

The Horn of Africa

human environment and nature under siege: resolving the impasse via strategic plan for regional environmental governance networking.

BT Costantinos, PhD.

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Abstract

The contradictions of natural resource management in Horn Of Africa can be summarised as

Contents

- * Abstract
- * Introduction
- * **State of environmental governance in the Horn**
 - * **Anomalies in resource management**
 - * **Resource-based vulnerabilities and conflicts**
- * **Building sustainable environmental governance**
 - * **Sustainable livelihoods & adaptive strategies**
 - * **An actionable programme for networking in the Greater Horn of Africa**

- ◆ Central vs. decentralised control,
- ◆ Statutory rights vs. customary rights,
- ◆ Few uses and users of natural resources vs. diverse uses and users,
- ◆ Modern knowledge systems vs. endogenous knowledge systems,
- ◆ Formal vs. endogenous institutions.

There is now an increasing awareness of the necessity to reconcile the contradictions above in order to ensure sustainable natural resource management and hence good

environmental governance. This awareness lies behind the current encouraging trend in which institutions at all levels are becoming willing to acknowledge the management potential of endogenous institutions, and that it is necessary to base development efforts on local aspirations, and to use the local potential as a bridge between endogenous and formal knowledge, practice and institutions. The paper presents the central role of ORGANIC NETWORKING to address the environmental development problematic of the Greater Horn Of Africa.

I. Introduction.

The record setting series of human crises of the past few decades in the Horn of Africa were a cruel test to the responses of humanitarian actions in Africa. While the outpouring sympathy and generous response of the international community have been phenomenal, the actions of aid agencies had brought to light some serious doubts about the ability of these interventions to reduce peoples' vulnerability arising from competition for land, grazing area, water and vegetation and the resultant conflict-triggered human crises. The crises assumes new dimensions spurred by the dismantling of nation states, amid failed UN peace keeping efforts and as structural adjustments set the pace of livelihood security.

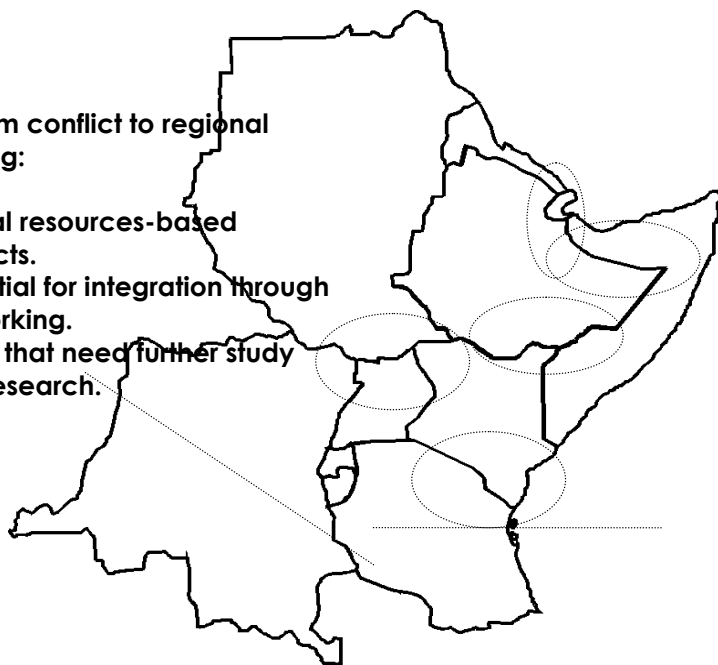
The purpose of writing this paper emanated from the need to invest in what people know already and build up development programmes based on indigenous think. Of major significance in this area are issues such as alternative natural resources-based conflict management- the ability of resolving disputes arising from the competition for natural resources (land, water, forests, grazing land, etc.) through community-based non-coercive and institutional mechanisms without resorting to legal recourse. Official efforts in peace education and cultivating civil society can be firmly established on this rich cultural resources to create peace safety nets, that allow harmony to prevail as a result of social demand and supply equilibria; rooted in the following assumptions: trans-boundary conflicts are common process, initiated by competition for resources; indigenous people have time-tested and sustainable adaptive mechanisms for conflict management and that these are sustainable; pluralistic practice, a necessary condition for people-based resource management, must and can be based traditions that people understand well; and strategic and processual issues in transition to societal convergence are as important as taking the initiatives for conflict management exercises.

The paper, based on two research programmes of the Centre for Human Environment,¹ outlines the challenges faced by the environment in the Horn of Africa and elaborates the

conceptual framework for regional networking by introducing the common ecosystem of the Horn that supports some of the largest pastoralist and ago-pastoralist communities in the world today -- the Afar, Issa, Somali, Boran, Hamar and Bako, the Turkana and the Gambella tribes (Anuak, Nuer, Majanger, Komo, Opuo, shako). These societies have evolved complex and sophisticated social and managerial mechanism to exist relatively comfortably even in rigorous climatic conditions. Politics and 'development' of the past few decades has brought fundamental changes to these

Fig. 1. From conflict to regional networking:

1. **natural resources-based conflicts.**
2. **potential for integration through networking.**
3. **Areas that need further study and research.**



¹Costantinos, BT et al. (1996) "Environmental Governance And Adaptive Strategies In Arid And Semi Arid Lands" IDS.

systems; bringing new definitions of vulnerability.

II. State of Environmental Governance in the Horn of Africa

2.1. Anomalies in resources management

Development efforts in the Greater Horn Of Africa over recent decades have been frustrated by the complicated and multifaceted nature of the expected processes of change; and because of a number of inherent contradictions among the various issues and actors and their differing perspectives. In order to understand the specific constraints and opportunities of the natural resource management sector, analysis of the contradictions can be useful for understanding the context and issues, and for defining opportunities for constructive action².

There is now an increasing awareness of the necessity to reconcile the contradictions above in order to ensure sustainable natural resource management. This awareness lies behind the current encouraging trend in which institutions at all levels are becoming willing to acknowledge the management potential of endogenous institutions, and that it is necessary to base development efforts on local aspirations, and to use the local potential as a bridge between endogenous and formal institutions.

Africa, in comparison to most other regions is still predominantly characterised by rural production systems and culture. There are still relatively strong endogenous cultures and institutions. Africa is also unique in its ecological and cultural diversity - manifested, for example, by its more than 2,000 languages. Recently, the linkages between biological and cultural diversity have been increasingly acknowledged in the development agenda.

- ◆ **Central control versus decentralised control:** In the creation of the nation state, independent governments have tended to impose central authority on local people. In this they have been supported by international aid organisations which have shared the view that only through central control could sustainable development be achieved. This has resulted in support for the nationalisation of natural resources and policies that take little account of local needs and interests. In the forestry sector this has too often been reflected in the approach to forest management that excludes local people and the utilisation of these for commercial purposes only.

This approach has resulted in the undermining of local capacities to manage natural resources sustainably and led to a situation where people are forced to cope as best they can even if this threatens their long-term survival. This has stifled local initiatives, broken down indigenous systems, and created an attitude of resignation among communities, which in turn present a challenge to efforts for revival of local control. Conflict arises because central authority attempts to retain control by imposing official structures and co-opting local leaders.

- ◆ **Statutory rights versus customary rights:** Recent attempts to compensate for the shortcomings of centralised management have had equally negative consequences. Privatisation of land tenure, for example, has devolved control away from governments, but not always to the benefit of local communities. The new resource tenure regimes continue to discriminate against customary and traditional resource management cultures however sustainable, favouring instead the modern, formal sector and those having access and connections to the central authorities.

Statutory systems of natural resource ownership and management are based on government decrees and statutes that rarely have reference to people's aspirations, hence their alienation from public interest. Very often, people are denied access to or have no knowledge of these statutes until they are

²FTPP EA.(1996) "FTPP document eastern Africa". Elbourgon

legally enforced and take their toll in courts and police actions. In addition, statutes provide the ground for forestry officials to take control of people's resources, which very often result in the accumulation of power in the hands of one or few officials who can decide the fate of natural resources and people without due regard to environmental considerations. These local officials are only accountable to higher officials and local people no control over their actions. "Enabling" laws and policies on paper are not necessarily enforced; either because they are disregarded by officials or because they are unenforceable.

By comparison, customary systems, rules and procedures (very often unwritten) often establish accountability and link the rights and responsibilities which govern resource management, thus providing a basis for conflict resolution. These systems have been enriched through evolution over many generations (where they have not disintegrated through marginalisation).

