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SOMALILAND PEACE AND
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Guest Editor's Note

This volume presents scientific articles drawn from trade and security, language policy and students' protests, federalism and ethnic conflict, traditional ecological knowledge and its links with sustainable development, and the 2016 US Presidential Primaries and their implications on democracy.

The first article dwells on "Effects of Berbera Corridor on Trade and Security in the Horn of Africa: the Case of Somaliland and Ethiopia". Here, the Berbera corridor is presented as a strategic development effort to boost trade and economic integration between Ethiopia and Somaliland, and by extension, the Horn of Africa. Emphasis is made on the direction that trade links promote economic development and give citizens of the region to ponder about sustainable development and livelihood, and how these elements are likely to contribute to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gross National Product (GNP). The article emphasizes the adage that "when a road passes, development follows". The Berbera trade link has been discussed as a major contributor to the region's political, economic, and social stability, and a timely remedy to poor land transport interconnectedness in the Horn of Africa. The article contributes to existing knowledge in that it captures the Berbera Corridor as an important contributor to the growth and development of Somaliland, Ethiopia, and the Horn of Africa. The Corridor has also been analyzed as attracting investment opportunities and generating economic activities that keep citizens focused on prioritizing peace and sustainable development options.

The second article, "Language Policy and Students' Protests: The Case of Southern Sudan, 1960–2005", renders an account of the role language plays in escalation of conflict and confrontations in Sudan. The article builds on the idea that Arabic could bring about national unity (as a language of instruction in schools). The work is unique in that language has served as a uniting and disuniting factor in national integration within Africa. Language, therefore, remains a potential source of conflict, if not well managed, integrated, and used towards peacebuilding. This article stipulates that the Southern Sudanese thought Arabic language was a disregard of their rich cultures, values, and beliefs. They also rejected Arabic as a non-indigenous language and a facilitator of the poor performance of students. The student revolts have been identified with certain consequences like loss of life, destabilization of the status quo, hostilities, slow economic activities, and questions over the peace process. This article contributes to the stance that the language of instruction is key in schools. It determines the understanding of the subject matter and performance of students. Unfortunately, the concept of assimilation through language, still seen in parts of Africa, has been evoked in the article. This makes it contemporary and places language at the center of educational models as prescribed by UNESCO.

The third article, "Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Ethiopia and Nigeria: A Comparative Analysis", addresses similar traits that Ethiopia and Nigeria share in common; highly ethnically diversified and large numbers of the population, recurrent inter-ethnic conflicts, and the adoption of federalism as a system of ethnic conflict management. The article pinpoints out that ethnicity is accepted as a means of political mobilization and a base of structuring the Ethiopian federation, whereas this is not the case in Nigeria. The article has also brought to the fore, the idea that both countries host ethnic conflicts that negatively affect the countries' peace and stability. This contributes to existing knowledge on ethnicity and conflicts in Africa and offers guidelines for managing ethnic divides towards peace and stability between and amongst countries.

This volume also highlights "Traditional Ecological Knowledge and its Relevance to Sustainable Development" in the fourth article. The article establishes the relationship between traditional communities and the earth, alluding to various ways in which traditional ecological knowledge is preserved: storytelling, ceremonies, arts, crafts, and songs. This article is unique in that environmental sustainability is a major problem today. It articulates that a lack of knowledge and awareness of handling

ecological problems makes sustainable development difficult. Consequently, the article suggests that knowledge transition from generation to generation is the key to resolving this debacle. It also points to the preservation of cultural heritage, especially in African settings. As a contribution to knowledge, the article points to the current global discourse on ecology, environmental preservation and sustainability, and current debates on climate change. It also makes compelling arguments on conservation of biodiversity, rare species, protected areas, ecological processes, sustainable resource use, and development by indigenous communities through their own cultural patterns and social institutions.

The fifth article, “Winning the US Presidential Nominations: The 2016 Presidential Primaries and Its Implication on Democracy”, draws inferences on different methods adopted by States in the USA in conducting their primaries. The article discusses factors that play in voters’ mobilization for a candidate to win in the primaries. It touches on democracy, especially pre, during, and post-election activities; as some of these activities can be violent, thereby building, promoting, and sustaining mistrust. The fact that the article establishes a transition from pre-1972 when party elites chose the party’s presidential nominee to the current approach which permits grassroots members to participate in the primaries in choosing the party’s presidential nominee, which makes it unique. It establishes the efficacy of primaries in promoting democracy and representativeness. The article contributes to knowledge on critical factors for candidates to consider as they mobilize voters to rally behind them in winning the primaries and the implications of such factors on democracy.

Volume 4 of the Somaliland Peace and Development Journal, therefore, provides theoretical and practical explanations towards peace initiatives between and amongst individuals, communities, countries, regions, and ideological spheres. These have been articulated through the five compelling articles in this volume, touching on wide-ranging themes that can be used as principal benchmarks towards peace efforts – trade, language, ethnicity, ecology, and elections. It is a MUST read.

Kingsley L. Ngange, Ph.D.
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About this Issue

This volume contains articles that analyze the social, political, economic, and environmental issues covering America, Africa, and Asia from different perspectives. The article by Ayan examines the geostrategic significance of Somaliland and how Somaliland is trying to benefit its geopolitical position. The article mainly emphasizes Somaliland's ambition to be a regional hub for logistical services by improving its infrastructures including the Berbera port's expansion, and the construction of the Berbera corridor which connects Somaliland to Ethiopia. Also, the article links this opportunity with the maritime security of the Horn of Africa where current Superpowers are competing to expand their sphere of influence in the region. The article broadly highlights China's presence in Djibouti, the American's, the French, and Turkey's arrival to Somalia by establishing its first-ever military overseas base. In particular, it captures how Somaliland retaliated the Turkish policy to Somalia and leased the Berbera airport to the UAE.

Managing diversity in multiethnic countries is important. Ethiopia and Nigeria are the most populous nations in Africa. To manage those diverse ethnic groups, the two countries adopted a federal structure aimed to mitigate the risks by bringing those groups under one bracket, thus producing ethnic contention, conflict, and crisis. The article by Jemal tries to compare and contrast the two federal structures adopted by Ethiopia and Nigeria. Also, Naureen's article deals with the traditional ecological knowledge which is directly linked to lands, animals, ecology, and natural resources. This article tries to analyze how the existing international legal frameworks and policies are providing recognition to traditional ecological knowledge and try to address the complexities between traditional ecological knowledge and the right to development.

Understanding the root causes of political, social, and economic problems in Africa is also important. One of the major causes of South Sudan's conflicts with northern Arabs has been primarily an exclusion and marginalization of the South Sudanese people from state opportunities. In his book chapter in "Africa and Other Civilization: Conquest and Counter-Conquest", Ali A. Mazrui (2008) argued that the Southern Sudanese were the only Sub-Saharan Africans who were being Arabized faster than being Islamized. Language is the embodiment of culture and everyone has a right to his/her language and culture. The article by Daniel and Yosa extensively discusses the imposition of the Arabic language over traditional Africans which became a political problem for the Southern Sudanese who began to demand their voice to be heard and that they had a right to their languages and cultures.

Western countries, in particular Western European countries, and North America are referred to as the cradle of contemporary democracy and democratic values. Therefore, to have an East African perspective on the US elections might give some fascinating insights. The article by Calvince takes a look at the presidential primaries in the US, by providing background and detail of the different methods adopted by states in conducting the primaries. The article mainly focuses on the 2016 Presidential primaries and its implication on democracy. The study comparatively analyzes the sources of funds, the funds raised, and the burnout rate by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton.

The reference "the world is a global village" is factual once the deepening of globalization and the advancement of science and technology becomes observed. What occurs somewhere in the far eastern part of the world can immediately affect the remote western edges of the world. The global pandemic, Coronavirus, is an example that illustrates how the world is interconnected and interlocked. The current global dynamics are intertwined with geopolitics, trade, economic, social, and cultural exchange, and it provides opportunities for states, businesses, and communities. This means that the world communities share both difficulties and opportunities through such times, and should, therefore, encourage collective analysis, studies, and responses.

The articles in this volume of the Somaliland Peace and Development Journal discuss fundamental issues that have an impact directly on global citizens. While the articles carry diverse issues that affect both citizens and states, addressing the challenges presented in the body of the articles are also important. This volume seeks to provide such answers and positions indigenous knowledge that vary from one context to another. Therefore, the articles in this volume serve towards the holistic and prime objectives of the Journal as a platform for debate and discussion, and to analyze and better understand the fundamental causes of social, economic, political, and environmental challenges, not only in Somaliland but studying other parts of the world are crucial. The articles seek to continue to be an important reference for policymakers, academics, and university students in this endeavor.

Nasir M. Ali
Managing Editor

Effects of Berbera Corridor on Trade and Security in the Horn of Africa: the Case of Somaliland and Ethiopia

Ayan Rashid Ibrahim

ABSTRACT

In the post-1991 period, there have been considerable improvements in Ethio–Somaliland relations. The people of the two countries involved in development of better relations and cooperation which significantly contributed to the security and stability of the region. While Ethiopia became a landlocked state following Eritrea’s separation from Ethiopia and the subsequent war on the border between the two countries. Somaliland has paid special attention to the situation of Ethiopia’s landlocked status and opportunities that entailed. On the other hand, Ethiopia has been aware of its vulnerability by relying on a single port in a foreign country. The central objective of this study is to examine the opportunities associated with the Berbera corridor development and its contribution to security and stability of the region. A qualitative research approach was used and primary data were collected using the interview. One of the key findings of this study is that the development of the Berbera corridor will boost the economic and trade relations between and among nations in the Horn of Africa on the one hand, and will enhance the security and stability of the region on the other hand. The study underlines that Somaliland’s important strategic position in the region and its willingness to collaborate with other regional states to maintain the peace and security of the region will contribute to the region’s stability and will reduce fragility and vulnerability of the region. However, Somaliland deserves not only a mere appreciation of what it achieved without international support and assistance but also needs legal recognition as a sovereign state.

INTRODUCTION

Since rising to power in 2018, Ethiopia’s Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed has been stimulating economic integration and set off initiatives that could have a positive impact on the region’s political, economic, and social stability if materialized.¹ During early days in office, the Prime Minister has not only brought increased stability and political openness within Ethiopia² alone but also moved around the Horn of Africa encouraging leaders on the need to have peace and trust among nations of the region. Peace deals and trade agreements have been ushered between Ethiopia on one hand, and its neighbors, on the other hand, include Eritrea, the arch-foe of Ethiopia in the region, Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan, and most likely Egypt where the Prime Minister paid an official visit to Cairo.³ But these relations have since deteriorated sharply.

This development happening in the region and the optimistic policies and strategies from Abiy attracted appreciation from different sources, where some renowned scholars in the region proposed a form of political integration of the Horn of Africa. It is worth noting that the existing security situation in the region and the political, social, and economic structures of the Horn states are key barriers to regional integration and the poor land transport interconnectedness in the Horn of Africa. This, however, weakened policies on inter-regional trade effectiveness as compared to the Southern African

¹ International Crisis Group (2019). *Keeping Ethiopia’s Transition on the Rails*. Africa Report N° 283. Addis Ababa/Brussels/Nairobi: International Crisis Group.

² Ezekiel Gebissa (2018). *Ambling toward Democracy: Lessons for Ethiopia from Successful Transitions*, *Horn of Africa Bulletin*, Volume 30, Issue 4. Pp. 17–22.

³ Mosley, Jason (2020). *Ethiopia’s Transition: Implications for the Horn of Africa and Red Sea Region*. Sweden: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

Development Community (SADC) of southern African region, and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in western Africa.

Corridors are necessarily important for growth and development of the state. Developing transportation corridors have been observed among the most important factors in ensuring regional development and integration.⁴ It is widely known that economic corridors always attract investment opportunities and generate economic activities within a specific region, on the foundation of an efficient transportation system. At least this provides two important inputs for competitiveness: lower distribution costs and high-quality real estate. The corridor approach to industrial development primarily takes advantage of the existence of proven, inherent, and underutilized economic development potential within the region.⁵

Establishing an economic corridor is a holistic strategy that improves and enhances investments in a multi-sectorial approach that may include sectors such as transport, energy, and telecoms within a specific region. Brahmawong and Sukharomana⁶ analysis note that economic development of the corridors may increase both the national and per capita income, but if not sustainably managed it may result in the reduction of natural resources, degradation of environmental quality, and diminished livelihood, all of which are short-term and long-term determinants of the welfare of the population. Therefore, a comprehensive analysis of all benefits and costs is crucial in decision making.⁷

What Brahmawong and Sukharomana⁸ noted in their analysis is that even if the economic, social, and environmental benefits exceed the economic and social costs for the host countries, caution must be made if the countries have a weak law-enforcement system or an inadequate cost-internalizing scheme. However, inter-regional development disparities require the improvement of the policies towards bringing the less developed regions closer to the developed regions in terms of welfare. This underlines the importance of the concept of “*regional development*”, which has been gaining increasing importance in recent times.⁹

The Republic of Somaliland, though it has not yet been recognized by any state or international organization, has a significant role to play in the economic integration of the region, due to its strategic location in the Horn of Africa. The Berbera Corridor is one determinant¹⁰ and constitutes one of the most significant development projects within Somaliland’s territory that could contribute to regional economic integration agenda¹¹ agreed upon by the region’s leaders in recent years. An important addition to determinants of economic integration initiatives proposed by regional leaders, is Somaliland’s provision of a significant contribution to regional security and stability.

This study aims to examine the benefits and dilemmas associated with the Berbera corridor’s development, and the implications this corridor could have on the security and trade issues within the

⁴ Kebapçı, H. (2011), “*Bölgesel Kalkınmada Dış Ticaretin Rolü: Burdur-Isparta-Antalya İllerinin Karşılaştırması*”, Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi, SBE, Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Isparta.

⁵ Keser, Hilal Y. (2015). Importance of Transport Corridors in Regional Development: The Case of TRACECA, *Sosyoekonomi*, Vol. 23 (24). Pp. 163–182.

⁶ Brahmawong, P. & Sukharomana, R. (2011). *East-West Economic Corridor and Southern Economic Corridor of Greater Mekong Sub region: Who Gains and Who Loses? School of Economic and Public Policy*. Bangkok: Srinakharinwirot University.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Arnold, J. (2006). *Best Practices in Corridor Management*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

¹⁰ World Bank (2015). *Horn of Africa Initiative: Berbera Corridor Program*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

¹¹ World Bank (2006). *Somali Joint Needs Assessment Infrastructure Cluster Report*. Available at <http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/656611468103499294/pdf/802330WP0Somal0Box0379802B00PUBLC0.pdf>. Accessed on 26 July 2020.

Horn of Africa in general, and in particular Somaliland-Ethiopian trade. The study focuses on the two most important obvious infrastructure components of the Berbera project: the expansion and rehabilitation of the existing port, and the construction of a new road connecting Berbera to the Ethiopian border, and an airport. Other infrastructure components such as energy interconnectors, oil, and gas pipelines connecting Somaliland from Ethiopia's side are beyond the scope of this study. The fact, however, remains that Ethiopia, the most populous landlocked country in the world, drives the regional integration agenda within the Horn of Africa.

With this fact in mind, the development of the Berbera Corridor becomes a significant addition to the region's infrastructure. Thus, Somaliland's status as the only politically stable and a democratic state without international political recognition in the Horn of Africa makes the Berbera Corridor development a precursor to eventual transformation of regional economic and security status. The port expansion and construction of the corridor will boost economic and trade relations between Somaliland and Ethiopia as well as strengthen the security and stability of the region.

AN OUTLOOK OVER BERBERA PORT

Berbera in general refers to both the city and the port, and its history goes back more than a thousand years in which the port has been operational as a port. Berbera is situated in one of the most geopolitical and geostrategic regions in the world, straddling to the Red Sea and facing the Gulf of Aden. The Berbera port for centuries has been connecting three ancient civilizations: Africa, Arabia, and India. The present port was developed initially by the Soviet Union in 1968 (300 meters), and the second 350 meters linear wharf was expanded in 1984 by the USA. The port is the longest established port in Somaliland and has grown with the city to become one of the most renowned seaports in the East Africa region.¹² Berbera plays a pivotal commercial role, by providing portal services to communities within Somaliland and certain extent communities in neighboring regions, such as Somalia and Ethiopia.

One of the Somaliland Government officials is arguing that the Berbera corridor is currently acting as a transit corridor for import-export activities destined for Ethiopia, particularly in eastern regions of Ethiopia.¹³ The Berbera Corridor functions as an alternative to the Djibouti Corridor, although transport across the corridor is not yet fully competitive, both in terms of speed and costs of transport. While Berbera Corridor remains the primary commercial port transit for Somaliland cargo¹⁴, the reality is that Berbera is the only other port, apart from Djibouti, on the northern coast of the Horn of Africa close to Ethiopia's eastern regions. This is because, in contrast to other major ports on the Gulf of Aden, only Berbera is a deep-water port.

It is located at an ideal and strategic place when it comes to commercial and oil shipping lanes. Therefore, the idea of developing the port has been coming from different fronts. One of the ideas has been encouraging the involvement of the private sector in the development project. It was an idea not only pushed by the state of Somaliland but has also been proposed by the World Bank. This led Somaliland to search for an international port operator in early 2014 to develop the port. Also, the idea of Corridor development is a part of African corridors and the plan is to improve and increase infrastructures' interconnectedness within Africa and as part of the East African corridors. Therefore, the Berbera corridor development consists of ports, airports, roads, railways, and other infrastructures necessary for development of the region that include energy, mining, and other projects beneficial to the region.¹⁵

¹² Afro-Consult, PLC & Louis Berger, SA (2003). *Pre-Feasibility Study of the Regional Transport Sector in the Berbera Corridor*. A feasibility study commissioned by the European Union Commission.

¹³ Interview with a senior official at the Somaliland permanent diplomatic mission in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

¹⁴ Interview with a senior at the Chamber of Commerce, on May 20, 2019, Hargeisa, Somaliland.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

However, the Berbera Tripartite agreement between Somaliland, Ethiopia, and DP World in March 2018 can unlock the potential and untapped coastal economy of Somaliland. In the same way, it can provide a bridge to the UAE economy, not only from Ethiopia but also from African hinterlands through the Berbera Port and the free zone to be established there.¹⁶ However, the expansion of Berbera Port and construction of the Berbera Corridor will be a valuable addition to the already ongoing trade activities between Somaliland and Ethiopia.

THE REGIONAL INVOLVEMENT AND THE EXISTING CORRIDORS

The development of the Berbera corridor has seen the participation by different actors both in the region and beyond. The European Union is one of the key actors advocating in the development of the Berbera corridor. A study of 2003 commissioned by the European Union concluded that much work remained to be done for the Port to compete with Djibouti's port, including the development and construction of the road connecting the port to the border of Ethiopia. This demonstrates how the European Union has been interested in the development of the Berbera corridor.¹⁷ However, other actors both in the region and beyond also advocated for this development.

The Berbera Corridor project, including the port, has been endorsed by IGAD member states as a high priority scheme in the IGAD infrastructure investment plan. Furthermore, IGAD and Ethiopia requested the President of the World Bank Group to make it a priority under the Horn of Africa regional initiative launched in 2014. Also, the corridor is an African Union priority infrastructure project under the Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA) endorsed by Heads of State in 2012, where it is identified as part of the Djibouti–Addis Ababa– Khartoum Corridor, with a future connection to Juba and the Trans-African Highway from Djibouti to N'Djamena in Chad through Sudan.¹⁸

The Berbera corridor is not the only corridor in the Horn of Africa. Despite prevalent regional constraints to formal trade growth, there are existing routes that provide formal trade activities within the Horn of Africa, in particular between Ethiopia and Djibouti. It is widely known that cargo traffic currently is moved by road from Djibouti along the northern corridor route through Galafi–Mile–Awash–Addis Ababa – a distance of 918 kilometers. Another shorter 788 kilometers route is the southern corridor that runs through Dewele–Dire Dawa–Mieso–Awash–Addis Ababa.¹⁹ The Berbera Corridor is an asphalt-concrete surface road connecting Berbera and mainland Ethiopia and especially the capital, Addis Ababa. This road has a total length of 937 kilometers with 250 kilometers based in Somaliland and a further 696 kilometers based in Ethiopia.²⁰

INTERLOCKING THE REGION THROUGH THE BERBERA CORRIDOR

The Berbera Corridor infrastructural development is aimed at implementing a package of critical infrastructure developments and supporting interventions that will provide economic benefits to both Somaliland and Ethiopia. The World Bank is optimistic and anticipates that the Berbera Corridor development would create jobs, stimulate private enterprises, and directly contribute to peace

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., 14.

¹⁸ UN-OHRLLS (2017). *Africa regional report on improving transit cooperation, trade and trade facilitation for the benefit of the landlocked development countries: Current status and policy implications*. Available at <http://unohrlls.org/custom-content/uploads/2017/05/AFRICA-REGION-REPORT-7-June.pdf>. Accessed on 27 July 2020.

¹⁹ AACCSA (2009). *The Management of Commercial Road Transport in Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce and Sectoral Associations (AACCSA).

²⁰ Somaliland Biz. *DP World Berbera Deal*. Available at <http://www.somalilandbiz.com/watch-list-dp-world-berbera-deal/>. Accessed on September 28 2020 at 12:15 pm.

strengthening efforts in a fragile region.²¹ However, results from the analysis showed that the international community, as well as regional actors, agree that the Berbera corridor has the potential to serve as an important corridor for trade and transit in the Horn of Africa due to its strategic place and geographical proximity to the most populous landlocked nation, Ethiopia and its hinterlands.²² Also, there is optimism about the corridor as many believe that the development of the Berbera corridor is not only facilitating trade and security but also contributes to the likelihood that Somaliland will eventually be recognized as a sovereign state.²³

The Horn of African states plan to increase economic development, efficient and secure import-export corridors, maritime gateways, and sea routes are seen as increasingly important. Somaliland in this regard may rely on its economic development through the provision of logistical services to the other parts of the region, while Ethiopia will benefit from access to the sea by carrying out efficient import-export activities through the corridor. Currently, Ethiopia's import-export activities heavily and solely rely on Djibouti port services.²⁴

Current transport connections in the region are indeed largely influenced by political considerations and governed more by bilateral agreements than the regional consensus and collaboration. Stronger regional transport links are needed to unlock and develop potential opportunities for social and economic growth. Increasing political cooperation and strengthening for the trade and infrastructure functions of the Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) would be a means to achieve this. Therefore, there are strong interests and readiness expressed by trans-national corporations – for example, mining companies, telecoms, and banks – to actively engage within the development of the corridor. However, several regional states' willingness to open their markets to international companies and banks remains low.

