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National Environmental Action Plans in Africa

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General Abbreviations

AACM	adjusted average country measurement
AAM	adjusted average measurement
ACCT	Agence de Cooperation Culturelle et Technique
ACM	average country measurement
AFTEN	Africa Regional Technical Department of the World Bank
AM	adjusted measurement
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CILSS	Comité permanent inter-états de lutte contre la sécheresse dans le Sahel (Permanent Inter-State Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel)
DAC	(OECD-) Development Assistance Committee
EC	European Community
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FFU	Environmental Policy Research Unit Berlin
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IDA	International Development Association
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
NCS	National Conservation Strategy
NEAP	National Environmental Action Plan
NESDA	The Network for Environment and Sustainable Development in Africa
NPACD	National Plan of Action to Combat Desertification
NSDS	National Sustainable Development Strategy
ODA	Overseas Development Association (of the United Kingdom)
ODE	Operations Evaluation Department of the World Bank
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development

SAP	Structural Adjustment Program			
TFAP	Tropical Forestry Action Plan			
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development			
UNDP	United Nations Development Program			
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program			
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization			
UNSO	United Nations Sudano–Sahelian Office			
USAID	United States Agency for International Development			
WCS	World Conservation Strategy			
WWF	World Wildlife Fund			

Country Specific Abbreviations

BENIN

CC	Cellule de Coordination (Coordination Unit)
CIP	Comité Interministériel de Pilotage (Inter-ministerial Steering Committee)
MEHU	Ministre de l'Environnement, de l'Habitat et de l'Urbanisme (Ministry of the
	Environment, Housing and Urban Development)

BOTSWANA

ELO	Environmental Liaison Officers			
ICES	Inter-ministerial Coordinating Environmental Sub-Group			
MLGL	Ministry of Local Government and Land			
NRTC	Natural Resources Technical Committee			

BURKINA FASO

ERITREA
Secrétariat Permanent (Permanent Secretariat)
National Program for the Management of Information on the Environment
Programme Cadre de Gestion des Terroirs (Program for Land Management)
Programme Cadre Pour la Gestion des Patrimoines Nationaux (Program for Natural Resource Management)
Programme Cadre Pour le Développement des Compétences en Environnement (Program to Develop Environmental Capabilities)
Programme Cadre Pour l'Amélioration du Cadre de Vie (Program to Improve Living Conditions)
Plan d'Action National Pour l'Environnement
Comité National de Lutte Contre la Désertification
Comité Ministériel de Suivi (Ministerial Monitoring Committee)
Comité Interministériel de Coordination Technique (Interministerial Technical Coordination Committee)

- **CME** Council of Ministers on the Environment
- **= ECE** = Eritrean Council for the Environment
- **EAE** Eritrean Agency for the Environment
- **PFE** People's Forum on the Environment

ETHIOPIA

- **IMEPC** Inter-ministerial Environment Policy Committee
- MNRDEP Ministry of Natural Resources Development and Environmental Protection
- MPED Ministry of Planning and Economic Development
- **ONCCP** Office of the National Committee for Central Planning

GAMBIA

EU	Environment Unit (as a staff unit) within the MNRE
MNR (G)	Ministry of Natural Resources (the renamed MNRE after 1993)
MNRE	Ministry of Natural Resources and the Environment
NEA	National Environmental Agency (successor of the EU)
NEMAct	National Environmental Management Act (The Gambia, 1987 and 1994)
NEMC	National Environment Council
ТСР	Technical Cooperation Program (volume II of the GEAP)
	GHANA
EPC	Environmental Protection Council
СМС	Coordination and Monitoring Committee
	LESOTHO
DDC	District Development Council
ISC	Inter-ministerial Steering Committee
NEC (L)	National Environmental Council
NECS	National Environmental Council Secretariat
NGEAC	Non-Government Environmental Advisory Committee

MADAGASCAR

- ANAE Association Nationale pour l'Action Environnementale (National Association for Environmental Action)
- ANGAP Association Nationale pour la Gestion des Aires Protegées (National Association for the Management of Protected Areas)
- **CAPAE** Cellule d'Appui au Plan d'Action Environnemental (NEAP Support Unit)
- **EP** Environment Program
- MEP Ministry of Economy and Planning

ONE	Office National de l'Environnement
SINE	Structure Institutionelle Nationale pour l'Environnement
= CTP	= Permanent Technical Committee

MAURITIUS

DOE	Department of Environment
EIP	Environment Investment Program

NEC (M) National Environmental Council

UGANDA

DEC	District Environment Committee			
DEO	District Environment Officer			
DEP	Department of Environment Protection (within the MNR)			
DRC	District Resistance Councils			
EIP	Environment Investment Program			
EIS	Environment Information System			
ELU	Environmental Liaison Units within the line ministries			
EMB	Environmental Management Bill (Uganda, 1994)			
LEC	Local Environment Committee			
MNR (U)	Ministry of Natural Resources			
NEIC	National Environment Information Center			
NEMA	National Environment Management Authority			
NEMP	National Environment Management Policy			
PCE	Policy Committee on the Environment			

1 Introduction

Comprehensive, integrated, national environmental strategies represent an approach to environmental policy increasingly accepted and adopted by numerous countries all over the world. According to academics, the ideal strategy of that sort would have to address and analyze the major environmental problems but furthermore would also have to define specific objectives and outline the policies to achieve those targets.

Not as well known, however, is the fact that this concept of a National Environmental Action Plan (NEAP; in OECD-countries, the respective equivalents are more often called "Green Plans") was put to use first on a continent where most people born in the North would not expect environmental innovations to "kick off": in Africa.

Madagascar, Mauritius, Lesotho and the Seychelles were the first to embark on the NEAP process to integrate environmental considerations into their overall economic and social development strategies. The first three started this effort supported by the World Bank as early as in 1987 with Madagascar leading the line. It was, however, Mauritius that was the first country to officially approve a NEAP [*World Bank-OED 1996: 15*].

Together with the national strategies of the other mostly Sub-Saharan countries, those four African precedents will be examined in this paper. Due to the restricted timeframe for the preparation of the study, a regional concentration for examining the NEAP approach was necessary. The limitation to African (and mostly Sub-Saharan) countries is based on the fact that the predecessors mentioned were African countries. It then seems appropriate for the purpose of a comparison to further examine only plans of countries of a comparable setting. This is generally assumed to be the case with the Sub-Saharan countries (mostly with an exception made for South-Africa). The focus will lie on the NEAPs respectively those other strategies that are broad enough in scope in order to meet the criteria of NEAPs. This is, because it is those plans that can be classified as the most comprehensive approaches in scope already realized and also as the most widely disseminated ones. The presentation of the plans will be limited to the preparation of the strategies and the contents of the final documents.

In the scope of this paper it would not be feasible to also systematically evaluate the plans' implementation or their de facto impacts on the environment – also because the necessary

data are not easily accessible. Furthermore, most plans were drafted less than ten years ago and thus, too recently for a meaningful analysis of their effects.

The criteria for the analyses of the strategies will be drawn from lists of crucial elements for national environmental strategies that the World Bank, the International Institute for Environment and Development in London (IIED) in cooperation with the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the Environmental Policy Research Unit in Berlin (FFU) have elaborated. Those elements were mostly deducted from empirical performance studies of existing plans.

In spite of the empirical basis of those catalogues of characteristics favorable to success, currently there is no up-to-date, comprehensive and systematic comparison of the African strategies.¹ This paper is intended to fill that gap. For future evaluations of the success of the African approaches this article could provide a basis for choosing the cases to be studied by giving an overview of what countries should – if the used criteria are indeed the crucial ones – be the success stories. Last but not least the results of the analysis of the African national environmental strategies will allow comparisons with strategies of OECD member states with the objective to elaborate similarities and differences.

Within the eight years from 1988 (completion of the first NEAP) until 1996, in 35 African countries governments embarked on the new approach and in 28 countries they already have approved the final document. It will be discussed how the policy tool "NEAP" spread so rapidly on the African continent. The high number of cases taken into account might help to provide further data for studies that are aspiring more general conclusions on the diffusion processes of policies.

2 NEAPs in Context

It might be helpful to place the NEAP as a concept for environmental management in the context of other environmental strategies. While for the purpose of controlled economic development, national plans always have been a traditional policy tool, especially in so called

¹ Nevertheless, there are a few papers, including African NEAPs in their comparisons or even concentrating on African environmental strategies. These studies were, however, either already undertaken before many NEAPs were "finished" (approved) and/or include only very few African countries' plans [*Falloux/Talbot/Larson 1991*], analyze the NEAPs according to few crucial elements only [*Luso Consult 1991*], or do only provide information

"Third World" countries, national environmental strategy papers are a fairly recent phenomenon. For the purpose of this paper it will be sufficient to distinguish three major concepts, all of which are claiming some sort of cross sectoral comprehensiveness and an integrative character. These approaches appeared one after the other, overlapping, however, in time and scope.

2.1 National Conservation Strategies

The first attempt to systematically analyze all environmental questions of importance in a given African country and integrate the conservation issue into the considerations of economic development was undertaken in the early 1980s. Following the World Conservation Strategy (WCS) released by the IUCN, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) in 1980, many states developed National Conservation Strategies (NCSs). Focussing on an analysis of conservation- and natural resource use issues and on stimulating awareness of and debate on environmental problems, this approach was quite process-oriented – promoting participation and consensus building – and rather preparatory to the decision makers [*Dalal-Clayton/Bass/Sadler 1994: 9*]. Furthermore, earlier NCSs only rarely included a specific working plan which distinguishes them from the more recent examples of this approach: that became more similar to another type of environmental plan: the NEAP [*Falloux/Talbot 1993: 15*].

2.2 National Environmental Action Plans

Mauritius was the first country to complete a NEAP in 1988. Main sponsor of NEAPs – in technical as well as in financial terms – is the World Bank.² As outlined in its operational directive OD 4.02 from June 1992, NEAPs are understood to provide "the essential preparation work for integrating environmental considerations into the overall economic and social development strategy." Apart from this additional consideration of the social development perspective (as compared to the NCS approach), the NEAPs are expected to go beyond the, in the directive required, extensive causal- and quantitative analysis that was intended also to lead to a ranking of environmental problems: They are to come up with a

on the NEAP if the plan stands out from the other strategies with regard to the respective element [World Bank 1995 and Lampietti/Subramanian 1995].

² Others include: UNDP, UNEP, UNSO, and the IUCN, (and to a lesser extent UNESCO, FAO, EC, WWF) as well as several bilateral donors, particularly, USAID, CIDA, ODA or the French-, the German- and the Norwegian Development Cooperation Agencies

prioritized "action plan" comprising specific programs for policy, legal and institutional changes, an investment concept and a timetable [*World Bank 1992*]. In the cases studied, the combined costs for implementing these actions and making change to come about varied between \$44 mil. (Burkina Faso) and \$90 mil. (Mauritius), mainly to be funded by multi- and bilateral donors.³ Like the NCSs they are supposed to be participatory processes [*Dorm-Adzobu: 3*].

2.3 National Sustainable Development Strategies

The most recent model for a national strategy laying great emphasis on environmental management is the one of the National Sustainable Development Strategy (NSDS). This approach – other than the NEAPs – has been presented to be undertaken not only by Africanor developing countries but also by industrialized ones. It was promoted by the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. These Strategies are meant to be more comprehensive than the NEAPs in that they explicitly encompass all three pillars of sustainable development without laying emphasize on one or the other: "[...] ensure socially responsible economic development while protecting the resource base and the environment for the benefit of future generations." Thought to "[...] build upon and harmonize the various sectoral economic, social and environmental policies and plans [...]", this approach tries to integrate the different planning processes and therefore also the NEAPs and NCSs already in progress [*Agenda 21: Chapter 8*]. Up to date, no NSDS is completed yet, although Agenda 21 clearly recommended to adopt and implement this concept.

In the context of this study a common characteristic of all of the above processes is of importance: the vast majority of the African countries can only embark upon any one of them when they are able to make the necessary funds available to them, drawing on the donor community consisting of the World Bank group and the United Nations, other international and national development agencies, and NGOs in other (mostly OECD) countries.

³ Information was available for: Burkina Faso (see above), Eritrea (\$70 mil.), Gambia (\$45 mil., including \$10 mil. of the own government funds), Madagascar (\$85 mil., including \$17 mil. of the own government funds), Mauritius (see above, including \$24 mil. of the own government funds) and Uganda (\$85 mil.).

