Public Policy and Research in Africa

Edited by
E. Remi Aiyede · Beatrice Muganda

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Preface

Public policy development is key to steering the African continent to realise its potential and to take its place as a key player in the global system. This calls for an increase in the number of consciously policy-focused research in Africa. At the Partnership for African Social and Governance Research (PASGR) we recognise the need to build capacity to conduct analytical research to produce evidence that can shape policy making and implementation. Such capacity is necessary to position the continent to solve twenty-first-century problems. The urgency of building capacity to produce and use evidence in policy making in Africa is underscored by the scale, complexity and rapidity of changes in public problems. It is demanded by the limited availability and utilisation of evidence in policy making.

The African continent needs to increase its stock of experts in the field of public policy to rise up to solve these problems. Thus, PASGR in collaboration with universities in Africa commenced both the master's and doctoral programmes in research and public policy. Designed to produce 'the next generation' of public policy leaders and researchers, these programmes embrace perspectives from multiple social science disciplines and are informed by Africa's public policy challenges. The programmes seek to produce a generation of individuals who can produce evidence for public policy or broker interaction and forge relationship between the researchers, who produce evidence in various fields in higher education and research institutions, and practitioners in public policy institutions to promote the use of evidence in the public policy making process in Africa.

Experience from the execution of these programme across 14 universities in Africa shows that there is a dearth of policy analysis textbooks with deep African flavour. Many of the available textbooks on public policy and policy analysis either are authored by non-African scholars or are country-specific when they are from within the continent. This book responds to the need for content drawn from African policy experiences and retains a global outlook within the context of a globalised world. The Partnership for African Social and Governance Research (PASGR) commissioned this book as reader for the master's and doctoral programmes in public policy as an important resource to enhance research excellence. It is conceived as the first in the series of materials to be utilised in training and capacity building for the production and dissemination of policy-relevant research. The vision is 'a vibrant African social science community addressing the continent's public policy issues'.

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Introduction: Research Capacity for Evidence-Informed Policy Making in Africa

E. Remi Aiyede and Beatrice Muganda

There is global movement advancing the use of evidence in public policy making. Donors and international institutions continue to support the use of evidence in policy making. This is because it is believed that the use of evidence will improve the quality of policy decision making and the implementation of policies. The extent of the use of evidence varies across countries and across issue areas within countries.

In many countries there are persistent issues militating against the uptake in the use of evidence in public policy making and practice. Some government leaders are not committed to it. Some countries do not have a history of using evidence because they do not interact with producers of evidence, be they in the universities, think tanks, research institutes, and so

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on. The relationship between evidence producers and the policy communities is often weak.

Within the policy processes in Africa, there are no clearly defined standards that demand a push for the search for evidence. With little or no tradition of using evidence in policy making, the capacity for and consciousness of the use of evidence does not sufficiently exist to make it a culture of the policy process. Thus, policy makers often do not have the knowledge, skill and motivation to find, appraise, synthesise and use evidence routinely. Weak partnerships between the policy community and evidence producers reflect in the absence of timely and relevant evidence to inform debate and enable the building of consensus for policy and programme choices. Poor interface between government and university research is pervasive with dire consequences for the use of evidence in policy making and implementation. In many institutions, processes or structures to ensure routine evidence use in policy and practice are non-existent or grossly inadequate.

While many countries have become dependent on international institutions for policy initiatives, such policies' implementation suffers from weak capacity for public policy analysis, policy evaluation, monitoring and review. These partly account for poor performance in economic management and social development. The one-size-fits-all tendency in global policy intervention sometimes has been blamed for the poor performance of such policies. There is therefore a need to address these deficiencies.

One major initiative designed to address the issues is the establishment of the Partnership for African Social and Governance Research (PASGR). Since its inception in 2011, PASGR has promoted policy analysis and research initiatives, developed research and policy interface structures and processes and intervened in higher education to support training in policy-engaged research and to advance evidence-informed policy making. It has developed a set of programmes and activities to promote and build capacity around policy analysis/research and to improve the use of evidence in policy making in Africa

One of its flagship activities in the effort to bridge the gap between research and public policy in Africa is the Master of Research and Public Policy (MRPP) programme. This unique collaborative graduate programme offered in multiple universities in Africa from 2014 has a dual focus on social science research and public policy. The programme is currently being offered in 14 African universities for those who wish to be researchers, future academics or policy analysis practitioners. The Doctoral programme in Public Policy (DPP) began in 2019 in three of the universities to enhance interdisciplinary grounding in the practice of public policy

and to deepen research competencies. It seeks to provide graduates with the advance knowledge, skills and competencies that will enable them to lead policy-relevant research, and improve the practice and scholarship in public policy. The programme will also impart knowledge and skills in research communication, scholarly publishing as well as leadership in pedagogical practice for next-generation academics, researchers, policy practitioners and leaders. Graduates will be highly motivated and adequately equipped to contribute to economic development and social transformation at the national and global levels.

African scholars and policy stakeholders were parts and parcel of the process of developing the curriculum for the two programmes. It is considered vital that materials such as textbooks, teaching and learning aids, and strategies for the programme substantially draw on the African experience. The programme implementation in several universities in Africa showed that there is need for quality textbooks that address the issues that make up the content of the curriculum. Many of the available textbooks on public policy and policy analysis either are authored by non-African scholars or are country specific when they are from within the continent. Experience from the execution of these programme across 13 universities shows that there is a dearth of policy analysis textbooks with deep African flavour. Most of the available texts are either written for universities in north or authored by scholars in universities in the north. Most of these illustrate the issues discussed with cases based on experiences in policy from outside Africa. Thus, African students are unable to effectively engage the cases used because they are alien to the practices of policy processes in Africa in significant ways. The few textbooks informed by African experiences, often are based on experiences of single countries, are written for students in those countries where the scholars are domiciled. There is need for a textbook that can provide the content drawn from experiences of the African context which effectively speaks to the curriculum of the MRPP, that at once captures the global outlook of the programme and the continental focus of the programme.

The master's in Research and Public Policy (MRPP) and the Doctoral Programme in Public Policy (DPP) have been designed collaboratively and are delivered using a common architecture, course content and teaching practices across the universities. This textbook is conceived to cover important aspects of the course content and targets the students on the programmes across the participating universities. Indeed, it is hoped that it will be the first in a series of book of readings for teachers and students in the MRPP and the DPP programmes. The book covers selected content of the MRPP and DPP curricula and therefore is expected to serve as the

prime reference material for both teachers and students alike on the programmes. The textbook will also be useful for similar and related courses in public policy in universities across Africa and beyond. Importantly too, contributors of chapters to the textbooks are scholars and teachers who have been involved in developing the curriculum or teachers who have been engaged in the delivery of the content in the various universities offering the programmes. It is hoped that it will help equip the students in policy knowledge and to advance policy-focused research, support a learner-centred teaching and cover diverse issues from a policymaking perspective.

Apart from the introduction and conclusion, the book consists of ten chapters covering a wide range of issues relating to the interface between policy and research with an African flavour. The chapter following the introduction is on policy analysis and innovation in the humanities and social sciences and their role in 'shaping the self-understanding of peoples and societies, and thereby giving meaning to life' and in addressing 'divisive globalism, environmental crisis and the uncertain horizons of rapid scientific and technological development'. We are witnesses to the growth in scale, complexity and urgency of public policy problems in our globalised world which has made the context of policy making increasingly uncertain, characterised by rapid and widespread changes. Policy making occurs in the context of uncertainty and variability. Expert knowledge in the form of evidence that can inform policy making is increasingly sought and utilised in the policy process to achieve sustainable development. This need has been epitomised by the devastating impact of the Corona virus (COVID-19) pandemic, with record deaths world-wide and devastating economies. This chapter underscores the importance of the humanities and the social sciences 'not only in understanding, making sense and making meaning of our current human condition but also in contributing to the design of policies that address those conditions'. The chapter examines the nature of social science research as it has evolved historically in Africa within the colonial context and the linkages between social science research institutions and the policy processes. It draws on research to map the debate around these connections and the ongoing quest to promote innovation and achieve an uptake in evidence-informed policy making across Africa.

Chapter 3 focuses on the Social Science Foundations of Public Policy. It presents and discusses the social science basis of public policy. It briefly presents the history, epistemological thoughts (theories) and science of

public policy, disciplinary paradigms and influences on public policy, and cross-disciplinary dimensions in social science-oriented public policy research. Chapter 4 explores the nature of public policy and role of policy analysis in the policy process. It examines a variety of research methods and their use in public policy engagements and analysis for evidence-informed policy making. It explains qualitative methods, quantitative methods, multiple and mixed methods research. Other issues addressed include causal research in public policy, report writing and communication and related issues in public policy research. The fifth chapter is devoted to governance issues and the politics of public policy in Africa. Analysing the interconnections among the concepts of 'public policy', 'politics' and 'governance' and their inter-relationships, it surveys the political and governance issues around policy making in Africa. It then elaborates the main features of the governance context of policy making, the formal governance institutions of policy making: the arms of government and the models and systems of government. It also describes policy roles of the party and electoral systems as frameworks of democratic governance. It explores public policy instruments and actors in the policymaking process as well as the informal dimensions of politics and public policy making.

In the sixth chapter, the book outlines the debates around policy paradigms in the study of the changing context of public policy making and policy change. It recognises that policy ideas are embedded in policy paradigms and that these paradigms form the basis for framing, articulating and implementing public policy. It examines such concepts as pluralism, internationalisation and globalisation, and polycentricism in the study of public policy. Furthermore, it examines the changing focus and locus of policy, discussing such issues as the state versus market, the growing complexity and scale of government, and the special concerns of Africans relating to the debate around the issues. Based on the above theoretical debates, certain issues and the competing tools for addressing them are identified for closer scrutiny. These contextual issues relate to the economy, health, security, environment and natural resources, governance, exclusion and vulnerability. The chapter concludes by drawing out the implications of policy paradigms on policy change and policy performance.

Chapter 7 explains public policy making and implementation from a political economy perspective. It examines the concepts of political economy and public policy, and discusses some of the variants of political economy and how each conceives of public policymaking process and

implementation. It argues that the making and implementation of public policy is enveloped in contestations and bargaining between interest groups with competing claims over rights and resources. Oftentimes the use and control of political power shape the direction and class character of public policy. In some circumstances, policy outcomes help to further reproduce the position of the ruling class in control of the state apparatus. The chapter further discusses the role of political economy in problem-solving and how political economy uses evidence in public policy analysis.

One of the major challenges confronting public policy in Africa is how to overcome overt and subtle discrimination in the art of governance, economic and social development. The promotion of social diversity and the eradication of exploitation of one group by others remains a major focus. Explaining the political and civil rights of different social classes, as well as their economic, social and cultural rights, provides the basis for the chapter on social diversity, gender, equity and public policy. The chapter examines the discourse on social differences, and how state and society have responded over time to the growing demands for inclusive growth and social justice in development. It shows how evidence from reflective research is contributing to the unfolding paradigm, a shift towards embracing social diversity and equity with special reference to race, gender, ethnicity and disability, to name a few. The chapter highlights how policy instruments influence the process of income distribution across different social groups; how public policy can be used to advance people's freedoms across different social groups.

Chapter 9 argues that leadership has a direct link to good governance, economic and social development. Underscoring the idea that it provides the guide to achieving these objectives, this chapter examines great leadership skills as intertwined with a deep understanding of the policymaking process. It examines the concept of leadership broadly and leadership in Africa specifically. It focuses on traditional and modern leadership features and roles in Africa. It explores the concepts of accountability, participation, deliberation, division of power and freedom of expression as they relate to leadership and governance of public policy making in Africa and the accompanying challenges.

The tenth chapter is devoted to exploring the global context of public policy making, especially the influence of globalisation on public policy making in Africa. It provides a precise and conceptually focused definitions of globalisation and public policy. It addresses the emergence of global institutions of governance, international conventions, global policies and

their diffusion and influence on national policy making around the world. It takes us around the debates around policy paradigms in the study of the public policy choice and policy change. It examines influence of global policy paradigms on national public policy making in Africa, with illustrations drawn from Republic of Kenya. It therefore identifies and discusses the competing forces of both internal and external factors that influence public policy making in Africa.

The eleventh chapter underscores the importance of policy communication and engagement with policy makers and other stakeholders in the effort to promote the use of evidence in the public policymaking process. Recognising that there are two dimensions, the demand and supply sides to the use of evidence in policy making, it discusses the various instruments and platforms for communicating research to make it accessible to a variety of stakeholders.

The concluding chapter establishes and underscores the salience of the central claims of the chapters of the book, the skills and abilities the readings support as part of the research and public policy programmes. It begins by examining the travails of the effort to promote evidence-informed policy making from the 1950s in the build-up to independence, through the period of central planning, fiscal crisis and recession, structural adjustment, and the entrance and proliferation of independent think tanks. It shows that after a lull during the periods of dictatorship and the shrinking of the democratic space, the liberalisation and democratisation process from the 1990s onwards has rekindled consciousness and interest in promoting evidence-informed policy making. African countries have become part of the evidence revolution indicated by the establishment of national policy evaluation systems across the continent. The chapters together constitute essential materials for understanding various aspects and dimensions of policy making in Africa with emphasis on quality research and excellence in both teaching and learning of the graduate programmes in public policy.

Policy Analysis and Innovation: Why the Humanities and the Social Sciences Matter for Social Transformation in Africa

Tade Akin Aina

Introduction

The arena of public policy is complex, messy, tainted, contested, multidirectional and in many ways ambivalent and full of unintended outcomes and consequences. Just as there is no simple compass or map, there is no appropriate technology either, not even its own GPS to provide a useful and straightforward direction in navigating the terrain of public policy and the paths from knowledge and evidence to policy.

The relevance, significance or importance of the humanities and the social sciences as disciplines that advance our understanding of and engagement with the human condition, human wellbeing and development and the context within which it is situated, is not in doubt. For the humanities, we have been well served with literature ranging from the classics to the Busan Declaration of the First World Humanities Forum held in Busan, Republic of Korea in November 2011. The Busan Summit affirmed the

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humanities' "historic role of shaping the self-understanding of peoples and societies, and thereby giving meaning to life" and the need to reposition the humanities to play these roles "in the face of divisive globalism, environmental crisis and the uncertain horizons of rapid scientific and technological development". This need has become of greater significance in a world that has seen the devastation of the Corona virus (COVID-19) pandemic that has led to over a million deaths worldwide and immense economic and human losses. The importance of the humanities and the social sciences not only in understanding, making sense and making meaning of our current human condition but also in contributing to the design of policies that address those conditions cannot be understated.

African scholars such as Ali Mazrui, Archie Mafeje, Kofi Anyidoho, Wole Soyinka, Kwame Anthony Appiah, Paul Zeleza and Mahmood Mamdani, to name a few, have deployed and delivered arguments and proof in their various works in playing these roles on the continent. As for the social sciences, the application of scholarship to providing solutions to the numerous problems that accompanied the first industrial revolution and to such social, political, cultural and other issues that affected human lives since then has been the reason for their existence.[1] Several scholars in the social sciences across generations continue to address and demonstrate the relevance and vitality of the humanities and the social sciences for dealing with these issues. Several of them also surf the stormy waves of the multi-media world as public intellectuals.

Admittedly, the public intellectual is not always or necessarily the policy researcher. There is, of course, always the need for consciously policy-focused research. In this regard, several Pan-African organizations have underscored the importance of the humanities and social sciences to addressing public policy issues as they affect our lives as nations, peoples, communities, societies and individuals in Africa. From the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) which has in many forums and through diverse projects sought to assert the importance of the humanities and the social sciences to the Partnership for African Governance and Social Research(PASGR), whose main goal is to support the production and dissemination of policy relevant research in

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[1] Even when they deploy massive theories and create new concepts, some of the major classics produced by the social sciences have addressed key human problems. Examples include Adam Smith, Emile Durkheim, Alfred Marshall, Max Weber, Gunnar Myrdal, John Maynard Keynes, Arthur Lewis, Billy Dudley, Ojetunji Aboyade, Akin Mabogunje and Claude Ake.

partnership with individual academics and researchers, higher education institutions, research think tanks, civil society organizations, businesses and policy communities both in the region and internationally. These institutions have been working to create a vibrant African social science community addressing the continent's public policy issues.

Nonetheless, the case never seems to be settled as African politicians and some technocrats in international, regional and national platforms continue to fetishize a single story that sees the transformation of the African continent, as peoples and nations, as one founded only on the place and role of the Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematical (STEM) disciplines. In this case, other disciplines such as the humanities and the social sciences don't matter. At the African Development Bank Annual meeting in May 2018 in Busan, Korea, an African leader considered African universities as failing because they oversupply humanities and social science graduates relative to STEM graduates. Not wanting to get into the trap and dangers of "a single story" as Chimamanda Adichie warned us, I will avoid engaging in this war of polarities, though such polarities have implications for politics, policy, vision and the deployment of scarce resources for national development. Polarities such as these also have implications for undermining our core human values as integrated and civilized beings, because of the constant public demeaning of the humanities by our political leaders and technocrats whose perspectives on education and development are singular and unnuanced. But leaving aside this battle on the roles of the disciplines in our human development, on which a lot has been said and written all over the world, I would like to begin our engagement with the subject of our concern by examining the notions of policy, policy research and the constituents of both the humanities and the social sciences disciplines that do policy research.

Clarifying the Notions

Policy Research

Policy research has been characterized as "social scientific research which has non-university groups as its main intended audience (although the results may in practice also interest academic audiences). For the most part such research attempts to apply social scientific findings to the solution of problems identified by a client … Policy research may be descriptive, analytical, or deal with causal processes and explanations. It may evaluate a

new or existing policy programme, describe examples of best practices, measure social change, develop projections based on large-scale modelling exercises, or consist of large-scale experimental research in real-life settings running for years and even decades. Most policy research espouses a multi-disciplinary approach and avoids narrowly disciplinary jargon" (Dictionary of Sociology 1998).

While reiterating and affirming the fact of multi- and inter-disciplinarity in policy research, policy research is not about disciplines but more about the goals and objectives of the research carried out within a disciplinary or multi-disciplinary approach or framework. Policy research transcends disciplines, although it has been appropriated by the so-called policy sciences, (mainly the applied aspects of economics, sociology, psychology, political and administrative sciences).

As I stated in one of my earlier works on social policy:

"It is necessary first, to go beyond the conception of policy in terms of the restrictive notion of public policy as 'what governments choses to do or not to do' (Dye 1972). Policy here includes the action of governments but does extend to a wide range of institutionalized systematized interventions and actions effected by a wide range of agents operating in the public realm but not solely as governments or agents of the state. Thus, in terms of defining, formulating and implementing policies, actors in the terrain include the state, social movements, various social forces and what has come to be loosely termed 'civil society', meaning that constellation of actors in the public realm with identifiable stakes and vested interests and location in the media, social movements and other such institutions" (Aina 1997: 26-27).

Furthermore,

It is necessary to state … that the making of … policy … is not and has never been an innocent or neutral act resulting mainly from a balanced objective analysis of reality, the recognition of the needs of ordinary peoples, a commitment to these needs, or sheer altruism… Policy in modern times has emerged or changed in relation mainly to the perception and organization of vested interests and the interplay of influence, pressure and power relations flowing from the perceptions and pursuit of these needs and/or interests. Ultimately, policies are about politics and power relations and consequently about struggles between social actors. Policies, therefore, are often contested right from the point of conception and formulation to that of implementation. They are often unequal and unevenly tilted in favour of

the more powerful and advantaged. They, therefore, often demonstrate massive gaps between the points of conception and those of operation and implementation (Aina 1997:27).

I have spent some time on the contested nature of policy because, as we shall see later in this chapter, this is an important recognition we need to make as scholars as we make our choices about policy research.

The Humanities and the Social Sciences

Many of us scholars and practitioners in the field of humanities and the social sciences scarcely ask questions about their roles as scholars and knowledge producers. They are immersed in their disciplines, with their methodologies and the intellectual and other problems that they pose without indulging in the luxury of self-reflection on the boundaries and foundations of those disciplines or their relationships with other disciplines and knowledge.[2] We take our disciplines for granted. Indeed, a special issue of CODESRIA Bulletin devoted to the Humanities and the Social Sciences in 2016 did attempt to define what the humanities are (CODESRIA Bulletin Nos. 3 &4, 2016). There was a lot of discussion on their relevance, on the unity of the humanities and the social sciences, but a significant absence of what constitutes the humanities. We also find this in the organization of disciplines and programmes in universities.

There is often an ambiguity about disciplinary boundaries in the humanities. This is not surprising because scholarship in the humanities is traced to the origins of knowledge in conventional Western thought, and with the changes that have occurred over time, the organization, terminology and language of Western academic thinking on these issues have not been significantly transformed.

So how do we understand the humanities? I will attempt to specify the humanities by what they do. The humanities are a body of disciplines that study elements of our society and cultures from the point of view of the meaning they make of them and how they put them to use. The humanities make sense of and interpret human experience and condition in terms of being. They inquire into why and how humans adduce meaning and

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[2] The 1st World Humanities Forum 2011. Busan Declaration: Towards a New Humanism for the 21st Century Busan, Republic of Korea, 24–26 November https://www.unesco.or.kr/upload/data_center/1st_WHF_BusanDeclaration_Eng.pdf?ckattempt=1

give value to its different expressions in a changing nature. They study humanness, humanity, its constitution and expression. So, broadly the studies of anthropology, archaeology, classics, history, linguistics and languages, law and politics, literature, performing arts, philosophy, religion and visual arts will all be part of the *humanities.*

The social sciences often overlap with the humanities in terms of not only subject matter but also methods and concern. But as a cluster of disciplines, they distinguish themselves from the humanities through their application of the various conceptions of the scientific method. These range from experimental sciences found in psychology and the quantification of the disciplines found in economics, demography, statistics, sociology, geography, and the political and administrative sciences. The social sciences have in fact appropriated the status of the "policy sciences".

With the recent tremendous changes in technologies and their application to the study of and engagement with the human condition, the methods and ways of doing both the social sciences and humanities have changed. They have been affected by digital and other new technologies and their scales of coverage and replicability have changed. But they in essence remain meaning-making and meaning-seeking inquiries about our human condition and experiences and its multiple expressions.

An important consideration of the humanities is their relevance to public policy today. A British Academy report of September 2008 provided a detailed, concrete and practical menu of "What Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences Offers" the different areas of policies and governments in Britain by line ministries and government departments, from economic performance, immigration, defence, museums to water management, and so on (The British Academy 2008: 13-17). Other scholars have provided similar arguments for the USA and Europe (Miazga 2015; Bartel 2015; Evans 2013; Frodeman et al. 2003). With regards to the African situation, we have the collection of articles in the CODESRIA Bulletin of 2016 with articles by Senkoro 2016, Africanus Aveh (2016), Meneses (2016), Mbengue (2016) and Niang (2016). We are further reminded by Mkandawire (2005), in the book *African Intellectuals: Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender and Development*, that the relevance is not easily framed through the lenses of basic versus applied research, but rather must be seen from the point of view of the national and global politics of knowledge production. Mkandawire states:

Few African leaders however sought to cultivate an indigenous 'intellectu-ariat' that was in the Gramsci sense 'organic'. The default position of the African political class was a profound distrust of its country's intellectuals. The kind of rapport that the Indian nationalists sustained with the intellectuals in the post-colonial period, or the links that Jewish intellectuals had with the Israeli state, was rarely seen in Africa … One consequence is that the African nationalist post-colonial project had no organic intellectuals and the few that sought to assume that role were reduced to acting as apolo-gists. The African governments tended to reduce their relevance to the pro-vision of 'manpower' resources for development and to indigenize the civil service (Mkandawire 2005:23).

In Nigeria, during the nationalist era and in the first 15 years of inde-pendence, scholars played active roles in the generation of the first three national development plans. Working with the ministry of planning and national think tanks like Nigeria Institute for Social and Economic Research (NISER), social scientists like Professors Ojetunji Aboyade, Adebayo Adedeji and H. M. A. Onitiri led the crafting and process of development planning. Diplomacy and international relations were defined and led by scholars like Bolaji Akinyemi and Ibrahim Gambari while rural development had the traces of Dupe Olatunbosun, Akin Mabogunje and Jerry Gana. Under military rule, scholars served in devel-oping policies on social mobilization, rural integration, basic education and primary health care. In fact, between 1985 and 1993, under the mili-tary government of Ibrahim Babangida, Nigerian scholars across all disci-plines were deployed as part of the production and legitimation of policies and projects, including the failed transition to civil rule programme.

The question of relevance and organic linkages to politics and social movements is not all about the procurement and provision of the correct evidence for policy. It is equally about understanding, navigating and engaging the complex ecosystem of policy making and the politics of pol-icy. The navigating of the world of politics and policy, their context and openness to knowledge-producing sites are important because knowledge-producing sites are plural, complex and changing. Indeed, this context and the nature of evidence to policy have produced both a new industry and world of policy engagement and research uptake today. It is a world inhabited by many research networks in health, agriculture and the social sciences, and it is populated by the increasingly growing numbers of think tanks, networks and business-driven research enterprises. Emerging on the

continent is also a robust and active evidence-informed policy making (EIPM) movement and networks led by African research institutions such as PASGR, the African Population Health Research Centre (APHRC), the African Institute for Development Policy (AFIDEP) and a set of other institutions in the Monitoring and Evaluation field. Also, the world of the business-driven research enterprises is growing rapidly in Africa not only through the big Accounting/Management Consulting firms who have entered the arena of research contracting but also through the increasing expansion of research contracting in the portfolios of the big bilateral donors and the proliferation of research-contracting firms across Africa today. All of these constitute the changing context of research and scholarship in Africa today. Beyond the micro-context of the profession/calling as academics and scholars in higher education institutions, there is the macro-context of our larger world and changing times.

The Changing Contexts of Scholarship and the Academy

Scholarship Today

Scholarship today occurs in unconventional times and the role and settings of the "traditional" academic is being challenged by new and emerging roles, locations and practices driven by innovations, indeed, revolutions in technologies, the media and markets. These carry with them extensive functional differentiation and integration of publics, scale and types of demand, influence and power. Scholars and academics, although still a significant grouping in the arena of knowledge production, are no longer the sole players or the most dominant and influential producers and interpreters of knowledge. Media pundits, consultancy and knowledge companies, free-floating and independent institutes, and for-profit enterprises, all contest the roles, functions and terrains of knowledge production and validation today. The world of scholarship and academics is not the same as it was two decades ago (Alter 2013).

The notion of the scholar hitherto embodies the systematic and structured pursuit of learning and knowledge at what is recognized as an advanced level within the traditions, conventions and communities of such pursuits. Universities, churches, mosques, temples, research institutes, laboratories, libraries, archives and museums all constitute conventional

locations for scholarship, but these days, think tanks, policy institutes, political parties, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), media organizations, government agencies, international organizations, Corporate Research and Development (R&D) constitute additional and competing locations and settings.

Indeed, in our emerging knowledge economies, the pursuit of knowledge is becoming generalized and commoditized, and functions and roles cut across many sectors. But all these practitioners are not necessarily scholars despite their carrying out knowledge production roles and functions. Scholarship includes additional elements of values and norms that distinguish scholars from all other knowledge workers. Scholars are found more at universities because of the related public good and mission-driven nature of universities and in some cases, religious institutions. Many African public universities and research organizations at their founding were conceived as mission-driven, public good serving entities that in those days carried the goals of national development and transformation for these countries. The value-based nature of the calling and the public good, mission-driven nature of the institutions tend ideally to provide natural affinities for scholarship and universities. Many of us in the humanities and the social sciences remain significantly aligned to the values, norms, identity and lifestyle of the scholar as conventionally defined.

Terrains and Institutions of Knowledge Production

In 2004, Ken Prewitt pointed out that despite the significant changes that have characterized global human achievements and accomplishments, universities have been the last arenas of change. According to him, "during this half millennium, the basic model of higher education has changed hardly at all: direct face-to-face exchange between the learned and the learners, heavy reliance on written texts that summarize previously established knowledge, and physical sites to which faculty and students come to reside. And … three core principles have been generally accepted: unity of research and teaching, protection of academic freedom including both the right of free inquiry by scholars and the right of students to choose their course of study, and the centrality of arts and sciences or liberal education". Prewitt wondered at this remarkable stability in the higher education sector noting that "the institution that produces and disseminates knowledge looks much as it did centuries ago" (Prewitt 2004:36).

He asserted that the higher education and the university must change. He stated further "higher education is about knowledge. If we are entering a new phase of human history because knowledge itself is being differently produced, disseminated, and used, it logically follows that the institution responsible for knowledge can hardly stand outside" (Prewitt 2004: 36–37). Change in universities and the higher education sectors both in Western societies and in Africa is inevitable. African universities, and higher education more broadly, despite the weak institutional base and the attendant problems, are struggling with the new changes that are facing the academy and the knowledge sector broadly.

