population to benefit from national park revenues through their active involvement in conservation issues. Secondly, the program has planned to create added value through the transformation of agricultural products and to contribution towards the valuation of forest and agricultural products.

Under the direct supervision of GTZ, MEPN and MAEP, the ProCGRN was divided into three strategic phases: the first phase was supposed to take place from January 2004 to June 2007, the second, July 2007 to December 2010 and the third, from January 2011 to December 2014. The aims and objectives to these phases are clearly specified in figures 33 and 34 (FANDOHAN* 2011: 137).

The link between ProCGRN and PDDC is more related to land ownership rights. In fact, better management of natural resources could be ensured only if decentralized management strategies are implemented. This is the reason why decentralization measures have been implemented in Benin in 2003 and give more power to municipalities, which therefore bear a lot of responsibilities and ownership in the management of their resources. In addition, both

the Ministry of Environment and Ministry of Agriculture should develop compatible policies that allow the program to be implemented in a coordinated process.

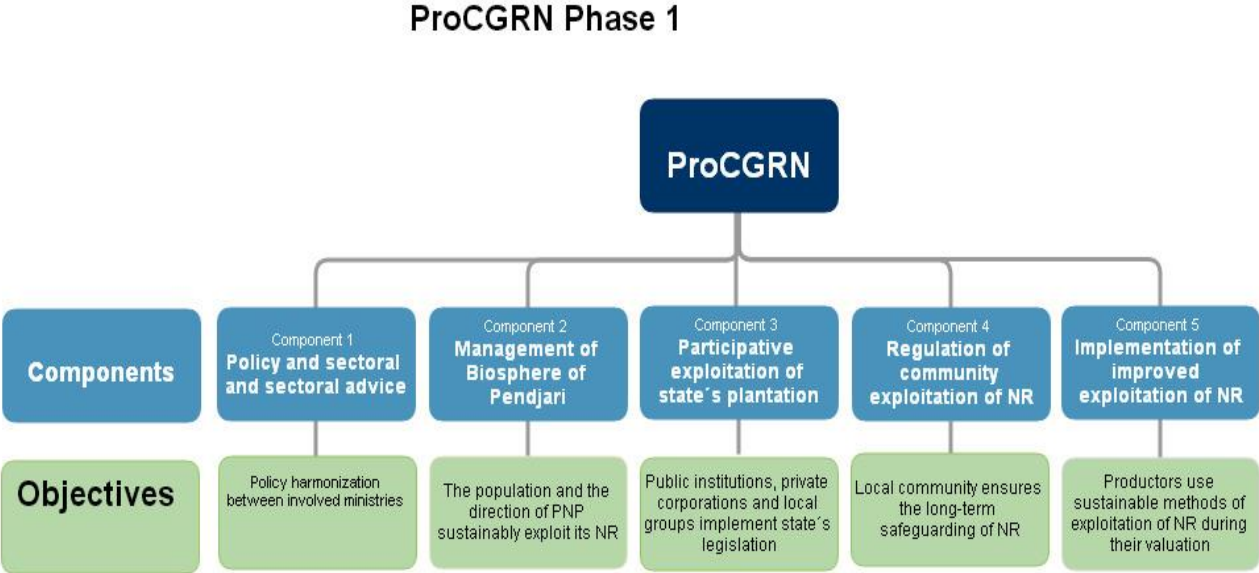


Figure 31 : ProCGRN Phase 1(January 2004 - June 2007)

The ProCGRN is active at the national, regional and local levels. Its action at the national level is focused on component 1, working mostly in Cotonou and aiming at bringing the MAEP and the MEPN, the client of the program, to develop interministerial strategies that will facilitate the implementation of the objectives at the national level. The regional coordination of the project is located in Natitingou in the Atacora region.

At the regional level, ProCGRN works together with regional agricultural institutions and the Regional Environmental Directorate of nature protection that work together with municipalities in order to implement the national objectives at the regional level.

The cooperation with the municipalities and some villages characterizes the local aspect of action of ProCGRN; acting here through communal technical teams, NGOs and local communities groups.

Germany-Benin, natural resources management and development

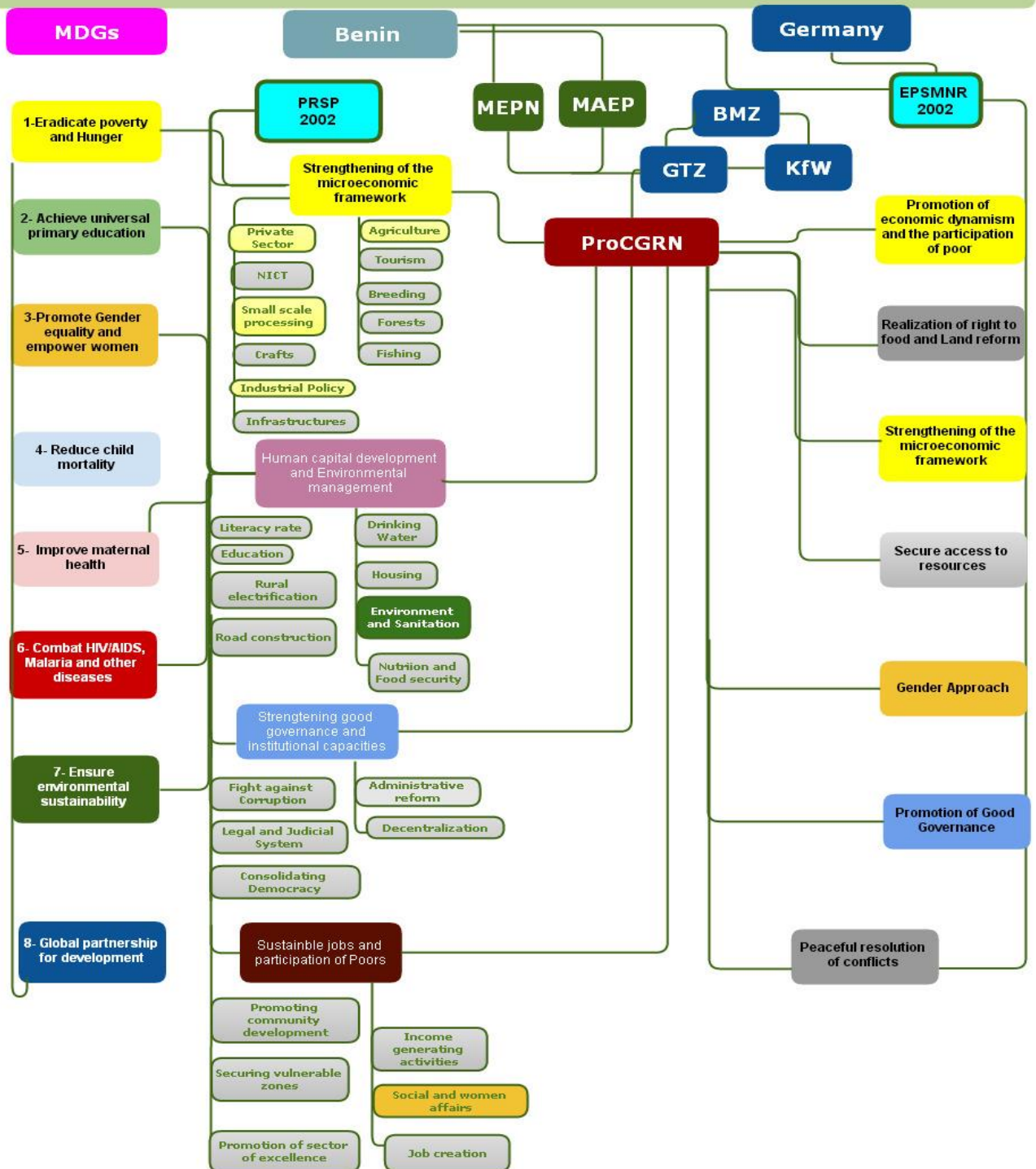


Figure 32 : Germany’s development policy in Benin compared to the achievements of the MDGs

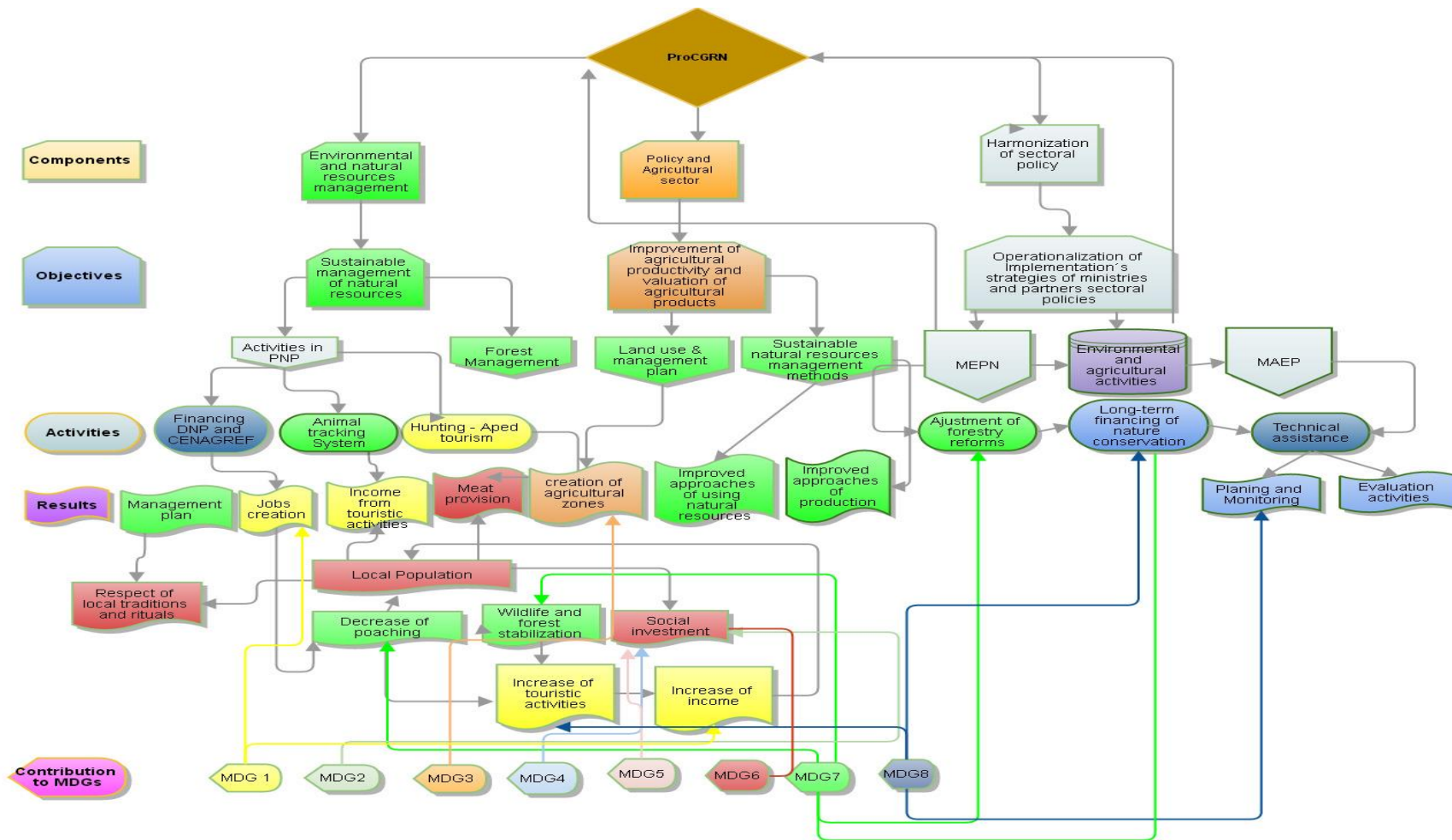


Figure 33 : Figure 34: ProCGRN phase II compared to MDGs (July 2007 - December 2010)

4.4.2. Analysis of natural resources in the framework of German development cooperation in Benin

The aim of this point of the analysis is to highlight some activities, which have been undertaken by German development cooperation in Benin in order to contribute to the sustainable management of natural resources. These activities will be divided into three main parts. Firstly, those related to the conservation of wildlife through the management of protected areas. Secondly those related to forest conservation activities. Thirdly, those projects and strategies aiming at reducing people's pressure on natural resources.

4.4.2.1. The Pendjari National Park Project (1998-2010)

This project commissioned by the BMZ and implemented by the GTZ and KfW aimed at implementing a sustainable and efficient management system of the PNP in such a way that the local population is directly and actively involved. (KÜCHER-KRISCHUN and WALTER 2007: 117). It is relevant to mention that this desire of integrating surrounding population into the management of the national park was already theoretically stated in the PAE of 1993. The government of Benin was confronted to some lack of financial means and required its development partners to bring some assistance through the establishment of a national park management plan (PAG) in the frame of PCGPN (CENAGREF 2005). The main objective of this PAG is to provide a daily management tool of the Biosphere Reserve to all involved actors AVIGREF⁷⁵, DPNP⁷⁶ and tourists. It describes in details the tasks that have to be performed and their means of implementation. This plan has contributed to the development of the neighboring⁷⁷, hunting zone and organizing structure. An ecological monitoring system was installed in order to observe the development of wildlife conservation. In addition, the local population was provided technical assistance in developing income-creating activities through their participation in the national park watching system or through ecotouristic activities. This activity has motivated local population to get integrated into the management of PNP. In fact, the conflict between "poachers" and the forestry army force has been resolved and a collaboration between the former "poachers" who have been recognized as "professional hunters" after this dialogue stopped by the establishment of a deal in 1996. The new "professional hunters" were invited to work as such by tracking animals for the benefits of touristic hunters, since then the AVC (Village-Hunter Association) was created, and

⁷⁵ Association Villageoise de Gestion des Reserves de Faune (Village Association for Management of Wildlife Reserves) is the institution representing the local population in the management process of the PNP and able to enter in discussion with its national vis-à-vis the CENAGREF (YADE *2011: 192).

⁷⁶ Direction du Park National de la Pendjari (Direction of PNP)

⁷⁷ Neighbouring (ZOC- Zone d'Occupation Contrôlée) are places dedicated for housing and agricultural activities near the national park.

operated from 1996 to 1999 under this denomination. This association was recognized as AVRIGREF by the government in 2000 and was also a home of farmers and other villagers whose activities and life was related to the management of the PNP⁷⁸ (YADE* 2011: 192).

The implementation of PAG has enabled surrounding communities to earn 30% of trophy hunting and to use this amount to promote social or economic activities in their respective communities⁷⁹. Moreover, it is described that, during the hunting activity, the hunting guide will receive a quarter of the animal and the rest (outside the trophy) will be returned and be sold at to 300 FCFA/Kg (0, 45 €) to the communities for their personal consumption (KAH* 2011: 209; AISSAN* 2011: 183-185).

In addition and as illustrated in figure 35, the German cooperation contributed to the financing the PNP by providing 50% of personell's salary and automobile means of transport. The KfW has contributed to improving paths inside the national park in order to facilitate eco-touristic activities (AISSAN* 2011: 183; CENAGREF 2008: 2).

At the end of the second phase of implementation of ProCGRN and its introduced participatory strategies in management of the PNP, the observation was been made that the wildlife quantity has been stabilized and that the income level of the neighboring population had significantly increased (PROCGRN 2011: 7).

Moreover, in accordance with the results obtained during PGRN investigation, the ProCGRN has succeeded to work with AVIGREF and to develop eco-touristic activities in the national parks surrounding villages. In Tanougou, one of the villages which was strongly supported by the ProCGRN, the AVIGREF was earning 300 000 FCFA (500 €) every trimester from eco-touristic activities based on accommodation facilities, hikings in mountains, waterfalls but also on cultural performances allowing the village to earn 10 million (16 000 €) between 2008 and 2009 (YOUMANOU* 2011: 230-231).

⁷⁸ In some locality, spiritual rituals have to be performed during a distinct period on living sites of their ancestors localized inside the parks. The neighboring population (Yade 2011: 192) also practices other activities such as the harvest and transformation of NTFPs and the collect of fuelwood.

⁷⁹ It is relevant to highlight that this decision became a fact only after the strong implication and insistence of the German development cooperation that was confronted to the reluctance of governmental authorities to this idea (YADE* 2011: 193)

4.4.2.2. Forests Resources Restoration Project in Bassila (PRRF) Benin

This project started already during the 1970s and was an initiative from the local population living in Bassila region who was upset from the high degradation of forest resources by forest's exploiters pastoralists, farmers and bush fires. In fact, the Bassila region is argued to be one of the most important area of Africa that is submitted to high deforestation rate estimated to 100 000 ha a year (COMLAN 2003: 7). The commune has been the first softwood provider of the whole countries during several decades and has an important forest's potential that is coupled with the high land fertility (RAHMANE* 2011: 262). It is estimated that forests covers less than 52% of the global municipality area (FOUSSENI* 2011: 275).

German development cooperation has showed particular interest for the restoration of forests' resources in the region of Bassila since 1986 when some experts of the GTZ were appointed by the BMZ in order to develop strategies aiming at conserving the forests resources of this region. However, German development cooperation started to be more active in this project ten years later through the provision of financing measures as the project was in its third phase. The GTZ was responsible for its technical and financing implementation in collaboration with LUSO CONSULT/ GFA Terra Systems. The main objective during this phase was to slow down the degradation of natural resources by assisting the population in the development of management plans of forestry sites. Figure 36 shows in details the different phases and the results obtained by this project since the involvement of German development cooperation in 1995.

The fact that this project has developed management plans, contribute to the creation of private forests, has motivated local population to get involved in all the technical and conception implementation procedure brought this project to realize relevant results in terms of sustainable management of natural resources in the Bassila region.

The ProCGRN started to be active in this region in January 2004 and focused its activities in the field of motivating rural actors to maximize their benefits in the sustainable use of natural resources; mostly forests resources of the sub-region. In fact, forests and forest resources exploitation were already an integral part of economic activities of people in this region. The problem was mostly related to the anarchic and uncontrolled mode of operation. The municipality is endowed with several economic potentialities that could easily boost the economic development of its inhabitants without destroying the natural resources. The main problematic of ProCGRN was to face up this challenge. Therefore, the program has developed three main strategies. Firstly, the promotion of income generating activities through capacity

enforcement of actors in rice, shea, cashew, charcoal, beekeeping, as well as in other agricultural activities sectors, was developed through some lowland regulations⁸⁰. During this first process, the producers of these different sectors acquired technical, organizational, material and institutional support from the ProCGRN team. This has enabled them to improve their production's skills and contributed to improving their living standards. Secondly, forest conservative activities were developed through reforestation activities with tree species such as teak (*Tectona grandis*) and Cashew tree (*Anacardium occidentale*, ect. garden (RAHMANE* 2011: 261-262, See pictures 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, of empirical observation in Vol. 2: 285-286 for reforestation in communal and community forest in Bassila). These activities were performed in the classified forest of Bassila and Penessoulou, in some community forests and in the botanic garden. In addition, bushfire retaining areas were created (Picture 41, Vol.2: 291) in order to slow down the devastating influence of bushfires in the new reafforested areas. Thirdly, the ProCGRN has enabled the development of 16 land plans in the region of Bassila in order to avoid land related conflicts.

Apart from Bassila, other communes and such as Tiawassaga, Fendeco and Tayaco were supported with reforestation initiative supported by the program since 2010 (DOUSSE* 2011: 218).

In summary, it could be observed that German development cooperation has been involved firstly in the preservation of forests and forest resources mostly in the Bassila region. The creation of the ProCGRN has made the participatory forest management in this region a reality. The introduction of income-generating activities, technical capacity-building and the restructuring of producers' organizations have contributed to develop other alternatives. This has made people dependent on forests and forests resources but also aware of the fact that the waste of those resources will have tremendous effect on their economic and social activities and therefore on their well-being. The matter of creating alternatives to forest conservation and valuation of natural resources is really relevant and German development cooperation has understood this and introduced several easures that will be discussed in the next point.

⁸⁰ This point will be discussed in detail in the forthcoming point 4.4.2.3.

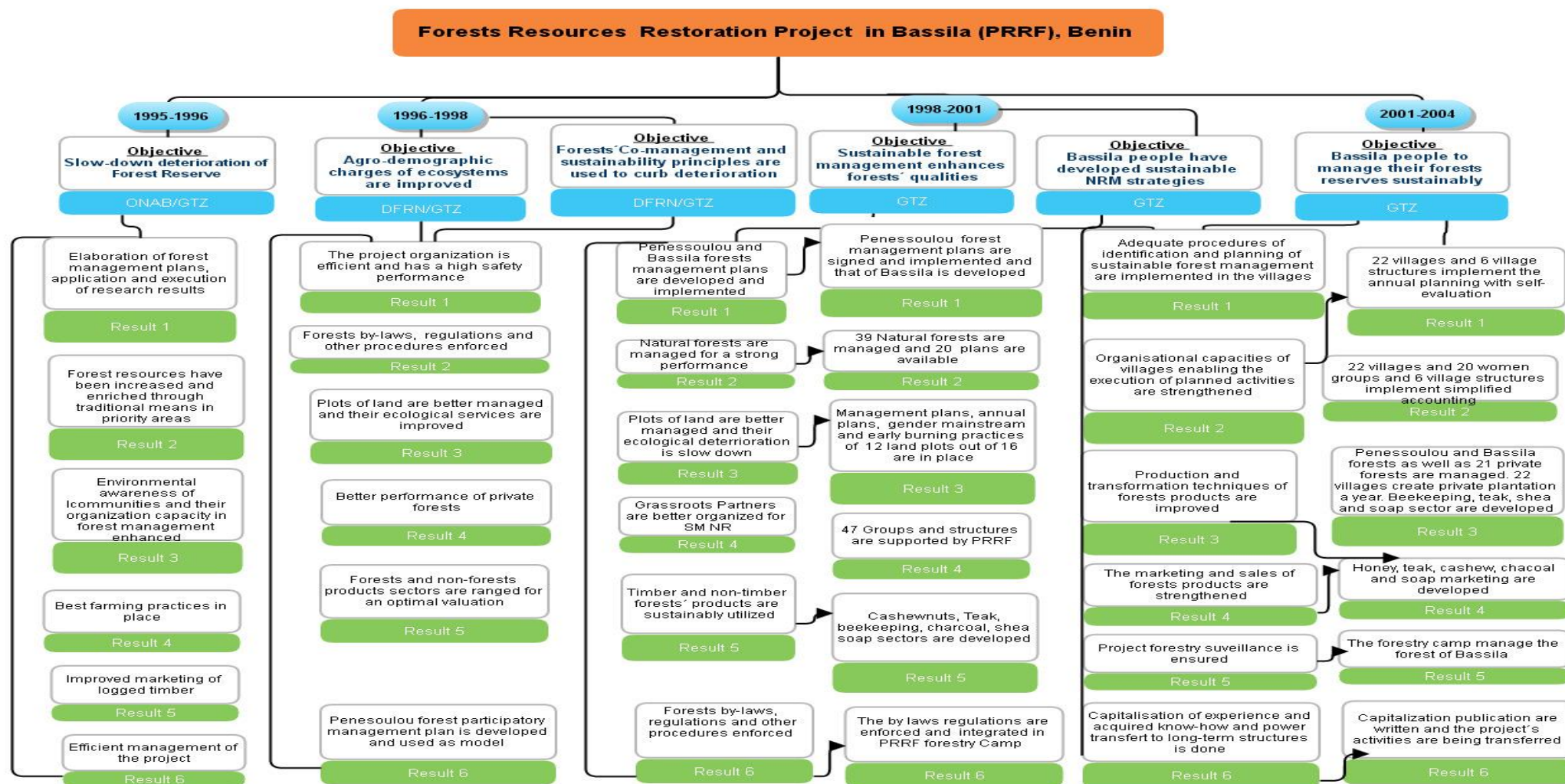


Figure 34 : Phases, objectives and results of PRRF own representation from COMLAN (2003)

4.4.2.3. Conservation through sustainable use and valuation of natural resources

In order to reduce human dependence and impacts on nature, several activities were introduced by German development cooperation in the framework of ProCGRN activities in Atacora-Donga regions. All of these activities have had a strong impact on the conservation of natural resources.

As already discussed in point 4.1.3., the great dependence on wood-energy in Benin is very large. Awareness of this factor and of the fact that not everyone can afford access to domestic gas and other alternative sources of energy, framed the improved woodstoves project, which was launched in the frame of ProCGRN activities.

In fact, the improved woodstoves project already started during the PGTRN in Benin. However the quality and performance of these woodstoves has to be improved (Picture 3, Vol. 2.: 236). The newly introduced model of woodstoves (Picture 4 and 5 Vol. 2. 236) has enabled people to be less dependent on wood-fuel and to evaluate their local resources. The improved woodstoves are made with a mixture of clay, chamotte bricks and straw, all present in several regions in Benin (FAKA* 2011: 237).

In contrast to traditional stoves using three stones and a huge quantity of wood, the improved woodstoves have the advantage of consuming very little wood, of being clean, fast, amovible (in contrast to the PGTRN introduced woodstoves), smoke free and can be locally produced and available for everyone. The huge quantity of heat produced by these stoves is explained by clay's capacity for conserving heat. These stove allow the recovery of 70 % of energy gained from wood incineration and have the health advantage of minimizing lung problems caused by smokes to its users (NCHIA* 2011: 234).

In addition, in rural areas were several people are dependent on wood-energy and spend most of their time in the search of this source of energy, the introduction of these stoves has enabled them to have more time for other activities since the wood demand is not so important. These stoves are very cheap. The price varies between 700 to 500 FCFA (1, 06 to 0, 76 €) with a quantity of 150 stoves produced a day by manufacturers and a global benefit of 105 000 FCFA/month (161 €). This amount is enough to providing school fees to some households and to resolve several social problems (FAKA* 2011: 237-238).

Moreover, the ProCGRN has contributed to the technical formation of manufacturers of these stoves (mostly women). It has resulted that this sector has become an economic sector of activity involving several actors: clay and straw harvesters, and stove producers and distributors. Communities belonging to 13 of these municipalities received the support of German development cooperation and more than 80 000 stoves have been produced from 2005 to 2010 in this region. 98 000 tons of wood-energy have been therefore preserved through this initiative (NCHIA* 2011: 233).

With the improved woodstoves project, the ProCGRN has succeeded to create a win-win situation. The environment is preserved, local natural resources are well valued, wood users are exempted from wood duties, diseases are prevented, the stoves are efficient, and woodstoves producers or manufacturers are employed and realize benefits that enable them to resolve their private problems.

The second activity introduced by the ProCGRN is concerned with the valuation of NTFPs such as cashew and shea production.

Cashew tree (*Anacardium occidentale*) and its derived products such as cashew nuts and cashew apple are widespread in Benin. Several substances could be produced out of the cashew nuts which consist of a cavity structure that contains a caustic phenolic resin: the cashew nut shell liquid (CNSL) made up of 90% anacardic acid and 10 % of cashew cardol. This substance is used for industrial purposes (manufacturing of frictions elements of car's brakes and clutches, as insulating and impermeable material in aviation, etc). Cashew nuts belong to oilseed types and 47% of the nuts are comprised of oil used in the pharmacology and in the cosmetics industry. Cashew kernels can be processed. The nuts can be roasted, flavours can be added, and the nuts can be used in food production and in chocolate industry. They are rich in vitamins A, D, K, PP, minerals, proteins and essential fatty acids (RIC INTERNATIONAL 2004, LACROIX 2003: 56). Cashew apple is eatable and has antiscorbutic properties because of its high value in Vitamin C (five times higher than in orange). This cashew apple could be processed in order to obtain jam, juice, wine, vinegar, etc.

The cashew sector or cashew nuts chain is one of the most prominent sectors of the agricultural export of Benin after the cotton sector (TANDJIEKPON 2010: 10). The majority of plantations are found in Zou, Atacora and Borgou regions (LACROIX 2003: 65).

German development cooperation started to develop interests on cashew sector in Benin during the PRRF project. This sector was oriented towards the commercialization of cashew

nuts. The main objectives were firstly to enable the producer to have a better understanding of the marketing of these products and to facilitate contact with better buyers, and secondly, regarding technical issues related to the production of cashew nuts (LACROIX 2003: 54).

During the ProCGRN process, the interest in cashew was foremost oriented towards monitoring and evaluation of cashew trees seeds plants in the commune of Copargo, Djougou and Bassila. The second branch of the program was concerned with capacity building of grassroots producers. The aim at this level was concerned with practical training of producers of the same regions (TANDJIEKPON 2007: 6).

Since Kouande is the first commune of cashews production in the Atacora-Donga, the government has launched several projects in order to boost the cashew sector in this region since 2007 (YOUSOUFFOU, DESSOUSASSI and BANSOU 2012). One year later, the ProCGRN has developed interests in this area. In addition to the promotion of rice cultivation and shea transformation, activities such as the promotion of cashew nuts were also developed in the framework of this project (OUSMANE and SANI* 2011: 242). The main objectives were to contribute to the improvements of production facilities, to reinforce the organization of producers, to organize the marketing of cashew nuts and to support cashew processing initiatives in the Kouande municipality. In fact, the cashew sector in Kouande relies on two main activities: grilled almond and direct export lines of unprocessed and processed cashew nuts only for the regional market (YOUSOUFFOU, DESSOUSASSI and BANSOU 2012: 24). This contribution was made possible through the support of “Cashew Regional Producer Union” (URPA – UNION RÉGIONAL DES PRODUCTEURS D’ANACARDE) which is responsible for funding matters. The ProCGRN has facilitated the partnership between the URPA and the local credit union (CLCAM – Caisse Locale de Produits Agricole) since 2008. In addition, a cashew processing units has been financed by the ProCGRN (see pictures 20, 22, 23, 24 and 25 Vol. 2: 258-259) and enables the production of 50 kg of cashew nuts and kernels a day and 350 000 FCFA of daily income (see Vol. 2.: 254-255). The promotion of this sector by the ProCGRN was in strong harmony with the policy of promotion of the agricultural sector as a contribution towards municipalities’ development policies. In addition, the ProCGRN has set down some technical communal teams that were in charge of coordinating the cashew sector in the Atacora and Donga region.

As far as shea butter production is concerned, the undertaken activities were similar to those of cashew sector. The actions were more focused on processing nuts from shea tree (*Vitellaria paradoxa*) into shea butter. Women in Atacora and Donga regions who harvest shea nuts and

process it traditionally or sell them to other shea butter manufacturers dominate this sector (OUSMANE and SANI* 2011: 246 and 249). The ProCGRN has promoted the organization of producers in this sector and organized trainings in the transformation of shea nuts into shea butter. It results that the quality of shea gets improved (see picture 12 and 13 vol. 2. 256) and that the producers could earn more money (20 million CFA/year – 30550 €) and sell their products far beyond the regional boundaries (OUSMANE and SANI* 2011: 246, 251).

The last categories of activities promoted by the ProCGRN are rice production and commercialization as well as other agricultural products.

Rice production occupies a great place in the ProCGRN program and is bound to the use of inland valleys during its first phase in 2005 in Atacora-Donga regions (DOUSSIE* 2011: 213).

Rice forms integral part of main consumed food crops in rural and urban areas in Benin. It contributes to the achievement of food security but its production requires creating adequate agro-climatic zones. In fact, the yearly demand for rice in Benin was estimated to 74 000 tons while the national production reached only 52 441 tons in 2000 (ADEGBOLA and OFIO 2003). The ProCGRN is active in ten communes in Atacora-Donga regions in the promotion of improved methods and techniques of rice production. The national contribution of these two regions is estimated to 24 % (18 and 6 respectively). The rice production sector embraces four principal actors: the producers, the collectors, wholesalers and retailers. Tox rice is the dominant cultivated species in these regions and is confronted by quality challenges (impurities, conservation, the system of rice production, the use of pesticides and fertilizers, and the soil types). Rice production is dominated by a rainfed lowland rice system and dominated by men (IBID). Farmers involved in rice production were motivated by self consumption.

ProCGRN strategies in regard to rice production includes firstly the creation of production specialization zones and the enforcement of cooperation between involved actors in this sector, the promotion of improved rice seeds, the reinstallation of old rice production sites and the opening-up of rice production zones.

Secondly, the ProCGRN has undertaken to ensure the supply of agricultural inputs materials by facilitating the access to fertilizer inputs for rice and revitalize farmers' organizations in the local production of rice.

Finally, the ProCGRN was committed to improving the quality of the produced rice and to ensuring the marketing of local rice by improving primary processing practices of rice through the sensitization of producers to adequate processing strategies and by introducing improved processing devices (ADEGBOLA and OFIO 2003: 20-21).

This strategy was followed by implementation measures that were observed during the investigations in some municipalities of the Atacora-Donga regions.

The regulation of lowlands was one of the most important activities supported by the ProCGRN in order to promote rice production in the supported localities (YADE* 2011: 194). The implemented action was concerned with the construction of water retention and water damming infrastructures such as retention levee (Picture 40, Vol2. 291) and partitioning levee (Picture 11, and 43, Vol. 2. 241 and 297) which allows long-term water retention favorable for rice cultivation (DOUSSIE* 2011: 215).

This activity was coupled with training in improved rice cultivation measures as described in the last strategy (KAH* 2011: 208; NCHIA* 2011: 232), or by the introduction of rice cultivation in areas which were not used to this agricultural practices such as in Kouande for instance (SANI and OUSMANE* 2011: 242). In addition and as described in the second planned strategy, the farmers were given rice seeds and fertilizers (NCHIA* 2011: 239; SANI and OUSMANE* 2011: 248), some groups were specialized only in the production of certified rice seeds (DOUSSIE* 2011: 214). Through the program, rice producers who were working individually were encouraged to form groups in order to have the technical and financial support from the ProCGRN as it has been observed in Kouande (SANI and OUSMANE* 2011: 242). Achieving this aim made the realization of the first strategy a reality. In order to improve the production quality, the program has facilitated access to some materials such as rice steamers or parboilers (Pictures 14 and 15 Vol. 2.: 257). Traditional method of rice production were replaced by new production strategies (Picture 16 Vol. 2.: 257) in all municipalities of Atacora and Donga regions (SANI and OUSMANE* 2011: 249). Furthermore, some communities were endowed with new and better working instruments such as carts and water motor pump set used for farms irrigation (NATAHOU* 2011: 298). These activities are in strong accordance with the last strategy. Nearby, activities related to the conservation of harvested products were promoted through the construction of storage warehouses (Picture 45 Vol. 2, 297) and of crop drying areas (Picture 42 Vol.2, 291). Small and micro-lending loans to producers were also remarkable in the promotion of rice production by the program in the Atacora-Donga regions.

All these activities have enabled households (mostly women) to earn more money (Kah* 2011: 207), better production facilities of 12 rice bags of rice of 50 kg every three months (DOUSSIE* 2011: 216-217; Interview with a Rice Farmer KOUANDE* 2011: 256; NATAHOU* 2011: 299).

To conclude, it has to be highlighted that the ProCGRN has also supported several agricultural activities outside the rice production sector. Maize, vegetables, yams and other crops cultivation were strongly included into the field of activity of the program. The actions of the GDC in Benin are in strong accordance with the MDGs and evidenced by figure 33. The ProCGRN mutation from phase I to phase II highlights the German interests from a shifted from solely environmental protection with actions directed towards the conservation of the national parks (figure 32), to the promotion of agricultural activities supposed to reduce people's dependence over natural resources (figure 34). However, all those activities are still confronted by several challenges.

4.4.2.4. Persistent challenges related to sustainable management of natural resource management in Benin

The implementation of natural resources sustainable management strategies in the framework of German development cooperation was confronted by several challenges that can be grouped into five main different categories. These include lack of good governance of the partner country, resistance to some rooted cultural practices, monetary poverty, projects' implementation dysfunctions, and the sustainable follow-up of the activities.

Even though German development cooperation has developed a program of sustainable management of natural resources in Benin, some activities were difficult to implement due to some lacks of good governance structures.

Governance problems are related to "corruption facilities" rooted in the management of public issues and mostly of natural resources exploitation. National regulations are scarcely followed-up or taken into consideration by people, private enterprises and other natural resources users. Some natural resources exploiters operate without any allowance and without any sanctions as observed by Kouande and Bassila (SANI and OUSMANE* 2011: 244; RAHMANE* 2011: 268). This lack of respect of national regulations lead to the destruction of several years of hard labor and to the failure of several activities put in place during the project.

The second aspect related to governance is the extreme slowness in the implementation of national policy at the regional and local level and the poor involvement of local

administration in the implementation of projects and programs, which often abandon the partner during the implementation process. The management of the PNP was confronted to the lack of interests of the Tanguieta municipality. Some experts argue that, this management would have been more efficient if the municipality strongly supported the implementation of the measures such as watching that the national decrees and others are respected inside their municipalities as stressed in the decentralization planning (DOUSSIE* 2011: 222; NCHIA* 2011: 239). It results that, even though people are sensitized to forests ecological values and disasters of bushfire that is prohibited by law, these actions continue to be in vogue in several municipalities. Municipalities' officials acknowledge the fact that they have their own responsibility in the management of natural resources but argue that their rights, duties and responsibilities are not clearly defined by the national administration. They claim that each time they have tried to defend the illegal exploitation of natural resources, other official have argued that this issue falls beyond the municipality jurisdiction (RAHMANE* 2011: 263 and 267).