3 Diffusion of the Concept of National Environmental Strategic Planning

3.1 The Dissemination of NEAPs over Africa

The idea of developing NEAPs came up in 1987, and was the result of a dialogue between the World Bank and the Malagasy embassy in the USA. World Bank President Barber Conable, in a speech in December 1987, encouraged the member states to elaborate country reports on their national environment and assured the support of the Bank for such efforts. Madagascar, although in general responsive to the proposal, preferred to focus not only on an assessment of the current situation but also on the development of responses to the environmental problems. This shifted the objective of the study: away from a mere report, in the direction of an action plan [Sawadogo/Falloux: 1].⁴ The initiative fell on fertile soil. With the environmental degradation progressing on the whole African continent and an increasing "sense of frustration among Africans" witnessing this process, the prospect of an operational strategy supported by the Bank brought in the element that opened the "policy window" [Falloux/Talbot and Kingdon 1995: 166-179]. Soon, three other countries in the region of South-East Africa (Mauritius, the Seychelles and Lesotho) took the opportunity and initiated the NEAP-process. In Central Africa, Rwanda took a leading role, while Ghana, Burkina Faso and Guinea were the first to adopt the new approach in West Africa [Sawadogo/Falloux: 2 and IUCN: 14].

As **Figure 1** shows, there seem to have been three centers of countries very receptive at an early stage to the new policy instrument (South-East Africa, particularly the Indian Ocean countries, Central Africa, and the West). Apart from the states already mentioned, ten other African countries initiated the planning process before it became formally a condition to future loans of the International Development Agency (IDA) in 1992. The majority of Sub-Saharan countries embarked upon the process no sooner than 1993 and the information available leads to the assumption that after 1994 there were no more NEAPs started (**Figure 3**). Is there a pattern behind this process?

⁴ Although NEAPs are therefore based on an initiative of an African country it is unclear to what extent the Malagasies or the World Bank shaped the final model of NEAPs.

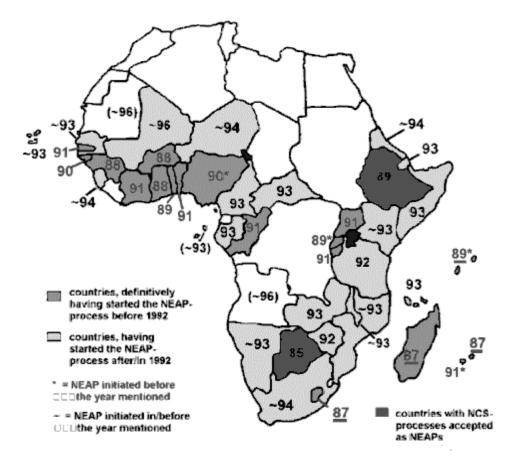


Figure 1: NEAPs initiated in Sub-Sahara Africa

Sources: Benin 1993; Carew-Reid et al. 1994; Carius 1995; Convery; Cote d'Ivoire 1994; Dalal-Clayton/Bass/Sadler 1994; Dorm-Adzobu 1995; Dorm-Adzobu/Hoben; Dorm-Adzobu/Veit; Dorm-Adzobu; Fahrenhorst 1996; Ghana 1991; INTERAISE 1996; IUCN/IIED/WIR 1993; IUCN; Janssen 1993; Khalikane 1991; Luso Consult 1991; Mastri 1993; Mauritius 1990; OECD 1995; OECD-DAC 1992; Rathnam/Opsal 1989; Sandvoss 1993; Seychelles 1990; Talbott 1993; Talbott/Furst 1991; World Bank 1993; World Bank 1994; World Bank 1996a

3.2 Patterns of Policy – Diffusion

In order to systematize the dissemination of the African NEAPs it might be helpful to look at different classical types of diffusion patterns. *Kern* distinguishes three forms of diffusions of policy innovations: the horizontal diffusion, the vertical diffusion and the forced diffusion [*Kern 1997a: 37*]. In contrast to the last type, the first two are representing a voluntary adoption of a "new" policy. The forced diffusion process is not of relevance to this case since it assumes an innovation being developed centrally and then forced upon the sub-entities in a multi-level system which was not the case with the NEAPs. Multi-level system means a governance structure with two policy making levels. On the superior level a central power is located while on the lower levels the players are several, from each other independent entities.

Federal systems like the one of the United States fall in this category but also – to an increasing degree – the international system [*Kern 1997a: 276f*].

Horizontal diffusion describes the spreading of policy innovations from one entity to the others on the lower level. This can happen in two ways that tend to have two different effects. The direct diffusion, characterized by mostly bilateral and horizontal communication (communication on the lower level of the system) and the institutionalized diffusion benefiting from the existence of institutions on the superior level facilitating the diffusion process. The communication channels in the latter pattern are predominantly vertical. Cases examined support the thesis that the process of direct diffusion starts off with only few entities adopting the new approach. Once the "critical mass" has embarked upon the innovative concept the breakthrough comes about. Institutionalized diffusion in turn leads to an early adoption of the policy by the majority of the players that could potentially accept and implement the idea while later in the process only few more entities undertake the policy change [*Kern 1997a: 36f*].

We can talk of vertical diffusion if an institution placed on the superior level of the multilevel system adopts a policy innovation from one of the entities on the lower level (or comes up with an new policy of its own) and makes it obligatory for the other sub-entities to also put into practice that same innovation [*Kern 1997a: 253*].

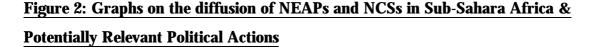
Although this reflects only parts of *Kern's* more in-depth typology of diffusion patterns, it might be sufficient to point out some aspects of the African NEAP diffusion process.

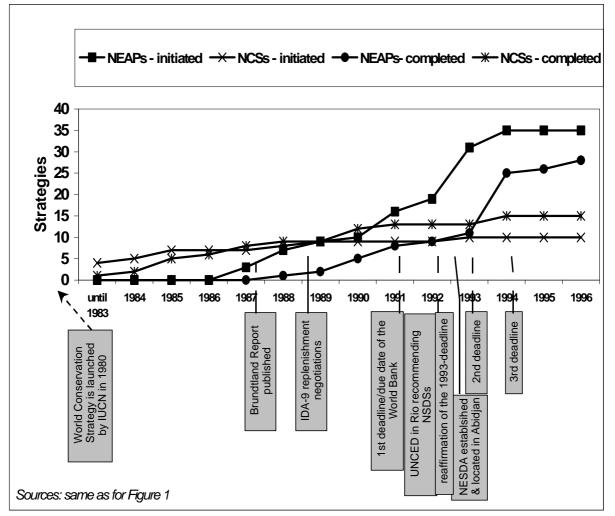
3.3 The Case Study on NEAPs

In trying to typify the diffusion of NEAPs in Africa it is difficult to come to final findings within the scope of this study. In order to do so it would be necessary to analyze the communication patterns throughout the 7 to 9 years during which the African states embarked upon the NEAP approach.

However, from the material available some classifications can be made.

As mentioned above there were already centers of innovation with regard to NEAPs before the issue was lifted on the international agenda (South-East-, respectively West Africa).





<u>NEAPs - initiated:</u> four plans registered under 1993 and three registered under 1994 were either initiated before or in that year. For three of the plans of 1992 & '93 and two of the plans of 1988 & '89 it is unclear in which of the two years they were started. On six NEAPs already in process there was no data available and hence they are not included.

<u>NCSs - initiated:</u> together two strategies registered under 1984 & '87 might have started not before '85 respectively '88. One of the '93s was either started in or before '93. On six NCSs there was no data available.

<u>NEAPs - completed:</u> two registered under 1996 either completed in or before that year. Eleven still pending as of 1996. On one no data available

<u>NCSs – completed:</u> one registered in 1991 either completed in or before that year.

However, an early sign of the finally determining factor in the spreading of the new planning concept appeared already little more than one year after the launching of the first NEAPs. During the negotiations of the replenishment of funds for the ninth round of the International Development Association (IDA-9) in 1988/89, countries receiving IDA-loans were "urged" by the negotiating parties in that they "should" develop and complete a NEAP as of June 1991 or, the latest, until the 30th of June 1993 [*Dalal-Clayton/Bass/Sadler 1994: 30* and *World Bank-OED 1996: 13*].

The increasing vertical integration of the group of players around the diffusion of NEAPs becomes apparent when looking at the several workshops on NEAPs that took place between 1990 (the first one in Dublin) and 1993 (the 4th *regional workshop* in Abidjan, being the 6th one altogether), respectively 1995 (joint workshop of the OECD in Paris; in spite of African participation the focus was not on NEAPs only). They were realized mainly by multilateral organizations as the World Bank, the OECD or the Agence de Cooperation Culturelle et Technique (ACCT).

Another indicator for proceeding vertical integration could be the "Club of Dublin", founded at the Dublin workshop in 1990 as a pool of experts under the auspices of the World Bank, and intended to serve coordinating and experience-sharing functions. It, too, played a role in determining the key issues to be dealt with within the NEAP process and soon became an important driving force for the *inter*-national policy learning in Africa with regard to NEAPs [*Graham/Hanlon: 6*]. The "Club" was finally institutionalized in December of 1992 with an office in Abidjan and under the new name of the Network for Environment and Sustainable Development in Africa (NESDA), funded and supported also by the UNDP and the United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office (UNSO) [*Dalal-Clayton/Bass/Sadler 1994: 23* and *Falloux/Talbot 1993: 302*].

Also the national agencies that played a major role like the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) or the development cooperation agencies of Norway were expatriates to the African countries and therefore were not part of a direct bilateral communication but an indirect one, themselves being a center for collecting experiences and for disseminating information to several parties [*Greve 1994: 5-6*]. Just as the World Bank, nevertheless, these players were involved from the first moment onwards, giving assistance to governments wanting to start a NEAP.

In the scope of the IDA-10 replenishment negotiations in 1992 the deadline for developing NEAPs set by IDA-9 was reaffirmed. By then, the existence of a NEAP-process was made a requirement for receiving further IDA-loans [*Mierke 1996:2*]. For governments unable to complete the process in time, it was agreed that at least considerable efforts ought to be perceivable at that time and a new deadline was set for these countries for the end of June 1994. Another notable decision in 1992 was the expansion of the NEAP recommendation also to countries drawing on the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) for credits to market conditions [*Sawadogo/Falloux: 2*]. Compliance of these "clients", however, has not been tracked with much effort [*World Bank-OED 1996: 45*].

With the World Bank internalizing the NEAP concept as its own policy, and with inducing its debtors to also do so by threatening to withdraw the access to soft loans and credits, the World Bank can be seen in the role of a central power on the superior level of the multi-level system. The prevailing form of communication later in the NEAP diffusion process became the vertical one. Even more important, with this conditionality in place it really does not matter any more whether the information exchanges on the concept of NEAPs took place in a rather horizontal or vertical way. The driving motive to embark on the new environmental strategy was not any more a convincing concept but the access to loans that depended on the existence of a NEAP process in the receiving country. A pretty illustrative example of this circumstance is the fact that in 1993 already 47 of the then 49 IDA-borrowing countries either had completed their NEAPs in time for the 30th of June-deadline (17 borrowers, including non-African countries) or at least handed in some prove, documenting that progress had been made with regard to the new NEAP-World Bank policy (30 borrowers) [*World Bank-OED 1996: 45*].

Summarizing the above, there is some reason to assume that communication between the African countries via the institutions placed on the upper level of the multi-level system (like e.g. the World Bank) was not taking place in a systematized way before the first conference on NEAPs in Dublin in 1990. (The recommendation of IDA-9 (1988/89) to develop NEAPs was uttered by delegates in the scope of a periodical round of negotiations that are primarily not directed towards the coordination of environmental policies in the developing world but towards financial burden sharing. Therefore, this communication, although of a vertical manner (from an international forum to the national players of the international system), can reasonably not be seen as part of an ongoing vertical communication process on NEAPs but rather as a one time effort only.) Apart from the fact that there yet was no organized form of experience sharing, it was also not before the Dublin workshop that a network of experts was set up.

Taken this fact together with the regional concentration of at least two groups of innovators (the countries in the Indian Ocean & Lesotho and Ghana, Burkina Faso and Guinea in West Africa) this gives reason to assume that some sort of bilateral consultation was taking place if not even being the predominant pattern what would make the process of the dissemination of NEAPs in this period an example for the pattern of direct diffusion. Being out of the scope of this study further analyses on this point could be undertaken by seeking for potential similarities in the plans of those "neighboring" countries in order to find further evidence on

the thesis that the first stage of the spreading of the NEAPs (1987-1990) could be characterized as being dominated by direct horizontal diffusion patterns.