The more significant changes occasioned by forces associated with globalization and massification, resulting from large population growth and concentration, have created what is known today as knowledge economies and societies. Most human transactions and interactions are guided by the grammar and lexicon of the emerging digital and market-oriented life. Universities and research laboratories attached to them and the corporate sector are leading this transition into a globalized digital world. Their practices and norms are not only opening new ways of working and living but transforming learning, teaching, knowledge production and management. Teachers and researchers have diversified and expanded the nature and types of communication platforms and modes from conventional emails to new forms of social media and diverse digital platforms. Multi-local, multi-site classrooms and digitally mediated pedagogies such as PASGR's PedaL approach and experimental laboratories and collaborations are occurring through videoconferencing, Skyping, real-time digital laboratories, tele-medicines, e-learning and e-class rooms.

The pace and the volume of innovations are astounding and are transforming work and leisure, learning, teaching, research, books and classrooms. As students come with multiple exposures to new media and technologies, teachers and new PhDs are being taught new ways of multimedia presentation and learning; today's classrooms, libraries, learning and information resources are being transformed in structures, designs, practices and norms for tomorrow's next generation of learners and users! What is important to point out here is that the key elements of the contexts have not been all benign.

African universities in the past two decades while the world was being transformed technologically have faced unique challenges that I have elsewhere noted as being significant elements of their condition. These

challenges have been made more severe by the massive disruptions occasioned by the COVID-19 pandemic. Some of the challenges are as follows:

- Declining revenue for university teaching and research.
- Increasing and uncontrolled enrolments leading to crowded lecture rooms, residences and pressure on staff and facilities.
- Decaying and inadequate infrastructure buildings, equipment, laboratories and connectivity.
- Inadequate access to connectivity and required technologies.
- Inadequate staffing because of brain drains, high enrolments, deficient qualifications of staff.
- Prevalence of inherited, outdated and inequitable colonial governance, administrative and academic systems with minimal accountability, transparency and inclusiveness.
- Prevalence of demonstrations and crises (leading to incessant closures that affect the academic calendar) as universities and tertiary institutions become the last outposts of resistance to political authoritarianism.
- Expansion of internal negative cultural practices that encouraged the growth of violent secret societies on campus, sexism, academic and bureaucratic corruption and the interference of political parties and ethnic and other associations in university life (Aina 2010: 29-30).

Fortunately, interventions from a wide array of sources—African governments, the universities themselves, international agencies, private foundations, parents, local businesses, alumni and communities—have all contributed to helping the revitalization and tortuous recovery of African universities. Significant efforts have been put into rehabilitating and building infrastructure and facilities, in reclaiming decent and passable learning spaces, in introducing new technologies and in establishing many private universities. Of course, most of these have been within the broad parameters of neo-liberal reform efforts, where privatization is primary, the market is dominant and there is little or no debate about the social mission or a public good notion of universities and higher education. For scholars in the humanities, this is an area and issue that calls for attention, application analytical skills and knowledge.

In fact, some of the older more established universities have been privileged to enjoy more sustained recovery from previous crises such as the University of Ibadan, the University of Ghana, Legon, Makerere University,

Uganda, and the University of Nairobi. These are all working on reclaiming their former high reputation and intellectual leadership. They are beginning to re-engineer themselves into becoming research universities with a renewed emphasis on postgraduate training and research. They are debating quality, excellence, retention, sustainability and relevance and are addressing these in their students' enrolment, faculty qualifications, infrastructures, renewed facilities and new programmes. Also, a new generation of African universities that combine new operating systems with mission-driven values and goals are emerging and asserting new approaches to higher education delivery in Africa. These include Ashesi University in Ghana and African Leadership University in Mauritius.

The management of many African universities is also changing with new emphases on human capital development and talent management, advancement and resource mobilization and innovative forms of research management. This is a slow and often painful process as massive capacity deficits remain in administration and management. Institutional and programme monitoring and evaluation along with traditional accountability mechanisms are also being put in place while important equity issues such as gender and disability and sexual harassment policies are being enacted. But there is still a long way to go in recovery and rehabilitation before many African universities can reclaim the standards, reputation and accomplishments needed for a new era of knowledge societies and economies.

The previous efforts of African universities at revitalization stated above have reclaimed the basic outlines of universities, but they have not confronted systemic flaws, design problems, governance issues and the overall structures of the production and reproduction of high-quality knowledge in the African context. In this era of global university rankings and the unbridled pursuit of international recognition and acclaim, African universities are playing catch-up with the rest of the world. But the issue is not about the unbridled pursuit of placement in global ranking, but rather the definition and reclamation of excellence and relevance in research, teaching, learning and all other pursuits to which universities are committed. It is about socialization into the values and unrelenting practices of excellence, commitment and merit that will be an important defining quality of future African universities. It will be about vision, mission and the reclamation of those values such as integrity, mission and commitment which unfortunately were not the focus of investments during rehabilitation and revitalization.

Now that we believe we are entering a new phase in higher education and knowledge economy in Africa, it is time to bring back vision, mission and values. The humanities with their engagement with the traditions of inquiry and commitment to these issues are best positioned to engage them. The question is, are the values of conventional scholarship in conflict with the changing demands of the emerging ecosystem of knowledge production? If so, what is to be done? The changing world and context of scholarship have implications for policy engagement strategies in terms of competition and collaborations, and for the future of the humanities and social sciences in Africa.

Our World Today

Our world today is increasingly locked into a global system with interconnections and linkages that defy national and geographic boundaries and spaces, presenting us all with complexity, proximity, contiguity and opportunities that combine immense potential for benefits with new vulnerabilities, polarities and various forms of exclusion (Aina 1997; Aina et al. 2004). It is indeed a brave new world! It is a world that has been described with all sorts of labels that attempt to capture its unfolding dynamics and emerging structures. It has been characterized by the notion of globalization and defined by the dominance of the neo-liberal economy, ideologies and the enshrining of market forces. It is also characterized by complexity, a phenomenon, that has given rise to analytical schools that struggle to re-orient the perspectives that dominant Western knowledge systems and their epistemologies have imposed on our ways of seeing and thinking over a long period. The struggles to confront our epistemic traps have led to the worldwide "decolonization of knowledge and higher education movements". This is a movement that demands the recognition and engagement with multiple knowledge systems beyond the Eurocentric epistemologies and methodologies. It demands anew and active awareness of complexity. The importance of complexity has become so central to our thinking that Thomas Homer-Dixon (2001) notes: "If there is a unique quality to the modern era, it is that conditions of existence have changed to such a degree that something explicitly recognized as complexity now continually forces itself into our awareness". All of these have come to frame our world when we think of it holistically or in a global context today. This world is characterized by the following sharp features:

- New and unprecedented dimensions in global change and cross borders threats such as those deriving from climate change, violent extremism and pandemics like Covid-19, HIV-AIDS, Tuberculosis, Ebola and new strains of other communicable diseases.
- New and unprecedented opportunities and innovations in financial and cultural flows, economic linkages that create opportunities for investments in distant places thus introducing transnational flexibility and profits. But these have come with threats and challenges such as widening gaps in income disparities between groups within nations and between national economies. There has also been increased vulnerability of national systems to global shocks including the transfer of social and economic upheavals in one part of the world to the rest. We live in the era of tele-money, crypto currencies and block chains. Original stores of value are in flux.
- Rapid growth and changes in new forms of technologies and the emergence of ICTs, biotechnology, nanotechnologies and advances in genetics, nuclear and space technologies. The pace of global technological innovation, adoption and marketing is unprecedented, and ICTs have completely transformed the nature of access, amount, pace and management of data, information, knowledge and learning. Indeed, we are on the verge of the fourth Industrial revolution and a new clean energy revolution. We are witnessing the rise of artificial intelligence, robotics and machine learning. Electric cars and various forms of renewable energy are emerging. Africa cannot stop the impact of these innovations and transformations extending to it. We can catch up, leapfrog or be dominated and exploited through these new forces. In fact, the military implications are frightening. How do our conventional forces fight sophisticated cyber wars, repulse drones and confront entire robotic battalions?
- Significant transformation in modes, means, media and pace of communications revolutionizing the use, size, meaning and deployment of data, information and knowledge leading to new challenges with surveillance, privacy, etc.
- The rise of xenophobia, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, radical populism, isolationist and protectionist politics worldwide but particularly in the Global North.

- Transitions in the conventional modes and organization of knowledge, disciplines, institutions and knowledge production and management leading to new specializations, occupations and re-professionalization.

The Humanities and the Social Sciences, Knowledge, Politics and Policies in Africa

An important point from our discussions so far is that knowledge products and producers of knowledge have been involved in a wide range of policy and political issues in Africa, including some of the most important social projects that have made impact on lives and destinies in the continent. Using a crude periodization deriving from the colonial experience, one can identify some significant moments as follows:

The Colonial Project

Knowledge was a central element of the overall colonial project in terms of the political and cultural domination and the economic mission. Anthropologists were involved in the studies of societies and cultures of colonial peoples to ensure the effective interaction between colonial officials, the missionaries and "natives". They were important in providing the ideological rationalization of so-called primitive peoples organized in tribes awaiting the European carriers of civilization (see Mafeje 1971, 1976, 2001 and Magubane 1971 for the critique of the notion).

Linguists, economists and agronomists were also involved in the encouragement and design of specific patterns of colonial production, investment in and compelling the production of specific cash crops and production patterns. The earliest experiences of think tanks were the institutes set up by the colonial governments such as the West African institute for Oil Palm Research (WAIFOR) and the West African Institute for Social and Economic Research (WAISER) that later gave rise to national institutions in West Africa. In East Africa, the Makerere Institute of Social Research was established in 1948 as part of the East African Institute of Social and Economic Research. The colonial project created and reinforced the often racist, otherizing and exclusionist modes of knowledge that are an important part of dominant Western and Eurocentric knowledge systems.

The Nationalist/Anti-colonial Project

Knowledge production was important in the construction and reconstruction of African identity, polities and economies during the nationalist anti-colonial struggles and early phases of nationalist rule. Nationalist history in the form of schools such as the Ibadan, Dar and Dakar Schools were central to the reconstruction of history and self-confident African identities. Literature and philosophy also contributed examples such as the ideologies of Negritude and Pan-Africanism. Institutes for African Studies such as the one at University of Ghana, Legon, were specifically set up to provide intellectual leadership, support and rationale for some of the important nationalist projects in politics, economic development, music, fine arts, languages and culture.

The nationalist project while it contributed to significant knowledge products in the humanities and social sciences succumbed to pressures from within and without resulting in the emergence of the era of neo-liberalization driven principally by the economic adjustment programmes imposed across Africa in the 1980s and 1990s.

The Neo-liberal Project

Thandika Mkandawire (2005) provided an apt summary of the role of intellectuals in this period: "First, there was the growing 'compradorization' of intellectual enterprise which came with the greater 'compradorization' of the economy. Nationalist developmental strategies had been finally defeated as economies were privatized, opened and generally conditioned to policy initiatives from outside the continent. Compradorization of the intellectual exercise was the result of the dramatic rise of the consultancy industry and the contract research it spurned. There was now a new wave of African professions closely linked with the need for greater control of development by the aid establishment and its insatiable quest for feasibility studies, evaluations and rapid assessment results" (Mkandawire 2005:42).

This era also saw the growth of economic policy networks and think tanks that carried out policy research, capacity building and technical assistance for the new neo-liberal economic policies. These were backed not only through funding support from outside Africa but also so through the creation of various kinds of support infrastructure for the new think tanks. Apart from the economic policy-related issues of poverty reduction, social protection and cash transfers, the era also saw the emergence of new

priorities such as peacebuilding, addressing violent extremism and a wide range of public health and climate change issues. All of these provided the much-needed sustenance and sustainability for the new generation of think tanks, research networks and contract research enterprises.

But this era and the key intellectual trends had significant disconnections with the lived realities of many Africans, particularly the youth who initiated the students' decolonization struggles that started in South Africa. In this era, there were not only efforts at reclaiming the decolonization of knowledge but also the recognition and affirmation of the pluralities of knowledge and the significance of indigenous knowledge and systems.

What is important to note is that the humanities have been involved in various elements of these social projects that involved research and knowledge inputs depending on the topics, themes or sector. Their involvement did not demand a major structural shift from basic research to applied research.

Conclusion: Towards Policy Innovation Through the Humanities and the Social Sciences

The social sciences and the humanities can and have done policy research either as single disciplines by themselves or as part of inter-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary teams or consortia. The rise and current growing interest in multi-methods research has also promoted the involvement of disciplines like anthropology, history, media studies and law. New technologies have facilitated the use and analysis of content, archival materials, ethnography, GIS (geographical information systems), cartography and the various instruments that were conventionally applied in the social sciences and humanities. Given the tools, methodologies and analytical modes available to the humanities, they can deploy skills, knowledge and methods to engage some of the most pressing issues and problems of our times. They can do these on their own but also in partnerships with the social, health and natural sciences. Often, given the trends in knowledge production, they operate as worthy and much-needed partners that complement and complete knowledge that need to be holistic and systemic. So, the question is not whether the social sciences and humanities can do policy research or in what role? The question is whether they should and how.

These are moral and political questions. They are about choices—political and moral choices—and about the intellectual tasks in our current world and in Africa. Can African scholars refuse to address the pressing problems of today such as large-scale poverty and immiseration, alienation and youth unemployment, civil strife, climate change, human rights and dignity violations, social exclusion and intolerance because we have a duty to some more purist, esoteric and aesthetic research commitment? Do we have the luxury not to connect our intellectual enterprises and mission to some of the life-threatening issues of our day? These are questions that no one has the right to legislate or define the answers to scholars and academics. But they are questions that determine the choices we make as intellectuals. They are questions about who the subjects and agents of our research are and what the goals of research should be and whose ends they should serve. They are about knowledge for what? They are also about how the state and governments are defined and the understanding of political spaces for making a difference, affecting change and transformation. They are about the understanding that policies are always politically implicated and are not absolutes. They are also about how one gauges the scale of changes one intends to make. Is it remediation and alleviation or massive structural transformation? They are about whether one wants to deal with the routine irritable immediate sufferings and debilitating manifestations of problems that arise from oppression, poverty, injustice and alienation of the poor, the excluded, the marginalized or one wants to address the immediate underlying causes that provides the much-needed transformation. The choices involve combinations of strategies and tactics and the kinds of coalitions and alliances that scholars are linked to. But the choices are not irreconcilable polarities and do not involve mutually exclusive options. Those choices affect our understanding of policy actions. The choices have determined how scholars aligned themselves with the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles. They have also determined engagement and alignment with work around HIV-AIDS, gender, sexuality and reproductive rights, human trafficking, food security, migration and citizenship.

Designing how to do this is very much available in the public arena today from the documentation and narratives of several experiences of researchers and institutions, who have also done it, in the humanities and the social sciences . But it is always more fulfilling and with greater effects if it comes from intentional choice, defined by moral and political positions. Institutions, networks, social movements and organizations can define where they want to go, but scholars, researchers and academics like all active citizens must make the choice and the commitment.

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Social Science Foundations of Public Policy

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INTRODUCTION

Public policy plays a crucial role in governance and development process and success.[1] The ideological basis and practice of public policy are frameworked within social science theory and methodology (Bolsen et al. 2015; Jarvie 2011). In other words, the science of public policy or policy science is founded on the social sciences. The social sciences provide the analytical explanation of governance, society and human behaviour and as such provide the necessary tools for apposite policy research and implementation (Nigrini and Llanos 2009; Wagner 2007). Aside from theoretical postulations, the social sciences attempt the empirical capture of historical and

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[1] David Mandiyanike. Globalisation in the Context of Public Policy. https://gcs-vimeo.akamaized.net/exp=1512633796~acl=%2A%2F810140683.mp4%2A~hmac=5725ef6e589 6ac99740f744925509b0f999e6d79e48d1acd85ef8623c11ae050/vimeo-prod-skyfire-std-us/01/926/9/229633560/810140683.mp4

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contemporary realities to infer policy options that will advance human existence and development (O'Connor 2009; Young et al. 2002). The strategic role of the social sciences in policymaking cannot be overemphasised and thus writing on policy science as social science-oriented policy discipline, Rosenthal (1982: 287) opined that "the new policy sciences are intended to provide a cross-disciplinary framework capable of integrating and utilizing a multiplicity of techniques, models, and assumptions for developing explanatory models of the processes by which policy is made and executed".

This chapter presents and discusses the social science basis of public policy. It briefly presents the history, epistemological thoughts (theories) and science of public policy, disciplinary paradigms and influences on public policy and cross-disciplinary dimensions in social science-oriented public policy. Disciplinary and cross-disciplinary dimensions of social sciences in public policy are two sides of the same coin. On the one hand, Rosenthal (1982) suggest "all [social] sciences are unified by their method, which enables them to produce a body of laws that is symmetrical with regard to explanation and prediction" (p. 283), while, on the other hand, methodological individualism recognises disciplinary epistemological ontology at unique theory, method and explanation, even though there may be overlaps. Hence, using unique and cross-disciplinary approaches, social science disciplines define, analyse and explain social situations to advance appropriate public policy. The ensuing policies are, therefore, structured by the guiding ideology adopted within a disciplinary or multiplicity of disciplinary approaches.

Extant research on social science and public policy across geographies show that contemporary public policy goes beyond party ideologies or the preference of governments in power. Writing on Great Britain and emphasising the importance of the social sciences in public policy, Newby (1993) notes the public outcry and violent protests which followed an increase in poll tax in 1990 had an impact on public policy. Newby thus posits: "Perhaps the most important lesson to be drawn from it is the reminder that in contemporary society governments only govern by consent; and that the consent conferred on party manifestos by the ballot box may not be sufficient justification for public policies which, in their realisation if not their design, run counter to widely and deeply held public experiences, attitudes and values" (p.365). Likewise, Albæk (1995) notes that politicians and government officials debate and modify or wholesomely utilise social science-based evidence in policymaking, even though such

use is not commonly acknowledged.[2] Kates et al. (2001) examined the strategic place of the social sciences in studying human societies, interactions and sustainability, especially in the developing countries. That of Mascia (2003) discussed the role of social science research in coral beef marine protection policy, while Thompson and Scoones (2009) focused emerging contributions of social sciences in agricultural and food systems policy. The works of Heyman et al. (2006) and Hackenberg (2002) demonstrated the importance of Anthropology in Public policy while that of Henderson (2007) discussed the importance of Political Science in race and equity in governance. Furthermore, Becker, Gans, Newman and Vaughan (2004) and Hougland (1990) discussed the value of Sociology in public policy by giving voice to people through social research. Woodhead's (1988) study documented the psychological intervention in making social intervention policies for disadvantaged children while Walker (1984) discussed the roles of psychologists in developing a public policy against domestic violence. Also, Bhargava and Loewenstein (2015) addressed the place of behavioural economics in making apposite and efficient public policy. Reinicke (1998) and Komesar (1994) indicated the necessity of prescribing appropriate laws to actualise policies for public good and national security, and Ward's (2007) research on "policy geographies" shows the importance of geography in environmental and planning policymaking. Finally, Hodgson (1983) presents demography as a social science which has a place in policy science, urbanisation research and public policy. Indeed, recommendations emphasising small family sizes have influenced population and development policies across the world primarily as from the mid-1980s (see also Demeny 1988, 2011; Speidel et al. 2009).[3] The next section presents a brief history of the social sciences; the third section examines social science and public policy across disciplines, and the fourth discusses the multidisciplinary essence of the social sciences in policymaking despite discipline-specific uniqueness and also concludes the chapter.

[2] Ezekiel Gaya Best. Evidence-Based Policy Making. https://gcs-vimeo.akamaized.net/exp=1512632828~acl=%2A%2F809997625.mp4%2A~hmac=dcba275c3d06cdfa73bcb7eb2a9d9cd4408fac954882e459a833024f661c2e2f/vimeo-prod-skyfire-std-us/01/920/9/229603133/809997625.mp4

[3] Audrey Gadzekpo Policy Briefs https://gcs-vimeo.akamaized.net/exp=1512631269~acl=%2A%2F809988198.mp4%2A~hmac=200d1951a93019382cd24c52b3d58b64b1c40a50b4ba1abc1c79d31830289f75/vimeo-prod-skyfire-std-us/01/920/9/229601188/809988198.mp4

Philosophy of the Social Sciences: Classical

This section briefly presents the events and thoughts which have influenced the emergence and disciplinary practices in the social sciences. The primary focus of the social sciences is the society as well as the embedded individuals, institutions and structures. It is important to note the influence and contributions of the Renaissance and Enlightenment periods, the French Revolution (late eighteenth century) and the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain (late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries) to the growth and development of the social sciences.[4] During the Renaissance period (fifteenth to sixteenth centuries), Europe regenerated and reconnected to the glory and achievements of the Greco-Roman civilisation, especially in the areas of culture, literature, philosophy, architecture and classical mathematics, which was almost extinct, and it also recovered territories in Spain it had lost to Muslim invaders (Nevile 2015; Morrison 2014). It was a period of the re-enactment of European glory. Building on the consciousness of great Europe, Europe moved into the era of the Enlightenment (seventeenth century), emphasising the need for empirical validation and rationalism over the claims of the supernatural (Warner 2013; Israel 2006). For example, on the one hand, Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) was an early proponent of the need to separate politics from spirituality, and he critiqued the spirituality constructions around the noble (Lopes 2017; Zuckert 2013). On the other hand, Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859) decried monarchical systems and recommended democracy and market economy as factors that enhanced liberty and equality (Herold 2015; Tessitore 2002). The Enlightenment period is often described as the Age of Reasoning (Zakai 2003).

The Industrial and French Revolutions resulted in the dismantling of the old order that was characterised by strong kinship ties, religion and monarchical rules (Byrne 1998). The revolutions resulted in rapid industrialisation, unplanned urbanisation and deplorable reduction in human living standards and livelihood. It was for this reason that Thomas Malthus opined that the world population was growing geometrically while the food supply was increasing arithmetically and that unchecked population growth would lead to anarchy (Tietenberg and Lewis 2016). It is for this

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[4] Browne Onuoha Social Sciences Foundation of Public Policy: Brief Introduction https://gcs-vimeo.akamaized.net/exp=1512630761~acl=%2A%2F809984977.mp4%2A~hmac=070a4e4b19b6d6cc7c4610ef48453e293108faa3ac8c48f009dea07b02db4f14/vimeo-prod-skyfire-std-us/01/920/9/229600534/809984977.mp4

reason that social scientists recommend public policy as a panacea for addressing challenges to human survival and development. Epistemological thoughts (theories) guide policies. This section discusses three of such ideas which have guided policies in diverse nations including positivism, humanism and Marxism.

Positivism sees social science from the perspective of a systematic method of understanding human and social behaviour through empirical scrutiny (Neuman 2003). Positivism involves the use of quantitative methods and analysis to collect and analyse data on any social issues. August Comte, one of the earliest fathers of Sociology, was the first person to use the term positivism (Riley 2007). Positivism describes a philosophical underpinning, which explains a stage in societal development that is characterised by rationality. Comte claimed that human societies develop through different stages including the theological (traditional), metaphysical and positivistic stages. The positivistic or scientific stage is the stage of modernity and advanced development. It is a stage where institutional actions and public policy would be guided by empirical data. Positivism emphasises empirical analysis of social phenomenon in such a way that empirical data are collected on social phenomena to establish the cause-and-effect relationships. To positivists, there exist empirical facts that can be measured quantitatively and objectively in social reality, apart from subjective ideas or thoughts, and laws of cause and effects govern them, thus making social reality researchable (see Punch 2005; Neuman 2003). Ulin et al. (2004) argued that the underlying assumption of positivism is that science aims to develop the most objective and empirical methods possible to get the best understanding of social reality. In social sciences, researchers whose works are influenced by this philosophical orientation often tend to quantitatively establish the relationships that exist between two or more variables involved in a particular social reality and how they manage to shape events. They also rely on statistical analysis in explaining the relationship between variables involved in a social phenomenon. Positivism involves scientific investigation and uses a fact-based approach. It is, however, argued that this approach does not provide an in-depth understanding of social reality, as it does not probe in-depth into the nuances involved in the construction of social reality.

Humanism, on the other hand, is another principal philosophical orientation in the social science field. Humanism is a wide-ranging set of philosophies, which holds human interest and dignity as a primarily important belief (Richardson and Heidegger 2003). It emphasises rationality, the

primacy of the human race and a move away from the supernatural. Furthermore, humanism consolidates on the ability to lead ethical lives by individual accomplishments. It is a system of thought that places prime emphasis on the supremacy of human intelligence above supernatural matters or divine interventions. Humanism ideology turned away from the medieval scholasticism to embrace cultural Renaissance movement that discouraged interest in Greek and Roman thought. In essence, the central focus of humanism is the human beings who form an integral part of the society. In African parlance, humanism can be likened to *ubuntu* which literarily means to be humane, but in cultural practicality, it means the whole essence of working for human good (Dauda 2017).[5] However, as a philosophical underpinning in social sciences, it goes beyond being human to laying primary emphasis on humankind and wellbeing at both micro and macro levels. According to Elders (2003), the first person to use the term humanism was the German author F.J. Niethammer (1808), who got his inspiration through an expression of Cicero, *sc. studia humanitatis.* Humanism was used as a movement in twentieth century to raise consciousness on the need to expose the younger generation to classical studies rather than primary focus on the sciences (Elders 2003). Elders further explained that at a time in the European society, those who subscribed to the rationalism of the Enlightenment period rejected the idea of the religious dimension of man and embraced the idea of humanism that was subsequently understood as meaning the total autonomy of man.

Marxism has its roots in the ideological and philosophical propositions and works of Karl Marx. The primary focus of Marxism is the dialectics of the human society. Karl Marx opined that exploitation and class struggle are phenomenal features of the different stages of the human society from the period of slavery, estates and up to the contemporary class system (Holland 2009). The crux of the differentiation between the dominant and the dominated classes is regarding the control of the means of production.[6] In the period of slavery, slave masters owned the means of production including slaves. In estates, the noble owned land, and the serfs lived

[5] Mary Ssonko Nabacwa. African Scholars/Leaders and Classical Schools of Thought: A Case of Nyerere's TANU Party and the Ujaama Villages in Tanzania. https://gcs-vimeo.akamaized.net/exp=1512634736~acl=%2A%2F810689863.mp4%2A~hmac=39c81a8f40 6e25a39a47d05d592e4e81e445e95991b4da97f92e5dc87c7ba561/vimeo-prod-skyfire-std-us/01/949/9/229749310/810689863.mp4

[6] Carolyn D'Cruz, Sam Wallman and Sam Davis (2017) IDEOLOGY: Key Concepts in Gender, Sexuality and Diversity Studies https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=frQ2oZ6DE9Y

on land and produced for the nobles. With the Industrial Revolution, the means of production is land, factories, machinery and capital. The bourgeoisie are the owners of the means of production while the non-owners, the proletariat, give their labour in exchange for wages. The proletariat is alienated from the work process, co-workers, the product and himself, while the bourgeoisie exploits the proletariat by extracting surplus value. In essence, the proletariat produces the wealth that the bourgeoisie controls. The proletariat is unaware of the exploitation process because it is in a state of false consciousness. However, Marx predicts that the proletariat will eventually reach a state of consciousness, transit from a class-in-itself to a class-for-itself and engage the bourgeoisie in a class revolution, which would be won by proletariats. This will usher in a socialist society where the state will own the means of production, people will give to the state according to their capability and the state will provide according to need. The Marxist theory has influenced neo-Marxian theories such as dependency theory and the world capitalist system theory as well as many anti-colonialism, anti-neo-colonialism and anti-globalisation theories (Wolff and Resnick 2012; Sanyal and Bhattacharyya 2009).

Philosophy of the Social Sciences: Contemporary

This section is a follow-up to classical philosophies of public policy. It is primarily devoted to constructionist approaches to public policies in contemporary (African) societies. We shall, therefore, proceed to examine how theoretical frameworks—from modernity to post-modernity—influence public policy formulation and execution in Africa. There is a consensus among social thinkers that contemporary societies have moved past modernity or positivistic thinking to a combination of both objective and subjective construction of social realities to capture the realities of the post-modern world (Chute 2011). The positivistic model reveals a plethora of debates around relatively disaggregated issues of rationality, complex social actions and reactions that suggest multi-level analysis rather than a wholesome approach. Adrian Kay (2006) indicated that positivistic model espoused the notion of policy cycle typical of seesaw movement of policymakers regarding the endless cycle of policy decision.

Although the positivistic had been flawed, especially because of its inability to explain complex processes and dynamism due to its appeal to linearity, it gave impetus for exploring dynamic challenges in policy formulation. Closely related and sometimes serving as alternative approach to

positivism is structured interactionism. Structured interactionism sees policy as an on-going process that involves several stakeholders such as politicians, public officials, citizens and NGOs, among others, as stakeholders (DeLeon and Vogenbeck 2007). In Africa, the reign of positivist paradigm is represented in the ascendancy of evolutionary paradigm and modernisation theory in colonial and postcolonial eras. Furthermore, Charles Darwin's evolutionary theory of human development process has tremendously influenced many social thinkers and consequently policy-makers. The general assumption was that change was incremental, evolutionary and transmissible. This formed the ideological backbone of modernisation theory. Modernism was the major developmental public policy introduced in many post-independence African countries. This falls within the ambit of Talcott Parsons' and W.W. Rostow's evolutionary models that differentiated between traditional and modern attributes. Both Parsons and Rostow opine that societies develop as they evolve from traditional states and values to the modern ones that are similar to Western societies (see Parsons 1960, 1971; Rostow 1959). In theory, African societies fell into the category of traditional society and were deemed fit for the transition. Ideological transfer of Western modernism was recommended as public policy in the post-independence period.

