

SUMMARY

Besides national climate policy, there are many instances of cooperation that directly support the Kenyan people on a small scale. For instance, GIZ has a project that promotes the use of more efficient wood furnaces for cooking and enables local production of this efficient technology. The German Investment and Development Corporation (DEG) and the KfW Development Bank work with private companies to expand the use of geothermal energy for electricity production. Other projects promote sustainable irrigation techniques for agriculture and teach people more effective growing techniques. There are also numerous reforestation initiatives, which aim to increase Kenya's wooded area from the current level of 5.9 percent to 10 percent.

Kenya is on the right path to soften the effects of climate change, but it is doubtful whether the government's ambitious goals can really be achieved

in the planned time frame. As in many areas, there is a lack of coordination among the various regulations and laws, as well as across the various projects and initiatives. Furthermore, other policy topics often steal the spotlight in the political and public debate. There is a danger that national plans could be delayed through a lack of political will and financial resources. One can only hope that this does not happen, because, as the former state secretary for the environment, Ali Mohammed, once said, Kenya's "green growth is not just an idea, it is a strategy for survival".⁸

8 | Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources, The Climate Change Secretariat, "Kenya Launches a National Climate Change Action Plan (NCCAP)", <http://kccap.info> [28 July 2014].

SENEGAL

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Situated between the Atlantic Ocean, the Sahel and forested areas, Senegal is one of the 15 African countries most threatened by climate change. This issue is on the minds of policy makers, the public and the media, especially when problems caused by climate change have a direct impact on people's everyday lives. Coastal erosion and the destruction it causes to buildings, desertification and the resulting loss of grazing and agricultural land, and flooding during the rainy season regularly feature in media reports and political debates.

HOW IS CLIMATE CHANGE PERCEIVED BY SENEGAL'S CITIZENS, POLICY MAKERS AND MEDIA?

The Senegalese people are at least partly aware of environmental issues, but they rarely undertake initiatives to solve problems at the root. By contrast, there are numerous initiatives to address environmental problems at the academic level, in civil society and among NGOs. One specialist publication dedicated exclusively to presenting approaches for solving environmental problems and climate change is *Vie*

(Life), edited by an environmental engineer from the University of Dakar.

Media coverage of environmental problems in Senegal has picked up in recent years. Various climate conferences and escalating ecological problems within the country have contributed to this trend. The public sees climate change as a result of the greenhouse gas effect, which can ultimately be traced back to industrialised nations. Yet they are also increasingly recognising and acknowledging that factors in Africa and Senegal are triggering and accelerating climate change.

Just a few years ago, the responsibility for climate change was given exclusively to industrialised nations, but now the Senegalese media are publishing more detailed, better researched articles on local causes of problems. Daily newspapers focus primarily on the acute problems. During the rainy season they regularly have headlines about flooding in the heavily populated wetland areas around Dakar and St. Louis. Financial speculators and mistakes by land surveyors have led to a situation where wetlands are being developed as residential areas instead of being protected.

The independent media emphasise the responsibility that the government and the authorities bear when it comes to the country's environmental problems. Daily newspapers like *SUD*, *Walf Fadji* and *La Gazette* have reported that irresponsible behaviour on the part of government officials has made many cases of environmental destruction possible. Illegal clearing of entire forests, for instance, can only happen with silent consent from the authorities that oversee them.

The government's interference in laws governing the use of land has been equally as serious. The constitution says that farmable land and nature reserves belong to the government, and yet observers say large portions of this land have been given to individuals for their estates. For instance, the caliphs of the major brotherhoods in the Thies region received several thousand hectares of land in a nature reserve just after it lost its protected status.

Another problem in this area has intensified as a result of climate change: conflicts between farmers and nomads. Steppisation caused by deforestation in northern and central Senegal has led nomads there to take their herds of cattle further south, where conflicts soon arise with local farmers. The affected groups are well aware of this potential for conflict, but policy makers and the media have yet to give it much attention.

In the Kedougou region, large territories have been transferred to foreign investors such as gold companies. At the same time, huge swathes of land in the Kedougou region and along the Senegal River in the north of the country have been made available to agricultural companies to cultivate crops for biofuels. These moves have been criticised at the international level but the government hails them as flagship projects, and they are rarely denounced by the media or the people.

