

Foreign-Funded Adaptation to Climate Change in Africa: Mirroring Administrative Traditions or Traditions of Administrative Blueprinting?

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Abstract

Climate change impacts are most severe in developing countries with limited adaptive capacity. Accordingly, in Africa, climate change adaptation has become an issue of international funding and practice. As suggested in the Introduction to this special issue, administrative traditions could play a role in how adaptation plays out. This, however, raises questions about how foreign funding regimes coincide with recipients' administrative traditions, especially on the African continent where administrative traditions are often meagerly established. To address these questions, this article takes an explorative approach. From a literature review of African state governance and development aid approaches, we take colonial legacy as the most distinctive factor responsible for African administrative traditions. In addition, we define three ways in which foreign aid programs have dealt with African administration: (1) aligning with donor administration, (2) blueprinting administration, and (3) ignoring administration. Using 34 African countries' National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPAs), we analyze how African governments actually frame adaptation as a governance challenge. We contrast these frames with: (1) administrative traditions based on colonial legacy and (2) the ways in which development aid programs have historically dealt with recipient African administrations. Our findings indicate that NAPAs only meagerly refer to the administrative tradition that could be expected based on colonial legacy, but extensively refer to blueprint ideas common among international donors, or ignore administration altogether. We discuss the implications for adaptation to climate change.

KEY WORDS: climate change adaptation, public administration, policy framing, colonial history, good governance, public private partnerships, capacity building, ODA, politics, institutional diagnostics, Africa

外资适应非洲气候变化：反映行政惯例还是反映行政蓝图传统？

适应能力有限的发展中国家受到气候变化的影响最大。因此，非洲的气候变化适应问题已成为国际筹资和实践问题。正如在该问题的引言中所提到的，行政惯例可以影响气候适应的发展。然而，这产生了一个问题，即外国基金制度要与接受者的行政惯例相吻合，尤其是在非洲大陆，行政惯例的建立往往相当薄弱。针对这些问题，本文采取了探索性的研究方法。笔者回顾了非洲国家治理和发展援助办法的相关文献，并提出殖民遗产是造成非洲行政惯例的最独特的因素。此外，笔者还确定了三种通过外国援助方案处理非洲行政惯例的方式：1) 结合捐赠管理，2) 规划管理，3) 忽视管理。通过研究 34 个非洲国家的国家适应行动方案（NAPAs），笔者分析了非洲各国政府是如何在实际操作中将气候适应设定为一个治理挑战的，并与以下方面进行了对比：1) 基于殖民遗产的行政惯例和2) 历史上发展援助方案对受援国非洲行政惯例的应对方式。研究结果表明，可能是基于殖民遗产，国家适应行动方案（NAPAs）只略微参考了行政惯例，但大量参考了国际捐助者之间惯用的蓝图构想，或者完全忽视管理。笔者讨论了适应气候变化的影响。

关键词：适应气候变化，公共管理，政策制定，殖民历史，良好治理，公共私营伙伴关系，能力建构，ODA，政治，制度诊断，非洲

La adaptación al cambio climático en África fundada por extranjeros: ¿reflejando las tradiciones administrativas o las tradiciones de planificación administrativas?

Los impactos del cambio climático son más severos en países en desarrollo con una capacidad adaptativa más limitada. Acordeamente, en África la adaptación al cambio climático se ha convertido en un tema de financiamiento y práctica internacional. Como se sugiere en la introducción a este tema especial, las tradiciones administrativas podrían jugar un cierto papel en cómo la adaptación sucede. Esto, sin embargo, plantea cuestiones acerca de cómo los regímenes de financiamiento extranjero coinciden con las tradiciones administrativas de los beneficiarios, especialmente en el continente africano, donde las tradiciones administrativas son a menudo solo escasamente establecidas. Para responder a estas interrogativas, este documento utiliza un acercamiento exploratorio. Desde una reseña literaria de la gobernanza de estados africanos y acercamientos de ayuda para el desarrollo, tomamos un legado colonial como el factor más distintivo para las tradiciones administrativas africanas. Además, definimos tres formas en que los programas de ayuda han lidiado con la administración africana: 1) alineándose con la administración de los donadores, 2) esquematizando la administración, 3) ignorando la administración. Utilizando programas de acción de adaptación nacionales (NAPAs) de 34 países africanos, analizamos cómo los gobiernos formulan la adaptación como un desafío de la gobernanza. Contrastamos estas fórmulas con: 1) tradiciones administrativas basadas en el legado colonial y 2) las formas en que los programas de ayuda al desarrollo han lidiado históricamente con las administraciones africanas beneficiarias. Nuestros hallazgos indican que las NAPAs solamente se refieren un poco a la tradición administrativa que podría estar basada en el legado colonial, pero extensivamente se refieren a las ideas de formulación que son comunes para los donadores internacionales o ignoran la administración completamente. Discutimos las implicaciones para la adaptación al cambio climático.

PALABRAS CLAVE: adaptación al cambio climático, administración pública, formulación de políticas, historia colonial, buena gobernanza, asociaciones público-privado, construcción de capacidad, ODA, política, diagnóstico institucional, África

Introduction

On the African continent, the adaptation of food production systems will be the major challenge involved in climate change adaptation (Adger, Huq, Brown, Conway, & Hulme, 2003; Field, Barros, Mach, & Mastrandrea, 2014; Thompson, Berrang-Ford, & Ford, 2010). Over the last 50 years, population growth has increased the demand for food dramatically. Simultaneously, the combination of relatively little infrastructure and limited access to markets, finance, and technology means that large parts of the African food supply emanate from self-sufficient farming (Huisman, Vink, & Eerdt, 2016; World Bank, 2008). As rain-fed agriculture is the mainstay of the African food supply, economy, and employment, African food security and economies are strongly affected by changing precipitation patterns. To a large extent, climate change adaptation therefore concerns the adaptation of water management, the introduction of drought resistant crop varieties, the improvement of farming technologies, and the adaptation of farming practices in general (InterAcademy Council, 2004; Ringler, Zhu, Cai, Koo, & Wang, 2010; World Bank, 2008). Hence, African food production is facing adaptation challenges relating to the impacts of changing circumstances at large, which are amplified by a changing climate (Adger et al., 2003; Field et al., 2014).

The large scale of many adaptation interventions—such as introducing new crop varieties or building robust infrastructure and the collective action required to adapt systems like water management—is likely to require the involvement of public administration systems (Bisaro & Hinkel, 2016; Jordan et al., 2015). As hypothesized in the Introduction to this special issue, this could indicate that administrative traditions play an important role in how adaptation to climate change plays out (Biesbroek, Lesnikowski, Berrang-Ford, Vink, & Ford, *in press*; Biesbroek, Peters, & Tosun, *in press*; Vink et al., 2014). Differences in administrative traditions (e.g., differences in state structure, state–society relations, accountability, openness of bureaucracy, knowledge organization) can have consequences for how policies are made, how policy reform plays out, and the pace and form of public bureaucracies’ attention to new issues (Biesbroek, Lesnikowski, et al., *in press*; Hyden, 2010; Painter & Peters, 2010; Peters & Pierre, 2016). However, the idea of administrative traditions remains largely a concept of comparative inquiry in the (Western) world of well-developed public administration systems. Research on the character and role of administrative traditions in Africa is limited, let alone on the relation between administrative traditions and adaptation to climate change.

The few studies that have been conducted on administration and administrative traditions in Africa show relatively weakly developed administrative traditions that are generally verbal rather politicized, are patrimonial, and stem from—or are heavily influenced by—colonial administrative traditions (Hyden, 2010). Scholars that have made detailed studies of specific African countries reveal a complex picture of various historical factors ranging from colonial heritage, to colonial style, to precolonial state formation that have all contributed to a variety of administrative systems (see e.g., Acemoglu, Johnson, & Robinson, 2001). In addition to the unique origin and character of African administrative traditions, the nature of African climate adaptation initiatives is also rather different from that of most initiatives in developed nations. Whereas in developed nations adaptation initiatives are generally part of nationally or locally determined policy agendas and fit the national or local policy regimes and (democratic) decision-making structures, adaptation initiatives in Africa are often donor funded and driven by foreign development aid regimes (Bizikova, Parry, Karami, & Echeverria, 2015; Ford et al., 2015; Paavola & Adger, 2006). Development aid regimes come with their own (administrative) conditions. Bilateral aid programs are shaped in the context of administrative traditions in donor countries, and, similarly, international organizations have their own systems of prioritizing, accounting, and knowledge organization, as well as ideas on what type of governance is most preferable (Andrews, 2010; Lieshout, Went, & Kremer, 2010; Rodrik, 2006, 2010). This raises the question of whether it is contradictory to undertake climate change adaptation as a national administrative enterprise and as an issue of foreign-funded development aid.

Given this complication, the aim of this article is to investigate whether the ideas elaborated in the Introduction to this special issue (Biesbroek, Peters, et al., *in press*) hold for Africa, and whether adaptation on the African continent mirrors African administrative traditions or, rather, (foreign) aid regimes and discourse. To do so, this article takes an explorative approach. Following Biesbroek and others, the article builds a theoretical framework of the types of approaches that can be expected from official adaptation to climate change in Africa. We then contrast this

with the official policy framing on adaptation derived from 34 African country-based National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPAs). Our main research question is whether and how African governments frame the governance challenge of adapting to a changing climate in light of a country-specific administrative context, or whether the framing follows development aid approaches stemming from administrative traditions alien to the recipient context.