Post-positivist paradigm rests on Thomas Khun's work on objective positivism. Modelling policy, in line with post-positivism, embraces the use of intuition and context-bounding (Kay 2006). Post-positivism predicates policy research and policymaking in the context of the society or people to whom the policy is intended. It captures the values and interpretations of populations in arriving at public policy. Post-positivism or constructionism has great potentials at formulating context-bound public policy, but it is critiqued as "irrational" due to its emphasis on subjectivity by those who are objectivity-oriented (Kay 2006). Besides, post-modernism as a philosophical tradition simply rests on the assumption that the world has moved beyond modern to that which is more than modern. It is the teleological conception of development and progress that gave rise to post-modernism. It is within this philosophical orthodoxy that nations now move from supermarket to supramarket and mega mall, from megacities to smart and resilient cities. It is also within the post-modern conception of societies that human relations are seen as Mcdonaldised as humans make policies to cope with emerging trends of the world that is beyond modern (Olutayo and Akanle 2007; Olutayo and Akanle 2009). The effect of post-modern thinking on public policy is definitive. It is within

this thinking that approaches like e-governance and participatory development processes evolved. That is, states can no longer run citizens' affairs in draconian manners, and people must be involved in making policy choices through democratic processes and feedbacks. It is also within the post-modernist orientations that policymakers believe there should be more innovative approaches to governance particularly with the use of technology.

Also, post-structuralism is a more recent philosophical tradition with origin in mid-twentieth century. Post-structuralism is a critique of structuralism. Post-structuralism rejects self-sufficiency and self-reliance of structures unlike structuralism's reification of structures. Post-structuralism is theoretical and methodological in that it suggests an approach to studying and understanding ways and manners knowledge emerge, is produced and developed (Lather 1993). It also prioritises the role of culture and history in understanding people and societies through correct interpretations of their post-structures of actions. For instance, for the post-structuralists, it is impossible to understand a people and social realities without first understanding the social realities in the contexts of existing system of knowledge. Post-structuralism is therefore both descriptive and historical in accounting for structural processes of social realities unlike structuralism that treated social realities as isolated categories (Poster 1989). This has a lot of policy implications in that it will be inappropriate to formulate policies on a social/public process or problem without a sufficient understanding of not only the problem as an object but also the history and contexts of the problem. Interestingly, this is usually not the case in Africa where public policies are nothing but mere derivatives or wholesale importation of foreign policies and anecdotal imaginations of the political elites and their subjective *Think Tanks*.

The Science of Public Policy: Empiricism, Objectivity, Subjectivity and Approaches

Public policy in contemporary times goes beyond assumptive decisions by the political elite. It is preferable to have policies that evolve out of empirical index. Hence, policy research forms a credible aspect of public policy-making which brings in elements of scientific procedures in the formulation and implementation of public policy. The science of public policy follows the collection of primary and secondary data in the conceptualisation and

implementation of public policy (Norton and Alwang 1997). Secondary data are sets of data that have been earlier collected and are readily available. These include secondary statistics, records of births and deaths, census and information in printed sources such as books, journals and periodicals (and online/internet media in recent times). Primary data, on the other hand, are original data that have been collected from people through specially designed instruments such as questionnaire and interview guide (Omobowale and Okakwu 2013; Neuman 2003).

Data collection follows the principles of objectivity or subjectivity. Objectivity is guided by the norm of scientific probability, immune from value judgement as much as practicable. Subjectivity follows the rule of context and interpretations, and the value judgement of research subjects are put into consideration. The collection of objective and subjective data follows differing approaches. Objective data follows the probabilistic principle. Hence, as much as practicable, samples are drawn in such a way to give every member of the population an equal chance of being selected. The major methods of probabilistic sampling include ballot or simple random sampling, systematic sampling, cluster sampling and stratified sampling. In ballot or simple random sampling, a researcher would randomly draw samples from a population of research subjects. A researcher must have a full list of the population to draw samples randomly. Systematic sampling involves selection of the Nth number from a population. The Nth number is derived by a division of the total population by the total number of the samples to be drawn. The Nth number will form the range points for sample selection. Cluster sampling is used when a researcher intends to draw samples from a collection of sub-populations. The sub-populations will form clusters from which samples will be scientifically drawn. For example, a researcher working on migrant populations may cluster the migrants to their primary nationalities and draw a sample from the nationality-clusters. In stratified sampling, a researcher divides a population into different subgroups (especially on the basis differing qualities, e.g. male/female, junior/senior) and draws samples from each subgroup. Aside from the probabilistic sampling techniques, there are non-probabilistic techniques such as purposive sample (selection based on the knowledge base of a population viz-a-viz the research focus), snowball sampling, used when a research population is difficult to locate. Once a sample is found, he or she would lead the researcher to other potential samples. Quota sample is done with the intention to have a fair reflection of all the characteristics in a collection of research population. Hence, the

same proportion of samples with the predetermined characteristics is selected from the total population. Subjective research is usually carried out with the aid of non-probabilistic techniques and the research process could be contextual and/or ethnographic. Some peculiar methods of data collection in subjective research include archival research, observation and interviews (see Bernard 2006; Punch 2005).

The Social Sciences and Public Policy

Political Science and Public Policy

As a discipline in the social sciences, political science deals with the workings of government and governance especially in relation with local, state and national (or as defined relative to the structure of each nation) governance. Political science also studies international relations, power politics, power relations and acquisition, public administration and finance as well as resource allocation. Political science uses both theory and empirical methods to understand governance in domestic and international environments and proffers policy options for good governance and peoples' advancement (Dunleavy 2014; Corbett 2011). A recognised geographical space internationally accepted as a nation constitutes a state. Structures of state differ from one nation to another. However, the more popular ones since the nineteenth century include liberal democracies (for instance, the USA, France and Great Britain), the Socialist States (e.g., defunct USSR, China, Cuba and North Korea), monarchical systems (Saudi Arabia, Swaziland and Oman, for instance) (e.g., see Schumpeter 2013; Singer and Weir 2006; Laibman 1992; Torres 1989). Irrespective of the structure of government practised, there is a connection between state and policymaking and constituted governments thus play vital and principal roles in policymaking. Also, the structure and process of governance influence policymaking in every nation (Dunleavy 2014). For example, liberal democracies usually apply laissez fare policies with private capital as a primary essence of production. Socialist systems prioritise state ownership of means of production, and monarchical systems attribute all social benefits and production as the benefaction of a hereditary sovereign to the citizens (Singer and Weir 2006).

Irrespective of the system of government practised, governance is vital in state administration and public policy. According to Edwards, Halligan, Horrigan and Nicoll (2012: 9), "Governance is concerned with how

societies, governments and organisations are managed and led. Importantly, this includes how they structure and otherwise order their affairs, make decisions and exercise powers, and manage their relationships and account-abilities." The principles of governance, which a nation adopts, have direct implication for public policy.[7] For example, liberal principles favour the primacy of private capital in policy formulation while conservative, social-ist and welfarist structures would advance some form of populist orienta-tion in public policy. Irrespective of the structure of governance, the ethos of good governance, transparency and accountability for efficient and effective implementation are most important to achieve successful public policy (Singh, Ansari and Singh 2009). In most Third World countries, and African nations, in particular, good governance is not a readily given phenomenon. It is influenced by the politics of resource allocation and power relations (Palaniswamy and Krishnan 2012, Wong 1994). In Africa, ethnicity, patronage, nepotism and corruption among other socio-political vile influence power relations and determine resource allocation and pub-lic policy (Galiani and Schargrodsky 2011; Omobowale and Olutayo 2007, 2010; Olarinmoye 2008). Such political vile frustrate good gover-nance and render public policy ineffective for social and political development.

By extension, the political economy of governance structures public policy in contextual terms. Within a political economy, local (local politi-cians and businesses) and global actors (the globalisation process, multina-tional corporations, international organisations and developed economies) play strategic roles in politics and the economy influence and structure the context of public policy (Rausser and Swinnen 2011; Galston 2006). Political scientists examine and identify the processes of political economy and the impact of same on public policy and society. Political economy holds a binding cord on people and policy. The strong link between poli-tics and the economy presupposes a connection between the political and economic classes. The political class formulates and enforces public policy, while the hold of the political class on power is also somewhat influenced by local and global economic actors. Hence, more often than not,

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[7] Tom Mboya. Linking the Concepts of Governance, Politics and Public Policy. https://gcs-vimeo.akamaized.net/exp=1512634165~acl=%2A%2F810143186.mp4%2A~hmac=533d482b9fcce6885900d7e77e983ebe9235fdb268c25ef1d61e86cc197c8921/vimeo-prod-skyfire-std-us/01/926/9/229634101/810143186.mp4

economic actors influence local and global politics as well as public policy formulation and implementation.

From the foregoing, political and economic interests of influential actors could influence public policy. To achieve good governance and effective public policy, political scientists recommend public engagement. Public engagement involves deliberate effort to advance public participation in public policy process and implementation by raising consciousness, working with people as stakeholders (and taking care of social diversity), to appreciate policy and ensuring public acceptance before going ahead to implement policy (Wadsworth 1997).[8],[9] It is predicated on the participatory development approach. Public engagement could be at different levels, including public communication (communication flow from government or policy sponsor to public representatives), public consultation (information flow from public representatives to government or policy sponsor) and public participation (two-way dimensional flow of communication between government and public representatives) (Rowe and Frewer 2005). In short, public engagement entails community or public communication and feedbacks at the micro level as much as possible to ensure effective public policy. Public rejection limits political power. Political will and power do not possess absolute capability to ensure policy effectiveness if the public is not successfully engaged.

Sociology, Anthropology and Public Policy

Sociology and anthropology study human grouping and societies, and the embedded cultures. The disciplines have a direct bearing on public policy because of their focus on human societies, structures, social relations and cultures. In formulating public policies, the importance of knowledge of how human society works cannot be overemphasised. This is because human societies are variegated along the lines of culture, ethnicity, class structure and other forms of diverse components and institutions which

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[8] Idda Lyatonga. Analysing Stakeholders' power in Public Policy. https://gcs-vimeo.aka-maized.net/exp=1512633235~acl=%2A%2F810077975.mp4%2A~hmac=3ee3b8083 5e61389ab20fbad16b4dc6ec9a9dfe30bee6243920caa9e8727ed28/vimeo-prod-skyfire-std-us/01/924/9/229620168/810077975.mp4

[9] Juliana Mafwil. Defining Social Diversity. https://gcs-vimeo.akamaized.net/exp=1512633481~acl=%2A%2F810079536.mp4%2A~hmac=99683fc9ba716ab1de2f 3b9899931c2df2f5f32681488b9e61005c4eb4046f53/vimeo-prod-skyfire-std-us/01/924/9/229620480/810079536.mp4

are in turn also dynamic. Public policies are fundamentally inclusive and progressive when tailored in consonance with observed variations in the society. Although the scope of public policy is getting vast, as time passes to include post-industrial issues like social media regulation and sustainable ecosystem, among other things, it is important to note that public policies are better conceived and understood in their social contexts.

Culture is central in understanding humans and realities that shape their existence. It has been succinctly explained above that public policy cannot be dissociated from social contexts. The pivotal context of culture in successfully implementing public policy has been adumbrated by Fairhead and Leach (2005) in their research on social shaping narrative and the scaling up of agricultural production in Africa. Public policy in its complete essence is aimed at strategic actions and plans for the achievement of public needs. Although there are several attempts made to define culture, the classic definition of Sir Edward B. Tylor in 1891 is it is a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, customs and any other capacities and habits acquired by a member of a society. This definition reveals the far-reaching issues addressed by culture. The word "acquire" used in that definition shows the intertwinement of cultural needs and the role of policy. Going by this premise, therefore, it would not be out of place to state that public policy is public only in the sense that it is social. Being social, means efforts must be made to understand the social and cultural contours that determine the possibility of success or failure of public policies. This is simply because there is scarcely any policy without the influence of social relations and culture. The facile duality of universality and diversity of culture makes for interesting discourse in social scientific explanation of public policy. Universal explanation of culture is usually favoured by structural functionalists like Bronislaw Kasper Malinowski, Auguste Comte, Emile Durkheim, Herbert Spencer and Talcott Parson (Lane 1994). Their major postulation rests on the claim that culture has evolved to serve a function in the society. Thus, cultural universality is subsumed in the assumed universality of family, age, symbols, language and various social institutions. It must be noted that emphasis here is not laid on variation but on similarity that labels culture as universal. Ubiquity of culture therefore suggests that irrespective of kinds of variations, food, gender, polity, religion, language, marriage, childhood and other components of culture, it exists everywhere.

Simply put, culture is universal but varied. It means that perceptions of people about things or phenomenal vary from society to society, and these

perceptions or cultural values influence public policy. In every society, social institutions ensure cultural patterns and social relationships are organised to accomplish basic social tasks (Jackson 2005). Hence, public policies cannot be dissociated from social institutional arrangement and cultures simply because as social relationships persist, people either consciously or unconsciously enter into social contracts that dictate patterns of behaviour with both direct and indirect impacts on public policy.

As much as cultures have an overbearing effect on public policy, it is important to note that culture is not static. It changes over time through the process of social change. Social change is the process by which a society transforms its processes and values over time. It could happen unconsciously, and it could also be consciously affected through public policy. A good example is the change from large family sizes to smaller ones among Africa's middle-class members. Hence, social change occupies a central place in sociological and anthropological discourse because human societies are as dynamic as humans themselves.

Psychology and Public Policy

Man is a social being with an urge to live an associated life with others in his society. That man needs the society for his existence or survival is not in doubt. Psychology studies the human mind and explains how individuals and groups of people experience the world through instincts, emotions and conscious states. In short, psychology examines individual behaviour, mind and personality within the context of human biology and social environment. There is an intertwined effect between human psychology and public policy. The state of mind, emotions and human consciousness could inform the blend and dimensions of public policy, and public policy has the potentiality of impacting human life tremendously. Hence, in designing and implementing public policy, it is crucial to bring psychological principles on board.

Public policy brings about change (Kiesler 1980). Psychology as a discipline aims at bringing about positive change to advance human survival within his environment. In promoting change, social values determine to a large extent how humans relate with one another at both the individual and community levels (Fox, 1998). Thus, psychology addresses human stimulus and cognitive behaviour which could impact public policy. It also responds to public issues that are aimed at driving knowledge on how to galvanise and synergise human institutions to make them efficient for

human developmental growth (Garrison et al. 2017). The potential of psychology to make a long-term impact on individual's and group's life chances have been clearly demonstrated in various scholarly research (e.g., see Plomin 2004; Gjerde and McCants 1999; Weiner 1998). Behaviour of people shapes and is driven by how issues of governance, environment, poverty and policy are managed. As a result, psychologists have a role to play in determining the course of actions and activities geared towards resolving social developmental challenges. Social values and human actions drive policies aimed at social change that are supported by evidence-based policies (Basu et al. 2017; Prilleltensky 1994). Thus, psychology views policy-induced change as an entity in the community which cannot be separated from it. Therefore, in the identification of social policy as a force that drives societal change, psychologists usually advocate policies that maximise and encourage accessibility and involvement of societal members, in particular the vulnerable.

It is important to note that social, cognitive and behavioural factors and behavioural economics are germane to the application of psychology in public policy. Social cognitive and behavioural factors are elements present in human personality and environment which can influence human behaviour. Through cognitive abilities, individuals make impressions about other people and objects they visualise within their environments. Through cognition, individuals create ideas and make judgements about other people. The judgements are most often mainly a result of predicated observation, or pre-existing knowledge of an individual that could influence how the observed information is interpreted (Tsay-Vogel et al. 2018). By understanding social perception, policymakers and governments could interpret peoples' actions so that information can be inferred to predict people's behaviour. Hence, by understanding people's cognition and behaviour, the government could formulate and execute public policies that could have a positive effect on the people to which a policy or project is targeted.

Policy psychologists are concerned about the factors that influence people's cognition and behaviour towards a government policy. Policy psychologists examine the conditions that influence feelings and behaviours with the aim to understand how beliefs, thoughts, feelings, intentions and goals intertwine and impact constructions and convictions with a view to advance psychological procedures to influence interactions, governance and public policy. Social cognition and behavioural factors could influence government policies. Hence, psychologists explain how and why peoples'

feelings and imaginations could influence the acceptance or decline of public policy.

Furthermore, psychology also explains how individuals rationally make economic decisions. The idea of behavioural economics captures this. Again, social, cognitive and emotional factors influence people's economic behaviour (Hattwick 1989). Individuals are rational beings who make informed decisions based on their convictions on the course of action, which could provide the best utility (Shiller 2005). Individuals view public policy within the construct of the most rational utility that could bring the greatest benefit at the minimal cost. Hence, for example, a taxation policy put in place by a city council could influence a decision to migrate to another city, if the tax levied is not commensurate with economic and developmental benefits accruable. In short, individuals may not dogmatically accept or follow public policy. People could devise economic behaviour that would circumvent an unpopular policy for rational gain.

Economics and Public Policy

A principal concern of all human societies is the allocation of resources for the production of goods and services. Economics provides the intellectual basis of the allocation of resources and the distribution of goods and services. It also explains the forces of demand and supply and how they influence production and distribution of goods and services (Colander 2001; Houck 1989). Resources are scarce, but human wants are limitless. Economics studies how individuals make choices from their preferences in order to satisfy want. Economics also studies the context of the resources of a nation, how national economies are structured and the influence of local, national and international forces on the state and global economies (Hoover 2010; McEachern 2006). The economy or the economic institution is the foundation of every society, without which a society cannot survive. The pivotal place of the economy in the survival of the state makes economic issues matters of public policy. The scientific study of economics commenced in the nineteenth century. It was initially named political economy and later economics (Fetter 2003). Early theorists including Adams Smith, John Stuart Mill and Jean-Baptiste Say, among others, described economics from the perspectives of how states utilise their resources in the production of wealth (Backhouse and Medema 2009). The production of national wealth goes beyond an individual, hence the state takes a strategic position in making policies on how resources are

utilised to make wealth and the procedures and processes of the distribution of the same (Pressman 2011; Komesar 1994). This somewhat explains why economics was first called political economy. Economy was, and it is still, very much influenced by the politics and polity of nations.

The scarcity of resources is an economic and a social reality among nations. Wealth is not evenly distributed, but all human beings have unlimited wants. Unequal access to resources delineates people to the wealthy and the poor as the wealthy would have higher economic power to access scarce resources than the poor. Scarce resources are goods whose demand is higher than supply (Van de Werfhorst 2007). For example, the wealthy would be more economically capable of acquiring ostentatious commodities such as gold and diamond than the poor. In fact, even concerning the commonly available goods such as bread, the quantity and quality the wealthy could afford would be incomparable to those of the poor. Goods and services are germane for survival, but the same are subject to the forces of demand and supply. The higher the demand, the higher the price and the more the poor are priced out. The social relations of scarcity breed poverty and widen the gap between the poor and the wealthy. Of course, poverty is relative to individuals, peoples and nations. It is important to note that every country has its population of the poor.

A common denominator of poverty is the poverty line. The poverty line is a measurement of a minimal income per day within which an individual may survive within a country or society. The poverty line for Africa and the other most impoverished nations in Asia is living below $1.90 per day, while it is as much as $10 in the industrialised Western countries. More than 50% of the population of sub-Saharan Africa lives below $1.90 (World Bank 2016). Africa thus has a vast population of the vulnerable, living in poverty, exposed continuously to ill-health and diseases with little or no access to modern healthcare and with low life expectancy.

Unlimited wants, but scarce resources also mean people build their preferences, and for rational individuals, needs take priority over wants. Hence, the economic behaviour of humans is not instinctual, but rational, based on economic realities of demand and supply, which determine price and access to goods. Access and non-access to goods determine national and individual wealth and survival. This explains the place of public policy in economics. Governments and international organisations make and influence economic policies that would advance trade and supply of goods and services for individual, national and global wellbeing. Thus, the structure of the economy, or national political economy, whether liberal or

socialist, determines the allocation of resources and the supply of goods and services. Whereas liberal economies are guided by the forces of demand and supply, frame-worked within laissez-faire fiscal policies, socialist economies are state-controlled and are subject to the dictates of the political elite. The state controls the allocation of resources and supply while demand may outstrip the supply. Of course, the price may be low; the so-called cheap goods may not efficiently go round. Furthermore, the international economic institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organisation provide advice, recommendations and interventions with economic policy implications to national governments for the advancement of national and global economies.

Law and Public Policy

The relationship between law and public policy has been described as "hand in glove" such that programmes and actions, which of course imply policy, are hinged on the mechanism of administrative law (Kim 2014). Put differently, statutory attribute of a policy is concomitant to the intertwinement of law and policy. Kreis and Christensen (2013) opine that the connection between the law and policy focuses on the interchange of policy and associated social and political constraints, routines and administrative procedures. Policy impacts on social, political and economic dimensions of life within the context of the law. Questions relating to the evolution of legal traditions have often been answered from dual philosophies of natural and positive jurisprudence. The primary human intercourse with the natural order, which is usually treated with deep sense of inviolability and inalienability, forms the core theme in natural law. The natural law has served as the basis for the evolution of other laws and a purveyor of civic movements and revolutions across the world, including the civic democratic revolutions of seventeenth to eighteenth century. The positivist concept of law sharply contrasts with that of natural or idealistic philosophers. Positive law rests on the normative ontological explanation of the basis of legal norms and their effects on the society. The contextual import of the origin of the legal tradition is that it helps to query isomorphic variations of legal orientations of different countries and political systems along the path of ideological orientation. Most policy scholars trace the fusion of policy and social institution to the Western influence on

development, especially from the mid-twenty-first century (Araral and Amri 2016).

There is technical unwritten agreement between the state and its people such that while the people yield their loyalty to the state, the state, in turn, is expected to protect the interest of the people regarding policy formulation. The primacy of state's functions has been summarised by Constantinos (2009) as the provision of security and law. This is a framework through which all other political goods can be delivered through a system of codes and procedures, which regulate the interactions of the population and sets the standard for conducts. The system of codes, procedures and constitution legitimise state actions, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, recognise the collectivity of individuals in the context of their culture— legal pluralism. The state is codified by law (and at times by international conventions) as a legitimate entity with the right of jurisdiction over a defined territory, function or sector of public policy, laws vary across states and territories (Hveem and Nordhaug 2002).

Thus, legal pluralism is a central theme in contemporary policy reconceptualisation processes. Legal pluralism here suggests the possibility of comparison and integration of relatively divergent orientations, norms, values, fads and strict conventions or rules of procedure and administration (Sharafi 2008). The admixture of divergent legal orientations is vitally implicative in public policy studies. Fundamental issues often surge when it comes to fusing international conventions or best practices with traditionally acceptable rules of behaviour, especially when the "marriage" share dissimilar values. This is a severe constraint in public policy formulation—where public policy is expected to balance the equation between policy users' demands and global best practices. The era of linear nomothetic ontologies has fast given way to ideographic and multiple approaches to policy formulation process. The ramifications and manifestations of legal pluralism are daunting and far-reaching. However, the essence of legal pluralism must not be trivialised in addressing African developmental challenges at which polices are focused. This is why Gebeye (2017) argues that legal pluralism is no longer a descriptive tool in Africa; it is a policy field in the rule of law promotion and development discourse.

Geography and Public Policy

Geography studies the planet earth and its human and natural components. The two basic fields of geography: physical and human geography

examine the natural world and human interaction in his environment within spatial context. Spatial context refers to the space, environment and conditions within which the physical environment and human beings exist. Everything happens within a context and nothing happens in vacuum. The physical and social environments provide a platform or context where phenomenon occurs. It gives room for interaction among human beings and also between man and his environment (Worboys 1996). Simply put, the spatial context, therefore, is the physical space where every activity that concerns man and his environment take place. Spatial context includes the water bodies, land and air and every other element that makes up man's physical environment. All these spatial elements play a great role in all aspects of human life, economy, health, interactions and networks, among others (Theobald 2001).

The physical environment is embedded with natural resources that are somewhat freely given to mankind by nature. Natural resources are products of the environment, which needs to be adequately managed by relevant stakeholders, which include the government, multinational companies and members of the community where such resources are located (Thakadu and Dikobe 1997). Resource management is imperative in order to ensure sustainability. This calls for public policy in the management of natural resources. Whereas public policymaking is usually the preserve of the government, it should not be done without the participation of the community within which a natural resource exists. The community exercises some degree of moral ownership over resources that exist within its environment. Every community where any natural resource is located has a sense of association and claim over such a resource and deserves to enjoy some benefits as regards the resource in question (Thakadu and Dikobe 1998). Governments and multinational corporations may make profits from natural resources through exploration, the community which may be polluted due to exploration activities deserves compensation, and appropriate environmental protection and renewal policies must be put in place. In most developing countries, host communities are usually excluded from the control and benefits of natural resources. In recent times, however, efforts are being made by governments and multinational companies to allow host communities benefit from their resources. In Nigeria, an example is the 13% resource allocation for oil-producing states in Nigeria and scholarships which are embodied in the corporate social responsibilities of the multinationals for their host communities (Ebiede 2011).

Exploration of resources breeds environmental pollution, climate change and conflicts. Climate change is reflected in the rise in average surface temperature on earth caused by human use of fossil fuels and the release of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases into the air (Odoh and Chilaka 2012). Aside the environmental damage that is attributed to climate change, many communal conflicts have been attributed to climate change and environmental degradation. In Nigeria, for example, the Niger-Delta and cattle herdsmen and farmers crises have been attributed to environment and climate change (Ebiede 2011; Moritz 2010). Indeed, pro-resource sustainability public policy would substantially reverse climate change and stem the tide of conflict in resource-rich environments. Hence, the need for resource management for environmental sustainability also calls for development planning.

Every government desires to meet the needs of the populace and increase the standard of living of the people in all ramifications. In all, it is the desire of every country to be developed. However, development is a continuous process that requires adequate planning and consideration by every stakeholder involved. Development planning process must also take into consideration every group of the population irrespective of gender, race, ethnicity and age, in such a way that equity and justice will be allowed. However, development planning process is not the same for every country, and it is not the same for a country at different times. Every country has different needs that need to be met. Also, the developmental pace varies across countries, and it should be noted that no country is ever really developed because people's needs are unending, and the more such needs are being met in different sectors of the country, the more they are developing. Development pace differs across countries. While some countries are experiencing slow pace in developmental strides, others are moving quite fastly. The dichotomy between the Western nations and Third World nations in Africa, Asia and South America is best explained through this. Furthermore, several factors influence development planning. Such factors include the availability of human and natural resources, availability of skilled manpower, peace and stability and above all, the presence of a government with the sufficient political will and determination to chart a developmental path for the nation. It should be noted that while designing developmental plans, every nation must place equity and justice as its central focus. Every developmental plan by any country must provide level-playing ground for its citizens to maximise their potentials, while also

ensuring justice for all. This will enhance the sustainability and success of such developmental plan.

Demography and Public Policy

The knowledge of the demographic mapping of any country is irretrievably crucial at any point in time with a view to understanding dynamics, trends and projectile of a given population. Demographic data are also vital for effective and sustainable planning for the growth and development of a population. This is because the structure of a population has implications for its level of productivity (as in whether the population is ageing or young), health system, urban planning and management, conflict management and migration tendencies, amongst other concomitant issues associated with demographic change (UN 2013). The demographic structure of a population influences the tone of its political intercourses such that demographic characteristics such as income, gender, education, age and sometimes race or ethnicity underlie political decisions and by extension public policy (EU, 2007). It is against this background that this section discourses the importance of demography for policy formation and sustainable development. This will be systematically done by way of examining thematic demographic components such as fertility, mortality, migration and urbanisation

Fertility rate is one of the major demographic indicators used by development experts to track trends in both population and development across the globe (UN, 2017). Although the debate about fecundity is, more often than not, inconclusive, the number of births, which is often calculated per thousand, has a huge implication for both present and future social, political, environmental and economic changes (EU, 2007). According to McNicoll (2003), fertility has both positive and negative sides. High fecundity or high fertility could easily be mistaken as retrogressive demographic transition and declining fertility as positive in demographic shift, going by the classic works of Thomas Maltus, who saw an inverse relationship between high fertility and welfare. This is because, high fertility is believed to be tantamount to low development while developed countries typically reflect low fertility (Kirk 1996). Conversely, according to Obono (2003) the main issue with fertility lies in the disaggregation of conceptual issues relating to specific demographic structure of different countries of the world rather than projecting a linear pathway for solving population-related challenges (see also ECOWAS 2007).