Individual decisions concerning natural resource management and utilisation are based on a "legal" framework that has reference points to the optimal exploitation of these resources, and transgression is punishable by cultural laws and the regulations that legitimise the latter. Individual and collective accountability to communal and intra-inter generational interests are very high. Communal tenure and management systems are complex and adaptive. The user rights provided by these systems are often strong, and confer a high degree of tenure security to individuals. (Although communal management systems are also susceptible to co-optation by dominant individuals and groups, accountable and transparent management is more likely to be found within decentralised systems).

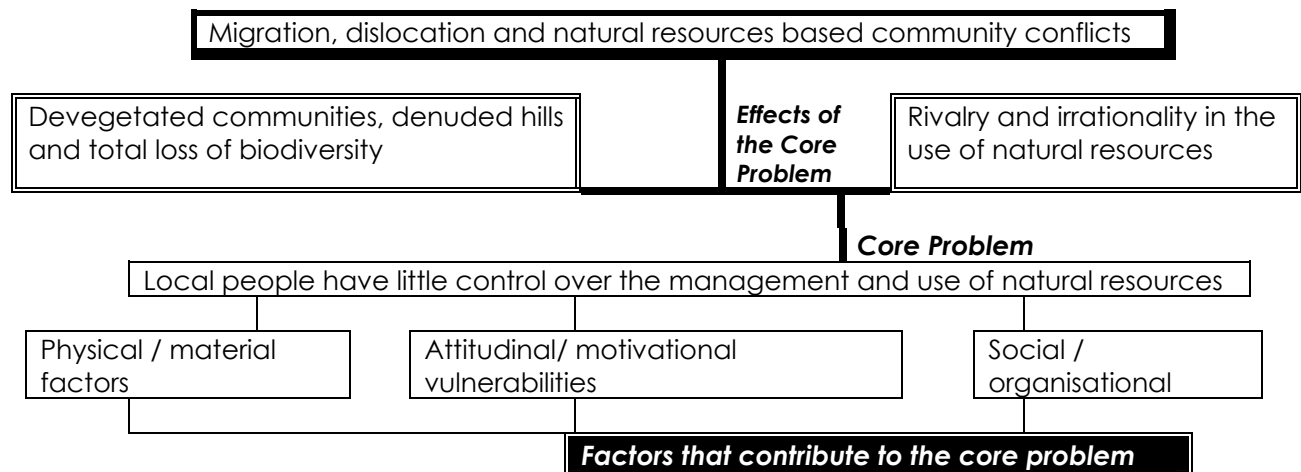
- ◆ **Few uses/users of natural resources versus many and diverse uses/users:** The users and uses of forests are diverse. The traditional and modern sectors depend on the environment in different ways. The modern sector sees profit based on the utilisation of a few products and species, while the traditional sector sees subsistence, security, and cultural survival based on a flow of diverse forest benefits.
- ◆ **Modern knowledge systems versus endogenous knowledge systems:** These user groups, coming from different sectors of society, each understand and relate to resources according to their respective knowledge systems; and their management practices reflect these knowledge systems.

The power of the modern sector stems, in part from improved communication. The modern sector's communication systems have largely excluded the traditional sector. This has been compounded by the difficulty of communication across cultures/knowledge systems, and by ignorance of the very existence of other ways of seeing, understanding and managing natural resources. Language is only the most obvious barrier. As result, the modern (reductionist, objective/determinist) way of understanding resource management has prevailed and dominated, and determined how resources have been managed.

- ◆ **Formal institutions versus endogenous institutions:** Endogenous institutions have functioned as reservoirs of traditional knowledge. They have preserved customary rights and responsibilities within societies, enforced them, transmitted them from generation to generation, and (where not entirely marginalised by the modern sector) they have governed the utilisation and conservation of resources. These institutions have been evolving and continue to adapt to changing conditions and develop new mechanisms. These institutions offer important organisational potential. The formal institutions have come to dominate, marginalise and even eradicate the endogenous institutions. Different bio-cultural realities give rise to different resource management systems. Endogenous resource management systems vary according to their specific contexts, defining the specific uses and users of the various resources within the community. In order to maintain biological diversity therefore, it is necessary to acknowledge the cultural diversity which contains the knowledge necessary to maintain it.

Local technical knowledge is a reflection of the context-specific biodiversity . In order to maintain biodiversity it is necessary to acknowledge the linkages between local knowledge and context-specific management of resources. By maintaining this array of cultural-embedded technical knowledge and the corresponding ecosystems, it becomes possible to sustain healthy and productive local resource management for the benefit of local livelihoods, possibly leading to more sustainable resource management at the national and regional levels.

Throughout the Greater Horn Of Africa, governments, donors and other development agents are becoming increasingly aware of customary management, customary rights, endogenous institutions and the existence of different Knowledge systems. There is also a growing recognition and understanding of the potential for linking to and supporting these in an effort to realise sustainable resource management and development, and the need to try overcome the constraints described above. In short, endogenous institutions and resource management systems represent a latent resource; providing potential alternatives where modern approaches have not attained expectations, or counterpoints/correctives for mainstream development approaches.



- Factors that contribute to the core problem**
- Central control vs. decentralised control,
 - Statutory rights vs. customary rights,
 - Few uses and users vs. diverse uses and users of natural resources
 - Modern knowledge systems vs. endogenous knowledge systems,
 - Formal institutions vs. endogenous institutions

Human responses to external and internal stress and shocks

Stress	Human responses models to environmental stress			Adaptation
Sensing/appraisal	Properties	Models	Level	Adaptive consequences
shock administered by loss of natural resources	Effectiveness ♦ engagement time, duration ♦ strength, rate ♦ reliability ♦ reversibility	♦ Avoid ♦ Modify ♦ Buffer ♦ Resist ♦ Conform ♦ Change	♦ Household ♦ Inter-group ♦ Group ♦ Individual: genetic, morphological, physiological, psychological	♦ Adaptive response ♦ Adaptive in short run but mal-adaptive in long run ♦ Mal-adaptive response
Non-random: space and time, space order, time order.			Random: time order, space order, space and time	

2.2. Resources based conflicts

Much our knowledge and experience in ANRCM emanates for Latin America (Bolivia, Costa Rica and the Amazon Treaty states and pioneering work of RESOLVE) and Africa: the Dagashida Study from Tanzania where extensive work has been undergoing in communities. The Forests, Trees

and People Programme (FTPP) ³ has done also extensive work in Asia, Eastern Africa, Western Africa and Latin America. Recently the FTPP has launched a world wide e-mail conference on conflict management putting the agenda of natural resources based conflicts at the helm of world intellectual debate.

Carlos Villarael in his presentation to the FTPP e-conference on conflict management has argued that "international market marginalisation meant, among other things, the following: low incorporation of added value to raw materials, slow and constant decrease in prices paid for primary products in international markets and while there was a sustained increase in prices of goods and services that the industrialised countries send; economic instability and the sustained deterioration of natural resources and increase in the international gap and of dependency." He continues with his findings about conflict management regarding the "lack of an objective and the intensity of the conflict and he has come up with the following categorisation: the participants, the complexity of the conflict, the dynamics of the conflict, the ways for managing conflict, the internal cohesion of the participant, participation of the community in the negotiation process, the handling of information, alliances: asymmetry of power prevails among participants in many conflicts, the focus and analysis of gender, dependency on the other party."

Carlos continues to categorise conflicts according to "the disposition of the so-called economic and social models that govern every country and that affect an ample part of the population such as concentration of land ownership, manpower unemployment, inequality in income distribution, exclusion of ethnic minorities from social participation." ...

- "the condition of the origin of the conflict: etc.
- the interests of one or various concrete actors, and identifiable as the State, entrepreneurs,

Conflicts over natural resources are an important form of contemporary human conflict. A variety of global trends⁴ are all factors which have a significant effect, whether positive or negative, on the access and use of natural resources. Considering the speed and magnitude of the changes, conflicts are likely to be more frequent. Natural resource conflicts are part of the fabric of local communities as well as integral to the global condition. Individuals compete for scarce resources; socially defined groups perceive themselves as having incompatible interests; those dependent upon a particular resource, but unable to participate in planning or monitoring its use, are marginalised. Conflicts also surface when local traditional practices are no longer viewed as legitimate or consistent with national policies, or when entities external to a community are able to pursue their interests, while ignoring the needs and imperatives of local people. In the conflicts that ensue, often between parties of very uneven power, it is not only the environment that suffers.⁵

organisations and persons.⁶

- conflict can impact positively or negatively on the environment, socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-political arena such as "affirmation of ethnic identities, dissolution of traditional cultural patterns, etc." Predicting possible impacts of a conflict would enable us to

³see various articles published in particular FTPP Newsletter, No. 15/16.