In the next section, we present our theoretical framework of African administrative traditions and foreign development aid regimes affecting adaptation in Africa, after which we present our research design and methodology. In our results section, we present the framing of adaptation in the available 34 NAPAs and compare these framings with the ideas on African administrative traditions and foreign aid regimes affecting adaptation derived from our theoretical framework. The paper ends by discussing the limitations of our explorative research approach and answering our central research question.

Theoretical Framework

Adaptation as an Administrative Enterprise

Many climate change adaptation challenges are in essence problems of collective action (Adger, 2003). Bisaro and Hinkel (2016) distinguish six types of collective action problems in climate change adaptation. For example, climate change-related food insecurity typically fits in their *two-sided additive* conceptualization. Each farmer adapting his/her food production to a changing climate will incrementally add to the country's overall food supply, ultimately benefitting all inhabitants. Following Bisaro and Hinkel, making farming practices more resilient to climate change requires governmental regulation to improve (access to) markets and technologies or to stimulate innovation. For innovation to take place, collective action might be needed at a scale that is large enough to raise the means for proper research and development, insurances, water management, or agricultural extension at large (InterAcademy Council, 2004; World Bank, 2008). Most of these aspects demand coordination at a higher scale than the family, community, or village. Coordination therefore is generally provided for by national administrative systems (Biesbroek, Lesnikowski, et al., in press; Dyson, 1980; Painter & Peters, 2010; Peters & Pierre, 2016).

Although some scholars have indicated that more polycentric or nonstate-driven adaptation initiatives are promising (Ostrom, 2010), others show that these ideas remain untested and that the role of the state and its public administration remains pivotal in adaptation (Jordan et al., 2015). Administrative systems are generally the largest type of organizations at country level, capable of implementing large things (Painter & Peters, 2010). However, this is not to say that each administrative system is good at implementing the same "large" things. Administrative systems differ per national context, making adaptation likely to differ in different administrative systems (Biesbroek, Lesnikowski, et al., in press; Biesbroek et al., 2010; Painter & Peters, 2010; Vink et al., 2014).

As pointed out in the Introduction to this special issue (Biesbroek, Peters, et al., in press), administrative systems do not operate in isolation but relate to the society on whose behalf they operate, and administrations have to interact with society to get things done. Generally, administrations also interact with some form of political organization. In most developed countries, this interaction might come in various institutionalized forms, but generally concerns agenda setting and accountability in—more or less—democratic forms. In other contexts, however, these interaction patterns might come in different forms. Painter and Peters (2010) define these systems as *administrative traditions*, which are relatively stable, historically based sets of norms, values, routinized behavior, specialized institutions, and relationships within bureaucracies and with other societal institutions that determine how policy goals are defined and how policy making is organized. Peters (in press) defines eight principles that determine administrative traditions (see also the Introduction to this special issue):

1. Whether the state is organically integrated with society or an autonomous actor
2. Whether civil servants act as executors of the law or as managers
3. Whether civil servants follow distinct career paths or not
4. How the linkages between interest groups and bureaucracies are organized
5. How uniformity in policies is organized
6. Whether administration is politicized
7. How accountability structures are organized
8. How scientific advice enters administration.

In their focus on the functioning and character of bureaucracies, administrative traditions are not the same as political traditions, which center on how political decision-making systems are traditionally organized and relate to society (see e.g., Lijphart, 1989). Nevertheless, both traditions are obviously interlinked (Dyson, 1980; Painter & Peters, 2010). If adaptation is largely an administrative enterprise, administrative traditions are likely to affect how adaptation plays out, and conversely the fit of adaptation initiatives with these administrative traditions is likely to determine the effectiveness of climate change adaptation (Biesbroek, Lesnikowski, et al., in press; Vink et al., 2014).

Administrative Traditions in Africa

Apart from some ancient African political centralizations that roughly correspond with current state territories (e.g., Ethiopia, Ghana, and Botswana), the formation of administrative systems is not a typical African affair. Adopting a historical comparative perspective, Frankema (2014) highlights how the relative emptiness of the African continent could be one of the factors explaining the meagre formation of large-scale indigenous administrative systems. Administrative systems were simply too expensive per capita to cover large, sparsely populated regions. This is not to say that societal organization was absent in Africa. A rich tradition of nonstate institutions has deeply influenced the way colonial and postcolonial states and administrators function (Hyden, 2010). Moreover, some parts of Africa did witness precolonial forms of political centralization (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2013).

In most cases, however, these political centralizations never led to full-blown national administrative systems, or, as Hyden (2010) explains, traditions in public administration are still to be defined in many African countries. Most existing administrative systems are reinterpreted leftovers of colonial powers that implemented copies or extensions of their own administrative tradition (Hyden, 2010). It is important to note here that, in contrast to colonization in many Asian and American countries, the colonial interlude was relatively brief in Africa, spanning only a few generations and was almost exclusively a twentieth-century phenomenon (Hyden, 2010).

From a cross-continental perspective, administrative systems in Africa are relatively weak in comparison to the strong administrative systems in many Asian countries. Whereas in Asia bureaucracies are often dominant in relation to political representation, in Africa politics generally dominate a relatively weak administration (Painter & Peters, 2010). Furthermore, politics and administration are generally highly intertwined, going beyond party politics alone, and can be characterized as neopatrimonialist, where each civil servant is his/her own political agent representing specific interests (Hyden, 2010). Although this kind of neopatrimonialism might create a tight relation between the administration and specific parts of society, administrative capacity to act in the national interest or to get things done at a nationwide scale remains weak.

Closer examination at country level presents an even more complex picture. To understand current differences within African governance and development, various scholars have attempted to define administrative families on the basis of history and colonial legacies. Hyden (2010), for example, distinguishes two ideologies among colonizers: direct rule, in which the colonial system was an extension of the system at home, and indirect rule, where indigenous institutions functioned as the lowest organs of administration. The former—much preferred by the French—is in line with their rather centralized Napoleonic administrative traditions. Indirect rule, on the other hand, fits the more Pluralist approach common in Anglo-Saxon countries and was predominantly adopted by British colonizers. Direct rule was also adopted by the British, however, especially where there were no traditional African authorities on which to rely (Hyden, 2010). Others (Acemoglu et al., 2001) add the idea of *colonial style* to this distinction. In places where harsh conditions led to high mortality rates among colonizers, colonizing powers adopted more indirect ruling, focusing on extraction rather than on the development of an administrative system. Other authors claim that precolonial organization is still dominant in how current African administration functions, or that the weakness of African administration makes nonstate actors relatively important in understanding African governance (Herbst, 2014).

Although evidence on the importance of each of these variables in distinguishing administrative families remains inconclusive (Acemoglu et al., 2001), illustrations indicate how each of these variables are likely to explain parts of current administrative systems. For example, in a country like Botswana, which was ruled by its colonizer Britain through indirect rule, utilizing large parts of the indigenous Botswanan ruling structures resulted in an effective postcolonial governance structure (Lieshout et al., 2010). Algeria, on the other hand, is an example of a typical Napoleonic form of colonization, where the French copied their own centralized

administrative system with the etatist aim of steering and crafting society, but almost independent of society. After decolonization, this led to the suspicion that the Algerians still functioned as “French elites” in the administrative system, fueling revolution. In contrast, Ethiopia has never been seriously dominated by a foreign power. The country has its own specific tradition of governing and administering. Despite a long history of (civil) war and hunger, the country’s governance is doing relatively well in planning for improvements in food production systems (Huismans et al., 2016). Conversely, a country like Congo was dominated by an atypical colonial power, Belgium, in a very extractive colonial style. Belgium never invested in Congo as a state; it did not protect property rights or implement any checks and balances against governmental expropriation (Acemoglu et al., 2001). Today, Congo counts as one of the typical weak states riddled by conflict and with a large role for foreign nonstate actors in relation to mediation of societal conflict and service delivery (Autesserre, 2008).

Adaptation as Foreign Aid: A Compromised Role for Administrative Traditions?

In addition to the inconclusive nature of administrative traditions in Africa, the nature of adaptation in Africa complicates the idea of administrative traditions, affecting adaptation to climate change even further. From a scholarly perspective, African adaptation to climate change is framed as entailing common but differentiated responsibilities (Ciplet, Roberts, & Khan, 2013; Dellink et al., 2009; Paavola & Adger, 2006). Being responsible for most CO₂ emissions, the developed countries are claimed to have most responsibility for developing countries’ climate change adaptation. In line with that framing, international negotiations educated commitments from developed countries to assist developing countries in adapting to climate change (Paavola & Adger, 2006). Therefore, adaptation in Africa is increasingly funded and implemented by international organizations and various types of (international) climate funds. If a national government’s administrative capacity is weak—as is the case in most countries in Africa—adaptation generally depends on international or bilateral funds that funnel their funding indirectly through international organizations or NGOs responsible for implementing adaptation measures (Rai, Kaur, Greene, Wang, & Steele, 2015). In addition to these (international) funds, existing Official Development Assistance (ODA) has also adopted climate adaptation as one of its priorities (Ayers & Huq, 2009). Empirical studies show that adaptation activities in developing countries are indeed largely a form of development cooperation, following a development aid logic (Bizikova et al., 2015; Ford et al., 2015).