Another crucial component of demography that must be considered in policy formulation is mortality. Mortality varies according to its classifications—infant mortality, child morality and pre-mature mortality—and forms one of the major targets of sustainable development goals (SDGs) of the United Nations (Osborn et al. 2015). UN (2017) indicates pervasive epidemics, crises, poor healthcare and poverty that result into high death rates as the major challenges in sub-Saharan. Morbidity and mortality are closely linked because mortality thrives when there is high incidence of illiteracy, poor governance and outbreak of epidemics of violent crises or war. The place of policy is thus evident with regards to examining various factors causing deaths. Public policy address health system challenges; improve maternity, paternity and childcare systems; control epidemics as well as enhance elderly care.

Migration is the third vital component of a demographic structure and is equally important in policy discourse. Population growth is usually associated with fertility and migration. Global migration pattern is constantly changing in composition and size (Kararach 2014). Out of the estimated 34 million international African migrants in 2015, not less than 18 million live in other African countries (UN, 2013). Economic Commission for Africa (2016) shows that migration pattern in Africa is not static such that Africa has started to experience reverse migration in recent time (see also Akanle and Olutayo 2012). Major drivers of migration in Africa, however, include poverty, globalisation forces, labour demands and remuneration, urbanisation, environmental degradation, deficit food supply, and other socio-religious and political crises (UN, 2017). In the same token, the demand for more cities characterises the trend of development in the twenty-first century (Akanle and Adejare 2017). Davis (2004) visualises the increasing migration in contemporary sense from the angle of urban climacteric which is further consequential for increasing slums in the urban space while food production, the ozone layer and job opportunity deplete as against increasing pollution, crime, homelessness and other forms of miseries—due to rural-urban migration. The implication of this for public policy is that there is need to demystify the concept of urbanity and rurality, just as it is equally important to regulate in-migration and out-migration of citizens to address their attendant challenges.

Urbanisation is a concept that is contiguous to demographic change in contemporary parlance. There are compelling empirical evidence attesting to the fact that there is urgent need for research and policies to meet the daunting challenges of contemporary urbanisation trends (UN, 2012).

For instance, according to the United Nation's World Economic and Social Survey (2013), more people have begun to live in urban spaces since 2007 than those living the countryside leading to heightened demographic stress and urban miseries (such as homelessness, congestion, slumhood, criminality, gentrification, poor sanitation, squalor and pollution, and down to infinitum) in the city space (also see Akanle and Adejare 2017; Cobbinah et al. 2015). It is also projected that more than 70% of the world's population would be resident in the city by the year 2050, especially in Africa and Asia. As more people abandon agrarian eco-space to occupy urban areas, most of which are already densely populated, farming and other agribusinesses are jettisoned in search of illusory "greener pastures". The imminent policy gap in respect to this development is evident in the disparity in the concentration of projects and life-enhancing facilities in the city space at the neglect of rural areas.

Urban planning and renewal form the fulcrum of sustainable urban management strategy with the ambit of global best practice and urban policy shift (Cobbinah et al. 2015). By this, policies are expected to focus on ways of making cities, especially in areas with fast growth, like Congo Kinshasa, Lagos and Cairo in Africa, more resilient and inclusive. If necessary measures are not put in place, in terms of redistributive policy, to address upsurge in the rate of urbanisation, the inevitable consequence would be shortfall in social and health facilities, shortage of energy and increasing level of insecurity as well as emergence of more slums, among others (UN, 2013).

To this end, the overarching import of in-depth understanding of demographic trends as they connect to social and spatial development, cannot be overemphasised in scaling up policy formulation processes for development purposes. As indicated in EU (2007: 9), "demographic factors matter for economic growth just as much or sometimes even more than the factors commonly stressed in the literature". A sustainable way of preserving both the rural and urban spaces, in demographic terms, would be to explore eco-friendly and humane policies that will ensure greenness of the ecosystem.

Conclusion: Social Science Multidisciplinarity in Public Policy

The social sciences provide the foundation for the science of public policy. The early thinkers, as well as the diverse fields of the social sciences, offer unique explanations for public policy. As much as social science disciplines are unique in their presentation of the society and public policy, it is important to note that public policy is not restricted to a particular discipline. The beauty of the social sciences in public policy is its multidisciplinary nature. The diverse disciplines are unique and yet interwoven especially in application to the society and in public policy formulation. All social science disciplines utilise paradigms (theories) and empirical methods in pragmatic public policy analysis, and they recognise the place of politics in policy formulation and implementation. Making the right policies may be challenging, and the politics of public policy may be inhibitive, but multidisciplinary social sciences is a strategic intervention in successful policymaking.

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Research Methods for Public Policy

Susan Mbula Kilonzo and Ayobami Ojebode

INTRODUCTION

As implied by the topic, this chapter focuses on research methods applied or applicable in public policy research. Though the overriding focus is on specific research methods, we deemed it necessary to preface these with a brief discussion of the nature of public policy research and the nature of policy-engaged research problem or question. These are then followed by the specific research approaches or traditions and methods as applied to public policy. Given that public policy research deals with issues that have important implications for the society, the mixed-method research is often preferred as a means of arriving at findings and conclusion concrete and reliable enough to serve as a basis for policy. For this reason, we devoted a section to mixing methods in public policy research. This chapter is thus divided into four sections:

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  (a) Nature of public policy research
  (b) The policy-engaged research problem or question,
  (c) Specific public policy research approaches and methods, and
  (d) Mixing methods in public policy research.

In the first section, we focus on the definitive characteristics of the kind of research that supports or evokes public policy, especially the solution-orientation of such research. In the second section, we focus on what it means for research to be policy-engaged—which is different from being policy-relevant. We propose the nature and source of a good problem or question for policy-engaged research and its basic design. In the third section, we focus on the two broad traditions of research: qualitative and quantitative traditions, and the specific methods under these traditions. We explain how these methods are used in public policy research using both hypothetical and existing examples. In the last section, we discuss mixing research methods in public policy research, stressing the reasons for it and summing up the process of doing it.

Nature of Public Policy Research

Public policy research is one whose primary aim is to understand or explain social, political, economic, cultural and other issues that are significant to the society and which require the intervention or attention of policy actors. In providing an understanding of such issues, the research also presents itself as a trustable basis for the actions and interventions of these policy actors. It must, therefore, be a piece of research based on sound evidence, produced out of convincing rigour and woven from start to finish around a societal issue of concern.

In addition to being thorough and trustable, public policy research must also go beyond describing a problem or situation into engaging the how and why of things (Osifo 2015: 149) for it to establish causality with reference to a given problem and the options of addressing such a problem. Descriptive studies do sometimes provide an important basis for policy; however, causal studies often interest and command the attention of policy actors more than descriptive ones do.

A good public policy research is sensitive to both the policy and political agenda. These two environments or elements determine action or inaction. Howlett (2012: 451) argues for an approach that encourages absorption of research outputs at two levels: enhancing instrumental

arguments about policy programme content and ensuring a deeper political engagement experience.

Though policy makers do not entirely depend on research to make decisions on policy options (Edwards 2004; UK Cabinet Office 2009), the role of research, and specifically field-based research, in public policy remains critical (Mead 2005; Young 2005). Since scholarly research competes with expert knowledge, domestic and international policy, stakeholder consultations and evaluation of previous policies, among other sources (UK Cabinet 1999), evidence generated from research that is meant to inform public policy needs a strong basis for argument on the problem under scrutiny, as well as a variety of policy options from field evidence.

Recent studies show that research in policymaking over the last four decades plays a less direct role than is often assumed and expected (Howlett 2012). Nevertheless, the role of research in public policy is not to be downplayed, and as Mead (2005: 535) explains, field research is essential to realistic policy research that ties governmental action to good outcomes. However, we need to take cognizance of the fact that, as Tierney and Clemens (2011) argue, many of today's most pressing policy issues are extraordinarily complex and will benefit from carefully conceived and analysed studies utilizing multiple methodological approaches. Public policy researchers should understand this complexity of policy problems. This complex web determines, to a great extent, what forms of research and/or research methods a researcher should consider.

Literature shows that in the history of public policy research, statistical evidence was very important (Mead 2005). Studies meant to inform policy were therefore mostly, if not always, survey-based (Mead 2005). Survey-based research, as Mead (2005: 544) shows, is good at generating accurate depictions of the clientele served by a given policy. Social problems and their correlates can be clearly captured. Earlier approaches to policy research favoured output that could be generalized across settings that were validated and reliable. In those early approaches, quantitative research, especially survey, was given priority. Qualitative research did not so much move into policy arena and research evidence from qualitative studies did not seem to find a place in policy discussion tables (Tierney and Clemens 2011: 59).

Over the years, survey-based approach has been criticized for its narrow economistic approach because social problems are complex. The argument is that survey-based policy research projects onto its subjects, the

psychology assumed by the quantitative researcher. Simply put on its own, the approach lacks the ability to explain why and how complex social problems arise, and what public policies would best be suited to address them in their complexity. Surveys, for instance, may not give the full range of information required to account for the behaviours of the poor, needy and dependent persons in certain circumstances. These people, though challenged by certain economic factors, can survive in difficult circumstances, but the how and why of their survival would be beyond the easy reach of survey. Thus, as Mead (2005) argues, there is need for a more complex and robust approach that incorporates those factors that are beyond the statistics. We argue that for a public policy research to claim authenticity of findings that capture the attention of policy makers, and subsequently inform the policy process, an integration of research methods, that is, mixed-method design, is important.

Public policy research is meant to provide solutions to social and public problems that are in many ways complex. Establishing causes and effects of these problems run beyond analysis of existing policies. Mead (2013), for instance, argues:

> [Where] texts in public policy devote attention to both policy analysis and political analysis; they fail to capture the intimate connection between them. The two subjects appear as separate worlds, when they are really two sides of the same coin. The texts do not consider that political constraints should really be part of policy argument or that the policy-making process can sharply limit what best policy means. And in research on public policy, there is even less sense of policy and politics shaping and reshaping each other. Typically, the usual division prevails where economists recommend best policy while political scientists explain what government does. (p. 393)

These views relate to the policy and politics dichotomy, and how political analysis is good in reshaping policy analysis (Mead 2013: 392). While it is important to pay attention in public policy research to how these two influence each other, it is also important to pay careful attention to the stakeholders. Good research methods for public policy should engage stakeholders in the research process to enhance the use of the research findings and recommendations for effective policies. Besides the policy makers, policy actors include the public, which is always at the receiving end of the end products of public policy research are important. Consultations with them at most, if not all levels, help researchers to

articulate policies that include their ideas or address their concerns (Oxman et al. 2009) and result in the good policy performance.

The Policy-Engaged Research Problem/Question

With reference to their level of policy engagement, public policy research in Africa can be categorized into three: public policy-appended research, commissioned policy research and public policy analysis. *Public policy-appended research* is the most common of the three. For most African researchers, there is a mandatory section of their article or thesis that presents policy recommendations. In that section, researchers attempt to point out how their research findings can be applied to real-life policy situations and consequently change those situations for the better. Efforts are made by experienced researchers to ensure a close fit between the recommendations and the findings that precede it in the article or thesis. As common as this genre of public policy research is, it is a flawed approach for many reasons. The approach treats policy not as the centre of the research but as an appendage. Put differently, the researcher decides her or his research problem and question and decides on the methods most suitable for this. At the conclusion of the research, she or he then turns to policy actors with recommendations. Since the research was not informed by a policy need or gap, it can hardly fit into the existing agenda and conversations among policy actors. It neither speaks the language of policy actors nor considers their priorities. The researcher would not have attempted to include policy actors at most, if not all, stages of the research, and as we will discuss shortly, there are consequences of not doing this. It also assumes that policy actors (i.e. policy makers, civil society and other stakeholders, including citizens) are on the lookout for policy recommendations from researchers and can wade through the different sections of the research to find these recommendations. As Oyedele, Atela and Ojebode (2017) opined, this is hardly so. The researcher's research is her or his business, not that of the policy actors. As a result, policy actors do not access the tonnes of policy recommendations made by researchers.

Commissioned public policy research projects are initiated by government agencies and non-governmental organizations to address specific policy or implementation problem. The driving research question and the nature of the expected findings are articulated by the commissioning organization. A critical objection to this genre of public policy research is researcher's autonomy on crucial fronts. To what extent can a researcher turn out

findings that conflict with the political aspirations and public image of the funding government or its agency? How can the researcher be sure that his or her findings are not spun or twisted in favour of government? Therefore, while the findings and recommendations of this genre of public policy research are likely to be more easily accepted by policy actors than the findings of public policy-appended research, there is usually a cloud of doubt around its objectivity and integrity.

A third genre of public policy research deals with *policy analysis.* These studies take on an existing policy and subject its components to critical analysis often conjecturing whether it would produce expected results. They explore inconsistencies, systemic barriers and feasibility of a policy, and then draw conclusions as to why a policy works or does not. They may serve as formative or summative studies depending on when they are conducted in the life cycle of a policy. The challenge of this approach to public policy research has been that the researcher/analyst is basically tied to the outcomes of policies in existence—policies that he or she did not play a role in formulating.

The foregoing genres of public policy research are, at best, only partially policy-engaged. They may be policy-relevant, but they are not policy-engaged. So, the questions for us here are: What is policy-engaged research? How does it differ from policy analysis, commissioned public policy research and public policy-appended research? What is it that the other three misses out that policy-engaged research is good for? And how do we then design research in a way that the methods used are relevant in informing the public policymaking processes?

A policy-engaged piece of research derives its roots from the questions that are being asked in policy circles. As a response to current public policy issues, it is driven by a research question that explores, extends or clarifies a policy question or problem. Policy-engaged research therefore means bringing on board the stakeholders relevant in the development of a given public policy (Lemke and Harris-Wai 2015), whether their role is interest or influence. This means that there is an all-round way of understanding the problem that the policy is intended to solve and the politics surrounding the decision-making process.

It is important for a researcher to understand in policy-engaged research, is the need to tailor the research in a way that the policy options suggested are practical. This is because, a policy attempts to solve or prevent a problem, or scale up progress, and policy actors are interested in "what works". In other words, they are keen about what causes an

outcome or makes things happen. A piece of public policy research would, therefore, do well if it were causal, rather than descriptive.

There are two fundamental characteristics of a public policy research problem or question: First, it should explore cause, outcome, and/or causal mechanism in relation to an existing policy or a policy action it intends to propose. In exploring these, the researcher can tease out the specific factors that are responsible for a certain policy problem/issue (outcome) and have conclusive findings from which to confidently suggest specific points of intervention in a policy progression. For instance, if the researcher discovers that misinformation is the cause of vaccine rejection, then he or she knows better than to suggest increased procurement of vaccines but would rather suggest media campaigns or community meetings to increase citizens' awareness of that vaccination. If, in exploring the mechanism between misinformation and rejection, she discovers that misinformation leads to cognitive dissonance which then leads citizens to seek clarification from traditional birth attendants who then counsels them to abstain from vaccination and whom they then obey by rejecting the vaccination, she is further equipped to make pointed suggestion on which point in the chain to focus intervention or "tweaking". Public policy research without such causal information can easily become a shot in the dark.

Second, the public policy research problem should resonate with the questions that policy actors are asking as well as the questions that they should be asking. While it is important for the public policy research question to evolve from policy questions, it is also important to note that policy questions are sometimes wrong or inadequate. Put bluntly, policy actors sometimes do not ask the right questions. It is, therefore, important for the researcher to identify these policy questions and give them the needed redirection. Policy actors, for instance, may be asking if the gap between male and female children about access to education is narrowing or widening following the adoption of an affirmative action policy in favour of the girl child. Whereas this is an important question, it is not likely to reveal information that is specific enough to be a basis for the right adjustment of the policy. It is not only simply descriptive but also narrow and unworthy of much research. The researcher should push harder with questions of cause, outcome and causal mechanism about the male-female disparity in access to education in this case. Has the policy produced a narrowing of the gap? If not, why has it not? What skills or resources are lacking that account for this lack of narrowing? Or what

historical, religious or cultural factors combine or act alone to ensure continuity of the gap despite the policy? The public policy research question may not be the exact one that policy actors are asking, but it is indeed a vital extension and reflection of the policy question.

When we have public policy research problems that are unrelated to the problems that policy actors have, the consequence can be predicted. We will come up with findings that may be scientifically sound but unattractive to policy actors. Such findings will have little or no uptake. This approach speaks to the disconnection which a vast amount of literature points out—the disconnection between researchers and policy makers (Edwards 2004: 2; Young 2005: 730–1; Saetren 2005). When we ask public policy research questions that are not causal, the consequence can as well be predicted—our findings will not be convincing or informing enough to move policy actors to targeted action. Ultimately, questions that are not in line with the policy makers, and non-causal questions, render our research simply as just another piece of research for its sake.

A research question largely dictates its own research design. The type of research question we advocate above implies an iterative approach that begins with policy actors and finally returns to them. It also implies a specific kind of methods. It is a back-and-forth movement that considers the concerns of the actors as the fulcrum. In addition to being iterative, the design is also causal. The stages given below may apply (Fig. 4.1).

The way in which research is designed determines the ability of the researcher to claim causal conclusions (Bachman 2007). This is important for it gives indication to policy makers on what influential factors lead to what outcomes. If this is not known, making relevant policy decisions is always not possible.

QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE METHODS IN PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

In this section, we explain the commonly used qualitative and quantitative research methods for public policy.

Qualitative Methods in Public Research

Briefly stated, qualitative methods aim at providing deeper perspectives, attitudes, perceptions and contextual insights that surround the issue
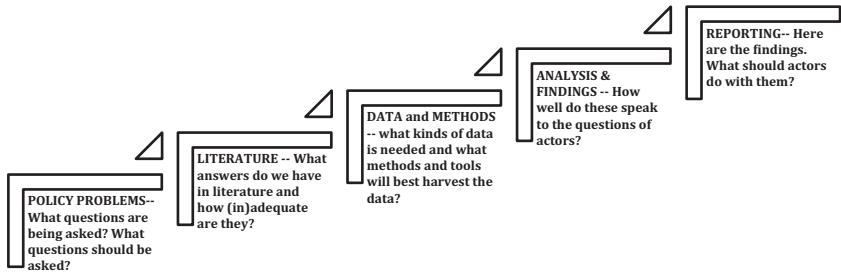
Fig. 4.1   Approach to designing policy research

under investigation as experienced and understood by those living through it. The outcome of qualitative methods is usually the verbalized thoughts and viewpoints of the subjects of investigation rather than numbers or statistics. The following are some of the research methods used in qualitative research. Note that each of these methods applies a wide range of tools to collect data.

Historical and Archival Research
Libraries and archives store historical information in many forms including diaries, pictures, documents, minutes and artefacts, among others. These mean that they might have been stored as primary or secondary data. Historical or archival information that can be considered as primary is that which was collected from the author or field and stored in its original form without undergoing any form of analysis and change. Such may include minutes, diaries, pictures, artefacts, personal memoirs, autobiographies and others of the same nature. Any historical information that has gone through any studies or analysis then becomes secondary data. These may include journals, books and magazines, among others.

When a researcher wants to use historical and archival data, the aim is to research on the past and already existing information. However, historical and archival research does not always mean deriving data from the archives. A policy researcher may design a historical study in which they endeavour to visit the field and collect data from knowledgeable individuals concerning a certain historical issue of policy concern. They may partly engage documents from archives or libraries to historicize, contextualize and corroborate the issue under research. It is also the nature of many

parliamentary researchers to "mine" data from parliamentary libraries/archives, some of which contain data that is classified as primary data.

Historical data is important in public policy, for it helps researchers situate their arguments within existing narratives, contexts and prior solutions suggested for policy problems. Roche (2016) argues that making assumptions about the ease with which historical research can be done is misleading. He advises that knowledge of context and a sequential approach should be given ascendance in the researcher's priority. The researcher should be aware of chronology of information to clearly provide a coherent picture of the policy issue at hand. This implies that the past information should be relatable to the most current. With the advent in technology, most data are now digitalized, and as such, it is easy to get information from the Internet.

Archives are used to store vital government records such as personal letters, diaries, minutes, logbooks, plans, maps, photographs, among others, that easily qualify to be analysed as primary data (Roche 2016: 174). Roche (2016: 183–4) notes the challenge of fragmentation and partial availability of archival documents. He further alludes to technical challenges of the clarity of some of archival data. He cites examples of materials that were handwritten a while back and which may be ineligible. Historical and archival research apply both desk-based methods and interview techniques of data collection. Photography can also be used.

Ethnographic Methods

Ethnographic approach to research studies communities in their natural setting to understand their activities, behaviour, attitudes, perspectives and opinions within their social surrounding (Brewer 2000). To do so, ethnography entails close association with the research communities and sometimes participation in their activities (Brewer 2000: 17). In fact, the commonly used methods of data collection in ethnography are participant (and sometimes non-participant) observation. The former allows for the researcher to get involved in the activities of the communities, while the latter is designed for the researcher to observe from the periphery. As Brewer argues, it is this day-to-day involvement in people's activities that enable the researcher to make sense of the social worldviews of the research participants.

Non-participant observation describes a research situation where a researcher does not take part in the processes, events or activities that he or she is observing but removes himself or herself from the happenings to

critically observe from a distance. This has challenges especially if the observed become aware of intrusion and subsequently alter their behaviour (Hawthorne effect). Sometimes the researcher may structure the observations or decide to use unstructured observations. The two differ in the sense of planning on the observation activities. For the structured type, the researcher has in mind what they want to observe and as such have a list and indications of what they would like to see. Take, for instance, a study on access to water meant to contribute to a water policy. A researcher may choose to observe how (many) times is water served at certain water points; how many people queue for the water in each of these servings; and this is likely to tell the researcher whether the water points are enough or otherwise. In unstructured observation, the researcher gets into the field with a research idea but without the specifics of that nature of data they expect from the field. Qualitative interview methods such as oral interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) may apply where necessary during ethnography. Note taking is often applied as well.

Phenomenology

This method focuses on lived experiences of a given phenomenon by an individual or a group of individuals. Individuals can describe their views and opinions about the phenomenon in question (Johnson and Christensen 2014). Research on fertility issues can target women who either have or do not have children, depending on what the researcher wants to unearth, with individual women providing their lived experiences on the issue under investigation. Phenomenology is also applicable when writing biographies (an account of someone's life written by someone else). Generally, life histories, personal testimonies and experiences are best collected through this method. This implies that oral in-depth interviews and desk-based methods of data collection are important in understanding the stories in question.

Narrative Method

A narrative is a story that structures human activity to give it some form of meaning (Elçi and Devran 2014). Research that applies the narrative method encourages the research participants to tell their stories around a certain issue. The researcher listens to the stories and uses them to make informed analysis on the issue at hand. A researcher concerned about experiences of people living in zones of conflicts may ask questions that elicit stories of the victims or perpetrators of violence and present these in narrative form. Researchers who use phenomenology method often apply

use of narratives, but not always. Phenomenological research may not rely on story telling alone. A researcher may use desk-based method to gain perspectives of the target communities as well.

Case Studies

A case study is an intensive analysis of a small number of phenomena (events, actors, activities, processes, organizations, communities, among others) in each context. Though one can use a mix of qualitative or quantitative data within a case study, meaning that case studies can also take quantitative route, a case study is always a detailed analysis of the relationships between the contextual factors and a visible occurrence. Case studies are therefore considered when there is need for detailed information on the issue(s) under investigation. A single case study aims at providing details on the variables of interest. A comparative case study has two or more cases (what literature refers to as small-N) for the purpose of making comparative causal explanations. A researcher uses comparative case studies when they want to tease out the similarities and/or differences between or among the cases, usually for the purpose of explaining causation.

Action Research

Action research is problem-solution focused. It falls under the category of applied research and subsequently, uses practical approach to solve an immediate problem. In this case, the researcher works together with a community or practitioners to identify a challenging issue within the community that requires a possible solution. They formulate the problem together and design the research in a way that the aim is to work towards getting a solution to the problem. Once the data collected is analysed and recommendations given, a plan of action is drawn and applied to the problem that the research was designed for. The community (and researcher) reflects on the effectiveness of the solutions applied to take appropriate measures. In a nutshell, Huang (2010: 99) explains that action research proceeds from a praxis of participation guided by practitioners' concerns for practicality; it is inclusive of stakeholders' ways of knowing and helps to build capacity for ongoing change efforts. This form of research requires money and time. As Huang (2010) notes, action research can take a qualitative, quantitative or mixed-method perspective. Various methods of data collection including oral interviews, surveys, community mapping, observation, among others, may be applied in action research.

Grounded Theory Research

A researcher may apply two approaches, inductive or deductive, to do research. The deductive approach means that one has a theoretical basis from where hypotheses can be formulated and tested. Inductive approach, on the other hand, is grounded or bottom-up. The researcher in this case starts by making observations that then provide him or her with patterns from where conclusions and theory can be drawn. Grounded research therefore moves from the point of poor or no theory up to where a researcher can deduce an informed hypothesis and towards theory building, all from the observations and analysis made from data. It is similar with other qualitative methods in the use of the various methods of data collection including oral interviews, observation and use of all forms of documents (Strauss and Corbin 1994).

Quantitative Methods in Public Policy Research

Quantitative research generates numerical data using such research instruments as the questionnaire, tests, code sheets for content analysis and similar other sources. The data is then subjected to mathematical or statistical analysis (Muijs 2004).

Literature divides quantitative research methods into two—experimental and non-experimental methods. Experimental methods are the quantitative approaches that are mainly concerned with manipulation situations with an aim of establishing cause and effect. Bachman (2007: 151) argues that "the experimental design provides the most powerful design for testing causal hypotheses about the effect of a treatment or some other variable whose values can be manipulated by the researchers". Experiments allow us to explain causality with some confidence because of the use of treatment and control. The basic and elementary type of experimental research involves setting up two groups (treatment and control groups) and introducing change to the treatment but nothing to the control. The effect of the change is measured in the differences in the behaviour or performance of the two groups after the treatment.

Experimental research has been criticized for their weakness in reflecting reality in that they take people out of their natural settings into a laboratory or pseudo-labs. Despite this, they can make important input to policymaking. For instance, micro-level policies on classroom instruction and curriculum have been largely influenced by experimental research.

Non-experimental methods do not manipulate. They are aimed and providing a descriptive picture of what is being studied. Non-experimental methods, as Muijs (2004) indicates, are more varied and may range from surveys to historical research, observations and analysis of existing data sets (applied quantitative methods). We will briefly look at the experimental and non-experimental quantitative research in the following sections.

Experimental Methods

The different types of experiments can range from randomized control trials (RCTs) to quasi-experiments, and sometimes, natural experiments.

Randomized Control Trials (RCTs)

In their simplest form, RCTs involve assigning individuals, groups, communities or settlements to experimental/treatment and control groups. The experimental group receives treatment—school feeding—while the control group receives no treatment (no school feeding). The difference in school attendance rates between these groups could then be attributed to the treatment, that is, school feeding. If statistics shows that attendance increases in the treatment group but stays the same or decreases in the control group, other things being equal, the researcher can make claims about school feeding causing increase in school attendance. Randomized control trials are expensive and are usually beyond the budget reach of most researchers. Public policy researchers therefore embark on other forms of experimental methods generally described as quasi-experimental methods.

Quasi-experiments

There is an unending controversy as to what constitutes a quasi-experiment. Given the little profit accruing from such a controversy, we would take a simple definition of that concept: any experiment that mimics as closely as possible the advantages of RCT (Muijs 2004: 27). In quasi-experiments randomization is not possible (Muijs 2004). This makes it difficult to eliminate bias. The experimental group is already determined—they are the ones enjoying or experiencing the treatment of concern to the researcher. What the researcher does is to compare this group with another that is not experiencing the treatment. Often, the treatment is a government programme or some other kind of intervention out of the researcher's control. Where it is possible to have another group to compare with,

the researcher might work with data before treatment comparing that with data after treatment.

Take, for instance, the introduction of government-funded public examinations in some Nigerian prisons in 2019. Would the incidence of violence reduce in prisons because of this policy? A few years into the policy, a researcher might compare incidence of violence in Prison A where the policy is being implemented with Prison B where it is not being implemented. Or, where, for certain reasons that two-prison comparison is not possible, she might compare data on the incidence violence in Prison A before the policy with data on the incidence of violence in the same prison after the policy has been implemented.

Quasi-experiment templates consider space (spatial variation) and time (temporal variation) as important aspects that influence setting up of experimental research designs. Gerring (2007) and other scholars provide a variety of these templates. For instance, a researcher might be interested in explaining if and how a certain programme or policy, say a school feeding programme, increases students' performance in national examinations. She can select two local government areas or sub-counties—one with a school feeding programme and the other without—and then compare school performances of students in both sub-counties and local government areas in national examination. It is important to ensure that the two cases (i.e. sub-counties or local government areas in this example) are similar in all other factors that might influence students' performance in a national examination, the only difference being the presence of a school feeding programme in one and its absence in the other. The data can be collected by a variety of means—questionnaire, secondary data such as attendance registers, observation guide or any other that suits the research objective and question. A fruitful study of this type does not stop at showing that students in local government A where there is a school feeding programme perform better than their counterparts in local government B. That would be an interesting finding, but it leaves a lot unsaid. Rather, it should press on with an explanation of the causal mechanism—the pathway or trajectory by which the school feeding programme leads to better grades. This implies that what is largely categorized as quantitative study may require aspects of qualitative data to allow the researcher to get a complete picture of the issue under investigation.