⁴increasing degradation and diminishing resource base, globalisation of economies, inequity in the distribution of resources and economic benefits, changes in political and legal systems, the changing role of the state, demographic shifts.

⁵Anderson, J., Gauthier, M., Thomas, G., and Wondolleck, J. (1996) ADDRESSING NATURAL RESOURCE CONFLICTS THROUGH COMMUNITY FORESTRY: SETTING THE STAGE -- FTPP e-conference. Addressing Natural Resource Conflicts through Community Forestry, Forests, Trees, and People Programme.

⁶As a consequence, and different from conflicts of a structural kind, Carlos argues, "their roots are not diluted in society; the characteristics and symmetry of the actors: the social, economic and political condition. From this and others comes a separation with the names of the actors themselves: country and indigenous communities, enterprises (agro-industrial, mining-petroleum, timber) and the public administration. Lately, the concept of "the third sector" is taking shape to be grouped into the 'solidarity organisations' "

- design better conflict prevention and mitigation means.
- the management strategies: systematised conflicts have shown that the management strategies can be of three kinds: Conflict handling by peaceful means; controversial way and by combined strategies (peaceful and controversial)."

Against this background, state-of-the-art knowledge on ANRCM approaches that derive from several assumptions and basic premises about the nature of conflict, change and power are discussed here.

- Conflict is a customary and normal social interaction process in society. Because individuals and groups are naturally seen as having different needs, interests and values, it is realised that conflict often serves as an important impetus for positive change.⁷ But societal infirmities need to address are how conflicts are managed by communities . Ali A Mazrui's "Africa's short memory of hate - that limited memory of animosity" is an important cultural resource, a valuable tradition that can be harnessed for future conflict resolution.
- "Successful ANRCM relies on the participation of all legitimate parties or "stakeholders" in a dispute; but problems arising from negotiating in situations of unequal power may seriously undermine efforts at reaching a lasting accord".⁸

Rural communities indeed develop multiple interactions with nature generating "sets of rules, standards, and institutions which regulate relationships among them and patterns of interaction with nature ... that constitute the local sociability and frequently are wrongly understood within the frame of formal legality. Furthermore, many of them are neglected by formal laws and legal institutions, since they may be implicit amongst the populations' social chores".⁹ The processes of change and endurance which affect communal rules, standards, and institutions are quite dynamic and, to some extent, contradictory to the formal legality of modern societies. However, populations under communal regimes develop a number of strategies of cohabitation articulating them with the formal legal system, which defines their civic status at the margins of legality, and their identity. Thus, bridges are built between customary and formal laws and regulations.¹⁰ It is in this sense that we ANRCM is defined as

"multidisciplinary field of research and action that seeks to address the question of how people can make better decisions together, particularly on difficult, contentious issues. For many years, alternative conflict management techniques have been used as means to address environmental disputes over land and water use. More recently, the practice has evolved from the resolution of disputes on a case-by-case basis to the institutionalisation of procedures through state legislation. The voluntary problem-solving and decision-making methods most often employed in alternative conflict management are conciliation, negotiation and mediation. ANRCM approaches complement these more adversarial strategies, and broaden the range of tools available to communities and interest groups who are involved in conflict."¹¹

ANRCM: articulation of Process and Strategy: It is easy to follow the current trend and advocate constitutional government as a desirable form of government for Africans. Nor is it difficult to

⁷Resolve. (1994) Alternative Conflict Management. Proceedings of the workshop on alternative conflict management. US. pp 23-24

⁸Ibid. pp-24-26

⁹León R.(1995) Legal rights and community forestry. presentation to the FTTP regional workshop and facilitators meeting, Wondo Guenet, Ethiopia pp-3-5

¹⁰Ibid. p 6

¹¹Resolve. (1994) Alternative Conflict Management. Proceedings of the workshop on alternative conflict management. US

make normative judgements about how African ruling strata should behave if the internecine conflicts are to be resolved: "the rulers must be accountable to and controlled by the people". But it is not so easy to conceptualise this as a working process which is balanced against strategy -- to determine what makes for real, as opposed to vacuously formal, process.¹² This is particularly the case where ruling strata tend to view the relations of their particular political agendas with their broader governing roles and responsibilities as relatively simple and direct, unproblematically reducing the latter to the former.

As a way of contributing to the overcoming or lessening of these difficulties we may theorise democratic transition as the dynamic interaction of strategy and process. It is possible to see democratisation in Africa as the playing out of objective and critical standards, rules and concepts of political conduct of all participants, those of public officials who make and administer the rules as well as those of ordinary citizens. The issue here is not simply one of "application" of rules to particular activities! Nor is it one of dissolving agent-centred strategies of reform into "objective" principles and norms. It is rather the production or articulation of process elements and forms within and through the strategic (and non-strategic) activities of various participants in conflicts. Highlighting the mutually constitutive and regulative articulation of strategy and process, we shift the centre of analysis away from the two as separate formations that enter only external relations with each other.

It is a truism worth acknowledging here that conflict is an inevitable feature of all societies. What varies from culture to culture is its scope and scale, whether it is valued or avoided, and of greatest relevance to this conference, the manner in which it is managed or resolved. Some societies do not readily acknowledge conflict and have strong tendencies towards resolving their differences through consensus; there are others which embrace conflict and are more confrontational, some resorting more often to the legal system, others to physical violence. But, whether societies view conflict as being almost abnormal or close to a core value, there are, in every case, institutionalised means to deal with it.¹³

This shift of analytical focus serves to emphasise the critical point that the task of broadly structuring ANRCM as a real preferred socio-political system is more important than that of promoting it within the specific partisan political programme of a particular government. Although the series of constitutive elements and mechanisms in ANRCM cannot be seen in isolation from the strategic moves of participants, the former retain their relative autonomy and can be grasped accordingly. The range of actual and possible elements that characterise process openness is greater than what might be

represented within a single strategy. There is always an "excess" of potential - in terms of the number, variety and forms of articulation of political ideas and institutions possible - in open processes relative to any one strategic actualisation.

There are of course, historical limits. Ideologically fledgling and institutionally weak democracy in economically distressed contemporary or any Africa could not be expected to exhibit as wide a variety of elements and forms of articulation as does historically sedimented, robust democracy in highly developed countries. But there is still, within the limits imposed by history, more potential for openness of ANRCM process in nation - States than any single participant strategy can actualise. Openness or transparency can be analysed at two district

¹²Costantinos, B.T. (1995) International responses to situations of political transition. Discussion Paper Prepared For Aid Under Fire Redefining Relief and Development Assistance in Unstable Situations. International Seminar, Wilton Park, Sussex, UK 7-9th April 1995. Brighton, UK. Italics by the author of the report.

¹³ Pendzich, Christine, Garry Thomas and Tim Wohlgenant, The Role of Alternative Conflict Management in Community Forestry, Forests, Trees, and People Programme Phase II Working Paper No. 1, Rome, Italy: Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, September 1994. in FTTP e-mail conference. Anderson, J., et al. (1996) Addressing natural resource conflicts through community forestry: setting the stage -- FTTP e-conference. Addressing Natural Resource Conflicts through Community Forestry, Forests, Trees, and People Programme.

but closely related levels: political agency and ideology. The former refers to the full range of significant participants and their activities and relations in political reform that include potential as well as actual and international and domestic actors. The latter might relate to complexes of ideas, beliefs, goals and issues that can come into competitive and co-operative play in democratic reform.

To restate the basic point, the extent and nature of openness of ANRCM are conditioned by the breadth of the range of available participants and the degree of uncertainty and complexity that characterised their agency and functional relations. It is in this sense that the seminal FTTP paper claims that

"... conflict management should not be seen as a matter of which tool or approach should be used when and in what situations. It seems to us that conflict needs to be understood in the larger context of specific political-administrative cultures, specifically how decisions are made in particular formal and informal legal and political systems. There are parts of the world where the legal system is intricate, expensive and adversarial, where conflicts are typically adjudicated, often presenting the parties with a "win-lose" decision. In another situation, the state political system might be seen as being fair and impartial, but the weaker party to a conflict might find the policy-making process incomprehensible and inaccessible. In a third situation, the formal legal system could be rooted in a particular indigenous knowledge system, where the adjudication of a dispute is preceded by consensus building or conciliation."