One subject that is drawing sharp criticism at the moment is the illegal development of coastal areas, especially in Dakar. During the past ten years, mostly private investors have violated environmental protection laws by developing large parts of the coast on the Dakar peninsula. This has minimised the public's access to the sea and created air circulation problems in Senegal's capital, which already has severe air pollution. Another consequence of this construction activity is massive coastal erosion, a problem that has been worsened by climate change and rising sea levels. In a recent incident, an undeveloped section of the Corniche (Dakar's coastal area) was sealed off with a wall. People from neighbouring areas organised several large protests, some of which ended in clashes with police.

Although a construction permit had been issued for the Turkish Embassy that was to be built there, there was no legal basis for the permit. In spite of the clashes, the protests continued until the president himself intervened and asked the Turkish Embassy to stop construction. The embassy is now set to be built in a new location, and peace has been restored for the moment. In other parts of the country, civil society is not as active and people are not well-informed about environmental problems. Media coverage picks up most when dramatic events occur or in the run-up to elections.

Political parties create capital from climate change issues mainly before elections. While party agendas normally tend to neglect environmental matters and climate-related problems, they give them weight in the election context. During local elections in June 2014, candidates promised to solve numerous environmental problems, including those caused by climate change. Among the issues were renewable energies as an alternative to fossil fuels, tighter regulation of natural resource exploitation, sanctions for environmental destruction and better resource management particularly for water and land. The country has two green parties, which have provided mayors for the islands of Gorée and Ngor, which lie just off the coast of Dakar. However, no one has addressed the fundamental problems so far, at least not to the extent necessary.

Adding an environmental component to Senegal's economic and social council has done nothing to change this. On the contrary, its creation appears to be more of an alibi considering that the entire council, which is a type of second chamber of parliament with an advisory function and nominated members, is seen by the public as an unnecessary waste of funds.

Other agencies have been more aggressive and efficient at addressing climate change and proposing solutions to problems. Architects, for instance, have lobbied for climate-appropriate construction, criticising the fact that virtually all new official and non-government buildings in the nation's capital and regional capitals are being built with materials that are not adapted to the climate (glass, concrete, etc.) while also proposing sustainable alternatives. In addition, the Environment Institute at the University of Dakar is working to understand and limit the impacts of climate change. There is also a network of journalists that specialise in environmental issues, although it is not very well-known yet.

Everywhere in Senegal there are reminders that the government and the people need to change the way they think about environmental problems, but the



In southern Senegal, batteries and diesel generators were once the main source of energy. But a growing number of communities are now installing photovoltaic systems, which also provide power for health clinics.

responsibility is normally left up to political decision makers. But they are more interested in topics that win votes, like reducing food and rent prices and combating unemployment. Climate change plays a subordinate role in spite of the fact that the green economy could create a large number of jobs. Yet there is one bright spot worth mentioning in the otherwise poor track record of Senegal's political commitment to climate change. The initiative of former President Abdoulaye Wade (2000–2012) to build a "large green wall" – a forest belt stretching from Senegal's Atlantic coast all the way to the Nile – has already begun to be implemented in Senegal.

DISCUSSION OF CLIMATE CHANGE IN THE CONTEXT OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ENERGY POLICY AND ENERGY SECURITY POLICY

Senegal cannot develop without an efficient economic sector, and businesses in particular need a guaranteed minimum energy supply, which does not exist in Senegal to the extent necessary. As a result, solving energy shortages is at the top of the agenda for the Senegalese media and government. The energy sector development plan for 2013–17, which President Macky Sall's government passed after he was elected in 2012, underscores the urgency of energy security in ensuring sustainable economic development.

The presence of donor organisations impacts the concept behind Senegal's environmental policy given the larger context of many European countries' hope to switch to renewables. The agenda set for the government by the coalition around President Sall and the government declaration of his prime minister in late 2013 both highlight environmental responsibility. Environmental legislation offers a legal foundation for sanctions in the event of environmental offenses, especially when they have an impact on climate change. Like the ratification of inter-African and international treaties on climate protection, these documents offer a foundation for action. The problem comes with implementing them.