Ojebode et al. (2016) attempted to explain the (in)effectiveness of community-based crime prevention practices in Ibadan, Nigeria. They selected two communities—one with a successful community-based crime

prevention programme and another with a clearly unsuccessful one. These communities are similar in all the factors that matter to community-based crime prevention—population, ethnic mix, youth population, socio-economic status, and both have community-based crime prevention practices. Their puzzle was: why did the practice work so well in one community and fail so woefully in the other despite the similarities in these communities. Through different rounds of data collection and different instruments, their quantitative and qualitative analysis shows that the settlement patterns in the communities—dating several hundred years—perhaps explained the variation in the outcomes of the crime prevention practices.

Natural Experiments

Natural experiments take advantage of exogenous effect, that is, an intervention that is outside of the control of the researcher, which was also not intended to affect the outcome/dependent variable. The exogenous effect can be in the form of natural (such as a natural disaster), physical (like in the case of the colonial/government border) or historical event. They may also be a policy intervention. These were not intended for research or academic purposes. In other words, what becomes the treatment or causal factor happens through some "natural" occurrence or unplanned event. In some ways, these events may allow for observation of before and after they occurred. An example is Friedman et al. (2001) who carried out a kind of natural experiment during the 1996 Olympic games in Atlanta, Georgia. The researchers wanted to find out whether heavy traffic in the city was a cause of asthma in children. They made observations on how the city was organized during the 17 days of Olympics where the traffic rules changed. Small cars were forced onto alternative routes to leave main routes for mass transport, and this reduced traffic congestion on the major roads of the city. Through paediatric records (before and after Olympics), the study discovered 40% reduction in asthma attacks and emergency hospitalization. The researchers made a conclusion that traffic congestion contributes to paediatric asthma. This can be classified as a natural experiment, where the Olympics (manipulation/treatment) was not planned by the researcher and was exogenous (not related in any known way) to asthma. Such critically thought-out research can easily contribute to change in transport policies. Other studies, for instance, Daniel Posner's on Chewas and Timbukas of Zambia and Malawi (2004), have used borders artificially created by colonial governments as boundaries of study groups. In his case, Posner shows how governments in two countries

differently exploit similar ethnic compositions and the effect of this exploitation on inter-ethnic relations.

Non-experimental Quantitative Methods

Surveys

Most quantitative researchers collect data using a standard questionnaire containing mostly close-ended questions. Some researchers may use a questerview, which combine both closed-ended and open-ended question. The latter is applicable when corroborative data or explanations to the closed-ended questions are needed. Survey questionnaires for this reason provide some standardized data that can be keyed into software for organization and analysis. The type of survey questionnaire depends on the nature of data that the researcher requires, the reach of the study population and ways in which the data is to be collected. One can decide to do telephone interviews, post the questionnaire, administer it online or have an ordinary written questionnaire.

Survey research considers a variety of factors including samples and sampling procedures, characteristics of the study population, among other issues. Surveys mainly apply probability sampling with an aim of giving all the elements a chance to be included in the study sample. This is the opposite of non-probability sampling those centres on purposive and convenient sampling. There are various sampling techniques in probability sampling, and these are available in various research methods books. Just to mention, some of the probability sampling approaches include simple random, stratified random, cluster, quota and multistage (see Muijs 2004, 2011; Babbie 2004; Kothari 2004; Kumar 2011). For sample sizes, there are suggested formulas that researchers can apply for both finite and infinite populations.

Observational Studies

Observations are important for both qualitative and quantitative research. In quantitative research, observation is applied both as a research method and as a method of data collection. In qualitative research, observation is mostly categorized as a method of data collection and features in various research methods including ethnography, case study and action research. In quantitative studies, observational methods are important, for they enable a researcher to interact with the study environment and

participants in a way that the questionnaire would not. Observational data for quantitative research is collected using standardized/structured observation schedules. A researcher can develop a descriptive observational record or a rating scale to help them collect observational data. This enables the researcher to observe and record the behaviour and activities in the selected study sites in a standardized way. Observations can also be made on existing reports within the institutions being studied, say for instance, school performance and statistical data collected from such reports (see Muijs 2004). In the end, the different methods may generate descriptive data of various types, that is, from open-ended and closed-ended descriptions. The selection of participants is also randomized to give all a chance to participate, and subsequently, those falling within the sample size are meant to represent the study population on which generalizations can be made.

Applied Quantitative Method

This method makes use of existing data sets. It applies analytical methods to facilitate description of data that has already been recorded and stored. Different research institutes store varied forms of data sets. These could be useful if a researcher is interested in analysing them with the purpose of achieving a certain research objective. For instance, one might be interested in understanding and describing the population growth trends. In such instances, one does not need to go to the field to collect fresh information when the national bureaux or offices of statistics have the data sets. All one needs is to get permission from relevant authorities to access such information. The challenge with using such data sets is that if they are erroneous in any way, then the errors are carried forth in the analysis. As Muijs (2004) indicates, the various quantitative research methods can be combined in a single study if this is necessary.

MIXED METHODS IN PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

The advent of mixed-method research and the place that it currently occupies in social science research reinforce the arguments for the use of both traditions of qualitative and quantitative methods in public policy research. Statistics should be complemented and explained by meaning-making concepts, metaphors, symbols and descriptions from qualitative research to make sense of hard data. On the other hand, narratives on their own are not enough. Jones and McBeth (2010: 330) show that despite the

apparent power of stories in public policy, public policy studies have largely remained on the side-lines of the use narratives. The two scholars suggest the relevance of using a narrative policy framework as a methodological complement for positivists in the study of policy. Some scholars have also shown that for policy problems to be clearly defined, a narrative structure is needed. Narration, as Fischer (1998) and Stone (2002: 138) explain, helps make sense of the socially constructed world that requires tangible solutions. Since qualitative approach may not be able to engage hypothesis testing to allow for replication and falsification (Jones and McBeth 2010: 339), they should complement or be complemented by quantitative data.

Qualitative and quantitative methods have their own separate strengths. As noted above, qualitative research is about depth and qualitative is about breadth. This means, if a study requires both, then mixing the methods is important. Mixing methods therefore means a research problem requires both qualitative and quantitative data. Morse (1991) argued that triangulation of methods not only maximizes the strengths and minimizes those weaknesses of each approach, but also strengthens research results and contributes to theory and knowledge development.

Mixing research methods does not just imply mixing methods of data collection. A researcher must intentionally clarify which research methods (as discussed above) are applicable in their research to speak to qualitative and quantitative aspects, and by extension what methods of data collection will be used. Note that one research method may have many methods and tools data collection. If one is using ethnography, then participant observation, oral in-depth interviews, observations and focus group discussions are examples of applicable data collection methods. The various methods of data collection have their instruments/tools.

Mixing of methods entirely depends on the purpose for which the methods are mixed. This is determined by the research problem. Mixed research methods books provide a wide range of typologies of designing mixed-method research (see, for instance, Greene et al. 1989; Creswell and Clark 2011; Schoonenboom and Johnson 2017). Below is a simple illustration of the continuum for mixing methods (Fig. 4.2). A researcher can move from a purely quantitative or qualitative research method (A and E), towards integrating either quantitative (B) or qualitative (D) methods to the dominant method. A researcher can also design a fully mixed-method research (C). This is a simplified way of understanding how mixing can happen; there are other more complex typologies.
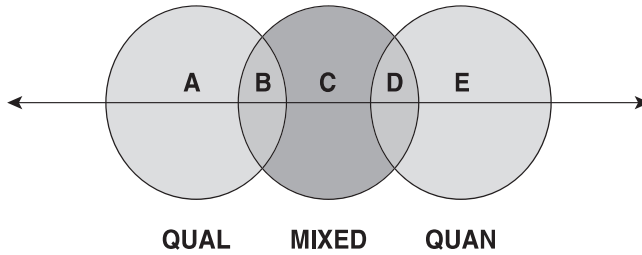
Fig. 4.2 The mixed-method continuum. (Source: Teddlie and Yu 2007: 84)

In public policy research, the mixing is important for various reasons. One might require results for complementary purpose, explanations to the statistical results, expansion of results from one domain (qualitative or quantitative) or confirmation of results. The dictates of mixing are found within the research problem and by extension research questions/objectives.

CONCLUSION

There is subtle blame game between bureaucrats and policy makers, on the one hand, and researchers, on the other hand, in Africa. While the latter accuse the former of not using the research they conduct, the former responds by claiming that many of the research do not speak to policy or societal issues and are thus not usable. They add that many of them are rendered in a language that is not accessible to non-academic actors. As a result, not a few policy decisions are based on political and other judgements rather than on sound research.

Our discussion so far suggests that the bureaucrats and policy makers may not be totally right in their accusation, but they are not totally wrong either. The preponderance of policy-appended research, and of solo-method research which offers little as a basis for policy, seems to justify their accusation. It is, therefore, important that public policy researchers weave their research around societal issues that are not only significant but also contemporary and topical, craft their design with the aim of policy engagement and stakeholder involvement, and adopt mixed methods as and when necessary, to provide findings and conclusion that command and compel policy actors' attention.

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Governance and Politics of Public Policy in Africa

E. Remi Aiyede

Introduction

In the opinion of Dye (2017), public policy is about what government decide to do or not to do. This point emphasises the centrality of decision-making to public policy. It shows that public policy is about choices that are made by those with mandate and power to make such choices on behalf of the public. Policy choices are not usually made in a purely technocratic manner. This is because public policy choices are made within a political and administrative process. The mandate given to a party or candidate who wins an election is to some extent an approval of the programmes and manifestoes presented to the public, the specific policy preferences for addressing specific public problems. This may be a preference for a specific exchange rate management policy, preferred mode of social security or a new guideline for admission into public schools.

Furthermore, policy is made in the context of multiple options and in the contests of interests and preferences not only by those who have the power to make such policy choices but also in the context of diverse

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government institutions and contending vested interests around policy alternatives. Thus, politics can be viewed as a process of policy making and policy making viewed as a political process. Thus, anyone who engages public policy must look at the political and governance context in which public policy occurs.

This chapter explores the interconnections among the concepts of governance, politics and public policy and examines the political and governance issues around policy making in Africa. It is therefore structured into six main sections. The first section explores the concepts of "public policy", "Politics" and "governance", and their inter-relationship. The second section elaborates the main features of the governance context of policy making. The third examines the formal governance institutions of policy making: the arms of government and the models and systems of government. The fourth examines the party and electoral systems as frameworks of democratic governance. The fifth is focused on public policy instruments and actors in the policymaking process, including key governmental and non-governmental actors. The sixth deals with the informal dimensions of politics and public policy making. The last part is the conclusion.

Exploring the Concepts: "Public Policy", "Governance" and "Politics"

Public Policy

Three important definitions have become very popular in the study of public policy. The first given by William Jenkins (1978) sees a public policy as "a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation, where those decisions should, in principle, be within the power of those actors to achieve". This definition is more emphatic, describing public policy as a process, rather than one isolated choice. Also, it sees the policy process as goal-oriented, while at the same time taking into consideration the important aspect of implementation capacity.

A second definition by Thomas Dye (2017) loosely defines public policy as "everything a government chooses to do or not to do". This definition has been criticised for being too general because it does not differentiate between the trivial and the significant in government's

activities. However, it identifies the governmental structure as the sole agent of policy making and points to the fact that its actions must be intentional, that is, any choice for action or lack thereof must be deliberate.

A third definition by James Anderson (2011: 52–53) views public policy as "a relatively stable purposive course of action or inaction followed by an actor or a set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern". This definition underscores public policy as goal-oriented.

Birkland (2011: 9) provides perhaps the most inclusive definition of policy as "statement by government- at whatever level- of what it intends to do about a public problem". These could be a law, regulation, ruling, decision, order or a combination of these. The lack of such statements may also be an implicit statement of policy.

Policy in its simplest meaning is a plan or guide to action, a statement of ideals governing actions to be taken to achieve a particular state of things in society. While policy is typically identified with the public arena, in practice, policies can also be designed and adopted by individuals, private organisations, including non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and civil society organisations. Indeed, it is quite legitimate to talk about corporate policy and social responsibility policy of large corporations that are privately owned.

The idea of "public" often attached to policy defines it as a property of social or collective action, which is in modern parlance governmental action. Hence, public policy is often viewed in terms of foreign policy, educational policy, economic policy, defence policy, and so on. All of these uses of policy convey to us what government decides to do or will refrain from doing in each sphere of governmental activity. Thus, the public sector is the proper location of public policy, and policy has been identified with the public arena because of the general interest or public interest character of the governmental agencies.

From the above definitions we see that there is a range of definitions concerning what constitutes public policy. All the definitions agree that public policy refers to interventions (or decisions to not intervene) by the government to achieve public goals. This is partly the result of the diversity of individuals and groups involved with establishing the exact meaning of the concept. Pollit et al. (1979: x) and Birkland (2011: 8–9) identify the following as the essential characteristics of public policy:

- Public policy is made in response to some sort of problem that requires attention.

- Public policy involves decision-making and activity.
- Public policy is oriented towards a goal or desired state, such as the solution of a problem.
- Public policy involves a series of decisions taken over an extended period including an exercise of power or rationality.
- The process occurs within a framework of prescribed organisational roles (public policy involves institutions of state with special legal characteristics).
- It involves exchange of information and resources, discussion, and bargaining between the public, pressure groups and state agencies. In other words, it involves interaction with a variety of interest groups.
- It aims at increasing the probability of occurrence of desired states of the world in future. It is futuristic.
- The state institutions that are involved in the policy often legitimise their activities by claiming that their policies are in the general (public) interest rather than favouring sections, groups or individuals. It is made on the "public's" behalf.
- Governments ultimately make public policy, even if the ideas come from outside government or through the interaction of government and non-governmental actors.
- Public policy is interpreted and implemented by public and private actors who have different interpretations of problems, solutions and their own motivations.

Finally, the upshot of these characteristics is that policy is never closed. It involves a series of related activities carried out over a long period of time rather than a single decision. This is not to say that there are no one-off policies aimed to resolve a time-bound-specific problem. It is also not suggested here that public policy cannot be terminated or faced out if the purpose has been achieved, regardless of the time that has elapsed. The point being made is that policy covers far more than the term decision. It involves the intentions of policy makers up to and including the point at which action is taken. It also includes feedbacks into the policy process. In other words, it is a continuous process, not "a once-for-all act". It is made routinely through interactions and cooperation between elected and unelected officials, as well as actors with no formal roles in the process. A policy outcome may be different from the intentions and policy is also about the power not to do something (Cairney 2012: 24–5).

Governance

The concept "Governance" is derived from a Latin word "gubernare", or more originally from the Greek word "kubernaein", which means "to steer". Based on this etymology, governance refers to the manner of steering or of directing and controlling, a group of people or a state. This is often contrasted with the traditional "top-down" approach of governments "driving" society. Thus, a distinction is often made between the governance's "power to" and government's "power over". For the World Bank governance is "the manner in power is exercised in the management of county's economic and social resources for development" (World Bank 1992: 1). This includes the process by which governments are elected, monitored and replaced; the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies and the respect of citizens and the state of the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them.

Stoker (1998) provides five propositions of governance, which are that it

- refers to a set of institutions and actors that are drawn from but also beyond government.
- identifies the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues.
- identifies the power dependence involved in the relationships between institutions involved in collective action.
- is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors.
- recognises the capacity to get things done, which does not rest on the power of government to command or use its authority.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 1997 policy paper defined governance as "the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences". Kaufmann et al. (2010) use governance to refer to the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes (1) the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced at various levels; (2) the role of formal and informal actors in this process; (3) the capacity of the governance process to ensure effective formulation and implementation of sound

policies; (4) the respect of citizens and the state for institutions that govern economic and social interactions and (5) the steering of these interactions towards future policy improvement.

Governance is used in several contexts in business (corporate governance), in international relations (global governance) and in the local level (local governance). It is recognised that governance has both formal and informal dimensions. Thus, there are formal and informal actors involved in policy making and implementation. The main formal actor in governance is the government. The government is an institution of the state, political authority of the state, which represents, selects and implements state policy. It exists to maintain public order and facilitate collective action. Government is organised to provide these goals in a reliable, consistent and enduring manner, through law making, execution of the law and interpretation of the law.

There are however other actors in policy making beyond the government. These are often grouped under the title civil society or non-state actors. They include labour unions, news media, multinational corporations, non-governmental organisations (religious institutions, think tanks, social clubs, community-based organisations) and business associations.

There are rules and processes guiding how government works and how it interacts with itself and other actors outside government. In addition to this formal framework, there are other forms of interaction that are not formally structured. Informal decision-making structures such as "kitchen cabinets" or informal advisors, powerful families, lobbyists and organised crime may determine or influence public policy. Such informal decision-making may be the result of corrupt practices or leads to corrupt practices because they are often done behind the curtain. They affect the possibilities of a public policy. Thus, when we talk about the governance dimension of public policy, we are concerned about how policies are arrived at, whether they are appropriated to solve collective action, whether they focus on satisfying public interests or narrow interest of powerful groups and individuals. We are also concerned about the performance of public policy, the basis of and how to close the gap between policy and outcome. How do we ensure that good policies are made and that such policies are implemented in an effective and efficient manner?

As Rose-Ackerman (2017) puts it, "a fundamental challenge for governance reform is to balance expertise and democratic participation beyond the ballot box and the scientific laboratory to produce public policies that solve important social problems and are accepted as legitimate by citizens" (p. 23).

Moharir (2002) suggests six criteria for successful public policy interventions. These are as follows:

(1) Effectiveness: Achievement of goods and objectives of policy. This can be determined by the contribution policy outputs make to achieve policy objectives.

(2) Efficiency: Realisation of policy objectives in less time and with less cost. This can be determined by the ratio of outputs to inputs.

(3) Responsiveness: Degree to which policy design is responsive to the legitimate interests of different groups affected by policy. This can be gleaned in all aspects of the policy design and the process.

(4) Innovation: Creativity and innovation in policy design mainly to realise the first three criteria. In practice, it is difficult in bureaucratic environments.

(5) Political Feasibility: Degree of acceptance of policy by proximate policy makers, political executives, legislatures and interest groups.

(6) Administrative Feasibility: Willingness, capacity, and ability of implementing agencies and target groups to realise policy objectives within stated time and cost parameters.

Other criteria such as adequacy, efficacy, transparency and accountability can be subsumed under one or the other of the above-stated criteria. Also, various concerns like ethnicity and corruption could be incorporated into the criteria. Prior to and since the replacement of the millennium development goals (MDGs) with the sustainable development goals (SDGs), sustainability has become a major criterion to determine success of public policy. This criterion brings on board concerns about protecting the environment and keeping the delicate ecosystems of our planet in balance. Another criterion is equity (or equality). There is a growing concern about poverty and inequality across the world, and the academic and policy communities have emphasised the need to integrate equity into policy design and evaluation.

Politics

Inherent in governance is the struggle over and use of power to achieve public purposes. Power is at the heart of politics, particularly state power. Politics is about the state and the relations people have with government. The concept "politics" is derived from the Greek word *polis*, meaning

city-state. Politics refers to the affairs of the *polis*, in effect, "what concerns the *polis*". Thus, traditionally politics is viewed as "what concerns the state". Academic study of politics often focuses on the personnel and machinery of government and the exercise of state authority. Hence, the political has to do with the state (Heywood 2013).

Power has to do with resource allocation; hence, Harold Lasswell (1936) describes politics as *Who Gets What, When, and How?* Easton (1981) defined politics as the "authoritative allocation of values". By this as Heywood (2013: 4) puts it:

> Politics encompasses the various processes through which government responds to pressures from the larger society, in particular by allocating benefits, rewards or penalties. 'Authoritative values' are therefore ones that are widely accepted in society and considered binding by the mass of citizens. In this view, politics is associated with 'policy', with formal or authoritative decisions that establish a plan of action for the community.

According to Heywood (2013), politics can be viewed from four perspectives, namely politics as power, politics as the art of government, politics as public affairs and politics as compromise.

Politics as power and the distribution of resources is concerned about the exercise of power to achieve desired outcomes, through whatever means. Because resources are scares, there is a struggle over scarce resources. This struggle is conducted as a struggle for power over the allocation and use of resources. Politics in this sense is broad and related to the production, reproduction, distribution, redistribution and general use of resources during human collective existence. Politics is about "choosing between competing interests and views often demanding incompatible allocations of limited resources. Crucially, because it is a collective form of decision making, once a choice has been made then that choice has to be imposed on us all" (Stoker 2006: 2).

Politics as the art of government is about the exercise of authority. It is about the formal institutions of the state, especially the government that carries out public policy. It is about public administration and policy making, the formal or authoritative decisions that establish a plan of action for the political community. The word government is derived from the Latin verb "gubernare", which means "to govern" or "to manage". It is the process by which the state manages its population and exercises control over its territory. The process through which governance is carried out

involves the formulation and implementation of public policy. The government in carrying its functions would have to determine the problems of society and take a decision on how to solve those problems. In doing these, the government will examine a series of available options to solve the problem. The government then provides policy in the form of rules and steps to be followed to solve the problem. The policy will then be implemented by the government to achieve set objective which if achieved will solve the problems identified. The processes of governance also involve how the conflicts arising from the formulation and implementation of policies are resolved.

Politics as public affairs means that politics is about "public life" or "public affairs" in the sense of the distinction between the public and private realms, between "the political" and "the non-political". This may also refer to the distinction state and civil society. The apparatus of government with which the will of the state is realised such as the courts, the police, the army, the civil service, and so forth, which are funded through public resources and are responsible for the collective organisation of the political community life. By contrast, the realm of civil society is non-governmental and non-state and consists of institutions such as the family and kinship groups, private businesses, trade unions, clubs, community-based organisations that are set up and funded by individual citizens primarily to satisfy their own interests and then those of the larger society.

Politics as compromise and consensus refers to politics as the ways and means of resolving conflict, of decision-making through compromise, conciliation and negotiation, instead of the resort to coercion and violence. Here politics is simply a process of decision-making in the public realm. Heywood argues that politics is inextricably linked to the phenomena of conflict and cooperation. On the one hand, the existence of rival opinions, different wants, competing needs or opposing interests guarantees disagreement about the rules under which people live. On the other hand, people recognise that to influence these rules or ensure that the rules are upheld, they must work with others in society. Therefore, politics is often portrayed as a process of conflict-resolution, in which rival views or competing interests are reconciled with one another. Stoker (2006: 1) describes politics as the "tough process of squeezing collective decisions out of multiple and competing interests and opinions".

Public policy is the product of the political and governance processes. It occurs within the context of rules/institutions and involves a variety of actors both political and non-political actors. It is expected to help fulfil

the purposes of the state: provide the needs of society for security, peace, order and the provision of social services. Politics is the art of governance to the extent that it is concerned about governments, institutions, power, order and the ideals of justice. Politics incorporates governance in its pre-occupation with the public sector, power structures, equity and service delivery. Nevertheless, politics and governance are distinct from each other in the sense that politics is broader than governance. Politics entails the concept of the "good life" and the "ideal society"; it is about how "people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live" while governance deals with how the government and the civil society arrive at a decision in meeting public needs. Public policy is the outcome of the interaction among actors in politics and governance; hence, Cochran et al. (1999) defines public policy as the "outcome of the struggle in government over who gets what".

Governance Context of Public Policy

As noted earlier, public policy occurs within the framework of governmental organisations. These organisations operate within a governance environment. Six features of the governance context of public policy can be elaborated. These are power, law, revenue, personnel, social services and public support.

Power

Power is the capacity to get things done. It is ability to get people to behave in desired ways, even when they are unwilling to do so. It is a kind of domination which those who rule exercise over those under their rule. It is an essential element of government. Those who exercise the power of government command while the citizens obey. In a logical statement, power is the capacity of a person A to cause another person B to do something he or she would otherwise not do. Power is exercised in a variety of ways and by several means. The ability to reward or punish is central to power of government. By means of rewards (incentives), the government can get us to obey the law or support its cause. By punishment (sanction), the government forces us to do its will. Power enables the government to be effective in performing its functions.

Law

The state is a system of laws. Governments regulate society by law. Laws are commands or orders given by the government requiring citizens to act or refrain from acting in certain ways. They serve as constraints on our behaviour. Laws specify our rights, duties and obligations. They define the relationship between citizens and their government. Law is the basis for the exercise of governmental powers. They form the basis for the promotion of order, peace and justice in the state. Every state operates based on a body of fundamental laws called the constitution. This body of laws define the powers of government, the process for the formation of government and the responsibilities of government to the citizens.

Revenue

Government need resources to operate. These include tax and non-tax revenues. Tax revenue is usually derived from taxes paid by citizens. The government may also derive money by producing goods and services, which are paid for by those who use those goods and services. Non-tax revenues also include natural resource rents and royalties. There are specific policies to mobilise and manage each of these components of revenue. The revenue of government enables it to run the civil service and provide roads and other services to citizens.

Personnel

Government personnel who are elected officials act in concert with advisors from the higher levels of the administration, appointed career officials, to exercise political power, formulate and implement public policy. Such officials have legitimate authority to impose normative guidelines for action to achieve the desired goals of the state. Elected officials have the right to articulate public policy while non-elected officials are responsible for the implementation of public policy through programmes. Since policies tend to transcend the life of elected officials, the unelected officials are the custodians of public policy. They constitute the bulk of government personnel and are key to the design and implementation of public policy.

Public Social Services

The government is responsible for citizens' welfare. It not only provides an environment of order and peace for us to take care of ourselves, but it also helps with certain services which may be difficult for each one of us to provide for ourselves or is better provided collectively, for instance roads, airports, postal services, telecommunication, healthcare and educational institutions. This is indeed one of the fundamental reasons why government is set up.

Public Support

Governments do not last forever. In a democracy, governments are elected for a specific period, and when the period expires the people vote for another set of people to constitute government. This is because power lies with the people who are the real sovereign. Thus, a government requires the support of the people to be strong. Public support is important for the effectiveness and legitimacy of the government. Thus, governments are perpetually striving to make the people feel they are ruling in the interest of the public (people) and not in the interest of those in government. This is because the people could remove the government at the next election or revolt against the government when they feel the government is not behaving as expected.

Formal Governance Institutions, Instruments and Actors in Public Policy

The Government

The government is usually organised around its functions and powers. Governmental powers are often divided into three: law making, law enforcement and adjudication/interpretation of law. Thus, there are three arms of government: the legislature or parliament, the executive and the judiciary. Each of these branches/arms of government is expected to be constituted by different sets of people. This is done in such a way that no single person or group of persons combine two or more of these powers. The essence is to avoid tyranny and arbitrary rule. Thus, the powers are not just exercised by different persons or body of persons; each arm is expected to act as a check on the others. This doctrine, which

was popularised by Montesquieu in his famous book *Esprit Des Lois*, received an authoritative exposition in James Madison's *The Federalist.* According to Madison et al. "The accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive, and judiciary, in the same hands, whether of one, a few, or many, and whether hereditary, self-appointed, or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny" (1992: 52). Thus, separation of powers assumes that by dividing the powers of government between different persons or body of persons, the tendency towards tyranny, and thereby encroachment on individual liberty, will be minimised. It also assumes a foreclosure to the wielding of absolute power since by allocating different functions of government to different persons; no one can be a judge in his/her own case. While in theory the functions of government can be clearly separated, in practice they overlap, hence checks and balances are built into the relations and exchanges that exist among the various arms of government. The principle of checks and balances is, therefore, a corollary of that of separation of powers and is meant to serve as a restraint on each set of governmental powers. They both constitute forms of institutional designs to ensure the accountability of public officials.

Models and Systems of Government

There are three broad models of government. These are presidential, parliamentary, and Hybrid or mixed models. In simple terms the presidential system of government is one in which the president is both the Head of State and head of government, is constitutionally independent of the legislature and serves a fixed term. A system of separation of executive and legislative powers exists; the government and the legislature serve fixed and independent terms in office. Some presidents are elected by popular elections, by electoral colleges or by parliament. Also, some presidential systems are unicameral while others are bicameral. Some presidents are permitted to serve only for a single term, while the common practice is for a president to serve for no more than two consecutive terms. Examples of presidential systems in Africa include Nigeria, Angola, Uganda, Burundi, Benin, Ghana, Malawi, Equatorial Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire, Zimbabwe and Kenya.