A study commissioned by the European Union in 2003 compares the Berbera corridor with the other routes from Ethiopia to regional seaports in order to determine the potential viability of investments to upgrade its main components. They include the Port of Berbera, the unimproved sections of the road between Berbera and Addis Ababa, and the Hargeisa and Berbera airports. However, this study is now more than fifteen years old. Since then, many development interventions have happened which have brought a change in regards to the road infrastructure within Ethiopia.²⁵ From Somaliland's side, a 250 kilometers long road that links Berbera to the Ethiopian border at Tog Wajale is now under construction as part of the corridor.

In 2014, the World Bank commissioned another study called a regional initiative in support of the Horn of Africa.²⁶ The study was aimed to address some of the key drivers of instability in the Horn of Africa, to promote development in the area, and to identify issues that demand cross-border collaborative solutions to reducing fragility and instability. The Berbera Corridor was envisioned in realizing the latter two objectives of the study. Moreover, the study highlighted that the main concerns were insecurity and vulnerability, efforts that recognize the link between security and development, the importance of giving hope to vulnerable citizens and helping women and children to overcome poverty.

²¹ Ibid., 10.

²² Interview with a senior official at the Somaliland Ministry of Public Works, Housing and Land, on June 12, 2019, Hargeisa, Somaliland.

²³ Ibid., 14.

²⁴ Ibid., 19.

²⁵ Ibid., 12.

²⁶ The World Bank (2014). *Regional Initiative in Support of the Horn of Africa*. World Bank Regional Integration Department Africa Region.

There are several essential infrastructure investments and other interventions that are key to securing the maximum benefits from the corridor. The most important infrastructure component is the development of the seaport. This is followed by road corridor improvements which remain a priority for Somaliland and in Ethiopia where necessary. Besides those two obvious infrastructure components, there are also other less popular infrastructure projects within the corridor.²⁷ This includes the construction of an energy interconnector between Somaliland and Ethiopia and undersea and landline fiber optic cables. Also, studies have been conducted on how to increase the use of renewable and restructuring and capacitation of the energy sector in Somaliland.

In regards to the fiber optic cable, the aim is to enhance and reduce the cost of communication and data transmission between the countries in the Horn of Africa. A high ranking official at the Somaliland Ministry of Public Works, Housing, and Land has stated that the development of the hard infrastructure in Berbera is in progress, with 400m quay and a 250,000m² yard extension construction ongoing. Corridor construction from Berbera to Hargeisa was started, where the first twelve kilometers with an excellent asphalt-concrete surface condition was inaugurated.²⁸ Policies and regulation for transit goods and traffic destined for Ethiopia is also ready from the Somaliland side. However, negotiations between the two countries on customs and transport protocols are scheduled to start shortly.

Besides infrastructure components, the corridor project also includes studies that need to be conducted in order to comprehensively capture necessary measures for the facilitation of trade, the improvement of the region's and individual countries' competitiveness, facilitation of opportunities for the private sector to invest, and provide services along the corridor, and attract investment. These items constitute the soft components of the corridor development project designed and envisioned for Berbera Corridor.²⁹

BERBERA PORT A PIVOT FOR ETHIOPIA'S TRADE

Ethiopia has been landlocked since 1993 following Eritrea's separation from Ethiopia. Losing Eritrea's ports of Assab and Massawa forced Ethiopia to find new sea outlets from neighboring countries such as Djibouti.³⁰ In 2016 more than 95% of Ethiopia's external trade passed through Djibouti. In this respect, while Ethiopia's import-export trade is progressively expanding, Ethiopia has accepted the fact that its dependence on a single foreign port will put its growing economy in jeopardy. Therefore, Ethiopia has been looking for other options, these include, Berbera Port.³¹ Therefore, Ethiopia envisioned increasing the use of Berbera Port and its corridor.

Due to its strategic location in the region and facing the eastern and southern parts of Ethiopia, an eastern development corridor would exploit the agricultural and livestock potentials, and manufactured goods to and from southern and eastern parts of Ethiopia. And, eventually perhaps, natural resources extraction such as oil and gas in the Somali region. This encourages enhanced international export earnings through value addition and the creation of cross-border supply chains. Thus, the objective for the Berbera corridor development, from the Ethiopian perspective, is therefore important in creating an alternative transit corridor for its import-export trade transactions.³²

²⁷ African Development Bank (2019). *Somalia Regional Corridors Infrastructure Programme*. African Development Bank.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

³⁰ Cannon, Brendon J. (2017). Ethiopia, Berbera Port, and the Shifting Balance of Power in the Horn of Africa, *Rising Powers Quarterly*, Volume 2, Issue 4, (2017), pp. 7–29.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

³² *Ibid.*, 14.

The expansion and development in the Berbera Port are expected to make Ethiopia the main import-export customer of Berbera. Although Ethiopia outlined the use of Berbera port and shifting 30% of its import-export activities in its five-year 2010 growth and transformation plan³³, after the expansion and modernization of the port, it is expected to capture up to 50% of the future increase of trade bound to and from Ethiopia which is estimated to be about \$1.4 billion per year. Initial estimates of Ethiopian trade that could be attracted to use Berbera are 5.4 mtpa of general and bulk cargo and 306,000 TEUs (Twenty-foot equivalent unit) by 2030.³⁴ This could be linked to Ethiopia's 19% stake in the Berbera Port development which is expected to influence its decision to make high use of the Berbera Port facilities.

One of the key exports of Somaliland to the outside world particularly the Middle Eastern states is livestock. Livestock also comes from other parts of the Somali-speaking region in the Horn of Africa. Livestock trade constitutes one of the key challenges in Somaliland and Ethiopia's trade negotiations, where Ethiopia regards all those livestock animals passing through Berbera as its resources. Although there are claims and counterclaims over ownership and source of those animals, the Somali livestock trade indeed involves an annual export of at least \$200 million worth of live animals through the ports of Berbera, Bosaso, and Djibouti across the Gulf of Aden. This is the largest movement of live animal trade anywhere in the world.³⁵

The Somali pastoral economy indeed is a critical platform for economic interdependence. Linking the interior rangelands of Somaliland and Ethiopia's Somali Region with the Port of Berbera could enhance prospects for the marketing of livestock.³⁶ The people of Ethiopia's Somali Region will always have links to their kin and neighbors across the border as a result of ethnic and trade connections that have lasted for centuries. However, a more regulated trade environment has the potential to reduce political stresses and conflicts within the communities and between states.

THE CORRIDOR AND CROSS-BORDER TRADE OPPORTUNITIES

Somaliland is largely dependent on the Port of Berbera with all its maritime imports and exports. Due to Somaliland's high dependency on Berbera for import and export, Berbera also plays an important role in the economy of Somaliland by contributing significantly to the coffers of the treasury. The objective for the Berbera corridor development, from the Somaliland perspective, is therefore focused on improving the trade capacity with its neighbors including Ethiopia and overseas trade partners, as well as stimulation of local economic development along the corridor.³⁷

Exploiting opportunities for cross-border trade between Somaliland and Ethiopia are likely to have a direct impact on incomes and employment opportunities in the region and improve outcomes for many households, particularly if the extensive informal trade relations can be capitalized on. At the forefront of these opportunities is potential oil and gas exports yet to be developed in the Somali region in Ethiopia, and trade in food staples to the global market. Currently, some regional trade is taking place, for instance, Sudan has started to supply petroleum products to Ethiopia, and Port Sudan has become an outlet for Ethiopian agricultural exports.³⁸ However, IGAD has been lagging behind other regional economic

³³ Ethiopia's Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (2013). *Annual Progress Report for F.Y. 2011/12: Growth and Transformation Plan (the 5 years National Plan)*. Addis Ababa: Ethiopia's Ministry of Finance and Economic Development.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

³⁵ Majid, Nisar (2010). *Livestock Trade in the Djibouti, Somali, and Ethiopian Borderlands*. London: Chattam House.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 26.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.

communities in negotiating and interpreting trade agreements, and the institutional framework to resolve associated disputes is weak. One of the biggest challenges to regional integration are the member countries producing similar products, which hinders trade between them.

One of the crucial steps towards materialization of regional economic integration and interconnectedness is the Ethiopia and Somaliland memorandum of understanding to cooperate on trade and infrastructure. The memorandum opens the door for increased trade flows between the two countries and greater use of the strategic Port of Berbera. The understanding was signed by Ethiopia's Minister for Finance and Economic Development, and Somaliland's Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation in 2014. A technical committee has been established to implement the agreement and it is understood that the Government of Ethiopia is aiming to use the Port of Berbera for 50 % of the country's imports–exports.³⁹ Ethiopia's commitment to the corridor has subsequently been confirmed by senior officials of Ethiopia's Ministry of Finance and Economic Development.⁴⁰

Dubai Ports World is one of the global leaders in supply chain solutions specialized in marine and ports terminal operations, free zones, logistics, and ancillary services to technology-driven trade solutions, and many other important constituents of the global chain, to add value and provide quality services today and tomorrow.⁴¹ The development of the Berbera port and the corridor are indeed believed to be the major transformers of Somaliland–Ethiopia trade relations and many citizens are optimistic about the benefits associated with the DP World engagement in the Somaliland port facilities. However, implementing existing agreements that allow Ethiopia to use the port was not without challenges. These challenges need to be addressed through further negotiations to reach a win-win solution that could balance the interests of the two countries and nations.

Despite the existence of all these negotiations and discussions, the trade between the two states and communities is primarily informal. Somaliland and Ethiopia need to engage in more negotiations to make formal trade relations successful. Yet, there is no formal trade agreement between the two countries, but Somaliland remains in the top ten destinations of Ethiopian exports. Ethiopia earns close to one billion US dollars per annum from Somaliland⁴², while Somaliland business people always complain about Ethiopia's reluctance to open its market for Somaliland businesses. The question that arises from this analysis however is: what are the local products that Somaliland business people can export to Ethiopian markets? Somaliland, indeed, has few locally produced items that can enter into Ethiopian markets, except for fish and salt.

However, economic activity across the region is undergoing a tremendous period of realignment, with major investors tending to view things on a regional rather than a national context. Whilst Somaliland's current status as a non-recognized state may discourage some investors, making it illegible to foreign direct investment. Others see an opportunity for Somaliland to create a Berbera free trade and industrial zone. This Berbera free and industrial zones could be similar to Iran's Chabahar free trade and industrial zone and the free trade zones on Qeshm and Kish Islands, which remain among the success stories of free trade and industrial zones.

³⁹ Ibid, 20.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 30.

⁴¹ DP World (2018). *Creating the Future, Now*. Available at <http://www.dpworldberbera.com/dp-world-berbera>. Accessed on September 2020 at 10:55 am.

⁴² Ibid, 13.

PORTS–MILITARY BASES NEXUS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR REGIONAL SECURITY

Governments in the Horn of Africa face challenges in providing development and confirmed security to all parts including underdeveloped regions in their countries. The establishment of transport corridors with long-distance traffic creates pressure to address security issues and bring such stability that benefits local populations and trade. In order to foster ownership and reduce risks of insecurity in the corridor, activities may be included that create business and employment opportunities for communities along the corridor.⁴³ However, the development of Berbera corridor will help to stabilize the region due to an increase of interdependence between and among people. Moreover, it will contribute to an increase in economic growth.

Considering the importance of security of the region, three main security issues are worthy of investigation within this study. They include the impact of the lack of political recognition of Somaliland, maritime security, and the implications of establishing military bases along with the regional commercial ports.⁴⁴ It is important to realize the significance and importance of other security issues that also affect the region's security, such as the uncontrolled movement of people⁴⁵ and goods.

One of the very important aspects of regional security and stability is maritime security. Maritime security indeed has tended to be side-lined in conventional thinking on peace and security in the Horn of Africa for many decades. 'Sea-blindness' as a factor in peace and security policy deliberations has the effect of downgrading the importance of the maritime domain to the security of states and human security of their citizens. Indeed, maritime insecurity in the Horn of Africa is rendered more complex by the existence of the world's most populous, landlocked state, Ethiopia, who relies on its neighbors for access to the sea outlets.⁴⁶

There will be an inevitable conflict of interests and tensions between landlocked and coastal states which is another major aspect of maritime insecurity in the Horn of Africa. Maritime security issues from the perspective of a landlocked state is also another key important topic.⁴⁷ Recently, the Ethiopian Prime Minister, along with the French President, announced the re-establishment of the Ethiopian Navy with the help of France. This issue has escalated the rising geopolitical significance of Djibouti within the Horn of Africa, which many countries have been closely watching. Meanwhile, many citizens on the Horn of Africa have been questioning the purpose of establishing a navy base, as Ethiopia is a landlocked state. Moreover, the expansion of the Gulf States' footprint in the Horn of Africa, and the possible consequences for peace and security in the region thereof, are also issues that have a wider impact on the region's maritime security in the long and short terms.

Apart from the pros and cons of the development of regional ports, Somaliland benefits from the development of the corridor in other ways. It generates economic leverage and political weight in the region since around 30% of Ethiopian import-export is expected to move through the territory of Somaliland according to Ethiopia's five-year growth and transformation plan published in 2010.⁴⁸ It is in

⁴³ IGAD (2016). *IGAD State of the Region Report Intergovernmental Authority on Development: A Popular Version*. Djibouti: IGAD.

⁴⁴ Willem van den Berg & Jos Meester (2018). *Port and Power: the securitisation of port politics*, Horn of Africa Bulletin. Available at <http://life-peace.org/hab/ports-and-power/>. Accessed on 27 July 2020.

⁴⁵ UNECA (2017). *New Fringe Pastoralism: Conflict and Insecurity and Development in the Horn of Africa and the Sahel*. Addis Ababa: UN Economic Commission for Africa.

⁴⁶ Demessie Fantaye (2014). *Regional Approaches to Maritime Security in the Horn of Africa*. Addis Ababa: Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung.

⁴⁷ Vertin, Zach (2019). *Toward a Red Sea Forum: The Gulf, the Horn of Africa, & Architecture for a New Regional Order*. Doha: Brookings Doha Center.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 33.

the interest of Ethiopia to work closely with the Government of Somaliland to improve peace and security to safeguard the smooth flow of Ethiopian import-export activities. Besides, there will be social-economic integration between the two countries, since Ethiopian citizens will be coming to Berbera for import-export services and Somaliland transportation companies are carrying Ethiopian goods from the Port of Berbera to their final destinations in Ethiopia.⁴⁹ The corridor will foster social institutional services exchange across nations served.

One ought not to downplay the strong correlation between port politics and building military bases in the Horn of Africa.⁵⁰ The intensification of external maritime military rivalries within the Horn of Africa in recent years is indeed obvious and constitutes another critical challenge to the security of the region.⁵¹ In addition to the US and the European powers that have had a culture of overseas military bases in other parts of the world, China's arrival to the Horn of Africa and the establishment of its first-ever military base overseas deserves attention.⁵² However, China, the world's fastest-growing and second-largest economy is already a global contender to the US, the world's largest economy.⁵³ The arrival of China in the Horn of Africa is not only a threat to America's interest in Africa in general, but it also increases the vulnerability of regional states by bringing together politically, economically, and militarily contending powers. Contrary to the earlier argument, a military balance of forces between outside powers can be beneficial to peace and security, over an imbalance in which one, or a couple of powers, dominate and can impose their agenda.

Moreover, Turkey has recently established its first-ever military base overseas in Somalia, which has political and security implications for the region. It is a recognized fact that the reason behind the establishment of this military base in Somalia has two objectives: to maintain a Turkish⁵⁴ military presence in Somalia and to challenge the traditional backers of Somalia's government, in particular the Western countries which have been supporting Somalia in rebuilding and train its army, which disintegrated following the collapse of the state institutions in 1991.⁵⁵

Somaliland has been suspicious about the establishment of a Turkish military base in Mogadishu. In an effort to counter the Turkish strategy towards Somalia and its intention to build Somalia's military capability. In turn, Somaliland invited the UAE to establish a military base in Berbera, a strategic former Soviet and US military base on the Red Sea, for a total cost of \$90 million.⁵⁶ However, Somalia filed a complaint against the construction of a military base in Berbera to the UN Security Council. Somalia's ambassador to the UN argued that the military base undermines the unity, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Somalia. Two years in a row, the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea has noted that the establishment of the military base in Berbera is a clear violation of the arms embargo imposed on Somalia. Therefore, a question that arises is why the UN Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea did not make any mention of Turkey's violation of Somalia's arms embargo?

⁴⁹ Ibid., 14.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 44.

⁵¹ Melvin, Neil (2019). *The Foreign Military Presence in the Horn of Africa Region*. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

⁵² Chaziza, Mordechai (2018). *China's Military Base in Djibouti*. Israel: The Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies.

⁵³ Swaine, Michael D. (2019). *A Relationship under Extreme Duress: U.S.-China Relations at a Crossroads*. Washington, DC: The Carter Center.

⁵⁴ Asiedu, Michael (2017). *Turkey-Africa Relations: Spotlight on Somalia*. Istanbul: Global Political Trends Center, Istanbul Kültür University.

⁵⁵ Den Berg, Willem Van & Meester, Jos (2019). *Turkey in the Horn of Africa: Between the Ankara Consensus and the Gulf Crisis*. The Hague: Clingendael Institute.

⁵⁶ Vertin, Zach (2019). *Red Sea Rivalries: The Gulf, the Horn, & the New Geopolitics of the Red Sea*. Doha: Brookings Doha Center.

Not only has the establishment of the military base in Berbera impacted on Somaliland–Somalia relations, but Somalia’s government has been denouncing the expansion and modernization of the port. Since the DP World engagement in Somaliland, it has been the center of the Somaliland and Somalia political dynamics, where Somalia has been claiming that any involvement in Berbera and Somaliland without the approval of Somalia’s government is an act of aggression, in which Somaliland denounced repeatedly. Also, the 19% stake in Berbera by Ethiopia has been another point of contention where Somalia viewed this as a strategically threatening demonstration of growing closeness between Addis Ababa and Hargeisa.⁵⁷

CONCLUSION

The development of the Berbera Corridor constitutes a significant infrastructural project within the region that is likely to transform the regional economy and security status over time. However, the port’s development will not only boost the economic interrelations among the regional states, but it is also important to remark at least three main factors that could have security implications for the entire region and need special attention and thorough analysis.

It is a reality that Somaliland is important and crucial in the region’s security and stability. Its absence from ongoing debates among the regional states, however, will jeopardize the region’s road to inclusive economic integration and development in the long term. The second point to note is the maritime security where a landlocked state is building an off-territory navy for political and security reasons. And thirdly, establishing military bases along with the commercial ports in the region such as Berbera and Djibouti, where most world powers are stationed also poses both security and political threats to the entire region.

Nevertheless, Somaliland is largely dependent on the Port of Berbera, for its import-export activities, and it remains the main source of state’s revenue which contributes significantly to coffers of the state. In this respect, the development of the Berbera corridor will provide economic benefits to both Somaliland and Ethiopia, as well as other neighboring communities in the wider Horn of Africa. The completion of this infrastructural development will create job opportunities for the unemployed youth of the Somaliland citizens, attract massive investment from the outside world, and also from the region which directly contributes to the security and stability in a region which has had a history of fragility and confrontation.

⁵⁷ International Crisis Group (2019). *Somalia–Somaliland: The Perils of Delaying New Talks*. Africa Report N° 280. Nairobi/Brussels: International Crisis Group.

Language Policy and Students' Protests: The Case of Southern Sudan, 1960–2005

Yosa Wawa & Daniel Thabo Nyibong

ABSTRACT

This article is based on Richard Ruiz's language orientations and the constitution of UNESCO. The central objective of this article is to examine the role played language to escalate conflict and confrontations in the mainland of Sudan. In addition to existing literature on the issue, the study also relied on primary data and interviewed people who participated in those protests. One of the major findings of this study is the policy to use Arabic as a language of instruction in schools. The argument was that Arabic could bring about national unity. This policy was opposed in schools in Southern Sudan through students' protests. The people in the South thought Arabic language was a disregard for their rich cultures, values, and beliefs. South Sudanese argued that Arabic was not indigenous to them and its use was going to result in poor performance in school examinations. In a way, these protests coupled with civil wars contributed to the secession of South Sudan.

INTRODUCTION

This article reviews language policies in Sudan between 1960 and 2005 although language and religion were intertwined.¹ Language and ethnicity are social constructs distinguishing one group from another and the medium through which identity can be addressed.² Language planners must be aware of the social, historical, economic, cultural, and political differences present. Planning must be aware of the rights of the people concerned – mass loyalty, acceptance, mutual use, value, and cultural tradition. In a way, students' protests against language policies of the successive Sudan governments contributed to the secession of South Sudan. Students' protests aimed at triggering off social, economic, and political change are not unique to Sudan. One of the most famous students' protests against the language of instruction policy that caught the whole world was perhaps the June 16, 1976 uprising in Soweto, South Africa. An estimated 10,000 Black students marched to Orland stadium to protest against the introduction of African language in black schools, they were met by riot police who used teargas and live bullets leaving between 400 and 700 dead.³ It resulted in nationwide mobilization and worldwide revulsion.

Medieval Muslim geographers gave the name of *Bilad al-Sudan* 'the land of black people' and in its restricted sense, the term now refers to the then Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, later Sudan. It was a vast area with varied peoples. Before the secession of the Republic of South Sudan, it was estimated to be one million square miles.⁴ According to Oduho and Deng⁵, the January 18, 1958 population census of Sudan racial profile was Arabs 39%, Southerners 30%, Westerners 13%, Nubians 3%, Beja 6%, Nuba 6%, and others 3%. In sum, the people who referred to themselves as Arabs were 39% of the total population. They are divided into artificial congregations – the Arabized Nubians and Ja'aliyyin and Juhayana

¹ A lot has happened since 2005 including the secession of Southern Sudan from Sudan on July 9, 2011. This essay will refer to Southern Sudan when it was part of Sudan.

² Hayati, A. Majid & Mashhadi, Amir (2010). Language planning and language-in-education policy in Iran, *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 34 (1). Pp. 24–42.

³ McKenna, Amy (2016). *The Soweto Uprising*. Available at <https://www.britannica.com/story/the-soweto-uprising>. Accessed on April 16, 2020.

⁴ Holt, P.M. (1961). *A Modern History of the Sudan: from the Funj Sultanate to the present day*. London: Grove Press.

⁵ Oduho, J. & Deng, W. (1963). *The Problem of Southern Sudan*. London. Oxford University Press.

nomads.⁶ Although few in number, the Arabs became the dominant group after the independence of Sudan on the 1st of January, 1956.