There are, however, countervailing currents and pressures within the intersection of participating organisations and groups which tend to work against or limit the process. These forces manifest themselves in the structure of the network of participants and their activities; that may or may not be transparent to the consciousness of the actors that channel them. At the structural level, a certain hierarchy of agency and activity is evident within the network of ANRCM participants, such that some actors assume primary position relative to others that are by comparison limited players.¹⁴

In short, the uncertain and, potentially at least, open political, institutional and intellectual environment in which ANRCM will have to be made is generally counter-balanced by a significant degree of stratification of organised actors and by relatively settled relations of power and authority into which the actors enter. Structural constraints are reinforced by specific, more or less conscious, uncertainty and complexity reducing activities of key participants, particularly indigenous governments and their foreign backers.

As an interval between one regime or system of rule and another during which competing actors claim and contest over state power, transitions are characterised by rules and forms of political engagement that are "in constant flux" and may lead to "any number of unpredictable alternative outcomes"; which do not necessarily have adversarial effect on community empowerment. This is so because aspiring or incumbent governments that seek to quickly get their hands on the flux of transition events and circumstances, often succeeding in immediately securing themselves in and projecting power.

There is, hence, a strong political incentive for emergent regimes, connected to real or imagined threats of violent community opposition to their claim of leadership, to engage in activities which short-cut or pre-empt the development of an open and level socio-political

¹⁴ For example, indigenous governments are more commandingly and directly involved in democratising society than local NGOs. Certain international agencies, notably the World Bank and the IMF, range their activities and influence across the network extensively while others are localised. As a global authority on development with massive financial, technical institutional and intellectual resources at its command, the World Bank in particular is a major player in African political reform with whom indigenous governments and other recipients of its assistance must co-operate or come to terms.

playing field. In engaging in uncertainty reducing activities which short-cut the full emergence of open and transparent democratic process, African regimes often enlist the support of outside participants in political reform in Africa, notably Western governments and international agencies. It is against this background that ANRCM has to be seen.

III.

Building sustainable environmental governance systems through organic networking

2.1. Adaptive strategies that lead to sustainable livelihoods

It is against this background that the study on ASPASALS was initiated in response to a growing concern and frustration that the conditions that were enunciated by all UN summits with regard to the poor in developing countries remain unchanged. External and internal central urban institutions and individuals such as governments and commercial interests continue to extend their power, ownership and exploitation of rural areas. Under existing conditions of externally driven development policies, concentration on the cash economy and existing trade relations, the typical responses of the poor have been to:

- ◆ **appropriate common property resources;**
- ◆ **intensify agriculture on marginal lands;**
- ◆ **increase heads of livestock and shorten fallow periods;**
- ◆ **migrate on a seasonal or permanent basis to cities, towns, agricultural plantations and more vulnerable and marginal lands;**
- ◆ **resort to large families in order to diversify sources of income and labour.**

These responses have not provided long terms benefits to the poor. However, there is a growing interest in the poor as agents for their own self improvement guided by their own knowledge base and strategies which could lead to sustainable livelihoods. Our experience of the recent past leads us to believe that there is a need for clear and detailed documentation of enhancing local people's control over their resources, adaptive strategies, alternative conflict management and development of endogenous institutions that have led to sustainable livelihoods and the policy issues that enhance or constrain the development and implementation of these strategies.

These strategies are likely to have evolved from an interaction between contemporary and indigenous knowledge. Hence, the initiative seeks to capture the synergies and the conditions and processes which produced and reinforced them. It is recognised that these strategies are diverse and include adaptations to ecological, social, political and cultural risks.

We recognised that the problems enunciated above occur globally in diverse socio-ecological systems. Initially, the initiative focuses on natural resources-based management norms and agro-pastoralists in arid and semiarid areas with the view to using the lessons learned from this experience to develop similar initiatives in other socio-ecological systems. Our entry point is the identification of **strategies that enhance local people's control over their resources, adaptive strategies, alternative conflict management and development of endogenous institutions**, which are the result of indigenous knowledge and experiences, contemporary knowledge including scientific and technological innovations and social and economic issues, and which have led to sustainable livelihoods in arid and semi-arid lands.

The purpose of this is to galvanise the transition from poverty to sustainable livelihoods by developing the above **strategies** in marginal environments. The programme seeks ways to

empower communities to mobilise their options for making the transition from poverty to sustainable livelihoods. the project will contribute to this result through model efforts with communities to articulate and share relevant information on successful adaptive strategies. Through policy analyses and assessments of the contribution of contemporary knowledge, the project will help reinforce such strategies and provide policy makers with information to help them design more appropriate interventions.

The complexities of the natural resources management and tenure, the assumptions that are made on the basis of perceived necessities or demand beg the question "how does one proceed with developing endogenously derived models of natural resources management and natural resources-based conflict management? Our design and methodology identifies various strands of the literature on alternative natural resources-based conflict management suggest that socio-political and economic adaptive strategies derive from three distinct sets of factors.

The existence and exercise of **strategies that enhance local people's control over their resources, adaptive strategies, alternative conflict management and development of endogenous institutions** depends upon the emergence of supportive set of people's institutions. Institutions are recurrent and valued patterns of political behaviour that give shape and regularity to the politics of dispute resolution, for instance. They may be manifest as political rules (either legal or informal) or as socio-political organisations (within the state or civil society). As the building blocks of democracy, certain combinations of political institutions must be extant or emergent if a democratic transition is to occur.

A study of political, socio-cultural and economic adaptation in pre-industrial societies such as the Afar and Boran which seeks to employ all of the above perspectives and methods can be neither coherent nor manageable. The first order of business is therefore to choose a principal conceptual framework to guide data collection and analysis. Relevant criteria for choosing a framework include: the power of a given set of factors to explain transitions, the susceptibility of concepts to empirical investigation, and the potential of the approach to generate policy recommendations. By these criteria, the study was conducted from the perspective of societal institutions.

Nor would a research approach based on the contingent dynamics of interactions among individuals be the most fruitful. Certainly, the study should not ignore the fascinating "give and take" between "office-holders" and popular protesters over the question of who has the right to determine the exercise of strategies that enhance local people's control over their resources, adaptive strategies, alternative conflict management and development of endogenous institutions. But there is a danger that a study based on contingent interactions would be too ideographic, that is, that it could dissolve into unconnected series of singular stories about particular community experiences. Moreover, the conceptual building-blocks of the contingency theory are inherently difficult to research.

On balance, therefore, the study will adopt an "institutional" approach. The thesis of study is that the prospects, nature and outcomes of adaptive strategies depend on configuration of social / civic institutions in civil society. The key research question becomes: "is the endowment of social institutions conducive **to strategies that enhance local people's control over their resources, adaptive strategies, alternative conflict management and development of endogenous institutions?**" Base on this key question and hypothesis, the following have been identified as the major stresses of livelihood and adaptive strategies to marginal environments.

The research programme focuses in this national and regional initiative by employing four major techniques have resulted from the practice of participatory environmental action research during the last decade

- user-friendly and people-based research¹⁵;
- critical recovery of history¹⁶;
- valuing and using popular culture¹⁷;
- production and diffusion of new knowledge.

Two communities in the Afar and Boran areas in Ethiopia, which possess many of the following characteristics have been chosen to participate in the study:

- **particular adaptive processes and strategies which lead to sustainable livelihoods**
- **multiple vulnerability (ecological, political, economic, social, etc.)**
- **existing information on strategies that enhance local people's control over their resources, adaptive strategies, alternative conflict management and development of endogenous institutions including links and contacts**
- **available human resources and institutional arrangements for implementation**
- **relative accessibility**
- **a community that is representative of communities in arid and semi-arid lands, for example, population density relative to resource base and socio-economic variation**
- **communities that have experienced significant internal and external changes in the recent past and have adapted.**

The main theme of this study is the identification and investigation of **strategies that enhance local people's control over their resources, adaptive strategies, alternative conflict management and development of endogenous institutions** of people who live in arid and semi-arid lands of Greater Horn Of Africa. The study discusses about the general livelihood systems whose production system mainly depend on both transhumant and agro-pastoralism. The survival of the pastoral production system in both societies is a function of adaptability to the social and physical environment and more importantly due to the many different strategies that are employed to meet each new challenges. These adaptive strategies are the major mechanisms that maintain the resilience of the system and help to minimise unforeseen risks. Although these traditional pastoral production systems are environmentally and socially sustainable in such fragile and harsh environments, the system is now being endangered to meet the basic livelihood necessities due to human over population, over stocking, drought and bush encroachment. Therefore, the study concludes the urgent need of developing the sustainable livelihoods through locally adaptive strategies particularly those strategies that have the capacity for becoming the basis of sustainable livelihood.