In administrative terms, funneling climate adaptation funding through foreign organizations and ODA regimes questions the idea elaborated by Biesbroek, Peters, and others (in press) in the Introduction to this special issue that administrative traditions play an important role in how adaptation is taken up as a public policy issue. Development aid regimes, foreign to recipient countries, come with their own ways of prioritizing, implementing, and especially accounting to their donor organizations, or, in the case of ODA, donor countries’ taxpayers. The fact that these structures do not necessarily fit with recipient countries’ administrative traditions has resulted in long-standing debates on issues such as agenda-setting legitimacy and

accountability in and of ODA (Andrews, 2008, 2010; Ebrahim, 2003; Li, 2006; Lieshout et al., 2010; Rodrik, 2006, 2010). The organizational structure of many development aid funds and implementing agencies makes ODA to a large extend a donor-country-based internal affair (see e.g., Lieshout et al., 2010). At least formally, accountability is generally organized in an upward fashion toward the donor organization, community, or citizens rather than downward to the recipient government or society (Ebrahim, 2003). Moreover, development theories often stem from foreign contexts, as does the prioritization of issues (Andrews, 2008). Because of administrative constraints, development programs generally struggle with, or simply omit, diagnosing the context-specific priorities and the interventions that work in the recipient context, leading to traditions of blueprint interventions (Rodrik, 2010). The foreign-informed causal theories behind these blueprints, their temporal character as donor-driven activities, and the often debatable fit with the recipient country's institutional context, at least partly explain the doubtful track records of many development programs (Andrews, 2010; Li, 2006; Lieshout et al., 2010; Rodrik, 2006). Hence, organizing climate change adaptation through development aid regimes and foreign funding might lead to foreign-informed adaptation theories or even administrative logics that mirror donor (country) administrative traditions, rather than recipient countries' administrative traditions.

Foreign Development Aid Approaches in Dealing with African Administrative Traditions

Examination of important development aid approaches during the last couple of decades illustrates three different ways in which development aid regimes have dealt with administrative contexts. None of these approaches seems to have explicitly accommodated what scholars like Rodrik (2010) and others (see e.g., Schouten, Vink, & Vellema, 2018) have labeled proper diagnostics on the role played by each recipient country's administration in a certain context, and what that would imply for the implementation of the development aid approach itself.

- We label the first way development aid approaches deal with administration as *aligning* development aid interventions with donor countries' administrative traditions. This is most visible in bilateral donor-funded approaches, whose priorities, accountability, and knowledge organization are mostly in line with donor countries' administrative traditions. Priorities are often set by (political) debate in the donor country or through routinized interaction patterns between administration and civil society (e.g., Western NGOs). The aligning of interventions with foreign administrative traditions has hindered the linking of interventions to recipient administrative operations and prioritization, jeopardizing the systemic effects of development aid (Ebrahim, 2003; Lieshout et al., 2010).
- We label the second way in which development aid approaches deal with administration as *blueprinting* administrative tradition. Many international development aid agendas have based their operations on causal theories on preferable types of governance in which public administration should play a specific role. Donors made these administration models a precondition for

funding (Lieshout et al., 2010; Rodrik, 2010). A pivotal ideology in this context has been the Washington Consensus, a doctrine adopted by most Bretton Woods institutes during the 1980s and 1990s for allocating financial support, mainly to African and Latin American states. In its broader agenda for economic growth, this Washington Consensus prescribed the withdrawal of public administration from productive sectors like agriculture and that subsidies should be turned into investments in specific sectors. This approach mirrors an administrative tradition that is more in line with Anglo-Saxon traditions in public administration. The doubtful results of this doctrine in many developing countries made the Washington Consensus fall from favor at the beginning of this century (Rodrik, 2006). One of the still dominant ideas about administration can be found in the Good Governance agenda of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, which promotes generalized principles of transparency, accountability, efficiency, fairness, participation, and ownership (Woods, 2000). The strengthening of Good Governance in developing countries is both an objective of, and a condition for, development assistance (Andrews, 2008, 2010; Santiso, 2001). Good Governance criteria assume specific relations between administration, society, politics, and expertise that typically mirror the characteristics of many European state traditions: for example, a depoliticized role for administration, accountability structures toward politics or toward society, some degree of free societal competition through which societal interests are served, and a strong role for formal legislation. However, as Painter and Peters (2010) show, governments are different; and, as Andrews adds, regardless of how the country scores on Good Governance criteria, governments appear to be more or less effective (Andrews, 2008, 2010).

- We label the third way in which development aid approaches deal with administration as *ignoring* administrative traditions. Many donor-funded strategies hardly take into account the idea of administrative tradition at all. In these cases, development cooperation provides assistance via generic instruments that are employed without reference to administrative systems or their role in society. Contemporary intervention strategies of donor countries and international NGOs are market-based approaches to development, or so-called value chain collaboration beyond the chain to increase small-holders' access to technology, inputs, and markets (Bitzer & Glasbergen, 2015; Bitzer, van Wijk, Helmsing, & van der Linden, 2011; Bouma & Berkhout, 2015; Ros-Tonen, Van Leynseele, Laven, & Sunderland, 2015). These types of partnerships are understood as collaborations between different value chain actors, often combined with NGOs (Ros-Tonen et al., 2015). The basic premise of the approach is twofold: (1) by utilizing the complementary resources and capabilities of actors from different societal spheres and sectors, societal challenges can be addressed that actors would not be able to deal with individually; (2) businesses need to have an active role in addressing societal challenges as a prerequisite for well-functioning markets and growing economies (Bitzer & Glasbergen, 2015). However, the structural role and character of administration seems to be largely ignored. Some authors therefore argue that these market-based approaches are not

able to address the systemic causes underlying the social, economic, and environmental sustainability challenges in value chains (Banks & Hulme, 2014; Bouma & Berkhouwt, 2015).

We have argued that the foreign nature of development aid programs raises issues about the relation between foreign-funded adaptation and African countries' administrative traditions. Following from the above, actual African adaptation could be in line with the ideas developed in the Introduction to this special issue and mirror administrative traditions based on colonial legacy, but it is also likely to mirror one of the three development aid approaches and corresponding donor discourse on administration.

Research Design

In line with the Introduction to this special issue (Biesbroek, Peters, et al., *in press*), we built a theoretical framework of how the idea of administrative traditions affecting adaptation conflicts with the foreign-funded nature of adaptation in African countries. The article aims to explore whether and how the governance of climate change adaptation in Africa mirrors African administrative traditions or whether it mirrors development aid approaches to administration. Because the general understanding of African state traditions is inconclusive, and data on adaptation in Africa is at most fragmented, we took, as already stated, an explorative research approach. We aim to shed light on whether there is a similarity between actual African adaptation and what could be defined as administrative tradition, or rather between adaptation and development aid approaches and discourse. With this approach, we do not aim to be conclusive about all the administrative traditions that exist in Africa and whether or not actual adaptation follows the variety of these administrative traditions. Rather, we aim to explore whether there is a relation at all between adaptation and what could count as (part of) African administrative traditions or between adaptation and development aid approaches.

To explore these relations, we selected: (1) what is believed to be a dominant factor influencing administrative traditions in most African countries: colonial legacy; and (2) development aid approaches to administration. Because of the many colonial legacies in Africa, and the many other (precolonial) factors that are thought to have played a role in administrative traditions, we selected the two colonial legacies that are most widespread across Africa and that are most distinctive in their characteristics. The French Napoleonic tradition is well studied and relatively well defined, just as the rather different British Pluralist tradition. As other administrative traditions like the Belgian or Portuguese traditions are less studied and less distinguishable from the French tradition, we therefore did not include them in our selection of traditions, just as traditions from mixed colonial legacies. In addition, we took the three donor approaches that we labeled in our theoretical framework: (1) aligning with donor administration, (2) blueprinting administration, and (3) ignoring administration.

To explore whether foreign-funded adaptation follows either Napoleonic or Pluralist African administrative traditions, or one of the three development aid

approaches, we chose to contrast both of them with actual African adaptation plans. The serious limitations in systemized data on actual adaptation activities in Africa, the novel character of the adaptation issues, and the standardized relatively comparable nature of NAPAs made us follow Bizikova and others (2015) in their focus on the NAPAs of 34 African nation states. We consider NAPAs a proxy for understanding adaptation on the African continent. NAPAs originate in Article 4 of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and require Non-Annex 1 countries to formulate national and regional programs, identifying their most urgent adaptation needs and formulating measures to respond to these (Kalame, Kudejira, & Nkem, 2011; Pramova, Locatelli, Brockhaus, & Fohlmeister, 2012). Climate adaptation funds and ODA agencies can use these NAPAs to decide where and how to allocate donor money. Because NAPAs are essentially recipient country driven and developed by recipient country administration, this theoretically allows African governments to take the lead in what scholars like Rodrik (2010) define as a self-diagnostic approach. Governments can employ their own analytic capacity in defining their country priorities. Thus, governments could theoretically develop priority lists and programmatic approaches that for reasons of effectiveness fit their administrative tradition rather than development aid approaches. Although we agree with Ford and others (2015) that Africa's NAPAs reflect wish lists rather than actual adaptation governance, we believe that for systemized comparative analysis NAPAs are currently the best available source of data.