The second period (1990-1992) is showing a growing vertical integration of the multi-level system comprising the players in the field of environmental policies (first international conferences; the Club of Dublin being established) and thus the . The communication channels shift from a horizontal dimension to a vertical one in that international institutions facilitate the further diffusion e.g. through promoting the exchange of information on the concept during conferences. This stage comes therefore close to the model of an institutionalized horizontal diffusion.

Finally, from the announcement of the ultimatum-like request by the IDA to develop NEAPs (1992) onwards, the diffusion clearly is a vertical one, the IDA making it an obligation for African countries to adopt the policy innovation "NEAP." Although the World Bank group including IDA, do not have any legal competencies to force the African states into adopting whatever concept, they are de facto in a position to do so. This equals the situation of the central power on the federal level of a federalist system in relation to the respective sub-units (e.g. the states or the Länder) with regard to policy fields where the competencies are with the lower level entities. The decisive parallel here is the power to fund or not fund.

Arguable as the classification of the different stages within the model outlined further above might be, one thing becomes clear: There was a increasing centralization and dominance of the international level throughout the process and the World Bank played a crucial role in spreading the new planning approach. On the one hand, this, one time more, points out the existence of international policy institutions with a strong political potential and influence on that same level but also reaching into the sub-international, the national level, similar to the role of some national bodies within federalist countries. On the other hand, however, it raises the question about the legitimacy of these international bodies.

3.4 Further Points on the Diffusion of NEAPs

Apart from providing material for the more general discussion on the diffusion patterns of policy innovations the data comprised in **Figures 1** and **2** and **Annex I** provide also important information for the second part of this study, the analysis and comparison of the NEAPs.

First of all, it appears evident that for at least half of all countries with a NEAP process the formal requirement as stated during the IDA-10 negotiations was a major motive in starting

the planning effort. These NEAPs, initiated later, also took significantly less time to be completed: in average some 1.4 years as compared to 3.3 years in the case of plans started before the reaffirmation of the conditionality in 1992.

The overall diffusion period (from the first plan initiated to the last country adopting the policy) extends up to 7-9 years, from 1987 to 1994/96. From the data available it is not deductible more exactly. The only countries not having embarked upon the process up to now are Liberia, Zaire, Equatorial Guinea, Swaziland and perhaps neither Angola, Mali and Mauritania. However, it is questionable whether it can be assumed that a diffusion process is still advancing any further in the case of the NEAPs. It seems more likely that the NEAP as a policy tool has gone beyond its summit by now. Even the Operations Evaluation Department of the World Bank itself perceives the NEAP approach not any more as "the best instrument to promote sound environmental strategies" in developing countries and goes on stating: "Where it does not exist, a NEAP in the current format may be unnecessary [...]" [World Bank-OED 1996: 45].

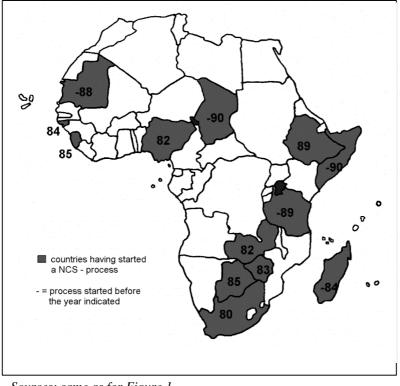


Figure 3: NCSs initiated in Sub-Sahara Africa

A last interesting conclusion from the diffusion pattern reveals itself when we compare the diffusion patterns of African NEAPs and -NCSs. As **Figure 3** in comparison with **Figure 1**

Sources: same as for Figure 1

shows, only three countries amongst the first group to engage in the NEAP process had previously already adopted a NCS: Nigeria, Madagascar and Guinea-Bissau. This might be an indicator for one dilemma of the NEAP approach like of environmental planning in general as practiced in developing countries over a bit more than the last decade. The dilemma of the vast number of sectoral and national environmental reports and strategies initiated and promoted by the donor community simultaneously or coming up shortly after one another: From the NCSs (since 1980) via the National Plans of Action to Combat Desertification (NPACDs since 1984) and the Tropical Forestry Action Plans (TFAPs, since 1985), the NEAPs (since 1987) and the UNCED National Reports (for UNCED in 1992) up to the National Sustainable Development Strategies (NSDSs, since 1992; for implementing Agenda 21) – to mention only the not only regionally disseminated approaches. This flood of initiatives binds scarce capacities in the developing countries in order to develop and prepare all those plans.

Hence, countries having already undertaken a NCS process might not have had the human resources or the will to embark with the NEAP on yet another approach of comprehensive national environmental planning. It is to hope that with the release of Agenda 21, an explicitly integrative approach, and with the encouragement to build the NSDS on previous studies and strategies, an end can be put to the patchwork of sometimes even competing plans.

4 The Criteria for Analyzing the NEAPs

4.1 Particularities of NEAPs

Before discussing the criteria according to which the plans will be analyzed it appears useful to point out some inherent particularities of the NEAP process in Africa. Most of them interrelate with the fact of this region being one of the poorest on the earth. Certain problems go along with this circumstance. Although very complex in itself, the essentials of these problems may be compressed into three focal points:

- lack or at least severe scarcity of financial and human resources as well as institutional capacities
- ♦ poverty
- rapid growth of population

Of course, these conditions bear a lot of implications for environmental degradation. It is not the objective of this study to go any further into detail in this regard; most of the causal relations are intensively examined. This is not the point.

What makes those conditions to be kept in mind, are their implications on how an environmental planning approach should look like in order to have a chance for success and on how the realization of the NEAP approach is to be analyzed and judged.

The main difference to OECD-country environmental strategies that follows out of this situation is the greater role expatriate personnel and funding plays in the Sub-Saharan planning processes. Hence, elements like "demand driven", "donor coordination" or "build on local knowledge and skills" are appearing in the list of criteria.

4.2 Methodology

4.2.1 Development of the Catalogue of Criteria and Elements to be Examined

For the analysis of the various NEAPs I set up a catalogue of criteria which is based on the findings of four institutions that developed four different sets of elements thought of to be essential for a success of a country environmental strategy or plan.

In the World Bank Operational Directive 4.02 of 1992 the Bank explains its understanding of how a NEAP should look like and provides a "Sample Outline" for governments that are about to develop such strategy. The elements composed in this source establish a concept of and for NEAPs. This is an important source for developing the catalogue to be used in this study particularly because it was the World Bank that requested all countries receiving credits from the International Development Agency (IDA) to set up NEAP processes and it is as well the World Bank that decides which and whether a strategy fulfills the criteria for this conditionality.⁵

The other three catalogues distinguish themselves from the one explained above in that they resulted out of an analysis and evaluation of country environmental strategies (not only

⁵ It should be noted that as of 1996 the Bank intended and started to change its NEAP procedures therefore also began to reformat the Operational Directives. Due to a lack of time for making these perhaps already worked-out procedures available for this study, it will still be only referred to the 1992 version of the Directive. This should not lessen the quality of the analysis since the countries examined built their strategies on the older version [*World Bank-OED 1996: 13*].

NEAPs), and, starting from there, tried to deduct the pre-conditions that have to be fulfilled and must prevail to make a success possible.

IIED and IUCN examined 60 national and provincial conservation strategies and turned their conclusions into guidelines for practitioners in form of a handbook on how to develop national sustainable development strategies as outlined in Agenda21. The recommendations given are still of use for our purpose since the lessons were drawn from evaluations of NEAPs and NCSs. The findings of this handbook will be taken – for the purpose of this paper – as the position of IIED and IUCN. With IUCN being the driving force in the promotion of NCSs, and IIED working already for 14 years on environmental planning issues [*Carew-Reid 1994: 4*, *7*], the list of criteria put forth by them should be taken into account because of the great deal of experience distilled within.

The OECD and its Development Assistance Committee (DAC) also worked on best practices for developing national environmental strategies. As well based on past experiences, they came up with a list of crucial elements of such plans. For this paper are used: the results of an OECD workshop held in 1993 (with participation of 18 OECD member states, 12 non-member countries, amongst those: Ghana, The Gambia and Kenya [*OECD 1995: 11, 96*]) and the 1991 endorsed "DAC - Good Practices for Country Environmental Surveys and Strategies" as identified in successful approaches [*OECD-DAC 1992: 4*]. Encompassing the vast majority of donor countries that assist the African governments in the planning process the OECD guidelines are based on rich experiences and are of major importance for the future development of the NEAP process as they most likely will influence decisions within the donor community.

The model for environmental planning presented by the Environmental Policy Research Unit Berlin (FFU) is based on empirical research, too. Research, however, mainly performed on plans in OECD countries. For the use of this study I refer to the environmental planning model as outlined in the FFU-report 96-5 [*FFU 1997*].

The combination of organizations to provide the basis for a catalogue of criteria for the analysis in this paper was also chosen in order to include different perspectives – governmental and academic, rather developmental cooperation oriented and environmentally focussed ones – and to put together a comprehensive list of crucial elements of NEAPs.

Extracting the elements thought to be essential to success by the respective institutes out of their publications, I afterwards located them in a table in order to compare them. At this stage common, or similar aspects were comprised under one heading (from now on to be called *element*). Out of this table I developed the schematization used below for the analysis of the various NEAPs. Beneath each element is noted what organizations perceive it as an important one. Elements shared by three or all of the four institutions of reference are marked in red and will be examined closer further below since such correspondence amongst the four "expert"-institutions provides sufficient reason to assume that those aspects will be considered as very important ones also outside the organizations that provided the basis for my analysis.

4.2.2 Criteria and Elements Used in this Study

For a better discussion of the findings the elements are grouped in the tables under the following seven main criteria that again can be combined into two groups of criteria: The first is dealing with aspects of the process of the NEAP, particularly the process of its (initial) development while the second set of criteria concerns the contents of the final planning document respectively the conclusions and actions agreed upon in the scope of the NEAP process:

Process	Contents
\Rightarrow Placement of Process	\Rightarrow Analysis
\Rightarrow Integration of Planning Effort	\Rightarrow Strategic Objectives
\Rightarrow Participation	\Rightarrow Action Plan
\Rightarrow Longevity of Process	

In order to keep the schematized description of the strategies within a feasible scope, a few aspects of NEAP processes are not going to be considered, although mentioned in the publications used as sources for the catalogue of criteria below. The ratio for deciding upon which to keep and which one to disregard was the feasibility of information-gathering on fulfillment of the points under investigation and the question whether it might be already part of another element that will be examined. According to this reasoning the following (assumed-) prerequisites of successful strategies will be left out:

elements	perceived as crucial by		included indirectly under	info- deficit		
commitment of government officials		IIED;	OECD;	FFU		X
secretariat as a driving force during the initial stage		IIED				х
to be developed by multidisciplinary team	IBRD;		OECD		involvement of other ministries & participation	
determine if conditions are appropriate* and scoping		IIED;	OECD		(focussing on a few priorities)	
communication planning		IIED				Х
emphasize on preparation process not the document		IIED;	OECD;	FFU		x
realistic targets			OECD;	FFU		Х
identification of projects for donor assistance	IBRD ;	IIED;	OECD		financial plan	

Table 1: Elements left out of the systematic analysis

* since the NEAP became a requirement to be met by a certain deadline by countries borrowing from the IDA it would be ironic to expect a – the NEAP process preceding – analysis to examine whether it is the right time to embark upon such strategy

bold font = perceived as important by at least three of the four sources

5 Sub-Saharan NEAPs in Comparison

Due to the field of literature available for this study not all Sub-Saharan countries will be covered. **Figure 4** facilitates the location of the subjects of the analysis.