In addition, state authorities involved in border management are inefficient in controlling human fluctuation coming from neighbor countries who hunt wildlife and exploit forests' resources and transport them into their respective countries (YOUMANOU* 2011: 229; AISSAN* 2011: 186). Wildlife destruction is rampant outside the protected areas and even national protected animal's species continue to be killed and sold as in Bassila without any reaction of local wildlife officials who are claimed to be complicit in these activities (FOUSSENI* 2011: 278).

Bad governance procedures hinder that several municipalities produce profits from the sustainable management of their natural resources. Resources that were able to secure the structural surpluses essential to accelerate the development process of those municipalities are not efficiently valued (SANI* 2011: 247) and to secure job facilities for municipal employees working for the sustainable valuation of those resources (RAHMANE* 2011: 284).

The program was also confronted by resistance coming from some culturally rooted practices and thinking. For the first case, practices such as bushfires that are commonly put in place by some people to clear areas around houses, as farming and livestock breeding practices (plants regrowth after burning) or as hunting strategy (SANI and OUSMANE* 2011: 252, YOUMANOU* 2011: 235). YOUMANOU* (2011) argue that bushfires could be considered as a cultural problem, since people have develop the habit of lighting fire from the very start of dry season. These bushfires are not always controlled by their actors and have strong consequences on

reforestation attempts put in place by the ProCGRN in Bassila, Tielé and other villages annihilating therefore all reforestation efforts (FOUSSENI* 2011: 275, DOUSSIE* 2011: 220). The search of grazing lands and other pastoral activities of livestock owner and straying of domestic animals even in protected areas are also annihilating reforestation attempts (FOUSSENI* 2011: 275). The second problem is related to people's thinking and a mentality that seems to be motivated to undertake any conservative action only if immediate financial income is possible (Interview with a farmer of the Kodowari CIG, Vol. 2: 293). In addition, challenges to citizenship related to the understanding and acceptance of the laws could be raised as important issues in the success of projects (SANI and OUSMANE* 2011: 243). This thinking orientation leads to the fact that projects' economic spinoffs will be perceived, only in the long term to encounter some participation and monitoring problems.

Monetary poverty and the prominence of informal sector in the commercialization of NTFPs and other agricultural products are also considered as important challenges that the farmers and processors of forests' product are confronted with. In fact, NTFPs processing sector and farming activities require a lot of financial investments far beyond the capacity of local people (SANI and OUSMANE* 2011: 251, NCHIA* 2011: 239). Municipalities are also facing financial limitations which hinder their conservative actions (SANI and OUSMANE* 2011: 247).

As far as projects' implementation dysfunctions are concerned, these are related to space management, resolution of human-wildlife conflict, supply of fertilizers, and the development of infrastructures for better success of the projects.

Concerning space management, delimited space dedicated to the production of agricultural crops during the management plans are inadequate for the cultivation of some products as noticed in the hunting zones of PNP (YADE* 2011: 194).

The success of wildlife conservation in the PNP national park has resulted in the increase of amount of animals that do not always reside inside the delimited area and destroy farmers' cultivated lands and crops or eat their domestic animals. The result is human-wildlife conflict. The farmers argue that they do not have enough compensation for animal-induced disasters inside their farms (KAH* 2011: 206, YADE* 2011: 196).

Moreover, several farmers complained that fertilizers required and important for better production were not always delivered in proper time. The results have been their bad harvest and their impossibility to cover their debts (KAH* 2011: 207, NATAHOU* 2011: 299 and 301).

Officials from different municipalities argue that national resources could not be sustainably managed if it is not coupled with infrastructural development. The case of ecotouristic activities is more quoted as example. Tourists need road infrastructures in order to have access to villages and benefits from their eco-touristic potentials (YADE* 2011: 200; BONI GREGROIRE* 2011: 203).

Finally, the sustainable follow-up of the activities put in place by the ProCGRN is a great challenge. After the end of the second phase of activities, the ProCGRN suddenly ended and transformed into ProAgri (Program of promotion of agricultural activities) since October 7, 2010 (KAHOUN*2011: 120). This turnaround in its activities was not very welcome from different actors involved and active in the frame of the ProCGRN. In fact, they argue that the promotion of agriculture does not make any sense if it is not coupled with sustainable management of natural resources and do not understand why the ProCGRN has decided to stop all activities in this regard (FOUSSENI* 2011: 279). The result is that several agricultural activities continue without any regard to environmental protection (NCHIA* 2011: 232). Furthermore, several reforestation projects, which were put in place by the ProCGRN, are completely abandoned. Neither the municipalities, nor the communities agree to have means to follow-up these projects. This is explained by the fact that the program has accustomed their partners (municipality and local population, but also national official) to the facility by fulfilling all their material needs and creating therefore strong dependence relation (SEIDI* 2011: 285 and 289).

With this situation, it is worth considering the sustainability aspect of the program, the matter of long-term responsibility, capacity building and the lack of sense of ownership from partners, which still appear reluctant to get engage sustainably in implemented conservative initiatives.

4.5. Governmentality and biopolitics of German development cooperation in Benin

The perceptions and evaluation of German development cooperation in Benin vary according to the national and regional officials and the directly involved populations. From the national officials and representatives, German development cooperation is correlated to governmentality while one could argue that it has a sort of positive biopolitics at the local level.

4.5.1. Governmentality of German development cooperation

The governmentality aspect of German development cooperation is perceptible in the opinions held by governmental officials and collaborators.

Even though it is internationally acknowledged that the development cooperation should be aligned on development priority of partners countries, official in Benin argue that German development cooperation acts according to its own priorities. In fact, the government of Benin wanted to have further support in the environmental and nature protection sector and despite their insistence, the German cooperation decided to focus on the promotion of agriculture although the implementation of environmental components had not ended (KAHOUN*2011: 117). This change of course was not understandable by Benin's officials who argue that, German development cooperation is more oriented towards an international alignment than to a national one. They explain this change of priority by the fact that several other development partners are involved in agricultural management in Benin. Finally, the government grudgingly accepts to accede to this German demand.

“Whenever we went to negotiation in Germany, we left our country with several ideas and hope, but our German partners never take into consideration our ideas. We realize that as soon we start the negotiation, minutes of our negotiations are already prepared in advanced and are just waiting to be signed up. Therefore, the whole discussion is oriented towards their agenda and their procedures. Our point of views are hardly taken into account” (KAHOUN*2011: 119).

This statement of a high governmental official puts in evidence the existing power relations between Germany and Benin. As a matter of fact, Benin's financial poverty put the government in a weak position and hindered a discussion on an equal footing. An unequal relationship of power and submission is therefore established. KAHOUN* and NADOHOU* (2011) further argues that since the German are the projects' financial providers, they have the right to impose their standpoint. The government is unable to bring any modification to their roadmaps and has a passive role of undersigning the firm conclusions of their German partner.

The second important point raised up by Benin official is based on the fact that they question the German expertise and feel frustrated from the fact that national experts are being ignored at the expense of German experts who are sometimes highly paid than their national counterparts (OGOUNCHI* 2011: 98). In addition, Benin officials claim that German development cooperation is excessively demanding and overburdens the institutions and decision makers and does not always take in account their national administrative realities.

“Our German partners are always so demanding. They want us to do things based on their standards such that they forget that we are in Africa and we have our own domestic realities that must be addressed first.

Often, they ask us to get things done and sometimes those things are technically impossible in this country or they don't fit to our domestic procedures and policy" (OURO-DJERI* 2011: 114).

This idea is enforced by the point of view that the German partners do not always share the same values and development evaluation patterns at the end of projects and program. According to KAHOUN* (2011), development issues and the fight against poverty is instrumentalized by German development cooperation and other development partners. The fact that Germany has developed her own criteria and strategies to promote "development" and fight against poverty in Benin without being aware of "poverty reality", causes some confusion at the end of the project. While the government is not satisfied by the German performance, the German partner will assert that their project was successful. Nevertheless, the facts are there. People's poverty status has not changed so far (KAHOUN* 2011: 122). Moreover, the insistence of having German experts in Benin is considered to be a tool used by German development cooperation in order to fight against poverty and unemployment in their country. This is the reason why, the main amount of development cooperation is spent in administrative issues, the money is used to pay their experts (NADOHOU* 2011: 134).

Near these critical remarks, positive perception and evaluation of the German actions in Benin have been identified among which the fact that Germany is loyal to her commitments and intervenes in several sectors of activities and in terms of financial volume (NADOHOU* 2011: 127-128 and 136).

The contribution of German development cooperation is highly valued at the regional level by the CENAGREF, national parks and municipalities' officials who acknowledge that no so much would have been done in natural resources conservation at the regional level without the contribution of German development cooperation (AISSAN* 2011: 184; BONI* 2011: 204; RAHMANE* 2011: 269).

If German development cooperation has had some substantial influence in governmental affairs in Benin, its impact on the local population deserves a particular attention.

4.5.2. Biopolitic of German development cooperation

The contribution of German development cooperation was positively welcomed at the local level in general. People living around the PNP were satisfied of the fact that their preoccupations were taking into consideration 1995 and that they could benefit from the financial incomes of PNP management. All of the surveyed villages acknowledge the fact that this process could have not been possible without the strong involvement of German development cooperation (YOUMANOU* 2011: 225).

In addition, the aspect of income-generating activities central to the ProCGRN attracted and favored a massive participation of people who were convince that they have more benefits in contributing to the program than to resist. They have benefited from free of charge trainings that have helped them to develop alternatives activities and reduce their dependence on forests or wildlife products such as ecotourism, agricultural activities and the sustainable exploitation and valuation on NTFPs as it has been already discussed above.

Financial and structural support essential for the success or the launching of local activities offered by the ProCGRN has had a positive impact on poverty reduction in some communities and in the success of PNP income by covering some cost of the infrastructure and equipment (CZESNIK 2007: 13).

Moreover, protection or conservation activities related to the management of the PNP had become a priority of local people who were formerly considered as the principal danger to wildlife conservation in the area. The coupling of animal conservation with more income creating facilities has changed people's behaviors and consideration of wildlife (KAH* 2011: 209).

Women are particularly thankful to the ProCGRN program because it has enabled them to develop agricultural activities or to make improved woodstoves that allow them to earn money, to solve their familial problem and to reduce their financial dependence to their husband (SANI and OUMANE* 2011: 248; KAH* 2011: 207).

Municipalities highly valued the contribution of the ProCGRN because they have sent and assumed the responsibility costs of salary of technical experts working for the preservation of their communal heritage and allowed the municipality to earn money in a long-term process.

4.6.Summary

An in-depth analysis of Benin's introduction in the global environmental management discourse and the contribution of German development cooperation in this frame show that the government of Benin has developed national strategies that are in strong accordance with international required principles on natural resource management.

Benin could not be considered as a forest rich country. It does however have some few relevant forests and wildlife resources that have deserved national but mostly international attention since decades. Those resources are great source of wealth and could contribute to sustainable development of the whole country. Unfortunately, their contribution to the country's GDP is so insignificant and they are not yet fully and adequately exploited in order to fulfill governmental and societal needs.

Monetary poverty could be described as the most important challenge related to forests and wildlife management in Benin. Aware of this factor, the government has developed policies and legal frameworks related to natural resource management that unfortunately do not match poverty issues and develop alternatives for local people. As consequence, a passive and active resistance to the implementation and respect of regulation is observable in the whole country. Enforced by bad governance and corruption, the country is facing tremendous challenges in the conservation in forests natural resources because of the lack of alternatives as it has been highlighted with the case of strong dependence on timber products used as fuelwood and for charcoal production.

Benin's introduction and adoption of global environmental discourse and resolution did not bring any substantial changes in solving those problems. In fact, the government has theoretically implemented most of the international requires principles of natural resource management at the national level by adopting recommended policies on forest and biodiversity conservation which were enforced by appropriated legislation. However, their implementation at the regional and local level is still confronted to some infrastructural and administrative constraints.

Several bilateral and multilateral partners have shown interests in forests and biodiversity management in Benin. They have developed strategies of support that were delivered in forms of technical or financial support to environmental related-projects. Some projects have brought substantial answers to some problems related to fuelwood supply and to the sustainable management of wildlife.

Germany's contribution to the sustainable management of natural resources in Benin became significant after the UNCED and expanded after the WSSD. During the UNCED, the German contribution was more concerned in the support of small isolated projects in southern and northern Benin but in a long-term process (PRRF) and institutional support in the management of Benin's protected areas. The German support was mostly a bottom-up approach based on the promotion of participation and local ownership of the project.

The 2000s was marked by a great turnaround in German development cooperation with Benin and mostly in the framework of natural resource management. This change was motivated by the publication of the MDGs and the international confirmation of sustainable development after the WSSD. Merging WSSD principles with those of the MDGs, German development cooperation decided to abandon the projects approach and to adapt the program one (ProCGRN). The program approach had the advantage of reconciling environmental unfriendly actions and activities with environmental friendly activities. The strong wish of contributing to the fight against poverty has motivated German development cooperation to focus its program in the most financial poor regions of Benin.

German development cooperation has striven to develop income-generating activities that contribute to reduce people's dependence on natural resources. It has succeeded to bring state's institutional interests with local basic needs closed to each other. These facts could be considered as one of the main important efficiencies of the German approach in the field of management of natural resources. However, national and local divergences occur when it is about valuating the German contribution in the sustainable management of natural resources in Benin. Benin's officials are not so satisfied with German support on conservative issues while the local population has benefited from economic alternatives that have completely and positively transformed their lives and highly value the contribution of German development cooperation.

The fact is that German development cooperation would have realized that its efficiency in the conservation of natural resources in Benin will not match the long-term requirements in this sector and that poverty and eventually development could be better promoted through agricultural activities. This is surely the reason why the ProCGRN abandoned conservative policies and is now focused on the promotion of agricultural activities.

All these argumentations lead to the validation of the hypothesis stated in the introduction of this chapter namely that Benin was introduced successfully in the global development

discourse but that these strategies were unable to resolve all environmental problems the government is confronted with. The second hypothesis arguing that German development cooperation focuses on the implementation of environmental international agenda in Benin could be also verified as well as the fact that Germany's action at this level was challenged by several failures in forest conservation for example.

5. Cameroon and the global environmental management

This chapter aims at analyzing Cameroon's introduction into the global environmental agenda and the consequences of this on domestic environmental policy. The idea is that, Cameroon is more endowed with natural resources than Benin as far as forests and biodiversity is concerned and is confronted by great environmental challenges in the management of these natural resources. Additionally, the significant structural problems that Cameroonian faces in implementing global environmental requirements in its environmental policy will be discussed. Moreover, this chapter will highlight the fact that German development cooperation has made environmental management one of its main priorities and has invested a lot in order to bring its Cameroonian partner to meet the global environmental requirements.

5.1. Natural resources management in Cameroon

The Republic of Cameroon has the shape of a triangle and covers a total area of 475 446 km². It is bordered by Chad to the North, Nigeria to the West, Congo, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea to the South, the Central African Republic to the East and stretches to 350 km over the Atlantic Ocean coastline (MEPN 2009b). Natural resource distribution in Cameroon varies according to the ecological zones.

5.1.1. Overview on Cameroon's natural resources

Different views exist regarding ecosystems and vegetation types in Cameroon. However, four main types could be distinguished from the existing literature.

(1): The Sudano-Sahelian zone characterized by semi-arid ecosystems is located in the Far North regions. It embraces the Mandara Mountains and the Benue valley. It consists of degraded shrubby steppes with periodically grassy flood plains. Seven months dry season and low rainfalls characterize this area (800 to 900 mm/annually). The temperature varies between a maximum 40 to 42 °C and a minimum of 17 °C. This climatic condition creates very poor vegetation types that are resumed in steppes, large open lands, savannah and thorny shrubland and scrubland dominated by species such as *Acacia albida*, *Balanites aegyptiaca*, *Ficus platyphilla*, *Khaya senegalensis*, *Tamarindus indica* (MOLUA and LAMBI 2006: 6; MINEF 1997: 8-9; DONFACK 1993: 322).

(2): The savanna zone is dominated by tropical wooded savanna vegetation types characterized by shrub, grassland and mosaic savannas, which are made up of some samples of trees. Some bush areas extend from the North-West, Adamawa, a small part of Center and Eastern regions. Due to their tropical climate, these regions have a rainfall variation between

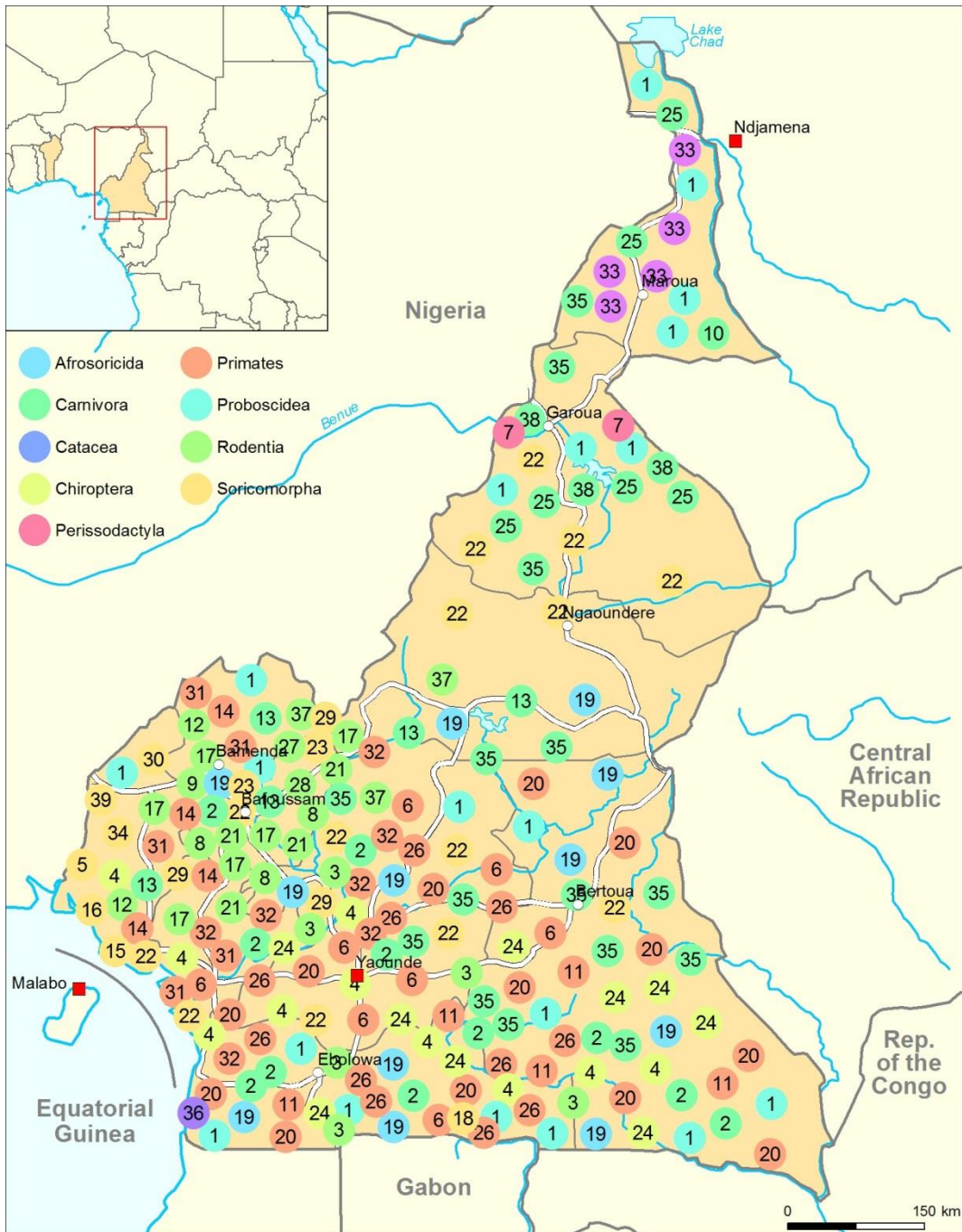
1700 and 3000 mm annually and an average temperature of 19, 4°C. The shrub savannas of these regions are dominated by *Daniella oliveri* and *Lophira lanceolata* and the grass savannas by *Imperata cylindrica* and *Pennisetum purpureum* (MOLUA and LAMBI 2006: 7; MINEF 1997: 9)(3): The marine and coastal ecosystem consists of mangroves and tropical rain forest with warm and humid climate and an average of rainfall of 5000 mm per year and temperature variation between 24 to 26°C. This zone is characterized by unevenly distributed vegetation full with 350 species of lianas and climber, 8 species of ferns, 15 species of mosses such as *Rhizophora racemosa*, *Rhizophora harrisonii*, *Rhizophora mangle*, *Avicennia germinans*, *Langunculari racemosa*, *Conocarpus erecrus*, and introduced species such as *Nypa fruticans*. Trees' species present in the coastal forests include species such as *Saccoglottis gabonesis*, *Andira inermis*, *Cynometra hankei*, *Coula edulis*, *Pycnanthus angolensis* and an abundance of *Lophira alata* (MOLUA and LAMBI 2006: 8; MINEF 1997: 9; GEF 2011: 9).

(4): The tropical forest zone covers to up to 46, 6 % of its national area by forest with nearly 182 000 km² and has an area extension of 17, 5 million ha. It includes coastal forests, Biafran forests, semi-deciduous forest, swamp/flood forests and Congolese forests. It covers the South West, Littoral, Center, Eastern and Southern regions. The average of rainfall is 4028 mm in these regions (MOLUA and LAMBI 2006: 8; MINEF 1997: 9; VERBELEN 1999: 10; TAKEM, KAFFO and FISH 2010: 232).

The fact that Cameroon is located near the equator explains why the country hosts a very rich biodiversity with high degree of endemism. 409 Mammals species have been identified with 14 endemic ones (See Map 12) for their natural and zoological distribution). Areas with high biodiversity values in Cameroon include Mt Cameroon, the Bioko montane forests areas, the Cross-Sanaga-Bioko coastal forests, and the Cameroon highlands' forest (UNEP 2006: 229).

Covering Elements	Area km²)	%
Total Area of Territory	475 446	100
Total Land Area	465 412	97,9
Semi Arid	102 068	21,2
Wooded Savannah	101 992	21
Coastal and Maritime Zone	9,67	1
Tropical Forest Zone	394,7	82,5
Land under Cultivation	19668	3
Stretch of Coastline	402	
Protected Area Coverage	115 000	24,2

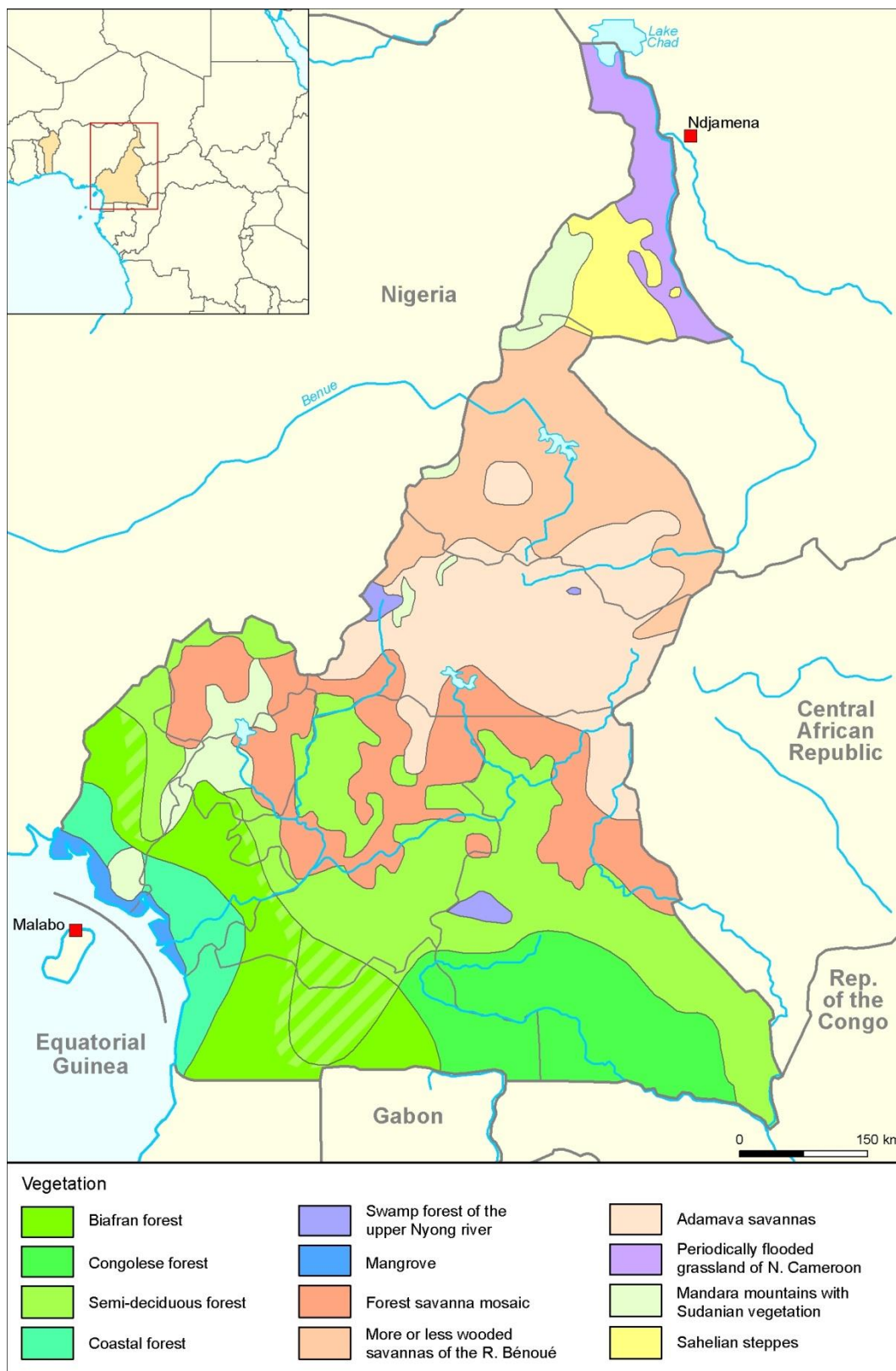
Table: 11 : Land cover in Cameroon, Source: MEPN (2009b)



1 African Elephant	<i>Loxodonta africana</i>	21 Hartwig's Soft-Furred Mouse	<i>Praomys hartwigi</i>
2 African Golden Cat	<i>Profelis aurata</i>	22 Hun Shrew	<i>Crocidura attila</i>
3 African Pygmy Squirrel	<i>Myosciurus pumilio</i>	23 Isabella Shrew	<i>Sylvisorex isabellae</i>
4 Allen's Striped Bat	<i>Chalinolobus alboguttatus</i>	24 Ja Slit-faced Bat	<i>Nycteris major</i>
5 Arrogant Shrew	<i>Sylvisorex morio</i>	25 Lion	<i>Panthera leo</i>
6 Black Colobus	<i>Colobus satanas</i>	26 Mandrill	<i>Mandrillus sphinx</i>
7 Black Rhinoceros	<i>Diceros bicornis</i>	27 Mittendorf's Striped Grass Mouse	<i>Lemniscomys mittendorfi</i>
8 Cameroon Climbing Mouse	<i>Dendromus oreas</i>	28 Mount. Oku Rat	<i>Lamottemys okuensis</i>
9 Cameroon Soft-furred Mouse	<i>Praomys morio</i>	29 Oku Mouse Shrew	<i>Myosorex okuensis</i>
10 Cheetah	<i>Acinonyx jubatus</i>	30 Pitch Shrew	<i>Crocidura picea</i>
11 Chimpanzee	<i>Pan troglodytes</i>	31 Preuss's Monkey	<i>Cercopithecus preussi</i>
12 Cooper's Mountain Squirrel	<i>Paraxerus cooperi</i>	32 Red-eared Guenon	<i>Cercopithecus erythrotis</i>
13 Crested Genet	<i>Genetta cristata</i>	33 Red-fronted Gazelle	<i>Gazella rufifrons</i>
14 Drill	<i>Mandrillus leucophaeus</i>	34 Rumpi mouse shrew	<i>Myosorex rumpii</i>
15 Eisentraut's Mouse Shrew	<i>Myosorex eisentrauti</i>	35 Spotted-necked Otter	<i>Lutra maculicollis</i>
16 Eisentraut's Shrew	<i>Crocidura eisentrauti</i>	36 West African Manatee	<i>Trichechus senegalensis</i>
17 Eisentraut's Striped Mouse	<i>Hybomys eisentrauti</i>	37 Western Vlei Rat	<i>Otomys occidentalis</i>
18 Gabon Dwarf Shrew	<i>Suncus remyi</i>	38 Wild Dog	<i>Lycaon pictus</i>
19 Giant African Otter Shrew	<i>Potamogale velox</i>	39 Wimmer's Shrew	<i>Crocidura wimmeri</i>
20 Gorilla	<i>Gorilla gorilla</i>		

Map 12: Natural and zoological distribution of mammals in Cameroon

Draft: Tchigankong Noubissié
Cartography: Diehl



Map 13: Vegetation types in Cameroon

Draft: Tchigankong Noubissié
Cartography: Diehl

In summary, Cameroon, in contrast to Benin is a richly endowed country as far as vegetation matters are concerned. FAO (1985) argues that more than 8000 species of high plants were registered in this country, which also possesses a great quantity of softwood and other timber species used for social, economic, cultural and ecological purposes.

5.1.2. Roles and functions of natural resources in Cameroon

Just as in Benin, Cameroon is full of variety of flora and wildlife species, which are useful for food, timber, fuel, medicine, and for cultural practices and several social functions.

5.1.2.1. Socio-cultural roles and functions of natural resources in Cameroon

There are many different ethnic groups in Cameroon. More than 206 small groups that have been grouped in major groups presented in map 14. The Sawa, Bassa-Bakoko, Bakweri, Beti, Ewondo, Boulou, and Fang belong to the Bantu family. The Tikar, Gbaya, Bamileke are ranged in the semi-bantu family and the Kirdi, Arabs, and Fulani to the Sudanese Family. The pygmies belong to a special distinct group that refused to be included into the Bantu family and is itself divided into several sub-groups with the Bakas as the largest followed by the Bagyeli and the Bedzang (CED 2008). They are considered as the first settlers of Cameroon (Fearon and Laitin 2005, Barbier 1981). All those groups have developed a variety of behaviors, activities and cultures related to natural resources. From a contrastive analysis of the map of vegetation covers and ethnical repartition in Cameroon, it can be observed that Bakweri in Southwestern Cameroon, Bulu, Fang, Gbaya, Beti in Center and Southeastern and a part of Sawa people (Marine and Coastal) live in forestry areas.

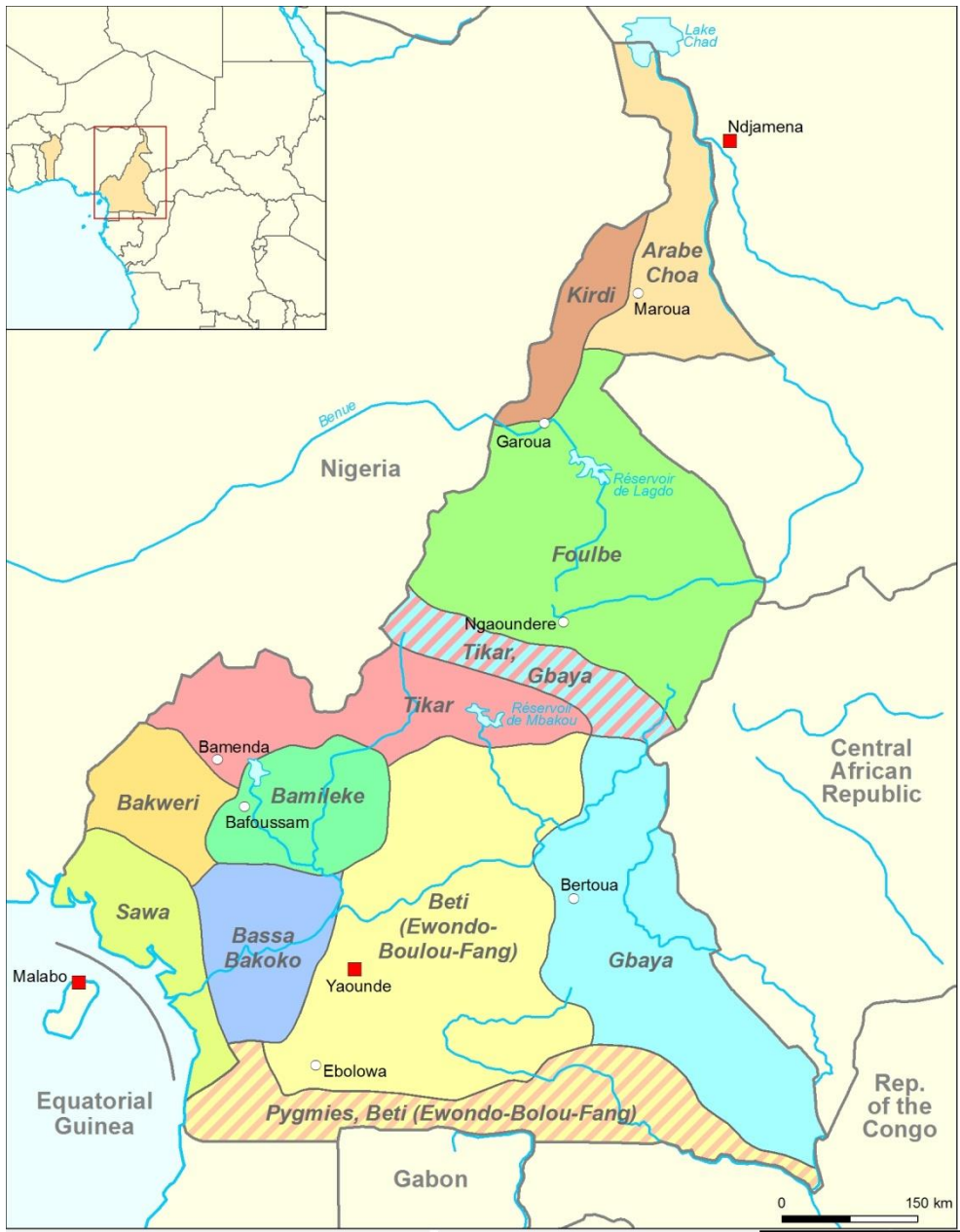
As far as social uses of forests are concerned, DJEUKAM, GERBER and VEUTHEY (2009) argue that forested areas are the home of four million persons in Cameroon mostly the Bantu and the “Pygmies” who populate mainly the rain forests areas. They all depend on forests and forest resources for their livelihood. Forest provides them food, medicines, and construction and equipment materials. According to MBAIRAMADJI (2009), a great difference exists in the forest perception of both “Pygmies” and Bantu. While 51% of Bantu perceives forests as a source of wealth, the “Pygmies” do not share this point of view and look at forest mostly (73, 4%) as living environment (only 8, 5 % of Bantu share this perception). In addition, 40,1 % of Bantu look at forest as a source of food in contrast to 26,6 % of “Pygmies”. Moreover, the forest sector employed 163 000 persons in 2006 with 13 000 people involved in forest exploitation (BELE, SOMORIN, SONWA, NDI NKEM and LOCATELLI 2011: 2).

Forests resources are used both by the Bantu and the “pygmies” for medicinal purposes found in almost all forestry areas in Cameroon. The main used plants are *Albizia zygia*, *Alstonia boonei*, *Canarium schweinfurthii*, *Ditronconanhus benthamianus*, *Entandrophragma utile*, *Enantia chlorantha*, *Garcinia afzelia*, *Acacia kamerunensis*, *Teclea verdoorniana*, *Massularia acuminata*, *Morinda lucida*, *Fagara zanthoxyloides*, etc. Parts of those trees such as leaves, roots or barks are used to treat several ailments, such as chest and abdominal pains and cough, as well as toothaches and fevers (FALCONER 1990, LAIRD 1999, BWO* 2010: 404, INTERVIEW WITH BAKA PYGMIES in Mbang Vol. 2.: 402). By the Bambuko in the southwest region of Cameroon, several plants such as *Afromomum* spp. and trees species such as *Annickia chlorantha*, *Ceiba pentandra*, *Baillonella toxisperma*, *Garcinia kola*, *Garcinia mannii* are mostly used for medical purposes such as complication during delivery, malaria and others (LIWOTO II*: 349, NEBA NDENECHO 2011).

In Cameroon, 82, 6% of households depend on wood used as fuelwood. In fact, an annual consumption estimation of 586 kg/habitants in fuelwood used has been registered in Cameroon (POUNA 1999). This huge dependence is explained by the fact that several households still depend on traditional wood burning stoves which require a large amount of wood (SCHURE, MARIEN, WASSEIGE, DRIGO, SALBITANO, DIROU 2012: 112).

MOLUA MESSE* (2010: 335) argues that forests play great social and cultural role in the whole Mt Cameroon area by providing and timber used to build houses, and medicinal plants required to cure several diseases (mostly *Prunus Africana*).