Methods

We identified the 34 African countries that have developed a NAPA and downloaded their NAPAs from the UNFCCC website. Given our focus on the role of administrative tradition in governing adaptation, we analyzed how adaptation plans are officially *framed* as governance issues in the NAPAs. Following the frame analysis methodology proposed by scholars in public administration (see e.g., Dewulf et al., 2009; Schön & Rein, 1994) allowed us to understand how African governments officially make sense of adaptation as a governance issue: is it framed as an administrative enterprise that has to fit specific characteristics of their administrative tradition or as a development aid-driven activity that has to fit donor priorities and ideas? Because most of the NAPAs consist of many hundreds of pages of text, we limited our frame of analysis to the relevant text fragments that explicitly refer to adaptation to climate change as a governance issue. We did so by searching the NAPAs for topics that refer to how the adaptation plans acknowledge either recipient administrative structures or development aid approaches. In this, we followed Peters (in press) in his eight principles of administrative tradition, of which we used the concepts that signal very basic distinctions likely to be mentioned in governance-related framing. We chose “accountability” and “governance” and their possible conjugations in both English and French as search terms to find the framing of adaptation as an administrative or governance issue. Frames addressing “accountability” possibly refer to part of what a country’s administrative tradition looks like, or to whom or to what adaptation activities should be accountable. Frames possibly reflect either a Napoleonic tradition—centralized etatist

Table 1. Accountability and Governance Frames to Be Expected for Administrative Traditions and Development Aid Approaches Dealing with Administration

	Accountability Frames	Governance Frames
Pluralist administrative tradition	Adaptation activities to be held accountable to society or politics, possibly through decentralized administration	Adaptation activities should be governed through (mediated) society or market
Napoleonic administrative tradition	Adaptation activities to be held accountable to law, central government, or expertise	Adaptation activities should be governed through central government
Aligning with donor administrative tradition	Adaptation activities to be held accountable to donor organizations or donor countries	Adaptation activities should be governed explicitly in line with donor planning, organization, or priorities
Blueprinting administrative tradition	Accountability should be organized through an explicitly named governance model like <i>New Public Management</i> , <i>Good Governance</i> , or <i>Liberalization</i>	Adaptation activities should be governed through an explicitly named governance model like <i>New Public Management</i> , <i>Good Governance</i> , or <i>Liberalization</i>
Ignoring administrative tradition	Accountability for adaptation should be arranged through market mechanisms, NGOs, or society	Adaptation activities should be governed through NGOs, societal players, the market, or any other nongovernmental stakeholders

administration, in which case implementation is expected to be accountable to law or central government—or a Pluralist tradition—decentralized administration mediating societal players, in which implementation would be held accountable to society or politics (Painter & Peters, 2010), or any development aid approach—donor-related planning and accountability to donor organizations. Frames addressing “governance” could signal how adaptation is framed as a governance issue in general (e.g., community driven, market oriented, donor oriented, state oriented, Good Governance oriented). In Table 1, we have grouped the frames that are theoretically expected for each administrative tradition and development aid approach.

Using both search terms, we derived 57 text fragments from the 34 NAPAs, which we present in Appendix A. We subsequently conducted frame analysis on the text fragments. From the discovered framing of the searched accountability and governance issues, we developed the table in Appendix B. We categorized the results per administrative tradition, which we presented in Figure 1.

Results

Between 2004 and 2017, 34 out of 54 African states developed a NAPA. Of these African NAPAs, 47% refer to general governance models, mostly Good Governance, as the driving logic behind the preferred organization of adaptation. Half of all NAPAs make reference to Pluralist characteristics, mostly by referring extensively to the decentralized character of adaptation, the need for societal actors to take part in adaptation, the managerial role of administration, and the need for transparency and accountability to society. Only 15% of NAPAs make reference to Napoleonic characteristics, mostly in terms of the pivotal role of central government, the importance of national legislation, and the accountability of adaptation activities to central government. A similarly small percentage of NAPAs (12%) make reference to alignment with donor agencies; this seems to suggest that African

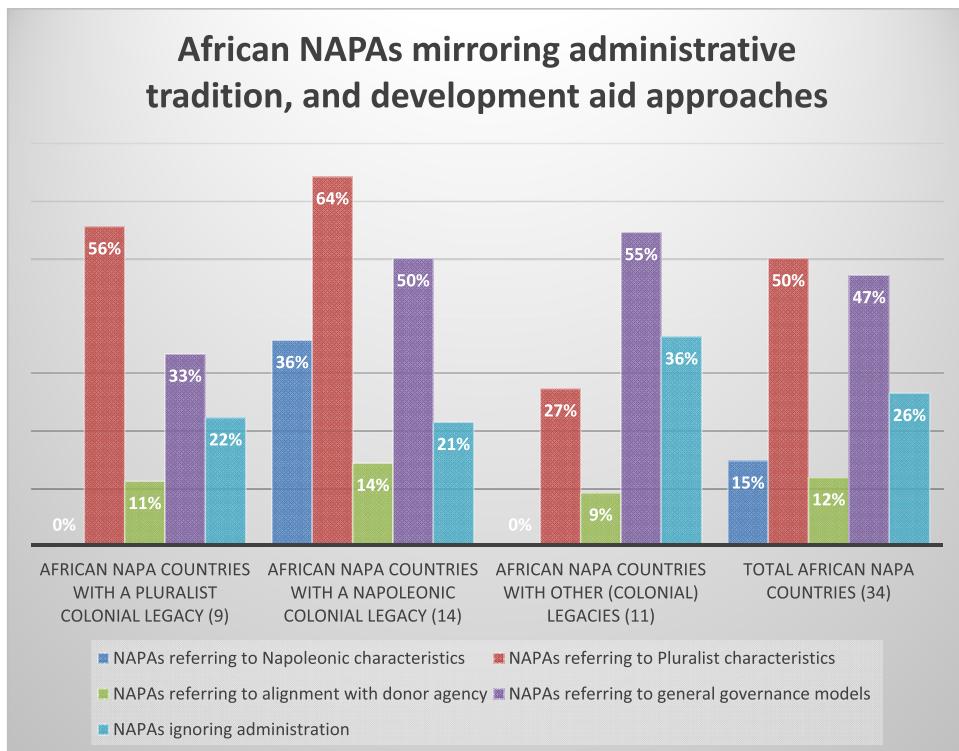


Figure 1. African NAPAs Mirroring Administrative Tradition and Development Aid Approaches to Dealing with Administration

governments do not anticipate alignment with donor-based administrative traditions or logics on a wide scale. A quarter (26%) of NAPAs make no reference to administration or governance. These NAPAs primarily list adaptation priorities and activities without referring to these as a governance issue.

Of the nine African NAPAs that stem from a Pluralist colonial legacy, more than half make reference to Pluralist characteristics and no reference is made to Napoleonic characteristics; this is in line with the idea of adaptation mirroring administrative tradition. Still, one third of these NAPAs (also) make reference to general governance models, mostly Good Governance, as the guiding principles for the governance of adaptation initiatives. Relatively few NAPAs fully ignore governance or administration, and little reference is made to alignment with donor administration.

Strikingly, among the 14 African NAPAs that stem from countries with a Napoleonic tradition, 64% make reference to Pluralist characteristics. Similarly, 56% of these countries make reference to general governance models, mostly Good Governance or Liberalization; this seems to contradict the idea of adaptation mirroring administrative traditions. On the other hand, this group of countries is the only group that also makes reference to Napoleonic characteristics in their framing of adaptation; this could suggest that, unlike any other administrative tradition, the Napoleonic administrative tradition is a precondition for finding Napoleonic characteristics in the framing of adaptation governance.

Among the eleven African NAPA countries that stem from administrative traditions other than a Pluralist or Napoleonic colonial legacy, a relative large proportion (55%) make reference to general governance models in their framing of adaptation governance—the highest percentage of the three groups of NAPA countries referring to general governance models. This group also contains the highest proportion of NAPAs (36%) making no reference at all to administration or governance, suggesting that countries with clearly distinguishable colonial legacies are more likely to make some reference to the corresponding administrative traditions.

Discussion

As discussed in our research design and methods sections, both the nature of administrative traditions in Africa and the data on actual adaptation are at most fragmented. Consequently, our results do not point toward a clear and unambiguous conclusion as to whether administrative traditions are affecting adaptation in Africa, or as to whether, in a context of foreign-funded adaptation, development aid approaches prevail in how adaptation is organized. However, our explorative approach did reveal some patterns that signal relations between adaptation and administrative traditions or development aid approaches. We now discuss these patterns, make some suggestions about other factors that could explain the patterns discussed, and finalize our discussion with the limitations of our research and the implications of our research for policy makers.

First of all, our results do suggest that administrative traditions might play a role. In particular, the fact that only the NAPAs from former French colonies reproduce Napoleonic traditions in climate adaptation suggests that the Napoleonic administrative traditions might be a precondition for finding Napoleonic characteristics reflected in adaptation plans. On the other hand, a large proportion of NAPAs stemming from countries with a French colonial legacy refer to Pluralist characteristics. Similarly, countries with other colonial legacies also appear to reflect Pluralist characteristics in their NAPAs. Both findings could signal the inconclusive nature of administrative traditions in Africa, and therefore show that colonial legacy is not the right indicator for administrative traditions in Africa. It could also mean that new, more Anglo-Saxon ideas on administration, have traveled over the last decades from the Anglo-Saxon world to countries with non-British colonial legacies, possibly alongside New Public Management discourse or other general governance models (Peters, 1998; Rodrik, 2010).