Discussions of climate change in the context of national and international energy policy and energy security policy take place in small groups of experts, but it is rare for them to occur in the media and even rarer in the general public. The country's energy supply is often discussed in the press, especially in view of the huge power failures that occurred during the previous regime. They played a big part in the people's dissatisfaction with the Wade government and frequently led to violent protests. Not surprisingly, ironing out the kinks in the energy supply was at the top of the agenda of President Sall, who was elected in 2012. However, they are currently relying on rented generators to do the job, which is very expensive. They will not be able to continue this for long because the costs of renting the generators and importing fossil fuel (oil) for them have put extreme strain on the government budget. To provide quick relief, the government decided to accept South Korea's offer to build a coal-fired power plant near the coast. The opposition has called this project a gross violation of the climate protection treaties Senegal signed, but virtually no one in the public seems to be aware of it. Once it is built, the power plant will do more than increase Senegal's dependence on fossil fuel imports. The media have also drawn attention to the catastrophic effects it will have on the environment and the climate.

Senegal's energy security comes primarily at the expense of the environment. Although university professors and other experts demand research on and use of renewable energies, in the reality of day-to-day politics, energy security stands more for satisfying the needs of the country's people than for climate protection and sustainable resource management.

EUROPEAN CLIMATE AND ENERGY POLICY AND GERMANY'S ENERGY TRANSITION

The few experts and politicians who have looked at the issue have a positive view of the pioneering role that Germany and Europe have taken in international climate policy by deciding to institute an energy transition. Germany in particular is considered a country where environmental protection plays a central role. German projects for a sustainable energy supply, coastal conservation and forest conservation (through agencies such as GIZ) are perceived as sensible and efficient.

However, the Senegalese press only highlights Germany's political role in the international climate debate when special events occur, such as the signing of the new treaty between the governments of Germany and Senegal, in which Germany's development cooperation focuses on sustainable development through renewable energies.

SENEGAL'S POSITION IN MULTILATERAL CLIMATE POLICY AND THE UN'S ROLE IN THE CLIMATE DISCOURSE

Senegal has participated in a large number of international initiatives to protect the climate through multilateral climate policy. For instance, Senegalese governments have signed numerous conventions with this aim, from the Kyoto Protocol to the Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes. Senegal's media have at times provided extensive coverage of international and national climate conferences. The United Nations has been assigned a key role in the climate discourse; political decision makers in Senegal emphasise the importance of international organisations at the continental and global level in multilateral climate policy. Senegal's climate policy takes international conventions and treaties seriously, and Senegal theoretically belongs to

the group of countries that provide targeted support for suitable measures for mitigating climate change or appropriately responding to it. Yet, in reality, these noble intentions often face practical political constraints that can slow or halt sustainable development. The example of the construction of the Turkish Embassy (which was ultimately prevented) is a good illustration of this fact.

TANZANIA

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INTRODUCTION

Current climate reports always describe the possible scenarios forecast for Tanzania during the next few years in very dramatic terms. It is a country that is at extreme risk of both severe flooding and devastating droughts, one where people, land and water face the worst consequences of climate change. Rising sea levels threaten coastal areas, while unreliable and unpredictable rainfall leads to periodic energy shortages and severe damage to the country's poorly developed infrastructure, its water supply, its agriculture and indeed the entire ecosystem. Tourism, which is currently one of the fastest-growing sectors of the Tanzanian economy according to the country's national

statistics bureau,¹ will be hurt as well. A decline in biodiversity and the melting glacier on Mount Kilimanjaro have a negative impact on the attractiveness of the country's most popular tourist attractions. Rising temperatures combined more rain increase the risk of diseases like malaria and cholera, but that is not all. According to the latest IPPC climate report² there is also a correlation between temperature increases and poor health, a loss of the ability to work and increased mortality.

- 1 | Cf. National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), "Tanzania Tourism Sector Survey. The 2010 International Visitor's Exit Survey Report", http://nbs.go.tz/nbs/takwimu/trade/Tourism_Sector_Survey_Report_2010.pdf [28 July 2014].
- 2 | Cf. IPCC, "Chapter 22. Africa", Final Draft, IPCC WGII AR5 Chapter 22, 31 March 2014, http://ipcc-wg2.gov/AR5/images/uploads/WGIIAR5-Chap22_FGDall.pdf [28 July 2014].