As far as wildlife is concerned, similar to Benin, 50, 66 % of Cameroonian use bushmeat in order to fulfill their needs in proteins. This dependence is higher in rural areas where it reaches 79%. In urban areas, bushmeat is considered as a luxury product and are mostly preferred to farming animals. The FAO estimates that 33, 1 kg of meat is consumed in Cameroon with 8,8% of this bushmeat (see figure 36). Therefore, bushmeat is a crucial component of food security in Cameroon (VAN VLIET, NASI, ABERETHY, FARGEOT, KÜMPEL OBIANG and RINGUET 2012: 127; NASI, TABER and VAN VLIET 2011).



Draft: Tchigankong Noubissié
Cartography: Diehl

Map 14: Principal distribution of ethnic groups in Cameroon

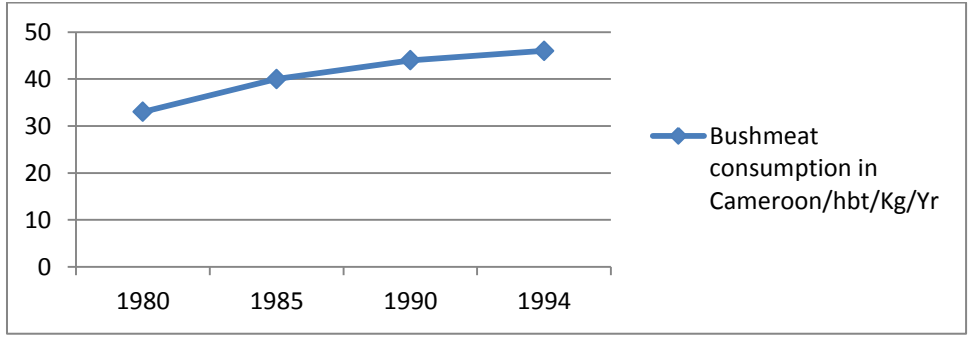


Figure 35 : Bushmeat consumption in Cameroon (own presentation from NTIAMOA-BAIDU 1998)

As far as cultural matters are concerned, the same divergences are also perceptible. “Pygmies” look at forests as a quiet place that to keep them safe from harmful village complexities.

Forests are considered as places of refuge for ancestral spirits. The Bulu have a bad cultural perception of forests, considering them to be a dangerous area full of witches and bad spirits, mostly after the sunset (BERG and BIESBROUCK 2000: 15-16).

The Beti perceive forests as the realm of the dead. In fact, they have for a long time considered forests as cemetery and trees such as iroko (*Melicia excelsa*) and Kapok tree (*Ceiba pentandra*) were used as burial points (LABURTHE-TOLRA 1981: 301). The Fang in southern Cameroon shares some common point of view and consider forests as a “temple” and site of initiation ceremonies and several forests species such as iboga (*Tabernanthe iboga*) considered as the house of God (Falconer 1990). The same trees [(*Melicia excelsa*) and (*Ceiba pentandra*)] and other such as the *Picnanthus angolensis*, *Euphorbia trigona* have the same connotations by the Sawa and the Bakweri and are used for divination and other social purposes such as keeping away bad spirits and keeping in touch with ancestors (ROSNY 1981: 115; ARDENER 1996; LIWOTO II*: 351; NEBA NDENECHO 2011)

5.1.2.2. The economic and ecological roles and functions of natural resources in Cameroun

The importance of Cameroonian forests resources has been already highlighted in the former point since it has been proven that the country is endowed with 22, 8 million ha of forests (2nd in Africa). Those forests are endowed with 300 marketable trees species but only some sixty of those species have been already subjected to exploitation. It is argued that *Triplochiton scleroxylon* (ayous), *Entandrophragma cylindricum* (sapelli), *Lophira alata* (azobe), *Terminalia superba* (Fraké) and *Erythrophloeum ivorense* (Tali) are the most exported trees species in Cameroon (figure 37) (VALETTE and DUHESME 2005: 5).

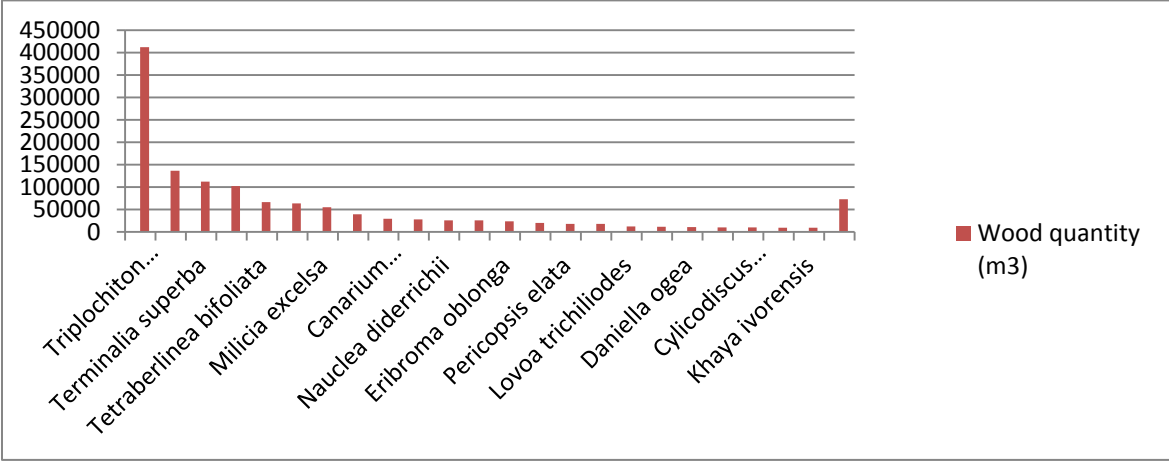


Figure 36 : Wood exports from Cameroon by species (own presentation from Laird 1999)

The forest sector is the second largest export sector in Cameroon after oil, it represents 15% of total export of a value of 300 million euro and contributes to 6, 5 % of GDP. Almost 300 000 has of forests has been exploited in Cameroon for a global volume of 300 million euro in 2010 of logs exportation and 26 million euro of taxes (WTO 2013:147).

In fact, forest exploitation is ensured by some hundred forests concessions actives in the Center, South, East Littoral and Southwest region regions (MINEF 1996:74).

The forest sector is one of the main important economic pillars of Cameroon in terms of exportations and job creation.

In addition, the Cameroonian timber industry is claimed to be one of the most developed one in Africa. Several sawmills as well industrial woodworking companies are registered in several cities. The wood industry sector is however dominated by foreign big industrial and private groups which owns large timber concessions commonly called Forest Management Units (FMUs) (KOFFI 2005:3). Most of those companies are exploiting, processing and exporting forest products. Their principal exported products include sawn timber, veneer sheets (12%) and unprocessed wood in the form of logs (6%) (WTO 2013: 149). These logging companies provide 70 % of Cameroon revenues in the forest sector and are active over an estimated area of 6 381 684 has (BAYOL, DEMARQUEZ, WASSEIGE, EBA´A ATYI, FISHER, NASI, PASQUIER, ROSSI, STEIL and VIVIEN 2012: 44).

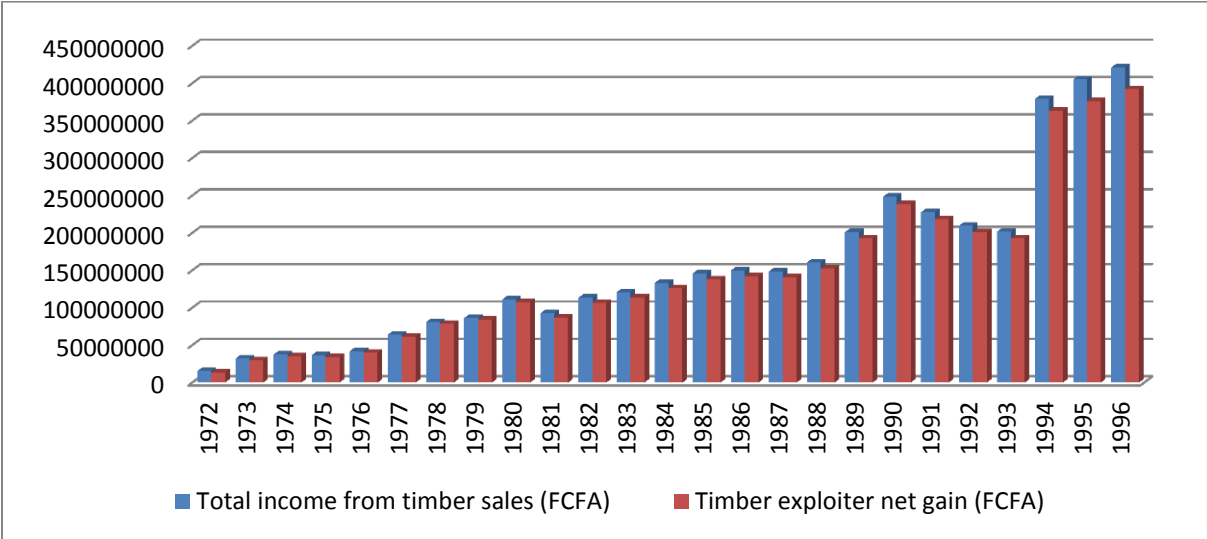


Figure 37 : Income from timber exploitation in Cameroon

As illustrated in figure 38, forest exploitation is a source of great income for forest exploiters in Cameroon. These logging companies are strongly involved in timber harvesting and are foreign-owned to 63% and 36 % by domestic structures and 1% by mixed enterprises with an

average of production estimated to 1 724 091, 997 952 and 30 802 m³ respectively (EBA´A ATYI 1998).

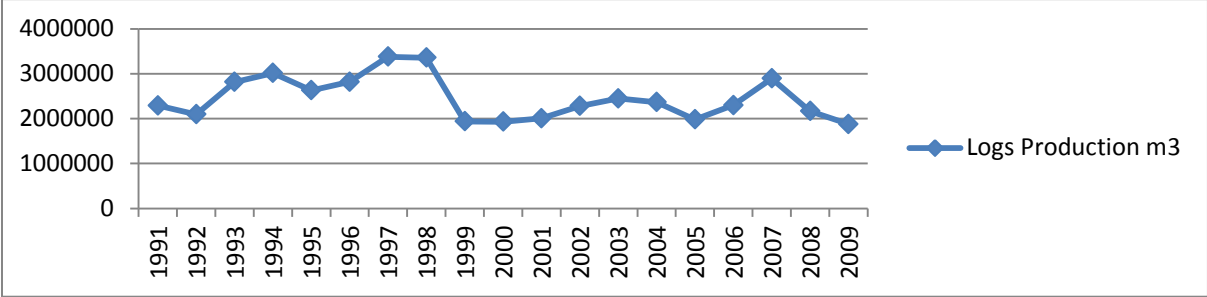


Figure 38 : Log production in Cameroon (own presentation from BAYOL, DEMARQUEZ, WASSEIGE, EBA´A ATYI, FISHER, NASI, PASQUIER, ROSSI, STEIL and VIVIEN 2012: 55)

This predominance of foreign enterprises over domestic ones in terms of production capabilities and facilities includes also the wood processing sector whose number is estimated to 26 sawmills, 4 rotary cut and 4 plywood mills owned by foreigners whose largest unit production capacity of 168 000 m³ compared with 10 000 for smallest units. National own only 20 sawmills and 1 rotary-cut veneer which can for largest production units of only 50 000 and 5000 for smallest ones (EBA´A ATYI 1998).

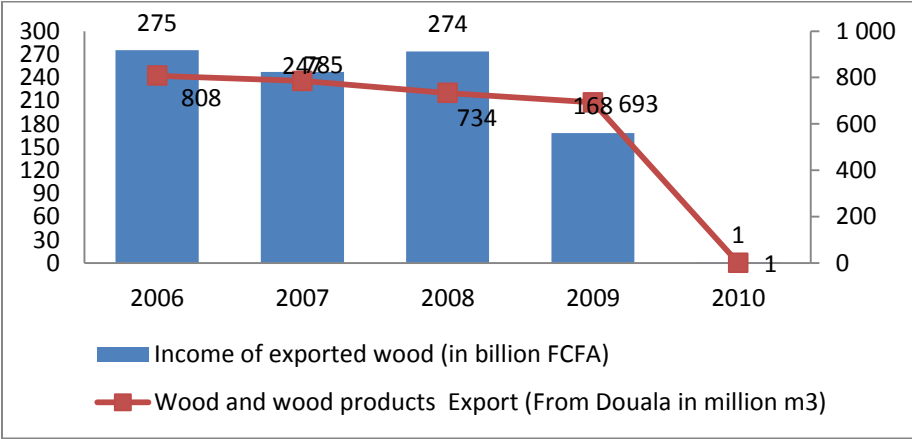


Figure 39 : Income from wood export in Cameroon (own presentation from INS 2011)

From all this information, it could be deduced that timber-exploiting sector in Cameroon is an outwardly focused and dominated by foreign companies mostly European ones as illustrated in table 13. Moreover, the groups Vicwood, Rougier, Wijma and Alpicam are the owners of the largest sawmills and produce veneer sheets that they export without processing before 1999. This situation has enabled them to realize great benefits related to the wood processing. The principal national beneficiary of this timber exploitative activity is the Cameroonian government since these concessions contribute to national economy by providing 2500 FCFA

by Sale of Standing Volume licenses by ha (~ 4 €), 1500 FCFA (~ 3 €)/ha for logging concession and the same price for logging licenses by ha. In addition, the amount of taxes related to this sector of activity was estimated to 18 948 805.33 USD in 1993 and grew to 60 402 604.90 USD in 1994, and 60 918 147.07 USD in 1995 (EBA´A ATYI 1998).

In 2013, 115 sales of standing volume for an estimated area of 244 548 ha were allocated in Cameroon (EBA´A ATYI, LESCUYER and POUFOUN 2013). These amounts added up to 33 million USD in 2001 (AMAREI 2005) and 79 524 912 USD in 2005 (BELE, SOMORIN, SONWA, NDI NKEM and LOCATELLI 2011: 2). However, some 800 small wood processing enterprises are active in Cameroon and they are confronted to huge difficulties in term of competition with foreign companies (KOFFI 2005).

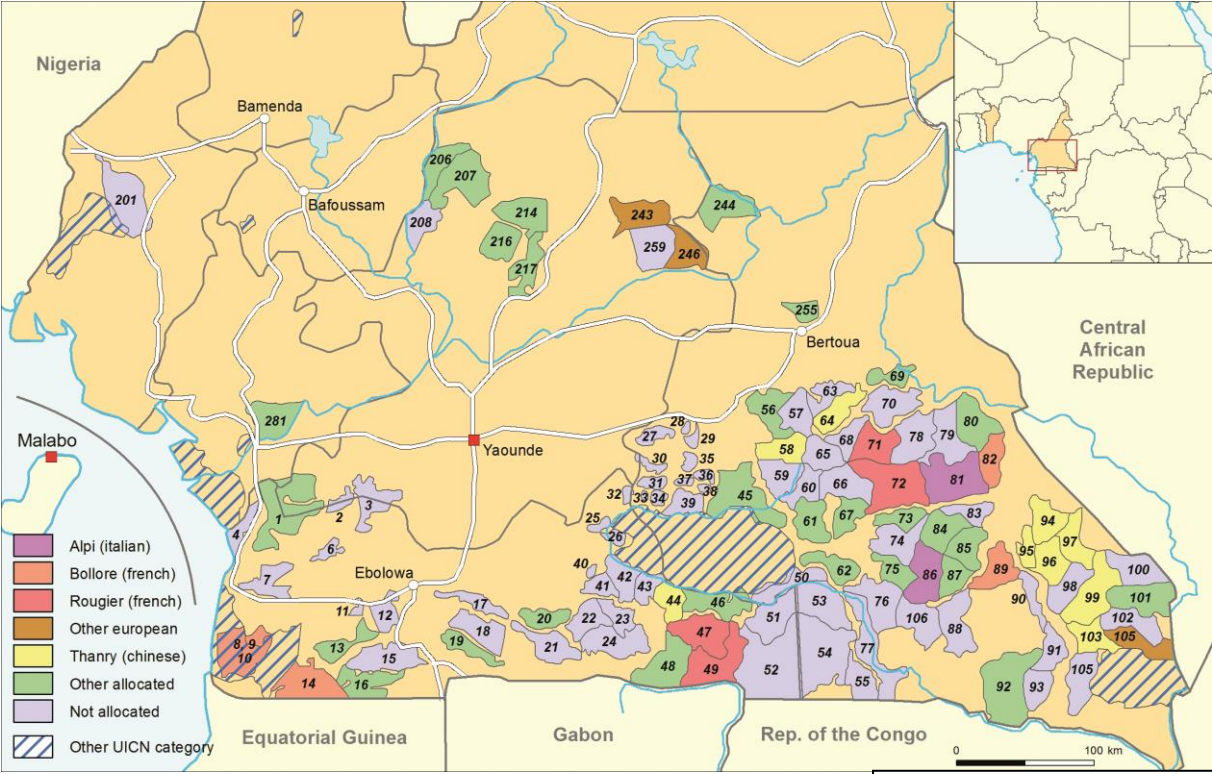
In fact, the turnover of sales in the industrial lumber category reached 776 148 436, 56 USD a year, while the turnover of artisanal logging activities oriented towards neighboring countries and the domestic market is estimated to 136 769 940,71 USD (EBA´A ATYI, LESCUYER and POUFOUN 2013).

Groups	Nationalities	Subsidiaries	Total Area (ha)
ALPI	Italian	Alpicam	305 000
		Grumcam	
BOLLORE	French	HFC	297555
		SIBAF	
PASQUET	French	Pallisco	342 000
		SABE	
ROUGIER	French	SFID	700 000
		Cambois	
		TIB	
VICWOOD/ Thanry	French/Chinese	SEBC	767 135
		SAB	
		J Prenant	
		CFC	
		Propalm	
		CIBC	
VASTO LEGNO	Italian	SEBAC	411 872
		SEFAC	
WIJMA KAMPEN	Netherlands	Wijma	208 650
		CFK	

PATRICE BOIS	Italian	COFA	367 282
		GAU SERVICES	
		CAFECO	
REEF	Netherlands	TRC	253 805
		SEPFECO	
KHOURY	Liban	EFMK	238 192
		RC CORON	
		SN COCAM	
TTS	Italian	SFB	189 014
		SFCS	
		TTS	
DECOLVENAERE	Belgium	SFIL	187 034
		SOTREF	
		Green Valley	
FOKOU	Cameroonian	SCTB	170 572
DANZER	German	MMG	162 268
PANAGIOTIS MARELIS	Greece	Panagiotis Marelis	148 642
FIPCAM	Italian	FIPCAM	146 256
ING F	Cameroonian	ING F	136 465
		SCIFO	
STBK	Cameroonian	STBK	134 762
SIM	Italian	SIM	131 598
		INC	
		SFDB	
PLACAM	Italian	PLACAM	120 062
CPPC	Cameroonian	CPPC	91 489
SCIEB	Cameroonian	SCIEB	88 276
PMF WOOD	cameroonian	PMF WOOD	71 518
BUBINGA	Cameroonian	Bubinga	58 220
CCIF	Cameroonian	CCIF	47 170
STJJY	Cameroonian	STJJY	44 975
SIBM	Cameroonian	SIBM	35 035
SEEF	Cameroonian	SEEF	29 365
EFFA JBP	Cameroonian	EFFA JBP	25 517

Table 12 : Principal investors and loggers in Cameroon

As far as fuelwood is concerned, Cameroon produces 11, 4 millions with 240 000 tons of charcoal and 301 000 tons of chips and sawdust annually for a global income of 380 million dollars. However, this sector still lacks some regulations from the Cameroonian government (SCHURE, MARIEN, WASSEIGE, DRIGO, SALBITANO, DIROU 2012: 112).



Draft: Modified from Forest Monitor
Cartography: Diehl

Map 15: Principal foreign forests concessions and FMUs allocation in Cameroon

Near wood exploitation and transformation, NTFPs are also of great importance in income generating activities for both the Cameroonian government and private investors. More than 500 plants and 82 animals’ species are used in Cameroon as NTFPs. Most of them have a multiple usage and are used for food needs and medicinal uses (table 13) (INGRAM, NDOYE, IPONGA, TIEGUHONG and NASI 2012 in DE WASSEIGE et al: 141). Timber exploitation (export to Cameroonian neighboring countries) of these products enable an income production estimated to 1 726 536 309 USD in 1997. Rural communities were able to earn 2, 9 millions of USD through the exportation of *Gnetum spp* and 700 000 USD from the export of *Prunus africana* to EU countries in 1999. However, the transformation of the *Prunus Africana* by European pharmaceutical allowed those companies to earn 200 million USD in 1999 (FAO 2009). The exploitation of *Pausinystalia johimbe* allowed the Cameroonian government to earn 4 194 482. 26 USD in 1997 (STATHACOS 1999: 29). The exploitation of *Laccosperma secundiflorum* is a source of income for several households in forested areas in Cameroon which earn 94. 38 USD a month by logger and 125.83 USD for the exploitation of *Irvingia*

gabonensis (DEFO 2005: 90). Finally, the Cameroonian forest department earns an average of 367 017. 20 USD with the marketing of *Strophantus gratus* annually (Guedje, Fokunang, Jiofack and Dongmo 2010: 1353).

It could be observed that, the medicinal and nutritious values of NTFPs give them a great economic value and empower all involved actors in Cameroon, from the government to the local population.

Common names	Scientific names	Uses	Price
Okok/eru	Gnetum spp	Food, medicinal	1500 CFAF/Kg
Gum Arabic	Acacia spp	Food for humans and cattle, medicinal	1 500 FCFA/kg
Yohimbé	Pausinystalia johimbe	Foodstuff, medicinal	280 CFA/Kg
Pygeum	Prunus africana	Medicinal	660 CFA/kg
Andok	Irvingia gabonensis	Medicinal (Obesity)	
Bitter cola	Garcinia cola	Food, medicinal	500 CFA/kg
Cola	Cola spp	Medicinal	300 CFAF/Kg
Voacanga	Voacanga africana	Medicinal	70,6 CFAF/Kg of seeds
Funtumia	Funtumia elastica	Medicinal (anti-inflammatory and antimicrobial)	800 CFAF/Kg
Strophantus	Strophantus gratus	Medicinal (nervousness, palpitations)	
Rattan wooden	Laccosperma secundiflorum	Design and decoration	200 CFAF/anchors
Quinquina	Cinchona succirubra	Medicinal (Malaria)	425 CFAF/Kg
Cashew nuts	Khaya spp	Food, Medicinal (stomach and intestinal)	60 CFAF/Kg
Rauvolfia	Rauvolfia vomitoria	Food, medicinal	210 CFAF/Kg

Allanblackia	Allanblackia floribunda	Medicinal	142 CFAF/liter
Esie	Garcinia manii	Medicinal, rituals, tooth aches	100 F CFA/anchors

Table 13 : Main authorized NTFP by the Cameroonian government in 2005

The last source of economic value is wildlife in Cameroon, which could be valued by both eco-touristic activities and commercialization of bushmeat.

As far as bushmeat sales are concerned, this sector provides more than 41 324 660 USD every year in urban areas and 33 777 854, 34 USD of sales in rural areas while the income of traditional village hunting reaches 77 614 843, 66 USD (EBA´A ATYI, LESCUYER and POUFOUN 2013).

Concerning ecotourism, the annual turnover of hunting game in Cameroon is evaluated to 16 362 048.12 USD and eco-touristic activities contribute to 2 747, 99 USD to public expenditures and have an annual added value of 3 503, 16 USD (ibid).

Ecological values related to Cameroonian forests and wildlife could be raised in terms of carbon sequestration for forest and endemic species for wildlife as presented in figure 41 and table 14. Cameroonian forests represent the second tropical humid forest biome of the Congo Basin and contribute therefore to the stability of the world's ecological balance. They have complete multi-functions such as the prevention of land/soil degradation, watershed protection and by absorbing CO₂ (BELE, SOMORIN, SONWA, NDI NKEM and LOCATELLI 2011: 4).

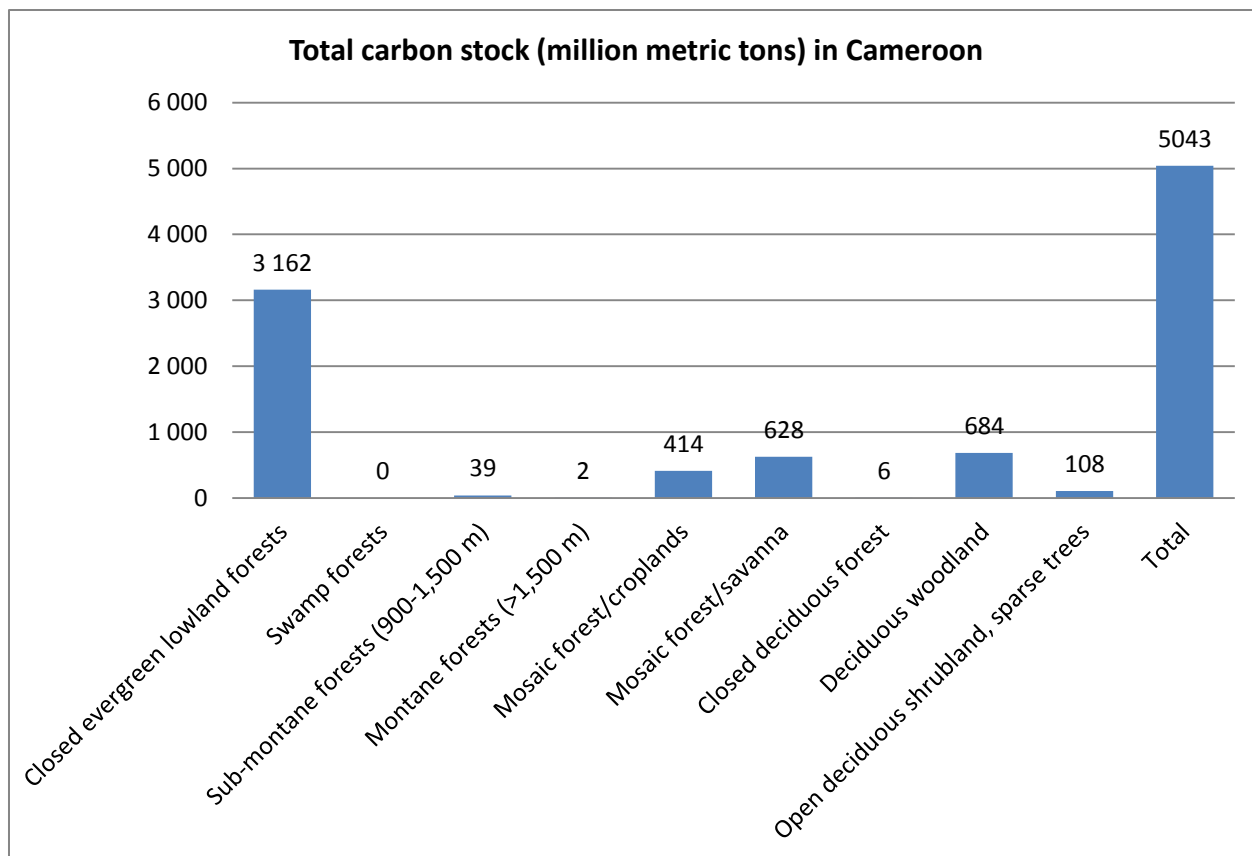


Figure 40 : Carbon stock by ecological types in Cameroon (own presentation from NASI, MAYAUX, DEVERS, BAYOL, EBA'A ATYL, MUGNIER, CASSAGNE, BILLAND and SONWA 2009: 201)

	<u>Species</u>	<u>Scientific Names</u>	<u>Observation</u>
CR	Black Rhinoceros	Diceros bicornis	
	Eisentraut's Shrew	Crocidura eisentrauti	Endemic to Cameroon
	Pitch Shrew	Crocidura picea	Endemic to Cameroon
	Rumpi Mouse Shrew	Myosorex rumpii	Endemic to Cameroon
EN	Arrogant Shrew	Sylvisorex morio	Endemic to Cameroon
	Chimpanzee	Pan troglodytes	
	Crested Genet	Genetta cristata	
	Drill	Mandrillus leucophaeus	
	Eisentraut's Mouse Shrew	Myosorex eisentrauti	
	Eisentraut's Striped Mouse	(Hybomys eisentrauti).	Endemic to Cameroon
	Giant African Water Shrew	Potamogale velox	
	Gorilla	Gorilla gorilla	
	Hartweg's Soft-furred Mouse	Praomys hartwigi Lemniscomys	
	Mittendorf's Striped Grass Mouse	mittendorfi	Endemic to Cameroon
	Mt. Oku Rat	Lamottemys okuensis	Endemic to Cameroon
	Preuss's Monkey (or Preuss's Guenon)	Cercopithecus preussi	
	Western Vlei Rat	Otomys occidentalis	

	Wild Dog	<i>Lycaon pictus</i>	
	Wimmer's Shrew	<i>Crocidura wimmeri</i>	
VU	African Elephant	<i>Loxodonta africana</i>	
	African Golden Cat	<i>Profelis aurata</i>	
	African Pygmy Squirrel	<i>Myosciurus pumilio</i>	
	Allen's Striped Bat	<i>Chalinolobus alboguttatus</i>	
	Black Colobus	<i>Colobus satanas</i>	
	Cameroon Climbing Mouse	<i>Dendromus oreas</i>	Endemic to Cameroon
	Cameroon Soft-furred Mouse	<i>Praomys morio</i>	Endemic to Cameroon
	Cheetah	<i>Acinonyx jubatus</i>	
	Cooper's Mountain Squirrel	<i>Paraxerus cooperi</i>	Endemic to Cameroon
	Hun Shrew	<i>Crocidura attila</i>	
	Isabella Shrew	<i>Sylvisorex isabellae</i>	
	Ja Slit-faced Bat	<i>Nycteris major</i>	
	Lion	<i>Panthera leo</i>	
	Mandrill	<i>Mandrillus sphinx</i>	
	Oku Mouse Shrew	<i>Myosorex okuensis</i>	(Endemic to Cameroon.)
	Red-eared Guenon	<i>Cercopithecus erythrotis</i>	
	Red-fronted Gazelle	<i>Gazella rufifrons</i>	
Spotted-necked Otter	<i>Lutra maculicollis</i>		
West African Manatee	<i>Trichechus senegalensis</i>		
Other endemic species	False Potto	<i>Pseudopotto martini</i>	
	Preuss's Red Colobus	<i>Piliocolobus preussi</i>	
	Mount Oku Brush-furred Rat	<i>Lophuromys dieterleni</i>	
	Mount Lefo Brush-furred Rat	<i>Lophuromys eisentrauti</i>	
	Mount Cameroon Brush-furred Rat	<i>Lophuromys roseveari</i>	
	Cameroon Highland Hybomys	<i>Hybomys badius</i>	
	Mount Oku Hylomyscus	<i>Hylomyscus grandis</i>	
	Mittendorf's Lemniscomys	<i>Lemniscomys mittendorfi</i>	
Burton's Vlei Rat	<i>Otomys burtoni</i>		

Table 14 : Endemic mammals in Cameroon

In summary, forests and wildlife in Cameroon provide many goods and services to the local population (80%), government, and private companies involved in this sector. They play a great role in the reduction of monetary poverty and securing food security through the use and exploitation of NTFPs and wildlife valuation. However, their management is facing strong constraints and challenges as in Benin.

5.1.3. Constraints and challenges of natural resources management in Cameroon

Since Cameroon is richly endowed with several quantities of forested areas, wildlife and endemic species of mammals, the management of these resources is confronted by high challenges and constraints that will be divided into two main parts and discussed in the following lines.

5.1.3.1. Ecological and institutional challenges

As far as ecological challenges are concerned and in regard to forests and wildlife management in Cameroon, it could be observed that the country has been subjected to strong climate perturbations since 1960. BELE et al (2011) argue that the rainfall decreased to 2 % since that time and that several Cameroonian landscape affected by fluctuations of climate changes. This situation has strengthened forest fragmentation, loss of habitats and has brought serious consequences on species of flora and fauna (figure 42).

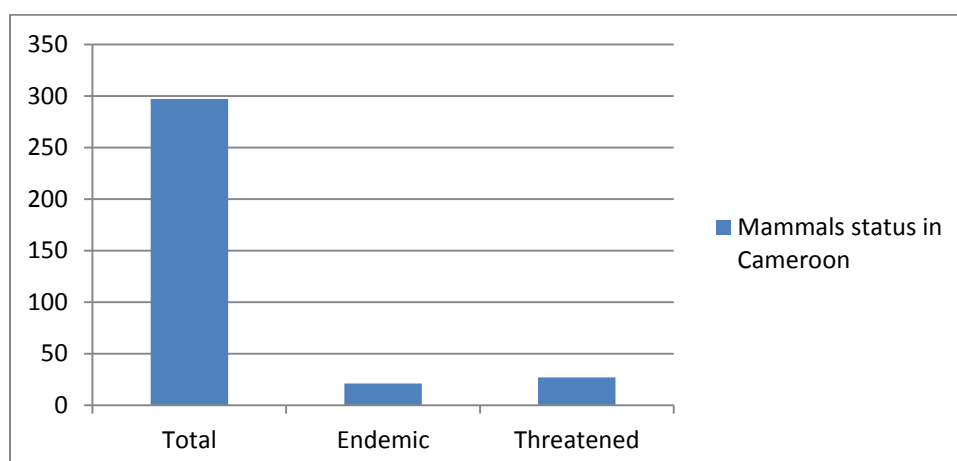


Figure 41 : Mammal status in Cameroon (own presentation modified from GEF 2009:16)

Institutional constraints related to forests and wildlife management in Cameroon, are in turn related to bad governance of forests and its associated capacity shortages, corruption, administrative slowness in the implementation of related laws (DKAMELA 2011).

As far as capacity shortages are concerned, the lack of forestry and wildlife monitors and the bad management of personnel, who prefer to work in huge cities and regions as evidenced in table 16, is one of the huge challenges. In fact, one might ask why one person could be affected to watch over an area of 20859 ha while in some other areas, another person should watch over only 31 ha.

Another aspect related to the bad governance of the forest sector in Cameroon the lack of transparency in the implementation of set regulations. As observed by GLOBAL WITNESS (2013), the Cameroonian government is not making any substantial effort in order to implement the policies and regulation that it has published. According to this report, the lack of governmental engagement in the following-up of environmental policy at the field level explains why several illegal activities could be observed in forests exploitation at the national level. This idea is confirmed by MAMBO* (2010: 323) who asserts that structural constraints in forest administration in Cameroon are worsening the situation of forest and wildlife management. The strong centralization of decision-making procedure in Yaounde, the capital city, slows the implementation of projects and programs at the regional and local level. This has a strong impact on efficiency in delivering of services.

Furthermore, institutional challenges related to forests management in Cameroon has led to the fact that several forests management projects and programs are often in strong contradiction with other environmental sectors. This lack of institutional coordination has lead to the fact that forest conservation and exploitation issues are often abandoned at the expense of some agricultural activities. The best example to illustrate this case is the fact that the government in Cameroon has given up several has of forestry area to the Herackles Farm Company, which is now threatening the clearance of more than 90 has of forests area in the South-West region.

From the administrative perspective, TOPA, KARSENTY, MEGEVAND and DEBROUX (2010) argue that, although the Cameroonian government has undertaken several political reforms in the forest sector, these reforms are still not completed. There is administrative slowness at the political level as well as at the field implementation level, due to the fact that, implementing agents do not always know which reform has to be followed-up. Furthermore, the poor working conditions of forestry officials who are confronted to constant slower wages and salaries (100 USD/month) worsens the situation. These officials are often offered very large sums of money (thousands of dollars) from people and companies involved in this sector and who/which would like or is undertaking any illegal actions in this regard and give way to temptation to corruption (WRI quoted by TOPA et al 2010: 19). Forestry official are confronted to undeveloped monitoring capabilities that make them vulnerable to any kinds of exactions (DKAMELA 2011:17). TOPA et al. conclude therefore that: "Cameroon's forests were integral to its well-organized political patronage system, fueled by corruption and vested

interests” (2010: 21). This idea is enforced by Transparency international, which argues that the forest sector in Cameroon is “one of the country poles of corruption” (quoted by IBID).

	East	South	Center	Littoral	Southwest
State's official (person)	116	115	232	167	163
Concession area (ha)	2419601	759949	640803	51160	5000
Concession area by official (ha)	20859	6608	2762	306	31

Table 15 : Management of forests concession by state officials

Source : Global Forest Watch Cameroon 2000: 48

Bad governance of forest is also associated to the marginalization of local population in the decision-making procedures on forests and wildlife issues. OYONO (2005a) asserts that the relation between state and local communities over land and forests are marked by conflict of language and fight for the appropriation of resources they both claim rights and powers to. Governance of forests resources in Cameroon is based on a strong confrontation between the social and the political system. While the former looks at forest as a mean of territorial identity and as a stock of subsistence, the latter might look at it as a national property whose revenues belong foremost to the national state (YEPMO* 2010: 313). Therefore, a matter of perception appears between officials and local population who often develop some resistance to the set rules.