With the defeat of Mahdia and the occupation of Southern Sudan, Anglo-Egyptians started the establishment of a condominium rule in Sudan. This involved, among others, provision of services such as formal schooling. Central to formal education is the language of instruction. The paper is problematized on two orientations in language planning⁷: Language as a problem: a strong assimilationist goal occurs on the societal–political level and more powerful group, even if it is less in population, it is able to force its language on the less powerful and language as a personal, human and legal or constitutional rights. The area of contention is that the powerful Northern Sudanese who inherited power from the departing British wanted to impose their language and culture on majority of the Sudanese people. On their side, Southern Sudan wanted to learn in their local languages because it is their cultural and human right. They also supported English language because it did not belong to any ethnic or cultural group in Sudan. These orientations are partially based on the constitution of UNESCO as adopted in London on November 16, 1945, at the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (CAME) whose article 1 states its purpose as a contribution to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, rule of law and for human rights and fundamental freedom which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion.⁸ Data for this article was collected through the review of secondary sources, archival materials, and interviews with the people who participated in those protests.

BRITISH POLICIES IN THE SUDAN

During the battle of Omdurman resulting in the defeat of Mahdism, 11,000 of Mahdi's 52,000 strong force was slaughtered in a single battle against the Anglo-Egyptian 49 dead. This defeat did not bring an end to problems in Sudan.⁹ Mopping-up operations had to continue against Calipha Abdullah as many Mahdist believed in the divine cult of the Mahdi.¹⁰ Although they did not wage a unified front against the Anglo-Egyptian occupation of their region, Southern Sudanese did not sit idly by and see their country occupied. There were scattered primary resistances while the Anglo-Egyptians organized themselves on how to administer Sudan. A new colony whose economy was in chaos, the population had declined due to wars, diseases, and famine. Traditional institutions were weakened or had vanished.¹¹

Initial funds for the administration came from the Egyptian treasury in 1913.¹² With limited resources, the money could not be extended beyond defending government posts and putting down uprisings.¹³ Formal education programs started in 1900.¹⁴ Christian Missionaries including the Austrian Government assailed Cromer, British colonial administrator in Egypt, to allow Christian missionaries to proselytize fanatic Muslims but all he allowed them to build were schools and an Anglican Cathedral in Khartoum.¹⁵ In the

⁶ Collins, Robert (2008). *A History of Modern Sudan*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

⁷ Hult, Francis M. (2016). Revisiting Orientations in Language Planning: Problem, Right, and Resource as an Analytical Heuristic, *The Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingüe*, 33 (3). Pp. 30–49.

⁸ UNESCO (1945). *Constitution of the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization*. London: UNESCO.

⁹ Nelson, Harold D. (1982). *Sudan: A Country Study*, 3rd edition. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

¹⁰ Cecil, Jackson H. (1955). *Behind the Modern Sudan*, 1st edition. London: Macmillan.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹² Daly, M.W. & Holt, P.M. (2011). *A History of the Sudan: From the Coming of Islam to the Present*, 6th edition. Harlow: Longman.

¹³ Abdel-Rahim, Muddathir (1969). *Imperialism and nationalism in the Sudan: A study in constitutional and political development, 1899–195*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

¹⁴ Lloyd, Lord (1933). *Egypt since Cromer*. London. Macmillan.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

North, one of Cromer's aims for the establishment of schools was for exercising the fanatical spirit which was such a serious menace to peace and order, it seemed that education would prove the best weapon.¹⁶ While in the south, the missionaries were to teach elements of common-sense, good behavior, and obedience to government authority.¹⁷

In Southern Sudan, each Missionary society was given a free hand and having its zone of influence to proselytize.¹⁸ The American Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and the Anglican bodies were given spheres of influence in the South in which they could operate.¹⁹ There were no Muslim missionaries. Besides, the grand aims of schools were to train personnel for local recruitment for government services such as technical and agricultural knowledge, which would have an important effect on economic progress. No organized Islamic missionaries existed and nobody was granting a sphere to. The educational plans for both Southern and Northern Sudan were for winning the confidence of the people in the government.

The nationalistic sentiments in Egypt that started in 1919 resulting in riots in Egypt and Sudan and the killing of the Anglo-Egyptian Governor-General of Sudan on November 19, 1924, made the British Government become an interventionist in Sudan.²⁰ The indirect rule became the norm. Traditional leaders and Sheikhs became recognized authorities. In the South, the government began to subsidize missionary schools in 1927. The Rejaf Language Conference of 1928 was held which played an important role in the Sudan language policy until the dawn of independence in 1956. It chose six regional languages for instruction in schools. They include Bari, Dinka, Nuer, Latuko, Zande, and Moru where: a) a unified orthography based on the Roman alphabet was developed, b) textbooks, primers, and supplementary readers for schools were produced, c) lexicography or revision of existing dictionaries and grammars were developed, d) vernacular teacher training institutions were established, and, e) Juba Publication Bureau was established.

Educationists in the south began to realize that the Roman alphabet and the combination of letters found in European languages were inefficient to cope with the new sounds encountered.²¹ This development helped authorities overcome a multiplicity of spellings issues. The language groups became the latest additions to a steadily growing number of orthographies on a phonetic adopted in Africa. It was a new era in the history of language study.

Northern Sudan did not need a conference similar to that of Southern Sudan because they are Arabic speakers and its people are Arabized in culture and outlook.²² The government educational scheme was drawn to give the first place in importance to elementary vernacular schools, and second to technical and vocational instruction supplied from the Upper School of the Gordon College.²³ Vernacular elementary schools were therefore arranged as a means of spreading civilization among an agricultural population.²⁴ Also, there were institutionalized primary schools to serve as feeders to the Upper School of Gordon College and produce recruits for junior posts in government service.²⁵ The use of vernacular in elementary schools had taken into consideration the orientations of language as a problem and as a right.

¹⁶ Ibid., 14.

¹⁷ Duncan, J.S.R. (1952). *The Sudan: A Record of Achievement*. Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd.

¹⁸ Ibid., 13.

¹⁹ Ibid., 17.

²⁰ Ibid., 6.

²¹ Tucker, A. N. (1928). Report of the Rejaf Language Conference, 1928, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Jan., 1929), p. 95.

²² Ibid., 4.

²³ Ibid., 14.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

As part of winning Sudanese over to the government, learning in local languages as positive territorial, historical, psychological, and socio-cultural commonalities effects. In Southern Sudan, the first teachers ever to be trained were vernacular instructors.

The introduction of written languages was well received in the south. According to Taban Lo Liyong,²⁶ this was what prompted the opening of schools in Kajo Keji county of South Sudan. In 1926 Chief Busu of Limi asked for a school to be built in Kajo Keji immediately after a border meeting in his area. During the early colonialism period, there were border meetings held every three years in Kajo Keji. When this Wore²⁷ was being held at Limi, the chief of the area, Busu, saw a black man who was seated next to a white District Commissioner, he never talked but was scribing continuously. When Busu asked what he was doing, he was informed that the black man was taking minutes. He was impressed when what he said the day before could be read back to him. The secretary at the time was probably educated in the Bari language and Busu disagreed on compound consonant *gwa* and *gba*, how Bari and Kuku spelling and pronunciation of the same consonant.²⁸ This could be of the few protests regarding the differences in writing and pronouncing this compound alphabet between the Kuku and Bari. Busu asked for the school to be built in his area immediately and in 1927 Kirila was built. The same school was later transferred to Romogi and expanded to house a secondary school and a Theological College. By implication, Busu wanted the secretary to take minutes in his Kuku dialect, an indication of the popularity of indigenous languages. It also matches Richard Ruiz's orientations of language as a problem and a personal, human, and legal or constitutional right.

UNITY OF SUDAN, INDEPENDENCE, AND NATIONALIZATION

Sudan was administered as two separate colonies from 1900 to 1947. The Northern part had a government-controlled education system while the policy for the south was a laissez-faire policy. The government created a new model of elementary school called Kuttab which catered for boys of 7-11, offering a 4-year program taught in Arabic.²⁹ The curriculum was made of three major subjects – Islamic religion, Arabic language, arithmetic, and seven minor ones – geography, history, hygiene, agriculture, veterinary science, object lessons, and handwork. The state gave subsidies to schools. Between 1918–1930, the number of subsidized schools in the north grew from 6 to 768 with many towns to have elementary and intermediate schools.³⁰ From 1934, districts that lacked financial means to support elementary schools were provided with subgrade schools.³¹ Although viewed as a forerunner of full elementary schools, these two-year schools became a permanent feature of the Sudanese educational landscape.

Like in the rest of Africa, the British adopted a laissez-faire policy to education in the South, allowing educational matters to be taken up by Christian missionaries.³² Southern Sudan was divided into spheres of influence – Bahr el Ghazal province for Catholic missionaries, Mongala for British Anglicans, and Upper Nile for Presbyterians. Missionaries established village, elementary and trade schools.³³ From 1926 there was gradual government intervention. The curricula in missionary schools were diverse and the medium of instruction was local languages in village schools and English in elementary and intermediate

²⁶ Interview with Taban Lo Liyong in Juba, South Sudan on April 16, 2020.

²⁷ Wore was a border meeting held every three years. It rotated among Kuku chiefs.

²⁸ Ibid., 26.

²⁹ Seri-Hersch, Iris (2017). *Education in colonial Sudan, 1900-1957*. Oxford: Oxford Royal Encyclopedia, African History.

³⁰ Karar, Haytham (2019). The Implications of Socio-Politics and Political Economy on Education Policy in Sudan: 1900 to 2000, *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, 11 (2). Pp. 428–447.

³¹ Ibid., 29.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., 30.

schools. Mathew, the Secretary for Education and Health encouraged missionary teachers to learn native languages and cultures with a view that aimed at accommodating tribal histories in schools.³⁴

The unification of education system began in 1947 when the idea of developing Southern Sudan into a separate country or uniting it with East Africa was abandoned. The Northern intelligentsia thought the solution to Southern question was to open new schools on the line of those in Northern and use Arabic language as the medium of instruction. In 1942, the Graduate Congress demanded the cancellation of state subsidies to a missionary school and the unification of the school curricula.³⁵ In addition to the Graduate Congress, the Sudan Administrative Conference that was convened in Khartoum in 1946 and 1947 to discuss the greater participation in the government of the country also advocated for educational unification.³⁶ Education had to be harmonized and Arabic taught in schools in the South.

The establishment of an Advisory Council for Northern Sudan in 1944 laid the foundation for the independence and the nationalization of schools. It demanded the repeal of the Closed District Ordinance and unification of the education system.³⁷ Educational homogenization started in 1948 after the change in Southern policy.³⁸ The policy of unification entailed using the Arabic language as the lingua franca. The Legislative Assembly approved the Northern and Southern plan in 1946 and 1951 respectively. The ten-year education plan was primarily aimed at preparing the Sudanese people, mainly Northerners, to absorb the impending political, administrative, and economic changes that were to follow independence.³⁹

The task of implementing educational unification policy fell in the hands of the first Sudanese Minister of Education, Abdel Rahman Ali Taha (1948-1953). After a tour in the South in 1949, Abdel Rahman Ali Taha designed a five-year plan including the introduction of the Arabic language in Southern schools.⁴⁰ The unification of the schooling system was followed by the nationalization of missionary schools. The new Minister of Education, Ali Abdi Rahman (1955-56) states that the government curriculum is imposed on missionary schools. The next Minister of Education, Ziyada Uthman Arbab (1956-62) oversaw the nationalization of missionary schools. While meeting the missionary representatives on Feb 13, 1957, he announced that; *“the government was to take over schools with effect from April 1, 1957 – village, elementary and intermediate, and teacher training institutes schools except those for girls due to lack of appropriate staff.”* In 1957 the government took control of schools in the South from the various Missionaries.⁴¹

Gordon Memorial College single secondary school until the 1940s, it was initially opened to cater for educational needs of Northern Sudanese only. The students at this college followed a two-year general curriculum before specializing in teaching, administration, accounting, law, science, engineering, or trade.⁴² Access to public education in colonial North Sudan was marked by high disparities between provinces, concentrating in Khartoum and between boys and girls. Before the Southern policy was abandoned, the Southerners who qualified for secondary education were sent to Uganda. Those from Catholic school background sent to St. Aleos Nyapea, West Nile region, and the Protestant educated ones were sent to Nabumali in the Eastern region. Post elementary school was restricted to a tiny elite.⁴³ By the time of independence elementary schools catered for 76,996 pupils, while intermediate schools had only

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid., 29.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid., 30.

³⁸ Ibid., 29.

³⁹ Ibid., 30.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 29.

⁴¹ Ibid., 30.

⁴² Ibid., 29.

⁴³ Ibid.

4,675 and secondary schools had 1,700 pupils, some 722 were enrolled in higher education.⁴⁴ In 1964 Southern Sudan had only two secondary schools, Rumbek and Juba Commercial. Joshua Otor Akol⁴⁵ stated that when he joined Juba Commercial Secondary School in July 1964 there were about 480 Southern Sudanese students in those schools, 160 at Juba Commercial and 320 at Rumbek.

STAGES OF SOUTHERN SUDANESE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN POST-INDEPENDENCE

The Abdallah Khalil and Aboud Regimes, 1957–1964

When the idea of separating the South from North was abandoned following the 1947 Juba conference, efforts were made to develop a unitary state. Chapter 6 of 1951 Five Year Development Plan covered the development of education and it included: a) adoption of Arabic writing scripts for Southern Sudan languages, and, b) laying plans for new teacher training institutions and production of books and teaching materials in Arabic. The attempt to change the writing script of Southern languages from Roman to Arabic alphabets stands out as one radical plan which characterizes the implementation of the Arabization of the South.⁴⁶

When Abdallah Khalil came to power in 1957 and was succeeded by General Ibrahim Aboud in 1958 the Arabization of education became the central policies of the two governments as evidence in the minutes of Headmasters' Conference of Upper Nile Province on December 28, 1959. At the conference, Sir el Khatim Khalifa, Assistant Director of Education, Southern Provinces, stated that the school is the best means for the unification of the country where the same ideas and ideals are transmitted to youngsters.⁴⁷ He went to state that Upper Nile Province had made wide paces in this respect and he is confident that shortly all schools in the south would be Arabized.⁴⁸ In this address to the head teachers of Upper Nile Province, Sir El Khatim was violating one preamble of UNESCO which states that the great and terrible war that ended in the early 1940s, the Second World War. This was a war made possible by the denial of democratic principles of the dignity, equality, and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races. He was, therefore, opening a door for protests, and riots. The same UNESCO preamble advocated for the diffusion of culture.

Since reading ability is an important element in students' ability to grasp educational content, research has tended to focus on how the medium of instruction influences reading abilities of learners.⁴⁹ It is also seen as an extension of mothering for youngsters. Some researchers claim that academic achievement in Africa has been problematic because learners have been deprived of acquiring education through African languages.⁵⁰ Joseph Oduho and William Deng⁵¹ gave this as an explanation why in 1960 University of Khartoum had 1216 students of whom 60 were Southern Sudanese, the three Cairo University branches in Sudan had no Southerners and Khartoum Technical schools had 1000 students, 30 of whom were Southerners. When Sir El Khatim el Khalifa stated that he could never dream of unification of Sudan

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Interview with Joshua Otor Akol in Juba, South Sudan on May 19, 2020.

⁴⁶ Rondyang, H. Wani (2007). *The role of indigenous languages in southern Sudan: educational language policy and planning*. Doctoral thesis, Institute of Education, University of London.

⁴⁷ South Sudan Archives (1959). *Headmasters' conference Upper Nile Province, December 28, 1959*. Bor Education, South Sudan.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Bernard, Nchindila (2017). Investigating benefits of mother tongue instruction in multilingual Africa: the role of Content and Language Integrated Learning, *Journal for Language Teaching*, Volume 51 Number 2, (December 2017). Pp. 11–33.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., 5.

unless all schools are unified in syllabus, ideas, songs, slogans, and other teachings⁵², Southern Sudanese read it as politics of marginalization. This is a violation of UNESCO's aspiration for universal consensus and social inclusion.⁵³

The education system which had government-controlled socio-political ideals for the three southern provinces came into effect by take-over of the mission schools in April 1957. In the 1960s village school teachers were taken to the north to be trained as Arabic teachers. The schools in the South were then integrated into the system of Sudan government schools already in existence, forming a unified system. Most of the Arabic teachers in the South were therefore those Southern Sudanese who had the opportunity to attend the two-year post-elementary course in Arabic. The difficulty of the language, and the short period provided for the course, ill prepares them for the teaching of this language.⁵⁴ Textbooks adapted to the child's capacity and the environment was available. Teachers prepared for the job were passing out yearly from post-elementary and intermediate Teachers' Training Centers.⁵⁵

By the 1950s there was a nascent Christian elite in the South. There were fears of conversion to Islamic religion when Sir el Khatim el Khalifa spoke of a unified education system during the Mahdia Regime and the good qualities it could give to the Sudanese people.⁵⁶ During the Mahdia period, 1881–1898, Khalwa was the main source of education where subjects taught were Arabic writing and reading, simple arithmetic, the Quran and Quranic exegesis, and Islamic jurisprudence.⁵⁷ A child who completed elementary education found that he had learned only a few phrases from the Quran, which cannot serve him any purpose since the spoken language differs from written.⁵⁸ In the Intermediate level, a child continues with Arabic and some English but when sitting final exams after four years the great majority of Southern children fail in both languages. Consequently, the Southern child had to abandon schooling or is deceitfully made to join an Islamic Mahad (institute) irrespective of his creed, with the object of making him a Fakir (Islamic teacher) in order to convert his Southern brethren into Islam.⁵⁹ In 1961 the first group from the South who sat for Arabic in Northern Sudan schools failed.⁶⁰

Generally, the use of Arabic as the language of instruction tends to open educational possibilities to Arab children at the expense of the Southern Africans. The introduction of compulsory use of Arabic in the South wiped out the solid educational foundation laid down by the British administration.⁶¹ Since independence, however, the African child has to start all his instruction in Arabic. There were no proper textbooks adapted for his/her use, and there are no teachers sufficiently prepared for the job.⁶² The insistence by the Sudan Government on Arabic and Arabic characters was also to bring pressure on Christian churches not to impart Christianity but in Arabic letters. In 1960 a Christian center was closed down and the instructor imprisoned because a blackboard with Roman characters (numbers) was found in the chapel by the District Commissioner of Yei.⁶³ Arabic was first introduced to the Southern schools in

⁵² Ibid., 47.

⁵³ Borjian, Maryam (2014). Language-education policies and international institutions: The World Bank's vs. UNESCO's global framework, *Language Problems and Language Planning*, Volume 38, Issue 1, (January 2014). Pp. 1–18.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 5.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 47.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 29.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 5.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Wawa, Yosa (2005). *The Southern Sudanese Pursuits of Self-Determination: Documents in Political History*. Kampala: Marianum Press.

⁶¹ Ibid., 5.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

1952 on a limited scale. Special textbooks printed by the Publications Bureau Juba such as Wani el Sagheer (Small Wani) and Seili Bari (Bari prayers or Pray Bari). They looked at Arabic as if it is Chinese or foreign.⁶⁴ Its imposition on the people led to protests, riots, and closure of schools in the South.

The results of the intermediate entrance examinations were always painfully unacceptable to the South.⁶⁵ All Northern students in Southern Sudan always passed and were promoted in comparison to a few Southern Sudanese. This made many Southern students see no reason why they should continue with studies. Jones Lukadi Yosefa⁶⁶ of Bereka village, Lanya County, Central Equatoria State was scheduled to complete at Loka Intermediate in December 1962 but two weeks before sitting for exams students embarked on rebellion against the Sudan government. Students from Juba Commercial and Rumbek secondary schools were joined by those in an intermediate school in class boycotts. In August 1955 Southern soldiers in Torit had mutinied, among others, the officers of the Sudanese army were mainly composed of Northern Arabs. When the mutiny failed, the mutineers went into the bushes of Southern Sudan while others entered Uganda.

In December 1960 many Southern politicians went into exile due to impending arrests. By 1962 the politicians and soldiers formed Sudan African Closed Districts National Union (later renamed Sudan African National Union) to fight for the independence of Southern Sudan. On January 15 1963 many of the said students crossed into Uganda and joined this guerrilla movement while others went to look for educational opportunities outside Sudan. Sudan reacted by closing all secondary schools in the South and reopening them in the North.

The Nimeiri Regime, 1969–1985

Jaafar Mohammed Nimeiri came to power in May 1969 on a Communist sponsored coup. To quell the Southern Sudanese resistance, he signed the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972. Article 6⁶⁷ of the Addis Ababa Agreement states that Arabic shall be an official language for Sudan and English the principal language for the South without prejudice to the use of any language or languages, which may serve a practical necessity for the efficient and expeditious discharge of executive and administrative functions of the Region. In 1974 the Regional Parliament of the South established following the Addis Ababa Agreement, in its sitting No 23, debated the languages of instruction in Southern schools.⁶⁸

Hon. Joshua Dau Diu, Zerraf Constituency moved the motion that English language be introduced as the medium of instruction in educational institutions of the region as from 1974/75 academic year. He quoted the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972. The motion was seconded by Hon. Simon Mori Didumo of the Intellectuals' constituency on its sitting No 24, Thursday, June 13, 1974. Contributing in support of the motion Hon. Eliaba Surur, Central Western Constituency said that it is common to fear throughout the country that when you talk of introducing English, in the Southern Region, it is viewed as the way to break away from the unity of the country. He further emphasized by saying that "*I am sure the unity of the country is not only achieved by speaking one language. So many united countries use many languages.*" Hons. Joshua Okwaci Nyilek from Upper Nile, Province Administrative Unity, and Hon. Lawrence Lual Lual, Regional Minister for Presidential Affairs opposed the motion. The voting was: Ayes =22, Noes = Nil, and Abstentions = 13.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 60.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Interview with Jones Lukadi Yosepa in Juba, South Sudan on March 18, 2020.

⁶⁷ Reviewed the Addis Ababa Agreement document (p 229) on the Problem of South Sudan in 1972.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

The Hon. Minister of Education, Hon. Michael Tawil Ngamude, wrote to the High Executive Council, Juba about this parliamentary debate and its result. Reacting to Hon. Ngamude's letter, The High Executive Council replied that after considering the submission of the Regional Ministry of Education Ref No. MESR/SR/1.A.1/5 dated October 23, 1975, on the use of language for education in the Southern Region and in light of its resolution No 247 of 29 September 1975:

The High Executive Council in its meeting No 103 of November 8, 1975, resolved that: a) in rural schools, vernacular be used as a medium of instruction in the first 2 years with English and Arabic introduced orally. Also, vernacular be used in the 3rd and 4th years while English and Arabic are intensified; and Arabic be used as a medium of instruction in the 5th and 6th years while English is intensified. In urban schools, Arabic be the medium of instruction, and English be introduced orally; while Arabic continues as a medium of instruction in 3rd to 4th years while English is intensified. Moreover, in all junior secondary schools, Arabic shall be the medium of instruction while English is intensified, while all senior secondary schools and post-senior secondary schools, English shall be the medium of instruction and Arabic taught as a language.