Major stresses of livelihood: The pastoral system has the highest ecological potential among the major range development areas in Horn Of Africa. Pastoralists are the major supplier of livestock for the use of small holders in highland Horn Of Africa and for export to generate foreign exchange.

¹⁵This is the systematic utilisation of data obtained in groups or community events such as meetings, assemblies, committees, etc. Through collective interchange and discussion. In this collective and dialogical manner data are obtained which may be immediately corrected or verified. There is a social validation of knowledge that cannot be gained through orthodox survey methods of individual inquiry and work.

¹⁶This is an effort to discover selectively those elements and social forces of the past which were useful to defend the interests of exploited classes, elements that could be recovered in order to feed present-day struggles for justice.

¹⁷this technique is based upon the recognition of essential or core values among peoples. This permits to incorporate important cultural elements frequently forgotten or discarded in regular political practices, such as music, sports, beliefs, myths, stories, and other expressions related to human sentiments, imagination and lucid tendencies.

However, ecological sustainability in Borana is in a stress due to bush encroachment (40% of the land being encroached) and soil erosion due to heavy grazing (19% of the land being eroded). The following are the major stresses in the study area:

- **Shortage of Rainfall**
- **Bush encroachment and tick infestation**
- **Population Pressure**

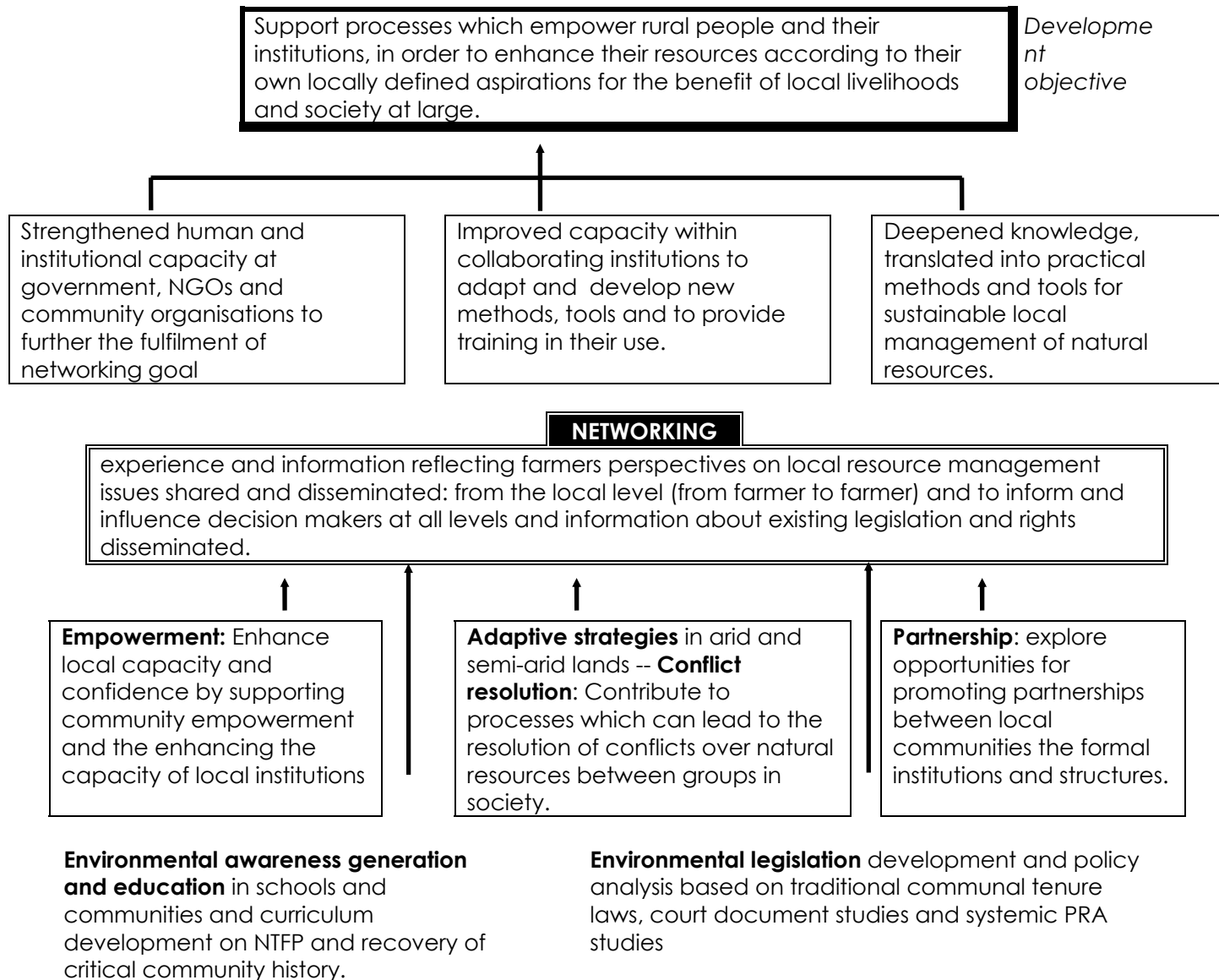
Generally speaking the major stresses of livelihood among the Afar can be divided into two: man-made and natural. Man-made stresses include expansion of irrigation schemes, game reserves and inter-ethnic conflicts. Natural strains include the reduction of the total vegetation cover due to decreasing precipitation, the invasion of undesirable plant species, drought, inter-ethnic conflict, expansion of irrigation schemes and game reserves, bush encroachment and loss of desirable species, human and livestock diseases and flooding.

LOCAL ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES: Pastoral adaptive strategy among the Boran is mainly a subsistence strategy in which large size of human and livestock population are maintained on declining water and grazing resources, mainly because of low and irregular rainfall pattern. The human-livestock interface among the Boran is such that livestock are cared and protected within a variable environmental setting in order to sustain daily subsistence needs (milk, blood, meat and hide), cultural needs (for marriage, and other rituals and for status) and for social security.

Social and cultural adaptations : The Boran have an elaborate indigenous social organisation based on the principle of the peace of the Boran known as Nagaiya Borana and the quality of being Boran known as Borantiti. The Boran are divided into two exogamous moieties, Sobbo and Gona. In addition every Boran belongs to one of the 5 sub-moieties, 17 clans and some 60 lineage. At clan level every Boran is expected to help others in times of hardship including the settlement of disputes. This kind of intra-clan assistantship is known as "Gosa Gonfa" which is a kind of wealth redistribution within each clan.

To mention only the common strategies are

- herd splitting,
- herd maximisation,
- the emphasis on milk rather than meat and crop,
- intra and inter-clan co-operation and reciprocity.
- herd diversification is the most important feature in these societies.
- Traditional Population Control
- Marketing, food habits, off-farm activities
- Multi-species and transhumant pastoralism
- Cut and feed system
- Inter-household co-operation
- Marketing and changing food habit
- Splitting the herd into home and satellite herds and into wet or lactating versus dry herd
- Early weaning of kids
- Traditional management of useful trees
- Adoption of farming/agro-pastoralism



IV
Environmental networking
 methodology and study protocol for developing a
Code Of Practice
 for Organic Networking

4.1. Background

A self-evaluation of FTFP networking carried out recently provided an opportunity for networking facilitators in the region to identify the current strengths, weaknesses, and potential improvements of the organisation and activities of the programme. It had three main objectives:

- ◆ enable network national facilitators obtain clearer views of their current activities, in order to improve and reorient such activities and thus have a better base for the development of proposals;
- ◆ assist in determining the nature of the external evaluation during the last year of this phase of the programme; and
- ◆ enable the donors and collaborators to get a clearer vision of the current status of the programme (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and limitations).

The self-evaluation has come up with the following valuation the networking.