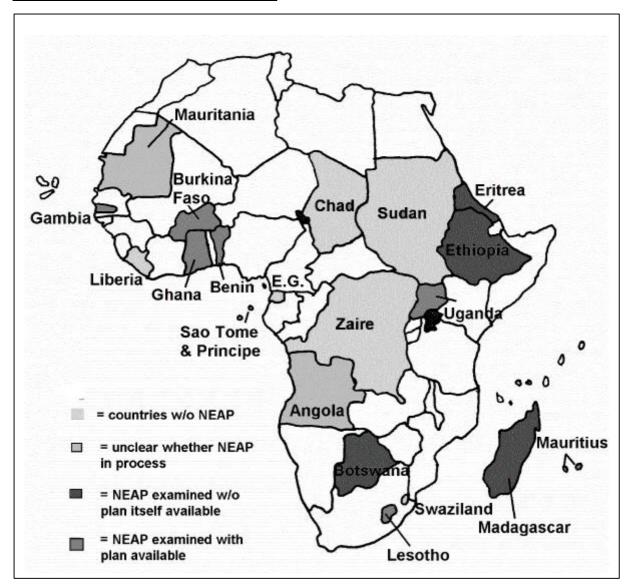


Figure 4: NEAPs covered in this study

5.1 Broad Overview

In **Table 2** a broad overview over and comparison of the examined Sub-Saharan countries is to be provided.

Table 2: Systematized brief overview over Sub-Saharan NEAPs

n. a. = no data available

- = no
- 0 = neither, nor
- + = yes
- ++ = elaborated extensively

for further specifications for each criteria \Rightarrow see Annex II

* = not in the planning document as it was available but maybe in another volume like, e.g. the investment program of the plan

bold font = perceived as important by at least three of the four sources

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PROCESS	PL	ACEMENT OF PROCE	SS		INTEGRATION OF	PLANNING EFFORT							
	demand driven	mand driven high institutional placement of process		involvement of other relevant ministries	integration of existing environmental plans	integration of development priorities	donor coordination						
perceived as criteria by:	IBRD OECD	HED OECD FFU		IBRD× (IIED) OECD FFU	IBRD IIED OECD FFU	IBRD IIED OECD	IBRD× IIED OECD						
Countries wit	Countries with information provided below based on the planning document itself:												
Benin	-	+	(-)	+	0	-	0						
Burkina Faso	+	(-)			++	0	0						
Gambia	0	0	+	+		0	++						
Ghana	-	-	(-)	+	-	0	+						
Lesotho	+	++	+	+		++	+						
Mauritius	+	+	+	+		+	+						
Uganda	0	+	+	+		+							
Countries wit	th information provid	led below based on s	secondary literature*	:									
Botswana	0	-	+	0		+							
Eritrea	++	+		+		0							
Ethiopia	+	+		+	++	+	0						
Madagascar	++	++	+	+	+		-						
	- 0 + ++	- 0 + ++	- 0 + ++	- 0 + ++	- 0 + ++	- 0 + ++	- 0 + ++						
cases known	2 3 4 2	3 1 5 2	2 6	1 9	1 1 1 2	1 4 4 1	1 3 3 1						
measurement of fulfillment	0.36	0.36	0.50	0.90	0.40	0.40	0.38						

PROCESS			P	ARTIC	IPATIC	N								SUST	AINAI	BILITY	OF TH	HE PRO	DCESS					
		partici	ipation		d		nation on nation	of	build on local knowledge and skills		institution building & capacity development		mu	lti-trac proc	k, cycl cess	ical	assessments & revisi		sions					
perceived as criteria by:	IBRD IIED OECI FFU)			IIED OECI FFU)			IBRD OECI				IIED OECE)			IIED				IIED OECI FFU)		
Countries wi	th info	rmatio	on pro	vided	below	based	l on th	e plar	nning o	docum	nent it	self:												
Benin				++			+				+				+				+		-			
Burkina Faso		0			(-)						+				+			0						++
Gambia			+								+				+		-							++
Ghana				++		0						++			+			0					+	
Lesotho				++			+			0					+		-					0		
Mauritius		0						++		0						++	-					0		
Uganda				++		(0)				0						++	-							++
Countries wi	th info	rmatio	on pro	vided	below	based	l on se	cond	ary lite	erature	e*:													
Botswana			+									++			+									
Eritrea				++		(0)						++			+							0		
Ethiopia				++		(0)				0					+		-							
Madagascar			+			0				0					+				+				+	
	-	0	+	++	-	0	+	++	-	0	+	++	-	0	+	++	-	0	+	++	-	0	+	++
cases known		2	3	6	1	5	2	1		5	3	3			9	2	5	2	2		1	3	2	3
measurement of fulfillment	0.82			0.22		0.55			1.00		-0.33		0.44											

CONTENTS				ANALYSIS				STRA	TEGIC OBJECT	TIVES
	identification of information needs	description of the state of the environment	description of political & legal framework	concentrate on few priorities in the problem analysis	causal analysis of environ- mental problems	quantitative analysis – costs imposed by environ. problems	cost-benefit analysis of actions	long term perspective	quantitative targets	timeframe for targets
perceived as criteria by:	IBRD	IBRD OECD FFU	IBRD OECD	IIED FFU	IBRD IIED OECD FFU	IBRD FFU	IBRD IIED FFU	IBRD IIED OECD	IIED OECD FFU	OECD FFU
Countries wit	h information	provided belov	v based upon t	the planning do	ocument itself:					
Benin	0	++	++	0	++	++	+	++	-	-
Burkina Faso	0	+	+	0	+	+	-	-	-	-
Gambia	+	+	+	-	+	0	-	+	-	-
Ghana	+	+	++	-	+	++	+	+	-	-
Lesotho	+	+	0	+	++	0	-	0	-	-
Mauritius	+	0	0	-	+	+	0	0	-	-
Uganda	0	++	0	0	++	+	+	-	-	-
Countries wit	h information	provided belov	v based on sec	condary literatu	ure*:					
Botswana			+	(+)	(+)					
Eritrea		(+)		-	+			++	(0)	(0)
Ethiopia				(-)			0			
Madagascar				+		+		++		
	- 0 + ++	- 0 + ++	- 0 + ++	- 0 + ++	- 0 + ++	- 0 + ++	- 0 + + +		- 0 + ++ 7 1	- 0 + ++
cases known measurement of fulfillment	3 4 0.57	1 5 2 0.88	3 3 2 0.625	5 3 3 -0.18	<u> 6 3</u> 1.00	2 4 2 0.75	3 2 3 0.00	2 2 2 3 0.33	7 1 -0.88	-0.88

CONTENTS CRITERIA										I	ACTIO	N PLAN											
	setting up a natural resource information system			wo	work plan including timetable			clearly defined actions			choosi	ng pri	ority ac	ctions	mix o		& econ ments	ıomic	financial plan				
perceived as criteria by:	IBRD OECD			IBRD				IIED FFU				IBRD IIED				IBRD OECI FFU				IBRD FFU			
Countries wit	h informati	on pr	ovided	below	based	l on th	e plar	nning o	docum	ent its	self:												
Benin	0				0						++				++		0				0		
Burkina Faso			++			+			0				0*			-						+	
Gambia		+		-					0*				0				0					+	
Ghana			++			+					++				++		0					+	
Lesotho	0				0*					+			0					+		-			
Mauritius	0				0*					+				+			0					+	
Uganda			++		0						++				++			+				+	
Countries wit	h informati	on pr	ovided	below	based	l on se	econd	ary lite	erature)*:													
Botswana	0																	(+)					
Eritrea		+				+					++			+			(0)						++
Ethiopia		+																				+	
Madagascar		+											0									+	
	- 0	+	++	-	0	+	++	-	0	+	++	-	0	+	++	-	0	+	++	-	0	+	++
cases known	4	4	3	1	4	3			2	2	4		4	2	3	1	5	3		1	1	7	1
measurement of fulfillment	C	0.64			0.25			0.75			0.56			0.22			0.70						

The "measurement of fulfillment" is calculated as follows: [[cases, not meeting the criterion *(-1)] + [cases, meeting the criterion *1] / number of cases with information available {-; 0; +; ++}. This indicator is thus varying between -1 and 1, showing whether in average the criterion is always met {1}, never met {-1}, in the majority met {0-1}, in the majority not met {0-(-1)} and to what extent this is the case.

Sources: Dorm-Adzobu/Veit; Carius 1995; IBRD 1994; Dorm-Adzobu; IUCN; Ghana 1991; Fahrenhorst 1996; Falloux/Talbot 1993; World Bank 1995; Dorm-Adzobu 1991; Dorm-Adzobu (a); Dorm-Adzobu/Furst; Dorm-Adzobu/Hoben; Fischer 1996; Janssen 1992; Janssen; Khalikane 1991; Luso Consult 1991; Rathnam 1991; Madagascar (a); Warich 1996; Greve; Janssen 1993; Khalikane 1989; Melchers 1995; N.N. 1994; Rathnam/Opsal 1989; Talbott 1993; Burkina Faso 1991; Burkina Faso 1993; Mauritius 1990; Lesotho 1989; The Gambia; Benin 1993.

5.1.1 Comparing the Fulfillment of the Criteria

Probably one of the rather unexpected findings of the systematic comparison of the African NEAPs with the help of the above criteria is the high level to which the strategies include the crucial elements listed. Of the 29 criteria examined in 11 country studies and with data being available on a total of 260 of the potential 319 single cases to be checked, in 150, or 57.7%, of the cases the asked for elements were put into practice and only in 44 cases, respectively 16.9%, the criteria were clearly not met. In the remaining 66 cases (25.4%) some indicators showed a tendency in the right direction, however, they did not meet the prerequisites necessary to be counted as incorporating the necessary elements investigated (for more specific and further information on the figures also for the following parts, see Annex III). Split up into the two major NEAP components, the "process" of its elaboration and its actual "contents", the measurement of fulfillment⁶ shows a significant difference:

		PRO	CESS			S	Total	
CATEGORY	Placement	Integration	Participation	Sustainability	Analysis	Strategic Objectives	Action Plan	
adjusted average measurement (AAM) of fulfillment ¹	0.40	0.55	0.55	0.45	0.51	-0.44	0.53	0.41
AAM		0.	49			0.20		0.41
AAM w/o "quantitative targets" & "timeframes for targets":		0.	49			0.49		

Table 3: Measurements of fulfillment of the criteria analyzed

¹For specifications on the calculating of the measurements and the differences between them, refer to ANNEX III.

This is, however, largely due to two elements only, namely "quantitative targets" and "timeframe for targets." These two characteristics seem to be totally out of place for judging on African environmental plans with the objective of comparing them: Pretty much none of them includes any quantified targets or even sets up dead lines for meeting their mostly very broad qualitative targets (like e.g. "increasing the efficiency in the use of natural resources" [*Mauritius 1990*]; or to "maintain ecosystems" [*Ghana 1991*]. A rather specific one would

already be the one put forth in the Lesotho NEAP: to "make clean drinking water readily available to all communities" [*Lesotho 1989*]). With these two elements *not* included in the data set, there is practically no difference left between the fulfillment of the process requirements and the ones relating to the NEAP contents as **Table 3** shows. Interestingly enough, this is mostly true also for distinguishing the seven categories of criteria (placement of process, integration, participation and so on) that are pretty evenly met by the strategies.

Apart from the two elements of the NEAP's target structure already discussed, looking at the different elements forming the criteria, there are quite significant variations in the performance of the African NEAPs examined. The five NEAP–elements incorporated the most comprehensively were "institution building & capacity development" (AAM = 1.0), "causal analysis of environmental problems" (AAM = 1.0), "involvement of other relevant ministries" (AAM = 0.9), "description of the state of the environment" (AM = 0.88) and "participation" (AAM = 0.82). Less consideration was granted to the five tail-enders: "quantitative targets" (AAM = -0.88), "timeframe for targets" (AAM = -0.88), "multitrack/cyclical process" (AAM = -0.33), "concentrating on few priorities in the problem analysis" (AAM = -0.18) and "cost-benefit analysis of actions" (AAM = 0.0).

Although with the information available, for this report it is rather difficult to come to firm and well backed conclusions about the reasons for these variations, assumptions can be made.

It is obvious that the latter elements would characterize efforts that are truly strategic since they are taking a future oriented perspective, considering the need for adjustments of decisions taken today, and the scarcity of resources resulting in the need to tackle the most pressing problems first. In contrast, the combination of the five elements incorporated to a high degree into African NEAPs, yield a mixture of an effort to bring society together in order to build a consensus and framework to enable government to act on the environmental problems in the first place on the one hand, and a "traditional", although somewhat more comprehensive, assessment effort on the other.

In the literature, similar overall judgements on African NEAPs can be found. Thus, *Mierke* states that often plans merely have been a combination of various sectoral analyses, supplemented by an attached list of projects for funding [*Mierke 1996: 10*]. The reproach

⁶ For further details on the calculation of the different measurements used in this study, refer to ANNEX III.

towards many NEAPs, being developed and perceived as one-time efforts [*World Bank* 1996b] goes into a similar direction and denies NEAPs the strategy-character.