Ignoring the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972, the education planners imposed Arabic as a prerequisite to obtaining a Sudan School Certificate in 1974. Brilliant performance in any other subject is overlooked in favor of Arabic irrespective of whether one is going to study medicine or Engineering or Arabic. Some Southerners protested that this state of affairs has an appreciable disadvantage to Southern Sudanese.⁶⁹ This resulted in the creation of Second Class Citizens by which means the Southerners were implicitly defined with total disregard of the rich traditional African values, norms, and beliefs.⁷⁰ The report, which followed the UNESCO Education for All framework, analyzed language policy, implementation, and practices in 25 African countries. What emerged was a clear indication that a firm foundation in mother tongue instruction, coupled with learning the colonial language, is critical for understanding new concepts and expressing what has been learned. That ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war.

In its Manifesto, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) stated that the Sudanese reality consists of two diversities, the historical and contemporary.⁷¹ Yet this reality has been ignored, swept aside, by all the governments that have come and gone in Khartoum since independence in 1956. It was fighting in order to institute a common Sudanese identity, a Sudanese commonality, a Sudanese commonwealth, that embraces all Sudanese, and to which all Sudanese pledge undivided loyalty irrespective of their religion, race, or tribe.⁷² Therefore, many Southern Sudanese students from universities to secondary schools abandoned studies and joined the Sudan People's Liberation Movement.

Bashir Regime, 1989–2005

In 1989 Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir came to power in a military coup supported by Islamists and Arabists which called itself the National Salvation Government. In order to find peaceful solutions to the problems, the government called for a dialogue conference on peace. In October 1989 the conference recommended: a) Arabic is the official language of Sudan; b) Languages, culture, and history of Sudan are characteristic of the country, c) Educational planning should consider the historical experience of

⁶⁹ Akau, AGD (1979). Why Arabic? A letter to the editor of Southern Sudan Magazine (p 2) in 1979.

⁷⁰ Memorandum by Equatoria students in universities and higher institutions in Sudan to Southern, concerning Arabisation and Islamisation of Southern Sudan. In: Wawa, Yosa (2005). *The Southern Sudanese Pursuits of Self-Determination: Documents in Political History*. Kampala: Marianum Press.

⁷¹ Sudan People's Liberation Movement Manifesto of 1983.

⁷² Ibid.

Arabic language as a mother tongue of a large Sudanese group and a lingua franca for numerous groups as well as being the official language, d) Educational planning should consider the historical experience of English language as one of special status in the Southern Region; e) Educational planning should consider the local dialects and adopt the educational wisdom of beginning education with a dialect; f) Educational planning should consider the fact of language, cultural and environmental diversity to be definite educational experiences, and; g) Educational planning should be connected with the mother languages.

In a way, the recommendations gave equal considerations to Arabic, English, and mother tongue but in reality, the official trend was towards Arabization.⁷³ But in 1990 the National Salvation Government of Omar al-Bashir issued decree No. 18 for convening a conference on education policies. The conference was held between 17-19 September 1990 and recommended: a) Deepen and accentuate religious belief in pupils; b) Strengthen the spirit of national unity; and, c) Arabic programs be strengthened in, the Nuba Mountains, Southern Blue Nile, and Beja areas.

The recommendations of September 1990 diverged from the peace conference. In 1991/92 a new curriculum was released with immense and great influence of Islamic and Arabic content. The curriculum exhibits Arab-Islamic images. The Bakt el Rhuda institute published a series of books for primary one to six.⁷⁴ This violated UNESCO's preamble which dismisses the social, cultural, and the doctrine of the inequality of men and races. This is called Taseel education policy where it aimed at reshaping the Sudanese society in an Islamic mode.⁷⁵

Under Bashir, each school day commenced with an assembly in which the school authorities selected a pupil to recite Quranic verses. This exercise was normally followed by the presentation of prophetic messages (hadith), Islamic philosophy, praises of Jihad, and nationalism.⁷⁶ The Bashir government was so theocratic that the Islamized and Arabized syllabi began to be taught all over the country.⁷⁷ On its side, the Sudan People Liberation Movement⁷⁸, in its first liberation council convention of 183 members with legislative powers (Article 2.5.0) and Article 19.2.3 pronounced the medium of instruction as follows: a) Primary 1 to 3 – mother tongue with the introduction of English, and, b) Primary 4 - above - English the medium of instruction.

In response to the 1994 Chukudum convention, the Secretariat of Education of the SPLM issued an education policy statement whose Article 2.6 promoted love, pride, and respect for New Sudan's diverse positive cultural heritage.⁷⁹ This was a direct challenge to various regimes in Khartoum's plans of attempting to spread Arabic at the expense of Southern languages. The argument is that English is preferred because it is foreign to all, unlike Arabic which is a first to 39% of the Sudanese population.

There was nothing secret about the variation in education policy between the SPLM and Bashir's government. Alunyo Alfred⁸⁰ who started his secondary education witnessed the students protests and riots in Juba against the introduction of Arabic as a language of instruction. He had been instructed in English from St. Teresa Primary School in Torit and Buluk Intermediate in Juba in 1989 later joining a

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Sudan People's Liberation Movement. (2002). *Section 7.3 of Education policy of the new Sudan and implementation guidelines*. Yei, Himman-New Cush, Sudan.

⁸⁰ Interview with Alunyo Alfred in Juba, South Sudan on March 20, 2020.

secondary school in 1990. At that time most teachers in the south were taken to Khartoum to be given a crash course in Arabic to enable them to teach. By January 1992 many students were arrested. This – mobilized many secondary school students to leave Juba for SPLM/A controlled areas and others sought for educational opportunities in Uganda. Alunyo left Southern Sudan on January 5 1992 and followed the big boys. They walked without stopping and resting until they reached Kor Tag when they met the first SPLA barracks. They were then taken to Isoke and trained as Jamus, two officers. Around July/August the Sudan Government took Torit, he left for Uganda where he joined a school at Kochea in Adjumani district (Uganda) and later qualified to join the medical school at Makerere University in 1999. He was able to perform very well because all students in Uganda had to struggle like anybody else to learn in English.

CONCLUSION

Language is the embodiment of culture. Every person, according to the UNESCO constitution, has a right to his or her culture including chiefs such as Chief Busu of Kajo Keji who demonstrated that he wanted his dialect recorded. In his language policy orientations, Richard Ruiz listed three language orientations; as a problem, as a right, and a resource. In the Sudan language policy, no attempt was made to see language as a resource. As assimilationists, they saw multiple languages as a problem. It became a real political problem because the South thought they had a right to their languages and cultures. The policymakers of Sudan were concerned with the construction of a nation-state based on Arabic language or culture, the language of the few but powerful elites. In so doing, they even ignored the right of people to their languages which resulted in students' protests. The persistence of Southern Sudanese students' riots led to the closure of schools and their transfer to the North. Most of the riotous students from mainly the Equatorial region who either joined ranks of the various rebel groups during the period under investigation or went to neighboring countries, such as Uganda and Kenya, to look for educational opportunities. The students saw the language policy of the independent Sudan, 1956-2005, as a function of domination or assimilation or cultural subjugation. The UNESCO preamble that states that throughout the history of mankind, suspicion and mistrust between the peoples due to their differences have all too often broken into wars attests to the story of Sudan. The monolingual language policies of Sudan were not seen by the South as contributing to the development or maintenance of equity but seen as domination and imposition of a foreign language and values over an indigenous African.

Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Ethiopia and Nigeria: A Comparative Analysis

Jemal Muhamed Adem

ABSTRACT

This article makes a comparative analysis of the conditions of ethnicity, ethnic conflict, and the political order of federalism in Ethiopia and Nigeria. Both Ethiopia and Nigeria share common highly ethnically diversified and large numbers of the population, recurrent inter-ethnic conflict, and the adoption of federalism as a system of ethnic conflict management. Also, the two countries depict differences including the status of ethnicity in each country's version of federalism. While ethnicity is accepted as a means of political mobilization and base of structuring the Ethiopian federation, the Nigerian model unwelcomed ethnic-based political mobilization, and exclusive claims over a particular geography. Despite such different considerations of ethnicity in relation to federal political order, Nigeria and Ethiopia have been hosting ethnic conflicts that negatively affect the countries' peace and stability. Neither Ethiopian experiences of ethnic celebrating federalism nor the Nigerian model of geographic federalism is successful to mitigate ethnic conflicts. At the same time, both countries have not practiced democracy and built strong institutions. Based on the common denominators in both countries, this article argues that ethnicity as an explanatory factor to conflicts impedes alternative explanations to the conflicts in terms of ill-functioning democracy and institutions.

INTRODUCTION

Ethnicity and ethnic conflicts are integral and dominant part of African countries' politics. Different explanations have been forwarded about the relationship between ethnicity and conflict along with political orders by various scholars. These explanations range from ethnicity as a single essential factor of conflict to a broader comprehensive perspective combining identity, socio-economic and political dimensions.¹ This article examines the trends and relations of ethnicity, ethnic conflict, and federalism in Ethiopia and Nigeria in comparative terms. Being the two most populous and diversified African countries, Ethiopia and Nigeria have experienced frequent ethnic conflicts and political crises. As part of efforts to address this problem, the two countries adopted federalism as a political order to manage ethnic conflicts. Despite commonalities in diverse and multi-ethnic populations, federal political order, and inter-ethnic conflicts, both countries vary in historical contexts, emanating from Nigeria's colonial heritage which Ethiopia fought off, and models of federalism they adopted. This article examines the patterns and regularities of ethnicity, ethnic conflict, and federalism to draw commonalities from the experiences of the two countries. By considering the experiences of these countries, the article tries to address questions: is ethnicity a source of conflicts in Ethiopia and Nigeria? Do we have alternative explanations for the problems of ethnic conflict in these countries?

UNDERSTANDING ETHNICITY, ETHNIC CONFLICT, AND FEDERALISM

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is one of the red-hot issues in developing world politics though the concept does not have standardized ways to think about it. Different scholars give different definitions and hypotheses about the formation of ethnic identity or ethnicity. The term ethnicity refers to human categories who identified

¹ Abiero, Opondo (2003). *Ethnicity: A Cause of Political Instability in Africa?* Austin: University of Texas Libraries.

themselves through common ancestral memories, reading of history, socio-cultural heritages, psychological makeup, language, and group membership.²

Theoretical explanations about ethnicity and its formation fall into three broad categories: primordialism, constructivism, and instrumentalism. The primordialism assertion of ethnicity maintains that ethnic identity can be defined based on objective essences, which are rooted in biological traits inherited through bloodlines.³ According to the proponents of this idea, ethnic identity can be assessed objectively as a permanent reality. Conversely, the instrumentalists view ethnicity as a tool at the disposal of political elites to be manipulated in their efforts to advance their group's political interests.⁴ For instrumentalist ethnic identity is malleable based on elites' bargaining power in the course of interaction with either state or elites from other ethnic groups. Instrumentalist thought ethnicity being subject to manipulations, reformulation as conflicts unfold and political circumstances change which reduces the very conceptions of ethnicity to a mere calculation of political elites.⁵

Meanwhile, the theory of social constructivism holds the view that ethnic identities and boundaries are the results of the complex socio-political process and are often subject to negotiation and reconfiguration as part of the socio-political dynamic process.⁶ This theory emphasizes that ethnicity as an identity marker is a matter of construction and choice than kinship inheritances and a mere subject of the elite's manipulation. This has become the standard theory of identity politics in the Post-Cold War period. The logic behind that is to avoid the danger of relying on a single factor and oversimplifications in the study of identity and ethnicity. In this regard, Victor Azarya (2003) argued that belief in primordial traits may contribute to the successful construction of ethnic identity, but primordial traits do not offer immunity from changes and reconfigurations though they are not so amenable to quick manipulations. At the same time, ethnicity is not such an ephemeral phenomenon easily controllable as for immediate and rapid changing benefits as that of instrumentalist's claims.⁷ This follows that the three explanations are not contradictory and mutually exclusive, but they may reinforce each other depending on contexts.

Ethnic Conflict

Ethnic conflict is a conflict between two or more self-proclaiming ethnic groups caused by divergent socio-economic and political interests channeled through ethnic lines.⁸ While ethnic and tribal conflicts have been a significant part of the developing world politics, scholars have never agreed on what causes ethnic conflicts.⁹ Many researchers tend to agree that ethnic conflict is the principal fact of today's politics; particularly in ethnically divided countries though there is no common explanations about causes behind that conflict.¹⁰ Victor Azarya (2003) argued that ethnic conflict is an endemic, a natural order of things as long as the scarcity of resources exists. He further argued that ethnicity becomes an issue when

² Basedau, Matthias (2011). *Managing Ethnic Conflict: The Menu of Institutional Engineering*. GIGA Working Paper No 171. Hamburg: GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies.

³ Zagefka, Hanna (2009). The concept of ethnicity in social psychological research: Definitional issues, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol. 33. Pp. 228–241.

⁴ Ibhawoh, Bonny (2010). Beyond Instrumentalism and Constructivism: Reconceptualising Ethnic Identities in Africa, *Humanities Today*, Vol. 1, Number 1. Pp. 221–230.

⁵ Azarya, Victor (2003). Ethnicity and conflict management in post-colonial Africa, *Journal Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 9 (3). Pp. 1–24.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Bekalu Atnafu Taye (2017). Ethnic federalism and conflict in Ethiopia, *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, Volume 17, Number 2. Pp. 41–66.

⁹ Ibid., 2.

¹⁰ Vanhanen, Tatu (1999). Domestic Ethnic Conflict and Ethnic Nepotism: A Comparative Analysis, *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 36, Issue 1. Pp. 55–73.

conflicting parties stress on some of its components to improve their positions over opponent groups in conflict and enlarge ethnic boundaries to build a broader basis of support. In light of this, Tatu Vanhanen (1999) asserted that ethnic conflict is a universal phenomenon and it can be explained by human's evolved predisposition to ethnic nepotism, whereby members of an ethnic group tend to favor their group members over non-members. They become more related to their group members than outsiders. He loudly attributes ethnic conflict to human's disposition to favor kin over non-kin in social life, political process, and in competitions over scarce resources.¹¹

Ethnic conflicts mostly occur in less developed parts of the world mainly Africa and Asia. Several factors have been attributed to the recurrence of conflicts in Africa along ethnic lines ranging from varied ethnolinguistic and tribal diversities to colonialism, economic impoverishments, maladministration, and bad governance. Although ethnic cleavages were an essential feature of pre-colonial African society, current ethnic based conflictual developments in every corner of the continent are products of the colonial period politics and border delineations.¹² The impacts of colonialism are felt not in the very essence of ethnicity, which is a universal phenomenon, but in the crystallization and reconfigurations of ethnic entities for political uses.¹³ Then an important question can be raised here if ethnicity had been politicized during colonialism why it didn't revert or depoliticized with post-colonial Africa? Several explanations have been forwarded about the continuation of ethnicity in the post-colonial African politics. According to Victor Azarya (2003), the continued significance of ethnicity is attributed to its usages as a political tool of mobilization when Africans were struggling to replace the colonial system with newly independent states. According to him while the struggle between Africans and European colonial power culminated with the triumph of the former, other waves of struggle emerged among the Africans themselves on which groups would control the political spaces left behind by colonial powers.

At that juncture ethnicity, often combined with regional or religious affiliations, appeared as the basis of support in the political bargaining process to control the new state institutions and basis of resource allocation. Moreover, as ethnicity created the communal links between the officeholder and his/her group, it becomes a large part of public discourse about political participation and exclusion. As a result, political disputes and grievances of inequalities, underrepresentation, and unfair distribution of power and resources have gained ethnic definitions which amplified the level of totalities in which people organized to express grievances. On several occasions, elites deliberately try to define conflicts in ethnic terms to mobilize support more effectively, by showing their potential followers in the course of negotiation and bargaining to their opponents. Thus ethnicity by itself cannot be the driving force of conflicts, but when used to oppress and exclude people in a political process of resource and power allocation, utilized by political elites to mobilize their followers in pursuit of power, wealth, and resources. The peaceful co-existences of thousands of ethnic groups based on mutual recognition and respect, inter-ethnic marriages, socio-economic partnerships, and shared values in pre-colonial Africa is a showcase that ethnicity or diverse society is not essentially prone to conflicts.¹⁴

FEDERALISM AS A TOOL OF ETHNIC CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Federalism as a mode of political organization and form of political order has been gaining acceptance in many countries. Federalism refers to a political framework to conduct the political process and to adjust the relations between the national and sub-national governments within a certain polity. Federalism is a system of power-sharing between the central administration and diverse autonomous units. Ronald L.

¹¹ Isajiw, Wsevolod W. (2000). Approaches to ethnic conflict resolution: paradigms and principles, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Volume 24, Issue 1. Pp. 105–124.

¹² *Ibid.*, 5.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Watts (2008) pointed out three essences or cores of the concepts of federalism as ‘unity in diversity’, ‘shared rule’, and ‘self-rule’. According to him, the phrase unity in diversity stands for the existence of diverse identity markers, groups, and socio-cultural units under the umbrella of one political community government which represents aggregate interests of all sub-national units. The shared rule refers to existence of political power commonly practiced by the central government and constituent units of the federation while ‘self-rule’ stands for the autonomous status of provincial or sub-national administrations to decide upon their matters without the interferences from the center or the national authority.¹⁵ Put simply, federalism is a system of government where power is divided between the central or national government and several sub-national authorities, each of which has its sphere of influence and power to act independently from the other.¹⁶

As pointed out above, ethnicity has been serving as a means of political mobilization, thereby formation of different political forces and organizations along ethnic lines in various countries. Even in countries with a long history of statehood establishment and with no trauma of colonialism like Ethiopia, frequent conflicts over public policy arise due to past interactions of groups that involve ethnic identification of historical socio-economic and political problems.¹⁷ In such contexts, federalism emerged as a tool to manage the relations between the groups with divergent interests and instrument state-building after the collapse of old colonial empires and as a means to rectify past injustices.¹⁸ Multi-ethnic countries in Africa such as Nigeria and Ethiopia adopted federalism to accommodate ethnic pluralism as well as harmonizing different ethnic groups under one political community.

Despite this idea at the center of federalism as a political system and state arrangement, what particular type and implementation of federalism can effectively address the problems of ethnic conflicts remains a matter of scholastic and policy-making debates. In this sense, federalism denotes conflict and diversity management as a proper terminology to deal with ethnic conflicts.¹⁹ The following section addresses questions: what is the political significance of ethnicity in Ethiopia and Nigeria? How federalism is being employed to manage ethnic conflicts through a comparative study of ethnic conflicts and federalism in Ethiopia and Nigeria.

WHY COMPARE ETHIOPIA AND NIGERIA?

There are four principal reasons to compare Ethiopia and Nigeria as far as the topic of federalism and ethnic conflicts are concerned. The first reason goes to the fact that the two countries are multi-ethnic and the two most populous African countries. Secondly, both of these countries have adopted the federal political system due to the plural nature of populations and to prevent potential inter-ethnic conflicts. Thirdly, ethnic conflicts are continuously rising in both countries despite federal state structures. The fourth reason attributes to look at the different patterns and applications of federalism in the two countries and its implications to ethnic conflicts.

ETHNICITY, DIVERSITY, AND POLITICS IN ETHIOPIA AND NIGERIA

Following the collapse of the Ethiopian Marxist regime in 1991, an ethnic coalition front known as the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) came to power and adopted ethnic

¹⁵ Watts, Ronald L. (2008). *Comparing Federal Systems*, 3rd edition. Kingston, Ontario: McGill Queen University Press.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁷ Rudolph, Joseph (2006). *Politics and Ethnicity: A Comparative Study*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

¹⁸ Watts, Ronald L. (1994). “*Contemporary views of federalism*”. In: B. De Villiers (Ed.). Pp. 1–29.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

federalism and secularism as a political order of the Ethiopian state.²⁰ That political transformation paved ways for ethnicity and ethnic chauvinism to be the formal characteristic of political terms in Ethiopia where ethnicity serves as a base of provincial arrangements, party membership, and popular mobilizations. Unlike multi-national federations in The Western World which reconciled questions of ethnic autonomy through a prolonged negotiating between the states and organized minority groups, Ethiopian federalism involved a top-down rearrangement of the country based on ethnicity as a major criterion to determine constituent units of the federation.²¹

In this respect, many ethnic groups in the country were not only required but also forced to organize themselves along their ethnic lines to fit into the new ethnic-federal system.²² This resulted in the ethnicization of politics and the politicization of ethnicity in the country. The assumption behind this move was to rectify the country's old statehood establishments based on the assimilationist approach of state-building under the umbrella of the Amharic language and Orthodox Christianity to which the country's diverse ethnolinguistic and religious groups were subjected to acclimatization. Although the assimilation project drastically failed, its legacies have been reproduced conflicts and challenges to the country's present politics. Despite the current government's political rhetoric to correct the historical injustices and prejudices by adopting multi-cultural and federal political order based on constitutional recognition of the diverse ethnolinguistic, cultural and religious group's rights, the country remains in a political crisis that often takes the forms of inter-ethnic conflicts and violence.

The government restructured the country as a federation of nine regional administrations and two city administrations, while the constituent units of the federations drawn mainly based on ethnolinguistic boundaries. Beyond the formal politics of ethnicity as a base of politics, ethnicity, and religion also coincide along with particular geographic locations. In this way, the Ethiopian experience of federalism has enabled ethnicity to be a legitimate means for both state structure and political mobilization.

Nigeria is Africa's most populous and large country occupied by highly ethnically diverse people with different languages and cultures.²³ Ethnicity has been at the center of various forms of conflictual relationships between different groups in the country. Being a country with a wide variety of ethnic groups and cultural diversity, the country has been vulnerable to frequent ethnic conflicts, discrimination, and domination since Nigerian independence in 1960.²⁴ As a response to this problem, subsequent governments in post-colonial Nigeria have tried to address the issue of inter-ethnic tensions by adopting federal political order and arrangements with several modifications in different periods. The Nigerian federal character was first adopted in the country's 1979 constitution as an effort to balance contending or rivalry ethnic claims over territory, natural resources, and political power.²⁵

The purpose of the federal charter was to ensure fair representation to various regional units and communal groups in the country's new institutions and allocation of political power and influence.²⁶ Similar to Ethiopia, Nigeria is home to heterogeneous societies, often estimated to be more than 250

²⁰ Serawit Bekele Debele (2018). Religion and politics in post-1991 Ethiopia: making sense of Bryan S. Turner's 'Managing Religions', *Religion, State and Society*, Volume 46, Issue 1 (2018). Pp. 26–42.