- ◆ Strength: One of the strengths of this programmes has been its ability to bring together, probably for the first time different actors Government, NGOs, civil society members, individual scientists and researchers to a common ground where they can discuss national issues. Many useful deliberations on research and study outcomes have been debated at these workshops that have been trend-setters on developing consensus on important natural resource issues.
- ◆ Weakness/Constraints: a major constraint in the networking initiative has been its incapacity to articulate, in local parlance, the various outcomes of the information documentation, studies and research that have been undertaken in the field and plough them into the workshops – **PROACTIVE ORGANIC NETWORKING**. Information management has been left at the mercy of facilitators and networkers without any guidelines, codes of practice and standards of ethics on how and when advocacy material should be issued and the *modus operandi* that may in the end be to the detriment of the very people we wish to empower. Another serious weakness of the programme has been its inability to develop a coherent regional networking programme. It is rare that we exchange information on our work within the region for lack of the appropriate guidelines, mechanisms, forums, media, information management systems and backstopping work. Closely connected to this is the lack of momentum to expand the networking activities to the eastern and southern Africa region as has been promised in several forums.
- ◆ Threats: left to chance, both at the national and regional levels, current networking activities may actually be to the detriment of the programme. The development guidelines, mechanisms, media and forums is not only a recommendation but a sine qua non; which nobody concerned with the fate of networking in Greater Horn Of Africa can afford to ignore. Without such a process there is a danger that the networking will be a closed club of a few individuals.
- ◆ Opportunities: A Code of Practice with a mission statement of institutional values, principles and practices; designed as a reference document for organic networking co-ordination, to enhance the modes, channels, message and stake-holder interface both at the intra-organisational and inter-organisational levels. This would help to set the stage and voluntary ground rules of the game for networking to develop a collective capacity for advocacy, so as to effectively articulate the needs of the constituencies it serves; to serve as a guiding document for improving the partnership between networking and its external development collaborators, by setting out institutional modalities aimed at eliminating the present pattern of motive-dominated relationship as quickly as possible and to back up the establishment and operation of an effective process of institutional strengthening and horizontal linkages among networking network partners. There is also a need to develop guidelines, mechanisms, media and forums to be able to meaningfully

network on issues of cross-cutting interest. These mechanisms should be developed by a task force of consultants seconded by national groups.

Since networking evolved into a solid programme of action, NETWORKING has been a key initiative and a key area of concern that needed to be addressed through all the phases we have passed through. The analysis above presents such an effort. Other efforts through various initiatives have tried to look at networking as follows

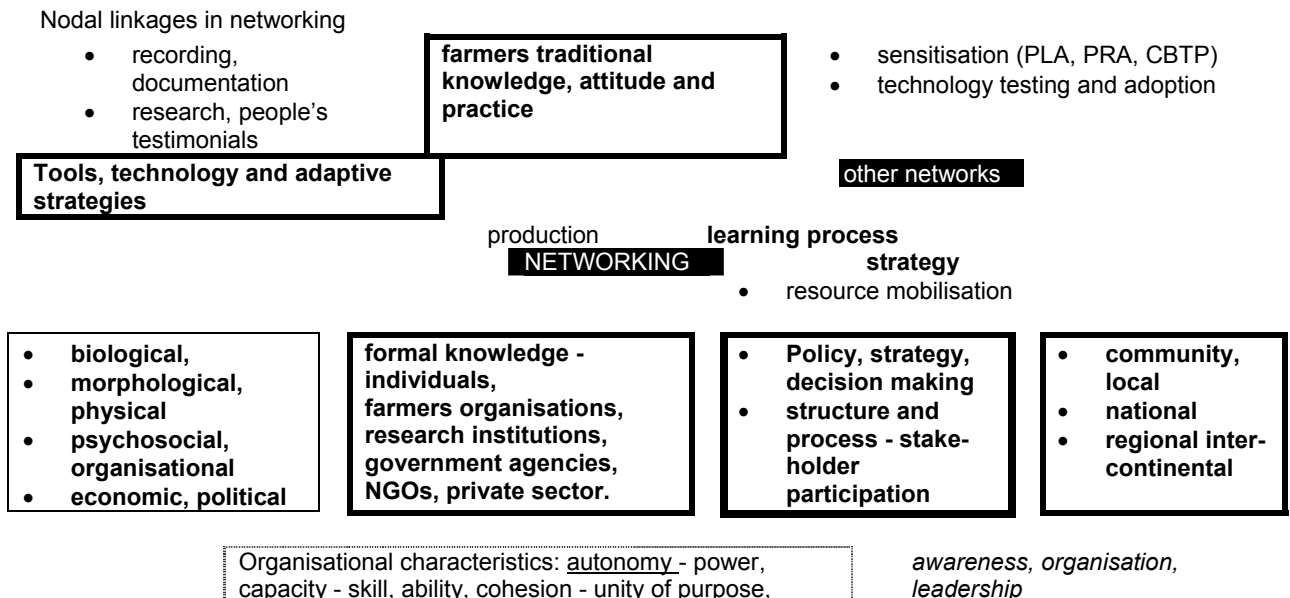
- to define what networking is all about and how best it can be done;
- to develop a communication system that would lead to organic networking;
- to refine the message collection, collation and analysis

Towards this end endeavour has concentrated on finding purpose and means to not only exchange information but structure the dissemination of tools , technologies and social processes more effectively and efficiently for the attainment of the goals of networking.

Research Protocol

All these efforts pointed to the need for addressing the principal issues raised in the self-evaluation and more. The following is an attempt at summarising the problem analysis surrounding networking in the region

- lack of programme focus as indicated in the self evaluation the east African networking initiative has been limited to a few workshops which apparently end up at attracting the urban elite. In this sense it has failed to address the principal issue of collection, collation and dissemination. One of the problems which characterises networking groups is the lack of system programmatic focus and the tendency to address issues depending on available funding.
- closely related to this is the networking over-dependence on external finance and assistance. The dependence of networking external funds erodes their capacity and commitment to mobilise collaborative action and achieve consensus around issues of common interest for their autonomous development;



complexity - degree of bureaucratisation of organisation

- lack of an appropriately staffed networking “nerve” centre; the absence of effective “in-house” network which co-ordinates their relations, represents their interests and advocate their positions on important national and regional issues, has hindered their ability to make collective demands on some important issues. Individually many networking network co-ordinators and members grapple with similar issues of institutional development and operational efficiency. But because of lack of information sharing, they cannot learn from each other's experiences or be motivated and encouraged by the work of others in similar circumstances;
- Questions have been raised as to whether networking local groups have so far been effective in building channels and media aimed at promoting and institutionalising empowerment among grassroots populations.
- Although they have a lot to contribute in their advocacy roles, networking network facilitators, co-ordinators and members have been unable to establish a clear and coherent voice nationally on issues which are crucial to their work, or to the interest of the local communities they serve. While many proposals for remedial action have been formulated, real commitment to collaborative processes at the inter-organisational level has till now been limited;
- A lot of networking network members invariably lack institutional memories and, hence, the reflective capacity and absence of professionalism in their work and the ability to take stock of where they are going, what they have learned and what lessons can be passed on to others.

The basic mission of this comprehensive initiative is to develop a framework that enables strategic thinking - the strategy, policy, structure and decision making process of networking in the Greater Horn Of Africa. The basic elements of strategic thinking are the ability to understand behaviour as a system in which state, civil society, ordinary people, and resources continually interact; ability to use this understanding to predict how a given strategic move will rebalance the equilibrium and use of networking resources that can be permanently committed to new uses even though the benefits will be deferred; and ability to predict risk and return with enough accuracy and confidence to justify that commitment; and willingness to act.

This list may sound like nothing more than the basic requirements for any ordinary programme formulation strategy. But networking strategy is not and cannot be that simple! It is all-encompassing, calling on the commitment and dedication of the whole organisation. Participants failure to act/react and then deploy and commit own resources in support of the strategic move of networkers can turn existing co-operative relationships upside down. By committing resources, strategy seeks to make sweeping changes in communicative relationships. Only two fundamental inhibitions moderate its revolutionary character. **One is failure**, which can be as far reaching in its consequences as success. **The other is the inherent advantage** of a well situated strategic network co-ordinator. Success usually depends on the culture, perceptions, attitudes, and characteristic behaviour of NGOs and on their mutual awareness of each other. **Strategy is a deliberate search for a plan of action that will develop a competitive advantage and compound it.** For networking the search is an iterative process that begins with a recognition of where you are and what you have now.