As NGUIFFO (2001) argues, the government’s motivation for forest management is the industrial exploitation of wood and its profitability for the State. This results in the coupling of forest management in Cameroon with the accumulation of private wealth, which does not always have positive consequence on local and national development in terms of social and public infrastructures (NGUIFFO IN FOREST MONITOR 2001).

The huge amount of money produced in the forest sector has made it one of the most important sectors of exercise of power among numerous people and state’s machinery. In fact, as NGUIFFO claims (2001), a large number of national and local elites are involved in the forest industry in Cameroon. Their involvement in this sector is motivated by their desire to enjoy the spin-offs of their political and administrative status closed to the management of this sector. The consequence of this phenomenon is that, the powerful people have more and more right over the resource at the expense of the weaker ones.

Finally, the lack of regulation in the forestry sector has enabled the spread of the informal sector (61%) that is thriving forests activities outside the control of the states. The result is that, the Cameroonian government loses almost 14 683 889, 34 USD every year (CERUTTI and LESCUYER 2011). Therefore, 75 % of timber destined for the domestic market is a result of illegal activities this does not not create any corresponding benefit for the state (PYE-SMITH 2011).

5.1.3.2.Socio-economic constraints

If ecological and institutional problems are considered as important challenges of forest and wildlife management in Cameroon, humans’ relation to forests and wildlife is far more challenging.

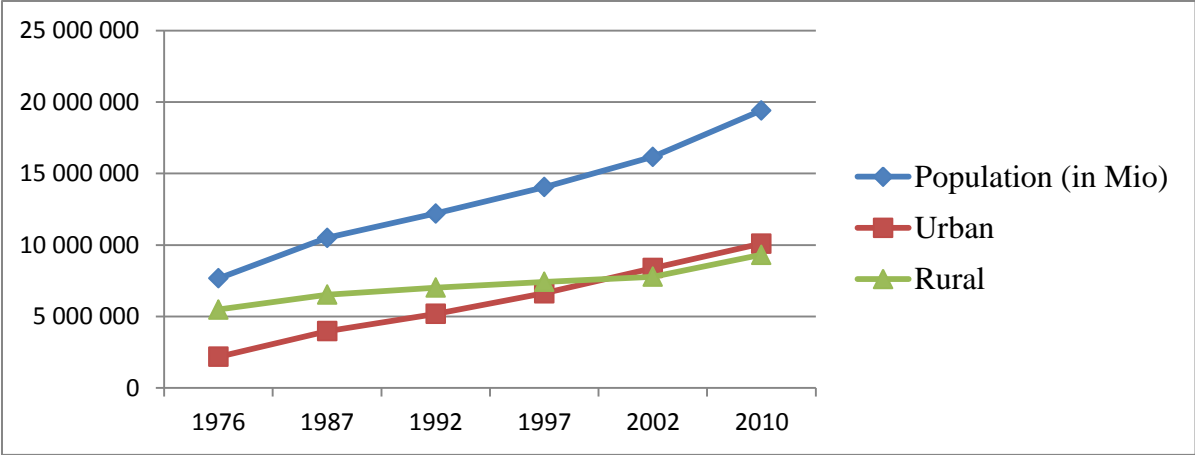


Figure 42 : Demographic evolution in Cameroon

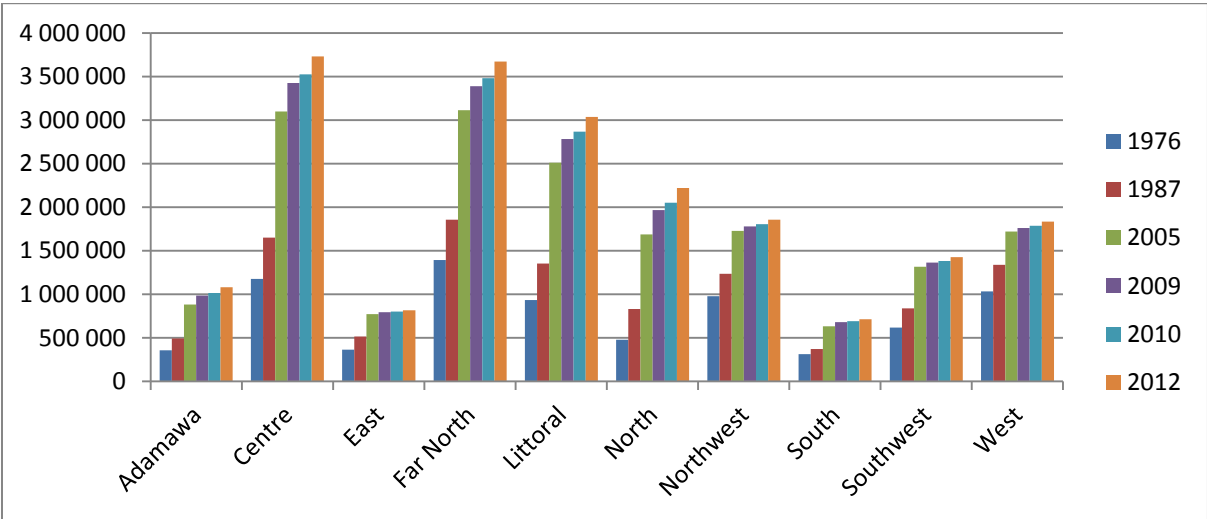


Figure 43 : Demographic evolution by regions in Cameroon

As mentioned above, more than 8 million people living in rural areas (80%) poor and depend on forests for their survival. Social factors such as monetary poverty and its correlated strong

dependence on forests and its resources, economic dependence to forests and their related activities such as logging as well as forests transforming activities such as agriculture and bushfire, appear as the main important challenges to forests management in Cameroon. Subsistence motivations, needs of fuelwood and forest exploitation appear are human activities that have strong impact on natural resources.

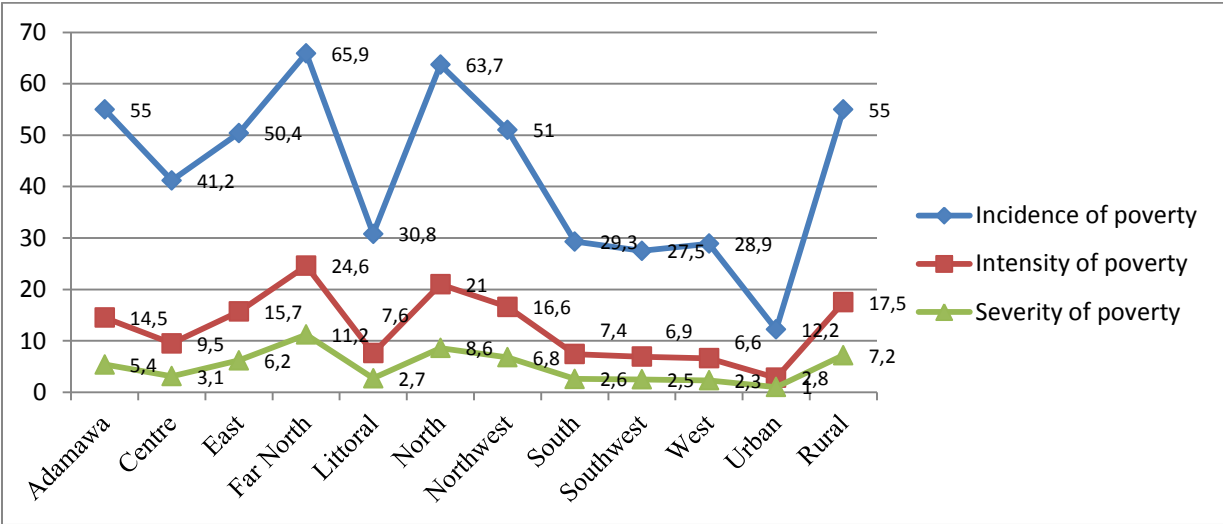


Figure 44 : Poverty by regions in Cameroon

Agricultural activities are practiced by 63, 7% of households in Cameroon and are the main activities in rural areas. More than 90 % of these households are considered as poor according to the Cameroonian poverty index (less than 738 CFAF/day ~ 1, 15€) (IUCN 2013: 14). The annual deforestation rate in Cameroon is estimated to 6 % with 85 % allocated to family farms and smallholdings (NJOYA and KALMS 2010: 17). The main widespread farming activities by the Bantu is slash and burn agriculture mostly from Yaoundé to Equatorial Guinea. Nevertheless, forests areas in Cameroon constitute the majority of southern and eastern regions with about 65 % and 25 % of cropland subjected to different land use (IMBERNON 1999). Several parts of the Mt Cameroon area in the Southwest province of Cameroon have been transformed into agricultural areas and several small mammals were killed through slash and burn agriculture used by farmers (YEPMO* 2010: 309).

In addition, as evidenced by figures 43 and 44, the population of Cameroon is experiencing a strong growth. However, it could be observed that southern, eastern and southwestern areas that are described as forestry areas are less populated than the other regions. Furthermore, figure 48 evidences the fact that those regions are also confronted with strong level of poverty. All these factors explain the strong dependence of people over forests resources. Motivated by monetary gain and corruption networks several people get involved into illegal

activities such as illegal logging and poaching (NKE NDIH 2008). Timber demand in Cameroon is growing everyday and leads to illegal conversion of forests areas, to harvest of timber inside protected areas, and overexploitation of timber forests for their transformation into charcoal and other demanded products (ITTO 2010: 10).

Other challenges related to forests and wildlife management in Cameroon is the industrial exploitation of forest. VERBELEN (1999) claims that there is no sustainable exploitation of forest in Cameroon and that most of the international logging companies active in Cameroon is fulfilling any sustainable use of forest. The reasons he highlights are related to the fact that more than 2/3 of Cameroonian forests have been already exploited and that logging companies are using a selective timber harvesting system based on the cutting of expensive and good quality timber species. This system leads to the overexploitation of limited trees species.

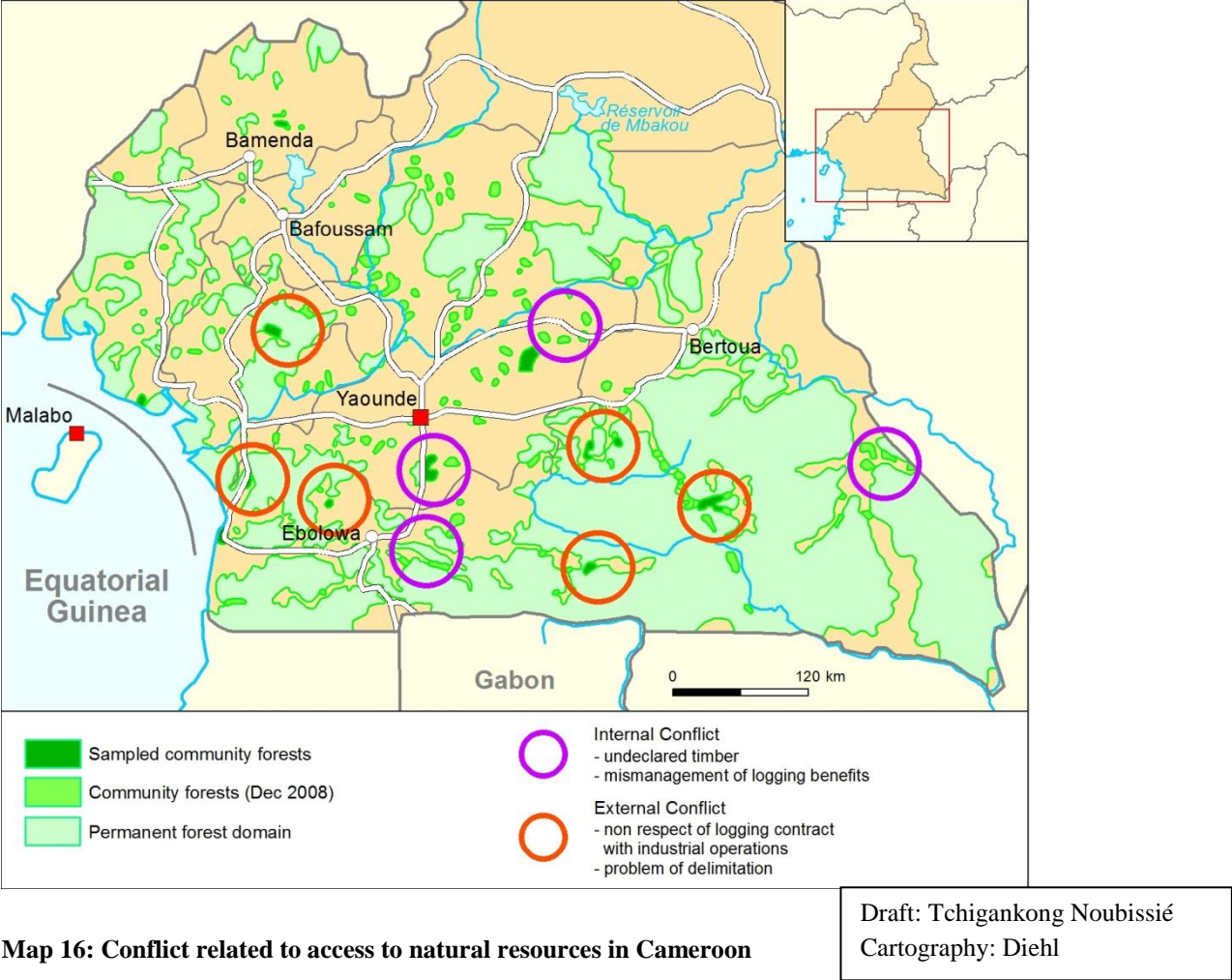
Moreover, the wasteful use of timber is spread in Cameroon, namely by logging concessions. Some studies reveal that several felled trees never reach the sawmills due to some mistakes on the species selection and transportation facilities. Most of the registered sawmills have poor performance (25 to 35 %). 65 to 75 % of timber parts are lost during their transformation (VERBELEN 1999: 17).

This unsustainable use of forests resources has led to \ several timber reserves of the centre, west and littoral region becoming exhausted (YEPMO* 2010: 316). VERBELEN (1999) adds that some greatly demanded tree species such as *afroscia* are becoming scarce.

Just as in Benin, Cameroonian forests are confronted by illegal forests exploitation with actors coming from neighboring countries. The porous border between Cameroon and Nigeria facilitates illegal logging from people who harvest timber and wildlife in Southwest Cameroon and transport it through river to Nigeria, sometimes with the help of local Cameroonian people who, due to their financial poverty cooperate in these illegal actions. These strategies made the Cameroonian government lose more than 104 641 005, 43 USD in 2008 (YEPMO* 2010: 317; MAMBO* 2010: 326).

To summarize, Cameroon is confronted to the same constraints and challenges related to forests and wildlife resources as Benin with the sole difference that the country is endowed with greatly demanded timber species and highly coveted by multinational organizations that are present in logging sector all over the country. The predominance of logging companies in

some areas and the restriction of natural resources access to local people has led to serious conflicts between all the involved stakeholders (map 16).



5.2. Cameroon introduction into global environment management discourse

Just as Benin, Cameroon was introduced into global environmental management during the German, British and French colonial period. The German discourses and management of Cameroonian forest have been already discussed in 3.2 and related subtitles. Relevant here is to highlight that the German-Duala Treaty continues to be regarded as the founding document of jurisprudence on land and forests in Cameroon which allowed Germans to publish several edicts on land and forest from 1893 to 1913 (OYONO 2005a).

The French and British victors of WWI divided Cameroon into two parts with two distinct administrative systems that were spread to the management of forests and forest resources from 1916 to 1961. The British had control over 89 000 km² (1/5) and were managing the so-

called Northern and Southern Cameroons through an indirect ruling system supposed to give some power to traditional authorities and to respect indigenous traditional rules. Nevertheless, the British, based on their colonial experience in India introduced an imperial colonial forestry regime in Cameroon relying on three main pillars. The first pillar was the demarcation, protection and good management of public forests. The second one was the securing of forests which were the property of government and on which the government had certain rights, and the control of forest production activities. The last pillar was the protection of the interests of persons engaged in timber trade. The forest policy of British in Cameroon was mostly based on the identification of best productive forests and the changing of their ownership into state's property and their use for productive objectives (ELOUNDOU 2012: 48-49). Particular for Cameroon, the British colonial administration changed the German system of crown land into "natives land", and claimed to manage land for the benefit of the native people, and created the Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC) whose aim was "to take over and exploit the ex-German plantations" (DIBUSSI TANDE 2006).

In an order promulgated in 1938, the British administration obliged loggers and farmers to plant seven trees whenever they have cut one, to acquire lands where the forest destruction was affecting forest production. Some other requirements such as the acceleration of forests banking as well as the classification of 25 % of forests area into forests reserves were also parts of this order. "Native Authorities" control groups were created in order to watch over the respect of this order (MBATU 2006). ELOUNDOU (2012) argues that British forest policy was placed much interest on conservation issues and led to the creation of several forest reserves such as South-Bakundu (1937), the Bambuko (1939), Barombi Mbo (1940), Santchou (1947) and Mokoko (1952) forest reserves. However, the creation of these reserves was coupled with the expulsion of local people outside the areas and the confiscation of their lands. Those people did not have any rights over timber and non-timber forests products and were obliged to resettle elsewhere and therefore questioning of its social utility. In addition the British colonial administration changed the German system of crown land into "natives land" created the Cameroon Development Corporation (OYONO 2005a).

As far as the French colonial forest policy is concerned, it was strongly bound with exploitative measures for the benefit of the metropole. France had control of over 4/5 territory (429 750 km²) and published several texts governing forests management and their resources from 1916 to 1961 in a strong centralized administrative manner of direct rule system. Although the French administration was striving to delete any German presence in Cameroon,

it however incorporated in full the German concept of Crown lands (vacant land and without any master). This concept allows the French colonial administration to have control over all the lands, forests and all resources all over their territorial administration. One order and a decree on the forestry regime were published in September 15, 1921 and march 1926 followed by a decree on hunting regulation in December 1936 (ELOUNDOU 2012). This last decree acknowledged the right of use of timber resources only for the satisfaction of collective and individual needs in housing, clothing, feeding, heating and for the production of personal devices. Local people were allowed to exploit forest resources only under the allowance of a “special” logging permit over an area that was not supposed to be wider than 100 has over a period of one year. The French colonial administration also institutionalized structural violence, which was one of the most repressive one against those who were going against the rules and created five wildlife reserves in northern Cameroon (WAZA, BEKA, FARO, KALAMALOUÉ and GOROKO) all localized in the Sudano-Sahelian zone (TABOPDA 2008: 68-69).

In addition, from the 61 logging permits that were delivered in 1926 by the French colonial administration, only two were directed to Cameroonians all over the colonial territory (ELOUNDOU 2012). The decree of October 3, 1927 advocated for forest exploitation with the idea of increasing taxes related to the allocation of forest permits as well as for timber stumpage taxes and the repression of forests infractions. It is during the French colonial administration that the system of sale of standing volume permits was introduced in Cameroon. OYONO concludes and asserts that in the French colonial administration, “priority was given to timber exploitation and transformation” and to privatization of land in the two parts of Cameroon (2005a: 124-125). The predatory type of activity related to French colonial system on forest management is evidenced through the comparison of the German and French forest exploitation in figure 46 and 47.

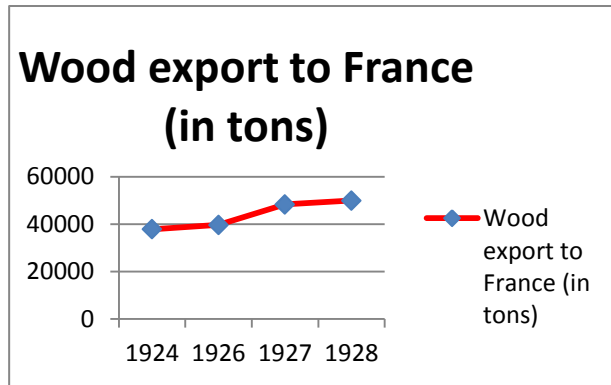
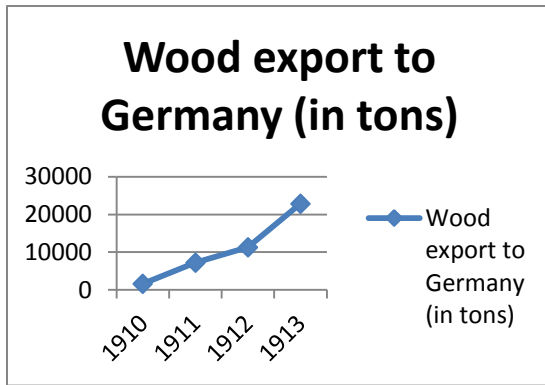


Figure 45 : Timber export to Germany

Figure 46 : Timber export to France

German and French colonialism in Cameroon were foremost oriented towards exploitation of natural resources and was rooted into the colonial logic of exploitation of resources at the expense of local people and for the benefit of the metropolis. This exclusion of people in the management of natural resources was also noticeable in British Cameroon as well in the transformation of areas into plantations. It is this contact with western or European world that has influenced the perception and management of natural resources in Cameroon and gave natural resources an economic predominance.

After its independence in 1961, the Cameroonian government followed the colonial logic and strategy of perception and use of natural resources, as well as the transformation of several forested areas into farming plantations. Palm and hevea plantations were created in 1972 in the littoral region at the expense of forested areas (NKE NDIH 2008: 160-161).

The forthcoming legislations on forests management in independent Cameroon such as the order N° 61-OF-14 of November 1961 on forests crime and the Law N° 68-1-COR of July and Decree N° 70-92-COR of May 1970 on forestry regime in Cameroon were mostly axed on repressive measures.

The Cameroonian government participated to its first environmental conference in Stockholm from June 5 to 6 1972. The ratification of the UNCHE has had some impacts in natural resources management soon the first national order on national forest regime and the decree implementing its directives were promulgated one-year later (Order N° 73-18 of May, 22 1973 and Decree N° 74/457 of August, 17, 1974). In addition, this decree includes measures related to the creation of national parks, wildlife administration and hunting. This implementation of international measures was criticized for its lack of integrity in the sense that it was seen as an extension of colonial administrative systems of forests, as well as due to the fact that it does not give so much consideration on local populations relations to forests

and wildlife (TABOPDA 2008: 61, ELOUNDOU 2012: 83). The forests management was put under the responsibility of Ministry of Agriculture (MINAGRI) while wildlife was managed directly by General Delegation of Tourism. The MINAGRI will be in charge of forest management until the some modifications will be brought out after the Rio Conference. The General delegation of Tourism was transformed into the Ministry of Tourism (MINTOUR) in 1989 coupled with a wildlife office responsible for the management of national parks.

As far as conservation issues which were undertaken under the framework of the UNCHE, several institutions were created by the Cameroonian government in order to plant trees to cleared areas and to follow-up forest exploitations such as the CENADEFOR (Centre National de Developpement Forestier- created by the Decree N°81/233 of June 1981). The ONAREF (Office National de Régénération des Forêts - created by the Decree N° 82/636 of December, 8, 1982) was created for almost the same purpose as CENADEFOR with the difference that its field of activities was more focused on the creation of forest plantations. ONADEF (Office National pour le Développement des Forêts –created in 1990) had an industrial and commercial mission and was responsible for forest management and forests inventories, to the fight against desertification and to develop the forest exploitation sector (FOAHOM 2001).

Concerning wildlife management, the Cameroonian government has decided to transform all the colonial wildlife reserves located in northern Cameroon, already mentioned above into national parks in 1968, and has created the Korup National Park, the Santchou Wildlife and the Ossa wildlife and hunting reserve in 1962, 1964 and 1968 respectively. In addition, the status of the wildlife reserves and newly created national parks changed from the public state domain since 1963 to the national domain in 1976 (TABOPDA 2008: 70).

To sum up, the new independent Cameroon adopted colonial structural violence in natural resources management, which was mostly based on discriminatory measures, restricting the access to resources of local people. In addition, local people's preoccupations as well as the development of alternatives were insufficiently integrated into environmental management of forests and wildlife. This strategy was of course in strong accordance with colonial ideas and the Stockholm focus on ecological measures at the expense of human development ones.

5.2.1. Cameroon in the frame of the UNCED

After the UNCED, the Cameroonian environmental sector went through profound institutional and legislative reforms in order to be in harmony with the new international standards. The government has ratified the Rio Declaration as well as the CBD and has undertaken several initiatives to improve forests and biodiversity management in Cameroon since 1992. All these reforms have resulted in the introduction of several actions that have completely modified the forests and biodiversity sectors.

5.2.1.1. Institutional and legislative framework

The actions of the Cameroonian government in environmental management were deeply modified after the Rio Conference. The Ministry of Environment and Forest (MINEF) was created in April 1992 as the institutional framework for the planning and management of environment (RÉPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN 2011: 45). In fact, the creation of MINEF was responsible of solving institutional disorder related on environmental management. This ministry was divided into three main institutions: (1) Environmental Department (ED), (2) the direction of forests (3) the direction of wildlife and protected areas. All these departments are represented on the regional level in the ten regions and are placed under the responsibility of a regional director, whose role is to implement national strategies at the regional level. After the UNCED, almost 13 governmental and para-governmental organizations were created or mandated to collaborate for the achievements of the Rio recommendations and policies (see TABLE 17 and 18).

According to the Cameroonian law, the MINEF is responsible for the institutional coordination of environmental matters. The main determinant action, which the Cameroonian government has undertake in order to implement the Rio principle was the publication of an environmental plan (National Environmental National Plan - NEMP or PNGE) and the Law n° 96/12 of 5 August 1996 establishing a framework for environmental management. These policies claim to rely on the development of economic, social and ecological functions associated with environmental management (SAMSON 2001). The NEMP is claimed to be the most important intellectual production of its time (SIEBERT 1995: 29). With the promulgation of this plan and law, the Cameroonian government has made environmental matters a governmental priority and has introduced environmental principles into the constitution. It is asserted that state should ensure environmental protection and that formulate the right to a healthy environment and the correlative responsibility towards environmental protection of

every human (WORLD BANK 2004: 10-11). The NEMP is argued to be a national action plan, whose aim is environmental protection and an efficient management of natural resources:

“The [NEMP] was adopted in 1996 and it translates the guidelines of orientations of the Rio Summit as regards sustainable development. It aims to ensure a sustain development through environmental protection and the rational development of natural resources thanks to policies, strategies and actions by taking into account the socio-economic situation of the country” (HELE 2007:31).

From figure 48, and table 16, it could be observed that the NEMP is huge environmental machinery including almost all environmental concerns, whose targets are well described as required by Agenda 21. Several ministries are strongly concerned with its implementation and several projects were deduced from of this national plan.

Since the limitation of this work is concerned with forest and wildlife management, an overview will be now given of different actions and measures, which have been implemented in relation with NEMP.

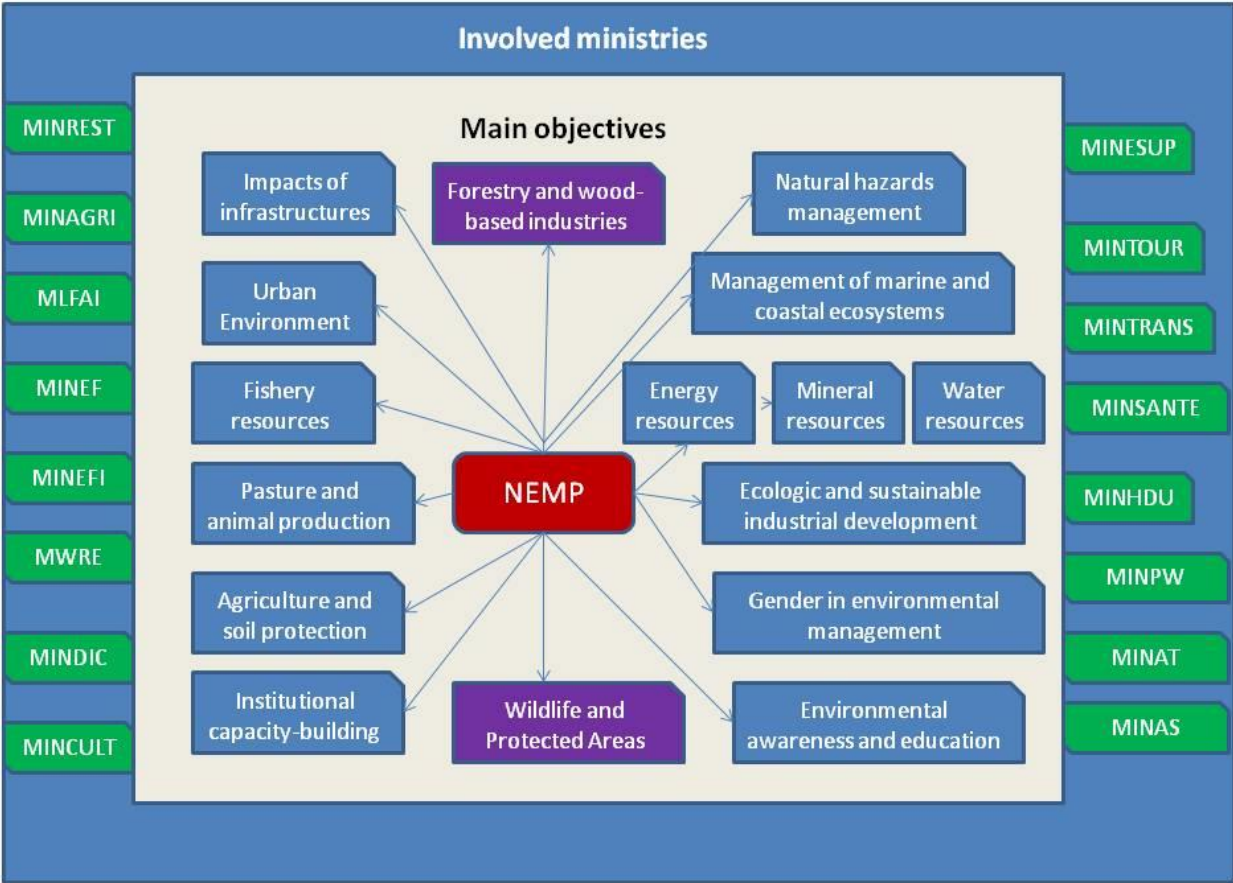


Figure 47 : NEMP, objectives and related ministries

As far as forest and biodiversity management are concerned, the Cameroon government promulgated a new forest policy in 1994 (see figure 49), which was followed one year later by

a National Forestry Action Program (NFAP or PAFN) aiming to implement this policy during a five-year period (EBA´A ATYI and MENDOULA 1998). The NFAP’s role is to ensure the sustainability and development of economic, social and ecological functions of forests through an integrated management system, in order to ensure the sustainable use and protection of forest ecosystems (AMARIEI 2005). Therefore, the forest policy divided the national territory into two major sets: permanent forest area (PFA)⁸¹ and non-permanent forests (NPFA)⁸². This new regulation asserts that permanent forests should cover at least 30 % of the global national area (140 000 km²). This is a sign that the government is striving to get control over the forest management and eventually ensuring its protection.

In addition, the publication of the NPFA as implementation measure of this policy evidenced the integration of several Forests Principles decided during the Rio Earth Summit as can be observed on figure 48.

In fact, as shown in figure 50 the NFAP has introduced participatory aspects in forest management, which should work for the promotion of rural development and tackle rural poverty. Social, ecological and economic aspects are integrated into this national program.

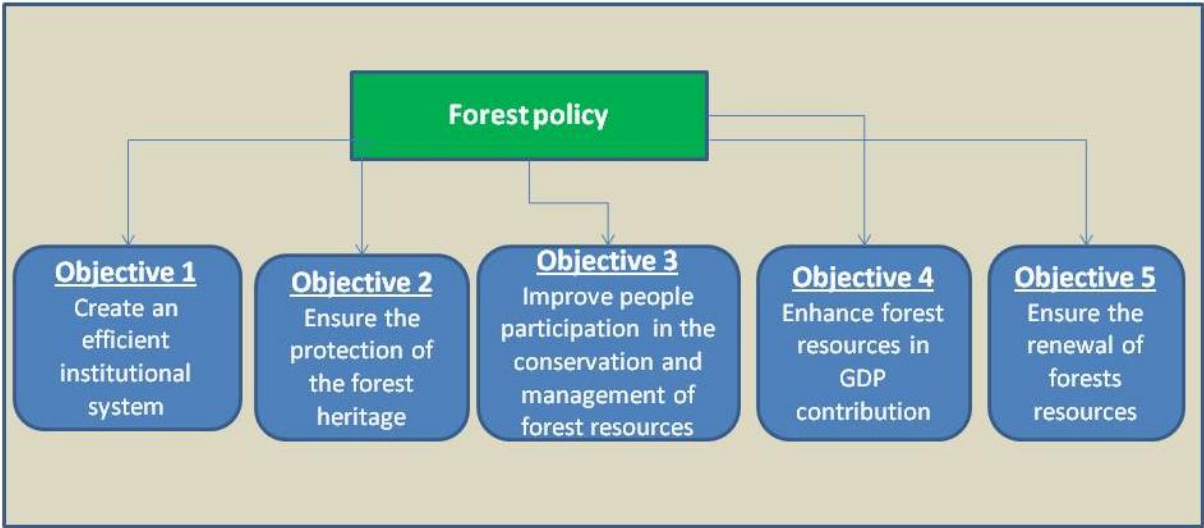


Figure 48 : Main objectives of Cameroon forest policy

⁸¹ They include state ownership forests under the strong control of government and are constituted with 2, 6 million ha of protected areas, 300 000 ha under community management and 6 million of forest management units (FMU). Forests reserves such as integral ecologic reserves, production and recreation forests, flora sanctuaries, botanical gardens and reforestation areas are include as state’s ownership (AMARIEI 2005: 5 and 12, OBAM 2004).

⁸² Include other types of forests such as private forests, community forests, which belong to the state but to whose management has been handled over to some entities (OBAM 2004).

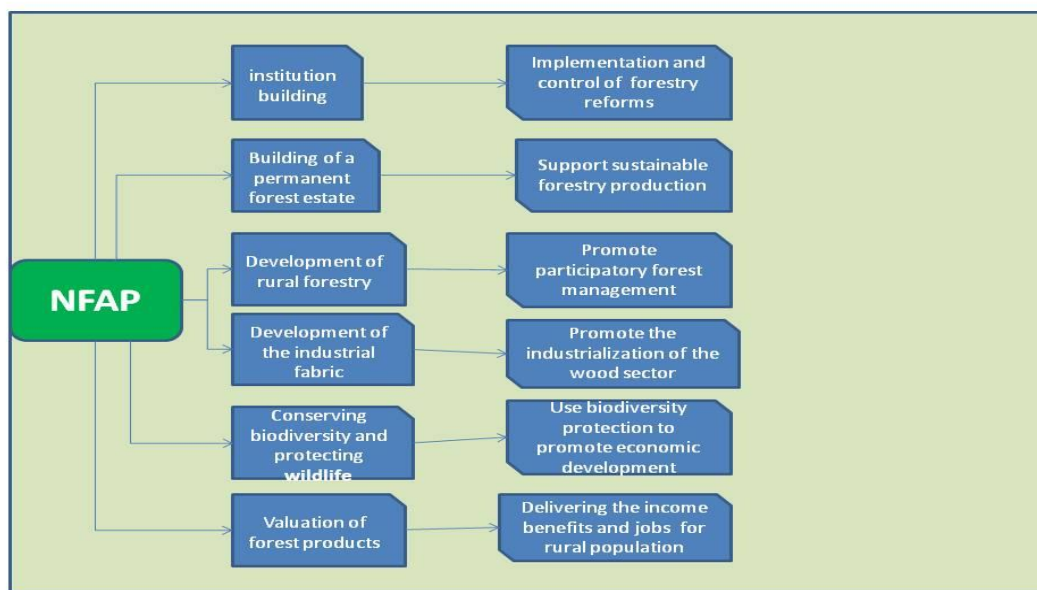


Figure 49 : NFAP and objectives

However, matters such as environmental impact assessment were not part of this program as well as the clear specification of sustainable patterns of production and consumption and the safeguarding of traditional local knowledge as required by the Forest Principles.