In contrast, the parliamentary system is one in which the government depends on the confidence of the legislature to exist as the legislative

majority may remove the government from office either by passing a vote of no confidence in the government or by rejecting a vote of confidence initiated by the government. Under the parliamentary system, when a vote of no confidence is passed by the legislature, a new government must be formed based on existing distribution of legislative seats, or where this is impossible, new elections are held in the hope that a government may be formed based on the new seat distribution. Usually in parliamentary systems, the prime minister is the head of government, while the Head of State is usually ceremonial. Countries with parliamentary systems in Africa include Botswana, Cape Verde, and Lesotho. These two forms of government are the predominant forms of government in the contemporary world. In practice, however, there are some modifications in each form, hence the hybrid model (see Cheibub 2007). South Africa, since 1994, has a modified parliamentary system where the president is elected by parliament. The president and the cabinet are individually and collectively accountable to parliament.

There are several semi-presidential systems across the world today, many of them established during the third wave of democratisation in the early 1990s. In semi-presidential systems "there is both a directly elected fixed-term president and a prime minister and cabinet who are collectively responsible to the legislature" (Elgie 2011: 3). Under semi-presidentialism there is a directly elected, or popularly elected, president who serves for a fixed term. In addition, there is a separate position of prime minister. The prime minister and cabinet are collectively responsible to the legislature. The first semi-presidential constitution was adopted by Finland on July 1, 1919. As of 2010, there are over 50 countries with semi-presidential system. Some of these countries have adopted the semi-presidential system in the bid to reduce or enhance the powers of the president (Elgie 2011). There are several semi-presidential countries in Africa: Chad (1996), Gabon (1991), Namibia (1990), Tanzania (1995), Cameroon (1991), Republic of Congo (2015), Democratic Republic of Congo (2006), Rwanda (2003), Burkina Faso (1991) and Niger (2010).

In addition to the above, the structure of government is also important to policy making. Some countries are federal while others are unitary or non-federal. A federal system, according to King (1982: 77), is "distinguished from other forms of state solely by the fact that its central government incorporates regional units in its decision procedure on some constitutionally entrenched basis". A federal system has at least

two layers of government: the national government and the state governments. This is to address problems of inclusion and representation in divided societies. First, the existence of at least two layers of government enables various sub-groups or territories to share power with the centre. Each sub-government has constitutionally guaranteed powers, responsibilities and set of institutions. It is a form of limited government in which the various levels of government operate in a framework of checks and balances.

A federal system of government is designed to foster unity among the states that constitute the federation, while also preserving their autonomy in some areas. According to Riker (1964: 11), federalism is a structural bargain that involves the existence of at least two levels of government that govern the same land and people, with each level having its autonomous spheres of authority and with the autonomy of each sphere constitutionally guaranteed and protected. The constitution of a federal system of government creates at least two tiers of government, each of which is assigned a range of governmental powers that it can exercise exclusively or jointly with the other tier.

In federal system expenditure responsibilities are usually shared between the two levels of government. There is usually an exclusive legislative list that contains areas of policy making on which only the national government can legislate. The concurrent list contains items over which both the national government and the state-level governments can legislate. The residual list contains items reserve for the states. On matters in the concurrent legislative list, state governments have liberty to make polices within their jurisdiction. This makes it possible for multiple governmental actors to play active roles in those policy areas. There are formal bodies, a variety of non-formal institutions that facilitate intergovernmental collaboration in policy formulation and implementation. Thus, in such decentralised contexts, there is always a need to "look at ways to improve capacity and co-ordination among public stakeholders at different levels of government to increase efficiency, equity and sustainability of public spending" (Charbit 2011: 5). Nigeria and Ethiopia are examples of Federations in Africa.

The non-federal or unitary system of political organisation is one in which most or all the governing power resides in a centralised government. In a unitary system of government, the central government often delegates authority to subnational units and channels policy decisions down to them for implementation. Most nation-states are unitary systems.

They vary greatly. Great Britain, for example, decentralises power in practice though not in constitutional principle. Others grant varying degrees of autonomy to subnational units. In France, the classic example of a centralised administrative system, some members of local government are appointed by the central government, whereas others are elected. Ultimately, all local governments in a unitary system are subject to a central authority. Examples of unitary states in Africa include Angola, Ghana, Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Senegal, Democratic Republic of Congo, Botswana, Cameroon, Chad, Burkina Faso, Mali, Malawi, Niger, Mauritius and Liberia.

In a democracy, elections are conducted at intervals to choose leaders and representatives. There are rules and methods of counting votes to determine the outcome of an election. These constitute the electoral system. Political parties are the key players in electoral contests. They present manifestos and campaign for votes in the hope to take overpower if they win elections. A political party is an organisation that represents a particular group of people or set of ideas. It aims to have members elected to public office so their ideas can affect the way society is governed. Political parties are not policymaking organisations in themselves. But they articulate philosophies, develop policies and have methods of debating issues and formulating policies to be presented to the electorate during election campaigns. When in power, a political party attempts to put its philosophy into practice through legislation. If a candidate wins office by a large majority, it means that the voters have given him or her a mandate to carry out the programme outlined in the campaign. Political parties are platforms for community groups to influence the policymaking process.

Party and Electoral Systems

Party System

Political scientists often define party systems by the number of "relevant" parties (how one defines "relevant" parties depends upon whom you ask). The party system essentially means the way the political parties of the day interact with one another within the competitive electoral process. G. Sartori in his book, *Party and Party Systems*, describes the party system as "the system of interactions resulting from inter-party competition". One party rules in a one-party system. These are found in the remaining communist states of the world (Cuba, North Korea and China). The

position of the ruling party is guaranteed in a constitution and law bans all forms of political opposition. The ruling party controls all aspects of life within that state. In a two-party system, two parties dominate. Other parties might exist, but they have no political importance. America has the most obvious two-party political system with the Republicans and Democrats dominating the political scene. For the system to work one of the parties must obtain a sufficient working majority after an election and it must be able to govern without the support from the other party. A rotation of power is expected in this system. The two-party system presents the voter with a simple choice, and it is believed that the system promotes political moderation, as the incumbent party must be able to appeal to the "floating voters" within that country. Those who do not support the system claim that it leads to unnecessary policy reversals if a party loses an election as the newly elected government seeks to impose its "mark" on the country that has just elected it to power. Such sweeping reversals, it is claimed, cannot benefit the state in the short and long term. Multi-party system is a system where more than two parties have some impact in a state's political life. A multi-party system can lead to a coalition government as Germany and Italy have experienced. In Germany these have provided reasonably stable governments and a successful coalition can introduce an effective system of checks and balances on the government that can promote political moderation. Dominant-party system is different from a one-party system. A party is quite capable within the political structure of a state, to become dominant to such an extent that victory at elections is considered a formality. This was the case under the Conservative governments of Margaret Thatcher and John Major. For 18 years (1979 to 1997), one party dominated politics in Britain (see Heywood 2013, chapter 10).

Political parties are not policymaking organisations in themselves. They certainly take positions on important policy questions, especially to provide alternatives to the position of whichever party is in power. When in power, a party attempts to put its philosophy into practice through legislation. If a candidate wins office by a large majority, it may mean that the voters have given him or her a mandate to carry out the programme outlined in the campaign (see Heywood 2013, chapter 10).

The Electoral System

Electoral system refers to the way leaders and representatives are chosen. It consists of the rules and methods of counting votes to determine the outcome of an election. An electoral system has several parts, including the electoral formula, district magnitude and ballot structure.

The electoral formula is the way votes are translated into seats or results. The electoral formula takes the specific results in terms of the number of votes and converts it to a specific number of seats. There are two primary ways of doing this: by "majority" or "proportional" methods.

The majority method allows the candidate or party that wins the most votes to win all the available seats. The proportional method allows the parties to win seats in proportion to the number of votes they win. There are also several variants of each method, including systems (mixed systems), which combine majority elections with proportional elections.

District magnitude describes the basis of representation. It defines how people are represented—whether it is based on where they live or what group they fall into. In terms of where they live, we have districts and constituencies. In this context all groups in the district or constituency are treated equally. In the context of the groups, they fall into, the concern is with representing all groups in society regardless of where they live. An electoral district is a geographic area from which political representatives are elected. Districts could have a single representative or multiple representatives, depending on the system chosen and the size of the district.

Ballot structure determines two things within the electoral system. First, it determines whether the voter votes for a candidate, for various candidates or for a party. Second, it determines whether the voter makes a single choice or if he is entitled to make several choices. Ballot structure decisions would also determine whether a list system would use "closed" or "open" lists. Thus, the various combinations of the elements of the electoral system produce different types of electoral systems.

There are three broad types of electoral systems. These are classified according to how closely they translate votes won into parliamentary seats won. The three types are Plurality/Majoritarian Systems, Proportional Representation Systems and Mixed Systems (see Heywood 2013, Chapter 9; Reynolds and Reilly 1997).

Policy Instruments and Policy Actors

Policy Instruments

Policy instruments refer to the means of government intervention in society to accomplish goals or to solve problems. Policy instruments include level of spending, funding for scientific studies or advocacy, organisational change, economic incentives/penalties, regulations and laws, voluntary agreements and resources dedicated to implementation (Cairney 2016). Policy instruments can be used as "sticks, carrots and sermons" (see Bemelmans-Videc et al. 1998). Thus, there are three families of policy instruments. The first family consists of regulatory instruments such as orders, rules and prohibitions (licences, permits and regulations). The second family embraces financial means, providing incentives. They may be positive (grants and subsidies) as well as negative (taxes and user charges) from a consumer's perspective. The third family are communicative tools, which may be used to at increase or decrease information available to stakeholders. These have got a boost due to the developments in the digital age (Bemelmans-Videc et al. 1998; Peters and Nispen 1998; Hood 2007; Hood and Margetts 2007). Policy instruments could be voluntary, compulsory or a mix of both.

Howlett (2002) provides a somewhat different classification in terms of Substantive, Procedural and Institutional policy instruments. Procedural instruments seek to modify decision-making processes with respect to policies and projects that may affect society rather than directly changing the behaviour of individuals or firms. Common procedural instruments include environmental assessment (EA) processes and gender mainstreaming. They seek to inject environmental and gender considerations into decision-making process respectively where they would not normally have been present. Public participation requirements can work in a similar way, providing opportunities for members of the public to have input into decision-making in ways that would not otherwise be the case.

Substantive policy instruments are intended to directly change behaviour on the part of individuals, households, communities and corporations. Substantive instruments include the use of law and regulation to prohibit or control certain activities. It also includes public information and enlightenment campaigns that are directed to motivate action at the individual, household or community level to act in a certain way to solve a public problem. The use of incentives to encourage voluntary action by

companies, communities and individuals to manage or reduce the environmental impact of their activities is also part of this.

The third type of policy instrument is institutional engineering, which is the creation or use of specific agencies inside or outside of government to develop, implement and evaluate policy, or provide certain services. In many African states, new organisations are often set up to regulate activities that pose risks to public safety and the environment or to manage natural resources. The environmental protection agencies or the Federal Road Safety Commission in Nigeria are prime examples.

Policy Actors

Arising from the above institutional context there are two principal classes of actors in the policy process. These are the state/government actors (elected and appointed officials) and societal actors (include interest groups, think tanks and the mass media).

State Actors

The government is the main state actor. As mentioned earlier, the executive, legislature and the judiciary constitute it.

The executive is usually the key player in any policy subsystem. It provides policy leadership in very government system. *It is* the law administering (carrying out) section of government. The executive is the branch of government that is responsible for the execution or implementation of policy. It is responsible for the implementation of the laws and policies made by the legislature. It extends from the Head of State to the enforcement agencies such as the police, the military. It includes both ministers and civil servants. It is the body of decision makers who take overall responsibility for the direction and coordination of government policy. Members of executives have been categorised in one of two ways: a distinction is often drawn between the "political" executive and the "bureaucratic" executive, politicians and civil servants, politics and administration. Executive branches are typically pyramidal, organised according to a clear leadership structure.

Elected officials are the politicians who get the mandate of the people to govern for a particular period. Appointed officials are those in the bureaucracy, representing a second category of primary actors. Their role is to assist the elected executive in various essential ways in the

policymaking process. As such, they include many specialists who deal with a certain policy issue on a continuing basis and are thus central figures in the policy process. They remain ultimately subordinated to the political executive, especially in very important policy domains. Resources strengthening the power and influence of the executive over public policy include the fact that the law confers it certain crucial functions and decision-making flexibility, a very large access to material resources, a wide range of skills and expertise, access to vast quantities of information, the advantage of the long tenure of members as opposed to elected officials and a semi-monopoly over policy deliberations.

The legislature or parliament is the law-making organ of government. It is usually composed of several elected people who together represent the assembly of citizens deliberating to make laws for the governance of society. They perform the critical functions of representation, public education, policy making and executive oversight.

Some countries have two-chamber parliament, others have one-chamber parliament. Historically, two issues have informed the establishment of bicameral legislature in both unitary and federal states. Tsebelis and Money (1997) show how the legislative product is improved by finding a common ground between the two chambers and stability is assured by the representation of societies' diverse preferences of two chambers, which reflected the balance of power in society. In the original formulation, the two chambers reflect the division between aristocrats and the common people. This division was mediated by the rise of republicanism and the extension of the franchise. But the same reason d'etre was underscored by the federal experiment in the United States, where there was a perceived need to balance the general preferences of the population as whole with the peculiar preferences of the states. Hamilton referred to the advantage stating that the chamber ensures that "No law can be passed without the concurrence first of a majority of the people, and then of a majority of the states" (Hamilton et al. 1961: 402); the essence is to represent the diversity of the nation in terms of population and territory. They represent the different manifestation of the people's will. Besides, it is easier to get a chamber corrupted than to get the two-chamber corrupted. Finally, the existence of two chambers also checks the excesses of the legislature. One checks the other by the mutual privilege of refusing.

Parliaments work through the committee system. Parliamentary committees are set up to find out the facts of a case, examining witnesses, sifting evidence and drawing up reasoned conclusions. They are composed of MPs based on issues and are well suited to gather evidence from expert groups or individuals.

The Judiciary

The judiciary is the law adjudicating (judging) section of government. These are appointed people who have the authority to interpret the constitution, acts of parliament and other laws of the land. They also decide if laws and previous decisions apply to a particular case. The judicial arm of government is the system of courts. There is usually a hierarchy of courts with the Constitutional or Supreme Court at the apex.

The executive retains the ultimate authority to make and implement policies. This is especially true in parliamentary systems but is somewhat constrained in presidential ones. The main resources of the executive, which allows it to influence other actors, include control over information, control over fiscal resources, very good access to mass-media for advertising its efforts, direct relationship of the bureaucracy, control of the timing of introduction of some bill and assenting to bills, and so on. The executive however suffers from several constraints that limit its impact on public policy: the problem of coordination and control arising from the tendency of bureaucracies to grow, scope and complexity; the need to maintain the voter's support; organisational problems such as poor technical capacity, corruption and other inefficiencies.

The legislature, on the other hand, is less influential than the executive in policy making. In parliamentary systems, for example, its role is to ensure the accountability of the executive to the electors than making or implementing polices. Parliaments are primarily forums where social problems are identified and policies to address them are demanded, where budgets can be changed, where bills may be amended. However, in presidential systems parliament has some powers, especially powers of appropriation, which it exercises over the budget, because it is an independent body. Nevertheless, the impact of individual legislators on specific policies is rather small, although voting often occurs in committees, which may give individuals higher leverage in specific policy areas, if membership remains

constant and that members do not vote along party lines, but rather according to their own judgement. Other constraints on the legislature include term limits, which will force the much quicker executive to marginalise the legislature in crisis situations, as well as technical issues, as legislators most likely do not always have the necessary know-how for assessing all aspects of a particular policy issue.

The judiciary is the least active in public policy. But it becomes crucial where there is a major conflict concerning the interpretation of the law on the powers and role of the any two or more governmental actors where it is called in to adjudicate among the parties to the policy issue. It also exercises the power of judicial review that enables it to declare an action by any governmental or non-governmental actor unconstitutional.

The occupants of these governmental positions are either elected or appointed. Those in the bureaucracy are expected to abstain from partisan politics. They are permanent officials appointed based on their expertise and expected to be impartial and anonymous. They represent the permanent face of government. As for the elected officials the system of government, their party manifesto, the electoral and party systems under which they ascend office have significant influence on policy making and behaviour in government.

Societal Actors

The second set of actors can be referred to as civil society actors. They are the aggregate of non-governmental organisations and institutions that manifest the interests and will of citizens. Civil society is often referred to as the "third sector" of society. It is distinct from government and business. Diamond (1994: 4) defines it as "the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, largely self-supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of rules. It is distinct from society in general in that it involves citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interests, passions and ideas, exchange information, achieve mutual goals, make demands on the state, and hold state officials accountable". Civil society refers to voluntary associations and interest groups, including labour unions, professional associations, the universities and research institutes, think tanks, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), social movements and a pluralistic media. They are a part of the public sphere characterised by

debates and political advocacy, interest aggregation and representation, service provision. Civil society as "discursive public sphere" enables citizens to talk about common concerns in conditions of freedom, equality and non-violent interaction. They seek to ensure that government fulfils its responsibilities transparently and accountably. Civil society often seeks to influence policy, provide an alternative analysis and help educate and inform policy makers and the wider society. Thus, the range of functions includes advocacy, education, informal oversight, independent monitoring and policy support, and service delivery. The main resource that differentiates this actor from others is the specific knowledge it has at its disposal, which represents a very important advantage, since policy making is a highly information-intensive process. Interest groups can make campaign contributions to politicians and political parties that are favourable to their preferences. Their impact on policy formulation and implementation varies considerably according to their resources and presence in each specific policy case. They can associate or combine with other similar groups and thus become more powerful and improve their financial means to become more influential in the policy process.

The term non-governmental organisation (NGO) can be applied to any non-profit organisation that is independent of government. NGOs are typically value-based organisations that depend, in whole or in part, on charitable donations and voluntary service. Although the NGO sector has become increasingly professionalised over the last two decades, principles of altruism and voluntarism remain key defining characteristics. Some do a lot of funds raising, from individuals and corporate entities or embark of business and use surplus for humanitarian activities. For instance, to maintain its independence, Greenpeace does not accept donations from governments or corporations but relies on contributions from individual supporters and foundation grants.

Research institutes within or associated with universities, think tanks or similar structures are influential in policy when they direct their research on policy and produce problem-solving-oriented outputs. The results from such research are usually submitted to potentially favourable politicians, attempting in this manner to influence the actual policymaking process at one or more of the relevant levels.

The mass media (electronic, print and news media) serve as a link between state and society. As such it can influence the preferences on both sides. It is particularly important during the policy agenda setting. Indeed, it is the main identifier and advertiser of problems. However, the mass

media may be inclined towards sensational reporting and may be influenced by the ideology and interests of owners/financiers.

International Actors

A variety of policy issues are global in nature. These include such issues as climate change, health epidemics and security. Indeed, policy initiatives to deal with these issues are carried out by international organisations such as United Nations or any of its agencies, other regional organisations like the European Union, the African union (AU) and development or donor agencies of national governments.

There are also international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) that address issues at the global level. They are elements of global civil society. They are international not-for-profit, non-governmental humanitarian organisations. INGOs are different from national civil society organisations (CSOs) in donor and recipient countries in several respects: global operations, size and scope, range of partnership, scale, geographic reach, access to funds, budgets and roles in development. Examples of such INGOs include CARE International, Oxfam International, World Vision, Amnesty International and Greenpeace (Ghimire 2010; Shah 2005; Benessaieh 2011; Williams 2013).

Multinational companies are also key actors in public policy in Africa. They are for-profit enterprise marked by two basic characteristics: (1) they engage in enough business activities—including sales, distribution, extraction, manufacturing, and research and development—outside the country of origin so that they are dependent financially and operate in two or more countries; (2) and their management decisions are made based on regional or global alternatives. Transnational corporations or multinational corporations are among the world's biggest economic institutions. A rough estimate suggests that the 300 largest transnational corporations (TNCs) own or control at least one quarter of the entire world's productive assets, worth about US$5 trillion (Wind 2008; Aykut and Goldstein 2006; Oxfam 2015).

The power wielded by just a handful of corporations is enormous, more than many nations, compared to NGOs and other segments of society. International NGOs and CSOs play an increasingly vital role in democratic and democratising societies.

Challenges of MNCs and INGOs for Policy Making in Africa

MNCs	INGOs
• Corporations are willing and able to exert leverage directly by employing government officials, participating on important national economic policymaking committees, making financial contributions to political parties, and bribery.	• Donor agencies can appear neutral but that may not be the case. By making various assumptions donor agencies risk becoming "creations of the outside, embodiments of external norms and goals, and materially dependent on outside rather than local sources".
• TNCs actively enlist the help of Northern governments to further or protect their interests in less-industrialised nations; assistance that has sometimes involved military force.	• How INGOs have used their funding and other monies received or raised has been questioned. Criticisms range from pointing out that only small percentages go to people in need, that a lot goes to recover costs, and some have even been used to pay very high salaries of the people at the top of these organisations.
• Business lobbies and related groups are not accountable to the public at large but to their industries and companies. Their resources and influence are immense.	• Doing more harm than good, without realising it. For example, many foods aid groups where, in non-emergency situations, food is delivered from rich countries for either free, or virtually free, end up under-cutting local producers and hence have a negative effect on local farmers and the economy. This also applies to population issues.
• Many democratic leaders are under more influences (of money and power) from large corporations compared to citizens.	• The fact that such donations are needed also serves as an indication that development policies and globalisation policies in their current form are not sustainable!
• Multinational companies deprive African governments of $11 billion in taxes each year according to Oxfam report (2015).	• The "undemocratic" nature of NGOs: the people did not choose them, yet they claim to be fighting for various issues for the people.
• The MNCs have impact on private sector development and industrialisation policies. Sometimes they undermine the capacity of the government to polices that support the development of a dynamic domestic private sector.	

Sources: Drawn from Wind (2008), Aykut and Goldstein (2006), Oxfam (2015); Ghimire (2010), Shah (2005), Benessaieh (2011) and Williams (2013) by Author

The Informal Dimensions of Politics and Policy Making

In previous sections of this chapter, we described how laws and values of society define who can exercise political power and how policies are made. The assumption is that rulers are expected to make policy choices within institutionalised polities. In these polities, formal political institutions, such as the constitution, the structure of the state, the organisation of the legislature, or electoral rules, government systems, place constraints on the behaviour of politicians and political elites, and directly influence policy outcomes.

Many of these modern institutions characterise government in Africa today. But they were received from colonial rule. The bureaucracy, for instance, which evolved and became dominant as the administrative system in Europe came to Africa with the modern state as part of the apparatus of colonial rule.

Under the Weberian bureaucracy, competence, hierarchy, discipline and impersonal relations were expected to characterise the public service. However, experience in Africa showed that such elements were eroded after independence. Instead, informal relations such as kinship, ethnic ties, nepotism and corruption became commonplace.

As a result of these, some scholars began to argue that formal state institutions seem to have been displaced by informal institutions of governance, especially those traceable to pre-colonial Africa traditional institutions. Some even argue that there was a conflict between the imposed formal Western forms of government and African traditional institutions and ways of doing things. They therefore argue that anyone who is interested in policy performance in Africa must pay attention to informal institutions. According to them Africa is "a place where formal institutional rules are largely irrelevant" (see Posner and Young 2007: 126). They are right to some extent. For within formal organisations informal interaction among individuals often arise, largely fuelled by human nature and pre-existing kinship, linguistic, ethnic or cultural connections.

About policy making, these scholars point out that in many African countries, the exercise of power and policy making occurs more through informal channels than through the formal institutions of government. Formal institutions have been either patrimonialised (Callaghy 1984) or informalised (Chabal and Daloz 1999). A variety of explanation is offered to explain the situation. One explanation is that modern political

institutions did not upturn pre-colonial values and traditional ways of doing things in Africa. Patronage, tribute, kinship and other relationships continue to exist and permeate these modern political institutions and structures of government and sometimes overwhelm them. Others argue that Africa's postcolonial leaders have been able to subvert modern institutions by clientelism, use of state resources for political legitimation in support of their preference for personal rule.

Several concepts were used to describe this phenomenon. These include personal rule, neo-patrimonialism, prebendalism, predatory rule, clientelism, and sultanism. The combination of elements of patrimonialism with modern legal rational bureaucracy is described as neo-patrimonial. Clapham (1985: 48) argues that the state in Africa is patrimonial, it is "a form of organization in which relationships of a broadly patrimonial type pervades a political and administrative system which is formally constructed on rational-legal lines. Officials hold positions in bureaucratic organizations with powers which are formally defined but exercise those powers … as a form of private property". Under, neo-patrimonialism, "the distinction between the private and the public, at least formally, exists and is accepted, and public reference can be made to this distinction … but are not always observed in practice…". Patrimonial elements "penetrates legal-rational system and twists its logic, functions and effects". Informal practices invade formal institutions and are ultimately linked to each other in various ways and by varying degrees and these mixes become institutionalised (Erdmann and Engel 2006: 18).

Such studies of public policies in Africa try to show that formal institutions have not been quite effective in fulfilling their roles because of these contradictions. They argue that the informalisation of the policymaking process largely accounted for the poor state of policy making and socio-economic development in Africa. These views became popular when the institutions failed to deliver effective policy performance overtime in the post-independence period. Indeed, many African economies, after the initial growth in the first decade of independence, fell into crisis and the state was unable to meet the welfare needs of the people.

Scholars who emphasise the dominance of informal institutions assume that there is a sharp dichotomy between formal and informal institutions. Some even argued that formal institutions must be made to supplant informal institutions if African states are to come out of the development quagmire of policy failures (Hyden 2013).

However, there is an alternative view about the idea of institutions, which encompasses both the formal and the informal elements. According to North, institutions are "humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction … both formal rules and informal codes" (North 1990: 3). Informal institutions sometimes complement formal ones and may serve to reduce transaction costs. Similarly, Helmke and Levitsky (2006) observe that an array of informal institutions rooted in society often support the functioning of formal institutions and structure the beliefs and behaviours of political actors. Besides, as van de Walle (2007) stresses, elements of neo-patrimonialism may be found in all polities around the world, since political clientelism is constitutive of all political systems.

Overtime, it has become clear that a one-sided view of the informal dimension of politics and policy making has been extremely pessimistic about the possibility of progress in Africa. Experience shows that African states have recorded varying degrees of performance over time and across the continent. The case studies of Kenya, Côte d'Ivoire, Malawi and Rwanda done by Kelsall (2013) and others (Routely 2014, Hout 2014) show that provided mechanisms can be found to centralise economic rents and manage them with a view to achieving long-term policy goals, apparently neo-patrimonial systems can be harnessed for developmental ends. In other words, neo-patrimonialism can achieve a "virtuous circle" of strong economic performance when clientelism is organised; rents are used centrally to finance politics; anti-corruption is at least partly entrenched and key social services are provided. Indeed, these studies have coined the concept of developmental neo-patrimonialism. Developmental neo-patrimonialism contains the following features:

- a strong, visionary leader (often an independence or war-time hero)
- a single or dominant-party system
- a competent and confident economic technocracy
- a strategy to include, at least partially, the most important political groups in some of the benefits of growth
- a sound policy framework, defined here as having a broadly pro-capitalist, pro-rural bias.

Such developmental patrimonial states have shown that

- In some circumstances, neo-patrimonialism does not harm.
- It has sometimes helped the climate for business and investment.

- It is therefore not in-compatible with rapid, pro-poor, economic growth.
- Donors and policy makers need to recognise developmental neo-patrimonialism where it exists and understand their impact on it (Kelsall 2011a, 2011b, also see Aiyede and Igbafe 2018).

Developmental neo-patrimonialism

Positive outcomes	*Key features*
• It has sometimes helped the climate for business and investment • It is compatible with rapid, pro-poor, economic growth • In some circumstances neo-patrimonialism does not harm	• A strong, visionary leader (often an independence or war-time hero) • A single or dominant-party system • A competent and confident economic technocracy • A strategy to include, at least partially, the most important political groups in some of the benefits of growth • A sound policy framework, defined here as a broadly pro-capitalist, pro-rural bias

Source: Drawn from Kelsall (2011a, 2011b)

This chapter shows that policy analysis is not just about the analysis of the policy statements, decisions and the performance of the agencies saddled with the implementation of public policy. It is in important ways about the analysis of the political and governance contexts of policy making. In this regard, a robust understanding of public policy must consider the broad institutional context, acknowledging its formal and informal components. Policy analysis stands to benefit from an analysis of the political economy context of policy, the design and functioning of institutions of accountability, the role party politics, frameworks of non-violent resolution of political competition, anti-corruption and control of abuse of power, the rule of law, and advances in regional frameworks and principles of democratic governance within the continent. Many Africans desire their governments to acquire virtues of "political accountability, transparency, rule of law and restraint of power" (Diamond 2015: 153) because these are critical to performance in public policy making.

According to Healey and Robinson (1994), who examined the several works on the policy experience in Africa, there are multiple factors that account for policy and implementation failures in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Policy making is a complex process involving diverse and competing ideas, interests, economic and social forces, structures, path dependency and institutions (Mkandawire 2015). These must be investigated to have a deep understanding of the problems associated with ineffective public policies in Africa and to make innovative and effective prescriptions for policy reform.