²¹ Will, Kymlicka (2006). "Emerging Western Models of Multination Federalism: Are They Relevant to Africa?" In: *Ethnic Federalism: The Ethiopian Experience in Comparative Perspective* (ed). Oxford: James Currey.

²² *Ibid.*, 8.

²³ Oputa, C. A. (2006). *National unity in diversity: A case of Ndigbo*. Lecture delivered during the inauguration of Ndigbo Switzerland (Onye Aghala Nwanne Ya) held at Palladium hall, Geneva, Switzerland. Accessed on.....

²⁴ Tamuno, T. N. (2004). "Nigerian federalism in historical perspective". In: *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria* (eds). Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.

²⁵ Tyokase, C. T. (2012). *Nigeria: The search for nationhood – structure, institutions and issues*. Abeokuta: GOAD Educational publishers.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

ethnic and cultural groups.²⁷ Unlike the Ethiopian case, ethnicity is not accepted as a legitimate political tool in Nigerian federalism neither as the base to arrange the constituent units of the Nigerian federation nor as means of political party mobilization in official political discourse. Unlike in Ethiopia, Ethnic based political mobilization and structure are not welcomed under the Nigerian legal frameworks based on the logic that it will weaken the country and spread divisive sentiments.²⁸ At the time of independence from Britain's colonial rule, Nigeria was a federation of three administrative regions each of which was characterized by multiple ethnic nationalities.²⁹ The continuous rivalry between and among various ethnic factions and the entrenchment of conflicts in the post-colonial Nigeria have put pressures on successive Nigerian governments to reconstitute the *federal* system, again and again, to devolve powers and ensure equitable distribution of resources and revenues which raised the number of regional units of the Nigerian federation from three to thirty-six.³⁰

Contrary to the Ethiopian federation, Nigerian federalism continued to have geographic natures than ethnolinguistic one. Currently, Nigeria is a federation of thirty-six sub-national administrative units, which are artificially defined by geographic features and significant ethnolinguistic and cultural heterogeneity. Despite the pressures towards ethnicized administrative units from various ethnolinguistic groups, the country's constitution has not recognized ethnicity as a political tool for sub-national units' arrangement and party mobilizations. According to Adiele E. Afigbo (1999), the rationale behind the Nigerian government's resistance to the ethnic forces is that political processes such as party mobilizations and territorial configurations along rigid ethnic and tribal lines will severely dismantle the country.

As a means to avoid inter-ethnic conflicts and tensions, political elites in Nigeria preferred to design heterogeneous regional units and reorient the politics as "plural persons", maintaining affiliation to their ethnic groups to identify and relate themselves within the contexts of broader Nigerian society.³¹ In comparative terms, while Ethiopian federalism bases on constitutional recognition of ethnicity as the capital of state structure and legitimate political mobilization, the Nigerian experience contradicts the Ethiopian case as the latter's constitution doesn't welcome ethnicity to serve as a political formula and group political mobilization.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

The different experiences of federalism and the problems of ethnic conflict in Ethiopia and Nigeria boldly tell us about different attitudes of African governments towards public recognition of ethnicity as a political standard. While ethnicity as a formula of state's domestic sub-territorial order and as a means of political party formation has been supported by the state in Ethiopia, it has denied in Nigeria to which Victor Azarya (2003) referred as acceptance and ignorance respectively. The Ethiopian model, acceptance of ethnicity, allows different ethnic groups in the country to form their administrative regions based on exclusive claims of the territory and legitimized ethnic-based political parties that denied people who are out of that particular ethnic group full-fledged political and civil rights. Thus, ethnicity serves to privilege members and exclude others in the Ethiopian federation in its operational terms.

²⁷ Suwirta, Andi & Wani, Hilal A. (2013). Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria: A Need for True Federalism, *International Journal for Historical Studies*, Vol.5 (1). Pp. 57–70.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Afigbo, Adiele E. (1991). Background to Nigerian Federalism: Federal Features in the Colonial State, *The Journal of Federalism*, Volume 21, Issue 4. Pp. 3–29.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Otite, Onigu (2002). *Ethnic Pluralism, Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflicts in Nigeria*, (2nd Ed.). Ibadan: Shaneson C. I. Limited.

The objective of relying on ethnicity as a base for a political formula, as per the Ethiopian constitution is to rectify historical discriminations and injustice and to politically empower different ethnic groups in the new polity of the federation. This belief of elites capitalized ethnicity as the natural basis through which a political consociational pact could be reached. The Ethiopian case seems to assume that democracy can only be achieved through regionally defined ethnic group rights.³² Despite such political rhetoric and ethnicization of public discourse as a phenomenon of democracy, equality, and recognition, in reality, the EPRDF government has been dominated by a minority party, the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF).³³ The stance of the TPLF as a major revolutionary fighter from the Tigray ethnic groups led to exclude genuine political parties from other ethnic groups such as Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) early in the political process of bargaining and adoption of federalism.³⁴ Moreover, the coalition government was made up of only people from political parties representing four ethnic groups and their regions. The other five regions in the country's periphery had no role in central decision-making process, but were only affiliates to the coalition government. As a result, there have been widespread resentments among populations of five regions; namely Gambella, Afar, Somali, Benshangul, and Harari.

At the same time, the government's conception of ethnicity and geography has not been congruent with the multi-ethnic setup of many areas and cities in the country including the Amhara, Oromia, Harari, Dire Dawa, and Addis Ababa city administrations which are highly heterogeneous society.³⁵ The Ethiopian constitution provides for ethnic groups the right to self and autonomous administration up to secession which drilled opponents of Ethiopian ethnic federalism that it may lead the country to adverse ethnic conflicts and disintegration of the state at all. Despite the constitutional provision and hope that ethnic federalism would bring peace, stability, and democracy, Ethiopia could not escape from traps of frequent small and large scale inter-ethnic conflicts since adoption of the federal political model. For instance, violent inter-ethnic conflicts have caused the death of hundreds and more than 3 million people's displacements in Amhara, Somali, Oromia, Benishangul-Gumuz, and Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' regions since 2017.³⁶ Most of these conflicts are between the 'host ethnic communities' and 'settlers' who reside in the area.

On the other hand, the Nigerian model of federalism prevents ethnicity from becoming a political means either to arrange provinces or formal party mobilizations. While the Nigerian government prohibits any forms of ethnic politicization, it recognized ethnic and regional diversities in its policy approaches.³⁷ Ethnicities as a social bond neither ignored nor suppressed, but still were regarded as a potential intensifier of conflicts which should be contained better.³⁸ However, despite the government's commitment to preventing ethnicity from becoming a political means of interest articulation and state structure, Nigeria has been hit by frequent bloody inter-ethnic conflicts since the country gained its independence from Britain's colonial rule.³⁹ The Federation of Nigeria has been shocked by bloody violent ethnic conflicts, of the most severe of these disputes was the three years old civil war that occurred between 1967–1970 and caused by the interest and plan of three eastern states to secede from the federation. This brutal civil war that caused the deaths of more than a million Nigerians was fueled by

³² Ibid., 5.

³³ Frank, Marijke (2009). *Effects of Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia. Holding Together or Splitting Apart?* Summer Institute Guadalajara 2009, Ethnicity, Diversity and Democracy, EDG Project.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Hassan, Abdullahi Nurow (2012). *Federation in Africa: Case Studies of Ethiopia and Nigeria*. Nairobi: University of Nairobi.

³⁶ Semir Yusuf (2019). *Drivers of ethnic conflict in contemporary Ethiopia*. Monograph 202 published by the Institute for Security Studies.

³⁷ Ibid., 5.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid., 27.

the feeling of dominations and dissatisfaction among Igbos in the East by sizable northerners.⁴⁰ Unlike the Ethiopian case, the problem of Nigerian ethnic conflict is partly the legacy of the British colonial policy of divide and rule which was initially adopted to confront the nationalists and anti-colonial assertions to maintain colonial authority and power over the vast Nigerian territory.⁴¹

Against the background of ethnicized and factional colonial units of administration, successive governments in post-colonial Nigeria have tried to reduce ethnic sensitivities by discouraging the ethnic-based provincial formation and political organizations. The hallmark of these measures went to the adoption of federal-state structure based on geographic criteria and administrative simplicities without any considerations of ethnicity. Besides, claims of ethnic groups to have their own ethnically defined administrative zones. In the course of designing and rearranging the original constituent units of the federation, some ethnic groups have appeared to be dominant in certain regions while others become minorities. This created tensions over the distribution of power and resources and matters of representation. For instance, competition over oil resources in the Niger Delta region, which is occupied by forty ethnic groups, caused conflicts and tensions among the five main ethnic groups; Urhobo, Ogoni, Ukwuani, Isoko, and Ijaw. The trend is further complicated when the state represses ethnic-based claims to deescalate ethnic animosities.⁴² Although ethnicity is not welcomed in Nigerian federal politics as a means of constituent unit formation and party mobilization, ethnic conflict continuously reoccurred in the Nigerian federation.

The point to be made at this juncture is that despite efforts to avoid ethnicity by adopting geographic federalism through the relatively balanced distribution of political power, representation, and resource allocation, Nigeria couldn't escape the disruptive and destabilization effects of widespread ethnic animosities and conflicts in the country. Frequent violence in the country has witnessed opposite directions to the very purposes of federalism, which was reducing conflicts by providing an enabling framework for diversity and multi-ethnic administrative units within the federation. Nigerian model of geographic federalism couldn't eradicate tensions and fears from one ethnic or group domination of the particular sub-national administrative unit which complicated the question of who gets what and how in the distribution of local revenues and the national cake at large pose a major challenge to the Nigerian federation.⁴³

One may argue that most studies on Ethiopian and Nigerian ethnic conflicts overemphasize ethnicity as a source of conflicts paying lesser attention to the general structure of governments and its core institutional functioning in these countries. To put in other words, there should be other explanatory factors to the ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia and Nigeria than ethnicity as a sole determinant factor. The Nigerian case of avoiding ethnicity in politics and the Ethiopian case of politicization and celebration of ethnicity gave a good lesson that though both countries adopted different approaches to manage ethnic diversities and to avert potential conflicts; neither of these models is effective in dealing with ethnicity, ethnic conflicts, and violent conflicts from taking ethnic dimensions. Thus it needs considerations beyond ethnicity.

FACTORS OF CONFLICT BEYOND ETHNICITY: A SEARCH FOR ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATIONS

The preliminary questions about whether ethnicity causes violent conflict and what position ethnicity should take in the political process of multi-ethnic society continues to be a point of scholastic debate and

⁴⁰ Mazrui, Ali A. (2008). "*Conflict in Africa: An Overview*". In: *the Roots of African Conflicts: The Causes and Costs* (eds). Addis Ababa: OSSREA.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

public policy-making discussions. Ethnicity as communal patterns of social cleavages has been part of humanity since the time of human existence on the planet earth. The contemporary political definitions of the term associate the natural phenomenon of ethnolinguistic diversities to conflict as these differences have been used for political purposes. The mere existences of diversities in the forms of ethnicity or religion are not essential to inter-group conflicts and animosities to disprove the natural fact that the planet earth is so large enough to fit a variety of humankind.⁴⁴ Diversity in its various forms is the reality we are living. An assertion that human diversity essentially facilitates and causes violent conflict is not only a misreading of humanity and its history but also affects human's harmonious collective existence.

At the same time conflict is an essential part of the history of human societies. The very complex phenomena, conflict should be viewed from various dimensions and contexts of the society experiencing violent conflict than a mere attribution of such developments to diversity. The relation between ethnicity, conflict, and conflict management should be viewed comprehensively to understand and address the problem effectively. Thus, it demanded to contextualize the problem of ethnicity and related conflicts in the existence of two or more self-identifying ethnolinguistic groups, multi-dimensional interactions (historical, political, economic, cultural, etc.) among these groups, the existence of the winner and loser as a result of the multi-faceted interactions. This follows that the contemporary meaning of ethnicity entails meaning about the nature of interactions, not to the mere existence of different groups.⁴⁵ Adele L. Jinadu, (2004) argued that ethnic differences cannot explain conflictual and hostile relations although it appears to dominate most conflict studies.

Due to such over emphasizes on ethnicity most studies have become blind to rule out poor governance, dictatorship and abysmal poverty, discrimination, the marginalization that facilitate the ground for conflictual developments. In this regard, Barbara F. Walter & Elaine K. Denny (2013) argued that injustice in its various forms like disparities as a result of discrimination and marginalization in economic activities, exclusion from political decision-making process between, or inaccessible political and government positions, is a structural source of discontent in many conflicts, not ethnicity.⁴⁶ Dan Smith (2004) further asserted that ethnic differences are of central importance not as a sole cause of conflicts, but rather as an instrument of mobilization for political leaders. This particularly lets us consider the process of state formation in Africa where the natural stages of state genesis were distorted by European colonial powers who draw boundaries between African states based on their goodwill, regardless of the local context of African society. This resulted in the continuing disturbance of African states and societies.⁴⁷

The colonial borders put people from the same ethnic group in different countries as well as in different provinces within the same country which creates winner and loser ethnic groups in the political game of post-colonial state in Africa.⁴⁸ In this regard, Paul T. Zelela (2008) asserted that there is hardly any zone of conflict in contemporary Africa that cannot trace its root to colonial history. Discrimination could be the result of past colonial and oppressive regime's policies and arrangements of artificial administrative

⁴⁴ Aapengnuo, Clement M. (2010). *Misinterpreting ethnic conflicts in Africa*. Africa Security Brief (No. 4/April 2010). Washington, DC: Africa Center for Strategic Studies.

⁴⁵ Paglia, Pamela (2007). *Ethnicity and Tribalism: are these the Root Causes of the Sudanese Civil Conflicts? African conflicts and the Role of Ethnicity: a Case Study of Sudan*. Available at <https://1filedownload.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Are-Ethnicity-And-Tribalism-The-Root-Causes-Of-The-Sudanese-Civil-Conflicts.pdf>.

⁴⁶ Denny, Elaine K. & Walter, Barbara F. (2014). Ethnicity and Civil War, *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 51, issue 2. Pp. 199–212.

⁴⁷ Smith, Dan (2004). "Trends and Causes of Armed Conflict". In: Transforming Ethnopolitical Conflict: The Berghof Handbook (eds). Switzerland: Springer Nature.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

units which created dominant and alienated groups.⁴⁹ While many economic, social, and political phenomena may impact ethnic violence, a minimum of ethnic diversity is a precondition for the onset of ethnic violence.⁵⁰ This follows that the mere existence of different ethnic groups cannot be a primary factor for violent conflicts.

In this regard, Dan Smith (2004) argued that conflict must always be understood in political and economic contexts, in particular concerning the pursuit of material interests and fair power-sharing. According to Victor Azarya (2003) avoiding the situation of winner takes it all and establishment of representative democratic institutions is the only way to prevent violent conflict in multi-ethnic societies. He further suggested that ethnicity can be used constructively for consociation and creation of collective pacts which would preclude winner-take-it-all situations. This follows that if there is a genuinely democratic institution and representative political systems ethnicity could not serve as channels of conflict as people would rely on institutional frameworks to express their grievances and loyalties to the political forces.

To sum up, while ethnicity is a social reality in both Ethiopia and Nigeria each has been dealt with differently politically by adopting a federal system of government to accept and reject ethnicity as a base of politics respectively. However, these strategies could not bring effective solutions in preventing inter-ethnic conflicts both in Ethiopia and Nigeria. This is because federalism as an operational system needs effective democracy and genuine institutions which both Nigeria and Ethiopia lag. Ironically, opponents of Ethiopian ethnic federalism blame ethnic-based arrangement as a source of conflict and intercommunion tensions and sought federalism to be redrawn geographically. While Nigerians demand a federation that grants ethnic groups their territorial administrative units as a way to get rid of ethnic conflicts. However, both views overlook the absence of good governance, widespread corruption, youth unemployment, and unfair distribution of resources that generate grievances, often take ethnic ramification, and channeled through ethnic lines.

Despite variations in recognizing ethnicity, adoption of the federal political system as a solution to the problem of ethnicity, and historical and economic contexts the Ethiopia and Nigeria are the two most eminent evidence of ethnic conflict in contemporary time. The failed promises and experiments of federalism and its different mode of implementation in the two countries to manage diversity and ethnic conflict merit reconsidering the question: does ethnic diversity breed conflict and focus on other structural explanations to grasp the conditions of ethnicity and conflict properly.

CONCLUSION

Ethnic identities and boundaries, ethnic conflicts, and the political order of federalism have constituted a significant part of Nigerian and Ethiopian politics. The assumption that the existence of multiple ethnic groups fuels inter-ethnic conflict dominates the academic debates and public policy discussions in these countries. As a result, governments in the respective countries have adopted their version of federal political order as a solution for both potential and actual inter-ethnic conflicts. While Ethiopia welcomes ethnicity as a way to structure the state's institutions and sub-national political units, Nigeria adopted federalism based on geographic frontiers paying less attention to ethnicity as a political means. Despite these attempts both Ethiopia and Nigeria have been hosting frequent and catastrophic ethnic crises and consequent political violence and instability in reality. At this juncture, it is important to question the dominant narratives that ethnicity dominantly contributed to these conflictual developments in both countries and search for other explanations.

⁴⁹ Zelela, Paul T. (2008). "Introduction: The Causes and Costs of War in Africa- from Liberation Struggles to the 'War on Terror'". In: *The Roots of African Conflicts: The Causes and Costs* (eds). Addis Ababa: OSSREA.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Ethnicity is a social fact in the two countries and subject to reconstruction and reconfiguration in the course of long-range political processes and as part of conflict management. Although conflicts in these countries are taking the form of ethnicity, scholars argue that there are no essential ties between ethnic differences and violent conflicts. Ethnicity by itself could not be the cause of violent conflicts. Any effort to address and understand intergroup tensions needs to consider the overall historical, political, socio-economic, and structural contexts. While the federal political order has been employed as a solution for ethnic conflict in both countries, the absence of institutional and democratic support disable the former from the realization of the promise and hopes of peace, stability, and democracy.

The problem in Ethiopia or Nigeria is not ethnolinguistic diversities, rather the non-genuine establishment of federalism, authoritarianism, and abysmal poverty, discrimination, and marginalization to which ethnicity has been manipulated to cover the malfunctioning of systems and as the sole explanatory factor and unit of analysis for the complex problems of conflict. Although the governments in Ethiopia and Nigeria have adopted different models of federalism as a rhetoric of diversity and conflict management, historical injustices, structural violence, the absence of good governance, democratic culture, and representative democracy made federalism ineffective to ensure the harmonious existence of plural societies. Thus Ethiopian and Nigerian experiences can prove neither ethnicity causes conflict nor does federalism as an unsuccessful form of government as both lack the engine of federal political order, the democracy.

Traditional Ecological Knowledge and its Relevance to Sustainable Development

Naureen Rahim

ABSTRACT

Traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) is directly linked to lands, animals, ecology, and natural resources. It is an ancient practice that continued through generations over generations linked to spirituality and sustainability. Often referred to as indigenous knowledge, TEK represents a collective understanding attained over time of the relationship between traditional communities and the earth. TEK is preserved primarily as an oral tradition and is passed from generation to generation through storytelling, ceremonies, arts, crafts, and songs, media that provide rich context and can flexibly evolve to incorporate new observations and understandings. In this background, this paper highlights the significance and challenges of recognizing TEK in ensuring sustainable development. Central to this understanding is how the TEK is related to the right to development among indigenous communities. The extent that the TEK can contribute to mitigating global challenges shall also be discussed in this article.

INTRODUCTION

The interest in traditional ecological knowledge abbreviated as TEK has been growing in recent years, partly due to a recognition that such knowledge can contribute to the conservation of biodiversity, rare species, protected areas, ecological processes, and sustainable resource use in general.¹ The use of TEK is enormously essential for land and natural resources management, development planning, as well as for environmental assessment. TEK also plays an important role in ecological balance and wildlife management, like the indigenous community of Belcher Islands in Canadian low Arctic (*Sanikiluaq community*) has contributed a remarkable wildlife management system through their traditional knowledge of environment and natural resources. Indigenous communities throughout the world have been practicing their own development.²

TEK is gaining popularity in fisheries industries, predicting and preventing different natural disasters, mitigating climate change, proper utilization of land and other resources, and so forth. The methods for documenting TEK derive from the social sciences and include ethnography.³ The strategies and knowledge of these indigenous peoples on land and ecology had hardly enough been recorded or given proper value for the greater possibilities shortly.⁴

Article 1 of the 1989 Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, No. 169, adopted by the International Labour Organization (ILO) provides a working definition of indigenous communities, peoples, and nations stating that: Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed

¹ Berkes, Fikret. Colding, Johan & Folke, Carl (2000). Rediscovery of Traditional Ecological Knowledge as Adaptive Management, *Ecological Applications, Ecological Society of America*, Volume 10, No. 5, (October, 2000), pp. 1251–1262.

² Doubleday, Nancy C. (2004). “*Finding Common Ground: Natural Law and Collective Wisdom*”. In: *Traditional Ecological Knowledge: Concepts and Cases* (ed). Ottawa, Canada: Trius Design Ltd.

³ Greenwood, Kim. Leonetti Crystal & Rinkevich, Sarah (2011). *Traditional Ecological Knowledge for Application by Service Scientists*. U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service. Available at <https://www.fws.gov/nativeamerican/pdf/tek-fact-sheet.pdf>.

⁴ Castille, Dorothy. Finn, Symma & Herne, Mose (2017). The Value of Traditional Ecological Knowledge for the Environmental Health Sciences and Biomedical Research, *Environmental Health Perspectives*, Vol. 125, No. 8.

on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions, and legal system.⁵

The most controversial issue relating to this ancestral practice of indigenous communities over land and natural resources is to whom actual ownership belongs and to what extent the indigenous communities can exercise their rights over those lands and resources. This must be a very essential discussion as indigenous communities largely rely on their lands and natural resources and these are the basic elements on which TEK is exercised. This article specifically focuses on the TEK and practice of the indigenous peoples and on the importance of this knowledge for promoting sustainable development. The article also analyses the existing international legal frameworks and policies which provide recognition to the TEK. Finally, the complexities between the TEK and the right to development are addressed and concludes with some remarks.

CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND PRACTICE OF THE TRADITIONAL ECOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

Traditional ecological knowledge abbreviated as TEK is an accumulating body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (human and non-human) with one another and with the environment.⁶ It does not represent a single body of knowledge; rather, it is a useful construct that represents knowledge gathered from undertaking several different pursuits, such as hunting, medicinal collection, preparation for spiritual ceremonies, or maintenance of a household economy.⁷ This knowledge is specific to a location and includes the relationships between plants, animals, natural phenomena, landscapes, and timing of events that are used for livelihood, including but not limited to hunting, fishing, trapping, agriculture, and forestry.⁸

Indigenous peoples emphasize that they share a distinct history, culture, language, and institutional structures⁹ in accordance with their own specific values, traditions, and customs. They maintain a unique economic, religious, and spiritual relationship with their lands.¹⁰ In this regard, one of the essential elements of the survival of this community is the preservation of indigenous knowledge. The term indigenous knowledge is part of a more inclusive category of traditional knowledge, which also includes folk knowledge that cannot be credited with such long historical roots as indigenous knowledge.¹¹ As acknowledged in the Principles and Guidelines for the Protection of the Heritage of Indigenous Peoples, indigenous knowledge is a “complete knowledge system with its own concepts of epistemology, and its

⁵ The United Nations (2004). *Workshop on Data Collection and Disaggregation for Indigenous Peoples*. New York: UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷ Chipeta, Lucy. Kalanda-Joshua, Miriam. Ngongondo, Cosmo & Mpembeka, F. (2011). Integrating indigenous knowledge with conventional science: Enhancing localised climate and weather forecasts in Nessa, Mulanje, Malawi, *Physics and Chemistry of the Earth*, Volume 36, Issue 14–15, pp. 996–1003.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁹ Gayim, Eyassu (2006). *People, Minority and Indigenous: Interpretation and Application of Concepts in the Politics of Human Rights*. Helsinki: Erik Castren Institute of International Law and Human Rights.

¹⁰ Daes, Erica-Irene (1993). *Discrimination against Indigenous Peoples: Explanatory note concerning the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, by Erica-Irene Daes, Chairperson of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, UN Doc E/CN. 4/Sub/2/1993/26/Add.1.

¹¹ Tone, Bleie (2005). *Tribal Peoples, Nationalism and the Human Rights Challenge: The Adivasis of Bangladesh*. Dhaka: University Press Limited.

own scientific and logical validity”.¹² Indigenous knowledge is therefore vital for the survival of the historical and cultural heritage of a particular group as it “forms [its] backbone of social, economic, scientific and technological identity”.¹³

However, mostly, the definitions of TEK have failed to include the perspective of indigenous peoples.¹⁴ But in terms of defining traditional knowledge, it is not necessary to say that a particular knowledge has to be derived only from the indigenous people, rather it can also be originated from the local communities. In the case of *Saramaka People v. Suriname*¹⁵, where the Saramakas, a non-indigenous community lives traditionally by fishing, hunting, and woodworking, their relationship with the land is more than economic, but also spiritual and cultural. In the 1990s, Suriname granted logging and mining concessions to private companies within the traditional Saramaka peoples’ territory without consultation or their consent. This dispute was taken to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights which for the first time ruled that a non-indigenous community like the Saramakas can enjoy “indigenous rights” if they share some characteristics (spiritual relations with the land, distinct culture, language, traditions, etc.) and are considered as a tribal community protected by the international law. In this case, the Saramakas were thus entitled to recognition of their communal property. The Court once again confirmed the existence of a right to property in some circumstances even if there is no official title.

INTERNATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK IN RECOGNISING TEK

The acknowledgment of TEK was first mentioned in the Brundtland Report in 1987. This landmark document, not only introduced the concept of “sustainable development” to mainstream discourse but also provided international recognition of the potentially vital contribution to be made by Aboriginal people to the resolution of global environmental issues.¹⁶ The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, adopted in June 2006 by the UN Human Rights Council (but continuing to struggle to find adoption by the UN General Assembly), stresses that: a) Indigenous peoples have a right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions, as well as manifestations of their sciences, technologies, and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literature, designs, sports, and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have a right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions; and; b) in conjunction with indigenous peoples, States shall take effective measures to recognize and protect the exercise of these rights. Thereafter the Rio Declaration (Principal 22) acknowledged the vital role of indigenous peoples in management and development and calls for recognition of their culture, identity, and interests in participation aimed at sustainable development.¹⁷

¹² The United Nations (1995). *U.N. Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Report of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities* on its 46th Session, U.N. Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1994/56 (1994). Available at <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/demo/1994min.html>.

¹³ Odora Hoppers (2001). *Decolonising the curriculum, indigenous knowledge systems and globalization*. Pretoria: HSRC.

¹⁴ Chowdhury, Rokeya (2013). *Traditional Ecological Knowledge v. Development: Revisiting the Chittagong Hill Tracts*. Dhaka: Dhaka: Empowerment Through Law of the Common People (ELCOP).

¹⁵ Orellana, Marcos A. (2008). *Saramaka People v. Suriname*, *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 102, No. 4 (Oct., 2008), pp. 841–847.

¹⁶ McGregor, Deborah (2006). *Traditional Ecological Knowledge, Ideas: the Arts and Science Review*, Volume. 3, Issue. 1, Faculty of Arts & Science, University of Toronto.

¹⁷ The United Nations (2007). *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. United Nations Document available at https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf.

The 2010 Nagoya Protocol on Access to Genetic Resources and the Fair and Equitable Sharing of Benefits Arising from their Utilization (Nagoya Protocol), establish the preeminent international regime for the recognition and protection of TEK. This is a legally binding protocol that establishes that access to traditional knowledge associated with genetic resources is based on prior informed consent or approval and involvement. The exploitation of traditional knowledge of medicinal plants by academics and pharmaceutical manufacturers is a classic example of the inequitable distribution of benefits as well as the unequal application of laws designed to protect intellectual property.¹⁸

The Framework Convention on Climate Change, the Convention on Biological Diversity, in its Article 8 (j), acknowledges the importance of recognizing the knowledge held by indigenous communities and calls for equitable sharing of benefits arising from commercial utilization of such knowledge and practices. TEK is further recognized in Article 16 as a vital ‘technology’ for effective practices of conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity.¹⁹

Under international law, minorities are considered as having collective rights and indigenous peoples as having group rights. But the right to development has widely been regarded as a right of all (not of only minorities and indigenous peoples) to be exercised collectively. While the beneficiary of the right to development is an individual, protecting indigenous economic production systems, recognition of lands, territories, and resources, and traditional knowledge and lifestyles, as well as accessing participation rights that will ensure linguistic and religious rights in the development process, are rights of the group within the collective process of (state) development.²⁰ A contrary argument made by the Westerners had been universal ownership of TEK, as the world is regarded as a global village and the global economy rejects single ownership of a particular idea. Removing TEK from the community and worldview which created it and ‘integrating’ it into the dominant Western scientific management paradigm to achieve sustainability can be seen to represent a misappropriation of that knowledge.²¹

In order to provide proper recognition of the traditional knowledge of a particular community and continuing its wide range practices, not being persuasive rather being a mandatory action, it is essential to have national policies relating to this practice and to share benefits with the original knowledge-bearers. For instance, to incorporate TEK into various environmental decision-making processes, such as a growing body of Canadian environmental legislation that includes the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act, the Canadian Environmental Protection Act, and the Species at Risk Act. Also, importance of the obligation of states to consult indigenous peoples before engaging in development, extraction, or investment loans is highlighted by its codification in the national laws of various states such as Bolivia and Chile.²² In India, where the largest number of indigenous communities can be found, has regulated policies²³ and intellectual property rights have been emerging for possessing TEK and sharing

¹⁸ The UN Environmental Programme (2011). *Nagoya Protocol on access to genetic resources and the fair and equitable sharing of benefits arising from their utilization to the convention on biological diversity: Text and Annex*. Canada: United Nations Environmental Programme.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Salomon, Margot E. & Sengupta, Arjun (2003). *The right to development: obligations of states and the rights of minorities and indigenous peoples*. London: Minority Rights Group International.

²¹ Casimirri, G. (2003). *Problems with integrating traditional ecological knowledge into contemporary resource management*. Available at http://www.fao.org/3/XII/0887-A3.htm#P24_2299.

²² Moeckli, Daniel. Shah, Sangeeta & Sivakumaran, Sandesh (2007). *International Human Rights Law*, 3rd edition. UK: Oxford University Press.

²³ Ministry of Law and Justice (2002). *The Biological Diversity Act, 2002 (No. 18 of 2003)*. New Delhi, India.

Available at

<http://nbaindia.org/uploaded/Biodiversityindia/Legal/31.%20Biological%20Diversity%20%20Act,%202002.pdf>;

Ministry of Law and Justice (2006). *The Forest Act, 2006*. New Delhi, India. Available at

<https://hpforest.nic.in/files/Forest%20Right%20Act%202006.pdf>.

benefits to the local indigenous communities.²⁴ Recognizing the customary values and determining the concept of knowledge ownership would be beneficial in benefit-sharing. For example, “the Jeevani (Aarogyapachha)” and decision-making process which would result in designing local tools to protect TEK based on customary laws and practices.

THE NOTION OF RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT

Universally, the right to development has been regarded as an inalienable human right²⁵ and this right also implies the full realization of the right of peoples to self-determination²⁶ which includes the exercise of their inalienable right to full sovereignty over all their natural wealth and resources.²⁷ Article 1 of the Declaration on the Right to Development states that ‘*The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized.*’ The right to development, then, is not a right of states to be developed; it is a right that entails a process of development for all people, respecting all human rights, which necessarily means a development process where effective participation allows for people to determine the terms and nature of development.²⁸

The right to development is, of course, a right of all individuals in a country exercised collectively.²⁹ Whether minorities constitute ‘peoples’ in a legal sense matters only if they are required to claim their rights within a constructed legal fiction which attributes certain rights, such as self-determination, to peoples but not to individuals as collectives (as per ICCPR Article 27), and further which does not recognize those collectives as groups.³⁰ On an individual basis, an indigenous person is one who belongs to these indigenous populations through self-identification as indigenous (group consciousness) and is recognized and accepted by these populations as one of its members (acceptance by the group). This preserves for these communities a sovereign right and power to decide who belongs to them, without external interference.³¹ But for an indigenous community as a whole, the right to development in a certain sense should be regarded as a group right, and such a group right is also entangled with a right to development within the community. It has been mentioned in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development that “*Indigenous peoples....should have access to life-long learning opportunities that help them to acquire the knowledge and skills needed to exploit opportunities and to participate fully in society.*”³²

²⁴ Harisha, R.P. Padmavathy, S. & Nagaraja, B.C (2016). Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Its Importance in South India: Perspective from Local Communities, *Applied Ecology and Environmental Research*, 14 (1). pp. 311–326.

²⁵ The United Nations (1986). Article 1(1), Declaration on the Right to Development, Adopted by General Assembly Resolution 41/128 of 4 December 1986. Available at <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/righttodevelopment.aspx>.

²⁶ Which is a group right.

²⁷ Ibid, 25.

²⁸ Ibid, 20.

²⁹ Ibid, 10.

³⁰ Gayim, Eyassu (2001). The Concept of Minority in International Law: A Critical Study of the Vital Elements, *Netherlands International Law Review*, Volume 49, Issue 3, pp. 408–412.

³¹ Ibid, 5.

³² The United Nations (2015). *UNGA: Transforming our world-2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, 18 September 2015, 17th Session, UN DOC A /70/L.1. Available at https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_RES_70_1_E.pdf.

The rights of indigenous peoples within the right to development can therefore be closely linked to several broad international legal standards and principles: participation rights, the right to self-determination, and recognition and implementation of related group rights, such as those pertaining to land and natural resources. To this extent, it can be said that the indigenous communities have their rights to or not to take part in any kind of project that relates to their right to development and they shall have full possession over land and resources to continue practicing TEK without facing any hindrance from the government. This argument is also favored by Article 14-18 of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No.169)³³, where it has been specifically mentioned that the land and resources of the indigenous communities which they traditionally occupy shall be recognized and governments must identify such lands and guarantee effective protection of their (indigenous community) rights of ownership and possession. In this way, though much debated, the right to self-determination of the indigenous people of a State can also be ensured.

For instance, in Bangladesh, the Chakmas are called *Jumma* people (who do the *Jum* cultivation). The *Jum* cultivation in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (a special type of cultivation done by the Chakma indigenous community for their livelihood) has been the sole source of livelihood to the Chakmas and this has been continuously disrupted and eventually banned by the government in the name of soil erosion. The State never acknowledged that the lands of Chittagong Hill Tracts are for those indigenous peoples and has permanently set up a military base on the territory of the Chittagong Hill Tracts where they used to cultivate *Jum* (which is contrary to Article 30 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples). Furthermore, the government initiated policies against *Jum* cultivation and even imposed heavy land taxes upon those willing to continue such cultivation in any way. In reality, nothing would possess soil erosion from this practice rather this prohibition has led a threat to the survival of this community. Moreover, it has also created a knowledge-sharing gap between the elders and young generations in this community which put a hindrance to the continuance of TEK usage and their right to self-determination.

On one hand, people who are dependent on local resources for their livelihood are often able to assess the true costs and benefits of development better than any evaluator coming from outside, on the other, the use of TEK may benefit development in providing more realistic evaluations of environment, natural resources, and production systems.³⁴ Traditional Ecological Knowledge is particularly well suited for identifying environmental changes attributable to climate change at the local and regional level.³⁵

In these circumstances, the most crucial part is striking a balance between the two. Undoubtedly, TEK can play a vital role in expanding ideas over food security, global economy, health issues, biodiversity conservation, etc. All these are elements leading to sustainable development. Moreover, indigenous knowledge provides a crucial foundation for community-based adaptation and mitigation actions that sustain the resilience of social-ecological systems at the interconnected local, regional, and global scales.³⁶

³³ ILO (1989). *Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169)*. Available at https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C169.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 2.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 3.

³⁶ Raygorodetsky, Gleb (2011). *Why Traditional Knowledge Holds the Key to Climate Change*. Available at <https://unu.edu/publications/articles/why-traditional-knowledge-holds-the-key-to-climate-change.html>.

COMPLEXITIES BETWEEN TEK AND THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT

The duty-bearers of the right to development, as the DRD makes clear are the state acting at the national level and acting individually or collectively at the international level.³⁷ In practical terms, this implied that infusing TEK into development would mean considering local specifics or biodiversity, involving indigenous people in resource identification and monitoring, and equitable distribution of outcomes.³⁸ A question arises in this regard, what if the right to the development itself puts a barrier towards TEK usage? Unfortunately, in the name of development, indigenous knowledge systems were altered and disrupted in Africa during the colonial period.³⁹ It has still continued its legacy. For instance, in Mongolia, a government policy enacted in 2002 led to combining of townships and shifting of key social services, including schools, to city centers in the region (e.g., Xiwu Qi Autonomous Region People's Congress 2006). This shift in government services has required children to move away from extended families and herding land to participate in compulsory education, which has increased barriers to the transmission of herding knowledge across generations. In addition, as Mongolian children spend at least nine years in cities for education, they interact extensively with other cultural groups and are exposed to alternative and increasingly western lifestyles. As a result, many Mongolian youths have turned away from traditional herding practices in favor of city-based livelihoods.⁴⁰

Another crucial aspect of TEK usage has been the vast commercialization of lands and natural resources. Sometimes for the sake of development and globalization, both states and private sectors (e.g. development agencies and international organizations) enter into agreements without considering the customs and practices of the indigenous communities, allowing them to interfere with indigenous practices and affecting much to their living. In some cases, the indigenous communities are forcibly relocated to other areas and this leads to their physical displacement from the ancestral lands. The World Commission on Dams revealed that indigenous and tribal peoples have suffered disproportionately from the negative impacts of large dams, while often being excluded in sharing the benefits created in the name of promoting development.⁴¹ Especially for indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities, dam-induced displacement has already triggered a spiral of events and spreads beyond the submerged area.⁴² For instance, the Bayano dam in Panama forced indigenous Kuna and Embera peoples from their traditional territories and resettled them in less fertile land subject to encroachment by loggers. This is due to the failure of fulfilling agreements by the Panamanian government to the affected indigenous people during the time of construction. Similarly, around 100,000 Chakma people were displaced due to the massive collapse of the Kaptai hydropower dam in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh, which submerged two-fifth of their cultivable land. Not only had this, eventually, among these 100,000 Chakma people, but 40,000 of them also left to India and another 20,000 to Myanmar.

In most cases, the concerned indigenous community remains uninvited for any consultation before the commencement of any project within the territory where they live. In some cases, the indigenous communities have their own land and resources management system, which should not be disrupted. For

³⁷ The United Nations (2013). *Realizing the Right to Development: Essays in Commemoration of 25 Years of the United Nations Declaration on the Right to Development*. The United Nations Publication. Available at https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/RightDevelopmentInteractive_EN.pdf.

³⁸ Houde, Nicolas (2007). The Six Faces of Traditional Ecological Knowledge: Challenges and Opportunities for Canadian Co-Management Arrangements, *Ecology and Society*, 12(2), 34, pp. 1–17.

³⁹ Lalonde, Andre (2004). “*African Indigenous Knowledge and its Relevance to Sustainable Development*”. In: *Traditional Ecological Knowledge: Concepts and Cases* (ed). Ottawa, Canada: Trius Design Ltd.

⁴⁰ Gawin, Michael C. & Tang, Ruifei (2016). A classification of threats to traditional ecological knowledge and conservation responses, *Journal of Conservation and Society*, Vol 14 Issue 1, pp.57–70.

⁴¹ Haque, Mahfuzul (2014). “*Dams and Development-Revisiting Kaptai Hydro-Project in Bangladesh*”. In: *Human Rights and Religion* (eds). Dhaka: Empowerment Through Law of the Common People (ELCOP).

⁴² *Ibid*, 41.

instance, in New Zealand, Maori use the practice of *Kaitiakitanga*, which refers to a form of common property management used to ensure the guardianship of the natural environment and resources, as well as its sustainable use for the survival of the community. Article 7(2) of the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169) states that ‘their participation and co-operation, shall be a matter of priority in plans for the overall economic development of the areas they inhabit’.⁴³

The Guide on Convention 169 suggests that while Article 7 does not provide for a right of veto by indigenous peoples over development plans, there must be: ‘actual consultation in which [indigenous and tribal] ... peoples have a right to express their point of view and a right to influence the decision. This means that governments have to supply the enabling environment and conditions to permit indigenous and tribal peoples to make a meaningful contribution.’⁴⁴ In 2002, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR) ruled on the importance of consent and the implied need for prior participation in decision-making regarding indigenous peoples and their land in *Awas Tingni Indigenous Community of Mayagna v. the State of Nicaragua*. Finding that Nicaragua had violated the right to property, judicial protection, and due process of law, by granting logging concessions on the lands of indigenous peoples without taking steps to title and demarcate those lands, the IACHR held that: ‘The State of Nicaragua is actively responsible for violations of the right to property, embodied in Article 21 of the Convention, by granting a concession to the company SOLCARSA to carry out road construction work and logging exploitation on the Awas Tingni lands, without the consent of the Awas Tingni Community.’⁴⁵

In reality, this is a violation of indigenous people’s rights. It is not easy and acceptable to adjust to a new location and start using a different land after leaving their own lands and resources along with the age-long practices with TEK. This form of land eviction and therefore a sudden change of occupation has over time resulted in less interaction with their surroundings and less interaction with elders leading to a knowledge gap between younger and elderly people within the indigenous communities. The Court has also developed a system of reparations that are applicable in the case of violations of indigenous peoples’ rights.⁴⁶

SIGNIFICANCE OF TEK IN PROMOTING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The term “sustainable development” was first mentioned in the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future*. It was here defined as development that “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”.⁴⁷ It has been argued recently that TEK is a key element in sustainable development; it also offers solutions to problems arising due to globalization and changes in components of human well-being.⁴⁸

⁴³ Ibid, 37.

⁴⁴ Espiell, Hector G. (1991). *“Introduction: Community-oriented rights”*. In: *International Law: Achievements and Prospects* (ed). The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

⁴⁵ Inter-American Court of Human Rights (2001). *Case of the Mayagna (Sumo) Awas Tingni Community v. Nicaragua Judgment of August 31, 2001 (Merits, Reparations and Costs)*. Inter-Am. Ct. H.R., (Ser. C) No. 79 (2001). Available at http://oas.org/dil/XXXV_Course_IACHR_Case_Mayagna_v_Nicaragua_Luis_Toro.pdf.

⁴⁶ Inter-American Court of Human Rights (2007). *Case of the Saramaka People v. Suriname, Saramaka People v. Suriname, Preliminary objections, merits, reparations and costs, IACHR Series C no 172, IHRL 3046 (IACHR 2007)*, 28th November 2007. Available at https://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/casos/articulos/seriec_172_ing.pdf.

⁴⁷ The United Nations (1987). *Our Common Future: Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development*. Available at https://www.are.admin.ch/are/en/home/sustainable-development/international-cooperation/2030agenda/un-_-milestones-in-sustainable-development/1987--brundtland-report.html.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 24.

Many indigenous and local communities are situated in areas where vast majority of the world's genetic resources are found.⁴⁹ Proper utilization of the traditional knowledge in managing these resources would be a profitable step for both the indigenous communities and therefore to the concerned countries. Many studies also suggest that TEK is progressively seen more as an efficient and viable tool for tackling forest sustainability by involving the local communities.⁵⁰ Indigenous knowledge has been therefore used increasingly to “remedy many of the problems [caused] by development strategies during the past five decades”.⁵¹

The 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro (Rio Earth Summit) conceptually endorsed and empowered the model concurrent to the opening for signature of the Rio Treaties: 1992 United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), the 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), and the 1994 United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD), which collectively establish rules and regimes committed to sustainable development.⁵² Rio 20+ Declaration was a commitment to establish a 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Amongst 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) with 169 goal-specific targets, the 2030 Agenda mentions goal 2 titled “sustainable development to end hunger, achieve food security and sustainable agriculture”, acknowledges that such a goal can be achieved through inputs and traditional knowledge of indigenous peoples in the world.⁵³

In the report “Realizing the Future We Want”, the UN System Task Team on the Post 2015 UN Development Agenda acknowledges the importance of indigenous knowledge for environmental sustainability stating that “traditional and indigenous knowledge, adaptation and coping strategies can be major assets for local response strategies”.⁵⁴ Work on indigenous knowledge provides support to understanding the role of customary livelihoods within sustainable development and the links between environmental management, science, and well-being.⁵⁵ Because many indigenous peoples holistically view their environment, they may be aware of linkages between various ecological processes, multiple species, and abiotic factors that influence species biology.⁵⁶

Therefore, the World Conference on Science, organized by UNESCO and the International Council for Science (ICSU) in 2002, in its Declaration on Science and the Use of Scientific Knowledge, explicitly recognized the importance of TEK and the need to respect and encourage its use for various forms of human endeavor. Most commonly accepted is the role of TEK in the “traditional” or primary sectors of the economy: agriculture and pastoralism, forestry, fisheries, water, and products made from natural resources such as crafts, furniture, housing, and so on.⁵⁷ On the other hand, without addressing

⁴⁹ The UNDP (2011). *Human Development Report 2011 Sustainability and Equity: A Better Future for All*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Magni, Giorgia (2017). Indigenous knowledge and implications for the sustainable development agenda, *European Journal of Education*, No. 52, pp. 437–447.