Ministries	Decrees	Responsibilities
Ministry of Environment and Forest (MINEF)	Decree n° 92/069 of 9 April 1992/Decree N° 92/245 26 November 1992	Ensure the development and the implementation of a national environmental policy
Ministry of Agriculture (MINAGRI)	Decree N° 94/001 of 6 January 1994,	Forest, water, pollution and toxic wastes management; Private and state own land management
Ministry of Livestock, Fisheries and Animal Industries (MLFAI)	Decree N° 92/069 of 9 April 1992	Ensure the safety of animal, fisheries food supply; toxic waste and other form of pollution
Ministry of Water Resources and Energy (MWRE)	Decree n° 88/1350 of 30 September 1988	Pollution, hygiene and sanitation
Ministry of Tourism (Mintour)	Decree N° 92/61 of 29 December 1992	National park management; forest conservation among others
Ministry of Territorial Administration (MINAT)	Reorganized in July 1994	Housing and territory planning,

Ministry of Finance (MINFI)	Reorganized in July 1994	Coordination of external financing measures for environmental protection
Ministry of Industrial and Commercial Development (MINDIC)	Decree N° 94/159 of 16 August 1994	Promotion of trade and industrial development as well as quality standards
Ministry of Public Work (MINPW)	Reorganized in July 1994	Planning of national infrastructures building
Ministry of housing and urban development (MINHDU)	Reorganized in July 1994	Urban planning and landscape;
Ministry of Public Health (MINSANTE)	decree n° 95/040 of 7 March 1995	Fight against deterioration of living conditions and ensure better environment quality
Ministry of Defense (MINDEF)	Reorganized in July 1994	surveillance of the national territory, fight against poaching, border protection

Table 16 : Governmental institutions involved in the implementation of Rio Declaration and Agenda 21

Organizations	Decrees	Responsibilities
National Consultative Council for the Environment and Sustainable Development (NCCESD)	Decree n° 94/259/PM of May 31, 1994	Assist the government in the development of national environmental and sustainable development policies; ensure the implementation of this policy according to Agenda 21 requirements
Interministerial Technical Council	Order N° 002/CAB/PM of April 17, 1995	Determine the diagnosis of forest sector from an economic point of view; identify the problems related to the forest sector; come out with proposals and solutions
Institute of Agricultural Research for Development	decree n° 96/050 of 12 March 1996	Emphasizes on Forestry and Environment research.
Interministerial committee for Environment	Decree N° 2001/718/PM of 3 September 2001	Assist the government in the development of national environmental and sustainable development policies; ensures that environmental matters are taken into account in the implementation of economic; energetic and land-use programs

Table 17 : Para-governmental institutional responsible for the implementation of sustainable development

Table 18 gives an overview on the legal environmental status in Cameroon after the UNCED. From this table, it can be observed that Law N° 94/01 is considered as the most important legislation for forest and wildlife management in Cameroon after the Earth Summit. Forest and wildlife have been always integrated in the same legal framework in Cameroon.

In fact, forest management requires every FMUs to possess a management plan, which has been approved by the forest administration before be allowed to start any extraction activity for a 15 years period. In addition, the FMUs area should not extend 200 000 ha (Art. 49). State should be responsible of the establishment of the forests management plans and should manage the export of timber in such a way that, log exports should be stopped by 1999 (Art. 71).

In order to achieve the second objective of forest policy, the government has set down some tools and norms related to the exploitation of FMUs. They include activities such as forest inventory work (management and exploitation), the publication of forestry plan guide for permanent forests areas and some norms on sustainable management of natural forests as the 25 years timbers harvesting rotation system among others (EBA´A ATYI and MENDOULA 1998). The attempt to achieve the fifth objective was therefore theoretically put in place.

As already seen in the NFAP, articles 37 and 39 offer the opportunity to the village community to get endowed with some forests properties known as “Community Forests”, this strategy was developed in order to reach the third objective of the forest policy as well as some goals of the NFAP.

Repressive measures for those who do not respect the forestry legislation are described in article 65 and, in regard to illegal logging or the breach of a management plan for example, it will result to the suspension exploitation activities or the withdrawal of the exploitation right. Other activities having a strong environmental impact such as bush fires or the clearance of permanent forests are highly punishable by the law with fine from 5000 FCFA (~ 8 €) to 10 000 000 (~16 000 €). This law also lays down punishments consisting of deprivation of liberty from 10 days to 3 years (Art. 161 (1)).

Finally, Article 61 requires that the income of forests exploitation should benefit the development of rural infrastructures, which will improve local communities’ living standards.

The government of Cameroon has developed strategies aiming at managing sustainably forests resources. Innovations such as forests management plans ensuring the regeneration of

species during the extraction activities and the implication of incentive measures for local communities deserve high attention.

In the biodiversity sector and as required by Agenda 21 and CBD, the government developed in 1999 a National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (NBSAP) and established an Inter-ministerial Committee and Task Force whose mandate is to describe the present state of biodiversity in the country. A further mission of this institution is to come out with issues and options related to biodiversity conservation, sustainable use of plants, animals and micro-organisms (REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON 1999).

As far as wildlife management is concerned, the government has developed two main strategies aiming mostly at their conservation: the creation of protected areas and the classification of animal species into different protection types.

In regard to protected areas the government, it could be observed from figure 51 that some effort has been made in order to promote in-situ conservation measures since, there is no evolution in ex-situ conservation (zoological garden). Many efforts have been done for the satisfaction of local population through the creation of hunting zones.

In 1996, Cameroon was registering 4, 2 million has of protected areas (PA) including 1, 03 million ha of national parks, 1 million of wildlife reserves and 2, 2 million of hunting zones (MINEF 1996: 129).

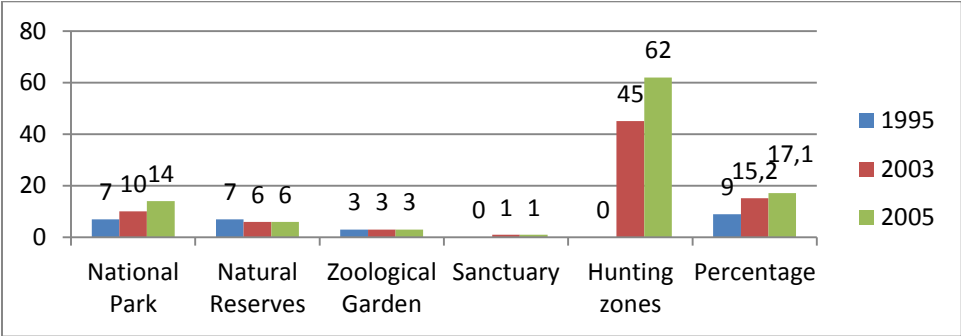


Figure 50 : Evolution of protected areas in Cameroon

Law/Decree/Order	Date of publication	Objectives
Law N° 94-01	20 January 1994	Legal Regulations on Forestry and Wildlife. Legal framework contributing to the implementation of the National Forestry Action Program
Decree N° 95-466-PM	20 July 1995	Implementation of fauna regime
Decree N° 94/436/PM	23 August 1995	Procedure for the implementing of the forestry regime
Law N° 96/12	5 August 1996	Establishing a framework for environmental management
Decree N° 96/642/PM	17 September 1996	Base and modality of collection of royalties and fees related to forestry activities
Decree N° 99/370	19 March 1999	Forestry revenue securement program
Order N° 99/001/	31 August 1999	Supplementing certain provision of Law N° 94-01 of 20 January 1994 on forestry and wildlife
Decree N° 2000/092/PM	27 March 2000	Modifying decree N° 94/436/PM 23 August 1994 on procedure for the implementing of the forestry regime
Order N° 0222/A/MINEF	25 May 2002	Procedural issues concerning the development and implementation of forest management plans in the permanent forestry domain

Table 18 : Environmental legal framework in Cameroon after the UNCED

Secondly, the Law N° 94-01 has divided animal species into three classes. Animals belonging to class A (the most threatened species such elephants, chimpanzee, gorilla, etc.) should, in any case not be killed. Class B Animals could be killed only under the delivery of hunting permits and class C will be hunted under the fulfillment of some requirements set down by the ministry (MINEF 1996: 126).

To summarize, before 1999, Cameroon has made little effort to extend its PA (4 232 899, 07 ha – only 9% of national territory) areas but has published measures ensuring the protection of endangered species at the national level.

5.2.1.2. Natural resources management activities in the framework of UNCED

In order to implement its forest and biodiversity policies, the government of Cameroon has introduced some sets of projects and programs, which were implemented with the contribution of some international development agencies in the framework of bilateral or multilateral agreements.

As far as forests are concerned, the main efforts include the creation of community forests, council forests and the restructuration of forest management plans.

The concept of community forests was introduced in the forest policy of 1994 as raised above. It aims at associating communities to the sustainable management of forests and to the conservation of biodiversity. Community forests are part of permanent state's forest, which are dedicated to softwood lumber production and are placed under the control of the community. In this regard, the government has created the first community forest in 1997 in Mbimboe and Cofayet Bengbis in the eastern and southern regions, respectively covering an area of 3920 and 5000 ha (ONDOA 2000, TOPA et al 2010). Five other communities' forests will be created in 2000 in eastern region of Cameroon. Some of these communities' forests allowed local communities to generate income from different activities such as timber exploitation and transformation into charcoal. Other activities such as the exploitation of NTFPs, fines for law violations, ecotourism, bee-keeping reached 3680 USD in the Bimbia Bonadikombo community forest in Southwest Cameroon for example (TOPA et al 2010). This last community forest was implemented with the financial support of the British development cooperation DFID (NUESIRI 2008).

Council forests, just as community forests, are part of the permanent forest domain whose management has been delegated to the council. Six communities forests were created in Cameroon in the framework of the UNCED in Dimako, Yokadouma, Moloundou, Gari Gombo and Djoum (eastern and southern regions) in the frame of the project "Forêts et Terroirs" supported by the Canadian cooperation (ACDI) (TOPA et al 2010, CUNY 2011: 36). All these forests were natural communal forests in contrast to plantation communal ones.

The forest exploitation sector in Cameroon has been completely restructured after the Earth Summit and consists mainly on the introduction forest management plans, which have to be introduced and respected by all logging companies. The API-Dimako project for example was launched which ended in 1995 and which was supported by French development cooperation aimed at developing a management plan, which should integrate forest yield requirements and

environmental and social functions of forests in five logging concessions (EBA´A ATYI and MENDOULA 1998).

With regard to biodiversity conservations, several projects were launched by the government and was also supported by development agencies.

Mount Cameroon project (MCP) was a conservation project mandated by the MINEF in 1994 in order to promote participatory biodiversity conservation approaches and sustainable forest management in the region of Mount Cameroon. The German and the United Kingdom development cooperation (GTZ and DFID) supported this project (OLSEN, EKWOGE, ONGIE, ACWORTH, O´KAH and TAKO 2001).

The Korup project (KNP) started already in 1988 but was enforced after the UNCED with the participation of several partners (EU, WWF, DFID, KfW, GTZ, WCS and US DoD). This project was also concerned with biodiversity conservation in the Korup National Park issues. More than 187 villages with 30 000 inhabitants were concerned with this project, which had to develop means in order to improve the living standards and economic conditions of this people through this conservative activities. This project benefited a global amount of 15 million euro (SCHMIDT-SOLTAU 2002).

The GEF-Biodiversity Conservation and Management Project aimed at implementing the 1994 forestry and wildlife policy and law. It was focused in three divisions in the eastern region (Boumba Bek, Lobéké and Nki), in the northern region (Faro, Benoue and Bouba-Ndjidah), in southern Cameroon (in Campo-Ma´an), Mount Cameroon, Mount Koupe´ and Mount Bakossi. This project has facilitated the creation of five national parks enlarging therefore the protected area network from 20504 km² to 72118 km². The project has supported training and equipment of community-based game guards and field demarcation for the creation of community forests and hunting zones. The project is claimed to have contributed to the recovering of wildlife populations (GEF 2009: 37).

In summary, it could be argued that the Cameroonian government has developed some institutional and legal frameworks related to forests and biodiversity management and conservation. It is evident that, in comparison to Benin, those management tools and machineries appear more compacted in form of law and policy. Some projects were developed and implemented with the contribution of some development agencies as required by the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21. The government was therefore introduced into global

environmental discourse and management strategies, which will be followed-up even in the framework of the WSSD.

5.2.2. Cameroon in the frame of WSSD

Just as Benin did, the Cameroonian government has adopted its legal and institutional framework of natural resources management in such a way that it will contribute to implement the JPOI. The government has developed some strategies related to sustainable environmental management with the aim of promoting the national development in accordance with international standards.

The Cameroonian government has realized that some deficiencies in the implementation of its environmental policy were still present. The fact that the forest potential did not significantly contribute to the improvement of the national economy and the increasing loss of biodiversity motivated the government to develop some reforms in this sector in order to improve the conservation and contribution of forests and its biodiversity for the sustainable development of the nation.

5.2.2.1. Institutional and legal framework

The government of Cameroon in 2003 initiated the Forest and Environment Sector Program (FESP - PFSE), which is described as a program ensuring environmental protection, sustainable forest management, participatory forest management, biodiversity conservation as well as partnership strengthening.

FESP is argued to be built on the recommendations of an institutional review of Cameroon's forest sector whose main objective is to ensure the conservation and management and sustainable exploitation of forest ecosystems in order to meet the local, national, regional and global needs for present and future generations (NUESIRI 2006).

As observed on figure 52 this program is in strong accordance with the JPOI of actions discussed in point 2.3.2., 2.3.3 and 2.3.4. In fact, the requirement of a political dynamism enabling the implementation of sustainable development could be found in all the five components. Component 3 and 4 include the inclusion of stakeholders from different backgrounds and participative measures, while the second component is strongly in accordance with the principle of promoting economic growth and social development through activities such as industrialization and valuation of NTFPs. Activities in the first and fifth components are closely bound to political and global environmental regulations, which

highlight the political commitment of the Cameroonian government to achieve sustainable forest and biodiversity management.

The WSSD requirement of ensuring sound access to energy services and resources with improved access to biomass technologies and fuelwood sources is partly observable in the fourth component and third sub-component.

After the publication of this program, the institutional environmental sector in Cameroon went through some sets of restructuring after the decree N° 2004/320 of December 8, 2004 organizing of the government of Cameroon. In fact, the MINEF, which was responsible of the implementation of the main environmental policy in Cameroon, was split up into two ministries in 2004: the Ministry of Forest and Wildlife (MINFOF) and the Ministry of Environment and Protection of Nature (MINEP). The consequence has been the repartition of FESP activities between those two entities. The MINEP was responsible for the implementation of component 1 and MINFOF with the responsibility for components 2-4 while the implementation of the fifth component 5 is implement by both ministries (NUESIRI 2006). MAMBO* (2010) argues that, in practical terms, MINEP is mostly concerned with political environmental issues, the management of international conventions and environmental assessment while the actions of the MINFOF are focused on forests and wildlife management.

It is in regard with this environment assessment that the main innovative legal framework of the WSSD that the main law was introduced in 2005 on the realization of environmental impact assessment in February 2005.

Another institutional innovation of the WSSD in Cameroon was the transformation of the NEMP into the Environmental Program (EP) in 2006, which is claimed to be more adapted to poverty alleviation through the integration of all stakeholders involved in the protection of environment and sustainable management of natural resources. This program is argued to integrate all the former environmental and forestry programs put in place in Cameroon (ERE Développement 2009). It aims at diminishing national and trans-border environmental problems through the implementation of annual activities based on the 11 components at the national level (See figure 51). Since 2006, the PE is considered as a key environmental reference tool in Cameroon.

The National Forestry Regeneration Program was launched by the MINFOF in order to promote reforestation of degraded areas in dense and community forests and to strengthen the

FESP reforestation strategy of 5000 ha every year. Focus was placed on tree species submitted to serious human pressures such as *Eucalyptus camdulensis*, *Cassia siamea*, *Azadiracta indica*, *Dalbergia sisso* and *Acacia senegalensis* in the FMUs (see figure 54). It is argued that this program has created at least 2000 jobs at the local level every year (RÉPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN 2008).

As far as component 6 is concerned, it aims at creating a framework for action aiming at decreasing environmental pressure resulting from production and consumption patterns. Therefore, the EP appeals for the promulgation of legislation ensuring biodiversity conservation ensures the regeneration of mangroves and co-management of natural resources, etc.

An important event of the WSSD was the launch of an initiative for the protection of tropical forest of the Congo Basin in September, 04, 2003 since Cameroon is part of the involved countries. The field of activities includes all activities already described in the FESP.

In summary, it could be observed that the Cameroonian government has observed the UNCED political requirements and institutional recommendations on sustainable management of natural resources described in 2.2.1.1., 2.2.1.2, 2.2.1.3.

In fact, the government, through all its sets of programs and policies has shown its commitments to implement sustainable development. Local and national stakeholders are introduced in the implementation of this policy and strategies to promote national economic growth and social development are well highlighted. Reforestation initiatives having impacts on improvement of peoples living standards as well as the promotion of sustainable timber harvesting methods as required by the IPF are part of Cameroonian forest policy.

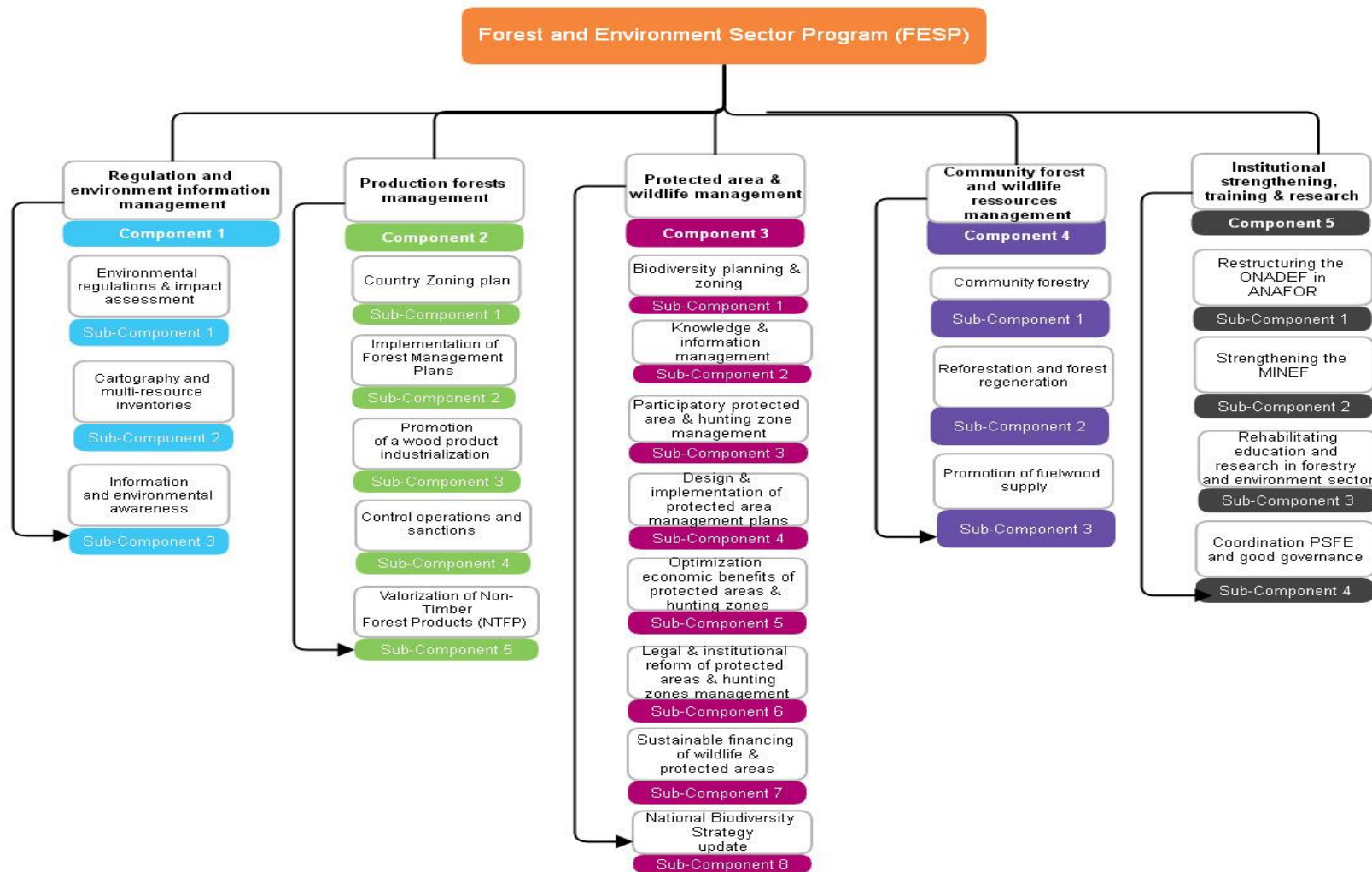


Figure 51 : FESP, components and sub-components

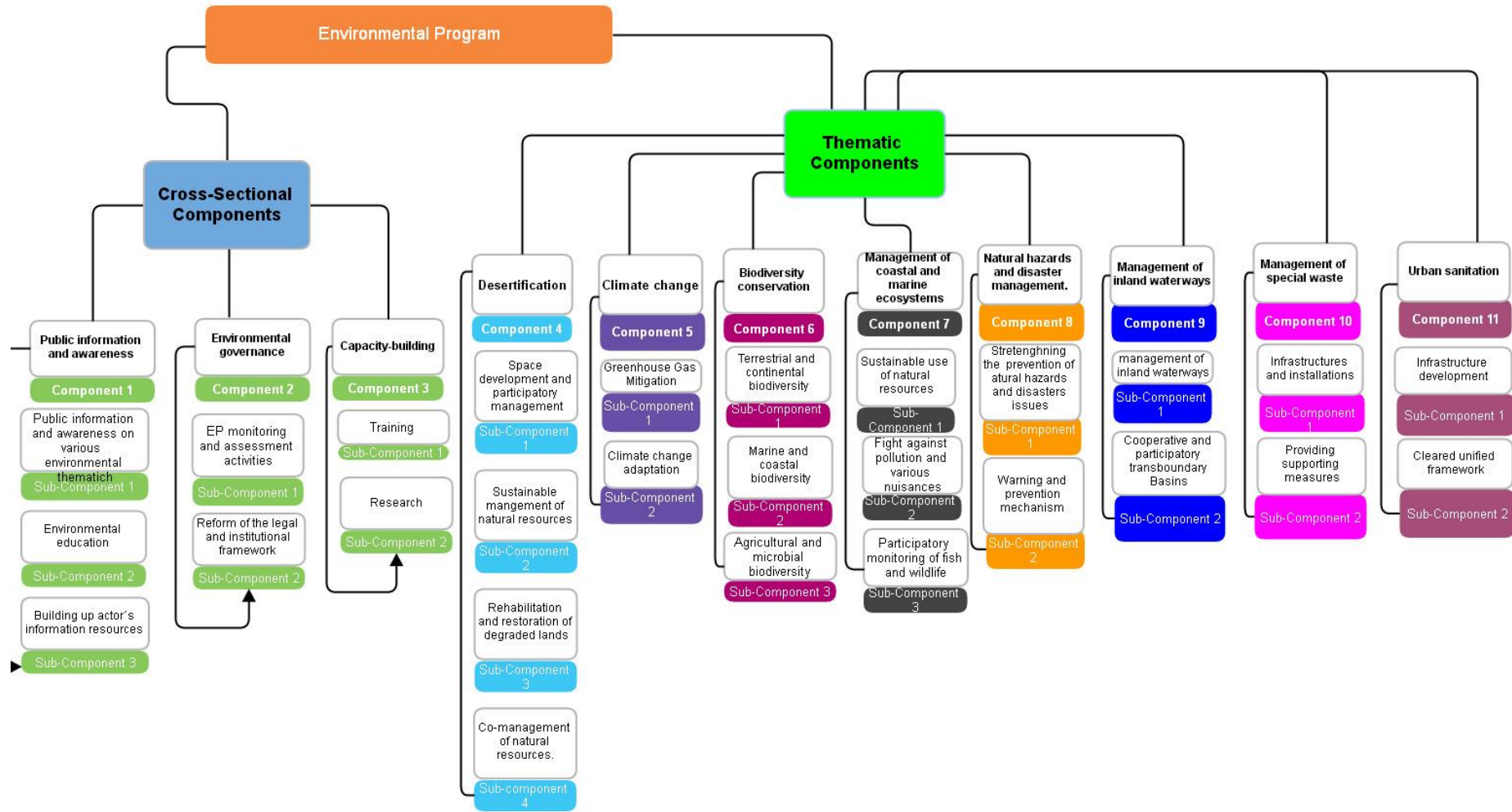


Figure 52 : Environmental Program, its components and sub-components

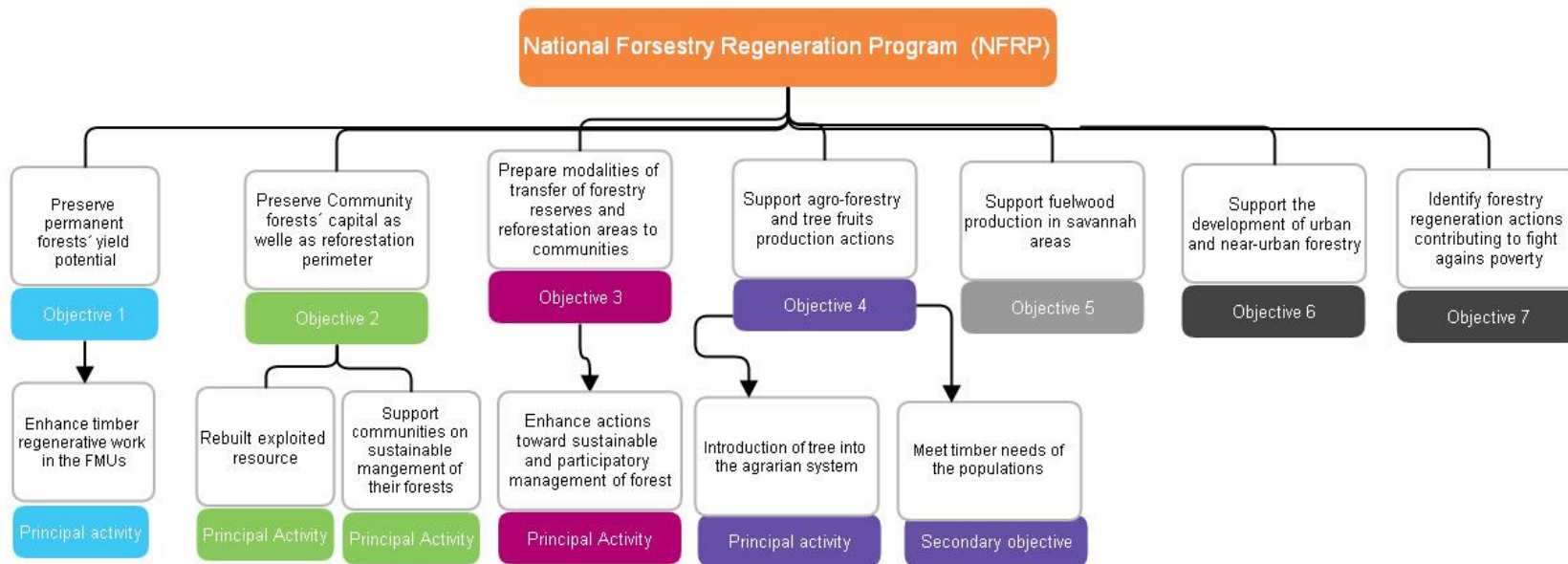


Figure 53 : National Forestry Regeneration program (NFRP)

5.2.2.2.Natural resources management activities in the frame of WSSD

Since the launching of FESP activities in Cameroon several projects and programs were created and implemented in this frame.

In order to achieve the objectives of FESP component 1 and its sub-components, the MINEP was involved with evaluating the environmental impacts of several projects on housing and construction at the national level. Its strong institutional and political orientation led the MINEP to be focused mainly on inspection works and the diffusion of environmental norms. This institution was also involved in the conception and planning of environmental projects and programs for sustainable development, which have been mostly described above (MINEP 2008).

As far as the implementation of the second FESP program on management of production forests is concerned, the MINFOF initiated several actions, which aimed at the sustainable management of forests and the increase of state's tax revenues from 38 290 924, 56 USD a year to 51 014 319,54 USD every year. Therefore, activities such as location and boundaries of FMUs, council forests and non-conceded forests reserves, the development of forest management plans and the support of forest certification were developed and implemented in collaboration with local and regional authorities, the MINAT and specialized private organizations (MINFOF 2011). The MINFOF has succeeded in finalizing the classification of 35 FMUs, enlarging the classified area from 4 to 5, 5 million ha. The MINFOF has also succeeded in validation of production forest management carrying, validating 72 of the 113 identified in 2009. The consequence of these activities, which were developed in forested areas in Cameroon, has led to the decrease of illegal logging and deforestation rate (TOPA et al 2010). In addition, the Cameroonian government decided to temporarily stop the allocation of exploitation licenses at the beginning of 2008. This action, coupled with the stop of log exports and the requirement of their inland transformation in 1999 has had a beneficial impact on forest conservation.

The creation of Forest's conservative sites in the Ngoila-Mintom zone in eastern region covering an area of 870 000 ha of natural and unexploited forests as well as the obligation of zoning scheme could be considered as one of the great conservative forest action put in place by the government after the WSSD. In addition, there were 402 demands for creation of community forests in 2008, 174 community forests were created after the WSSD and 135 other ones were given to communities under some conditions.

Concerning the improvements in management of the forest sector to the GDP, it reached 695 070 103, 68 USD in 2009 (MINFOF 2009). 3 million trees have been planted in Cameroon in 2009. This action has enabled the government to realize 74% of the FESP reforestation program. Figure 55 firstly highlights the idea that illegal logging has decreased in Cameroon after the implementation of the policies but also the fact that the activities described in sub-component 4 of the second component of FESP was really followed-up by the authorities.

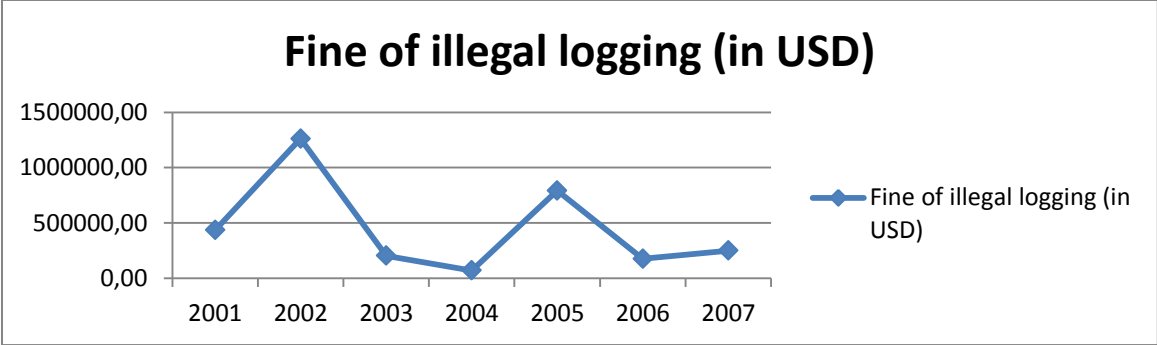


Figure 54 : Fine of illegal logging in Cameroon (own representation, modified from TOPA et al 2010)

With all these activities, the effort of the Cameroonian government of achieving the second FESP component is obvious. Component four of EP as well as the first objective of the NFRP were therefore consequently achieved through these sets of activities.

With regards to wildlife management, eleven protected areas were created or changed their status after the WSSD such a Mpem and Djim (2004), Boumba bek, Nki, Mbere Valley (2005), Mount Bakossi (2007), Takamanda (2008), Mount Cameroon (2009), Kom and Ebo (2010) all were made national parks. Kagwene was established as a wildlife reserve in 2008 and other areas such as Tchabal Mbabo, Ndongoré and the Kribi Marine Park are still waiting for governmental approbation as national parks.

In order to promote participation in the management of protected areas, 22 community hunting zones were created in 2009 and managed by local people (COVAREF-Committee for the Valorisation of Wildlife Resources) with 14 located around Lobeke, Boumba Bek and Nki national parks in southeastern Cameroon, which were able to generate 25, 465 € annually each (TCHIGIO 2007: 135). The MINFOF has ensured the retrocession of forests and hunting revenues to the population. In this regard, population living in the area of Yokadouma, Lomié, Djoum, Moundoudou and Gari Gombo has received a global amount of 14 million USD from the government during the period of 2000 to 2008 as an amount of forest income (NODEM, BAMENJO and SCHWARTZ 2012: 10).

As far as trans-border protected area conservation is concerned, the government has initiated some negotiations regarding the conservation strategies of Bouba Ndjida National Park in Cameroon and the Sena-Oura one from Chad as required by the WSSD.

To summarize, the government's role in the realization of WSSD requirements is not negligible. The FESP main principles of sustainable forest management, the use of forests and biodiversity as a means of promotion of economic growth and fighting against poverty, the conservation of both forest and biodiversity, and the integration of local population in the participative process of management of natural resources were all rooted in the UNCED and the WSSD.

However, the impact of international environmental policies in the domestic policies in Cameroon is not only concerned with natural resource management issues. The government also needs to meet international development targets.



Map 17: Evolution of protected areas in Cameroon

Draft: Tchigankong Noubissié
Cartography: Diehl

5.3. Cameroon introduction into the global development discourse

It is widely argued that Cameroon was introduced into the global development discourse after she faced the economic crisis at the end of the 1980s. Since this period, the whole country experienced serious problems related to monetary poverty. In accordance with the requirement promoted through the Washington Consensus, the government of Cameroon has developed several PRSPs since 1998. The ideology of fighting poverty through the promotion of growth was strongly rooted in the government development policy during that time. Moreover and as required by the Bretton Woods institutions, the government was obliged to introduce some sets of structural and institutional reforms claimed to facilitate the emergence of growth and to be eligible to the HIPC Initiative (Kamgnia, Douya and Ongolo 2003, MINEPAT: 2009a).

After the publication of the MDGs in 2000, the government of Cameroon has developed a strategy, which will be coupled with the MDGs in their PSRPs in 2003 (MINEPAT: 2009b).

Since then, all development policies of were coupled with the achievements of the MDGs. Although these development programs might change in name from “strategic document of reduction of poverty” to “strategic document for the promotion of growth and employment” (2009), their strong co-relation with the MDGs targets could not be discussed. All these national efforts were made in other to be aligned to the international development discourse promoted firstly during the Washington Consensus and enforced during the Monterrey Consensus just as was also the case in Benin (see 4.3.).

One of the great innovations of the Cameroonian government for the promotion of development was the promulgation of the national program for participative development (NPPD), which aimed at reducing poverty through the promotion of decentralization and the inclusion of local communities into this process (SCHMIDT-SOLTAU 2003).

In fact, one of the main objectives of the NPPD is to support development initiatives of communities by encouraging local authorities to put in place priority action plans. This program was divided into 3 phases and has covered 329 municipalities in the ten regions.

Development partners were aligned to these development documents or strategies according to the requirements of the Paris declaration. However, just as in Benin, some experts raised some implementation strategies. They argue that Cameroon developed some strategies, which are supposed to provide a stimulus to its national development, but that most of these

strategies are not functional and operational (DJOUFACK, ATONKOUMOU, EVINA, NOUMSI and KAYO 2010: 34).

Several international partners are involved in environmental management in Cameroon. The main bilateral and multilateral partners include the British development agency (DFID), the Canadian development Agency (ACDI), the French (AFD) and the German development institutions. These development agencies are strongly involved in the management of forest and biodiversity sector in Cameroon. Their activities are coupled with those of specialized agencies such as the WWF, the IUCN, WCS, CED and SNV, which are more involved in the cooperation with civil society organizations and the implementation of direct activities at the local level (TOPA et al 2010).

5.3.1. Germany's contribution to natural resources management in Cameroon

As raised above, Germany is one of the main development partners of the Cameroonian government. She has chosen some development aspects she has decided to support inside this country such as the support of natural resource management for sustainable development, as will be highlighted in the coming points of this analysis.

The relationships between Cameroon and Germany were developed after Cameroonian independence in 1960 and was strongly marked by the Hallstein Doctrine. The strong implication of the French diplomacy in Cameroon hindered the establishment of relationship between Cameroon and the GDR and solely recognized the FRG (KUM'A NDUMBE III in KUM'A NDUMBE III 1986: 370).

Since then several cooperation agreements will be signed between Cameroon and FRG on trade and maritime transport (March 8, 1962), on promotion of private investments (June 29, 1962) and on technical and economic cooperation (June 28, 1962) (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1963).

In regard to development aid to Cameroon, the FRG signed three principal agreements in the beginning of the 1960s and 1970s. An amount of 40 million marks has been granted to the implementation of some projects conceived and implemented by the German development agencies. This situation put the Cameroonian partner, which wanted to have full control over the spent of this amount in an uncomfortable position. This strong conditions bound to the German development aid policy were restructured in the end of the 1970s when the government of Cameroon had the right to propose some sets of projects which could be

supported by German development cooperation (KUM'Á NDUMBE III in KUM'Á NDUMBE III 1986: 370).

Generally, it is argued that Cameroon was not the center of German development cooperation during the 1960s and the 1970s since, the financial cooperation and the technical support of Germany in Cameroon was not so substantial. In fact, KUM'Á NDUMBE (1986) argues that from 1950 to 1975, Cameroon was granted with 192 million DM, while other smaller countries such as Togo were granted 483 million DM during the same period. However, it is during this period that German technical development cooperation started in Cameroon.

During the 1980s, the focus of German development cooperation in Cameroon was oriented towards the transfer of technologies, the promotion and support of agricultural activities, and biogas projects. Other activities included improved transport infrastructure, water supply system, improvement of health systems in rural areas, the increase of food production and the promotion of Small and Medium-Sized Industrial Enterprises (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1980a and 1980b, 1983 and 1984). In this manner, the concept of technical development cooperation still had its strong primary significance and was implemented by the GTZ and DED.