This comprehensive research and study will therefore address the following areas of networking management and development

1. Networking strategy: networking strategy is a process of conceptualisation expressed or implied by network's long-term objectives or purposes -- the broad constraints and policies, either self-imposed or accepted as a donor condition, that currently restrict the scope of networking activities, and the current set of plans and near term goals that have been adopted in the expectation of contributing to the achievement of its objectives." The purpose of a well defined strategy is to maintain or gain a position of advantage in relation to the external environment. An advantage is gained by seizing opportunities in the environment that enable networking to capitalise upon areas of strength. The best options to guide an organisation's use of resources to pursue it's Mission. It is the leverage where the organisation's activity will have the most impact. Strategy allows decision about where and how to use scarce resources for maximum impact to achieve organisational mission/goals. A strategy is a framework that provides choice about what to do and What not to do. A good Strategy must fit
 - a) networking vision and mission,
 - b) your analysis of the present development problems,
 - c) your analysis of the external context (forces),
 - d) your organisation's capacity, make a choice amongst various strategic issues,

OUTPUT: THE INITIATIVE WILL SEEK TO DEFINE A STRATEGY FOR NETWORKING THAT WILL DETERMINE THE RULES OF THE GAME IN THE CODE OF PRACTICE

1. **Networking policy** : One outcome of the networking strategy development is networking policy. Policy is generally used to refer to general guides to actions and decisions. A policy is often referred to as a standing decision made in advance to cover a prescribed set of conditions, thus setting the limitations or guide-lines for making decisions or taking actions that would determine the scope, levels of penetration and collective goals of the members of the networking . Networking policies also provide networking members with a framework for making decisions so that actions will be consistent throughout the system.

OUTPUT: THE INITIATIVE WILL DEVELOP AN NETWORKING POLICY THAT WOULD SERVE AS A GUIDING RAIL TO NETWORK CO-ORDINATORS AND NETWORKERS AT DIFFERENT LEVELS THAT WILL BE THE CENTRE PIECE OF THE CODE OF PRACTICE.

1. NETWORKING VISION, MISSION AND GOALS:
 - a) Vision is an expression of ideals that may not be attainable in one's lifetime. It is initial idea/force that brings people together for collective action. Vision is the focus. Vision is not mystical. Vision is not predicting but much more clearly seeing what the organisation can be in the future. A clearly articulated networking vision provides stakeholders or performers: Energy, Momentum, and Strength.
 - b) Mission: mission is the organisation's purpose for existence, mission(s) describe(s) in general terms how the vision would be pursued mission provides members with shared sense of direction. A clear mission ensures that people's energy and organisational resources serve a common purpose. A clear mission can guide an organisation's leaders in major policy decisions about alternative courses of action. A clear mission helps define what the organisation will do and what it will not do.

- c) **Networking Goals and Objectives:** Goal is a statement indicating what an organisation is expected to accomplish in the future. Objective is a statement indicating what is precisely going to be accomplished by an organisation in a specific period of time and with specified resources when implementing programmes/projects. Goals are the overall strategic mission expressed in terms of three-year networking planning, etc. the strategy and plans are designed as directions for achieving attainment of goals and missions, the steps that lead to the attainment of objectives. From strategy and plans, policies are then developed to provide guidance for operational decisions and actions. Procedures provide direction in handling specific sections but allow for a certain amount of judgmental discretion. Rules, which are quite rigid and very specific, deal with certain categories or situations in which little if any discretion is allowed.

OUTPUT: THE STUDY WILL CLEARLY SPELL OUT THE VISION, MISSION STATEMENT, GOALS AND OBJECTIVES FOR NETWORKING CODE OF PRACTICE.

1. **Networking structure:** Within the context of networking eastern and southern Africa networking, structure refers to the relationships that are established both by the **'voluntary contracts'** between people, participating nations and institutions and more importantly the nodes and "reporting" chains within the network management. The organisational structure of networking needs to be developed without due regard to grassroots networking to perform the tasks defined by its strategy in the best possible manner. These include the relationships in the allocation of authority and responsibility, the reporting relationships and the mechanisms for integrating the different components of the NW project.

OUTPUT: A FUNCTIONAL STRUCTURE THAT WILL DETERMINE NODAL POINTS OF CONTACT AND HORIZONTAL/ LATERAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE NETWORKING. THIS WILL SERVE TO DETERMINE THE RELATIONSHIP OF NETWORKERS AT ALL LEVELS IN THE CODE OF PRACTICE.

Networking decision-making processes: The organisational processes within networking are represented with the motivational and attitudinal aspects of the NW development setting. The networking has little or no means of "motivating" networking "staff" and volunteers to accomplish common goals from the point of financial and material type of incentives. But participatory goal setting, allocation of resources and implementation of the NW project, important components of an organisational processes, need to be developed gradually. The monitoring methods for evaluating and controlling performance need to be exhausted very well. The indicators for monitoring and evaluation, which have been revised over and again have not been skilfully, used to measure performance due to lack of the necessary background.

OUTPUT: A SERIES OF PROCEDURAL GUIDELINES THAT WOULD UNDERSCORE THE MECHANISM FOR PARTICIPATION, COMMUNICATION AND INTERACTION AMONG NETWORK MEMBERS.

The strategic planning and management process: Because of the success of strategic planning, the emphasis has been shifting from policy or operational planning toward strategic planning and management. This emphasis on strategic planning and management reflects the growing importance of the impact of the outside world on the organisation. The fast changing and uncertain world situation is forcing organisations to do more strategic planning.

OUTPUTS: THE FOLLOWING OUTPUTS ARE EXPECTED TO BE ACHIEVED AS AN OPERATIONAL PART OF THE CODE OF PRACTICE.

1. **identifying the basic purpose or mission of networking-**
2. **strategic decisions in networking-**
3. **determining specific organisational goals and objectives for networking**
4. **identifying organisational strengths and weaknesses**
5. **identify strategic opportunities and threats**
6. **identifying and comparing strategic alternatives**
7. **the strategic decision and implementation of the strategic decision and plans**
8. **strategic evaluation**

Outputs:

1. desk review of the previous initiatives explaining their strength and weakness and what can be taken to form a foundation for our strategic document
2. develop strategy and policy guidelines for the networking in the Greater Horn Of Africa organic networking. The consultancy and the national reports would be achieved by answering the following questions
 - a) What are the party's intentions and expectations in networking? What would the party do if it did not participate in the network? Does it have any reasonable alternatives at all? What are the costs and benefits of each alternative? A party should not enter into a network if it believes that it can do better, overall, through other means.
 - b) What are the basic interests of each of the parties or stakeholders involved in networking?
 - A careful and sophisticated analysis of each party's interests can, first of all, clarify the extent to which one party needs the others to achieve what it wants. In addition, an analysis of each party's interests can help point out which groups have common or competing agendas.
 - How do we transform the tools, technologies and production processes into information with form and function that people can articulate and use it as a source of empowerment;
 - What are the general policies and principles that we need to adhere to as a minimum in disseminating controversial advocacy networking information and who takes responsibility for such work;
 - What are the options for bringing potential members to the network? Too many groups enter into networking with only one solution in mind. That is, they have identified needs they wish to address and interests that they wish to defend. A party will be in a stronger negotiating position if, after analysing its interests, it develops a range of options for satisfying them. This implies being flexible about the way in which basic interests are satisfied -- not about whether they should be satisfied.
 - How can competition with other stakeholders be balanced with some degree of co-operation? All too often, inexperienced parties to a networking believe that the discussions must be entirely competitive, and fall into communication patterns characterised by mutually aggressive behaviour. In fact, competition

can be balanced with co-operation over some aspect of virtually any negotiation -- without either party making unacceptable concessions.

- Can implementation of an agreement for an organic networking be ensured? The implementation of agreements needs to be discussed from the early stages of networking process, rather than being left to the end. Important topics that need to be addressed include technical feasibility, political viability, financial requirements and mechanisms for ensuring compliance by all sides.
- How should the process of reaching an agreement be structured? What are the "rules of the game" for a specific networking process? Who will participate? Will networking be willing to underwrite the participation of a less well-financed party? Do all want to reach a decision, or is some intermediate step, such as narrowing options, the only one acceptable to all parties?