On the positive side, nevertheless, stands the general judgement on most of the action plans as helping to create a national consensus on the environment, raising awareness of environmental problems [*Dorm-Adzobu 1995: 8*], and boosting – at least the theoretical – capacities of the institutional structure for the management of the environment by either establishing a ministry for the environment where there was none before (e.g. Ethiopia with the creation of the Min. of Natural Resources Dev. and Environ. Protection – MNRDEP in 1993 [*Dorm-Adzobu/Hoben: 12*]), providing an existing ministry or agency with the necessary leverage (e.g. Gambia with the uplifting of the Environ. Unit {EU} from the Min. of Natural Resources into the office of the president [*World Bank 1995: 24*]), or creating an inter-ministerial council or an agency on a high institutional level (e.g. Uganda, through the creation of the National Environ. Management Authority {NEMA} and the Policy Committee on the Environ. {PCE}, an inter-ministerial policy making body, chaired by the Prime Min. [*Uganda 1995: 87*ff]).

5.1.2 Comparing the Performance of the Countries Investigated

The "adjusted average country measurement" (AACM) is the indicator used in this study for ranking the examined country-strategies' performance with regard to the NEAP-approach. This results out of the deficiencies of the "average country measurement" (ACM) that is calculated just in the same way as the measurement of fulfillment (see **Table 2**) and that provides information on the overall degree to which the country met the characteristics of a promising environmental action plan. According to this indicator the differences in performance appear to be quite decisive, due to the fact that in four cases, namely in Madagascar, Eritrea, Botswana and Ethiopia, the lack of data (31%; 28%; 58%; 48%, respectively) has some influence on the outcome of the ACM. Therefore it seemed appropriate to modify or adjust the measurement in order to lessen the influence of the existing data gaps (thereby creating the AACM as the new indicator). This was done by assuming an average performance for the cases with no information available. Average performance in this place stands for the overall (adjusted) average measurement of fulfillment (AAM) of all countries in the respective category.⁷ Even if this lowers the distances from one

⁷ For further specifications, please refer to Annex III

country to another in matters of their performance, except in one case (Uganda changes place with Ethiopia) it does not result in a change of their order in the ranking:

		adjusted average	average country	lack of data
	Country	country	measurement	(in % of cases)
_	U U	measurement		
1)	Madagascar	0.603	0.72	31
2)	Eritrea	0.561	0.62	28
3)	Botswana	0.501	0.62	58
4)	Uganda	0.442	0.44	0.07
5)	Ethiopia	0.438 🗲	0.47	48
6)	Ghana	0.379	0.38	0
7)	Lesotho	0.359	0.36	0.03
7) -	Mauritius	0.359	0.36	0.03
8)	Benin	0.310	0.31	0
9)	Gambia	0.304	0.30	0.07
10)	Burkina Faso	0.201	0.19	0.07

Table 4: Countries' Performances in Comparison

In spite of the adjusted indicator used for ranking, the result still gives reason to be dealt with, with care. There are practically two groups of country strategies examined in this study: the one with good data availability and the one with, call it "fair" data availability. It leaves us with a need to discuss why all four cases belonging to the latter category are placed among the top five in the table. Mainly one point should be made here since the four countries at stake share one characteristic in the context of this report: Of none of them the planning document itself was available. This could have led to a bias in that already the literature used could have been biased. Since the issue seems to be one which is discussed from quite different perspectives and hence with the authors reaching quite different conclusions or outlooks this assumption has some justification (e.g. the book of *Falloux/Talbot 1993* draws a rather positive picture of the whole NEAP-endeavor in Africa, while e.g. *Janssen* seems to be very critical of the process).

Trying to compare the results of this study with the dispersed mentioning within the literature of pioneer NEAPs and partly success stories or failures (**Table 5**), another point comes to mind: It might be that the sample of NEAPs examined in the scope of this study (which was chosen pretty much according to the criteria of data availability) is not representative at all. The table rather gives reason to believe that in this paper mostly the cases dealt as – at least partly – success stories were investigated. This should be kept in mind, not to get a skewed impression of the NEAP-process in Africa.

(Partly) Success Stories	NEAPs with problems
• Benin	• Congo (commitment & coordination)
• Botswana (independence of donors)	• Cote d'Ivoire (interrupted out of fear of upheaval)
• Gambia	• Guinea (commitment & coordination)
• Ghana	• Kenya (rushed by IDA-deadline)
• Lesotho	• Tanzania (rushed by IDA-deadline)
• Madagascar	• Togo (commitment & coordination)
• Rwanda	
• Uganda (also for decentralization)	
• Zambia	

Table 5: Mirroring the Findings of the Literature: Success Stories & Problem Cases

Sources: Carew-Reid 1994; Dorm-Adzobu; Adzobu/Gilbert; Dorm-Adzobu/Veit; Falloux/Talbot 1993;Greve; Janssen 1993; Talbott 1993

As they do perform differently in the overall record, the countries' fulfillment of each criteria vary, too:

Criteria	best performance*	worst performance*
Placement	Madagascar (1.00)	Ghana (-1.00)
	Lesotho (1.00)	
	Mauritius (1.00)	
Integration	Lesotho (0.89)	Benin (0.00)
5	Mauritius (0.89)	
Criteria	best performance*	worst performance*
Participation	Lesotho (1.00)	Burkina Faso (-0.50)
•	Benin (1.00)	
Sustainability	Madagascar (0.75)	Lesotho (0.00)
v	Ghana (0.75)	Mauritius (0.00)
	Burkina Faso (0.75)	
Analysis	Botswana (0.72)	Ethiopia (0.22)
Strategic Objectives	Eritrea (0.33)	Uganda (-1.00)
8 9		Burkina Faso (-1.00)
Action Plan	Eritrea (0.83)	Lesotho (0.17)
	Uganda (0.83)	Gambia (0.17)
	Ghana (0.83)	

Table 6: Performance of Countries broken down into the Criteria

*based on the adjusted average measurement (AAM)

In the following the focus will lie on a more specific examination of the way in which the NEAPs were actually developed and of what they contain rather than on their broad comparison as done above. Therefore another table might be helpful to still keep a certain degree of structure and amount of comparability amongst the cases presented.

A further analysis of the findings of the following table is out of the scope of this paper and could and should be the subject of further studies.

5.2 Systematized in depth examination of the NEAPs

Table 7: Analysis of the NEAPs by means of planning criteria perceived by most institutions as crucial for success

PROCESS	PLACEMENT OF PROCESS		INTEGRATION OF P	LANNING EFFORT	
	high institutional placement of process	involvement of other relevant ministries	integration of existing environmental plans	integration of development priorities	donor coordination
emphasized		IBRD×	IBRD	IBRD	IBRD×
by:	IIED		IIED	IIED	IIED
	OECD	OECD	OECD	OECD	OECD
	FFU	FFU	FFU		
Countries wi	th inf. below based on the pla	anning document itself:			
Benin	 in the beginning driven by the World Bank later coordinated by the Coordination Unit (CC), a four men institution, (serving as the NEAP-Secretariat) and by the Inter-ministerial Steering Committee (CIP) 	 common meetings of the CC and various ministries 9 ministries were repr. in the CIP (Min. of: Environ., Housing & Urban Dev.; Planning & Restructuring the Econ.; Rural Dev.; Educ.; Energy, Mines & Hydrology; Health; Interior & Security; Public Works & Transports; Justice & Legislation) Min. of Finance & Min. of Econ. developed the fiscal measures for the protection of the environ. 	• only a few existing projects were analyzed & some mentioned as to be adjusted in the scope of the NEAP process	• merely integration of the NEAP into the Natl. Dev. Plan (no signs for an integration in the opposite direction, means, of dev. priorities into the environ. plan)	 not discussed in the planning document donors' participation in organizing the process was not always coordinated donors took part (at least) in one natl. workshop

PROCESS	PLACEMENT OF PROCESS	INTEGRATION OF PLANNING EFFORT				
	high institutional placement	involvement of other relevant	integration of existing	integration of development	donor coordination	
	of process	ministries	environmental plans	priorities		
Burkina Faso		ministries [• in the implementation stage: a total of 14 ministries were inc. in the coordination & monitoring through membership in the CMS (Min. for: Territorial Management; Environ.; Hydraulics; Agr. & Pasture; Research; Farmers' Co-operatives) & the CICT (amongst others the Min. for: the Promotion of the Econ.; Health & Social Action; Planning & Cooperation) • relevant ministries were to be involved in implementation of actions]	environmental plans • perceived as an evolution from & transition of the NPACD and others which were guaranteed to be continued • was planned to be compatible with the TFAP • drawing consequences out of some shortcomings of the NPACD and redressing those • some programs were endorsed & reinforced • existing projects & programs were supposed to form the bulk of the NEAP activities in the first year • simultaneous dev. of a land management program • however, all previous programs (& the TFAP, too) were not coordinated well with the NEAP; thus, there is a struggle on competencies	 priorities mentioned that in the long run environ. degradation impairs econ. and social dev. 	 not discussed in the planning document in the beginning competition within the donor community in order to safe their operations & fields of activities in the country donors took part (at least) in one national workshop 	

implementation] • vague on potential conflicts between dev. and environ.		 Pres. & consisting of several ministers & the executive director of the Nat. Environ. Agency (NEA) insisted on initiation of the GEAP process overall coordination of the GEAP within the Min. for Nat. Resources & Environ. (MNRE) day to day coordination by the 	 implementing ministries & departments participated in the planning process & the actions proposed in the GEAP stem from them 6 ministries supported the initiation of the GEAP through their membership in the NEMC (Min. of: Nat. Resources; Agr.; Local Gov. & Lands; Social Welfare; Finance & Econ. Affairs; Trade, Industry & Employment) [• ministries involved in implementation] 		 the Program for Sustained Dev. (PSD of 1990, to reinforce the Econ. Recovery Program policies) "population management" and "poverty alleviation", although listed in the GEAP as being crucial for environ. protection, were to be handled by the Min. of Trade, Industry & Employment respectively by the Min. of Finance & Econ. Affairs . vague on potential conflicts 	 donors involved in the two workshops a donors conf. was held to coordinate the activities of the gov. & the donors subsequently the MNRE will address the issue on a regular basis successful donor coordination in the case of the support for the creation and strengthening of the NEA
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PROCESS	PLACEMENT OF PROCESS					
	high institutional placement of process	involvement of other relevant ministries	integration of existing environmental plans	integration of development priorities	donor coordination	
Ghana	• initiated by the Environ. Protection Council (EPC – an advisory and research org. under the Min. of Local Gov.) that served as the umbrella org. throughout the whole process and that established a NEAP Coordination Unit as its sub- unit	 9 ministries inc. through their representation in the EPC (Min. of Health; Agr.; Foreign Affairs; Lands & Nat. Resources; Industries; Science & Tech.; Local Gov.; Finance & Econ. Planning; Works & Housing) [• in the implementation of the plan the Nat. Dev. Planning Council (NDPC) is supposed to play an important role • some ministries and agencies will implement parts of the plan] 	• plan merely mentions that the NPACD is still valid & should be implemented with commitment	• only stating various times that maintenance of a high quality environ. is a prerequisite to econ. prosperity	 not discussed in the planning document establishment of a Coordination and Monitoring Committee (CMC) for donor involvement in the implementation donors involved (at least) in natl. conf. 	
Lesotho	 initial negotiations led by the King and the Min. of Planning & Environ. Inter-ministerial Steering Committee (ISC; inc.>12 ministers) supervised by the King NEAP-Secretariat consisting of senior officers of the respective ministries in the ISC (& of the Natl. Univ.) placed in the Min. of Planning 	 > 12 ministries inc. through membership in the ISC (e.g. Min. of: Agr.; Finance; Planning) and through their corresponding officers in the NEAP-Secretariat each relevant min. or agency prepared a background paper on the area of its responsibility 	n. a.	• the 4 th 5-Year Dev. Plan & a strategy of the Min. of Agr. ⁸ were used as principle documents to expand the 1 st version of the NEAP • attempting to combine econ. & social objectives with environ. protection measures looking for win-win situations	 not discussed in the planning document donor conf. in October 1990 donors inc. (at least) in the natl. conf. 	