Our second, most convincing finding is that NAPAs extensively refer to general governance models. This would imply that in African adaptation plans development aid blueprinting traditions prevail over administrative traditions. The other two development aid approaches are much less reflected in the NAPAs. The limited NAPAs' *alignment* with donor administration would confirm no direct donor involvement in the drafting of NAPAs. In case of the few NAPAs that *ignore* administration altogether, this at least suggests that NAPA countries do not consider administration an issue of concern for adaptation, or that that NAPA countries anticipate donor aversion toward recipient countries' administration. Hence, a

mechanistic explanation for these results could be that African governments have deliberately mainstreamed models like Good Governance, or administration free models in adaptation to seek aid, or otherwise anticipated the form of governance preferred by donor agencies, rather than following their own administrative traditions.

Although our results point toward a dominant pattern of *blueprinting* administration in African adaptation to climate change, we do recognize that this pattern is at most a partial reflection of actual adaptation in Africa. First of all we recognize that NAPAs are a snapshot, or at most government centered wish lists, rather than concrete adaptation activities (Ford et al., 2015). Despite government intentions, actual African adaptation might largely come down to nonstate community driven activities, or market initiatives. In addition to that, official adaptation plans might have symbolic meaning or point to political intentions rather than being substantive policies that could tell us something about how official adaptation is actually governed, whether that mirrors administrative tradition, and what this means for how adaptation materializes (Dupuis & Biesbroek, 2013). Second, we are aware that the UNFCCC-driven guidelines for governments drafting NAPAs do not request any reflection on (country-specific) administrative traditions or governance. Hence, it could be argued that we should not be surprised that 26% of all African NAPAs present seemingly administration-free wish lists of interventions.

Despite these possible alternative interpretations of our results, which limit the strength of our research, we do believe our results still indicate that African adaptation is very likely to be affected more by development aid approaches to administration rather than administrative traditions. We do acknowledge that actual adaptation might be much broader than government-centered NAPAs, which limit the generalizability of our results. However, the government-centered collective action typically required for adaptation does suggest that government plans might play a relatively large role in actual adaptation (Adger, 2003; Bisaro & Hinkel, 2016; Biesbroek, Lesnikowski, et al., in press; Biesbroek, Peters, et al., in press). In addition to that, the observation that NAPAs are wish lists rather than actual adaptation activities does not mean NAPAs might still play a major role in the agenda setting for the international donor community. Their agenda-setting function for the lion's share of Africa's adaptation funding does suggest their framing will at least have some effect on how actual adaptation will materialize (see e.g., Dupuis & Knoepfel, 2013; Hulme, 2009; Schön & Rein, 1994; Vink, 2015). Finally, although the NAPA guidelines might blur our results, they may also be the very example of the development aid ways of dealing with recipient administration. The guidelines' ignorance of country-specific administrative context might add to our conclusion that a context-free or a blueprint approach prevails in foreign-funded adaptation in Africa (see e.g., Lieshout et al., 2010; Rodrik, 2010).

In terms of the implications of our results for climate adaptation policy, we follow development scholars like Rodrik (2010), Andrews (2008), and Lieshout and others (2010) who signal the adverse or even devastating policy effects of the blueprint traditions in development aid approaches and donor administration. In line with these findings, we suggest that foreign-funded adaptation runs the risk of adding to traditions of administrative blueprinting rather than encouraging adaptation

that fits country-specific traditions in administration. To prevent the governance failures associated with these blueprint models, we follow Rodrik (2010) in his pleas for more diagnostic approaches toward existing country context. In our case, diagnostics concerns proper analysis of what a specific existing administrative context or tradition looks like, and what it is capable of. Diagnostics before prescribing interventions are more likely to yield interventions that fit a specific administrative tradition and therefore are more likely to be effective (Biesbroek, Lesnikowski, et al., *in press*; Biesbroek, Peters, et al., *in press*). We therefore suggest that administrative diagnostics should become an integral part of donor-funded adaptation strategies by including them as a requirement in the NAPA guidelines.

A final issue, which arises in light of our plea for more diagnostics instead of blueprinting models like Good Governance, is that Berrang-Ford and others (2014) do find a positive link between what they refer to as Good Governance and cross-national variations in climate adaptation progress on a global scale. Contrary to our claim, this would suggest that adopting a Good Governance agenda could improve the adaptive capacity of African countries. A closer look reveals, however, that Good Governance as employed in Berrang-Ford and others' (2014) statistical models stems from perceptions on corruption in governmental organizations as measured by Transparency International. This is a different, rather narrow definition of Good Governance compared to the IMF's broader Good Governance agenda. In addition, the on average low scores on the Good Governance indicator in Africa, and Africa's relatively limited adaptation progress, might first of all signal the relatively weak administrative capacity of many African countries in relation to other developed countries, rather than the effectiveness of universal blueprint governance ideas.

Conclusion

This article addressed the research question of whether African governments follow their own country's specific administrative tradition to frame the governance challenge of adapting to climate change, or whether the framing follows development aid approaches stemming from administrative traditions alien to the recipient context. To answer this question, we conducted a frame analysis of 34 NAPAs as developed by African states. Although the inconclusive nature of African administrative traditions and the debatable meaning of NAPAs limit the strength of our findings, our analysis does show some patterns that we believe can be viewed as one of the first signs of how official African perspectives on adaptation play out in light of African administrative traditions.

Our analysis shows that NAPAs meagerly frame the governance challenge in line with the administrative tradition that could be expected based on their country's colonial legacy. NAPAs rather extensively frame the governance challenge of climate change adaptation as administration free or in terms of generalized donor-informed governance models like Good Governance. We conclude that in official African adaptation plans (NAPAs) development aid approaches of blueprinting administrative models prevail over reflections of administrative traditions to be expected based on colonial legacy.

In line with pleas of development scholars like Rodrik (2010), who signal the adverse policy effects of the one-size-fits-all logics often adopted by development aid approaches, our results suggest that foreign-funded adaptation runs the risk of adding to these adverse traditions of administrative blueprinting rather than encouraging adaptation that fits country-specific traditions in administration. We follow Rodrik (2010) in his pleas for more diagnostic approaches toward the existing administrative systems. These diagnostics could become an integral part of NAPA guidelines and donor-funded adaptation strategies.

Acknowledgments

This research has been financially supported by the INOGOV grant “COST Action INOGOV (IS1309 Innovations in Climate Governance: Sources, Patterns and Effects) (2014–18).” The authors would like to thank Robbert Biesbroek, Guy Peters, and Jale Tosun for organizing the INOGOV workshop on adaptation to climate change and administrative traditions, at which the authors discussed and developed a draft version of this article. Finally, the authors would like to thank the three anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and suggestions.

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Appendix A—National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPAs)

Country	Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of “Accountability” or “Governance” in General. A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to “Good” Governance.	
		Accountability/Responsabilité	Governance Framing in General
1. Angola	None		<p>Explicit References to Good Governance/Bonne Gouvernance/Bien Gobierno</p> <p>“The quality of governance or good governance of State institutions is very important to guarantee the provision of public services for those most in need and to orient the economic and social development process, thus guaranteeing the fulfilment of norms and fundamental principles. The Fight against Poverty strategy includes a policy to promote good governance in its different forms, such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The strengthening of the capacity and efficiency of the judicial system, thus protecting citizens' rights and freedom of citizens and enforcing compliance with contracts; - The reform of public institutions to better respond to the needs of the population, by commencing with the simplification of bureaucratic procedures; - Decentralisation and de-concentration of public administration to levels closer to the community; and - The modernisation of public finance planning and management processes.” <p>None</p>
2. Benin	Napoleonic	<p>“La ratification de la Convention - Cadre des Nations Unies sur les Changements Climatiques (CCNUCC), le 30 juin 1994, est un acte politique par lequel la République du Bénin s'est engagée, au côté des autres Nations du monde, à assurer sa part de responsabilité en matière d’atténuation des émissions de gaz à effet de serre et en matière de développement de mesures d’adaptation des populations aux effets des changements climatiques.”</p> <p>“Le Programme National de Gestion de l’Environnement initié en 2002, s’est positionné comme un ensemble d’activités cohérentes faisant optionnellement le lien entre l’environnement et la lutte contre la pauvreté, en traduisant ainsi les orientations du sommet de Rio sur le développement durable. Son objectif global est de “contribuer au développement économique et social durable des populations du Bénin à travers la réduction de la pauvreté, la</p>	