It is during the 1990s that Germany was more inclined to natural resources management in the frame of its development cooperation with Cameroon. Motivated by the principles of sustainable development, German development cooperation started to develop and to implement some projects, which were had strong social and ecological features. German technical cooperation for example strived to develop a social development approach to integrating small farmers and slum-dwellers in its development priorities by preserving their natural living conditions. The main approach of German development cooperation was to come close to internationally engaged organizations such as IUCN and the WWF, which have accumulated some experience in this domain and work with their collaboration in order to reach the BMZ objectives. It is in this framework that the GTZ was integrated in the management of the Korup national Park (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1993: 49). Advising the Cameroonian government in addressing its management weaknesses through trainings as well as the provision of social policy services were part of the German activities during this period (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1993: 70, DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 1995: 57). Since this period, Cameroon has benefited from a debt swap between 1995 and 1998 from Germany (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2001: 151).

The focal point of German development cooperation was oriented towards the achievement of the MDGs after the year 2000 by 2015.

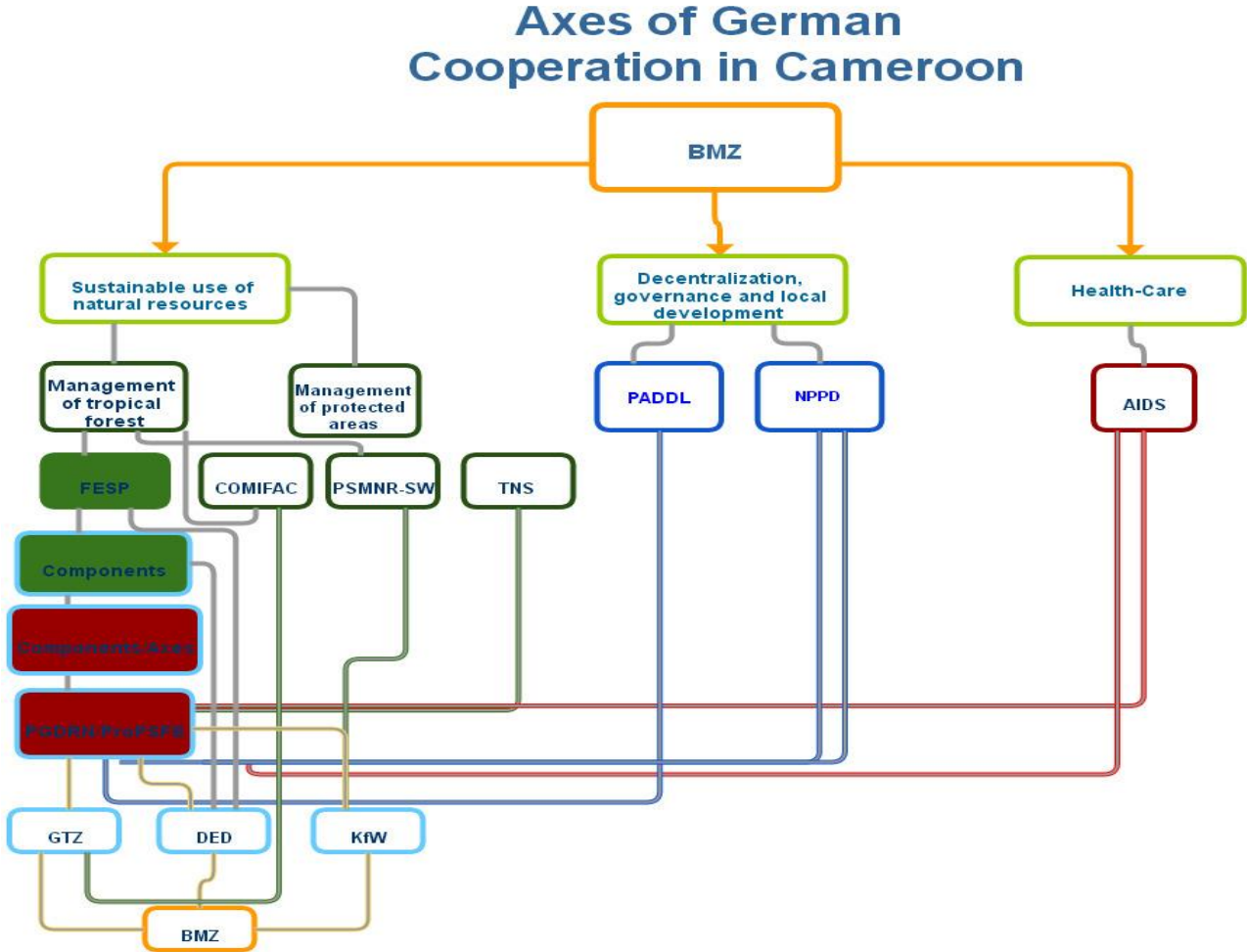


Figure 55 : Focal points and strategies of the German development cooperation in Cameroon (2008)

5.3.2. Global overview on Germany’s natural resources management in Cameroon

Germany has been very active in the management of natural resources in Cameroon and, according to the main idea defended in this analysis, has adopted means and measures in order to lead the Cameroonian government to the realization of global environmental requirements sketched in the UNCED and the WSSD.

5.3.2.1. Activities realized in the framework of the UNCED

As already discussed above, Germany's engagement in natural resources dates back in the 1980s but was enforced after 1992. In order to implement the recommendations of the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21, German development cooperation developed some projects, which were focused on biodiversity hotspots in southwestern and southeastern Cameroon⁸³. These projects include institutional enforcement through advisory services in the frame of "Technical Advisor" with a German advisor working directly in the MINEF and aiming at the developing of a national framework of implementing the biodiversity convention from 1994 to 2005 with a global amount of 1, 54 million euro.

At the local level, projects implemented in the southwestern regions included the Mount Cameroon Project (MCP) whose objective was the protection and conservation of natural resources in the Mount Cameroon region in 1994. Secondary objectives were concerned with the enforcement the capacity-building of all stakeholders involved in the management of natural resources in this region and ended in 2006. This project was implemented by DED and GTZ and was financed up to 2, 7 million euro (NCHOTAJI 2010).

The PROFA (Project for Protection of Forests around Akwaya) was launched in the Akwaya division with the core area as the Takamanda Forest Reserve (TFR) from May 2000 to February 2002 with the main aim of promoting studies and elaborating a participatory management plan for the TFR. The project was implemented by the GTZ and supported with a global amount of 1, 79 millions.

The contribution of the GTZ in the frame of the KNP project supported by German development cooperation since October 2000 was to develop management plans for the forest sector as well as participatory methods of integrating local populations in the sustainable management of the KNP. The project was funded with 1, 79 million euro and ended in September 2003.

The last project implemented in the southwest region in the frame of German development cooperation after the UNCED was the project for the promotion of ecotourism in the Mount Cameroon region (ECOTOUR). The main objective of this project was to use ecotourism as a mean of valuation and protection of forests and biodiversity.

⁸³ More information on these projects are described in Tchigankong 2006: 125-130.

In the southeastern region, the project „Protection of Natural Forests – PROFORNAT-“, was launched in 1996 and was implemented by the GTZ. It aimed at reducing forest depletion in this area and securing the sustainable use and management of biodiversity. The main idea behind this project was that a participatory approach towards management of forests and biodiversity will surely have some impacts on the improvement of people’s living standards as well to the preservation of natural resources. This project was granted a total amount of 3, 4 million euro and ended in March 2005 (DEBONNET 1997: 210).

In summary, the actions of German development are strongly aligned with the Rio requirements of sustainable development described in points 2.2.1.1., 2.2.1.2, 2.2.1.3 and 2.2.1.4. The promotion of better institutional frameworks was promoted through the advisory project was a mean of accompanying the Cameroonian government in the achievement of 2.2.1.1. The promotion of eco-tourism and the valuation of natural resources in order to improve income in the framework of the MCP, KNP and the promotion of ecotourism met the requirements of 2.2.1.2. However, the requirements described in 2.2.1.3. were only partly achieved with the provision of opportunities to earn a sustainable livelihood. All of these actions have contributed to reach some requirements of 2.2.1.4.

The introduction and implementation of this project into the Cameroonian framework of natural resources has enabled Germany to contribute to the global partnership for sustainable development and the requirement of strengthening endogenous capacity building for sustainable development discussed in 2.2.1.5.

5.3.2.2. Strategies and activities in the framework of the WSSD

After the WSSD, German development cooperation changed its approaches in supporting the Cameroonian government and introduced Sustainable Management of Natural Resources Program (PGDRN) in 2003 (RECS 2007). It is claimed that the development of this approach resulted from the lessons learnt from the implemented projects and the German wish to align the German contribution to the Cameroonian FESP. This program approach will also contribute to strengthening and widening impacts at the national level and not only at the local areas as it was the case in the project approach (See figure 59). In addition, the project approach was criticized of not integrating the national partners in monitoring and implementation.

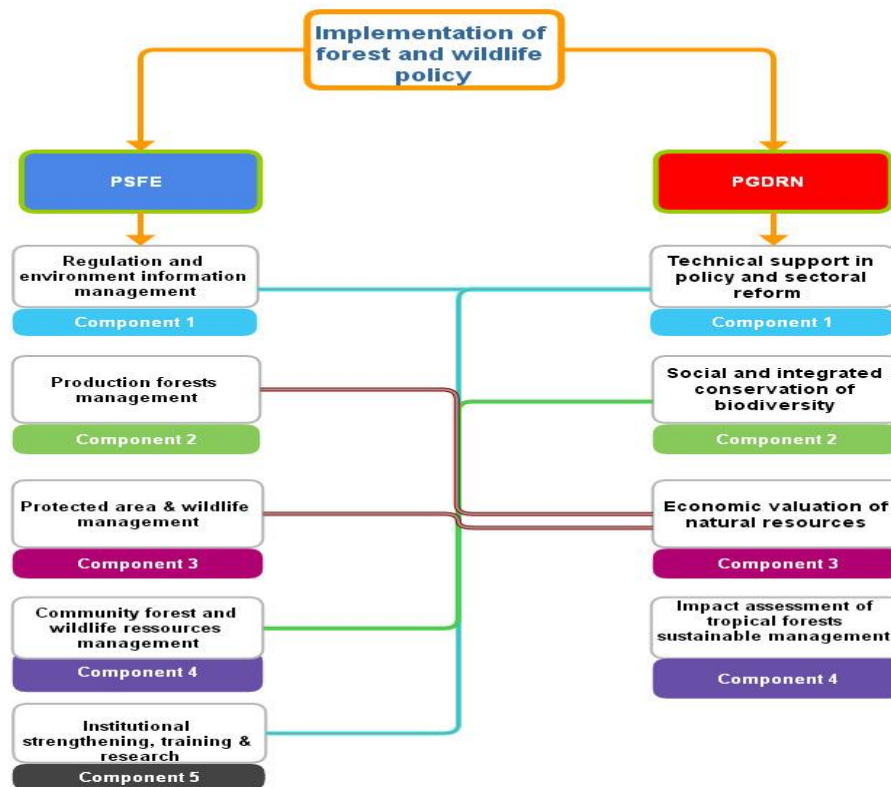


Figure 56 : Harmonization between FESP and PGDRN (modified from Tchigankong 2006: 133)

In this regard, the program approach of the German development cooperation was indeed a combination of the former environmental projects put in place and implemented by Germany's development institutions as argued by TCHIGANKONG (2006) and as illustrated in figure 57.

The support of political actions in the framework of management of natural resources was still present and was part of one component. PGDRN activities were dedicated to contribute to the technical implementation of FESP. In order to implement its objectives, the PGDRN has created three pilot sites: in Yaoundé (coordinating the activities in the center region), Buea (southwest) and Bertoua (southeast).

The Center antenna is responsible of the implementation of institutional measures related to improved forests and biodiversity management. The other antennas have developed some activities related to forest management planning, sensitization of population on population issues and capacity-building of public and private environmental institutions (TCHIGANKONG 2006: 137).

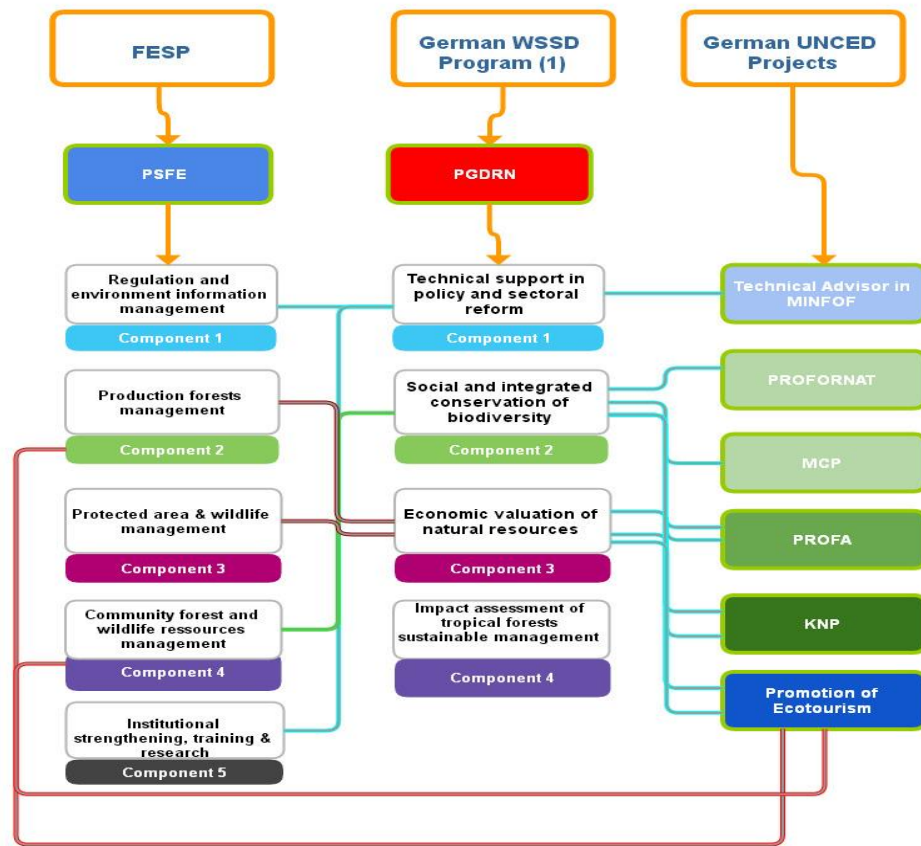


Figure 57 : Alignment and harmonization of environmental policies and strategies from the UNCED to WSSD (modified from TCHIGANKONG 2006:146)

Forest management plans were developed and implemented in southwest and southeast region in Cameroon through the technical cooperation of GTZ and DED and financed by the KfW with a general amount of 17, 5 million euro (BEESE and NGO NTOOGUE 2008: 6). Therefore, some management plans were developed for Takamanda and Korup national parks in southwest and Lobeke regions. These activities have contributed to participate in the accomplishment of sub-component 2 of FESP's component 2.

In addition, the GTZ supported land use planning in the southwest region, according to the requirement of Agenda 21 (Paragraph 10.5), which aimed at determining systematic assessment of physical, social and economic factors that encourage and assist land users in selecting options that increase their productivity, are sustainable and meet the needs of the society, for present and future generations. This activity was a contribution to achieve the targeted objective of FESP sub-component 2 of component 1, and partly the sub-component 1 of component 2, as well as sub-component 1 of component 3.

Concerning the achievements of the Sub-component 3 of component 1 and subcomponent 2 of component 3 of the FESP, the GTZ and DED have launched several advertising spots as well as direct sensitization campaigns in villages in the southwestern regions in order to encourage local population to be committed to natural resources conservation as required by CBD (art. 13).

The promotion of self-help initiatives aimed at reducing local people dependence to natural resources was launched and supported by the GTZ and DED in their focal regions. The activities included in this framework involved the valorization of NTFPs such as the *Prunus Africana* through the support of some organizations such as MOCAP, BOBEEFAG (apiculture), Mount CEO (Ecotourism) in southwest region. The contribution of the GTZ was resumed in the provision of technical means and knowledge and well as logistic infrastructures. CIG such as MOCAP were able to earn almost 40 000 € a year through this support and CODEV service specialized in NTFPs such as *Ricinidendron heudlotii* (Njansang), *Irvingia gabonensis*, (bush mango) earning 9500/year. Similar activities were supported in southeastern regions in villages such as Bangando, Mbimo, Boumba Bek and Nki in the Lobeke region. FESP's subcomponent 5 of component 2 related activities were therefore implemented.

Further activities put in place by the GTZ are outlined in TCHIGANKONG (2006: 141) and involve activities such as land-use plans, which have contributed to classify 22 FMUs, 4 communal forests, 14 community-hunting zones and 10 hunting zones as well as the creation of 3 national parks in the southeast. The creation of participative management plans that take into consideration the needs and will of local people around some protected areas in their intervention zone, the ability to have developed a strategy that enable some communities to earn some benefit from wildlife and forests management put in place by the German cooperation deserve some respect.

By the end of the first phase of its activities in September 2007, the PGDRN has contributed to the achievement of components 1, 2, 3 and 5 and of the FESP and their subcomponents. Some activities such as wood industrialization (in component 2), legal and institutional reform (in component 3) and several activities in component 4 and five were however not strongly taken into consideration during this first phase. This might be the reason why German development cooperation launched the second phase of the program of management of natural resources in Cameroon.

The ProPSFE (Programme d'appui au PSFE⁸⁴) was launched as a follower program of the PGDRN and is divided into two phases. The first phase has started in October 2007 and ended in December 2010 while the second phase started in January 2011 and ended in September 2015. The second phase was completely financed by the BMZ with 8 million euro and the whole program from 2003 to 2015 is supposed to be funded with a global amount of 26 million euro. This program will be implemented at the national, regional and local level in cooperation with public and CSOs. Figure 58 described its main axes and related objectives. The launch of this program is explained by a World Bank report asserting that, environmental management in Cameroon is marked by an increased gap between an apparent political will for implementation and the true ability of the government to implement the FESP. In addition, regional institutions were less implicated in the realization of the FESP and the environmental law was still not seriously implemented. Communities and local populations were not benefiting so much from forests and wildlife exploitation and are scarcely informed about their rights to resources (GTZ 2009b). Moreover, MAMBO* (2010) argues that one of the most important aim of the ProPSFE is to implement the Cameroonian national forestry program, since the support brought the PGDRN to this national program was disintegrated and not visible. Therefore, the aim of the ProPSFE is to come closer to the MINFOF and MINEP, to harmonize their activities and make sure that the national ministries implement the FESP activities efficiently.

⁸⁴ FESP support program

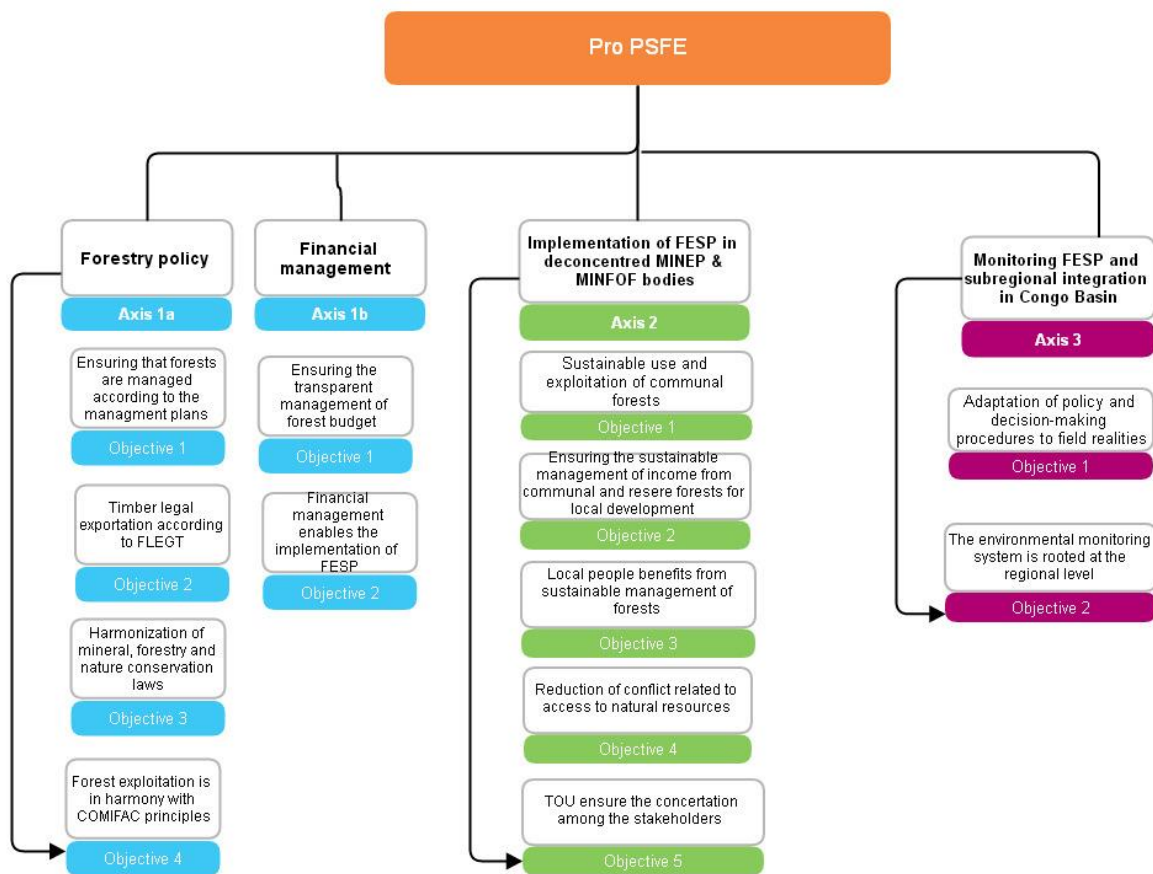


Figure 58 : GTZ-ProPSFE axis and objectives during its 1st phase (2007-2010)

In order to implement the sets of activities described in figure 59, the ProPSFE has developed mechanisms such as the public-private partnership. With this procedure, some projects are financed by the ProPSFE but are executed by NGOs or INGOs. This strategy has been used for the implementation of activities related to forests certification, fight against HIV in forested areas and timber concessions and the exploitation and trading of NTFPs.

The second strategy is concerned with direct service delivery whose aim is to strengthen the capacity of all involved actors in the implementation of FESP at the macro, meso and micro levels. The provision of assistance and technical expertise to resource-persons involved in the forest management sector is also part of the mechanism used by the ProPSFE.

The last one includes the provision of grants aid and subsidies to CSOs to local actors and communities in order to strengthen their capacity- and organization-building.

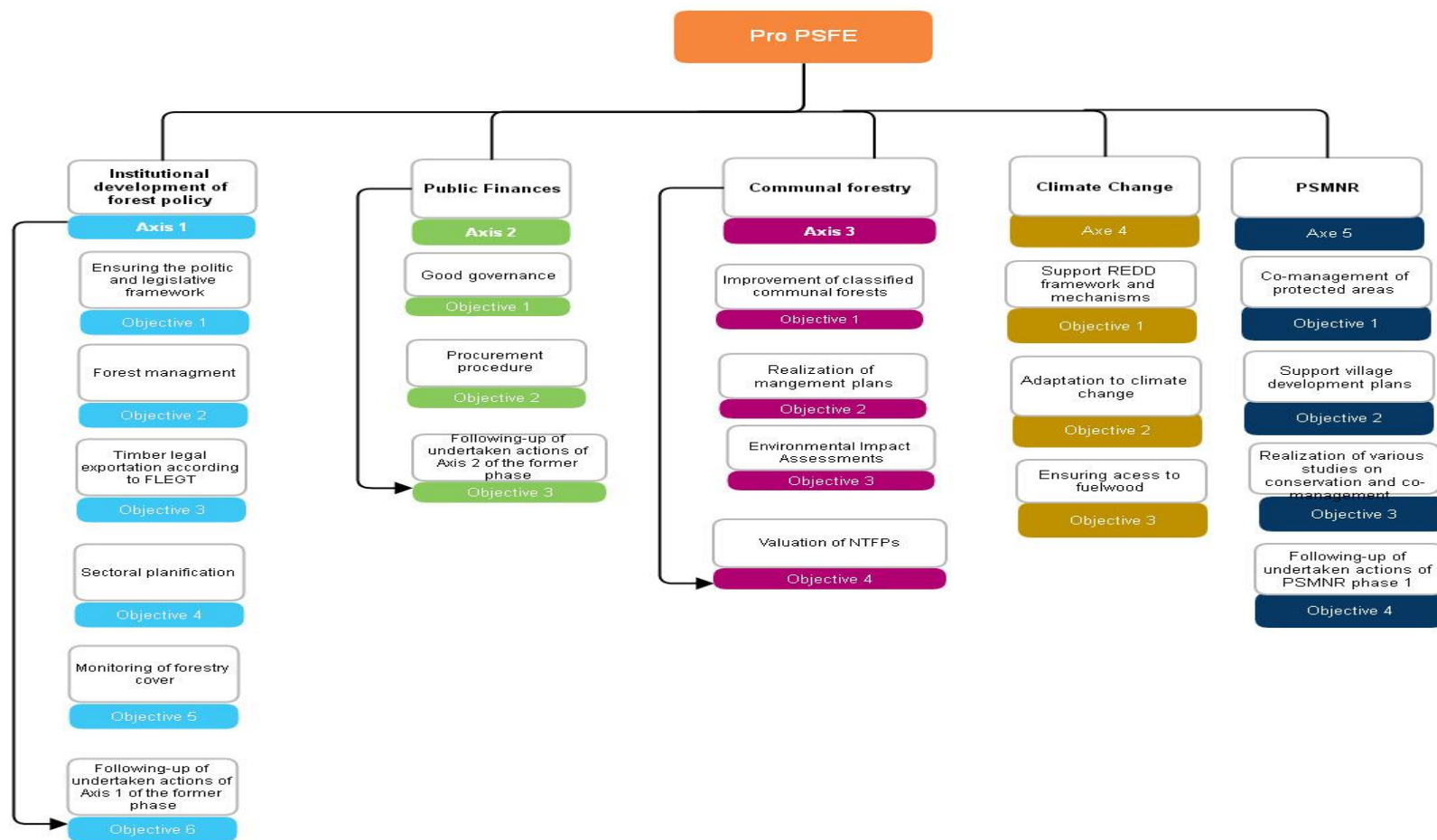


Figure 59 : GTZ-ProPSFE axis and objectives during its 2nd phase (2011-2015)

During the second phase of its activities, the ProPSFE went through some strategic changes but with a strong wish to conform with the sets of activities started during the first phase.

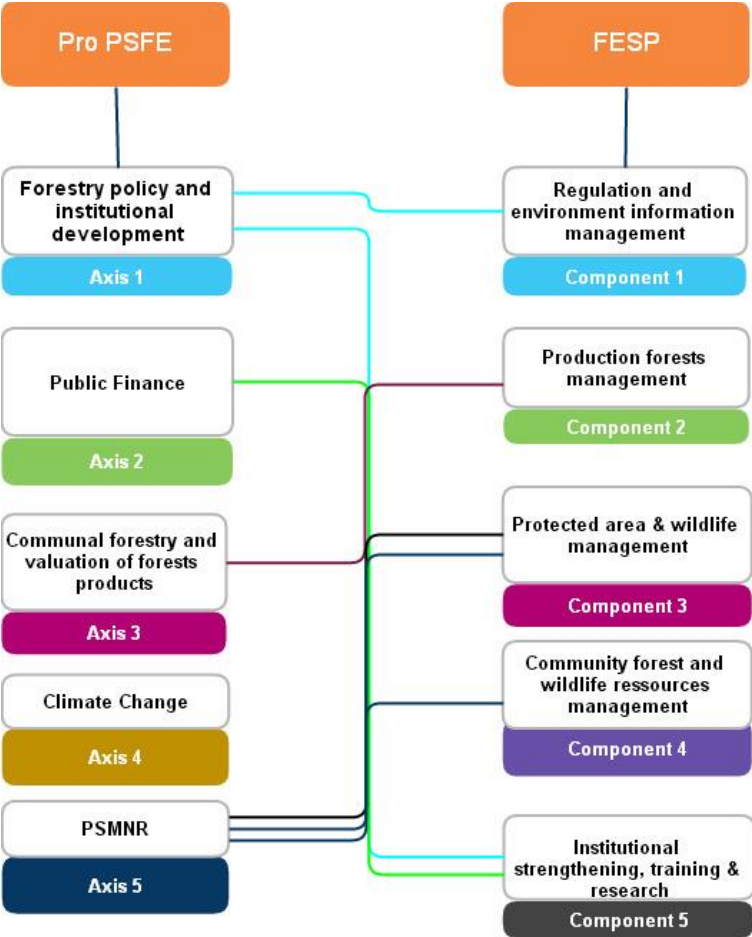


Figure 60 : comparing ProPSFE to FESP objectives

In fact and as illustrated in figures 57 and 58, the strong progression and strong governmentality orientation of German development cooperation could be observed in the first component or axis of intervention concerned with policy framework and institutional development. The targeted objective of this first axis is to set down a legislative and institutional framework that will facilitate the sustainable use of forestry resources as well as timber traceability.

The aims and objectives of the second axis have not changed so far, a great focus was put on communal forest management in the third axis which aims to ensure sustainable forests management and use of communal forests as well as fuelwood provision. Every municipality

is invited to develop a municipality development plan (MDP) and the ProPSFE should ensure that at least three forests reserves are transferred to municipalities every year.

The other innovation of the ProPSFE II was the introduction of the REDD process and the openness of a new antenna in far north (Maroua) in strong collaboration with the MINEP in the fourth axis. It aimed at strengthening the legislative and institutional framework of REDD mechanisms into the national climate policy and to implement those mechanisms at the national level. The program is also concerned with developing measure in renewable energy in Maroua Zone.

The PSMNR-SWR (Program for Sustainable Management of Natural Resources in the South-West Region of Cameroon) was launched in 2006-2010 for its first phase and from January 2011 to December 2015. The aim of this program was to “promote the sustainable forest and wildlife management by affected stakeholders for their benefit, with emphasis on the poorer segment of the local populations”. The program, which is financed by the KfW and realized in cooperation with the GTZ and DED, has as its main objective the preservation of high-value ecosystems in South-West region in the Mt Cameroon, Korup and Takamanda-Mone national parks. It should contribute to the improvement of livelihoods of the surrounding communities. It is argued that the PSMNR-SWR has used a participatory approach in order to develop general awareness-raising and involvement of the concerned stakeholders (GRAF and MÜNKNER 2010: 4-7). The main objective of this program in the framework of the ProPSFE is to achieve conservation agreements and improved agricultural production.

The set of activities, which were implemented during the first phase of the ProPSFE include activities such as capacity-building of MINFOF and MINEP as well as for other stakeholders (councils - through council development plans) training of staff, support in planning and implementation of their activities (MAMBO* 2010: 318). MAMBO* (2010) the regional coordinator of the ProPSFE program in the southwest region confirms BÖS* (2010) assertion that the ProPSFE support in Cameroon is more oriented to institutional support and less towards activities at the micro level. The micro activities are implemented in southwest region by the PSMNR-SWR and involved activities such as bee-keeping, the development of small farming, palm-oil production (MAMBO* 2010: 319). This program has also developed regional land use and zoning plans for TOUs, community and council forestry, collaborative strategies management plans of protected areas and village development plans, which have contributed to the rehabilitation of social infrastructures such as water points in the southwest region (MAMBO* 2010, GRAF and MÜNKNER 2010).

Further local activities at the local level in southwest region were implemented by the DED as in Bakingili and Bova II in the form of creation of village development plans including activities such as community forests and their management plans, forests inventories and livelihood activity as bee-keeping, smoking fish. Other activities such as training in yams cultivation, area markation (land-use), breeding of some wild animals such as porcupine, reforestation of cleared forests and the creation of forests committee, which is responsible of watching over the Mount Cameroon National park, were implemented by the (MATIKE NGOMBA* 2010: 342; NWOKE BUBATU* 2010).

The impacts of these local activities were perceived in terms of the fact that it has developed some alternatives to people's dependency to forests and wildlife as well as income generating activities, which have improved the financial status of the involved actors.

Similar activities were implemented in the southeast regions, where the focus was mostly put at the regional level on the achievement of the objectives described in ProPSFE axis 2 of the first phase and axe 3 during the second one. These activities could be summarized as involvement in the creation of communal forests and the supervision of the distribution of annual area-based royalties (PROPSFE 2009). This contribution was integrated in the realization of the specified objectives. To this aim, the GTZ-ProPSFE has supported councils in the process of identification and classification of their forest and in the development of their forest management plans. The section branch also made sure that the taxes provided by concession to local communities are used for the development of 15 councils, among which in Dimako, Yokadouma, Moloundou and Gari Gombo (PROPSFE 2008).

The GTZ team in southeast region in the frame of ProPSFE (I) implemented other actions in order to fulfill the third objective and insertion of stakeholder in the TOUs management and the reduction of conflict related to access to resources as in Mambélé for example through the realization of ecological zoning plans and forest certification. These plans are claimed to have reduced poaching activities and illegal logging in southeast region since it has contributed to the establishment of several hunting zones and COVAREF (CERRUTI, INGRAM and SONWA 2009).

Activities related to the valuation of NTFPs were encouraged through the support of CIG in Lomie and in Mbang among other. The promotion of access to fuelwood happens through the support of charcoal CIG in Mbang and Libongo among others, bricks manufacturing in Libongo, animals breeding in Deng. The support was offered in terms of technical formation

of charcoal producers, the provision of improved oven, the negotiation with forest concession for a sustained wood supply (ANZENKILA NKAMBA* 2010 and NZE* 2010). This last strategy could be considered as a mean of better valuation of biomass.

German development cooperation has been active in Cameroon and had developed several sets of activities in this regard. However, the implementation of several activities was confronted by some challenges as was also the case in Benin.

5.3.2.3. Persistent challenges related to sustainable management of natural resources in Cameroon

From the first group of challenges, it results that lack of institutional coordination and slowness in the implementations of reforms as well as the conflict of language in natural resources perception and management strategies were the first main challenges to natural resources management.

The second groups of challenges included governance problems such as corruption, status and working conditions of forests, and the status of environmental experts, the non-inclusion of local people in decision-making procedures, and all the sets of existing power technologies among elites and “normal” citizens in access and benefit sharing in the natural resources management process.

The third group of challenges could be summarized as other groups of problems such as monetary poverty, agricultural activities and wasteful use of timber by forest concessions, illegal hunting and poaching activities.

Facing these various forms of problems, the Cameroonian government has developed some policies and legal frameworks, whose strong co-relation with international requirements have been made obvious during this analysis. In relation to this policy, German development cooperation has first of all developed its own sets of projects, whose aim was firstly to contribute to the implementation of international requirements in the forests and biodiversity management sector.

The accordance between Germany development policy in the environmental sector and the Cameroon environmental policy happened after the WSSD and Germany has since that period developed different program approaches in order to “help” the Cameroonian government in the implementation of this policy. Normally, one of the main objectives of German development cooperation in Cameroon is to contribute to overcome those constraints and challenges, to which the Cameroonian government could “apparently”, not come through.

However, experience from the field research has shown that German development cooperation was itself confronted by some sets of challenges.

According to the first group of challenges, it resulted that the German development cooperation through its approach of advisory services in the MINFOF and the MINEP has, however not succeeded in harmonizing the two ministries in such a way that they can deliver better and efficient service. Slowness in the validation of environmental management plans continue to be common issues and Cameroonian environmental institutions are still showing strong weaknesses, which hinder the efficiency of any action in this sector even in the management of funds provided through the Paris Declaration network. In fact, the Cameroonian government has sometimes shown its inaptitude in managing the funding provided by its international partners. Strong and complicated bureaucracies in the centralized offices in the capital cities are responsible for the significant delays in the implementation of policies (MAMBO* 2010: 323-326; CARILLO 2010: 367). In addition, some projects are supposed to be implemented in strong cooperation with Cameroonian officials, however, in the process of implementation, one realizes that some officials are paid for posts they are not occupying and are fictive officials. The explanation of this is that several Cameroonian officials do not want to work in far-flung parts of the country (CARILLO 2010: 367). Political will and strong commitments of the Cameroonian government in improving its governance status is a requirement in this process. German development cooperation could not bear and shoulder this responsibility. The second category of problems is also concerned with this idea.

“The MINEP is not operational; its officials are never in place. Therefore, all the developed strategies, which have been in place since several years are not implemented on the field. The consequence is that the third axis is not functioning at all” (CARILLO* 2010: 370)⁸⁵

Secondly, German development cooperation was confronted by strong power-relations in the implementation of its projects with strong resistance from forests concessions. To make this evident, the lack of cooperation of the managers of SFID forest concession in project of production of charcoal in Mbang in cooperation with the ProPSFE. In fact, an agreement was signed between the charcoal producers CIG and the SFID through the GIZ in order to enable the CIG to have access to waste of timber in the production of charcoal. This agreement was not respected because the SFID has refused to provide the required timber although the CIG members have got the required training in charcoal production provided by the GIZ. The consequences have been that, the CIG members in Mbang were refused access to the calcination furnaces promised by the GIZ and the project could not meet its expectations

⁸⁵ Own translation from French

(ANZENKILA NKAMBA 2010: 377). “The Germans wanted to help us, but with all the complications SFID, they finally decided to stop all their activities” (IBID: 391). In this case of figure, the failure of Germans authorities to establish the dialogue between the CIG and the SFID raised a few eyebrows.