⁸ the "Agricultural Production and Marketing Policies and Management of Soil, Water and Forestry Resources to Promote Increased Productivity and Improved Nutrition in Lesotho" paper

PROCESS	PLACEMENT OF PROCESS					
	high institutional placement of process	involvement of other relevant ministries	integration of existing environmental plans	integration of development priorities	donor coordination	
Mauritius	• the Dep. of the Environ. (DOE) within the Min. of Housing, Land & Environ. was responsible for coordination tasks related to environ. policy and the Nat. Environ. Committee (NEC), an inter- ministerial institution chaired by the PM served as the highest political authority with regard to environ. issues	• "key ministries" were repr. in the NEC	n. a.	 the plan repeatedly emphasizes in general terms the need to integrate environ. & dev. concerns points out possible win-win situations a few times in the part of the recommendations of the NEAP 	 not discussed in the planning document donors took part in the tech. seminar donors views were brought into the process, also in preparing the Environ. Investment Program (EIP) close coordination between some donor agencies during the whole process through regular consultations EIP presented to the donor community at a meeting 	
Uganda	 sub-committee to the cabinet chaired by the PM serving as the Steering Committee NEAP-Secretariat placed within the Dep. of Environ. Protection (DEP) of the Min. of Water, Energy, Minerals & Environ. Protection (but DEP's administrative position too low to coordinate) coordination of the implementation phase is placed within the Natl. Environ. Management Authority (NEMA) under the Min. of Nat. Resources but with an inter- ministerial policy committee chaired by the PM] 	 in the Steering Committee 11 ministries with environ. responsibilities were repr. (amongst others the Min. of: Finance & Planning; Agr.; Commerce, Industry & Cooperatives; Justice) special considerations were given to gender integration through the role played by the Min. for Women in Dev. the ministries were also repr. in the task forces 	n. a.	 accelerated econ. growth is one of the goals of the Environ. Investment Program (EIP) for finalizing investment program: on-going & planned programs under the Public Investment Plan (PIP) were taken into account for the decentralization of environ. planning the plan was building upon the general decentralization policy of the Local Gov. Statute (LGS) of 1993 	• not discussed in the planning document	

PROCESS	PLACEMENT OF PROCESS		INTEGRATION OF P	LANNING EFFORT	
	high institutional placement of process	involvement of other relevant ministries	integration of existing environmental plans	integration of development priorities	donor coordination
Countries wi	th inf. below based on secon	dary literature:			
Botswana	with the NEAP-Secretariat being placed within the Department of Town &	• other ministries were only inc. indirectly through the cooperation of the DTRP with the Nat. Resources Tech. Committee (NRTC), the functional arm of which in turn is the Inter-ministerial Coordinating Environmental Sub-Group (ICES)	n. a.	 to integrate the work of the ministries with the activities of priv. interest groups involved in the dev. process is listed as an objective in the NCS elaboration of a list of mutually reinforcing dev. & environ. goals in the NCS process 	n. a.
Eritrea		 7 ministries were repr. in the CME (Min. of Agr.; Construction; Energy, Raw Materials & Water Resources; Health; Local Admin.; Sea Resources; Trade & Industry) some 8 min. were also repr. in the Tech. Committee 	n. a.	• the NEMP is aiming also at econ. growth, trying to steer it in an environ. sustainable way	n. a.
Ethiopia	the Min. of Nat. Res. Dev. and Environ. Protection (MNRDEP) • strategy formulation process	 other ministries were repr. in the IMEPC (and thus involved in the formulation as well as the implementation phase) other ministries were inc. in the regional level inter- ministerial task forces during the early stages of the process some agencies were also inc. in the Regional Conservation Strategy Steering Committees (Bureaus of: Planning & Econ. Dev.; [M]NRDEP; Agr.) 	 development of the Ethiopian Forestry Action Plan (EFAP) within and harmonization with the NCS as an umbrella strategy also other sectoral activities have been placed within the NCS as "the major strategic environ. initiative in the country" 	 initially also perceived & handled as a review of the several policy reforms of the late 80s (that involved all sectors of the economy) NCS draft report was checked for consistency with other macro policies like the natl. econ. policy 	• donors took part (at least) in 1 st natl. conf.

PROCESS	PLACEMENT OF PROCESS	INTEGRATION OF PLANNING EFFORT			
	high institutional placement	involvement of other relevant	integration of existing	integration of development	donor coordination
	of process	ministries	environmental plans	priorities	
Madagascar	Permanent Tech. Committee	• all ministries were at least	• subsumes the Tropical Forestry	<i>n. a.</i>	\cdot each executive agency
	(SINE) chaired by the PM	repr. in the CAPAE	Action Plan (TFAP) under the		had to organize its funding
	served as Steering Committee		NEAP framework		for the implementation of
	• NEAP Support Unit (CAPAE)				the NEAP from "its own"
	within the Min. of Econ. &				donor agencies, thus no
	Planning (MEP) served as the				coordination as of the early
	operational coordination body				years of implementation
	during the planning phase				
	(later becoming the Natl. Office				
	for the Environ. – ONE)				
	\cdot sponsored also by the Pres.				

PROCESS	PARTICIPATION		SUSTAINABILITY OF PROCESS
	participation accessibility, dissemination		assessments & revisions
emphasized by:	IBRD IIED OECD FFU	IIED OECD FFU	IIED OECD FFU
Countries w	th inf. below based on the planning document itself:		
Benin	 was not taken as a leading principle in the beginning several (5) regional 3 day seminars with each ca. 300 participants (50-75% farmers or groups of the urban population; NGOs and gov.) complemented by 14 polls/consultations at the village level to involve not yet sufficiently inc. groups – namely women & youth natl. workshop (Mar/Apr 1992 – gov, NGOs, priv. & acad. sectors, professional & dev. associations, local collectives, donors) natl. seminar (Nov 1992) represents the model example of a participatory process 	 only very uncoordinated and no steady inf. efforts related to the NEAP were made in the media it was merely recommended in the NEAP to make the planning document widely accessible to the general public] 	• no procedures for assessing and reviewing the NEAP implementation included • <i>little reflections on steering the NEAP as a</i> <i>process</i>
Burkina Faso		n. a. [• the dissemination of the NEAP's basic messages to each Burkinan was perceived as the essential, second important prerequisite to set the NEAP in motion]	 every six months a report on progress and obstacles is to be prepared by the CMS and reviewed by the CICT setting in place of a monitoring structure perceived as a key element for implementing the NEAP evaluation procedures were also incorporated in one of the 4 framework programs, the Program to Improve Living Conditions (PCACV)
Gambia	 work-shop with NGOs, priv. & public sector, local communities representatives and donors all stakeholders were involved (particularly in the public sector) but local community participation rather weak it was proposed in the document to constantly consult the groups of society in the process of reviewing the GEAP] in the stage of implementation: regional and local environ. committees established in 1994] 	n. a.	 monitoring lies within the responsibility of the EU – later becoming the NEA at beginning of FY 1992/93 monitoring the implementation progress was supposed to start reports have to be filed all three months to the NEMC and its committee (which in turn have to report quarterly to the House of Representatives) the follow up was supposed to include constant consultations with local communities, the general public, NGOs, gov. agencies, donors and the int. community

PROCESS	PARTICIPATION		SUSTAINABILITY OF PROCESS
	participation	accessibility, dissemination of inf.	assessments & revisions
Ghana	 a think tank (experts from gov., research units, universities, NGOs & the gen. public) produced the starting point document working groups (ministries, research units, universities & the public) natl. conf. attended by 200 participants (gov., district assemblies, NGOs inc. also women's & religious groups, priv. sector, donor agencies) however, participation of NGOs and the general public (particularly apart from experts) was rather weak [• in the implementation stage NGOs & citizen groupswere involved through their representation in the Environ. Committees on district & local levels] 	 EPC used outreach programs to introduce the NEAP to the non-urban parts of the country natl. conf. was covered widely in the print- and in the electronic media but in general the media were under-utilized, apart from the nat. conf. there was no way for citizens to discover the NEAP process 	• mid-term review (& depending on the result: plan redirection) planned for 1995
Lesotho	 natl. conf. (1988; before the 1st draft) attended by more than 300 or by 500 participants (gov., universities, NGOs, priv. sector, int. experts & donors, rural chiefs & inhabitants) the public opinion was captured through a questionnaire distributed in the 10 districts District Development Councils (DDCs) could comment on the 1st draft incorporation of comments & tech. review of the resulting 2nd draft (int. experts, NGOs & the univ.) Natl. Univ. was repr. in the NEAP-Secretariat involvement of NGOs through all stages of the preparation process [• very often participation is woven into the recommendations for the implementation of actions to be taken] 	 briefing the (participants of the natl. conf. from the) districts on the topics to be discussed ant the conf. circulating of the 1st & 2nd draft to DDCs increased media attention to environ. issues due to explicit gov. endorsement of environ. concerns 	 in the preface of the planning document it is merely demanded to regard it as a "living document" to be modified & revised in the future as necessary with actions programs to be updated periodically however, the planning document does not contain any further operationalization of those demands

PROCESS	PARTICIPATION		SUSTAINABILITY OF PROCESS
	participation	accessibility, dissemination of inf.	assessments & revisions
Mauritius	 tech. seminar (Sept. 1988 – after cabinet's approval of the Bank's mission report as a/the Plan proposal) attended by 150 participants (gov., nat. & int. NGOs, dev. org., donors) to discuss the key issues, integrating reports by gov, NGO- & priv. sector-individuals into the plan and dev. the investment program the draft of the White Paper on Nat. Environ. Policy was circulated to various org. (e.g. in the priv. sector) for comments 2nd conf. (Nov. '89) out of which resulted major changes in the presented draft bill for environ. protection hardly any indicators for significant public participation in preparation process [· public participation in the implementation of the NEAP officially intended by gov. but no mechanisms developed to ensure this] 	 aggressive inf. and educ. campaigns on environ. protection. (by gov. & NGOs, for the public & public officials) already prior to the NEAP process (parallel to the NEC's review of the state of the environ.) appearances of high level gov. officials to show their support for the NEAP in the media that kept the gen. public well informed on the NEAP process and the implementation of the EIP 	 one of the potential options for a future institutional framework that is discussed in the planning document would place the monitoring of the implementation of the NEAP within the DOE revisions are not mentioned
Uganda	 acad, priv, NGO- & govsectors were represented in the nine task forces to develop issue papers district & 9 regional workshops were attended by hundreds of participants (w/o business or academics) natl. conf. attended by hundreds of participants (all sectors) to discuss the issues papers which were to be revised on that basis donors and NGOs were represented in an NEAP advisory committee women groups were inc. resistance committees facilitated community participation however: plan written by gov. officials w/o continuing interaction with the communities [• strategies to be undertaken were supposed to ensure participation in the management of the environ. also in the future] [· future involvement of local communities ensure through the de- centralizing of environ. planning by the means of local & district committees and action plans] [· NGO-, business- & acadsector will also take part in the implementation and monitoring] 	n. a.	 NEAP is supposed to be updated "continuously as new issues emerge & resources become available" an advisory committee should be established to monitor the NEAP (inc. 30 members with NGO-, acad., priv. or donor-background & no gov. officials) the NEAP is to be reviewed at least every 5 years (laid down in the Environ. Management Bill [EMB] of 1994), with a first review already at mid-term, assessing the need for redirecting the process the NEAP set up monitoring devices (indicators) to measure the impact of policies on the econ., the environ. & the population the District EAPs are to be revised every 3 years however, one source also sees a salient danger that the NEAP is perceived as a one time document & effort rather than an ongoing process