Appendix A: Continued

Country	Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General. A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
		<p>"Dans le sous secteur de l'élevage, l'avènement du libéralisme économique des années 90 est marqué par la mise en place des réformes importantes telles que:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • le désengagement de l'Etat qui se résume à la redéfinition de la place de l'élevage dans le secteur, la responsabilisation de chaque partenaire afin de garantir une efficacité et la décentralisation des activités avec toutes les garanties nécessaires. • L'émergence et la responsabilisation de nouveaux acteurs (organisations paysannes, artisans, industriels)" <p>"Même dans les forêts classées, la pression humaine est si forte que la stratégie de la gestion participative est adoptée par l'administration forestière aux fins de responsabiliser les populations riveraines pour l'avenir de ces massifs dont dépend leur propre existence."</p> <p>"• le décret n° 86-516 du 15 décembre 1986 portant définition des responsabilités en matière de gestion du littoral;"</p> <p>"- assurer un approvisionnement durable et efficace des populations en combustibles ligneux par la promotion de plantation d'arbres à croissance rapide en assurant la réhabilitation et la restauration des forêts galeries, le maintien de leurs fonctions écologiques, économiques et sociales et la responsabilisation des populations riveraines pour leur protection et leur exploitation rationnelle."</p> <p>"Une Unité de coordination, constituée d'un Coordonnateur de gestion du Programme, d'un Assistant au suivi</p>

Appendix A: Continued

Country	Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General. A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
3. Burkina Faso	Napoleonic	<p>évaluation et d'un Secrétaire Comptable, sera mise en place pour assurer sous la responsabilité de la Direction en charge de l'Environnement, la mise œuvre du Programme et œuvrer à la mobilisation des ressources en collaboration avec les Directeurs de Programmation et de la Prospective, les Directeurs techniques des structures clés et les Elus locaux concernés.”</p> <p>“Un processus participatif et itératif <u>Implication du gouvernement</u> Elle s'est traduite par:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • la mise en place du comité inter ministériel pour la mise en œuvre de la Convention-Cadre des Nations Unies sur les Changements Climatiques; • l'adoption en conseil des Ministres de la stratégie du Burkina Faso en matière de changements climatiques; • la responsabilisation du Secrétariat Permanent du Conseil National pour l'Environnement et le Développement Durable pour la supervision de tout le processus;” <p>“Le Burkina Faso est drainé par trois cours d'eau internationaux qui sont la Comoé (régime permanent, le Niger et la Volta (régime permanent en partie). De ce fait, le pays a une grande obligation et responsabilité en matière de gestion partagée avec tous les pays qui l'entourent dans un esprit de paix et de coopération bien comprise.”</p> <p>“A long terme</p>

Appendix A: Continued

Country	Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General. A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
4. 5.	Burundi Cape Verde	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • L'implication et l'engagement plus fort des communautés locales à la gouvernance des ressources naturelles (plus de responsabilité et de transparence) sont effectifs" <p>None</p> <p>"The various governments of Cape Verde over the last decade have demonstrated a commitment to improving governance, notably by encouraging a democratic culture that guarantees stability and democratic changes without conflicts. This democratic governance offers a space for a wider participation of citizens in public management and consolidates social cohesion. However, there are some remaining challenges related to democratic governance and the gains must be systematically monitored. Finally, it is worth emphasizing that the country's insularity has stimulated a movement to decentralized governance, although social inequalities and contrasts from one island to the next constitute, at the same time, challenges and opportunities,</p>
6.	Central African Republic	<p>"Suivi et Evaluation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sous la responsabilité du Département en charge de l'Environnement, le Comité national de pilotage de la CCNUCC se charge de l'exécution du projet à travers les 7 régions du pays; • Des rapports trimestriels faisant état de l'évolution du projet seront soumis aux <p>"Créer des conditions de transparence, de bonne gouvernance et d'équité."</p> <p>"Une culture de bonne gouvernance a émergé et contribue à une bonne gestion des ressources naturelles et à une équité dans le partage de bénéfices;"</p>

Appendix A: Continued

Country	Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
7. Chad	Napoleonic	<p>Bailleurs avec copie au Ministre en charge de l'Environnement.”</p> <p>“Mise en oeuvre</p> <p>Exécution du Projet et arrangements institutionnels</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Le projet sera exécuté sous la responsabilité du Ministère en charge de l'Environnement en partenariat avec l'Université, notamment les Départements de Géographie et de Physique appliquée; • L'Agence d'Exécution du FEM qui est le PNUE se chargera de la supervision du projet;” <p>“promouvoir la coordination intersectorielle et interministérielle, la responsabilisation et la transparence dans la mise en œuvre des pana.” (2x)</p> <p>“Arrangement institutionnel Le Projet est placé sous la responsabilité du Ministère en charge de l'Environnement qui associera d'autres directions techniques de développement rural, les ONGs, les radios communautaires.” (2x)</p> <p>“Le PANA et la politique nationale de développement Les objectifs de la politique nationale développement du Tchad sont ceux qui sont contenus dans la Stratégie Nationale de Réduction de la Pauvreté (SNRP), élaborée en 2003 puis révisées en 2007 en considérant et prenant en compte les aléas climatiques au Tchad. Les objectifs de la SNRP dans sa version initiale portent sur (i) promouvoir une bonne gouvernance, (ii) assurer une croissance économique forte et soutenue, (iii) améliorer le capital humain, (iv) améliorer les conditions de vie des groupes vulnérables et (v) restaurer et sauvegarder les écosystèmes tandis que ceux de la version révisée accordent la priorité et une attention particulière à l'agriculture et au développement du secteur rural dont l'objectif principal est d'accroître la production vivrière et les revenus des paysans. La contribution du PANA à la réduction des effets néfastes des changements climatiques sur les populations les plus vulnérables s'inscrit dans le cadre de la SNRP et le PIIDR par le choix d'un certain nombre de mesures d'adaptation.”</p>

Appendix A: Continued

Country	Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General. A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
8. Comoros	Napoleonic Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	<p>"The possible risks and obstacles are of several natures:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The limited human resources of the departments in charge of Forests and Environment; - The lack of real accountability of the local actors towards the forest resource; - Multiplicity of occupations and uses of the forests which make difficult indeed conflicting a concerted management - Limited experience in the process of involving local actors in the management of their village; 68 - Limits in terms of alternative sources of energy and construction materials accessible to modest households and to micro industry; - Uncertain potential in terms of the intensification of agriculture without extending the cultivated surface area, in a context of rapid population growth;"
9. Democratic Republic of Congo	Napoleonic	None
10. Djibouti	Napoleonic	None
11. Equatorial Guinea	Napoleonic	None

None
 "Contribuye a un buen gobierno"
 "Se acordó que habría cuatro criterios y los cuatro primeros fueron elegidos teniendo en cuenta los procedimientos de votación acordados. También se acordó por unanimidad que los temas transversales, como se muestra en algunos de los criterios, se integrarán en las actividades del proyecto (por ejemplo, la capacidad de construcción, contribuir a la

Appendix A: Continued

Country	Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General A Third Column	Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background		sensibilización pública, la reducción de la pobreza/ instalaciones a favor de las poblaciones pobres, trabajar con vistas a un buen gobierno y las cuestiones de género). Según los votos, los dos primeros tendrían más valor en la media que los dos últimos (ver Tabla 1)."	"El Plan Nacional para el Desarrollo Económico y Social HORIZONTE 2020, tiene como puntos clave la construcción de infraestructuras de talla mundial, el fortalecimiento del capital humano, la construcción de una economía diversificada y el establecimiento de una buena gobernanza. Éste consta de dos fases; la primera fase incluye inversiones aceleradas en infraestructuras y la segunda fase se centra en la creación de un ambiente que propicie la diversificación y el desarrollo del sector privado. La fase dos debería empezar en 2012, sin embargo, a pesar del establecimiento de varias agencias para implementar y hacer el seguimiento de HORIZONTE 2020, no se ha publicado ninguna evaluación formal referente a la implementación de los proyectos de inversión pública (BAFD, 2012), ver Tabla 6."
12. Eritrea 13. Ethiopia	Pluralism	None	None "The Government of Ethiopia has set a number of national socioeconomic goals. These goals are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eradication of poverty through accelerated growth mainly centered on rural areas; • Stimulating food production and overall economic growth through Agricultural Development-Led Industrialization (ADLI); • Rehabilitation of the Environment; • Capacity Building for good governance both at federal and regional levels;

Appendix A: Continued

Country	Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General, A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
14. Gambia	Pluralism	<p>None</p> <p>"Institutions British colonial rule in the late 19th century introduced a governance model under which modern administrative and customary/traditional structures have continued to coexist to this day. At the national level, proposed policies and measures are discussed within a Cabinet, composed of the President who is head of state, a vice president and secretaries of state (ministers) all appointed by the head of state. A unicameral legislature (called National Assembly) elected every five years, passes legislation to give policies legal muscle. Public policies are implemented and coordinated through a centralised public administration system, and decentralised (local) government structures. In traditional rural Gambia, organisation of communal affairs rests with village councils. Interest groups constituted on the basis of age, gender and blood relations, known as 'Kafo' in Mandinka-Jahanké society, are equally ubiquitous. The basis for association in urban areas is usually broader, reflecting</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of basic health services and primary education; • Containing the AIDS pandemic, using all possible approaches; • Consolidating peace and participatory democracy; • Enhancing the process of decentralization and building the capacity of each region; • Providing a conducive environment for a vibrant private sector; • Integrating gender into all development activities;"