⁵² Birnie, Patricia. Boyle, Alan & Redgwell, Catherine (2009). *International Law and the Environment*, 3rd edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

⁵³ Ibid, 32.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 37.

⁵⁵ The United Nations (2014). *Thematic paper towards the preparation of the 2014 World Conference on Indigenous Peoples*. Available at https://www.un.org/en/ga/69/meetings/indigenous/pdf/IASG%20Thematic%20Paper_Participation%20-%20rev1.pdf.

⁵⁶ Drew, Joshua A. (2005). Use of Traditional Ecological Knowledge in Marine Conservation, *Conservation Biology*, Volume 19, No. 4 (August 2005), pp. 1286–1293.

⁵⁷ Posey, Darrell A. (1999). *Cultural and Spiritual Values of Biodiversity*. Nairobi: United Nations Environment Programme.

fundamental issues like self-determination, restitution of lands and resources, and compensation, how can power be shared in a way which will ensure that traditional knowledge is not misunderstood or misused?⁵⁸

The 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) vests rights relating to ‘control, protection and development’ of TEK, as well as Intellectual Property Rights relating to TEK, with Indigenous and Local Communities (ILCs).⁵⁹ Since 2009, the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) members have embarked on formal negotiations towards one or more international legal instruments that would ensure an effective protection of genetic resources, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions. Furthermore, it has established a voluntary fund to facilitate indigenous and local communities’ participation in the work of the WIPO Intergovernmental Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources, Traditional knowledge, and Folklore (IGC).

The new pharmaceutical industries can now mimic or copy chemical properties of plants and herbs used by native healers at least over centuries and probably over much longer periods. As a result of patent taking, these multinationals are likely to earn enormous profits.⁶⁰ At the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, with support of New Zealand, Brazil, and Norway, Australia’s Prime Minister, announced the development of the World Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities’ Land and Sea Managers’ Network (WIN). The WIN aims to connect Indigenous peoples and local communities around the world to share their experiences in using traditional knowledge and practices with contemporary management systems to better manage their environments and support sustainable livelihoods. In addition, public institutions with honorable intentions of saving biodiversity create gene banks and national parks without consulting native peoples, often imposing new restrictions on them.⁶¹

CONCLUSION

Traditional ecological knowledge is based on mutual well-being and sharing. Its greater practice would serve a positive change to the severely disrupted global environment. This was reaffirmed at the 32nd Session of the IPCC in 2010 where indigenous or traditional knowledge may prove useful for understanding the potential of certain adaptation strategies that are cost-effective, participatory, and sustainable. But the growing need to TEK will achieve little if the rights and responsibilities towards the indigenous peoples and other traditional communities to whom it genuinely belongs are not duly respected. At present, the indigenous communities are facing gradual extinction due to lack of recognition of their traditional knowledge, values, and practices and therefore their right to self-determination has also been at stake.

These communities indeed are the repositories of vast accumulations of traditional knowledge and experience that link humanity with its ancient origins. Their disappearance is a loss for the larger society, which could learn a great deal from their traditional skills of sustainably managing very complex ecological systems. It is a terrible irony that as formal development reaches more deeply into rain forests, deserts, and other isolated environments, it tends to destroy the only cultures that have proved able to thrive in these environments.

Despite the challenges, indigenous peoples and local communities have much to contribute to global discussions concerning sustainability and have a right to participate in matters that may affect them.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 11.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 17.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 11.

⁶¹ Bengwayan, Michael A. (2003). *Intellectual and Cultural Property Rights of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Asia*. London: Minority Rights Group International.

Otherwise, this will lead to an unfortunate situation, like the avert and dramatic disruptions of *Karuk* management and knowledge systems began with the intensive influx of non-Natives to the mid-Klamath, the failure of the U.S. Congress to ratify the treaties it signed with the Karuk people, and the direct genocide of the gold rush era in the 1850s. Also, mechanisms for incorporating local knowledge into regional-specific policy should be developed. Therefore, the TEK research community should undertake more studies at the national or subnational or regional level to evolve a framework for TEK policy.

Winning the US Presidential Nominations: The 2016 Presidential Primaries and Its Implication on Democracy

Calvince O. Barack

ABSTRACT

This paper takes a look at the presidential primaries in the US, by providing the background and the different methods adopted by states in conducting the primaries. It has proceeded to highlight the importance of voter mobilization and the factors that play in voters' mobilization for a candidate to win in the primaries. Subsequently, it answers the question; what accounted for the success of Trump and Clinton in the presidential primaries of 2016? This question has been answered based on two hypotheses around the candidate's background and financial resources vis-à-vis success in primaries. It has employed both qualitative and quantitative data presented in tables and charts on the candidate's background, finances, and spending. Further, it has discussed the background in light of the candidate's familiarity with the voters' and the interaction with finances both in terms of the amount the candidates were able to raise from different sources, the timing of the spending, and value obtained from the expenditures. While giving implications on democracy and the low voter turnout that characterized this election, the paper has concluded that Trump's victory was majorly media-driven whereas, Clinton's victory drew much impetus from the party elites.

INTRODUCTION

The presidential nominations have been in the past done through the party elites who chose the party's presidential nominee. However, since the 1972 elections, this pattern has changed since party primaries became open for participation both by party elites and ordinary party members who were given more room in choosing the party nominee. This followed the McGovern-Fraser reforms on presidential nomination which was instituted by the Democratic Party and passed in 1972. This method was also adopted by the Republican Party hence making the two parties permit their grassroots members to participate in the primaries in choosing the party's presidential nominee. This role has an implication on democracy and the representativeness of the electorates in general. The reforms disallowed the procedures which were not open to party members at different levels and endorsed the use of party primary and open caucus in the selection of the delegates leading to an unexpected increase in the number of state primaries. The use of elite state conventions has therefore been effectively replaced by the primaries which are accounting for the selection of more than 80 percent of the delegates by Republicans and Democrats.¹

The primaries have therefore played a key role in nominating candidates to the highest office. However, scholars have concerned themselves with the representativeness of the candidates that come to power through the primaries.² The low voter turnout in the primaries which has been observed to be averaging 25% for both Democrats and Republicans have even further put to question the efficacy of primaries in promoting democracy and representativeness.³ It has been lamented that the small number of participants in the nomination of the candidates may affect the ability of the party's candidate to ascend into the office as well as bring into the office an individual with improbable character.⁴ Similarly, the candidates that get

¹ Gimpel, James G., Hoffman, Adam H. & Kaufmann, Karen M. (2003). A Promise Fulfilled? Open Primaries and Representation, *The Journal of Politics*, 65 (2). Pp. 457–476.

² Ibid.

³ Lau, Richard R. (2013). Correct Voting in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Nominating Elections, *Political Behavior*, 35 (2). Pp. 331–355.

⁴ Key, Vladimir O. (1956). *American State Politics: An Introduction*. New York: Knopf.

nominations through the primaries have also raised questions on the part of the parties and their operatives who have lamented the extreme ideological orientation of the candidate nominees who are less likely to attract moderate voters in the general elections.⁵ These issues cloud the efficacy of primaries in promoting democratic values and representativeness.

Nonetheless, there has not only been a rise in the number of primaries but the methods through which they are conducted. Three different methods of conducting primaries have been identified as open primaries allowing all registered voters to participate irrespective of their party affiliation. The second method is what is called the modified-open primaries conducted in some states where party members, some independents, and unaffiliated voters are allowed to vote and finally, the closed method where only party members vote.⁶ The impact of the reform has been probed with regard to its ability to influence the election of moderate candidates. This has brought into question the ability of the expanded eligibility to ‘mobilize different kinds of voters with discernably different preferences’.⁷ This, therefore, introduces the concept of voter mobilization besides the voting procedures as a variable that inform the number and the kind of voters that take part in voting at the primaries. It has been observed that, since primaries are more of intraparty matters, there exists a general harmony in ideology.⁸ However, it has been opined that differences dwell in the policy choices of the individual candidates.⁹ This nevertheless, holds little prominence in voters’ mobilization for the primaries within the party.

Other scholars have therefore suggested that ‘timing and competitiveness’ of the primaries in question has always determined both the number and kind of voters that are mobilized.¹⁰ Larry M. Bartels (1988) has expounded on this point by positing that primaries that are conducted early are very important pointers to the other coming primaries since they attracted much media attention as well as spending and visits by the candidates with the expected effect of higher voter turnout.¹¹ Similarly, the party elites have been empirically demonstrated to be highly influential in determining the outcome of party primaries with the ability to manipulate rules in their favor from 1976.¹²

This observation is closer to the arguments offered by Weber who while writing on his model of democracy, observed that the mass franchise has brought party politics at the center of political engagements, and the parties instead of enhancing the control by the masses have only led to career politicians.¹³ He has added that this results from the need to mobilize voters whose interests are divergent hence ushering in a form of competition of social forces attempting to sway the voters which involve resources. The mobilization of such resources to win influence over voters’ leads to dependence of the party on individuals charged with the management of party affairs.¹⁴

Stemming from the above is the idea of the construction of the general will embodying the sovereignty of the people for the political parties to gain influence over voters’ in their mobilization. This may not be

⁵ Ibid., 1.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Hedlund, Ronald D. (1978). Cross-over Voting in a 1976 Open Presidential Primary, *Public Opinion Quarterly* 41 (4). Pp. 498–515.

⁹ Ibid., 1.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Bartels, Larry M. (1988). *Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

¹² Ibid., 1.

¹³ Held, David (2006). “*Competitive Elitism and the Technocratic Vision*”. In: *Models of Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

¹⁴ Giddens, Anthony (1972). “*The Sociological Framework of Weber’s Political Thought*”. In: *Politics and Sociology in the Thought of Max Weber*. London: Palgrave.

much applicable at the primaries especially in those states where there is a closed method of voting where only party members vote for their preferred candidates based on policies. Further, the short duration of conducting campaigns as well as voters' unfamiliarity with the candidates complicates the voters' mobilization during the primaries. This is pegged on the fact that humans are 'cognitively limited information processors'.¹⁵ This makes people arrive at less optimal decisions when faced with huge volumes of information given the imperfect condition under which the voters' in the presidential primaries have to make decisions.¹⁶ According to Richard R. Lau (2013) the US presidential elections spanning from 1972 to 2008, 76 percent of voters' have reported having voted for the right candidates with whom their values and preferences align. However, he has pointed out that the way 'politicians get nominated by their political parties' as candidates has not been explored.¹⁷ It is from this observation that this paper seeks to answer the question; what accounted for the success of Trump and Clinton in the presidential primaries of 2016?

In answering this question, the paper contributes to knowledge on what factors are critical for candidates as they mobilize voters' to rally behind them before they can finally win the primaries and the implications of such factors on democracy. Subsequently, this paper has adopted two hypotheses. First, the more familiar voters' are with the candidate, the more they are likely to vote him or reject him. Thus, the candidates must reach out to voters' to not only introduce themselves but also their policies. Secondly, the more money a candidate raises, the higher the chances of winning the nominations. Money is addressed in three different perspectives looking at the amount raised, the sources of the money, and finally the strategic spending of the money. The argument is that money influences campaigns and holds the potential to sway voters in favor of a particular candidate based on the background of the candidate in question. The source of money is equally critical since it tells about the segment of the society from which the candidate draws support. The focus is, therefore, on the 2016 presidential primaries conducted by Republicans and Democrats with interest in how the top candidates' performed that led to the victories of Trump and Clinton.

METHOD AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

A mixed-method of data collection involving both quantitative and qualitative data has been employed. The sources of data included the American Presidency Project¹⁸ which provided data on presidential nominations and elections. This source of data proved valuable in providing detailed information about the presidential candidates which included their background and familiarity with voters. However, this source of data did not provide campaign financial information that this paper needed to establish the relationship between the candidates' performance in the primaries vis-a-vis the financial resources at their disposal. Subsequently, additional data has been obtained from the US Federal Election Commission, news reports, and compilation of the related information by the New York Times¹⁹. The data from these sources have provided valuable insights into the amount of money that was raised by each candidate and the different methods through which the money was raised and the rate at which it was spent. This is vital in gauging the performance of the candidates with regard to voters' mobilization for the primaries. The conceptual framework through which the data has been analyzed is presented in Figure (1) below.

¹⁵ Lau, Richard R. (2013). Correct Voting in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Nominating Elections, *Political Behavior*, 35 (2). Pp. 331–355.

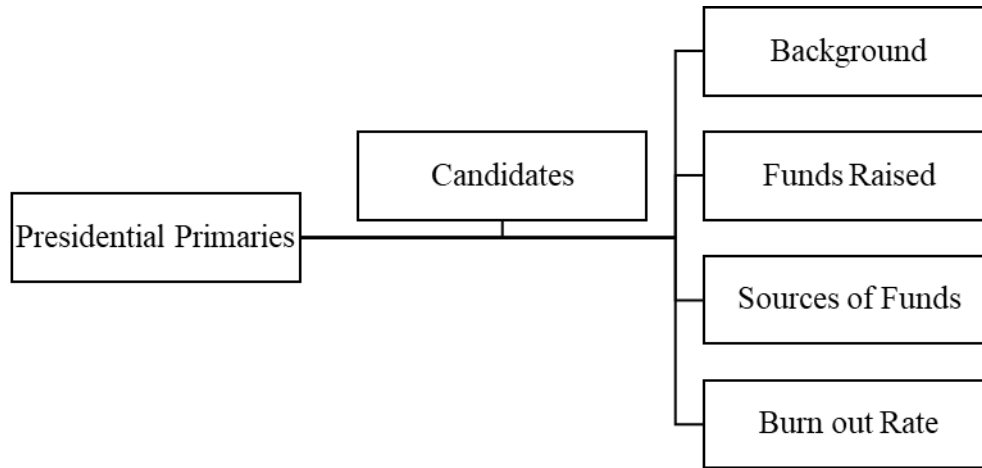
¹⁶ Fiske, Susan T. & Taylor, Shelley E. (1991). *Social Cognition*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁸ *Interesting Convention Facts: Some "Firsts" and Interesting Facts at Presidential Nominating Conventions and Presidential Elections*. Available at <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/presidential-documents-archive-guidebook/interesting-convention-facts>. Accessed on 10 October 2019.

¹⁹ The New York Times (2016). *Which Presidential Candidates Are Winning the Money Race?* Available at <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/us/elections/election-2016-campaign-money-race.html>. Accessed on 11 October 2019.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework



REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES, RACE PROGRESSION, AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES MOBILIZED

The availability of finances and race progression among the republican candidates have been presented in table (1) below. Subsequently, the table provides valuable information on the candidates with regard to when they entered and exited the race as well as the money the candidates were able to raise for campaigns. The findings presented in the table indicates that money is critical in determining the duration in which a candidate can stay on the race. Despite for few cases like the case of Scott Walker who raised a lot of money compared to others like Christie Christopher and dropped from the race even so early, financial disposition points strongly to the ability of candidates to stay on the race. The case of Kasich also points to a lack of a perfect correlation between financial resources to race progression hence pointing to the need to investigate other factors that inform race progression besides finances.

Table 1: Candidate's Details and Financial Resources Raised- Republicans

Candidate's Name	Date of Entry	Date of Exit	Money Raised (In Million \$)	Background
Donald Trump	June 16, 2015	45 th President	350.7	Businessperson
John Kasich	July 21, 2015	April 5, 2016	19.6	Ohio Governor
Ted Cruz	March 23, 2015	March 5, 2016	94.3	Texas Senator
Marco Rubio	April 13, 2015	March 15, 2016	48.3	Florida Senator
Ben Carson	April 5, 2015	April 3, 2016	65.1	Medical Doctor
Jeb Bush	June 15, 2015	February 20, 2016	35.5	Florida Governor
Christie Christopher	June 30, 2015	February 10, 2016	8.7	New Jersey Governor
Carly Fiorina	April 4, 2015	February 10, 2016	12.2	Businessperson
Richard Santorum	May 27, 2015	March 2, 2016	2.0	Former Pennsylvania Senator
Rand Paul	July 4, 2015	March 2, 2016	12.4	Kentucky Senator
Mike Huckabee	May 5, 2015	February 1, 2016	4.3	Former Arkansas

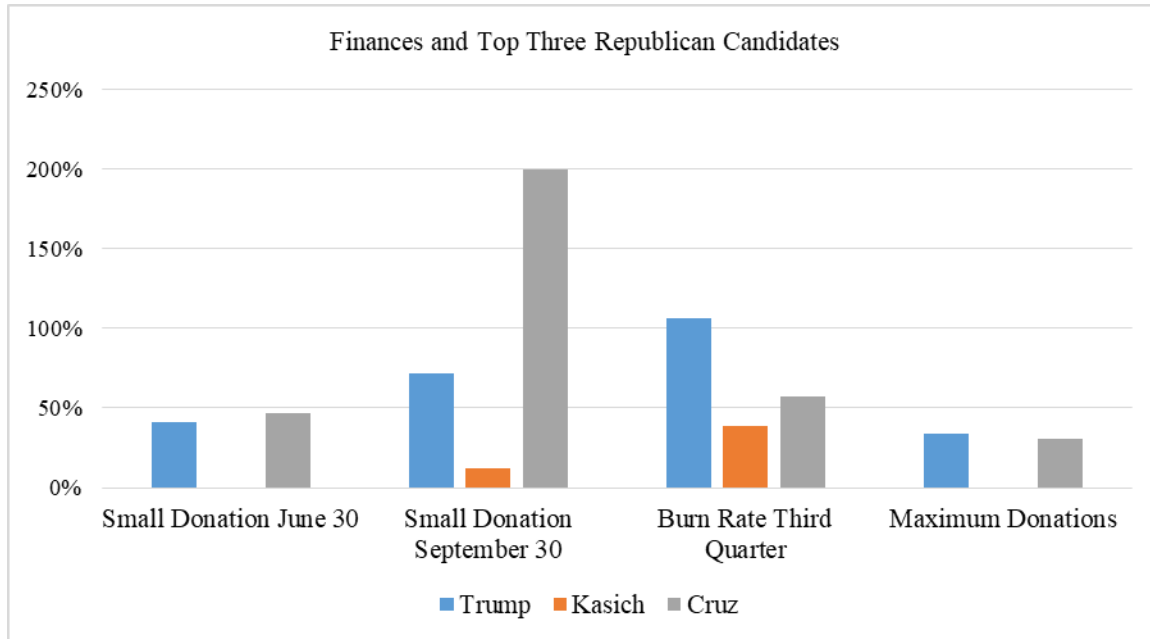
				Governor
George Pataki	May 28, 2015	December 29, 2015	0.5	Former New York Governor
Lindsey Graham	January 6, 2015	December 21, 2015	6.0	South Carolina Senator
Bobby Jindal	June 24, 2015	November 17, 2015	1.4	Louisiana Governor
Scott Walker	July 13, 2015	September 21, 2015	9.5	Wisconsin Governor
Rick Perry	April 6, 2015	November 9, 2015	1.4	Former Texas Governor

Author's compilation (2020).

The column on the background of the candidates provides the necessary clues as to the extent to which the voters are familiar with particular candidates. This ties closely with finances whose main purpose is to facilitate familiarization between the voters and the candidates. Trump, Carson, and Fiorina are presented as the only candidates who joined politics from 'outside' since they had not contested in the previous elections. Individuals like Jeb Bush was not only a governor but also carried a well-known family name with both his father and brother have been presidents. Despite all these, Carson and Trump still stayed in the race longer than him. This again points to the need to seek for more information beyond the money and famed name that candidates bring on board as they progress on the race. The findings also point to the case of Rick Perry who dropped out of the race due to his inability to raise enough finances to run for the primaries.

From the foregoing, the chart below presents data on the sources of funds for the top three republican candidates and the amount of money they had used by the third quarter of the campaigns. Donations are always linked with the degree of compatibility between the candidate's policy choices and the preferences of the voters. The source of donations also points to the class of voters that support the candidature of particular individual aspirants. Trump, for instance, had almost 41% of his total funds come from small donations of \$200 and below. The value increased to 72% by September 2015. This means that Trump's popularity was increasing among the middle class and lower-middle-class voters. This was relatively lower to those of Cruz who had lots of contribution in terms of percentages from the small donations in comparison to others. This can be used to explain why Cruz progressed in the race almost to the conclusion. Here again, the case of Kasich stands out as a misnomer as this hypothesis cannot be used to explain his progression in the race. The other important factor provided by this chart is the burn rate – the rate at which the candidates used the financial resources within their reach to mobilize voters – with the high rate expected to influence race progression as the candidate would be more familiar with the voters. Here we see that Trump used much of his resources to reach out to the voters. This can be said to have been both rational and tactical having come from business and not politics he had to reach as many voters as possible to enhance his chances of staying in the race. Both Kasich and Cruz had been governor and senator respectively thus, spent relatively less on reaching out to voters presumably because they were comparatively known by American voters.

Figure 2. Sources of finances and burnout rate



Source: Author's compilation from different sources (2020)

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES, RACE PROGRESSION, AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES MOBILIZED

The case of the democrats is presented by the second table below which indicates, the date of entry and exit from the presidential primaries, the money raised, and the candidate's background. It is established that the race was majorly between Clinton and Sanders both in terms of the money they raised as well as the time they stayed on the race with Sanders endorsing Clinton on July 12, 2016. O'Malley who trailed the two up to February 1, 2016, only managed to raise 6.4 million dollars. This could explain why he could not progress beyond the early caucuses of Ohio and New Hampshire since he could not match Clinton and Sanders both in resources and voters mobilization. Though this case of democrats may not be perfect it points more closely to the correlation between financial resources and candidate's progression in the US presidential primaries. All the candidates unlike in the case of the Republicans had been public figures with Clinton having been Secretary of State and former first lady and all others having been elected leaders who served as governors and senators.