PROCESS	PARTICIPATION		SUSTAINABILITY OF PROCESS
	participation	accessibility, dissemination of inf.	assessments & revisions
Countries w	ith inf. below based on secondary literature:		
Botswana	\cdot consultations at central, district & village levels under participation of NGOs and the priv. sector	п. а.	<i>n. a.</i>
Eritrea	 23 provincial public workshops attended by a total of 2.500 (according to the gov. view 3.300) citizens (women, youth, farmers, workers, academics amongst others) 4 day natl. conf. (Feb.'95) with 500 participants (from all over the country as well as int. environ. experts) [• suggestion to institutionalize an annual (or every other year) "people's forum on the environ." (PFE) in all provinces] 	п. а.	• perceived by the framers as a "dynamic process to be constantly renewed and refined"
Ethiopia	 Ist natl. conf. (1990) attended by >100 participants (gov, businesses, NGOs, religious groups, UN agencies, donors, dev. org.) it was not before the 1991 change in gov. that a bottom-up approach was taken in the tech. teams developing the work plan for the NCS process gov, acad & privsectors were represented through regional & sectoral workshops the gov, NGO- business-sectors, farmers, religious institutions, political parties & the press were consulted (decisions for sectoral strategies, however, lied within gov. only) 2nd natl. conf. (1994) attended by >200 people not much local level input in the natl. strategy & very differing local participation levels in the regional strategy processes 	• as of 1992/93 it has not yet been a major activity	n. a.
Madagascar	 several public workshops were organized (first only in the capital, later on a regional level as well) in the beginning only minimal participation of NGOs & lower administrative levels of gov. (later also involvement of religious groups & the priv. sector) in natl. working groups more than 150 people were consulted a few representatives of local & regional NGOs & research inst. were involved through their membership in the CAPAE [• in the implementation stage much is left to NGOs] 	 public debates were held in the capital there was also some regional use of the mass media to report on environ. issues to strengthen public support for the NEAP (however, the majority of the population in the rural areas probably were not reached by these initiatives) 	 after every 5-year-Environ. Program (EP) there is supposed to be an evaluation apart from that there was no monitoring system developed for a follow up on the impacts of the NEAP actions

CONTENTS		ANALYSIS		STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES	ACTION PLAN
	description of the state of the environment	causal analysis of environmental problems	cost-benefit analysis of actions	quantitative targets	mix of legal and econ. instruments
emphasized by:	IBRD OECD FFU	IBRD IIED OECD FFU	IBRD IIED FFU	IIED OECD FFU	IBRD OECD FFU
Countries wi	th inf. below based on the pla	anning document itself:			
Benin	 taking much space but not very consistent in its form (partly quantified, partly merely in form of problems listed & partly as an attachment to the description of the econ. importance of a sector) for each regional department there is an additional, separate section showing tendencies in form of a simulation of the environ. situation in 2005 in case no policy change would be undertaken 	 lists proximate causes, naming some polluters (cement factories, a specific textile- & a soap-factory, a brewery, the port, ships discharging fuel in the open sea, artisanal fishermen & nomadic herdsmen) explaining 8 underlying causes in an extra section of the NEAP (poverty; lack of information; population growth; insecure land tenure; uncoordinated institutional framework; lack of qualified & motivated public officials; lack of an environ. strategy) 	• served as a rationale for choosing priority actions within the NEAP	• no	 the "polluter pays principle" inc. in the planning document as one objective listed as a responsibility of the Min. of Finance to abolish incentives that foster degradation of the environ. & to implement incentives that encourage conservation of nat. resources fiscal and para-fiscal instruments are to be used according to the NEAP's strategy (however, not operationalized in the planning document itself)
Burkina Faso	 very comprehensive, using many maps and figures however, to a large degree focussing on the use of the environ. and its econ. aspects as well as on the social conditions 	 causal analyses in few cases only, extremely brief and often indirect however, mentioning the 2 main underlying causes (the general population pressure – regionally even stronger due to social, cultural & econ. factors; the resource use-patterns of the people) for some regions also listing poverty and precarious living conditions as causes 	• no	• no	• not considered

CONTENTS	ANALYSIS		STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES	ACTION PLAN	
	description of the state of the environment	causal analysis of environmental problems	cost-benefit analysis of actions	quantitative targets	mix of legal and econ. instruments
Gambia	 comprehensive quantifying quite a few aspects & environ. problems by giving depletion rates etc. 	• comprehensive description of the relations of cause & effect of the environ. problems, even naming some of the responsible branches & groups of society (artisanal fisheries, construction companies, tourist industry, poor people, some public officials)	• no	• no	• taxes, tariffs & fines are mentioned in a general, principle-like statement as supportive elements for the implementation strategies
Ghana	• very comprehensive and often detailed inc. many quantitative data	 comprehensive description of the relations of cause & effect of the environ. problems also scratching some of the underlying causes in the case of industrial pollution even providing a list of all the major polluters (textiles, food industry, petroleum & oil, mining, aluminum, cement, sawmills, chemicals, breweries, plastics, rubber, cars) detailed listings of pollutants emitted 	• used for ranking of all the investment projects listed in the plan	• no	• plan calls for increased use of econ. incentives that are claimed to be superior to regulatory measures
Lesotho	 presenting the main problems also illustrated by a few quantified data inc. a broad description of the social setting-aspect of environ. that also has an impact on the environ. 	• in depth analyses not only of proximate but also of underlying causes (mainly: population growth, land tenure, lack of alternatives to live stock for investments, lack of effective institutional capacities)	• no	• no	 of the 90 actions econ. instruments are suggested for implementation in 7 cases polluter pays principle is one of the basic principles of the Nat. Environ. Policy

CONTENTS	ANALYSIS			STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES	ACTION PLAN
	description of the state of the environment	causal analysis of environmental problems	cost-benefit analysis of actions	quantitative targets	mix of legal and econ. instruments
Mauritius	• not in a structured comprehensive form but included indirectly in the parts of the causal problem analysis	 rather comprehensive but not identifying underlying causes naming the main polluters (textile dye houses, sugar factories) and also the beneficiaries of the fact that environ. costs are not internalized (hotels, sugar factories, industry) 	 cost-efficiency listed as an important criterion for the overall justification of environ. investments & for the prioritization of the different possible actions to solve a problem however, not detectable that this was applied alreasy for ranking actions in the plan 	• no	• although explained in the overview in an exemplary way that econ. incentives might help in achieving cost-efficient pollution control, no econ. instruments are applied in the action plan chapter of the planning document
Uganda	 comprehensive description, nearly always differentiating between the different regions, and inc. many quantified data in the EIP short, but often quantified descriptions of the environ. situation with regard to the different program areas 	• extensive discussion of proximate & underlying causes (listing population growth & poverty, too) also naming groups responsible for environ. degradation (pitsawyers, brick making companies, commercial ranchers, 2 breweries, 4 textile & 3 sugar industrial plants, 1 leather tanning facility, [copper-] mining) • <i>identified: growth of population & the econ.; legal & institutional deficiencies; lack of human resources and information</i>	• one of the criteria used for ranking the projects in the EIP	• no	 the complementary use of incentives and disincentives is one of the principles of the Natl. Environ. Management Policy (NEMP) at many points econ. instruments are listed as elements to be included in cross sectoral & secotral strategies of the NEMP (environ. accounting, tax deductions for environ. protection measures undertaken, user fees, etc.) the plan recommends that a framework should be established for the "polluter pays principle" & punitive & incentive measures⁹ (amongst others) [• every Ugandan has a constitutional right to a healthy environ. combined with the right of standing (in court)]

CONTENTS	ANALYSIS			STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES	ACTION PLAN		
	description of the state of the	causal analysis of environmental	cost-benefit analysis	quantitative targets	mix of legal and econ. instruments		
	environment	problems	of actions				
Countries with	Countries with inf. below based on secondary literature:						
Botswana	<i>n. a.</i>	 identifies, amongst others, pressures resulting from population growth as a cause for environ. degradation 	<i>n. a.</i>	n. a.	 laws, price incentives & fiscal relieves are to be used (particularly to determine land use) 		
Eritrea	• quantifying some aspects of the environ. situation and the use of nat. resources	 listing many proximate causes and a few underlying ones (like e.g. land tenure or population growth) naming at least in one case polluters (brickyards fired by wood) 	n. a.	 permanent woodlot- and grassland- enclosures are to be expanded to 500.000 hectares (by 2005) 	 introduction of the "polluter pays principle" (especially for the water and energy sector) establishing a "Green Directory" of environ. friendly enterprises 		
Ethiopia	<i>n. a.</i>	п. а.	 mentioned as an objective only 	<i>n. a.</i>	п. а.		
Madagascar	<i>n. a.</i>	<i>n. a.</i>	<i>n. a.</i>	<i>n. a.</i>	<i>n. a.</i>		

Sources: same as for Table 2

6 Summary and Conclusion

There was an environmental strategy approach which had a momentum, strong and sufficient enough to make it sweep over nearly the entire African continent within only 7-9 years. How did this come about?

The driving force was the World Bank, putting pressure on the IDA-borrowing countries to adopt the new concept of environmental management. However, this did not drive the whole process from the very beginning onwards. Three stages can be distinguished: One of a rather direct diffusion from one country to another during the first years of the new approach's spreading over Africa. Regional innovation centers and the absence of an internationally institutionalized information exchange are the indicators. From 1990 to 1992 this institutionalization facilitating further diffusion developed. In the last stage of the dissemination process the quasi command of the IDA to embark on the NEAP strategy changed the pattern of the diffusion into one dominated by its vertical dimension. The bottom-up dynamics of accepting and promoting a concept that was developed together with Madagascar as the African innovator (in this regard) shifted to the top-down policy of imposing the new concept on the IDA debtors. This overall pattern is not just one found in the scope of analyzing diffusion processes in the international system. To put it the other way: the case of the diffusion of the NEAP approach shows that also in the international system as a multi-level system innovations might be pushed from the sub-entities (the countries) or international institutions like of the World Bank group.

What was actually transported through this rapid spreading of the new approach and how did the different countries perform on the new task? This was the other question that was to be answered by the paper, laying the emphasize on a structured descriptive comparison.

The concept behind that success story (at least in matters of policy diffusion) was the one of the National Environmental Action Plans. With their comprehensive scope and high claims, particularly at the time of the launching of the first of them (Madagascar, Lesotho, Mauritius and the Seychelles) in 1987, they were world-wide pioneers, only accompanied by the very first of strategies in the North (like e.g. in the Netherlands). Going over the elements perceived as crucial for an overall success of a NEAP, one could think that it is rather impossible to perform well on this challenge, so many requirements have to be met. The more surprising the result of the examination of the eleven strategies studied. In 57.7% of all cases

the elements of potentially successful strategies were met, still in 25.4% the efforts went at least in the right direction and only in 16.9% the prerequisites were not incorporated into the plan. There was no significant variation between the performance in the different criteria (categories of elements grouped together) with the exception of the tremendous ignorance towards quantitative targets and timeframes for the targets set in the strategy. Of course the performance on the different 29 elements under examination differed and showed in the end a somewhat weak strategic- but rather capacity development-, assessment- and action-oriented understanding of the concept by the framers of the planning documents.

In comparing the countries performances, two deficiencies of the study, resulting out of the problem of data availability arose: The concentration of pretty much the success stories as compared to the NEAPs not included and the skewing influence of the lack of data on four of the – in matters of performance – five top ranked countries. In spite of these restrictions it seems still defendable at the end of this study to distinguish Madagascar, Eritrea, Botswana, Uganda and Ethiopia as countries worth being studied with regard to the implementation of their NEAPs, since these were the countries with the highest performance indicators. Especially in the case of Uganda a follow up might be worth while since in this case, data availability was not a problem, and hence, its reputation being a pioneer amongst the others examined in this paper is built upon a quite reliable empirical basis.

An empirical study of the implementation of the analyzed NEAPs could also help in further uncovering the influences of the specific differences (as structured in **Table 7**) in the practical world.