Conclusions:

Competitive conflicts in natural
Resources use leading to ethnic segmentation:
a need for rethinking governance

Under the new rules of political engagement ethnic-based organisations are the major actors in all of Africa. They constitute the central subject and instruments of democratisation. In this sense, States faces urgent and pressing issues and problems of democratisation to be settled. But there are alternative ways of weighing up and framing the issues and of charting the course of action, which may be embarked upon towards their settlement. There is no simple or immediate identification of the problems as they actually are; there is only a definition of them from a certain perspective and towards a certain "resolution". Governments' perspective on or formation of the problems and their solutions constitutes one among other actual or possible perspectives, though a dominant one to be sure. Recognition of this fact by Governments would represent a significant improvement in its democratic consciousness and practice.

Nations were established in the aftermath of colonial domination and demarcation without any serious consideration for ethnicity, environmental concerns and peoples aspirations. They were maintained at the expense of nations, nationalities and peoples: by the subjugation of ethnic communities in military conquests. Economic exploitation; political tyranny in which the machinery of a centralised state was used as an instrument of national oppression and cultural domination which devalued and suppressed the languages, customs, and religions of diverse peoples also provided the political basis for domination. Unity was not based on the distinctive identities, interests and aspirations of various nationalities. Rather, it was based on the domination of a small ruling class belonging largely to few ethnic groups.

Hence, nation-states needed to be built - and built democratically - virtually from scratch. Politically, their past is more a liability than an asset. Because citizenship was imposed on nationalities by force, it was inauthentic and unstable, chronically beset with rebellions and civil wars. Because it contradicted the rights of peoples to their own identity, culture and socio-economic and political life, it was undemocratic and a drag on the development of nations. Brutal military dictatorships, which in the end brought nations to the edge of disintegration, are "in essence a continuation of previous regimes." Sudan is a case in point.

The multiethnic, multilingual nature and diverse religious base of the formation of nations coupled with the ambition of the dominant groups to impose their wills by way of coerced unity

and uniformity has resulted in deep ethnic hostility and national division varying in degrees ranging from self determination to outright secession. This deep communal cleavages has complicated and will continue to undermine the give and take of democratic competition. But with a genuine and dedicated endeavour on the part of the political leadership, the democratisation process under one geographical entity and nationhood feeling could be preserved. There are many socially heterogeneous societies in Africa in which non-violent, competitive democratic processes continued for decades. We have gone all this way to establish the Governance-ANRCM nexus. In view of the important headway in reflections, case studies, technical and academic studies dealing with discussions on laws and regulations in different regions of the world, one of the first actions to take is to accomplish a situation analysis which includes a state-of-the-art inventory of inquiries and processes in progress.

- The particular line of contribution of indigenous groups would be in areas where their potential strength lies -- developing an information database and capacity building at the grassroots level: institutional development of indigenous organisational structures in a planned and systematic way designed to increase the organisational effectiveness of individuals for growth and development with community goals. The mission here is to increase the effectiveness of the Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and enhance their potential to be involved in relief, preventive diplomacy and development processes.
- In comparison to conventional organisational structures, CSOs and indigenous NGOs should ideally secure both greater access and improved distribution of benefits. They can use appropriate technology that is low cost and adaptable to African reality and traditions they can achieve outcomes at less cost and they should have the capacity to experiment with unconventional ideas and practices. They should harness indigenous knowledge - skills and techniques which belong naturally to people and can evolve practices conceived and generated by original inhabitants for the purpose of solving real-life problems. African groups should take up a historical mission to document and disseminate this knowledge as a legitimate instrument that will harness much needed local resources.
- Given the continent's political atmosphere of the past few decades, the overall performance of CSOs and indigenous NGOs, despite the infirmities we analysed earlier¹⁸, have been positive in the sense that they have been relatively effective in providing services to their target populations, including bringing about some changes in the living conditions of some of the beneficiaries. More especially NGOs actions brought about increased employment of the youth, additional income for women, vaccination of children provision of clean water, etc. However, the overall impact has been limited in scope and extent because of the fact that the benefits generated remained modest, scattered, isolated and yet too small to meet the scale of challenges posed by the continuing crises.
- as a first step in promoting self-assertion and upholding their own development vision and objectives, we need to develop the commitment so that every group must decide on a number of institutional goals and values which must be upheld as non-negotiable in any financial or programme partnership. This would entail the development of an indigenous institutional presence and work to attain increased institutional efficiency and clarity in managing conflicts. WE need to work towards closer regional and sub-regional rapprochement (within the context of the regionalization) to evolve oneness and unity of

¹⁸In terms of the current understanding of institutional development, the NGO sector is still at its nascent stages. This has resulted in an array of problems of mismanagement, sub-professional standards and accountability, most of them inherited from the formal sector. These serious infirmities are the lack of indigenous resource base, lack of programmatic focus, poor management capability, lack of co-ordination, lack of reflective capacity, poor relations with Northern NGOs and donors, poor relations with the government and limited scope of replicability of indigenous NGO activities.

purpose among themselves that will bear the bond of their common position in national and regional issues of peace and security.

This includes the strengthening of local capacities of already existing indigenous grassroots groups, assist in the formation of new ones through people's and community based organisations capital funds that will be managed by a body formed among all concerned parties. In this respect,

1. it would also be important to put within each country and region's reach the different methodology studies and undertake an assessment which should include the elaboration of a syllabus on the topic at a global level based on a legal/anthropological study.
2. Attempt to connect regional working groups through e-mail and other information systems as the FTTP's landmark e-mail conference.
3. It is also important to stimulate the work of legal experts in the regions, focusing on the analysis of Comparative Law and Institutional Law, as well as advances in the concept of legal pluralism developed in the regions. We also need to co-operate in the introduction of reflections on legal concepts and on rights involved in the processes of conflict management, carried out by local institutions.¹⁹
4. It is crucial to support the institutions interested in working with populations and communities at the local level in training, use of formal legal arguments, and boosting their propositional ability along with systematising customary rules and rights.

The idea would be to support processes, which empower rural people and their institutions, in order to enhance their resources according to their own locally defined aspirations for the benefit of local livelihoods and society at large

- human capital development at the community level to enhance the utility of adaptive strategies as the relate to the good governance/Alternative Conflict Management nexus;
- Improved capacity within collaborating institutions to adapt and develop new methods and tools that enhance the use adaptive strategies as basis for local development;
- Deepened knowledge, translated into practical methods and tools for sustainable local management of natural resources through adaptive strategies;
- Networking on empowerment, aggregation of indigenous knowledge resolution of conflicts over natural resources, opportunities for promoting partnerships between local communities and institutions that will enhance adaptive strategies, Environmental awareness generation and education, curriculum development and recovery of critical community history, adaptive strategies: analysis and development of legislation and policy based on traditional communal tenure laws and diagnostic PRA studies

In conclusion, these areas for further research and action have been deigned to address the naive realism that is invoked here to point to certain conceptual shortcomings in current perspectives on democratic reform in Africa. These shortcomings stem can be seen as outcomes of more or less conscious attempts of indigenous governments and their international backers to quickly get their hands on "**urgent**" or "**practical**" matters of democratisation of politics. One manifestation of naive realism is the pre-emptive "**socialisation**" of democratic ideas and practices, as demonstrated, for example, by the rituals of popular participation in regional and local elections and referendum in Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal, Uganda, Kenya, Togo, Guinea, and a host of other African countries. These countries claim, and, in some instance a

¹⁹ León, R. Op cit

legitimate claim, to appropriate forms and processes of democratic development and conflict management.

A process which often spawns an attendant rhetorical over simplification of difficult concepts, this socialisation is disabling as a method of both grasping democratic ideas and rules in all their openness and complexity, and making the ideas tractable to transparent and sustainable institutional practice. A manifestation of the naive realist approach to conflict management in Africa is the simple equation of partisan or government elaboration's of democratic ideology with the production of ideas, values and goals in civil society. Here, our attention and thought are diverted from the critical destination between,

- on the one hand, a system of abstract categories as a construct of an explicit rationalisation, a formal conceptualisation and design, and,
- broad and diverse domains of ideology and purposefulness in the plenitude of social experience, on the other.

We are discouraged from acknowledging the distance and tension between these two spheres of democratisation. Instead, one is led to believe that ideological construction in one sphere is reducible to ideological construction in the other. As the statements **such as "the constitution must be a creation of the citizenry ... and ... law should come from the populace rather than palace"**, assume the form of a putative attribution of authorial agency in the making a democratic constitution to an organisationally underdeveloped, democratically inexperienced and largely, to a civil society that has been deliberately rendered illiterate".

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