The other challenge related to the German development cooperation is connected to the fact that some projects could not be implemented because the allocated funds were embezzled or misdirected in the complicated bureaucratic process. As a result the country is confronted with stillborn projects, since some projects are supposed to be implemented through the basket fund as required by the Paris Declaration.

Internal functioning problems of the ProPSFE are not negligible in the regress or standstill of projects. A great amount of the ProPSFE is spent in the sector of provision of advisory service with almost 13 German advisors working in the ministries and spending a lot of money on administrative issues. They also have all the infrastructural comfort in terms of modes of transport while some antennas, which are implementing relevant project on the field lack all these facilities and are obliged to work with very restricted budget (CARILLO * 2010: 367).

The other internal problem is the frustration of ProPSFE actors who do not understand why they have the required technical potentialities to implement some projects but that some other international institutions as the WWF are doing this at the expense of their team (TNS and Lobeke project) (IBID: 371).

Just as in Benin, although the ProPSFE has tried to introduce new agricultural methods supposed to be environmentally friendly, the populations in southwest and southeastern are posing some resistance and prefer to use their traditional agricultural systems (NWOKE BUBATU 2010, CARILLO 2010: 373).

5.4.2. Governmentality and Biopolitics of German development cooperation in Cameroon

German development cooperation has had some impacts on Cameroonian environmental policies and effects on people’s living conditions. It is relevant to analyze the changes of how German development cooperation has changed the environmental policy framework in Cameroon and how these changes have made the government policies closer to international requirements.

5.4.2.1. Governmentality of the German development cooperation in Cameroon

German development cooperation has a strong impact on the Cameroonian environmental domestic policies. As TCHIGANKONG (2006) argues, the German program approach developed after the WSSD was in fact a combination of former German projects. Since the conception of the PGDRN, the Cameroonian government was deeply influenced by the German environmental policy so that the strong accordance between the components and objectives of the FESP was made evident in the PGDRN and not vice-versa. This is evidenced by the fact that, the Cameroonian FESP could be a German conception or that the Germans have strongly influenced its conception in order to direct the Cameroonian policy to the internationally required standards. Since the Cameroonian government was made to develop strategies and policies conforming to the German environmental project, the Cameroonian government has been introduced into the process of subjectification.

In addition, the fact that the German development cooperation is retrieving from direct field impact and prefers to focus its contribution on the institutional and ministerial level could be interpreted as a desire to conduct or influence the Cameroonian environmental policy from the basis. As Mambo* (2010) argues, one of the great role of the ProPSFE advisors was to lead Cameroon in the adoption of the FLEGT.

“You heard that Cameroon has signed the FLEGT. It was a lot of macro level support from GTZ-ProPSFE to accompany all the negotiation. All these issues of public finance, how to improve the management of financing relation between MINFI, MINEP, and MINFOF. So, there is a GTZ advisor at all that level who makes sure that the flow of funds to implement activities goes on smoothly between those ministries” (MAMBO 2010: 320).

This quotation evidences the German development cooperation is rationalizing Cameroonian governmental practice through the process of institutionalization of state apparatus as discussed in point 1.2. It results that the German officials working as advisors govern the conduct of Cameroonian official and the governmentalization of Cameroonian environmental policy, since the government is showing some inaptitude of self-control. This idea is enforced by Mambo who further argues that Cameroonian officials have often claimed that they are unable to manage the provided funds of development cooperation because of complicated systematic procedures related to their management. It has resulted that the management of the basket fund was handed-over to GTZ-IS (GTZ-International Service) for some couples of years. This means that the government was controlling neither the conception nor the implementation.

In addition, the global established control techniques allow global actors to determine the range and classification of “governance level” of countries in order to explain or give them

right to keep control over some relevant means (finance for example). Relying on Transparency International's Corruption Index and other "countries rating agencies", Cameroon is argued to be a "financial risky country" with strong corruption index. It will be dangerous to leave domestic officials with access over means of implementation of projects and programs. These norms give rational explanation of strong control techniques and exercises of political power over Cameroonian officials. All these elements confirm GORDON (1991) argument that governmentality is about investigating who can govern, how best to be governed and how to govern oneself and others CARILLO* (2010) argues that, development and environmental policies and all the inclusive mechanisms of implementation are in fact developed to be implemented in western countries and are not appropriate for several African countries. This is the reason why several African countries like Cameroon have difficulties in implementing all these foreign policies and strategies. Instead of transposing those policies, it is advisable to ask what those countries need. A great rhetoric problem is present in the framework of development cooperation with Cameroon because of this conflict of language. Cameroon is pushed to adopt policies, which are not suitable to her framework. It is therefore obvious that nothing will happen as planned at the international level.

This field of power exercising is not limited to institutions but is carried over to individuals, modifying their everyday life and sometimes contributes in maintaining them in a status quo.

5.4.2.2. Biopolitics of German development cooperation in Cameroon

The effect of German development cooperation on peoples' life in Cameroon is one of the most ambiguous one. The perception differs from one community to another and some facts and circumstances related to the implementation of some activities could explain this situation.

The first and evident aspect of biopolitics in the German development cooperation is related to the non-involvement of Germany in the crisis between the charcoal producers in Mbang and SFID presented in 5.5.2. In fact, the Cameroonian forest policy maintains local people at a subordinate status condemned to subordinate actions with low income. Most of those people do not have any power and are voiceless. Moreover, whenever they accept their subordinated role, some incomprehensible power relationships are set-down between them and foreign forests companies, which preferred to burn waste timber to ashes instead of enabling those communities to transform them into charcoal. The fact that the German cooperation, which was already strongly involved in this charcoal production project, leaves this case pending

could lead to the conclusion that their main preoccupation is not so much the improvement of people living standards.

The idea of subordination could be reinforced by the fact that, since the 1980s that the German development cooperation has been active in the forest sector in Cameroon, no project aiming at developing the secondary sector in forest management for local population has been introduced. It is obvious that communal forest and harvesting methods and means used by local people could not challenge the production facilities of foreign companies. A close analysis of the German development cooperation leads to the observation that they are more involved in the promotion activities that can be classified in the primary sector of the economy. The most rewarding activities are left under the control of foreigners enforcing the economic extraversion of the country and keep people in a permanent state of resourcefulness.

In addition, German development cooperation has introduced some farming practices and wild animals breeding, which have of course had some positive impact in conservative issues, but have tremendously changed people cultivation strategies, consumption patterns and alimentary customs. Villagers from Bova II were obliged to abandon their traditional yams in order to farm the new yams species introduced by the Germans and were forbidden from any hunting activities and to eat some animals they have bred themselves (NWOKE BUBATU 2010).

5.5. Summary

At the end of this analysis, it is observable that due to some climatic conditions as well as its geographical position, Cameroon's has a great forest and biodiversity potential that could be used as a mean of promotion of economic and social development.

Those natural elements are perceived differently from one population group to another as far as their social and cultural roles are concerned. However, since the colonial period, forests and biodiversity were given foremost an economic importance. Colonialism has also introduced Cameroon in an extroverted economy of timber and wildlife valuation put in place firstly by the Germans and adapted by the French and the British through the expansion of forests concessions. While forests were used for the promotion of colonial economy, wildlife in opposition was already protected through the creation of several protected areas in the sense of colonial governmentality discussed in point 2.6.2. The independent Cameroon adapted a centralized strategy of management of natural resources which has disillusioned the forests' local people who hope for an improvement of their situation. However the post-

colonial Cameroon lately perceived and evaluated and the economic potentiality of their forest since the forest exploiters were the main beneficiaries of this natural resource.

Notwithstanding the fact that Cameroon is endowed with all this potentiality, the analysis has highlighted the fact that Cameroon forests and biodiversity are subjected to intense pressures. The Cameroon government is confronted with several institutional and economic shortages in its management of natural resources. Financial poverty and the research of survival means have led local population to develop activities close to forests exploitation or transformation such as agriculture, hunting or the exploitation of NTFPs. These activities, if they are not well regulated could lead to serious depletion. Cameroon's introduction into the global environmental discourse started slowly after the UNCHE. The country has developed internal means of implementation of the required international strategies, which was mostly imprinted with strong conservative measures excluding local population. The number of new created areas as well as the change of status of some protected areas, and how easily that could happen after the independence is a proof of agency of the post-colonial government. The participative issues which were launched at the international level during the 1980s and which were internationalized with the Rio Conference is from the institutional analysis present in Cameroon. However, it could be argued that the government has not yet understood the complete meaning of participation, which is often confused with processes of information sharing with local populations.

“What officials considered as ‘participative’ in this country is that local people are informed of activities, which have already been already implemented. Informing is not participating” (CARILLO* 2010: 366).

Local people are the biggest losers in the natural resources management in Cameroon. They are subjected to several constraints and power-relations coming from the structural violence put in place by their government and enforced by financially powerful companies. They have lost power over their resources and passively assist their exploitation without always benefiting from any kind of advantages. They stay at the margins of all activities and are alienated from all their rights.

“Forest exploitation disturbs us very much and we do not have any power to stop this massacre. The government and the westerners are the only ones who understand what is going over here. Every day, we witness and look on helplessly to the destruction of our medicinal and rituals trees as well as to the destruction of our housing. No other alternatives have been proposed to us, we do not have money to cure ourselves and trees we were using are not more available” (IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS-BAKA 2010: 402).

Natural resources policies are giving less concern to the promotion of local people's living standards. They place more importance to industrial exploitation (economic), than on ecological and social issues.

The actions of the German development in Cameroon in the environmental sector could be argued to have firstly a strong ecological orientation, and secondly a social orientation. This strong orientation to ecological promotion is in harmony with the German commitment to promotion of the preservation of the environment of developing countries according to the international requirements as already discussed in 3.4.1. and sub-points. Germany's high priority is the preservation of the environment. This explains why she has developed several sets of strategies in order to implement the FESP.

In contrast to Benin, the implications of the German development cooperation are not so tangible at the field level, and Germany's institutional support is very difficult to evaluate. If it has been shown that Cameroon faces serious difficulties in the implementation of her environmental policy. One might ask if the problem is not rooted in implementation facilities rather than in policy conception.

The fact that German development cooperation is more oriented towards institutional cooperation in Cameroon and watches out if the basket fund dedicated to environmental management is well managed by the Cameroonian authorities could be interpreted as techniques and technologies of power.

Their non involvement to defend local people rights even, when the threat in relation to the implementation of their projects could be interpreted as their acceptance of holding the identities in place. Powerful companies have all the rights of exploitation while local people have all the duties of conservation and preservation of natural resources. The global and colonial rationality of exploitation of timber and wildlife resource at the expense of local population continues to be common practice in the natural resources management strategies in Cameroon and Germany. Additionally, the Cameroonian government has not yet overcome this great challenge. Even according to the global development norms such as the MDGs and the HDI, it will be difficult to highlight the impact of German development cooperation in the sustainable improvement of local people lives in Cameroon in opposition to Benin, where their field actions have contributed a lot. The evidence is that, Cameroon has gone through several environmental policies but their impacts and results are still slow to appear.

6. Namibia and Global environmental management

In contrast to Benin and Cameroon, Namibia is a very young state that got its independence in 1990. In opposite to other African countries, Namibia was confronted to strong land-management and related natural resources problems, which could be considered as a colonial heritage.

In addition, Namibia as independent country does not seem to give more attention to be integrated into the international requirements and acceptance, but has rather tried to develop a domestic policy, which will first of all be focused on the nation-building objective. Therefore, the government has developed different domestic policies, which are integrated into the global discourse.

6.1. Natural resource management in Namibia

6.1.1. Overview on Namibian natural resources

Namibia is located in the south west of the African continent and is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean on the west and has Angola and Zambia to the north, Botswana to the east and South Africa to the south as neighboring countries. The country covers a total land area of 824 269 km², almost two times Cameroon and eight times Benin (SWEET AND BURKE 2006).

As VAN SCHALKWYK, MCMILLIN, WITTHUHN and HOFFMAN (2010) argue, Namibia is the driest country in Africa south of the Sahara and is characterized by diversified vegetation types and is rich in wildlife species.

Concerning vegetation repartition, Namibia is closer to Benin with savannahs covering more than 60% of the land area, followed by 20 % of dry woodland and 16 % of desert (IBID, OKITSU 2005: 138) (map 18).

Savannahs' vegetation includes dwarf savannah characterized with several types of acacia tree species and bushes near the small Karoo (semi-arid region) such as *Rhigozum trichotomum*, *Catophractes alexandrii*, *Erioccephalus*. The Kalahari Xeric savannah is covered with other acacia types such as *haematoxylon* and *Boscia*. These areas are characterized with low rainfall which scarcely goes beyond 200 mm a year. In the other savannahs areas such as acacia-Baikaea savannahs, the rainfall is more abundant (average of 400-600 mm) and favors the development of abundant shrubs such as *Ziziphus mucronata*, *Tarconanthus camphoratus*, *Grewia flava*, *Ozoroa paniculosa*, and thornbush (OKITSU 2005)

Concerning Mopane woodland, it is characterized with a specific vegetation type dominated with shrubs such as the *Colophospermum mopane*.

Other woodlands (deciduous trees and savannahs) are characterized with dry woodland and more rainfall (500-700 mm) covered by shrubs species such as *Baikia plurijugia*, *Burkea africana*, *Guibourtia coleosperma* and *Pterocarpus angolensis*.

As far as the desert vegetation type is concerned (dry vegetation type), it could be observed that the Namib Desert covers an important area of the country. These areas receive less than 50 mm rainfall every year and support some grasses species such as *Sporobolus*, *Stipagrostis* spp. *Stipagrostis gonatostachys* which grows after the raining season.

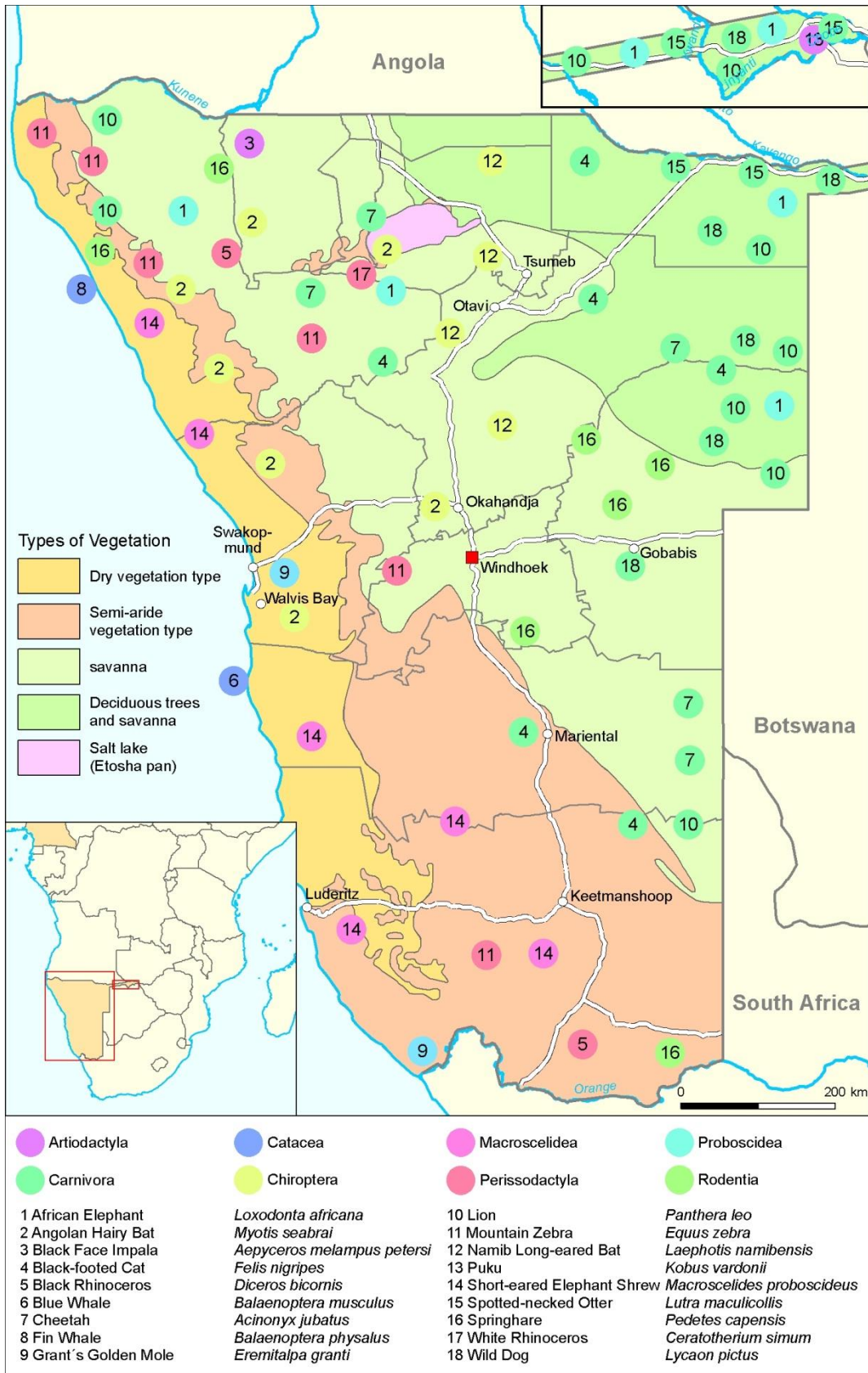
The Etosha pan is described as a saline desert (salt lake) characterized with dwarf shrub savannahs covered by species such as *Leucosphaera bainesii*, *Monechma genistifolia*, *Petalidium engleranum*, *Salsola etoshensis* and an important quantity of wildlife species (see map 18).

From this global overview, it could be observed that Namibia is not a forest country and in the country policy, the concept forest is used to describe dry, semi-open and open woodlands covering the north-central and north eastern part of Namibia. Some high trees species are found in this area and distributed in the neighboring countries such as Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe in the Zambesian *Baikiaea* woodlands, Zambesian and Monope woodlands. The Caprivi region possesses the most important and high trees in Namibia and is followed by Kavango and Ohangwena regions (MAWF 2011).

To resume, almost 4000 species of plants have been registered in Namibia with 76 % of herbaceous, 10 % of grasses, 2, 3 % of mosses and 10 % of woody trees. These plants cohabit with at least two million head of different wildlife species in Namibia with 292 species of mammals including 14 endemic species (MENDELSON and EL OBEID 2005: 10, VAN SCHALKWYK et al 2010: 3483, NUDING in O'RIORDAN and STOLL-KLEEMANN 2002: 193)

6.1.2. Roles and functions of natural resources in Namibia

Natural resources in Namibia play different roles according to people ethnical groups. Just as the socio-cultural importance of wildlife and “forest” have been highlighted in Benin and Cameroon, it is relevant to point out the similitude and differences in their perception.



Map 18: Namibian principal vegetation types and mammals species

Draft: Tchigankong Noubissié
Cartography: Diehl

6.1.2.1. Socio-cultural roles and functions of natural resources in Namibia

A contrastive analysis of map 18 and 19 shows that the Ovambo, Kavango and Caprivi live in areas covered with some trees and populated with several wildlife species. This is the reason, why it is relevant to highlight the roles and functions of forests only for this group of people. The roles and functions of wildlife will be analyzed for the other ethnical groups.

Within the 824 000 km² of area live only 2 044 147 people from different origins and race in Namibia and several ethnic groups mostly living in a clan system with the Ovambo (50%), the Kavango (9%), Herero (7%), Damara (7%), Nama (5%), Caprivian (4%), Bushmen (3%), Baster (2%) and the Tswana (0,5%) (KAS 2011).

The Ovambo are considered as a sub-branch of the Bantu group and represent the majority of people in Namibia with around one million people and live principally in northern part of the country northern to the Etosha pan (*Chigovera 2005*). They occupy 56 000 km² and although their domestic economy relies mainly on agriculture and pastoralism, they however show some great social respect on some trees and fruits trees which are source of food such as the *Andersonia digitata*, *Schlerocarya birrea*, *Diospyros mespiliformis*, *Ficus sycomoros* and *Berchemia discolor* (Davies 1994: 5). Apart of having this spiritual function, the Ovambo have developed some fear to some bush areas and tree species argued to be inhabited by spirits. This respect towards some trees is concerned with some animal's species that are considered emblems of several clans without been used as relics. Moreover, a strong belief exists that the spirit ovakwamungu (IBID: 17 and 32).

The Kavango people also belong to the Bantu group is very close to the Ovambo and live in the far north of Namibia alongside the Kavango River and include sub-ethnic people such as the Kwangili, Mbunza, Sambyu, Gciriku and Mbukushu. They live principally from horticulture and animal husbandry (ECKL 2007). Those people settle to this area because of this river that was suitable to farming activities and have each their own system of knowledge regarding land-use and perception of natural resources. The Kavango region is one of the most dense place in Namibia with 70% people within the 10 kilometer zone and has some limitation in land availability for crop cultivation. Some 233 000 people were registered in the Kavango regions in 2006 (MENDELSON and EL OBEID 2006). The river presence has favored the emergence of great variety of wildlife and natural vegetation and some tree species in the Kavango region. Mangetti are for example used to produce a liquor (kashipembe) famous in the Kavango region (IBID). Generally the Kavango use some 48 plant species (bark, leaves,

roots, fruits and seeds of trees), to treat several diseases such as malaria, diarrhea, tuberculosis and sexually transmitted infections such as Marula tree (*Sclerocarya birrea*), Sausage tree (*Kigelia africana*) to treat candidiasis, diarrhea, bilhaziasis and colds, Flu Herpex respectively (CHINSEMBU, HEDIMBi and MUKARU 2011).



Draft: Tchigankong Noubissié
Cartography: Diehl

Map 19: Principal ethnical repartition in Namibia

The Caprivians live in the north-eastern Namibia and are claimed to be descendants of Zambian Kingdoms. Caprivi is considered as the poorest region in Namibia in term of financial poverty with very low household income (half of those of the country) (HARRING and ODENTAL 2012). Some 66 000 people live in the Caprivi strip that is made up of ethnical groups such as the Masubia, Mafwe, Mayeyi, Mbukushu and Matotela. Trees and wildlife are not having strong socio-cultural implications in people’s life in Namibia as it is the case by the Caprivians. In fact, since the region has the highest density and variety of trees and

plants⁸⁶ in Namibia, Caprivians have developed particular relationship to these natural elements. Some wild plants are used as food such as the *Berchemia discolor* also used by the Kavango and NTFPs (mostly wild fruits) such as Blue Sourplum (*Ximenia americana*), Large Sourplum (*Ximenia coffra*) and Sycamore Fig (*Ficus sycomorus*) (MULONGA 2003: 16). MULONGA further argues that, several social activities in Caprivi is related to the harvest of wild fruits that has the social role of building networks in the communities as people share their harvested fruits and develop quality such as reciprocity. This social role is enforced by the role of this wild fruits used as food and argued to contain higher amount of vitamins and minerals than normal domestic fruits.

Concerning cultural role of natural resources in Caprivi, it is both related to the respect Caprivians gives to some resources and to the related activities such as no sex before hunting, not kill more than one animal a day and a group of birds for example (IBID).

It could be therefore observed that, just as in Benin and Cameroon, trees and wildlife are playing great social and cultural role by the northern Namibians with the strong difference that, their social role is far more explicit than the cultural. The MAWF (2011) argues that Namibians (mostly rural) strongly depend on wood for local construction and energy requirements. In addition, wildlife management and the conservancies system contribute to employ directly 154 people in conservancies coupled with 605 full-time jobs and 2 267 part-time employment for tourism and hunting activities (BROW and BIRD 2010). In Namibia both woods and wildlife exploitation are important means of national and local income creation in Namibia.

6.1.2.2. Economic and ecological roles and function of natural resources in Namibia

Economic activities related to forest and wildlife exploitation in Namibia could be resumed in timber harvesting and selling and to eco-touristic activities developed through the valuation of wildlife.

As far as wood exploitation is concerned, forest exploitation produces 97, 41 millions of USD every year and is based mostly on the exploitation of sawn timber, sale of firewood and charcoal and timber used for fencing and construction. Other uses of forests for economic issues are related to the exploitation of trees and NTFPs. Table 19 gives an overview on the contribution of the exploitation of forests and Non-forests timber products in Namibia as income productive activities.

⁸⁶ With an average of 87 trees per ha and 21 m³ tree volume per ha dominated by species such *Pterocarpus angolensis*, *Guibourtia coleosperma*, *Burkea Africana* and *Baikiaea plurijuga* (MAWF 2011:10)

Product	Main species	Annual value (million N\$)	% of total value
Construction poles	Mopane	383	36,19
Tourism	Ecosystem	218	20,6
Fences for crop protection	Mopane	175	16,54
Firewood	Mopane, Acacia spp	131	12,38
Medicine	Various species	31,5	2,98
Kraals	Mopane	31	2,93
Charcoal	Various bush invaders	22,4	2,12
Crafts and implements	Various species	21	1,98
Mahangu baskets	Mopane	12,4	1,17
Goat forage	Various species	9,5	0,9
Fencing poles	Mopane	6,6	0,62
Food	Marula oil	4,6	0,43
Basketry	Hyphaene spp	4	0,38
Commercial logging	Pterocarpus, Baikiaea	2,4	0,23
Mortar and pestle	Various hardwood	1,5	0,14
Beverages	Various species	1,5	0,14
Ornamental roots	Mopane	1,1	0,1
Carvings	Various species	1	0,09
Mopane worm forage	Mopane	0,5	0,05
Food	Mangetti kernels	0,2	0,02
Total Economic Value		1058,2	100

Table 19 : Annual economic value of forest exploitation in Namibia (Namibia Forestry Strategic Plan 1996 in CHAKANGA 2000).

CHAKANGA (2000) argues that about 4410 m³ of sawntimber were produced in Namibia between 1993-1995 as the forest industry is not very developed in this country. The activities of Namibian sawnmills are limited to the exploitation of *Pterocarpus angolensis* a tree species, which does not have a fast regeneration.

This bad performance in sawmill is contrasting with the charcoal industry in Namibia, which is argued to be one of the well-organized sectors in Africa (CHAKANGA 2000: 16). Charcoal is considered in Namibia as the “black gold”. Otjozondjupa, Kunene and Oshikoto are the most important charcoal producing regions in Namibia. This activity is dominated by the informality of the sector (DIECKMANN and MUDUVA 2010: 19). Charcoal production is strongly dependent to the exploitation of the *Acacia mellifera* and is mostly used by poor households and a part of it is destined to South African and European markets. CHIKANGA (2000) argues that at least 1000 tons of charcoal is produced in Namibia every year for an average income of 137,976.07 USD and that the exploitation of firewood produced 248,356.93 USD in 1996 in Namibia.

In addition table 20 highlights the contribution of some NTFPs such as Mopane, Marula oil, *Hyphaene spp*, Mangetti kernels, to the national economy.

In regard to wildlife contribution to national economy, TURPIE, LANGE, MARTIN, DAVIES and BARNES (2005) argue that nature-based tourism activities are the top motivation of people visiting Namibia and contribute to 75 % to the touristic sector of Namibia (DITTMANN in DITTMANN and JÜRGENS 2010). They further argue that 70 % of tourists expenditure in Namibia is related to wildlife related tourism. Aware from its eco-touristic potential, the government of Namibia has developed several strategies in order to value her important wildlife. The wildlife industry in Namibia is well developed with appropriate management strategies. One of the most important sources of national and community income related to wildlife management is the wildlife based tourism and related hunting trophy system contributing to 70 million USD annually. This sector of activity is experiencing a permanent increase. Communities benefited 165 000 USD from the trophy hunting in 2000 and 1 330 000 in 2006 from the same activity (Weaver and Petersen 2008: 50). 37 conservancies receive an average amount of 2, 25 million USD every year while (BROW and BIRD 2010).

As far as ecological values of Namibian “forests” and wildlife are concerned, it could be argued that although the country is not endowed with large forests some wooded land

contribute to carbon sequestration in Namibia as it could be observed in figure 62 and map 18 the principal mammal species. Specific to wildlife, it is generally admitted that Namibia is one of the rare countries in Africa that is endowed with internationally recognized biodiversity hotspots hosting special and unique species (BARNARD, SHIKONGO and ZEIDLER 2002: 16).

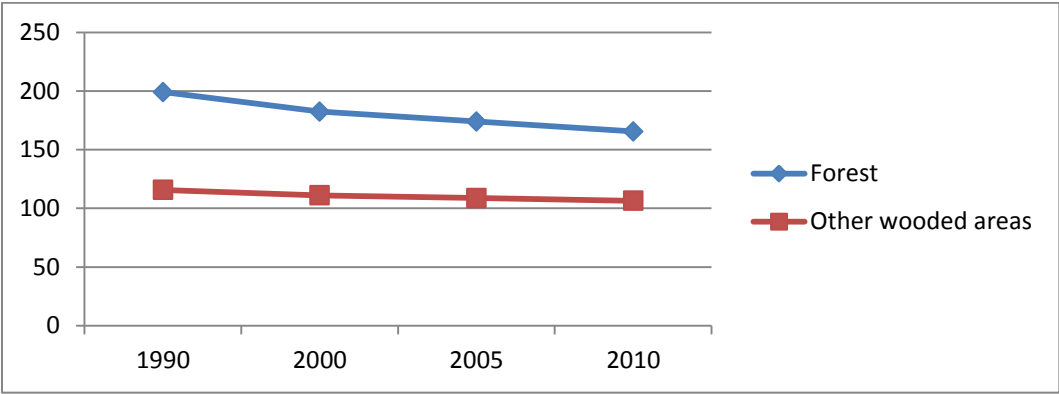


Figure 61 : Trees carbon stock in Namibia (Own representation from FAO 2010:29).

From this analysis, it could be observed that Namibian natural resources play all the functions necessary for the achievement of a sustainable society according to the understanding and definition of the concept in this analysis. The next point will analyze if, just as it was the case with Benin and Cameroon, the Namibian government is also confronted to some challenges related to the management of these resources.

6.1.3. Constraints and challenges of natural resources management in Namibia

According to the report of the Namibian government, the challenges related to natural resources management in this country are grouped in three parts: the impacts of population growth, consumption and production patterns and ecological constraints. However, a closed analysis of the situation shows that Namibia is confronted to almost the same challenges than Benin and Cameroon with the difference that Namibian institutional framework appear more organized than those of the former analyzed country.

Concerning the social factor, as mentioned above, population growth is claimed to be one of the most important threat to forests and wildlife management in Namibia. The idea defended is that several people migrate from rural to urban areas in Namibia mostly in northern and coastal Namibia. These migration activities are coupled with environmental transformation and great demand of wood for construction as discussed above and for other natural resources. Housing development is claimed to be one of the most dangerous activities threatening wildlife in Northern Namibia (MET 2010: 12).

Other socio-economic practices include the unsustainable land management practices related to production activities associated to rangelands which are experiencing a constant decline in their carrying capacity. Rangelands owners are therefore expanding bush encroachment in order to maximize their yields and destroy the habitats of several species such as Cheetahs (BLENCH and SOMMER 1999, MET 2010).

Overgrazing and overstocking are causing strong land degradation and the propagation of alien invasive species, which, in turn, causes the loss of biodiversity and the reduction of soil productivity and potential of natural ecosystems (BLENCH and SOMMER 1999).

Finally, strong economic activities bound to mining, prospection and unsustainable water use have impacts on Namibia's biodiversity. Some biodiversity hotspots such as the Sperrgebiet and Namib Desert holding significant amount of minerals and where several prospection activities have been done has had great effects on species living in this area. Since Namibia is principally a desertic country, the river points (Orange River and Okavango) present in its northern part are used for large scale irrigation for agricultural activities. It results that, in some period of the year, the wildlife, well represented in these areas, and does not have enough water for their own use. In addition, agricultural activities using pesticides and fertilizers contaminate the water table and poison several wildlife species (IUCN and ICMM 2004: 10, MET 2010).

As it could be seen, human social and economic activities are having strong impacts on the status of biodiversity and forest management in Benin. Namibia is also confronted to some natural constraints such as climate change which also have disastrous effect on forests and wildlife management.

The ecological constraint related to Namibia's biodiversity management is mostly closed to the fact that Namibia is the driest country in Africa south of the Sahara. It is one of the countries of the world, which has been recognized as very vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. The variation from more than 600 mm of rainfall in the north to less than 25 mm in the Namib Desert is already a sign of strong disparity of the country.

Constant increase of temperature and low rainfall in several regions have major impacts on the country's wildlife species distribution and migration. The effect of climate change such as flood in the northern rivers or severe drought in Kunene or Succulent Karoo areas cause extinction of several trees and animals' species and land transformation. Wooded areas are sometimes transformed into savannah and in the worse case into arid and desertic area.

Animals are therefore obliged to migrate or to die and scarcely get adapted to the new climatic conditions (TURPIE, MIDGLEY, BROWN, BARNES, PALLETT, DESMET, TARR, and TARR, 2010: 61-62).

To summarize, it could be observed that Namibia is confronted to the same sorts of challenges and constraints just it was the case with Benin and Cameroon as far as biodiversity management is concerned with the great difference that, activities such as poaching and destructive charcoal production and bad governance strategies are not so much mentioned in the case of natural resources management in Namibia. Could someone therefore claim that this was a result of better adoption and implementation of global environmental requirements? It is relevant to analyze how the global environmental management discourse has influenced biodiversity and forest management in Namibia.

6.2. Namibia introduction into global environmental management discourse

Namibia was a German colony just as Cameroon. As already discussed in chapter three, it could be asserted that the Germans were those who introduced Namibia into the global environmental discourse. Germany's colonial forest policy was based on regulating commercial harvesting permits of trees' species such as *Pterocarpus angolensis* in the heavily forested Ovamboland, meaning that their management was focused on commercial issues. Deforestation resulted some couples of years later from this unsustainable management of forests resources (KREIKE 2010).

Forests exploitation was however neglected during the first decade of the South-African rule since the whole attention was giving to mineral exploitation. Forest management has since then played a minor economic role in Namibia until the advent of the UNCED (ERKKILÄ and SÜSKONEN 1992). The principal characteristics of both German and South African rule in regard to forests and wildlife resource were the fact that Namibians had few rights to use those resources (NASCO 2012).

However the colonial and apartheid power system in Namibia could not enable the fair application of any international agreements in regard to natural resources management. That is the reason why it could be argued that Namibia was truly introduced into the global environmental discourse only after breaking some of her political chains in 1990.

6.2.1. Namibia in the frame of the UNCED and WSSD

In opposite to Benin and Cameroon which were already considered as independent countries and have developed some sets of environmental policies and strategies matching domestic or international requirements, Namibia was really introduced in all these debates after the UNCED. In addition, the WSSD has not brought any substantial changes in the environmental perception and management in Namibia. Apart of the introduction of the Environmental Management and Assessment Bill in 2004 and the Management Act in 2007, no other political framework has been introduced as a consequence of the WSSD.

Namibia was one of the signatories of the Rio Declaration and its other conventions and was profoundly affected by the regulations decided at the international level. Therefore, some regulations and institutional changes followed after the UNCED.

“The colonial policy of forest exploitation (...) that started in 1930’s continued unabated until Namibia obtained independence in 1990” (HAILWA 1998: 18).

6.2.1.1. Institutional and legislative framework

After Namibian independence in 1990, a ministry of wildlife conservation and tourism was created. The Ministry of Environment and Tourism was created in 1992 in order to implement the Rio requirements which was coupled the prior Namibian Green Plan summarized into the “Namibia’s 12-point plan for Integrated and Sustainable Environmental Management”, whose aim was to “place Namibia on a sustainable development path”. This strategy was adopted in the Namibian Parliament in 1993 (WALMSLEY and TSHIPALA 2007: 229). This strategy was directly incorporated into the first Namibian development plan (NDP1) put in place from 1995 to 2000. Other institutions strongly involved in this sector of activities are the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and forestry and its associated Directorate of Forestry whose aim is to “promote a well organized forestry sector that is socially, environmentally and economically sustainable while creating significant equitable wealth opportunities”(MAWF 1996)

In addition, Namibia developed her environmental policy, which was framed in the Namibia’s Environmental Assessment Policy (EA) approved in August 1994 by the Parliament. It should be used as a tool of promoting integrated environmental management (IEM) and piloted by the MET.

From figure 63, it could be observed that almost all the UNCED requirements and recommendations have been taken into consideration by the Namibian government. The interests of all stakeholders are integrated into this policy; the promotion of a spirit of global partnership, so important for the Rio Summit was also introduced as well as poverty

alleviation strategies and the integration of social, economic and ecological aspects in natural resources management.

Concerning forest management and in relation with the Rio forest principles, the Namibian government promulgated its first forest policy in 1992 and a Forest Strategic Plan (FSP) in 1996 (MAWF 2011: 8). BETHUME and RUPPEL (2007) assert that the aim of this policy and plan are the development of community management of forest, while the MAWF (2011) adds that it was directed towards the development of productive and protective activities related to forests management (see figure 64). As shown in figure 64, four principal programs came out from the forest policy and have to be implemented by the Directorate of Forestry (DoF).