Reference

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ANNEX I

Diffusion of NEAPs as Policy Instruments

Countries	start of	adopted (by	still pending	process in	remarks
	process	government)	as of	years	
Angola*			1996	n. a.	* unclear whether NEAP
Benin	1991	1993		2	
Burkina Faso	1988	1991*		<3**	* but <i>published</i> not before 1993 (IUCN/IIED/WRI 1993: 10 and INTERAISE: 8) ** 34 months
Burundi	1991	1994		3	
Cameroon	1993	1994*		<1	* differing opinion: finished in 1996 (Siebert 1996: 53)
Cape Verde	1992 or '93	(before/in) 1996	(1996)*	n. a.	* but " <i>publication</i> still pending" in '96 (INTERAISE: 8)
Central African Republic	1993		1996	n. a.	
Comoros	1993	(before/in) 1996	(1996)*	<3	* but " <i>publication</i> still pending" in '96 (INTERAISE: 8)
Congo	1991	1994	(1996)*	3	* but " <i>publication</i> still pending" (INTERAISE: 8)
Cote d'Ivoire	1991	1994		3	
Djibouti	1993		1996*	n. a.	* " <i>publication</i> still pending" (INTERAISE: 8)
Eritrea*	(before/in) 1994	1995		1+	* National Env. Management Plan
Gabon	1993		1996*	n. a.	* " <i>publication</i> still pending" (INTERAISE: 8)
Gambia	1991	1992*		1	* adopted by parliament in 1994 (IBRD 1994: 8)
Ghana	1988	1991		>3*	* 39 months
Guinea	1988*	1994		6	* second start in 1992 after failure of first attempt (IUCN: 36)
Guinea Bissau	1990	1994*		4	* but published already in 1993 (INTERAISE: 8)

Kenya	(before/in) 1993	1994		1	
La Réunion		1991		n.a.	
Lesotho	1987	1989*		<2**	* with formal adoption in 1994 (Dorm-Adzobu 1995: 6-7) ** 18 months
Madagascar	1987	1990		>3*	* 40 months
Malawi	1992 or '93	1994		1	
Mali			1996	n. a.	
Mauritania*			1996	n. a.	* questionable whether NEAP
Mauritius	1987	1988		>1*	* 18 months
Mozambique	1992 or '93	1994*		1+	* differing opinion: only first phase completed in 1994 (Convery)
Namibia*	(before/in) 1993	1994		1+	* Green Plan &/or NEAP
Niger	(before/in) 1994		1996	n. a.	
Nigeria		1990		n.a.	
Rwanda	1988 or '89	1991		<3*	*>31 months
Sao Tome & Principe*		1993		n. a.	* unclear whether NEAP
Senegal	(before/in) 1993*		1996	n. a.	* differing opinion 1994 (Siebert 1995: 53)
Seychelles	1988 or '89	1990*		<2**	* differing opinion: adopted in 1991 (IBRD) ** 21 months
Sierra Leone	(before/in) 1994	1994		<1+	
Somalia	1993		1996	n.a.	
South Africa	(before/in) 1994			n. a.	
Tanzania*	1992	1994		2	* NEAP included in NCSSD
Togo	1989		1996	n.a.	
Uganda	1991	1994		3	
Zambia	1993	1994		1	
Zimbabwe	1992		1996*	n. a.	* " <i>publication</i> still pending" (INTERAISE: 9)

The time given for the development of the plans can only be seen as rough information since there is not enough data on the time of year the government embarked, respectively completed the process.

Countries	start of	adopted (by	still pending	process in	remarks
	process	government)	as of	years	
Botswana	1985	1990		5	
Chad		1990		n. a.	
Ethiopia	1989*	1994		5	* restarted 1991
					[Dorm-Adzobu/
					Hoben: 1]
Guinea Bissau	1984	(before/in)		<7	* but publication
		1991*			still in preparation
					as of 1993
					(IUCN/IIED/ WRI
					1993: 11)
Kenya	(before/in)				
	1993				
Madagascar		1984		n. a.	
Mauritania		1988		n. a.	
Nigeria	1982	1987*		5	* differing opinion:
					adopted in 1988
					(IUCN: 47);
					already published in
					1986 (IUCN/IIED/
					WRI 1993: 11)
Sierra Leone		1985		n. a.	
Somalia		1990		n. a.	
South Africa	(1980)	1980		(<1)	
Tanzania*	1987, '88 or	1994		5-7	* Nat. Conservation
	'89				Strategy for Sust.
					Development
Togo		1985			
Uganda	1984/85	1986*		-	* attempt formally
					terminated
Zambia	1982	1985		3	
Zimbabwe	1983	1987		4	
			in average:	~ 4. 5	

The time given for the development of the strategies can only be seen as rough inf. since there is not enough data on the time of year the government embarked, respectively completed the process.

Sources: Benin 1993; Carew-Reid et al. 1994; Carius 1995; Convery; Cote d'Ivoire 1994; Dalal-Clayton/Bass/Sadler 1994; Dorm-Adzobu 1995; Dorm-Adzobu/Hoben; Dorm-Adzobu/Veit; Dorm-Adzobu; Fahrenhorst 1996; Ghana 1991; INTERAISE 1996; IUCN/IIED/WIR 1993; IUCN; Janssen 1993; Khalikane 1991; Mastri 1993; Mauritius 1990; OECD 1995; OECD-DAC 1992; Rathnam/Opsal 1989; Sandvoss 1993; Seychelles 1990; Talbott 1993; World Bank 1993; World Bank 1994; World Bank 1996a; World Bank

ANNEX II

Differentiating the Criteria

PLACEMENT OF PROCESS

1) demand driven:

- = initiative taken by external donor institution **&/or** no commitment of the government
- 0 = initiative taken by external institution **but** responsive government
- + = initiative taken by the government **or** strong commitment of the government
- ++ = initiative taken exclusively by the government **or** government was already planning to develop a strategy prior to the NEAP initiation

2) high institutional placement of process:

- = within a department of a line ministry other than the one for economic planning
- 0 = within a line ministry (other than the one for economic planning) but backed by high level institutions
- + = within Min. of Econ. Planning **or** an inter-min. committee
- ++ = within an inter-min. committee attached to the office of the president **or** with his explicit support

3) based on binding legal act:

- = adopted by the cabinet/gov. only
- + = adopted by parliament/given statutory power by law

INTEGRATION OF PLANNING EFFORT

4) involvement of other relevant ministries:

- = handled only by and within one ministry
- 0 = only very few/not the crucial ministries are involved or min. are involved only in a rather indirect way
- + = all relevant ministries are involved in the plan development

5) integration of other environ. plans:

- = not considered
- 0 = used as data bases only or only considering a few projects for readjustment in the light of the NEAP
- + = revision, adjustment, integration, avoidance of duplications of other environ. plans in the scope of the NEAP as an umbrella strategy
- ++ = same as "+" but only integrating more previous environ. programs and plans

6) integration of dev. priorities:

- = no consideration of development priorities
- 0 = recognizing the inter-relatedness of developmental & environmental priorities but not yet integrating them into the planning document
- + = taking into account or building upon dev. plans or looking for some win-win situations
- ++ = harmonizing the dev. & environ. priorities & trying to find win-win solutions

7) donor coordination:

- = no donor coordination organized
- 0 = merely recognized as a necessity or organized in a rather ineffective/superficial way
- + = some sort of donor coordination assured (e.g. by holding a donors conference)
- ++ = donor coordination planned in detail & as an ongoing process (e.g. institutionalization)

PARTICIPATION

8) participation:

- = development of the NEAP within the public sector only
- 0 = only sporadic involvement of society (only few sectors involved or in a superficial way)
- + = involvement of different sectors of society (at least) at one point of the process
- ++ = involvement of nearly all sectors of society **or** of quite a few sectors at several stages of the process

9) accessibility/dissemination of information:

- = hardly any chance for interested inhabitants to inform themselves about the process/environ. issues
- 0 = no successful effort was made to inform on the process/environ. issues but there were some sources accessible (e.g. holding of a well visited national conference)
- + = some form of successful information campaign or many well visited regional workshops were organized
- ++ = comprehensive and systematic information of the general public

SUSTAINABILITY OF PROCESS

10) build on local knowledge and skills:

- = hardly any local experts involved
- 0 = quite a few local experts involved **but** still quite a few expatriate consultants
- + = process mainly resting on shoulders of local experts / few expatriates involved
- ++ = process nearly exclusively run by local experts

11) institution building and capacity development:

- = no actions taken or planned to be taken
- 0 = mentioned as a necessity **but** no significant measures taken
- + = several institutions established or strengthened
- ++ = comprehensive, detailed and systematic elaboration of an integrated institutional framework

12) multi-track process:

- = linear process: first development of the planning document, than implementation
- 0 = already during plan preparation readjustment of projects in place prior to the NEAP
- + = starting implementation of some pilot projects already during plan preparation

13) assessments & revisions:

- = plan not perceived as a process &/or no provisions for assessments & revisions included
- 0 = recognition of plan as a process &/or assessments & revisions as a necessity
- + = provisions assuring a minimum of assessments and revisions
- ++ = specific timetable and institutionalization of regular assessments and revisions

ANALYSIS

1) identification of information needs:

- = not considered
- 0 = merely mentioning in an unspecified way the need for information **or** hardly any specific ones identified in the plan
- + = dispersed identification of some specific information needs
- ++ = systematic identification of specific information needs

2) description of the state of the environ.:

- = not included
- 0 = in a rather brief and general form
- + = comprehensive and quite detailed description including quantified information
- ++ = comprehensive, detailed and quantified description & pointing out tendencies &/or differentiating between regions

3) description of political & legal framework:

- = not included
- 0 = only rather brief description **or** only description of one of the two aspects
- + = description of the institutions presently concerned with environ. issues and of the existing environ.related laws & programs
- ++ = comprehensive and detailed description of both aspects combined with an analysis of their functioning

4) concentrating on few priorities:

- = more than 10 issues described & analyzed: no priorities set
- 0 = more than 6 issues described & analyzed
- += concentrating on up to 6 issues
- ++ = concentrating on less than 6 issues that again are ranked according to their importance

5) causal analyses of environ. problems:

- = not included
- 0 = very broad and general listing of proximate causes
- + = presenting proximate and underlying causes or proximate causes & naming some of the polluters
- ++ = also naming the polluters **or** explaining the proximate and underlying causes in detail

6) quantitative analysis - costs imposed by environ. problems:

- = not included
- 0 = recognizing the existence of economic costs imposed be environ. degradation w/o quantifying them
- + = quantifying the overall econ. costs of environ. degradation (using estimates)
- ++ = quantifying the econ. costs in a rather comprehensive and elaborated way

7) cost-benefit analysis of actions:

- = not included
- 0 = only as a principle for future environ. policy without applying it already in the NEAP
- + = applied as rationale for prioritizing actions in the plan

STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

8) long term perspective:

- = no
- 0 = mentioned but without any specific provisions assuring it
- + = having a time horizon of 5-10 years
- ++ = having a time horizon of more than 10 years

9) quantitative targets:

- = none
- 0 = only a slight minority of the targets are quantified
- + = many targets are quantified

10) timeframe for targets:

- -= none
- 0 = only for a slight minority of the targets
- + = for many targets

ACTION PLAN

11) setting up a natural resource information system:

- = no

- 0 = calling for some surveys and inventories to be undertaken
- + = setting up a natural resource information system
- ++ = elaborating in depth a comprehensive system

12) work plan & timetable:

- = no
- 0 = actions to be undertaken listed **but** not for the majority of them including a timetable
- + = actions listed **&** including a timetable

13) clearly defined actions:

- = no
- 0 = rather program-like actions without much further specification **or** only few more specific ones
- + = specific actions including already some description on the implementation (e.g. implementing sector)
- ++ = very specific actions together with the institution responsible for the implementation

14) choosing priority actions:

- = no
- 0 = only choosing programmatic priority areas **or** only ranking a minimal number of actions
- + = ranking some actions/groups of actions
- ++= ranking some/most actions & ranked in a coherent way

15) mix of legal & econ. instruments:

- = no
- 0 = use of econ. instruments as a principle for future environ. policy w/o operationalizing it already in the plan
- + = economic instruments integrated in the action plan

16) financial plan:

- = no
- 0 = estimates on the total funding needed for the implementation of the plan
- + = investment plan including estimates on the cost of each project
- ++ = investment plan including estimates on the cost of each project & the external funds needed as well as the internal funds available for implementation

ANNEX III

Performance Measurements per Criteria and Country

Average Measurement (AM) & overall AM

 \Rightarrow AM, AAM and overall AAM are category-specific, providing information on performance within a category. AM and AAM for the country, overall AAM for the average of all countries in the category

$$\mathbf{AM} = \frac{\mathbf{AM} = \mathbf{M} + \mathbf{P} + \mathbf{P$$

If one would only use *AM* and *overall AM* to examine country performance a problem arises whenever the availability of data differs to a large extent between the different countries to be investigated. This is in the case of the *AM* due to the then implied assumption that in the cases for which no data is available the pattern of the cases with data available will be mirrored. Adjusting this bias somewhat, is possible by taking into account the average performance of all countries in the field under investigation (see under *AAM*). This average, in turn, should not be the *overall AM* since its calculation treats all countries as equals in matters of the weight of their data. This would not, however, mirror reality, since it would lead to the awkward hypothetical situation that a country with data on only one case still influences the *overall AM* of a two country sample, where for the other country there are data on e.g. six cases, to 50%.

Adjusted Average Measurement (AAM) & overall AAM

	all negative cases of all countries in the category * (-1)
	+ all positive cases of all countries in the category
overall AAM =	all cases of all countries with data available in the category

Average Country Measurement (ACM) & Adjusted Average Country Measurement (AACM)

 \Rightarrow *ACM* and *AACM* are country-specific, providing information on the overall performance of a country