Appendix A: Continued

Country	Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General. A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
		<p>the complexity of challenges and diversity of members. Civil society organisations (CSO) or political pressure groups with sufficient recognition and clout, as seen elsewhere, hardly exist in The Gambia. Kafos have a considerable degree of autonomy in managing their affairs, but may refer controversial and sensitive issues to village councils, village heads, chiefs, or governors.</p> <p>Matters of interest to the whole community are discussed and resolved by an appropriate body. Although the constitution and administrative hierarchy eliminates the prospect of conflicts of competence between village heads and chiefs/governors, political authorities are acutely aware of the need to build bridges and foster partnerships with communities who, acting through their representatives, are key stakeholders in natural resources and environmental management. Quite understandably, mobilisation of volunteers under the "nyodem" (self) help in Mandinka-Jahanké flag is much easier in small communities. The government relies on the work of inter-ministerial/inter-sectoral committees and working groups, enlarged to include non-state actors (NSA) such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs), members of professional groups, and private individuals to meet its obligations under various conventions and treaties to which The Gambia is a signatory, namely, Biodiversity, Climate Change, Desertification, Trade in Endangered Species, Transport of Hazardous Wastes, Ozone Layer Protection, and Protection of Wetlands."</p>

Appendix A: Continued

Country	Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
15. Guinea	Napoleonic Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	<p>"Activités: - information et sensibilisation des populations sur leurs droits et responsabilités dans la gestion des ressources forestières;"</p> <p>"Résultats attendus - populations sensibilisées et informées sur leurs droits et responsabilités"</p> <p>"La Guinée a élaboré des stratégies de développement, présentés dans différents documents: a) le document de stratégie de réduction de la pauvreté (DSRP) adopté en 2002, constitue le cadre unique d'intervention des acteurs du développement socio-économique du pays. Les trois axes principaux de cette stratégie sont l'appui au développement des services sociaux de base, l'accélération de la croissance et la bonne gouvernance."</p> <p>"le plan d'action national sur la lutte contre la désertification -PAN/LCD (2005) visant les objectifs suivants:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Utilisation rationnelle des terres; • Promotion et mise en oeuvre des techniques d'aménagement des bassins versants; • Promotion de l'irrigation et du drainage; • Intégration de la lutte contre la dégradation des terres dans les autres cadres stratégique de réduction de la pauvreté et développement durable; • Promotion d'une bonne gouvernance; • Renforcement des capacités; • Promotion des actions de sensibilisation, de formation et d'information de la population. <p>L'élaboration du PANA de la Guinée a pris appui sur ces importants documents et sur l'expertise nationale formée dans ce cadre. Cette approche a permis de tirer profit des expériences accumulées dans la mise en oeuvre de ces conventions, surmonter certaines contraintes et éviter le double emploi.</p> <p>Ainsi, les activités prioritaires identifiées dans le PANA traitent entre autres, de questions de biodiversité, de lutte contre la désertification et de changement climatique. Les options et les mesures d'adaptation prioritaires proposées par le PANA intègrent les axes stratégiques du PAN-LCD, en particulier ceux de la protection des ressources naturelles et de la production en milieu rural."</p>

Appendix A: Continued

Country	Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
16. Guinea-Bissau	None	<p>“3. National Good Governance Programme, implemented in 2002-2004 with the aim of strengthening governance capacity at different levels. For instance, it assisted in the formulation of the Environmental Management National Plan (PNGA).”</p> <p>“As its key national priorities the country has embarked on promoting good governance, financial reforms measures to address the needs of the needy, promotion of private sector, poverty reduction strategy and infrastructure development. The NAPA will be integrated into these endeavors.”</p>
17. Lesotho	Pluralism	<p>“The Lesotho NAPA has outlined an implementation strategy for the NAPA projects. The strategy has been designed with view of empowering the vulnerable communities to adopt adaptation capacities. The strategy has three building blocks namely:</p> <p>Establishment of a Project Steering Committee to allow transparency and accountability in the implementation of the project and strengthening of project coordination and management Teams and involvement of vulnerable communities in spearheading capacity building on adaptation”</p>
18. Liberia	None	<p>None</p>
19. Madagascar	Napoleonic	<p>“Le rapport coût efficacité est noté sur une échelle de 0 à 100 et dont la note maximum signifie que le coût de l'option des mesures est le plus bas. Les activités du PAN/A doivent mettre en lumière la responsabilité fiscale.”</p>

Appendix A: Continued

Country	Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General; A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
20. Malawi	Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	<p>- La santé et le planning familial;</p> <p>- L'infrastructure;</p> <p>- Le développement rural (la vulgarisation de la délivrance du titre foncier, l'amélioration de la production agricole);</p> <p>- L'économie et le secteur privé;</p> <p>- L'environnement (l'augmentation de 6 millions d'ha d'ici 2012 la superficie des Aires Protégées et la réduction de moins de 200 000 Ha les feux de brousse);</p> <p>- La solidarité nationale"</p> <p>"In 1998, Malawi launched Vision 2020, a document that articulates the country's aspirations for sustainable economic growth and development, and for the sustainable utilization of natural resources and the environment (EAD, 1998). This was followed by the Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (MPRSP) in 2002 (MG, 2002b), aimed at reducing poverty through socio-economic and political empowerment of the poor. It is built around four pillars, which are the strategic components grouping various activities, policies and strategies, into a coherent framework for poverty reduction. These pillars are: (i) rapid sustainable pro-poor economic growth and structural transformation, (ii) human capital development, (iii) improving the quality of life of the most vulnerable, and (iv) good governance. This document also mainstreams cross-cutting issues, such as HIV/AIDS, gender, science and technology and the environment, including climate change, which are all very relevant to the development of this NAPA document. In order to stimulate pro-poor economic growth of at</p>

Appendix A: Continued

Country	Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of “Accountability” or “Governance” in General. A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to “Good” Governance.	
21. Mali	Napoleonic	<p>“La décentralisation confère aux collectivité None</p> <p>la responsabilité de la gestion de leur territoir mais il reste à définir les limites du domaine foncier national cédé par l’Etat à chaque commune.”</p> <p>“Arrangement institutionnel</p> <p>Le projet concernera les régions ci-dessus indiquées du pays et les périmètres irrigués sous la responsabilité du CNRA (Centre National de la Recherche Agricole), la DNA (Direction Nationale de l’Agriculture), de l’IER, de l’IIPR/IFRA, des structures d’encaissement techniques des zones concernées, des associations et groupements des producteurs.”</p> <p>“Arrangements institutionnels</p> <p>Le projet concerne tout le pays sous la responsabilité de la DNM (MET) en collaboration avec les structures impliquées dans le domaine de l’agriculture de la protection de l’environnement.</p> <p>Un Groupe de Travail d’Assistance Agronémétérologique (GTPA) est mis en place qui pilote la l’action.”</p> <p>“Arrangement institutionnel</p>	<p>least 6% per annum necessary to reduce poverty by half by the year 2015, the Government of Malawi developed a Malawi Economic Growth Strategy (MEG) in 2003. The strategy provides an approach for implementing income poverty reduction interventions stipulated under pillar one of MPR.”</p> <p>None</p>

Appendix A: Continued

Country	Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General, A Third Column	Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that at Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
22. Mauritania	Napoleonic	Le projet concernera le Delta Intérieur du Niger Il sera placé sous la responsabilité de la Direction Régionale de l'Elevage (DRE) qui collaborera avec les coopératives des éleveurs et des agro éleveurs ainsi qu'avec les services techniques tels que la Direction Régionale de l'Agriculture, l'Office du Niger et la société civile.”	“In December 1999, the Government adopted a Declaration of Good Governance to consolidate the achievement of a democratic government and to improve the operation of the legal system. On the basis of the declaration, the National Programme for Good Governance focuses on seven areas, each of them constituting an action plan: (i) promotion of a legal and judicial framework to anchor a democratic State; (ii) modernization and strengthening of capacities in the public administration; (iii) improvement of the capacity to monitor and manage public resources and economic governance; (iv) support for the process of decentralization; (v) promotion of the private sector and strengthening of the state/private sector partnership; (vi) promotion of human rights and empowerment of civil society; and (vii) improvement of the quality of the work of Parliament.”
Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background		“The national strategic goals are specified in the Poverty Reduction Strategy and Action Plan to 2015. The context is to fight poverty in relying on four major focus areas which converge towards achieving the targeted objectives. These aim to:

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Country	Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
23. Mozambique		None
24. Niger	Napoleonic	None
25. Rwanda	Rwanda	None
		i. speed up economic growth, the basis for any reduction in poverty, to improve the competitiveness of the economy to reduce its dependency on exogenous factors; ii. appraise growth and productivity potential of the poor; iii. develop human resources and access to vital infrastructures; iv. promote finally a real institutional development based on good governance and full participation of all the stakeholders involved in fighting poverty."
		None
		"The Government of Rwanda in 2000 promulgated the National Decentralization Policy (NDP). One of the main objectives of the reform is to give more autonomy and resources to the District in order to ensure more political and economic capacity of the citizens and local institutions. Presently, the number of Provinces has been reduced to 5 including Kigali City and number of Districts to 30. This is in line with institutionalisation of good governance with a view to identify and implement development priorities, improve life conditions of local communities and particularly fight against poverty. The participative process is now put in place with an effort to mobilizing all national leaders and development partners. Moreover, national sectoral policies and strategies with their implementation in synergy of the multiple Conventions including the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification with the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity, the RAMSAR Convention on Humid Zones show clearly a firm commitment to