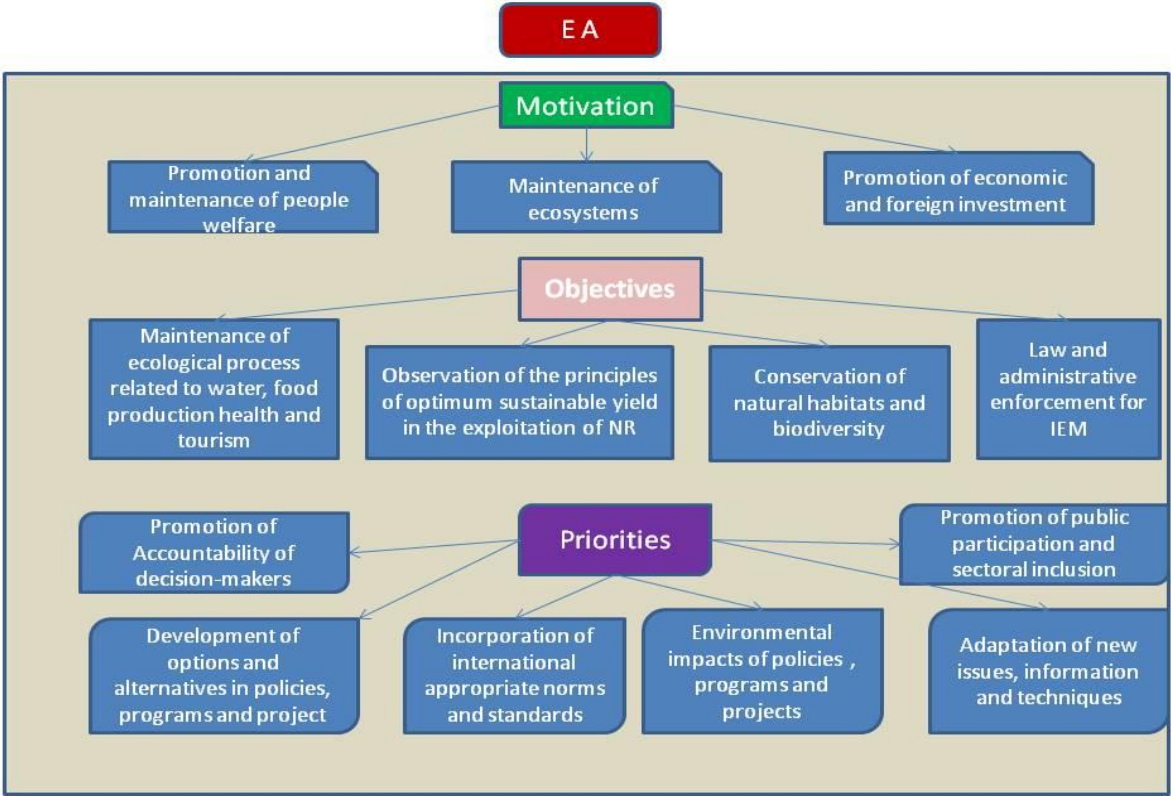


Figure 62 : Environmental Assessment Policy, motivation, objectives and priorities (Own presentation from REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA 1995)

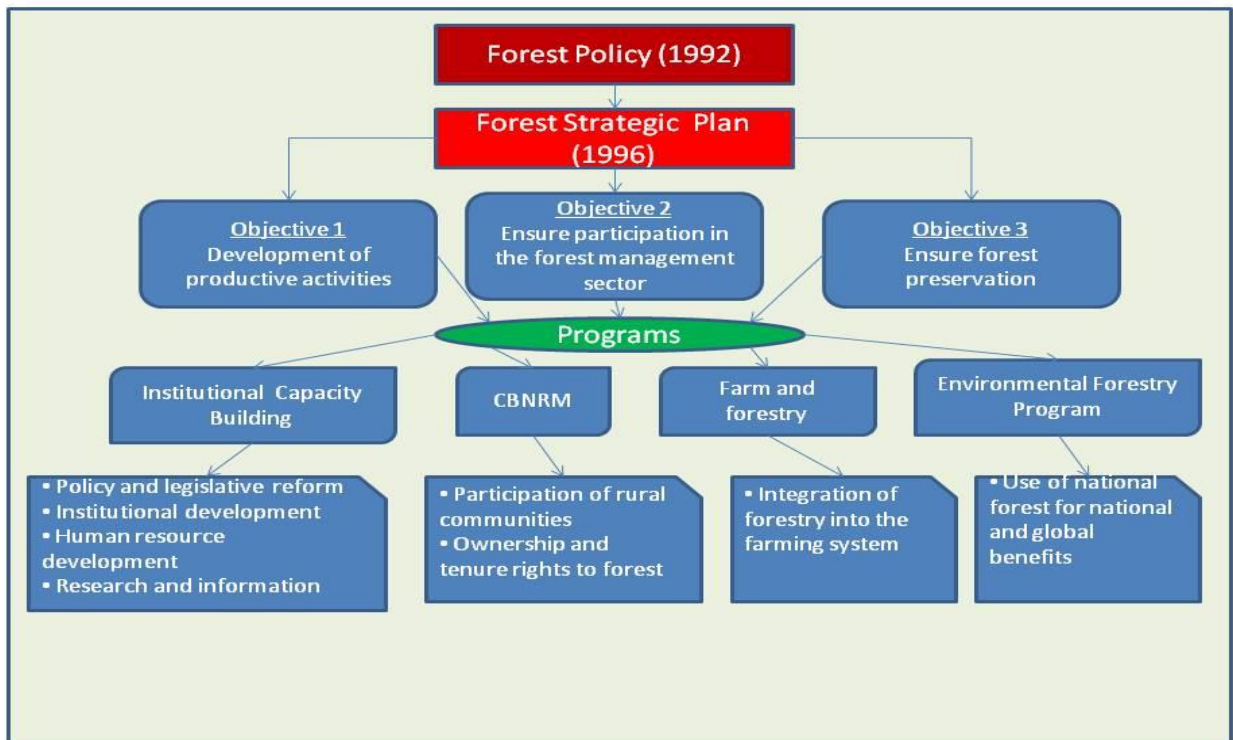


Figure 63 : First forest policy and associated strategic plan (Own presentation from MAWF 2011, BETHUME and RUPPEL (2007))

The development of the forest strategic plan fulfills the Rio Principles of forests requiring the development of appropriate measures in forest management that integrate community participative matters. The lessons learnt from figure 64 is that the priorities of the EA are well integrated into this forest policy and the introduction of CBNRM in this frame and its related perception of communities owning the forests were absent in Benin and Cameroon, where the states are having a permanent ownership over those areas. In addition, the Namibian strategy of integration of forestry into the farming system is also an innovation that was not visible in the former analyzed countries.

In regard to wildlife management, the government published the Nature Conservation Ordinance Amendment Act in 1996 that allows the formation of wildlife conservancies as well as the protection of scattered trees and wildlife habitats (CHAKANGA and KOJWANG 2001: 23).

Namibia had not developed any forestry law until 2001 and was still using the Forest Act of 1968 published by the South African rulers. The Forest Act 12 of 2001 focused on the management of forest for soil and water conservation as well as biodiversity and introduced the procedure of establishment of community forests. It aims at using the forest in a way that

is compatible with the forest's primary role as protector and enhancer of the natural environment (REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA 2001). This Forest Act was enforced by the introduction of the a new forest policy replacing the 1996 policy and focusing more on rural development through biodiversity conservation and sustainable management of forests (BETHUME and RUPPEL 2007: 23). One year later, the government has published its national biodiversity strategy and action plan (NBSAP) which described all sets of activities that will be developed and implemented in order to achieve the CBD requirements (BARNARD, ,SHIKONGO, and ZEIDLER 2002).

Together with several international partners, the Namibian government has developed and implemented some projects in this frame.

6.2.1.2. Natural resources management activities

CHAKANGA and KOJWANG (2001) argue that the government of Namibia has facilitated official training engaged in the environmental sector after 1990 in order to promote the accountability of decision-makers and develop the human resources of this sector.

In order to optimize the yield of management of natural resources, the government has developed the Marula Oil Project in 1998 whose aim was to harvest and process Marula kernels and fruits into oil, which will be sold 9, 20 USD/liter. The Manketti nuts project was a similar project that was developed during the same time.

With the support of Finnish cooperation, the MET launched the “Namibia-Finland Forestry Programme” (NFFP) in 1996 whose aim was to make sure that the sustainable forest management practices of the Namibian government is well in place and contributes to the increase of socio-economic development of the country. This project focused on sectoral activities such as capacity building, community forestry, environmental forestry and integrated fire management (Hailwa 1998: 19). Forest inventory activities were realized in Caprivi region, and for Tsumkwe, Otjinene and Okakarara districts in the Otjozondjupa and Omaheke regions. Uukwaludhi, Uukolonkadhi and Ongandgera communal areas of the Omusati region were concerned with community forest management axis of this project (SEPPANEN 2001, UN 2002d).

Other similar projects were put in place such as the “community forestry and extension development project in northern-central Namibia” (CFEDP) piloted by the MET and DANCED of the Danish government and aiming at developing community forestry practices and on traditional forests management systems (CHAKANGA and KOJWANG 2000, UN 2002d).

“The Okongo community forest project” and “the community forestry in the North East regions” (CFNEN) were piloted by the German development cooperation agencies GTZ and KfW and will be discussed in point 6.4.1.

To summarize, it will be argued that, just as the governments of Benin and Cameroon, Namibia has developed policies and institutional frameworks in order to implement the Rio Agenda 21, the CBD and the forests principles. While Benin and Cameroon have already developed some experience in legislative frameworks, the new independent Namibia has to come slowly to the development of its forest’s legislation.

As mentioned above the Environmental Management and Assessment Bill (EMAB) was introduced in 2004 in Namibia and aimed at promoting a co-ordinated and integrated management of the environment and to enable the MET to respect Namibia’s obligation under international environmental conventions. In accordance with WSSD philosophy, this Bill invited environmental stakeholders to feel responsible for the future generations and developed access to environmental information. Strong emphasis was placed on energy issues and an Advisory Council was created in order to promote the co-ordination and co-operation between government institutions, NGOs, community-based organizations, the private sector and development cooperation institutions (WALMSLEY and TSHIPALA 2007).

Other new created institutions include the Environmental Assessment Unit whose objective is the maintenance and registering of all environmental assessments and the supervision of assessment process (Republic of Namibia 2004).

The Environmental Management Plan Act (EMA) was promulgated in December 2007 and will be implemented by the Directorate of Environmental Affairs (DEA) under the supervision of the MET. This strategy aims at controlling the effect of human activities on environment and to enforce environmental participative process (MET 2008).

In regard to biodiversity management in the frame of the WSSD, the Namibian government has established new protected areas [Bwabwata, Mangetti (2007), Sperrgebiet (2008) and Dorob National park (2010)] and protected the entire coastline. The placement of Sperrgebiet as National park could be analyzed as a strategy of coupling mining activities with the protection of endemic species that was raised above. The full protection of the Succulent Karoo biodiversity hotspot has had a great international resonance.

The activities, which were co-ordinated in the frame of the Namibian NBSAP, put strong emphasis on the conservation of indigenous and endemic species mostly outside the protected area network. Further activities are related to forests and include the planting of trees under the co-ordination of the DoF and projects such as the Integrated Fire Management that facilitates the establishment of fire management plans (MET 2010).

As required by the WSSD, Namibia has developed political dynamism to implement sustainable development and JPOI with the promotion of reforestation initiatives, the development of its protected area network and the enforcement of people's rights of access to natural resources.

It is therefore obvious that just as Benin and Cameroon were integrated into the global environmental discourse, so was the case with Namibia. It is important to raise the issues of introduction into the global development discourse and strategies of development.

6.3. The German-Namibian development cooperation and the management of natural resources

6.3.1. Namibian development strategies

In contrast to Benin and Cameroon, Namibia has prepared consecutive development strategies generally called National Development Plan (NDP) in 1995, which contain detailed and descriptive activities and programs divided into different targeted objectives. Until today, Namibia has developed four development plans covering a five year period each.

The NDP1 was enforced from 1995 to 2000 and was concerned with issues such Planning for National Development, the Economic and Financial Framework for NDP1, Population in Development, Labor and Employment and Human Resources Development as well as cross-sectoral issues such as Environment, Gender and Development, and Food Security and Nutrition.

The argument here is that, Namibia, as a young state, was looking for means of fighting the matter of inequality inherited from the apartheid system. There was a strong focus on income inequality. The aim of all the NDP is to redress and reconstruct every sector of activity of the Namibian government (VEKONDJA TJKUZU* 2012: 422).

In order to make sure that the development interests of everyone and all stakeholders are taken into consideration, the government of Namibia launched its second NDP2 in 2002 and made sure that it is realized with the wider participation of stakeholders. However, a

comparison of both NDP1 and NDP2 shows not so much differences in the conception and objectives to fulfill. Apart from the introduction and description of activities related to issues, such as poverty reduction, income distribution, HIV/AIDS, science and technology, private sector development, nothing substantial has been modified.

Before the publication of the NDP3, the government of Namibia has launched a development program known as “Vision 2030” whose aim is to “presents a clear view of where Namibia is, where it wants to go from here, and over what time frame”. Issues such as (1) inequality and social welfare, (2) human resources development and institutional capacity building, (3) macro-economy, (4) population, health and development, (5) natural resources management, (6) knowledge, information and technology, (7) Factors of external environment were described as long-term vision to achieve. Therefore, the publication of the NDP3 introduced all these aspect of Vision 2030 and explicitly included all the requirements and objectives of the MDGs certifying Namibia’s introduction into the global development discourse.

In the framework of the development cooperation, NED SIBEYA* (2012) argues that Namibia is working according to the requirements of the Paris Declaration and Accra Agenda on Aid Effectiveness. In addition, Namibia’s striving to development is more motivated by the promotion of macroeconomic claimed to be the most important strategy of overcoming poverty.

In summary it could be argued that Namibia was independent at the eve of the peak of globalisation. So it is obvious that the country should enter upon the worldwide development strategies just as it was the case with environmental management.

Even though Namibia is claimed to be a middle-income country, it is confronted to several development challenges, which, according to the global development discourse, should be fought globally. In addition, poverty, lack of infrastructures and environmental depletion are often coupled together. This might be the reason why the German development cooperation, which still has a strong social and economic implication in Namibia, has chosen to support this sector of activities.

6.3.2. Germany's contribution to natural resources management in Namibia

“(…) vor dem Hintergrund der kolonialen Vergangenheit Deutschlands in Namibia hat die Bundesregierung seit 1989 der entwicklungspolitischen Zusammenarbeit und dem bilateralen politischen Dialog mit Namibia einen besonderen Stellenwert eingeräumt” (DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG 2000)

With this quotation, it is obvious that, prior to Namibian independence, Germany has launched intensive bilateral cooperation with Namibia. Since Namibia's independence, Germany is one of the most supporters of the country development policy. This is the reason why Germany is Namibia's first donor country (DU PISANI in KEULDER 2010). As highlighted in the quotation, the German engagement in Namibia is motivated by the colonial history mainly the Herero War of 1904 and its related atrocities coupled with the colonial legacy system put in place by the Germans and which has been the factor of the inequalities the country is now confronted to. MELBER (2010) argues that Namibian is still marked by the German colonial capitalist system which explains the German predominance in the Namibian pattern of dominance and production of power structures still in place (MELBER in IBID: 16). The second argument could be related to the fact that some Germans did not follow Wilhelm II recommendation of living Namibia after the WWI and settle in there. The consequence is that they belong to 20% of the White minority living in Namibia and are having the best rate in terms of Human Development Index and monetary poverty (SUZMAN 2002). In a sense of reparation and reconstruction, the Germans and the Namibians conclude some agreements based on the concept of “special shared relationship based” on their common past with Namibia (KATJAVIVI 2014: 147).

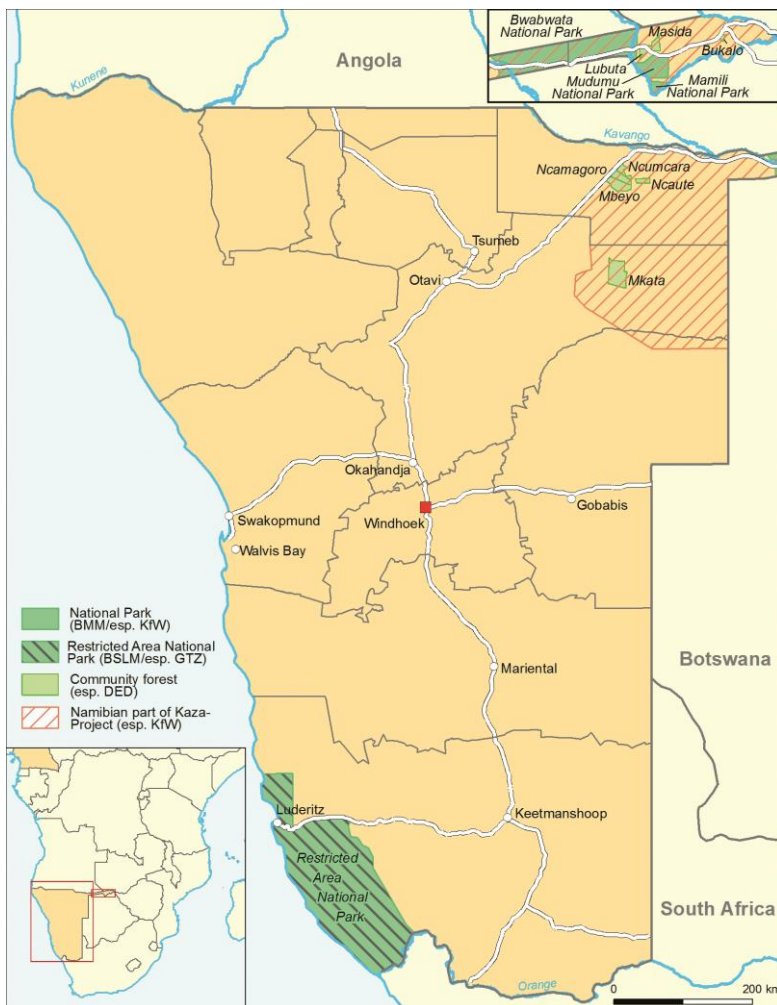
Several German institutions were sent in Namibia after the bilateral agreements. The GTZ opened an office in 1994 followed by the InWent, CIM and DED. Since that time, the German development cooperation is focusing on three principal sectors: sustainable development and management of natural resources, sustainable economic development and the development of transport and infrastructure. The focal points of activities of the German development cooperation with Namibia include land reform, capacity-building in environmental and water management, the fight against desertification, infrastructure development, the support of community forests and the management of national parks (KOENECKE* 2010:25-26).

6.3.2.1. Germany and natural resources management in Namibia

Germany's actions related to natural resources management in Namibia is more concentrated on fighting inequalities in the access to natural resources and the development of sustainable management strategies at the national, regional and local level.

The actions at the national level is concerned with advisory services claimed to be a mean of improvement of natural resources management policies through the development of capacity-building for environmental development. These actions were mostly done by the GTZ (KOENECKE* 2010). The GTZ has for example advised the MET in drafting the Environmental Management Act of 2007 (RZEPKA 2010:2).

At the regional and local level, similar actions are used in supporting the management of community forests and national parks. All those actions at the regional and local level were implemented by the DED (SPRUNG*, SCHÖLLER* and MÜLLER* 2010).



Map 20: Principal German projects

Draft: Tchigankong Noubissié
Cartography: Diehl

In regard with concrete activities, which were implemented by the German development cooperation agencies in the frame of forest management and biodiversity conservation, two projects were implemented in the frame of UNCED and one after the WSSD.

In the framework of the SADC FST CU program of action, the BMZ developed the project “Sustainable management of indigenous forest” that was implemented in the whole region. Namibia benefited from this project this project which was named “Okongo community forest project” by the MET and was launched in 1998 and ended 2000. The main objectives were the improvement of the living standards of the communities through sustainable management of the natural resource and to conserve the biodiversity. The project has contributed to evaluate the forest potentialities of the Okongo forest and a management plan including sets of economic activities that could contribute in the improvement of people’s living standards (ANGOMBE, SELANNIEMI and CHAKANGA 2000, WILY and MBAYA 2001).

The project “community forestry in the North East regions” was launched in 1999 and supported by the KfW with almost the same purpose as the GTZ project and implemented in Kavango, Caprivi and Otjozondjupa regions (CHAKANGA and KOJWANG 2000).

In the framework of the WSSD, the GTZ introduced the “Biodiversity and Sustainable Land Management” project (BSLM) in 2004 whose aim was the improvement of the framework for sustainable management of natural resources through public-private users. This project had a strong capacity-building orientation and contributed to MET institutional capacity enforcement in planning and transparency required for donor coordination and promoted the sustainable use of biodiversity through biotrade and bioprospecting. In cooperation with a Namibian NGO the CRIAA SA-DC, the GTZ supported the development of marula oil and the opening international markets of this product (RZEPKA 2010).

Concerning community forest, the MAWF, together with the DoF and the DED launched the project “Community Forest in Namibia (CFN) in 2008 based on the positive experiences of the CFNEN. This project was since that period a national project concerned with all national community forests and was implemented by the DED.

With regards to biodiversity conservation, the KfW was involved in the SPAN (Strengthening the Protected Area Network) through the KAZA (Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area) project which started since 2004 and involved the management of several national parks. The German development cooperation was mainly involved in the BMM

(Bwabwata-Mudumu-Mamili) parks in the frame of span project (CHAPEYAMA and SCHALKEN 2009).

6.4.Summary

In summary, it could be argued that, in geographical terms, Namibia is subjected to high ecological challenges such as extreme droughts. Benin and Cameroon are having better climatic conditions.

However, the Namibian government has succeeded to value positively its wildlife potential mostly through the promotion of touristic activities. However, as DITTMANN (2010) argues, the valuation of tourism could have some biopolitical aspects when it happens that the animals alone are not the source of curiosity for visitors but humans.

The Namibian government just as the Benin and Cameroon governments was partly introduced into the global environmental discourse. Namibia has adopted international strategies that are suitable to her domestic needs. In addition, the Namibian government, unlike those of Benin and Cameroon is not confronted to strong human and natural resources challenges. The government has developed or encouraged several initiatives related to the valuation of forest and wildlife in order to raise people attention and engagement towards conservative issues. This strategy bear fruits since Namibia, unlike Benin and Cameroon is not confronted with high poaching and illegal activities. The creation of a win-win situation could be argued to be a substantial initiative of the government, which is of course coupled with its desire to fight against social and economic inequalities.

German development cooperation, in regard to natural resources management in Namibia, just as it was the case in Benin and Cameroon, has developed the same strategy of implementing international requirements. The activities of German cooperation include norms stabilizations through advisory services aiming at coming out with policies and legislative fitting the international norms and contributing to the achievement of a global society. All the actions of the German development cooperation in Namibian and the other cases studies completely accord with this global idea. Therefore, German development cooperation indirectly contributes to rule the environmental management system, since it was possible to influence the redaction of several important documents.

7. Conclusion

At the end of this analysis some general remarks and observation should be made. The principal aim is to raise the principal finding of this investigation on natural resources management in Africa in the framework of the German development cooperation.

7.1. Global environmental management: a successful platform but a substance failure

Decades of implementation of global environmental and development discourses in Africa have not brought any substantial changes in the development of African countries and to environmental conservation in Africa. Natural resources management in Africa has become a matter of ideology coupled with several paradoxes in the implementation of conservative or sustainable natural resources management. The environmental management strategies decided at the international level were mostly introduced into national environmental policies but could not realize the expected results.

Facts from Cameroon have proven that forest exploitation is dominated by multinational firms which exploit the forest regardless to its different significance for the local population which continue to be at the margins of this activity. Although the Cameroonian government has developed serious incentives in term of policy and legislation in accordance with international agreements, several projects developed and implemented in the framework of the global environmental policy and supported by several development agencies, were firstly unable to meet the expectations of local people and to improve their living standards.

The participative measures so acclaimed during the international summits have in fact shown their informative, rather than participatory character; as the conception of several projects and programs are claimed to be participative while the target groups are only informed of the realization of those projects by national and international agencies.

The use of natural resources as a mean of promoting economic development and the conservation of social and cultural roles and functions of natural resources is foremost a state affair. The research has shown that governments have shown great commitment to the improvement of the living condition of their populations do not strictly restrict their access to their surrounding resources, but rather develop strategies and alternatives that should motivate local people to have some commitments for the huge responsibility of protecting nature through its sustainable use. The CBNRM in Namibia, which is confronted by serious ecological and financial constraints, has shown that, good valuated, natural resources could be a mean of economic development and international prestige.

Conservation as a mean of power

This research has shown that natural resources conservation has been used as a mean of control and direction of domestic environmental and development policies since several bilateral development partners, INGO and CSOs have developed the rights to intervene directly in the conception and implementation of environmental and developmental political and legislative frameworks. The fact that several development agencies such as the GIZ are placing more and more importance on the promotion of advisory services in the framework of their development cooperation could be seen as techniques of power use to get introduced into domestic affairs and to orient it according to the interests and objectives of their agency. Helped by their financial power, developed nations could easily influence positively or negatively the environmental policy of developing nations.

The integration of coercive measures and the use of power are common phenomenon bound with natural resources management in several African countries. The research has shown that two important factors are bound with natural resources management in Africa, the ecological factor and the economic factor. However a strong challenge faced with regards to access to resources by the local population. Experience from Benin and Namibia has shown that, each time that other alternatives are developed in order to reduce local people's dependence to some natural resources, those ones alternatives scarcely broken the established laws. Since governments will not develop other opportunities for resource-dependent people, resistance in the form of poaching and illegal logging will continue to be common phenomenon. Instead of developing brutal conservative measures such as imprisonment, high fines for poor people caught doing illegal activities, governments and INGOs and development partners should look for better opportunities for local people who continue to be the greatest losers in the natural resource exploitative process. Until the present, the natural resources management sector has been dominated by financial relations of power. Those who earn more money have the right to buy logging permits and to exploit large forested areas. They also have the right of access to hunting permits, which give them the rights to kill flora and fauna regardless of the values given to a tree or an animal by a given community. The demand for maximum profits motivates several African governments to support policies that often alienate people's rights, who are often condemned to undertake their hunting activities in animal sparse areas and their logging activities in forest-cleared areas. The result of this marginalization could only be the development of several kinds of resistance to the established alienation policies.

7.2. Environmental conservation in Africa: a global priority vs a national disinterest

Strong government irresponsibility

Another important finding of this investigation is that, all our case studies share one thing in common: they have the vision of using their natural potential as a mean of promoting their economic development. From an institutional point of view, it has been observed that all the studied countries have shown serious commitments to institutional and legislative development. However the governments have not committed themselves in terms of funding and human resources required for the implementation of the policies they have themselves written down. As reaction, several conservative activities have become issues of international partners and CSOs.

In addition some environmental policy and legislation are contravened by the governments themselves, which sometimes allows for the transformation of forests and biodiversity rich areas into cultivating land areas, as was seen in Cameroon.

The desire for direct and huge earnings from natural resources exploitation has led to the fact that governments are not so much involved in the support of long-term initiatives of valuation of natural resources, which could have contributed to the reduction of financial poverty and the local level as well as to the depopulation of rural areas. In addition the non-involvement of the government and the lack of regulation in the exploitation of productive forests elements such NTFPs that is mostly done informally leads, the state missing one of its best potential sources of income. The low implication of governments in the follow-up of a national environmental strategy leads to some geographical deregulations with some zones achieving environmental friendly results and other regions the complete opposite. If decentralization is claimed to be one of the most important tools in environmental management, decentralized units must however continue to have some support from the central government for the achievement of better results.

Cultural resistances as environmental challenges

Several environmental projects failed because some cultural factors were neglected or insufficiently integrated into the set of implementation strategies. Some local people have certain cultural practices such as slash burning by farmers, livestock breeders and hunters that have several impacts on environmental conservation. Although this practice is condemned by environmental law; it continues to be observable in remote areas.

7.3. Germany could achieve more in the sector of environmental management in Africa

The argument that Germany's actions in Cameroon and in Namibia are different because one country has a colonial history involving Germany, and the other country does not could not be properly verified. From my point of view I argue that the German development cooperation is more active in Benin in the framework of environmental management than in Cameroon. Germany's action in Cameroon is more institutional while in Benin, it is both institutional and locally oriented with a multitude of projects aiming at the improvement of people's living standards. The positive aspects and implication of the GDC in Benin was more visible and tangible in Benin than in Cameroon. The hypothesis of colonialism could therefore not be verified in this frame.

Nevertheless, with regards to GDC in Namibia, the situation is more complex since the Namibian government is already on a good path in terms of management of natural resources and financial facilitations. One might ask why the GDC is however still strongly active in this country while it could achieve more in other countries (Cameroon for instance).

In addition, the argument that the GDC is committed to the achievement of global environmental agenda in Africa could be verified since Germany has developed several policies and programs aiming at supporting its African partners in the achievements of the global environmental agenda.

Positive aspects of the GDC in the framework of natural resources management include the social and economic impact and significance of German projects and programs mostly at the local level and in the remote areas of Benin, Cameroon and Namibia over the involved population.

However, the German development cooperation is spending far more money in its institutional work than in the improvement of people's living standards. This enforces the general idea that development cooperation is used as tool for strengthening corruption and enrichment of the elites.

A negative aspect of the GDC that could of course be debatable is concerned with Germany's non-implication in the defense of access rights to their resources. The case of Cameroon has shown that instead of facing challenges hindering the implementation of development projects, the GDC often prefers to withdraw or to abandon the implementation of the project at a mid-term point.

In addition, German development cooperation could have contributed to the development of the secondary sector of economy which would have led to improve infrastructure development of communities in a long term period, but rather focus her action on small-scale and short-term oriented project based mostly on the primary sector of economy. The fact that Germany is entertaining the status quo with regards to people's maintenance of primary sector of activities could be partly negatively evaluated. The long-term fight against poverty and the achievement of a sustainable society will be made possible only after the promotion of thriving lives and livelihoods, and the development of the secondary sector of economy together with the involvement of the desires and active participation of stakeholders at the local, national and global level as made clear by the following figure.

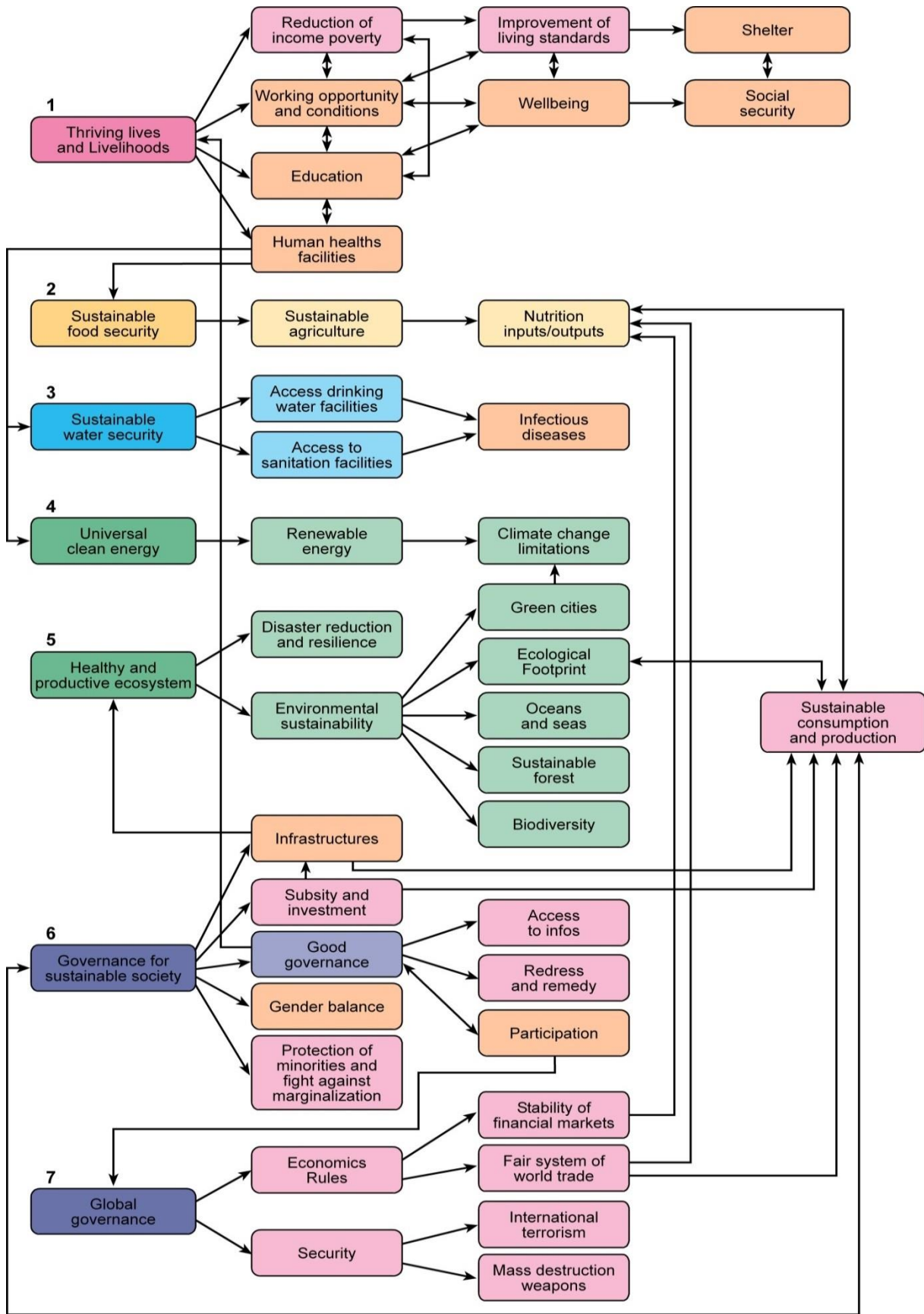


Figure 64 : Proposition of a model of sustainable society

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Abstract

The relation between Germany and Africa dates far back to centuries. Germany has developed colonial and cooperation with several African countries in several domains. Since the colonial period, Germany had already launched her environmental management policies, which, according to the investigation of this research, are in strong accordance with global environmental discourse.

The first sequence of this work investigates the global environmental discourse and, relying on global governance theories and concepts, analyzes the main important Earth Summits over forty decades. Based on Foucault concepts of governmentality and biopower, this analysis points out how the global governance strategies have succeeded to conduct the conduct of African governments and has got a strong influence on people's behavior and access to their natural resources.

The second sequence of this work highlights the co-relations between Germany's colonial environmental discourse and the global environmental one and analyzes Germany's introduction and adaptation of the global discourse in the frame of development cooperation with Africa.

Focussing on Benin, Cameroon and Namibia, this work has analyzed how African governments have struggled to adapt not only global environmental discourse but also development ones. The strengths and weaknesses of their adaptations policies, programs and activities as well as the consequences on people's life and finally the German position first of all to the global discourse and secondly to the domestic policies are studied in the frame of the in-case study.

Finally, this study raises the different challenges related to natural resources management in the frame of domestic challenges and later on African position towards global environmental agendas.

Résumé

Les relations entre l'Allemagne et l'Afrique datent de plusieurs siècles. Bien qu'étant l'une des dernières puissances colonisatrices arrivées sur le continent africain, l'Allemagne a joué et continue de jouer un rôle important sur la scène internationale et notamment dans le cadre de sa coopération au développement avec les pays africains.

Ce travail met en évidence la position de l'Afrique dans le cadre de la gouvernance mondiale en matière de l'environnement. Se basant sur les théories de la gouvernance mondiale et des concepts de gouvernementalité et de biopouvoir conçus par Michel Foucault, cette thèse analyse les différentes relations de pouvoirs exercées sur l'Afrique dans le cadre de cette gouvernance mondiale et ses différentes repercussions sur la conduite des affaires nationales et sur l'accès des populations aux ressources naturelles.

Le travail passe en revue les différents concepts tels que la gouvernance mondiale, l'évolution du concept développement, développement durable, gestion durable des ressources naturelles et analyse les différents forums internationaux sur le développement durable et la gestion des ressources naturelles pendant quarante ans. La stratégie et la position allemande par rapport au discours environnemental global de même que leurs influences sur les gouvernements du Bénin, du Cameroun et de la Namibie sont les points focaux de cette analyse.

ERKLÄRUNG

Hiermit versichere ich, dass die Anfertigung dieser Dissertation mit dem Thema: „The concept of Sustainable Development and Sustainable Management of Natural Resources in Africa through the German Development Cooperation, Case Study: Benin, Cameroon Namibia“ selbständig und ohne Hilfe Dritter erfolgt ist. Es wurden keine Weiteren Quellen und Hilfsmittel ausser den angegebenen verwendet. Sämtliche Daten aus frei zugänglichen Quellen sind als solche gekennzeichnet worden. Die restlichen Daten wurden während des Feldaufenthaltes selbst erhoben.

Diese Arbeit liegt in gleicher oder ähnlicher Form noch keiner Prüfungsbehörde vor.

Giessen, im März 2014

Désiré Tchigankong Noubissié