Table 2: Candidate's Details and Financial Resources Raised- Democrats

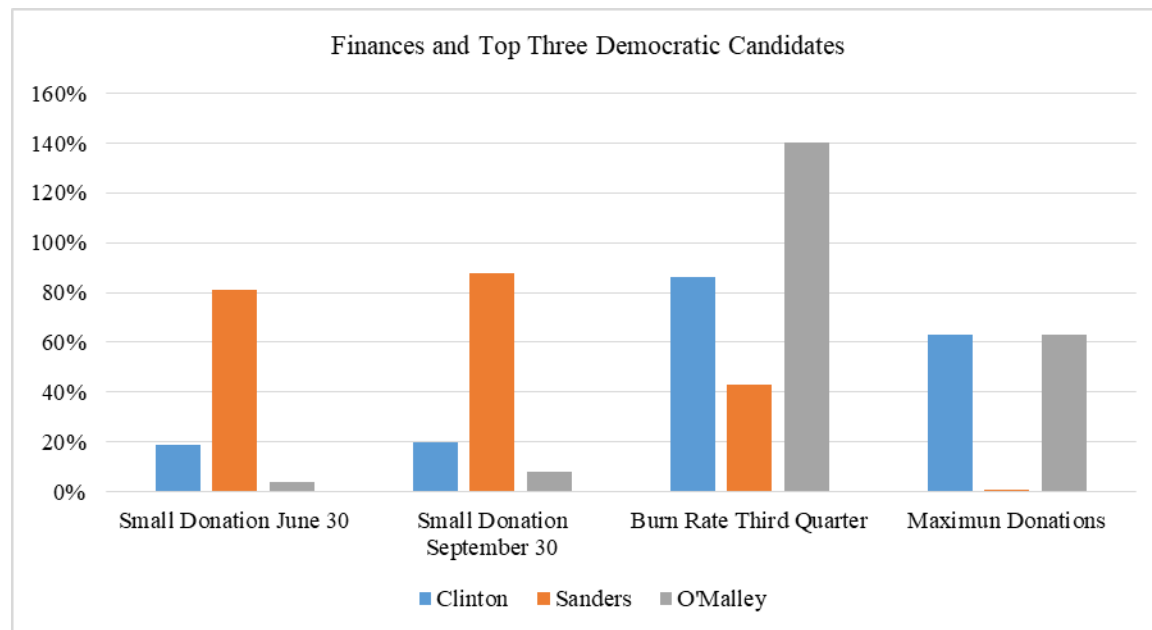
Candidate's Name	Date of Entry	Date of Exit	Money Raised (In Million \$)	Background
Hillary Clinton	April 12, 2015	November 8, 2016	585.7	Former Secretary of State
Bernie Sanders	April 30, 2015	July 12, 2016, by endorsing Clinton	237.6	Vermont Senator
Martin O'Malley	May 30, 2015	February 1, 2016	6.4	Former Maryland Governor
Lincoln Chafee	June 3, 2015	October 23, 2015	0.4	Former Rhode Island Governor
Jim Webb	February 7, 2015	October 20, 2015	0.4	Former Virginia Senator

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Author's compilation (2020).

The chart below indicates that Sanders got a lot of donations from the ordinary voters who contributed to 81% and 88% to his campaign funds by June 30, and September 30 respectively. This indicates that he was popular among ordinary voters with very little maximum donations from the wealthy class. This was a positive sign to his progression on the race which was reflected in the fight he mounted against Clinton until July 12, 2016. His burn out rate notwithstanding since the people who donated were the same people he ought to have reached out to hence had a 43% burn out rate by the third quarter. Clinton on the other hand had a comparatively slight contribution from the small donations according to the percentage of the money she received with a huge chunk being from the wealthy. This implies that she was less popular among the lower and middle-class voters which compelled her to spend much in bolstering her popularity which resulted in a high burn out rate of 86% which was double that of Sanders. The effort paid off by making her very competitive in the race. O'Malley on the other hand had very little donations from the ordinary voters and a little bit more from the wealthy class. Despite his high burn rates which could have helped him progressed much in the race, he dropped on February 1, 2016. This makes the sources of funding and the burn rate also less conclusive in explaining the progression of the US presidential primaries.

Figure 3: Sources of finances and burnout rate



Source: Author's compilation (2020).

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

There are three variables about money that are important for individual candidates to win or stay longer in the presidential primaries. The first one is the amount of money that the candidate can raise at the beginning of the race. This was true with both Clinton, Sanders, and Trump who by the start of their campaigns had raised a significant amount of money to help them run their campaigns. This has also been observed to have been true with George Bush in 2000 when he was campaigning against his main challenger John McCain. Where Bush is reported to have raised 70 million dollars ahead of the campaign

period. In their conclusion of why Bush could have won against McCain, Michel et al. (2000) remarked that ‘perhaps the real barrier was money’.²⁰ Consistent with this claim is the observation that has been made by Hagen and Mayer (2000) who have averred that candidates who raised much money in the year preceding elections won nine out of the eleven primaries in the period spanning 1980 to 2004.²¹ This points to the importance of money in the presidential primaries. However, going by the case of Scott, the availability of money is not the only factor. This is because Scott was able to raise much more money before the campaigns and had backings of many rich families but still dropped off the race very early.²² This brings into focus the role of money in the campaigns during the primaries.

Money is particularly vital in the primaries since there are no party labels as the competitions are always intraparty. Lack of party label means that voters must find other means of getting information about the candidates which can be from the incumbency or other sources of information.²³ The money will, therefore, enable the candidates to reach to voters through different means to not only introduce themselves but also introduce their policies. This relates much to the background of the candidates. Clinton for instance would be perceived to have enjoyed the privileges of the incumbency having been the first lady as well as the Secretary of State. This however was not true for candidates such as Trump, Carson, and Fiorina who were more like ‘outsiders’. The money, therefore, I would postulate served a vital role for the three ‘outsider’ candidates who needed to introduce themselves to the voters and also buy more media airtime to introduce their policies and capabilities. The competition in the primaries is premised on the content of information that candidates can avail to the voters and therefore the money used in developing this content should be able to translate to votes. Welch W.P (1976) in his analysis of the primaries in California and Oregon, has corroborated this position.²⁴ Subsequently, money played a significant role in the progression in the race for Clinton, Sanders, Trump, and Cruz among other candidates.

Further, money tends to bridge the information gap between the voters and the candidates. This stems from a large number of candidates that the voters need to decide about. The large number coupled with harmony in policies as was the case with 2000 presidential primaries between McCain and Bush, makes money a major determinant.²⁵ Money, therefore, enables the candidates to reach out to the voters in their numbers. However, this confronts voters with a challenge in deciding on who among the different candidates to vote for. The likelihood of a candidate standing a better chance for winning a chunk of votes from the information chocked voters rest upon consistency and persistency of the candidate in both his content of information and reach to the electorates. This is further, influenced by the ability of the candidate to raise a significant amount of money prior to the election year otherwise the candidate is likely to drop off the race. This would translate to the inability of the candidate to keep pace with others

²⁰ Hagen, Michael G., Johnston, Richard, Jamicson, Kathleen H., Dutwin, David & Kenski, Kate (2000). Dynamics of the 2000 Republican Primaries, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 572. Pp. 33–49.

²¹ Hagen, G. Michael & Meyer, William G. (2000). “*The Modern Politics of Presidential Selection: How Changing the Rules Really Did Changed the Game*”. In: *In Pursuit of the White House 2000*. New York: Chatham House.

²² Jacobs, Ben, Roberts, Dan & Sullivan, Zoe (2015). Scott Walker’s withdrawal from White House race shows money isn’t everything. Available at <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/sep/22/>. Accessed on 15 October 2019.

²³ Breaux, A. David & Gierzynski, Anthony (1991). It’s Money That Matters: Campaign Expenditures and State Legislative Primaries, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 16 (3). Pp. 429–443.

²⁴ W.P. (1976). The Effectiveness of Expenditures in State Legislative Races, *American Politics Quarterly*, Vol. 4, (3). Pp. 333–356.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 20.

in mobilizing the voters.²⁶ The performance of Rick Perry as well as that of George Pataki in the 2016 primaries attests to the value of money in supporting the candidate's progression in the race.

The second factor that goes with money is the burn rate. This brings into focus how much money the candidate spends in the first three-quarters of the campaign period. From the role of money in general, the candidate needs to feed the voters with the content of information regarding their candidature. Despite being related to the degree of candidate's familiarity with the voters, it also relates to countering the content of information that might be damaging to a candidate. For instance, Clinton perceived more like an incumbent who would suffer prejudice and bear blame for the policy failures of both her husband and Obama's administration. She had to spend a lot of money in the distribution of information clarifying her position on the alleged failures and what she could do differently had she had the power not playing the First Lady role and the Secretary of State. This could probably explain why she had a high burn out rate compared to her fierce critic and competitor Sanders. The reverse is true for the candidates like Trump, Carson, and Fiorina who had to burn out much of their resources to introduce themselves to voters and build positive perceptions and good rapport with the voters. This explains why Trump's burn out rate was not only among the highest among the Republican candidates but also a little bit more than that of Clinton.

This might not also be the sole explanation for the progression of candidates in the presidential primaries. Despite other studies confirming that even in the legislative primaries, there is a direct correlation between campaign expenditures and vote share with the magnitude varying from state to state.²⁷ This was not pretty much the case in the 2016 presidential primaries. This is because of the increased role of the media which Chris Henick – a strategist with Karl Rove in Bush's White House – has typified as 'paid media' and 'earned media'.²⁸ Paid media corresponds to the number of airtime candidates subscribe to whereas earned media is the attraction that a candidate draws from the media due to other qualities like oratory skills or ways of articulation of issues. Stemming from this, it has been argued that the value of advertising in relation to the burn rate that money would buy especially in the 2016 presidential primaries declined due to media pleasant frolics of individual candidates like Trump.²⁹ This points to the value that came with the burn rate of Trump in media advertisements and campaign content dissemination. The two factors of burn rate and value of advertisement combined in favor of Trump hence propelling him much within the race.

Stemming from the above, it is observed that it was a big challenge for other Republicans, who had to scramble for visibility given the domination of television screens by Trump.³⁰ The value of money spent also played a critical role. This points to other additional qualities that the candidate brings on board since the earned media would not only mean increased coverage but also increased viewership which goes hand in hand with popularity if well managed. The increased viewership and popularity that come with earned media often manifest through news coverage and commentaries on both the traditional media and social media outlets. It is averred that earned media often overshadow paid media in value.³¹ For instance, it is reported that in February 2016, 'Trump earned \$400 million worth of free media' the value that is equivalent to what McCain spent in his 2008 campaigns.³² The final value of earned media by Trump was

²⁶ Norrander, Barbara & Smith, Gregg W. (1985). Type of Contest, Candidate Strategy, and Turnout in Presidential Primaries, *American Politics Quarterly* 13 (1). Pp. 28–50.

²⁷ Ibid., 23.

²⁸ Ibid., 22.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., 22.

³¹ Confessore, Nicholas & Yourish, Karen (2016). *\$2 Billion Worth of Free Media for Donald Trump*. Available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/16/upshot/measuring-donald-trumps-mammoth-advantage-in-free-media.html>. Accessed on 22 July 2020.

³² Ibid.

estimated at 2 billion dollars as compared to that of Clinton which was estimated at \$746 million.³³ These combined to propel Trump and Clinton in clinching the party tickets in the 2016 primaries.

Similarly, the opinion polls helped to elevate the position of Trump which then gave him an upper hand in winning the approval of many voters. The polls influence voters' preference as some voters who would want to vote strategically for a potential winner of the nominations would look up to the polls for a decision. This underpins the role of earned media and burn rate for media-friendly candidates in their progression on the race and eventual win for a candidate like Trump. The popularity that comes with earned media often sways opinions thus increasing approvals for race progression. This fits well within Bartel's model of evaluating who will win in the primaries especially on the candidate's viability and how this influences the voters' choice.³⁴

The third factor that is related to money is the source of the money. The candidates in the presidential primaries are allowed to raise funds from different sources categorized differently into those of 200 dollars and below and those of 2700 dollars among other categorizations for company's donations as well as limited and unlimited donations. The 200 dollars and below is one of the most significant categories since it is the amount that many ordinary voters in the US can afford. The more a candidate gets of this donation the more the candidate seems to enjoy the support of the ordinary Americans and the likelihood of a longer progression on the race. Sanders, for instance, received much of his donations from the category of 200 dollars and below with the contributions increasing between June and September 30, 2015. This meant that many ordinary American voters identified with Sanders. This to a large extent explains the resiliency that was exhibited by Sanders in his progression in the race against Clinton.

Cruz and Trump among the top three candidates on the Republican side received quite a large portion of their funds from the ordinary Americans. Cruz for instance had the highest percentage of the small contributions followed by Trump though at a distance. This as well can offer us clues as to why both Trump and Cruz were able to progress much on the race with Trump finally winning. Of importance, however, is the value of the small contributions which can be translated to mean a vote of confidence by the ordinary Americans who can commit their resources to finance their policy convergence in a candidate's manifesto. This general act of approval to some degree guarantees a candidate some votes among the contributors who would want to ensure they get elected to implement the policies. The maximum donations from wealthy Americans is also an important act of approval but may not be as much as that of small donations as the case of Scott who was able to raise money only from the wealthy class hence facing more challenges culminating in his early withdrawal.

Stemming from the above, Clinton got much more donations from the wealthy Americans compared to Sanders. This could point to the reasons as to why Sanders constantly claimed that Clinton was a project by the party and the establishment meant to maintain the status quo.³⁵ This leads to a consideration of voter turnout in the primaries. This is important in understanding why Clinton could have won against Sanders. In the 2016 US presidential primaries, the voter turnout for both Democrats and Republicans averaged 28.5% with that of the Republicans in 29 States averaging 16.6% and after the withdrawal of other candidates with Trump being clear eventual nominee the turnout averaged only 8.8%. The intense battle between Clinton and Sanders made the turnout which just averaged 14.4% to be sustained

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., 11.

³⁵ Peters, Gerhard & Woolley John T. (2016). "Press Release: Sanders and Clinton Fight to Draw in Iowa". The American Presidency Project. Available at <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=114465>. Accessed on 30 October 2019.

throughout the primaries.³⁶ Subsequently, it has been argued that this low turnout means that only particular party loyalists vote.³⁷ The fact that voters in the primaries are credited with exposure and knowledge in political matters explains the less variation in voter turnout.³⁸

The drastic drop in the voter turnout on the side of the Republicans when it was almost clear that Trump would become the nominee after 29 primaries blend smoothly with the notion of voters as strategic in casting their votes. Richard R. Lau (2013) for instance has opined that this indicates that voters are driven by other issues besides ideology and the generally low turnout raises questions on the representativeness of the candidate who finally gets nominated.³⁹ This low turnout in states where primaries are conducted late is worrying given the fact that the main reason for the 1972 reforms was to allow many voters to take part in the nomination of the party candidate a role that was hitherto a preserve of the party elites. It is also worthy to mention that the party elites still have a say in the election of the party nominee since a particular number of delegates is reserved for the top party leadership who also vote in the final convention.

Though the party elites who participate in the nomination especially at the final convention only make up a small percentage they still determine the fate of the nominees. For instance, in the case of Democrats Clinton had 2220 pledged delegates against Sanders 1831 yet for the nomination, the number required is 2383 with 639 unpledged delegates. Sanders could have still won the primaries since he only needs 552 votes from the unpledged delegates to win however he only managed 48 and Clinton scooped a whopping 591 unpledged delegates. This attests to Sanders's suspicion that Clinton was a project of the party elites and the establishment. On the part of the Republicans, Trump had a clear win over Cruz having garnered 1447 pledged delegates against 551 pledged delegates of Cruz. Trump even before the unpledged delegates polled, he had already surpassed the minimum number of delegates of 1237 needed for a candidate to win. It is also interesting to note that apart from the Iowa Caucus that Cruz won 8 to 7 against Trump, the latter was able to beat him in four subsequent nominations including in Alaska where Trump had 36 against Cruz's 13. In the final analysis, Trump was able to lead in 36 states whereas Cruz was only able to lead in 9 states, with Rubio leading in three and Kasich only leading in Ohio.⁴⁰ Trump's win can, therefore, be attributed to the money he raised both from the ordinary voters to the strategic spending where his burn out rate was high by the third quarter and also the value he got from the media with Trump's personality having earned him media attention.

IMPLICATIONS ON DEMOCRACY

How the candidates' fortunes were defined and the voters responded in voting for the candidates can be understood better within the post-democracy theory. Crouch has opined that democracy flourishes only with the provision of an expanded room for active participation by the mass of ordinary citizens through discussions and organizations in framing the public agenda. This proposition is augmented by the 1972 reforms which created room for ordinary party members to participate in the nominations. However, the low voter turnout as is witnessed in the 2016 presidential primaries points to declining democracy as the masses are not taking the opportunity to choose leaders which also impacts negatively on the

³⁶ Desilver, Drew (2016). Turnout was high in the 2016 primary season, but just short of 2008 record. Available at <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/06/10/turnout-was-high-in-the-2016-primary-season-but-just-short-of-2008-record/>. Accessed on 2 November 2019.

³⁷ Ibid., 15.

³⁸ Jewell, Malcolm E. (1984). *Parties and Primaries: Nominating State Governors*. New York: Praeger.

³⁹ Ibid., 15.

⁴⁰ Andrews, Wilson, Bennett, Kitty & Parlapiano, Alicia (2016). 2016 Delegate Count and Primary Results. Available at <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/us/elections/primary-calender-and-results.html>. Accessed on 29 October 2019.

representativeness as espoused by democratic principles. The low voter turnout points to the nature of voters described by Crouch as those who ‘play a passive quiescent, even apathetic part, responding only to the signals given them’.⁴¹

This was evident in the primaries especially in the Republican primaries specifically after the first 29 primaries where it was now evident that Trump would win with the turnout dropping by half from 16% to 8%.⁴² This also confirmed the claim by Crouch that political elites have mastered the art of manipulation of the masses’ demands. This brings into question why some states like Iowa and New Hampshire despite having a low number of delegates is given more preferences to other states with a large number of delegates like Texas or California. The question that stems from this scenario is how democratic is it to allow a small number of people to decide on the fate of candidates while the majority are only expected to confirm the will of the minority. This qualifies the claim by Crouch that in post-democracy, the ordinary mass of people is relegated to the ‘role of manipulated, rare, and passive participants’.⁴³

The race for primaries in 2016 was much more characterized by advertising through different media platforms with each candidate trying to outdo one another on these platforms. Crouch identifies this as a feature of post-democracy where Orwellian kind of journalism is absent and has been replaced by ‘adverts of high-impact words’ with limited room for interrogation. The personality-based approach used in the 2016 campaigns in the primaries confirms what Crouch has decried as a ‘degradation of mass political communication’ since such personality-based campaigns share many characteristics with those carried out by dictators.⁴⁴ The description of Trump as a media-friendly person with outstanding personality and style has been further described as a feature of post-democracy where policies play a little role as individuals and their personal qualities get more attention. The 2016 US presidential primaries displayed some features which are a deviation from both popular and liberal democratic principles.

The media played much more role in influencing the fortunes of the candidates and money both in terms of the amount available and the sources which made the whole process of nominations an elite affair with little influence from the masses. The question that would be asked is whether how the nominations were conducted could have influenced the demonstrations and low ratings that President Trump has had to contend with while in office? The demonstrations have been compounded with the protests against the death of George Floyd in the hands of the police. These demonstrations christened *Black-Lives-Matter* portray public displeasure with how the politicians have conducted state affairs. The expression of this dissatisfaction has been termed as healthy for democracy as it demonstrates political maturity and change in values that are propelled by prosperity and technology hence creating a critical citizenry that is opposed to the status quo.⁴⁵ It remains to be seen if the active participation by the citizenry would be reflected in the ballot in enhancing the representativeness of the presidential primaries in the future.

CONCLUSION

Money is a very important factor in presidential primaries. The amount of money that an aspirant raises in the previous year is very important in helping the aspirant progress on the race with those unable to raise significant amounts falling off the race soonest. Trump and Clinton were both able to raise a significant amount of money before the start of the campaigns and this gave them a clear advantage in the race. Similarly, the two aspirants were able to get funds from diverse sources with a critical portion coming to

⁴¹ Crouch, Colin (2004). “*Why Post-Democracy?*”. In: *Post-Democracy*. New York: Polity Press.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 38.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Susan, Pharr, Robert, Putnam & Russell, J. Dalton (2000). *Trouble in the Advanced Democracies? A Quarter-Century of Declining Confidence*, *Journal of Democracy* 11 (2) Pp. 5-25.

them from the minimum contributions of 200 US dollars and below signifying they enjoyed the approval of the ordinary American voters. The progression in the race by both Sanders and Cruz would also be associated with both the amount they were able to raise as well as the diverse sources from which the funds came especially the minimum contributions. The differing fortune for the Republican candidates was influenced more by the burn out rate and the value of the spending. Trump used much of the money he raised by the third quarter of the race since he was relatively new to American voters and had to reach out to as many of them as possible which paid off.

Cruz however had a low burn out rate arguably because he was already familiar with American voters having been a Senator representing Texas. The difference however came with the value that Trump got from the media since he was classified as media-friendly due to his style of tackling issues through the media hence wide popularity which relegated other candidates to far lower positions. Trump was able to exploit this opportunity to have a decisive win by the end of 29 primaries. Trump's win of the primaries can, therefore, be explained from his ability to raise a significant amount of money in good time and from various sources and the strategic spending of the money early enough in familiarizing with American voters coupled with the value that he got from the media coverage due to his personality which made him media-friendly hence dominating other republican candidates. On the part of the Democrats, there was a fierce battle between Clinton and Sanders with the only difference coming from the party elites through unpledged delegates. In this case, party elites can be said with some level of comfort to have influenced the outcome. However, it is noteworthy that both Clinton and Sanders had a significant amount of funds from diverse sources and were able to spend the resources also much more strategically a case close to a tie that was only broken by the party elites. In summary therefore with finances notwithstanding, the paper concludes that Trump's nomination was more of the media and Clinton's more of the party elites.

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The Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS) is a teaching and research center at the University of Hargeisa, Somaliland. It was established in 2008 by the University of Hargeisa and Eastern Mennonite University in the United States of America to provide a multidisciplinary approach to understand and address conflict and violence in the Horn of Africa. The Institute, was the first Institute of its kind to engage in teaching and research in the areas of peace and conflict studies, and remains the only one in the Somali-speaking region in the Horn of Africa. The IPCS provides interested scholars, institute members, and students with the opportunity to engage in intensive interdisciplinary study and research on Somaliland and Somali-inhabited regions in the Horn of Africa.

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