Appendix A: Continued

Country	Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General; A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
26. Sao Tome and Principe	None	<p>good environment management and fight against land degradation and desertification.”</p> <p>“NAPA only seeks to find adaptation needs of climate change and not to solve the global problems of development of the country, that are the government's responsibility, through its own policies. With the Program of Priority Actions (PPA) 2006–2008, Presented in Brussels, during the Round Table of December of 2005, Objectives and the Strategy of Development were established, as well as the Plan of Action that the Government should implement. The Strategy that is centered on the Good Governance and Poverty Reduction to assure the economic accelerated growth during next three years pronounces around four priority axes, namely:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reforms of public institutions, reinforcement of their capacities and promotion of a policy of good government; 2. Accelerated growth and redistribution; 3. Creation of opportunities and diversification of incomes for the poor; 4. Development of the human resources and improvement of access to basic social services.” <p>“On the other hand, compatibility with the Government's Millennium Development Goals(MDG) was examined in order that actions at the level of the different strategic axes were in agreement. With their external partners' support and in the light of several conventions already ratified by the country, it is intended that PPA helps to assure macroeconomic stability; best practice for good governance; a competitive and active private sector; an efficient public sector; quality of education and health services;</p>

Appendix A: Continued

Country	Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General	A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
27. Senegal	Napoleonic Empty) Colonial Background	"Elle vise surtout à impliquer et à responsabiliser les populations dans la gestion de leurs terrains car, l'analphabétisme élevé et la paupérisation de larges couches sociales ont induit une pression accrue sur les ressources naturelles."	None None None "It is important to note that the NAPA consultation process was carried out in the three regions of Federal Somalia, Puntland and Somaliland given the political and administrative disintegration of these three regions. However, given that climate change and environmental issues in general occur over agro-ecological zones and not political boundaries, it is imperative that a unified and holistic plan be developed for the country as a whole, with the needs and priorities of each of the regions taken into consideration. Although each of the three regions has their own development goals, many of them are similar and overlapping. The plans and policies of each of the regions will be taken into consideration when selecting and designing adaptation measures. The broad absence of (or very weak) governance structures and systems has allowed civil society and the private sector to take on many of the roles of
28. Sierre Leone 29. Somalia	Pluralism Pluralism		

Appendix A: *Continued*

Country	Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General; A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
30. Sudan	Pluralism Pluralism	government, particularly in Federal Somalia. Thus, linking the NAPA to existing policies and plans may be limited in nature. However, a number of international NGOs and donor agencies are engaged in policy development, capacity building of government institutions and environmental programming. It is vital that the NAPA is linked with these efforts.” “Land management with emphasis on land-use planning, preventing deforestation, planting new trees, and establishing regulations for rotational grazing and protection and supervision of grazing areas. The government in the west and traditional leaders in the east should administer this program where governance structures are relatively weak.”
31. Tanzania	None None	None None
32. Togo	Napoleonic	“5.4. Arrangements institutionnels La gestion quotidienne du projet a été assurée par une Équipe de projet constituée du Directeur National de Projet, du Coordonnateur du projet et du Secrétaire Comptable. Un Comité National de Pilotage a été mis en place

Appendix A: Continued

Country	Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General; A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
		<p>pour donner l'orientation nécessaire au projet, de même qu'une Equipe d'Evaluation Multidisciplinaire Intégrée, constituée des directions nationales concernées, des Structures non gouvernementales ainsi que l'Agence d'exécution (PNUD) pour valider les rapports des différents travaux réalisés. En vue de faciliter la mise en œuvre du Programme d'adaptation, les dispositions ci-après pourront être prises:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) Une Unité de coordination, constituée d'un Coordonnateur de gestion du Programme, d'un Assistant au suivi évaluation et d'un Secrétaire Comptable, sera mise en place pour assurer sous la responsabilité de la Direction en charge de l'Environnement, la mise œuvre du Programme et œuvrer à la mobilisation des ressources en collaboration avec les Directeurs de Programmation et de la Prospective, les Directeurs techniques des structures clés et les Elus locaux concernés; ii) Suivant la nature du projet, la Direction technique concernée fournira l'expertise nécessaire à la gestion technique du projet en collaboration avec les Elus locaux et les structures non gouvernementales; iii) Un Comité sera mis en place et aura pour rôle d'assurer l'orientation stratégique des projets et la validation des études. Elle sera constituée des membres

Appendix A: Continued

Country	Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General. A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
33. Uganda	Pluralism	<p>du Comité de Pilotage, des représentants des Collectivités locales concernées et de Structures non Gouvernementales impliquées dans la thématique.”</p> <p>“Table 1.2: Components of Uganda’s Vision 2025 Component of Vision Aspirations of the Component Prosperous People § Technologically advanced, competitive, self-sustaining and growing economy;</p> <p>B A healthy, well educated society with high quality of life; and</p> <p>B Regional integration and international co-operation, with Uganda as a regional hub.</p> <p>Harmonious Nation § Harmonious coexistence within a dynamic society where citizenry is responsible, accountable, hardworking and peaceful;</p> <p>B Effective, participatory and democratic governance; and</p> <p>B Equal opportunities, empowerment and poverty eradication among people.</p> <p>Beautiful Country § Focuses on the management of the environment emphasizing sustainable use of natural resources to conserve Uganda’s beauty”</p> <p>“NAPAs were designed to address specific urgent and immediate problems faced by communities. Therefore the NAPA projects will be executed at field level and directly supervised by line institutions at the district. Supervising line institutions will report on progress of project implementation to the Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment. The Ministry of</p>

Appendix A: Continued

Country	Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General A Third Column	Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
34. Zambia	Pluralism	<p>Water, Lands and Environment will be the recipient of NAPA funds although line institutions will be responsible to the Ministry for accountability and submission of audited reports as per guidelines of the Auditor General."</p> <p>None</p>	<p>"To strengthen existing operational, financing and governance systems for effective delivery of health services"</p> <p>"Decentralization Policy, 2002 Aims to a achieve a fully decentralized and democratically elected system of governance characterized by open, predictable and transparent policy making and implementation processes, effective community participation in decision -making, development and administration of their local affairs while maintaining sufficient linkages between the centre and the periphery."</p> <p>"Fifth National Development Plan (FNDP) 2006-10 FNDP whose theme is "Broad Based Wealth and job Creation through Citizenship Participation and Technological Advancement". The strategic focus of the plan is on economic and human resource development. The plan recognized that in order to achieve economic and social development, social protection including issues such as environment protection, HIV/AIDS, gender and governance are critical for achievement of sustainable livelihood, job creation and poverty</p>

Appendix A: Continued

Country Background	Text Fragments Referring to Adaptation as a Matter of "Accountability" or "Governance" in General. A Third Column Shows Governance-Related Text Fragments that at Explicitly Refer to "Good" Governance.
Pluralist, Napoleonic or Other (Left Empty) Colonial Background	<p>reduction and attainment of MDGs. This holistic approach that incorporates cross-cutting issues in national development and encompassing all sectors has been taken to accelerate development of pro-poor pillar. For instance, integrated water resource management programme, cross-sectoral issues such as land use, irrigation, wetland conservation and climate change will be addressed in order to optimize benefits for Zambians"</p>

Source. Derived from: http://unfccc.int/adaptation/worksstreams/national_adaptation_programmes_of_action/items/4585.php [Mismatch].

Appendix B—NAPA Framing Categorized Per Country

	Reference Made to Accountability or Governance in General, that Fit Administrative Traditions of Colonial Legacy	Reference Made to Accountability or Governance in General, that Fit Development Aid Ways of Dealing with Administration
Country with <i>Napoleonic French</i> or <i>Pluralistic British</i> (B) or other colonial legacy	<p>Napoleonic (French) Frames refer to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Centralized administration Legal forms of accountability Limited reference to societal players <p>Pluralistic (British) Frames refer to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decentralized, managerial, or mediating role of administration in societal management Accountability to donor organization Donor planning or donor governance Accountability to societal players or politics 	<p>Alignment with donor administration Frames refer to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> General governance models, like Good Governance, or New Public Management <p>Blueprint administration Frames refer to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> No administration at all Governance frames do not occur at all
Angola (F)	x	x
Benin (F)	x	x
Burkina Faso (F)	x	x
Burundi	x	x
Cape Verde	x	x
Central African Republic (F)	x	x
Chad (F)	x	x
Comoros (F)	x	x
Democratic Republic of Congo		
Djibouti (F)		
Equatorial Guinea		x
Eritrea		x
Ethiopia		x
Gambia (B)	x	x
Guinea (F)	x	x
Guinea-Bissau		x
Lesotho (B)	x	x
Liberia		x
Madagascar (F)		x
Malawi (B)	x	x
Mali (F)	x	x
Mauritania (F)	x	x

Appendix B: *Continued*

	Reference Made to Accountability or Governance in General, that Fit Administrative Traditions of Colonial Legacy	Reference Made to Accountability or Governance in General, that Fit Development Aid Ways of Dealing with Administration
Mozambique		x
Niger (F)	x	x
Rwanda	x	x
Sao Tome and Principe		x
Senegal (F)		x
Sierra Leone (B)		x
Somalia (B)	x	x
Sudan (B)		x
Tanzania (B)		x
Togo (F)	x	x
Uganda (B)	x	x
Zambia (B)	x	x