Conclusion

Public policy seeks to solve a public problem on an analytic basis. But policy evolves in the context of politics and operates within a framework of governance. Policy occurs through the political and administrative process, and policy analyst must learn to understand and handle the challenges that arise therefrom. They also involve multiple stakeholders of both governmental and non-governmental actors. There are major policy decisions that are made at the global level because of the global reach of the issues and the potentials of cross-country lessons and learning opportunities. Indeed, it sometimes involves the participation of citizens, conducted in a variety of ways and media. Thus, linking governance, politics and public policy shed light on the actual nature of policy making because it engages the complex issues and broader context characteristics of public policy making. This enables an analyst, in making arguments for best policy, to consider the institutional and political constraints that straddle the formulation and implementation of public policy.

Indeed, anyone who wants to analyse public policy with a viewed to accounting for their success or failure must not just be concerned about the extent to which a particular policy effectively addresses an identified problem, an analysis of the political and governance context of public policy is critical. In many instances, the problem may be poorly defined because of varying experiences of the problem and/or because of the ideologies that underlie the preferences of decision makers. The choice of policy options may be affected by resources available to decision makers or the priorities of the government and the relative influence of various actors and interests. Thus, it is important to engage politics and governance in public policy analysis. Such engagement provides contextual understanding of the challenges of public policy making.

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Contemporary Issues in Public Policy

Olayinka Akanle and Ayokunle Olumuyiwa Omobowale

INTRODUCTION

Public policy entails government plan and guiding strategy at addressing a social problem. It provides intervention, services and public works, and the framework citizens' responsibility to the state on specified issues. Public policies are varied, and they cover diverse sectors of national and international engagements (Mead 2013). Public policy could be traced back to the early periods of the constitution of government and governance over a specified territory. Even when such plans were not ascribed as public policy as known and used in contemporary times, their content, structure and implementation within specified territories by governing authorities grant such plans the nomenclature and context of public policy when viewed with contemporary lens. For example, the Code of Hammurabi represents an earliest form of public policy issued by Hammurabi, King of Babylon, around 1754 BC. The Code stipulated the structure of governance, taxes, retributive law, work and wages among other issues that are germane for societal law, order, survival and development (Rositani 2017; Alkadry 2002).

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Contemporary public policy has its roots in the enlightenment period, which theoretically deconstructed the notions of the transcended all-knowing benevolent monarch and advanced the consciousness of government (state) and citizenship in social contract (Schmidt 2014). The nexus between a responsible government and citizenship well-being justifies public policy as a government intervention for human and nation development. The empirical development of the field of public policy is traceable to the post-World War II works of Harold D. Lasswell on policy sciences (Forde 2010; Deleon 2006; Farr et al. 2006). Policy science encompasses the utilization of science methods in governance and policy formulation and implementation. This marked a major departure from the assumption of the "know all" leader who provides citizens with what they need to fulfil personal life on the terms of a social contract, to the use of empirical and scientific methods to determine the best approach to governance and policy.

Public policy science ultimately aims to achieve objective and clear-cut procedures in the formulation and implementation of policy. Yet, policy may be influenced by local and global contexts irrespective of its reliance on the empirical approach. Hence, between the 1940s when policy science started gaining ground in governance circles especially in western countries and the post-2000 years, policy scholars have acknowledged that policy could be influenced by diverse issues which are informed by contexts and the interfaces of reality (Howlett 2014; Woeltjes 2010). This chapter identifies and discusses key policy issues of the moment in our rapidly changing increasingly interconnected world that impact on human development and existence. These issues include security, health, economy, environment, social protection and governance that continue to challenge policy makers and researchers. This chapter has five main sections. The first section provides the background, the second discusses the changing context of public policy, the third focuses on the changing locus and focus of public policy, the fourth examines five contemporary issues in public policy, and the fifth summarizes and concludes this chapter.

A Changing Context of Public Policy

In the broad sense, public policy aims at advancing human, national and international development. In short, public policy seeks the advancement of mankind. Irrespective of the primary purpose that have informed a policy, it is important to note that the context and content of a policy may be

diversely interpreted by those to implement the policy and among the people for whom it is intended and by national and international stakeholders. Hence, pluralism, internationalism and globalism, polycentrism, and government and science are major factors that condition the context of public policy. We discuss each of these singular and combined factors below.

Pluralism entails recognition that there are diverse races, ethnicities, interests and stakeholders, among others, who view the world and the realities of life differently. The interpretations, values, ethics, beliefs and contents exhibited by each group are valid within each context. Hence, pluralism is the context of a heterogeneous society. Pluralism potentially and often leads to dialectical engagements and conflicts among adherents of competing ideas, interests and convictions, among competing dominant groups and between the dominant and minority groups (McCarthy 1997; Tell 1996). Yet, "pluralisms mark aspects of human experience, pluralism is better understood as a matter of what lies between the boundaries that mark interaction and the possibility of growth and change …" (Pratt 2007: 112). Pluralism acknowledges the importance of significant differences, interests and contextual realities of diverse groups and seeks to capture public policy to advance inclusive societal progress and development.

In addition, it is important to note that societies do not live in isolation. In the contemporary realities of internationalization and globalization, nations are interconnected, and the world is like a global village with each independent territory impacted and affected by international realities, conventions, treaties, political economy and particularly, information and telecommunication technology (ICT). For example, international trade is framework by the conventions of the World Trade Organisation; international finance is influenced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank and other cognate organizations; the World Health Organisation and United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) policy thrusts have global impact and influence on national health policies; and the International Court of Justice adjudicates cases among nations and war crimes referred to it (see Yeates 2014; Trondal et al. 2010). Most importantly, ICT revolution has advanced the interconnectedness of nations since the 1990s (Omobowale 2013; Geoghegan et al. 2004).

The ICT links the world together in real time, irrespective of the distance apart. Hence, whereas the ICT positively contributes to global economy, security, law and order, communication, education and research, among others, the ICT also negatively impacts global progress through

vices such as cyber fraud, cyber espionage by criminal networks, cyber-attacks and cyber election rigging and there are concerns that the cyber space is potentially a place for a world war if care is not taken. Some of the major realities of the ICT "scare" are the alleged interference of Russia in 2015 USA elections, alleged impact of Cambridge Analytica at influencing elections in Nigeria, Kenya and the BREXIT referendum in Great Britain through unrestricted access to subscribers' personal information and the spread of fake news. The recent imbroglio between the USA and HUAWEI—the Chinese giant ICT company and major 5G innovator—is also an important case in this regard (see BBC 2019; Lim 2018; Cadwalladr 2018; Inkster 2016). Hence, the cyber space and the whole gamut of the ICT is subject to international regulations and policy for global progress and security (Luiijf and Klaver 2015).

Polycentrism entails a multiplicity of economic and urban centres that promote cohesion and competition for mutual and independent urban development. Waterhout et al. (2005: 163) describe polycentric development policy as "one that addresses the distribution of economic and/or economically relevant functions over the urban system in such as a way that a multitude of urban centres gains significance rather than one or two". Polycentricism could involve deliberate spatial planning to devolve and/or diffuse development from the bigger metropolis to the emerging or smaller ones and the extension of city development into contiguous areas to form mega cities. Polycentric urban development addresses urban challenges such as over-population, slum spread, congestion and regional imbalances (Lambregts 2006; Salone 2005). Africa is increasingly experiencing urban drift and about 70% of African population resides in a few cities, thus causing congestion, sprawl and inequality with palpable poverty (Cobbinah and Erdiaw-Kwasie 2018). Polycentric development policy would spread opportunities and populations across several cities and reduce over-dependence on the urban centres with more competitive economies, opportunities and infrastructure.

Finally, public policy is a government initiative. Policies have mostly failed in Africa because politicians and civil servants assume they can determine policy approaches without evidence or research. But science has a place in policy making. This is the whole essence of policy research. Technology and scientific findings play a major role in contemporary policy making. In short, science play vital roles at influencing government-level decision making on public policy nationally and internationally. For example, national and international policies on global warming and the

environment, disease control, disaster preparedness, cyber intelligence and regulation, food security and dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT), among others, have been influenced by scientific findings (Owen et al. 2012; Tren and Roberts 2011; Oshitani 2006). The intricate connection between governance and science has a critical role to play in apposite public policy making and implementation.

The Changing Locus and Focus of Public Policy

That public policy is the job of government is a popular assertion. Yet, the locus and focus of public policy is changing continually. Public policy is no longer the exclusive preserve of elected officials and civil servants. The public has some roles to play in successful conceptualization, design and implementation of public policy. Furthermore, public policy is impacted by the growing complexity and scale of government, the interface of politics and the public, public-private partnerships, citizenship engagement and contributions, changes in systems of government and the structures of governance, among other issues (Calleja et al. 2015).

Sub-Saharan African countries and government have experienced changes in the complexity and scale of government since they started experiencing independence, first with Sudan 1956, Ghana 1957 and Guinea 1958. In 1960 Nigeria, Cameroon, Congo, Somalia, Benin, Cote D' Ivoire and Chad, among other countries, gained independence and by 1977, most of Africa was independent. Rhodesia devolved into black majority rule; after Robert Mugabe won elections in 1980, he subsequently declared independence and changed the country's name to Zimbabwe. Likewise, South Africa reformed apartheid policies and commenced a black majority rule in 1994 with newly released from prison Nelson Mandela becoming the first black president. Except South Africa, many newly independent African states were bequeathed with parliamentary or quasi-parliamentary systems by the former colonial masters. Most of these countries have subsequently gone through moments of coups, military governments and republican systems (Girod 2015). The structures of government have become complex with considerations for diversity and divisive factors such as ethnic and religious conflicts in formulation of public policy.

Hence, public policy is subject to the politics of governance. The politics of power and political game influences public acceptance and influence on public policy. The governed mostly views the public policy in post-2000

democratization process from the interplay of politics and governance. The electoral and governance process somewhat depends on feasible and non-feasible promises to electorates and thus, public policy is influenced and impacted by the views of the electorate. A potentially laudable and development-oriented policy may be rejected by the public; hence, a savvy politician who aims to clinch or retain office would decline to implement a policy that could negatively impact his/her fortune in an election. The challenge of public acceptability of public policy could be addressed by citizenship engagement (Marshall et al. 2007). In this wise, the citizenship are not just mere onlookers, but active participants in the process of public policy design and implementation. Citizenship engagement transfers the consciousness of the ownership of public policy from the government to the citizens. This gives notions of belongingness in the process of governance, politics and public policy. In undemocratic countries, however, public policy remains as viewed by the dominant elites in power while citizens have little or no channels of complaints and protests.

In Africa, public policy is somewhat internationally influenced. Economically advanced nations (particularly the USA, France, Great Britain and recently China) and international organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank can influence public policy in Africa. These countries and organizations provide aids and influence foreign direct investments, and thus, many African nations depend on them for public policy directions. Attempts at having an African alternative through the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) have not provided the needed succour in practical sense (Olutayo and Omobowale 2005). From about 2010, China has been playing a dominant role in development finance in many Sub-Saharan African countries; hence, African countries hold pro-China public policies to advance trade and development exchanges and support from China (Osondu-Oti 2016).

ISSUES AND PUBLIC POLICIES

Societies change, and the changes bring about new challenges which must be resolved through appropriate policies (Akanle and Adesina 2018). New dynamics exist in policy issues which must be considered. A policy made some decades ago might no longer be as relevant and would need to be reformed for it to address new social issues. This section therefore examines the contemporary issues in Africa regarding various aspects of society, health, security, governance, economy, natural resources, environment and vulnerability.

Health Issues and Public Policy in Africa

The state of health, which is about well-being, of nations is paramount to national growth and development. A good and functioning healthcare system is key to national development. A characteristic of developed countries is well-planned healthcare system as a parallel of poorly structured healthcare system and high disease burden of Africa. Africa as a continent has been tagged as the developing world because of high disease burden. As a developing continent also experiencing industrialization, non-communicable diseases have also been on the rise. African governments have made policy statements and designed frameworks to improve their various healthcare systems. Some of these policies are made jointly while others are specific to every country. These policies demonstrate what governments are willing to do to combat the health issues that affect citizens. Health issues common to the African continent include malaria, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS. The disease burden however varies from one country to another.

The state of health has not been a priority to most African governments (Akanle et al. 2021). This is revealed in the annual allocation for health expenditure in many African countries' budgets where significantly low percentages are allocated to health. The global world has been very concerned about the health sector of Africa. Data on health are inadequate in Africa, making it difficult for effect planning. The available data are largely provided by the western world seeking to know how to provide aid to the continent. Africa generally underperforms and lags the rest of the world in terms of health provision. The most important reason for this underperformance is the way the continent funds its healthcare system (Akanle et al. 2021), and this account for the high volume of health travels out of the country and massive brain drain from the continent's health sector. Over-reliance on international aids and donor funding have been the major way Africa funds its health system. And this has not been effective especially for largely populated countries like Nigeria. Apart from these external aids, the other means of healthcare financing is the out-of-pocket payments by individual patient on a very impoverished continent. This means healthcare would not be provided to those who cannot afford it, which is a very large percentage of the people. Health problems are worse where resources are unavailable (Akanle et al. 2021). While the budget is yet insufficient, corrupt practices further reduce available funds for proper healthcare. International aids are often directed towards high-profile

diseases while common ones which cause serious fatalities and mortalities especially in rural communities do not receive needed attention. However, if the national government were funding the healthcare, they would be able to give appropriate priority to the local problems of each community (Akanle et al. 2021).

Private healthcare is more available in cities and for the rich, thereby effectively excluding the rural and urban poor. Health insurance, where available, does not cover the poor and those operating in the informal sector and rural dwellers. Places where poverty rates are high do not have available resources to combat health challenge. The world is global, but there remains unequal distribution in spread of global tools and resources like technology and drugs to tackle health problems. The African Union held a meeting at Abuja in 2001 during which nations resolved to allocate 15% of their national budgets to Health. Only five of the African countries (Rwanda, Botswana, Zambia, Togo and Madagascar) were able to somewhat comply. Twenty-two countries allocate 10–15% of budgets to health, twenty-five countries allocate less than 10% and five countries allocate less than 5% (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] 2013; World Bank 2013). While the agreement of all heads of governments to meet this framework exists, the condition of every nation and the value national budgets are important. Dichotomous planning in most parts of the continent has implications for the health sector and the availability of appropriate healthcare for people in rural areas. It is estimated that by 2030, the main cause of death in Africa will be non-communicable diseases including those diseases that have to do with lifestyles. Unfortunately, African countries are poorly prepared for this. African governments are doing little in preventive healthcare, focusing more on the curative. Health financing architecture is a major marker of healthcare systems performance. This is relative to affordability and availability of healthcare within a society. Many African countries lag in term of available and affordable healthcare delivery because of weak and poor healthcare financing structure. Three major types of healthcare expenditure exist. These are government spending, private spending and external sources/financing.

Government spending mainly caters for healthcare services in Africa. This is however not surprising as African healthcare systems are basic and competitive investors have not intervened significantly in the system. Hence, patients on the continent are predominantly poor while the rich regularly embark on health voyage abroad. There are also poor policy and weak infrastructural facilities to drive competitive health provisions in Africa. Few African countries have effective healthcare insurance schemes.

In countries like Ghana and Nigeria where the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) exists, they are not sufficiently well implemented, and most citizens are not covered by the system. Private spending includes those made by individuals out of their pockets at the point of receiving healthcare. Another area in which the private sector is involved in healthcare spending is through private insurance schemes for health different from that provided by the government. Private companies bear expenses like building hospitals and pharmaceutical companies to serve the health sector and cover their employees and their kin. External sources include national or private bodies making contribution to the health system of other countries. International bodies like the World Health Organisation, United Nations and African Union are collectively involved in driving proper healthcare delivery to their member nations. This includes through advocacy, setting benchmarks, providing conducive frameworks and rallying signatures for global health instruments. They also provide support, training and executing research geared towards improving the healthcare of the African region. Emergency responses are also regularly driven towards counteracting epidemics as it is in the case of deadly Ebola Virus and HIV/AIDS on the continent. Private donors like the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and Clinton Foundation also provide funds for developing nations to fight common health problems like malaria, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS.

On the Africa continent, healthcare expenditure varies across countries. While the healthcare in Africa is generally below standard, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, some countries fair better than others. The WHO recommends that annually, people should be able to enjoy healthcare worth of $34. Some countries have been able to surpass this benchmark even with the government being responsible for a larger share of healthcare expenses. Countries like Equatorial Guinea have the government taking up 76% of health expenditure and total healthcare cost per individual is $897. In some other areas private health expenditure has the higher percentage. This is however in two categories. In the first category, out-of-pocket expenditure account for most of the private expenditure, while in the second category, private expenditure is taken care of through insurance schemes. An example of the first category is Guinea with 88% out of the 89% private expenditure being out-of-pocket. However, in the second category there are countries like South Africa with just 17% out of the 56% private expenditure being out-of-pocket. When healthcare must be paid for at point of delivery, the willingness to visit health facilities for

treatment will diminish. There are also economic implications in terms of those who are already poor sinking deeper into poverty, bankruptcy and poor health.

A reduction or removal of fees on healthcare services has the tendency to have an inverse relationship on use of government health facilities. Removal of maternal fees, for instance, will lead to increased use of government healthcare facilities. In rural Zambia, for instance, removing maternal fees resulted in a 35% increase in the use of health facility. In the case of Uganda, 84% increase in use of government facility was recorded and this pattern was also recorded in Ghana. In places without free maternity cares, people prefer to use unskilled midwives, unregistered and poorly trained traditional healers, as well as faith-based healers because they are considered more accessible and more affordable (Akanle et al. 2017a). While removal of fees often solves the problem of access to healthcare, it also creates another problem. Increased use of government facilities often generates a need to increase need for medical personnel to cater to this growing number of people. This has created the problem of increased workload for health professionals, the cost of which the government is not ready to bear. Directing health funds only to some issues of curative care without funding preventive healthcare leads to unsustainability of the health systems and processes and certainly creates a current underperformance and future stress in African health systems.

Economic Issues and Public Policy

Economic policies sometimes drive Africa to poverty and underdevelopment. Governments in Africa appear not to recognize, or care about, the enormity of the problems associated with economic policies on the continent. Many problems on the continent can be directly or indirectly traced to poor economic policies (Akanle and Adesina 2018). Unfortunately, globalization seems to aggravate consequences of Africa's poor economic policies. Africa is increasingly vulnerable to global financial shocks. This economic vulnerability has been increasing since the 2008–2009 global crisis and successive governments have not been able to check these vulnerabilities due to poor policy capacities, over-politicization and negative political will as well as obnoxious economic policies. Even though overt indigenization policies of the 1970s and 1980s are now uncommon in Africa, many current economic policies on the continent repel foreign investments and push existing ones away. Cases abound but that of Nigeria

come handy under the camouflage of anti-corruption crusade (Akanle and Adesina 2015). This is also demonstrated by the high percentage of government bonds and domestic stocks disposed by foreign investors. A few developing countries are already facing crisis ranging from loss of foreign reserves, increased external debt servicing, hiked import prices, currency depreciation and in worse cases an external debt crisis (Signe 2018).

To balance out and salvage their economies, many African governments result in seeking IMF and World Bank bailouts. Unfortunately, these are mismanaged and embezzled by the political actors and their cronies. For Africa to prevent outright economic crash, strong economic capacities, policies and systems are needed as matters of urgency. The GDP of Africa as at the end of 2017 showed an average public debt of 57% marking a 20% increase from that of the last five years (Signe 2018). Over the last two decades, the continent has funded public investments through borrowed resources. Although this may have aided human development somewhat, the results in the long run will take negative turn if not better managed. Nine of the 35 low-income countries are classified to be in "debt-distress" or "high risk of debt-distress" (Abebe 2018). Financing external commitments by countries have been challenging in Africa as many of the countries have not been able to repay their debts because of poor economic policies to drive growth and generate income through internal creativities like tax nets and external leverages like skill and secondary products exports.

Poor governance, weak economic policies and corruption are major factors driving unsustainable debt practices and negative economic performance in Africa. Borrowed funds are regularly diverted for personal purposes and economic policies. Some policies that have performed well in other places are sometimes intentional poorly implemented for primordial and counterproductive pecuniary reasons by very corrupt politicians and officials. Africa must prioritize strong economic policies in terms of formulation and implementation going into the future if the continent will ever go out of debt, lift people out of poverty and grow. Current economic policy architecture of Africa is not sustainable and cannot drive sustainable growth. Africa's new economic directions must factor in fiscal consideration plans, economic diversification, inclusive tax nets, better managed revenues, enhanced debt management capacity, effective policy management and conducive private investment operating environment. The ease of doing business in Africa must be improved to attract foreign and domestic private investments. This is the only way going into the

future. Now, only South Africa has appreciable positive ease of doing business rating due to infrastructure and even South Africa is gradually losing the positive ease of doing business rating due to xenophobia, state capture, corruption, weakening infrastructure, over-politicization, racism and weakening Rand against major global currencies. Other Sub-Saharan countries like Nigeria, DR Congo, Cameroun, and so on are particularly nearly prohibitive to investment due to poor infrastructure, administrative bottlenecks, corruption, violence, crime, excessive politics and poor economic policies. Even when investment and financial aids to Africa subsists, vulnerabilities remain due to poor economic policy systems as key components of public policy. Africa remains vulnerable to public debt, and this affects continental capacity to drive and achieve sustainable growth and development on the continent. The background issues are very important and must be considered when making economic policies in Africa. The number of countries at high risk of debt burden has doubled since 2013 to 18 countries (Abebe 2018). A major problem on the continent is mismanagement of aids and loans. Loans and aids are often used for consumption and embezzlement rather than investment, thereby making repayments difficult.

Unemployment is a major marker of Africa's economic sector and the unemployment situation in Africa has not shown any sign of abating since it began in the 1980s with Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). In fact, this has been responsible for most uprisings and revolts on the continent from Algeria to Egypt and more recently to Sudan, among others. The economic sector of Africa is faced with enormous policy problems, especially in relation with the disproportionate Africa's youth bulge and uncompetitive education sector that graduates more people than the economic sector can accommodate. While the economy is shrinking, the education sector is getting weaker, and the youth bulge keeps growing. According to Africa Development Bank [AfDB] (2016), nearly 420 million youths live in Africa, within the age bracket of 15–35 and 90% of Africa's youth live in low- and middle-income countries of Africa, making a large chunk of this population. According to World Bank data, 60% of Africa's youths are unemployed. Unfortunately, there is virtually non-existent social welfare and social protection in Africa to cater for the teeming unemployed youths in Africa. Governments on the continent do not place priority on social welfare and social protection. Many of the countries even lack Social Protection Policies and related economic policies are also poor. Unemployment in Africa does not regard academic

qualifications as citizens often make do with the few available employment opportunities even when they are over-qualified for the jobs (Golub and Hayat 2014). Poverty level in Africa remains high as economic growth remains poor. Even with high informal sector participation, youth unemployment remains high and poor economic policy has broad negative impact on the continent.

Security Issues and Public Policy

Security issues in most African countries is characterized by re-occurrence rather than an emergence of new ones (Von Soest and De Juan 2018). The security issues include trans-border and local banditry, assassinations, arms smuggling, arson, terrorism, kidnapping, organized crimes, civil wars, political violence, murder, rape, and so on (Akanle and Omobowale 2015). Examples of these conflicts are widespread in Africa but are particularly noteworthy and ongoing in Sudan, Mali, Central African Republic and Nigeria (Akanle et al. 2017b). This trend is more pronounced in Africa and the Middle East. While it appears the issues are resolved, the historical antecedents are hardly forgotten and usually trigger new crises. According to Deltenre and Liégeois (2016), 79% of current civil wars in Africa are characterized by cross-border violence even though the continent has experienced some economic growth in the last ten years (see also Akanle 2018). Benefits of relative political stability and economic growth have been unequally distributed and income gaps have widened in the absence of effective safety nets and social inclusion/protection (Akanle 2018). This means while some are getting richer, the poor remain impoverished and, in many instances, getting poorer. Income inequality and unemployment remain on the increase, giving room for people particularly the large population of youths to become disoriented, depressed and desperate. The increasing underdevelopment and aggravated poverty in Africa have led many people to involvement in violence, armed conflict, riots, terrorism (Dowd 2015), rape, kidnapping, assassination, religious conflicts, and many other violent crimes and conflicts (Von Soest and De Juan 2018; Akanle 2018). Effective peace building remains non-existent in Africa due to increasing socio-economic and political injustices. This is not surprising as there can never be peace and security in the absence of justice, fairness, social protection and sustainable social inclusion. Unfortunately, the continent rather than focusing on social inclusion,

equality and social protection continue to focus more on combating insecurity piecemeal as they arise.

There are two notable old security challenges in Africa which happen decades ago but fuel the insecure status of the African continent. These are the Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict occurring between May 1998 and 2000 and Chad-Sudan conflict in December 2005. These conflicts are also fuelled by the historical differences between the nations. For the Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict, there had been the coalition of the Eritrea People Liberation Front and the Tigray People Liberation Front to conquer the Ethiopia regime and gain freedom. Differences in ideology of unitary and federal system of governance as well as struggle for economic dominance however escalated into a full-blown conflict (Zewde 2011). Insecurity in Africa has lots of relationships with conflicts including class ethnics, racial, religious or political. Many of these conflicts informing insecurity in Africa have both local and external causations.

The Chad-Sudan conflict, for instance, resulted from Sudan's policy of arming militias and letting them loose. The activities of these militias spilled over across border into Chad with no protection for civilians in Darfur, which had a large refugee camp, and in Chad. Even after the international bodies have tried to resolve the conflict, the underlying understanding of this conflict fuels the hostile relationship of Chad against Sudan. The conflict between Chad and Sudan has subsided in 2011 after Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad (MDJT) rebels laid down their weapons (Tubiana and Gramizzi 2017). Since then, the two countries have focused on other problems along their borders which involve the crisis in Libya. Both countries are supporting opposing sides of the Libyan conflict. Isolated outbreaks of opposition have re-emerged in Chad between gold miners and local communities as response to gold rushes in the region. This violent tension in 2014–2015 was however mismanaged by the state (Tubiana and Gramizzi 2017). Autonomy of armed factions and marginalization of groups in the absence of a common national identity to integrate the people has sustained the conflicts in Chad and Sudan.

These conflicts in the African region have further led to the underdevelopment of the area not just in terms of loss of life and destruction of infrastructure. There has been diversion of funds from development to arm procurement. According to Zewde (2011), both Ethiopia and Eritrea increased their military force during the period of war. Of 4 million, Eritrea enrolled 300,000 military personnel while Ethiopia increased its military force from 60,000 to 350,000 from a population of 60 million.

The only reason for this increase was to ensure they have enough men to fight the war with no attention paid to the implication of this fund diversion on national development. Although the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea seems to have ended, hostile relationship still exists between the two countries. In 2006, Ethiopia gained the financial and diplomatic support of the USA to fight Islamic Courts Union in Somalia (see Zewde 2011). The real targets were the Eritrea advisors in Mogadishu. While Ethiopia built a reputation as a partner in the "global war on terror", they used their alliance with the west to incriminate Eritrea as a supporter of the "terrorist movement" which led to the arm sanction placed on Eritrea by the UN. Although Ethiopia and Eritrea share a border, have a history which has made some refer to them as brothers, almost 30 years after, the friction is yet to lift.

The USA has often provided aids to the African nations during the period of war to combat famine and food insecurity. When wars are going on, there is little production and scarcity of essential needs like foods; countries like South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Nigeria have been beneficiaries of this aid. In some cases, they have also provided arms and ammunitions for one side of the war party. The USA has however been wary of support from China to African countries and this aggravated diplomatic power tussle between the two world super-powers which have recently culminated in trade wars in 2019. This trade war is estimated to eventually cost the world not less than USD $600 billion in losses. Zewde (2011) referred to this event of imperialistic struggle for control of Africa as another scramble for and partition of Africa as the world powers seek to exert their influences on the continent. Many African countries are essentially insecure. Security of nations can be identified in different ways and these ways include economic security, food security, environmental security, health security, personal security, community security and political security (Akanle et al. 2021). This is often interdependent, and insecurity in one area will most likely have multiplier effects on others. As in many other conflict zones, Boko Haram conflict in Nigeria, and West Africa, has left millions of people in despicable security and livelihood situations. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) (2018) estimates that 2.9 million people would be food insecure during the lean season of June to August. Food price inflation in Central African Republic is because of disrupted production caused by conflict. Conflict has also been a major cause of migration to other countries within and outside the continent (Akanle and Adesina 2017). Conflict migrants often become refugees in

destination locations and become responsibilities of the host nation and the international bodies, thereby making them face insecurity at home and abroad. Due to high population of refugees and sometimes corrupt practices of those in charge of the Refugee camps, food supply is not guaranteed to displaced persons. Within a year, there has been over 70% increase of internally displaced persons (people still within their country but whose homes and community have been ravaged by conflict). FAO also reports 34% of total population in need of food assistance (FAO 2018). Localized conflict in African countries of Burundi, CAR, Chad, Libya, Mali and the Niger have also hindered food security.

Another notable cause of insecurity in Africa is the prevalence of organized crime in most African nations. There exists a link between organized crime and conflict and the fragility of the state (Blum 2016). A fragile state would not be able to combat organized crime and organized crime also weakens state authority. The Global Initiative report of 2014 states that organized crime is "both a response to and a driver of emerging and weak governance frameworks". Shaw (2015) noted four types of organized crime which includes:

- mafia-style organization (which can be found in Cape Town),
- criminal networks including drug trafficking (some political protection is involved in this levels of operation),
- militias or armed groups—common in Libya, Sahel and the Horn of Africa involving trafficking or smuggling operations,
- cybercrime which is on the increase as internet prevalence rises, for example Yahoo.

Organized crime has both internal and external influences which result in local harm to governance, stability and domestic markets. Organized crime has thrived in the African region because the focus of the government has been to combat the effect instead of eradicating the cause. Focus has been on building law enforcement agencies and the security sector while neglecting the development alternative of gainfully employing youths. Organized crime has been sustained because of available ideal hands that have not been successfully use. Policy makers have not been much concerned with the scale and severity of illicit market. The line between illicit and licit has not even been clearly drawn. The response of state to fight organized crime is also weak and compromised (Shaw 2015).

Organized crime has not been only linked to poverty and unemployment but also the post-colonial state structures. This is characterized by weak law enforcement and high-level corruption. Transnational organized crime system operates through three different elements of legitimacy, corruption and violence (Shaw 2015). The state provides legitimacy to organized crime networks, allowing them to make use of its borders to carry out activities in exchange for a cut. Corrupt practices which link more than one person or groups together in carrying out fraud and embezzlement are also another form of Transnational Organized Crime (TOC). Organized crime also results in violent actions like the case of militants in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. The politicization of security has led to government overseen security and making use of it to wield political power not considering its effect on democracy. A major way to combat organized crime in Africa is to ensure strict separation between the state and crime-solving approaches (Blum 2016).

Human trafficking or trade in persons is another criminal activity that hinders the security of the African people. United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF) (2003) noted that poverty, conflict, discrimination and injustice fuel human trafficking in Africa. Women and children are most affected by acts of trafficking because of their vulnerability. Trafficking of humans occurs within African borders and internationally. Children are often used as farm workers and slaves while women are forced into prostitution. Some areas have been reported to be more prone to activity of traffickers than others. Often time people in rural areas fall prey to the tricks of traffickers because of the longing for better living conditions in urban areas or even outside the country. Continuous involvement in trafficking has been fuelled not only by supply but also by demands from urban and developed countries.

There has been an increase in trafficking cases; however, it has not been clarified if it is real increase or there has been increased detection of mechanisms used by traffickers. There had been an increase in number of trafficking reported from 25 in 2009 to 65 in 2018 (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2018). Convictions or prosecution of traffickers in Africa is low compared to other places. To effectively understand human security issue as regards trafficking, it is important to note the magnitude, nature and economies of the trade. Global security index estimated that 45.8 million people are enslaved across the globe, a large percentage of which are children and women. The magnitude of human trafficking varies in African countries. UNODC created categories based

on prevalence of trafficking and how government is responding to the issue of security in this regard. Some countries have been noted as having special cases regarding human trafficking. Some governments have however made moves through laws and policy making to protect their citizens against traffickers, whereas the effort by some governments have not yielded results placing them on the UNODC watch list.

Islamic terrorism has also been a major cause of Africa's insecurity (Akanle et al. 2021). African nations are home to more than one religion of which Islam is a major part. While most of Muslims in Africa are said to be normal Muslims, some have promoted ideologies against the west because of their beliefs using the Islamic religion. Islamic terrorism remains a threat to security. Some Islamic terrorist groups identified in Africa include Boko Haram in Nigeria, and now West Africa covering Cameroun, Chad and Niger, Al-Qaeda in Somalia and Al-Shabaab in North Africa. The activities of these terrorist groups are often linked, and they support each other in arms and training. Terrorist acts have also initiated migration as people flee for safety and increased displacement of persons (Akanle and Adesina 2017). Antwi-Boateng (2017) identified some push and pull factors of Islamic terrorism in Africa. The push factors are societal deficiencies that make involvement in terrorism and option while pull factors are attractive offers of terrorist ideologies:

Push Factors

Backlash against Americanization
Authoritarian/oppressive political system
Lack of basic human rights
High unemployment/youth bulge
Corruption/lack of meritocracy
State collapse and porous borders

Pull Factors

Radical Islamic identity
Media propaganda
A sense of purpose and mission
Humanitarian networks
Lure of martyrdom

Conflicts and insecurity often have spill-over effects especially on nations along the borders of the conflict area. Therefore, the African continent cannot be left to solve its insecurity issues alone and why African nations must provide support and military strength to bring wars and conflict to an end. Collier (n.d.) identified the trends of conflict in Africa, noting that the meltdown in Libya affected the neighbouring Mali, conflict in Somalia created security problems and mass movement of refugees into Kenya, crisis in the areas of Sahel affected Central African Republic spilling into Northeast Nigeria. For countries like Nigeria and Kenya, their military strength has not resulted in secured states and protection of citizens. While some have attributed this to lack of motivation by military personnel, others believe it to be unclear national identity and absence of inclusivity. It is worthy of note then that national security is not limited to increasing military strength but ensuring that the capacity and motivation of the military is adequate. Apart from this, peace-building measure recommended by the African Union should be top priority for African nations. Multi-ethnicity and lack of national integration is another area which should guide policy focus.

The Environment and Natural Resources Policy Issues

Tangible assets such as water, medicinal plants and large expanse of arable land are assets which the regional leadership need to intentionally protect through active policies. In the absence of adequate safeguards, the impacts of climate change continue to threaten. There needs to be promotion of integrated and sustainable management of natural resources (Akanle et al. 2021). Access to public services remains inadequate especially in low- and middle-income countries. About 1 billion people live in slums in developing countries, lacking access to water, sanitation, electricity and healthcare (Akanle and Shittu 2018; Akanle and Adejare 2017; Akanle 2015). This number is expected to triple by 2050, if necessary, policy actions are not taken against it. Due to the growing population, there is increased land use, low water conservation, loss of biodiversity and low water management and recycling (Akanle et al. 2021). As urbanization rapidly occurs, natural habitats of significant species are eroded and slums are created (Akanle and Adejare 2017). There are activities of sea dredging and sand filling of wetlands to increase available land for urban

infrastructures. The need for tourist attraction centres has also influenced the alternation of natural habitats to accommodate human needs. Conversion of forests and wetlands for food production also occurs as urban areas develop. In the African region, climate changes have caused changes in temperature, human mobility and migration, precipitation, sea-level rise, aridity and potential evapotranspiration (Omobowale et al. 2019; Akanle et al. 2021).

According to Akanle et al. (2021), the availability and use of land, water and energy are tightly connected to food security. When combined with impact of climate change, food and nutrition strategies would need to be reconsidered. There is a link between resource degradation and socio-economic outcome. This depends on direct transmission mechanisms and the ability of producers and consumers to follow mitigation strategies. However, it has been reported that some mitigation strategies, for example, advising farmers to move to rural areas and find other means of livelihood apart from faming, leads to increased resource degradation in the future. Like in the example, the strain on available resources in urban areas would continue to deplete as more strain is placed on it by increased population. Evidence and debate suggest that degradation could be a source of innovation. It is however open to some and not others. Farmers who lack human and physical resources may not be able to respond to degradation, thus creating more poverty traps. Irrigation came as an innovation to tackle the problem of drought caused by global warming. But not all farmers can adequately irrigate their lands to ensure continuous food production.

Water pollution is often a resultant effect of poor land management practices, for example use of chemicals, industrial waste dump and erosion. Use of polluted water for irrigation can also result contamination or salination of land. There has been surface and ground water depletion as well as pollution of water bodies by human activities which jeopardize biodiversity. Uncontrolled groundwater exploitation is bound to result in issues of flood and water logging both in rural and urban areas. Water degradation is intimately linked to land degradation. This has implications for the economy and health of the region. Solving the problems accompanying climate change is often faced with the resistance of people to change their lifestyle. Proper practices needed to ensure that the sustainability of the society is often known and publicized; however, there is a strong aversion to accepting these practices (Akanle et al. 2021). High poverty rate and weak land tenure rights have constrained mitigation

strategies in Ethiopia. The poorest people, of which live in the rural areas, are most hit by degraded water supply schemes (Jouanjean et al. 2014). Women and girls are most affected by low-quality and unreliable water services; uncontrolled pollution caused by mining and fast-growing urbanization can badly affect the environment. Investing in water resource development has not been a top priority in Africa could procure future costs such as 25% drought and flood in affected countries (Akanle et al. 2021).

Climate change has resulted in security threats as it results in low availability of cultivated land. Because of this there has been increased clashes between farmers and herders in the African region as herders seek for cultivated grazing areas for their livestock to feed on (Adano and Daudi 2012). This has caused conflicts in Kenya, Nigeria and Sudan. This means the lands cultivated by farmers are jeopardized and availability of food also takes a downturn. High rate of poverty and chronic hunger which about 70% of the population is reported to suffer from is expected to worsen as climate change affects agriculture production in the region (Adano and Daudi 2012). Bringing degraded land back into production positively affects biodiversity (Akanle et al. 2021). Total land availability increases from inclusion of degraded cropland and mixed-crop and vegetation land, even though they are of low quality they can be used in planting low-input, high-diversity mixtures of energy crops. Agricultural producers in Sub-Saharan Africa used "shifting cultivation" as an alternative to declining soil fertility. However, as the continent experience increase in population growth and other land reforms, availability of arable land becomes limited. There has been an increase in land use without replenishment of nutrients using organic and inorganic fertilizers (Jouanjean et al. 2014).

Pollution from land-based sources is contributing to sea pollution, leading to decline in Africa's fish stock. This has implications for food security. The pollution of the water bodies also threatens the appropriate removal of carbon dioxide from the atmosphere (Akanl et al. 2021). Cutting down on carbon emissions through reduction of energy use (like firewood) would make reducing poverty harder to achieve and generate more risks of political instability. Tackling poverty, health issues and security of populations can no longer be separated from issues of climate change (Akanl et al. 2021). Global warming has increased the global rate of temperature, but it is increasing at a faster rate on Africa and in some areas, temperature is rising at double the global rate. To appropriately

forecast consequences of diversity loss on the society and meet policy objectives, understanding the fundamental ecological processes that limit biodiversity, ecosystem-functions and services are needed for it not to fail.

Climate change has resulted in extreme weather situations of flood and drought which is affecting the living standard of people. There has also been changing patterns of disease and morbidity. Increased population pressure affects water availability, sanitation and food security. For a rain-fed agricultural economy like most African countries, the failure of export crops and poor response of subsistence farming to local needs would certainly take its toll on food security. To achieve sustainable development of the environment, conserving biodiversity ought to be a priority. Africa has a significant number of large mammals which need to be preserved (Institute of Piping Engineering and Building Services [IPEBS] 2018) even though activities of poachers are leading to their decline in the region.

Governance and Policy Issues in Africa

Africa is made up of 54 states with different historical, colonial and independent backgrounds (Akanle and Adejare 2016). Africa makes up close to 25% of the United Nations membership and has the highest number of landlocked states. Although independent, most African states still have relationships with their colonial masters. This is particularly so in the francophone. This reflects in the post-colonial political patterns of governance of many African countries. Most African nations adopt the democratic governance pattern of their west colonial masters and regularly recourse to colonialists for critical governance decisions even if indirectly. Even though most African countries are now overtly democratic, there are variants of democracy that can be identified on the continent. Governance in Africa means trying to ensure inclusiveness for diverse ethnic group in each African state, but the degree of governance inclusiveness varies and largely below the normal. Governance deficits remain in Africa, and this is observable in widespread poverty, underdevelopment, political highhandedness and insecurity, to mention few. Division of land by the colonialists paid no attention to ethnic diversity, resulting in a particular ethnic group been split into different states. This has created conflicts over who belongs where and what belongs to whom. In addition to been citizens of a state, Africans define themselves based on region, tribe, clan and religion. Africa's states happen to be the world's newest independent nations, gaining independence just over half a century ago. This means people have

identified themselves with other criteria longer than they identified themselves as members of a state.

Common to the African region has been conflicts which has wreaked havoc on the region. Some of these conflicts have been between the state and a group, two African states and between two non-state actors. Security issues have been fundamental concerns of the African government which they work towards resolving collectively through organizations like the African region and through state laws and policies. Complex ethnic and geographical feature of countries like DRC, Nigeria, Uganda, Sudan and Ethiopia have resulted in conflicts. Between 2011 and 2017, non-state conflicts in the African region had increased from 24 to 50 in areas like the Sahel, Nigeria, Central Africa and Horn of Africa. State-based conflicts (where at least one party was the government) also increased between 2007 and 2017, from 12 conflicts in 10 countries to 18 conflicts in 13 countries (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute [SIPRI] Sweden). Often these conflicts lead to African government relying on external governments from the region and from the developed nations to put an end to it. Arms and ammunitions are supplied by the western world, and they also grant aids to this conflict zones for human welfare. This places African countries in a dependent position constraining their sovereignty.

Crocker (2019) noted that there has been a downward trend in democratic governance in Africa. Ethnic conflicts thrive in Africa because of bad governance and political entrepreneurs. Some members of the society are benefitting from these conflicts and therefore keep fuelling them. They have been able to successfully carry this out because of the inability of government to foster inclusiveness of the diverse groups. What has often been the scene in African politics is that the leader works for the sectional interests of his ethnic and elite group. Crocker (2019) noted that wise leadership recognizes diversity and works towards inclusive policies.

Qualitative movement of Africa can only be relevant when leadership has maximum empathy for the people. What Africa has often experienced in its system of governance is autocracy masked as democracy. Most countries in Africa are being ruled by tyrants who pay little attention to the need of the people and more focus on retaining power (Afegbua and Adejuwon 2012). Evidence of this is shown in policies made and in whose interest. In comparison with any other region, ethnic diversity in Africa is 35% higher (Fearon 2003: 204). Africa's unusual ethnic diversity has been explained to be because of tropical location, early modern slave trade,

creation of large colonial states (without attention paid to its diversity) and low level of urbanization (Green 2012). Contrary to Laitin's (2007) opinion on ethnic homogenization, Green (2012) opined that promoting urbanization and not creation of locally homogenizing political units is the best resolve.

Very critical to peace stability and economic growth in Africa are secure land rights (Quam et al. 2004). The decisions of rights over land are highly political. High rate of population growth has led to higher competition for land as well as land degradation. Global trends are the commoditization of land for various uses. Most popular especially in Africa and Asia is the acquiring of large expanse of land especially in rural areas for local and foreign enterprise (Hall et al. 2015). While the world keeps experiencing different levels of change, upholding customary laws goes beyond recognizing indigenous existence, but they also have elements and merits which are beneficial to the African agrarian society. In lieu of climate change happenings, it has been discovered that communities overseeing land (through customary tenure) is safer for ensuring environmental preservation (Akanl et al. 2021). Communities have more incentives to keep forest and wetlands intact because of their historical and socio-cultural background. Government overseen land would however consider land preservation major in economic terms.

An interplay between changing local and global opportunities and neoliberal reforms has been argued to influence the new African tenure which incorporates the customary tenure for secure, efficient and democratic land policies (Akanl et al. 2021). Changing demands and supply of land has called for new forms of governance. African elites are increasingly meddling in rural land acquisition using their political connections to influence how local land is managed. This has resulted in many controversies within African states between communities and private individuals, who often have the backing of government approvals. Customary land laws recognize ownership of land by individuals and communities. However, modern land tenures recognize the authority of the state over land procurement and allocation. However, customary land tenure remains the major form of land tenure. Modern national laws recognize and permit occupancy of lands which are referred to as public lands, but such permission can be withdrawn at will. The colonial masters during the colonial period devised means to deprive communities and individuals of customary land ownership. This has continued even after independence.

This deprivation has often resulted in subordination of indigenous rights, displacement, grievances as well as civil strife and war.

Securing the rights to land of rural populations is surely in the interest of the national governments and their private allies. It should be noted that what has always existed regarding land is the indigenous customary land tenure which gives the community and its leader's power over their resources. Modern land tenure that includes vesting power over land in the state is an adoption of colonial systems. It is therefore important to adapt new laws to existing indigenous laws which have worked overtime even before the state was created (McAuslan 2006: 9). The desire for unity, justice, peace and stability is present in all societies and can be achieved through right political, social and economic policies (Obasola 2002). Considering Africa's development should not be limited to economic growth but also include political dimensions necessary for the process (Afegbua and Adejuwon 2012). Most customary land tenure systems are patriarchal making provision only for men's access to land. In protecting rights of women to land holdings, government cannot just leave the administration of land to customary tenure system. However, statutory tenure system is mostly inclusive of both men and women; however, they are rarely enforced in countries where legal pluralism is allowed.

Apart from issues of ethnic diversity and land tenures, governments in Africa are also confronted with the issue of xenophobia. Poor management of diversity has resulted in widespread implications including wars, ethnic cleansing and xenophobic attacks. Xenophobia is referred to as hatred for foreigners or hostilities against foreigners. Oni and Okunade (2018) identified xenophobia because of economic (in Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, Angola, South Africa), political (Congo Kinshasha), political and economic (in Cote d'ivorie, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea) considerations, war on terror (in Chad and Kenya) and rhetoric of foreigners committing crimes (Tanzania). Xenophobia is not always violent but often involves expulsion of foreigners from host country. Motivating factor for xenophobia is often the desire to reduce competition over socio-economic benefits.

Hostilities towards foreigners are either state-driven or citizen-driven. This is based on the consciousness of deprivation or unequal distribution of scarce resources which host citizens must share with foreigners. Scholars have coined another word to describe hostilities towards foreigners from African descent—"Afrophobic". In a comparison of xenophobia in Nigeria and South Africa, it is revealed that the historical trajectory of apartheid influenced violent xenophobia in South Africa while that of Nigeria was

mild, subtle non-violent. Hostility towards other African citizens is becoming more rampant even though Pan-African movements are gaining popularity. Fabricius (2019) noted that xenophobia is the result of government not been able to provide adequate services for its citizens, the brunt of which is borne by foreigners.

Inclusion, Exclusion, Vulnerability and Public Policy

Inclusion, exclusion, vulnerabilities and inequality are very important issues for societies. Unfortunately, these factors are missing in many African countries. Many Sub-Saharan African countries fair very poorly on these issues as many people on the continent remain in poverty, fall into poverty, remain vulnerable and are excluded from governance with compromised welfare. Public policies on the continent are particularly weak on inclusion, vulnerability and equality. Exclusion, vulnerability and poverty prevalent in Africa to the extent that they are nearly representative of the continent. Nearly all countries in Africa confront the challenge of advancing the good of their citizens and making public policies that are attractive to nationals and outsiders including foreign businesses. Good public policy and social welfare system will address the vulnerable population and cater for the social and economic needs (Karger 1996) of the poor and excluded. Another contemporary issue central to public policy is the inclusion or exclusion of some groups in the society, who are often termed vulnerable. Vulnerability is because of inability to speak up and ensure that one's interest is protected, although policy makers ought to protect the interest of all citizens and make policies to tackle social problems. In a culturally and ethnic diverse continent like Africa, it becomes quite a task. It has been argued that while protecting the interest of the poor, policy must distinguish between urban poor and rural poor. In protecting the interest of women as vulnerable groups, policy must take account of their marital status, economic status, location, culture and educational attainment. In making policies to protect the African youth, the education, country, and parental background culture have an influence and differentiate one youth from the other.

African Union created a Plan of Action for 2009–2018, stressing the importance of developing appropriate frameworks and institutions for implementation. With the bulging youth population of Africa, it becomes

expedient to develop youth policies. Thirty-two out of fifty-four countries in the African continent have a youth policy. But as it has been realized in most developing countries, policies are made without proper attention to how they should be implemented. And implementation becomes tricky where some parts of the population have been excluded. The exclusion of youth from public policies like economic policies has fuelled conflicts in the continent and increased cases of unemployment, crime, drug abuse and misuse of strength in war. Youth policies vary from one African country to the other with each focusing on the needs of the youth (Corrigan 2017). In Botswana, youth policy is geared towards moral and spiritual development; Ethiopia's youth policy is centred around youth empowerment and participation in globalization process; for Ghana, education and skills training are what the government believe would help the youth while Mauritius policy for youth aims to help youths achieve self-improvement. Youth unemployment has been reported to trigger social and political instability in Africa with the rate reaching about 20% in Sub-Saharan Africa (Manuh 2014).

And 50% of Africa's youth population are illiterate, and most of them young women (Manuh 2014). This reveals that most of the youth policies that seek to provide only formal employment without provision for bringing them into the informal economy lead to exclusion of some groups. For government to enhance labour and living conditions, social and economic policies should also focus on improving informal sector productivity (UNECA 2017). Of the ten most unequal societies in the world, seven are from the African continent. Wide gaps exists between the rich and the poor, with the rich been minority. In 80% of African countries, a fully subsidized health programme is created for the poor and vulnerable population (Cotlear and Rosemberg 2018). The implementation of these programmes however faces some difficulty of funds.

Policy preference of men and women doesn't always differ. However, women face more difficulty in influencing policies and participating in government in countries where policy preferences of women and men differ (Gottlieb et al. 2016; Akanle et al. 2016). The differences between genders prioritizing infrastructure are further widened by the vulnerability of women. The gender gap for policy domain correlates with measures of financial independence and social vulnerability of women. The presence of men in policymaking process does not however mean that all men in the country have their views represented. This generalization doesn't account

for men's vulnerability, thereby diminishing their responsibility towards household security (Nitya et al. 2017)

Migrants make up a large proportion of those who experience social exclusion. Often when policies are made to include migrants, it is with hostile treatment and further separates them from host countries. Empowerment of migrants or those who live in refugee camps have not been top government priority. As a result of the circumstances for their migration, migrants become vulnerable strangers in foreign lands with little or no social protection. They often suffer from discrimination and marginalization. Migrants are exposed to health risks and xenophobic attacks and face expulsion when political and economic conditions of the host community/country deteriorate (Adepoju 2008).

Social exclusion also affects people who are economically buoyant and not only those who live in poverty. Social exclusion is shown when a particular social group is experiencing low access to public services, bargaining power, resources and ineffective social protecting programmes (Manuh 2014). Minority ethnic groups, people with different sexual orientation and those living with disability are also excluded from government policies. Even though most African countries are signatory to the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, the enactment of this convention has been poor. Little that has been done is because of active involvement of civil societies. Until recently inclusion in education meant special education for learners with physical disabilities. Now the scope has been broadened to include the recognition of different identities, class, gender, language, etc., that influence knowledge production (Phasha et al. 2017).

Conclusion

This chapter examines very important issues/elements in public policy currently. The chapter is decidedly pragmatic yet normatively original within the practical framework of policy analysis. Issues discussed affect, and affected by, public policy particularly in Africa and beyond. These issues are dynamic and constantly shifting, and they affect development specifically and generally within national frontiers, continental boundaries and global systems. They must be well understood and strategized for and against within strong public policy environment. This chapter starts with changing contexts and changing local and focus of public policy and then the specific issues in contemporary times as they affect societies of the twenty-first century and into the future. Given the practical and polemic

policy analysis approach adopted in this chapter, readers should by now be ready to understand, analyse, interpret, formulate and engage public policies in productive manners. Throughout this chapter, attempts are made to emphasize dynamic background issues in public policy and contemporary issues that test the developments and efficiency of public policies especially in Africa as practical case studies.

The issues engaged in this chapter are very current and broad in their impacts on human development and existence, thereby further calling public policies and practitioners to task. All hands must therefore be on deck going forward for effective and efficient public policies as the world traverses precarious socio-economic, political and environment systems globally. Against the background of this chapter, public policy analysts and users should be more empathetic, proactive and strategic because the issues they deal with are urgent and affect lives. They must also be client focused and objective. Even though this chapter leveraged on and engaged some new and contemporary policy issues, every public policy analyst and developer must be observant because new issues may develop at any time needing urgent public policy interventions. It is only by this that sustainable public policy can be guaranteed to protect the interests of future generations. This is what we call Sustainable Public Policy Analysis and Engagement (SPPA&E).

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Political Economy of Public Policy

Dung Pam Sha

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is to explain public policy making and implementation from a political economy perspective. It is argued that the making and implementation of public policy is enveloped in contestations and bargaining between interest groups with competing claims over rights and resources. The use and control of political power helps shape the direction and class character of public policy. The policy outcomes help to further reproduce the position of the ruling class in control of the state apparatus.

This chapter examines the concepts of political economy and public policy, and discusses some of the variants of political economy and how each conceives of public policy making process and implementation. The chapter further discusses the role of political economy in problem-solving and finally, how political economy approaches research and evidence in policy making.

Political economy analysis is concerned with the interaction of political and economic processes in a society: the distribution of power and wealth between different groups and individuals, and the processes that create, sustain and transform these relationships over time (DFID 2009).

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This definition draws particular attention to the interplay between *politics*, understood in terms of contestation and bargaining between interest groups with competing claims over rights and resources, and *economic processes* that generate wealth and how wealth influence how political choices are made. Political economy analysis therefore helps us to understand what drives political behaviour, how this shapes policies and programmes, who are the main "winners" and "losers", and what the implications are for development strategies and programmes (DFID 2009).

Political economy directs us to understand (1) the interests and incentives facing different groups in society (and particularly political elites), and how these generate policy outcomes that may encourage or hinder development; (2) the role formal institutions (e.g., rule of law and elections) and informal social, political and cultural norms play in shaping human interaction and political and economic competition; (3) the impact of values and ideas, including political ideologies, religion and cultural beliefs, on political behaviour and public policy (DFID 2009). What is clear from the above discussion is the attention given to how political interests shape economic policies and how economic interests shape political decisions, policies and programmes.

Public policy is a purposive and consistent course of action produced as a response to a perceived problem of a constituency, formulated by a specific political process, and adopted, implemented and enforced by a public agency (Hayes 2001). Some of the major substantive areas which public policy addresses are the economy, taxation, consumer protection, business regulation, energy, the environment, agriculture, industrialisation, social welfare, education, health, social and legal equality, civil rights, intergovernmental relations, national defence, crime, international trade and foreign affairs.

Public policy is *reactive* when it responds to issues and factors that emerge, sometimes with little warning, from the internal or external environments by resolving problems and issues; meeting stakeholder/public concerns; reacting to decisions by other governments, other levels of government or other departments with intersecting or interrelated mandates; allocating fiscal resources, natural resources, etc.; reacting to media attention (generally adverse); and reacting to crises or emergencies (Dodd and Boyd 2000).

Public policy is *pre-active* when it responds to triggers that are recognised because we are scanning the operating environment, identifying potential issues and factors that could affect us, and predicting and

preparing for mitigation and/or contingency through planning, strategic choice, risk management, criteria determination, priority setting and establishing partnerships (Dodd and Boyd 2000).

Public policy may take several forms to address the needs of the society. They may be distributive, and the main goal is the provision of services or benefits to segments of the population—regulatory which will be concerned with the imposition of limitations or restrictions on the behaviour of individuals or groups. Other forms include self-regulatory which seeks to promote the interests of organisations and their personnel and enhance the official credibility of the organisation and the redistributive form which entails the deliberate efforts by governments to change the distribution of income, wealth, property or rights between groups in the population (Salisbury and Heinz 1970).

Political Economy Perspectives

This chapter examines four theoretical perspectives: the liberal/neoliberal, the Marxist/neo-Marxist, institutional and feminist.

Liberal/Neoliberalism Political Economy

This model has many variants; these include classical, neo-classical and modern liberal political economy, and some of the major proponents include Adams Smith, David Ricardo, Maynard Keynes, etc. The major arguments of the school are that (a) humans have self-interest and they are capable of acting independently by utilising their capacity to reason and make choices in satisfying their needs and desires by using scarce resource in the most efficient ways. (b) Society is an aggregation of individuals with interests. The good society is one that permits individuals to freely pursue private interests and indeed protect the individuals while pursuing these interests. (c) Government is created by individuals for the purpose of protecting their rights and interests as guaranteed by the constitution. The best government is that which does not go into economic production. Government is only required to foster economic growth through public policy. (d) The market is principal coordinating agency for the economy as it is said to promote efficiency, economic growth, welfare and stability and peace in the economic system. (e) The market plays a political role, and as a political institution, it promotes justice, freedom, equity and orderliness in the economic system; and finally, (f) the model believes in the

promotion of private property and the development of capitalism as the best economic and political model of society (Clark 1991).

The neo-neoliberal proponents have further pushed the boundaries of the argument of the liberal school by advocating the existence of a minimalist capitalist state, which will be a precondition for state protection of the market and state protection of capital. This position is commonly referred to as the Washington consensus and post-Washington consensus. This neoliberal ideology and thinking have hugely influenced and shaped public policy towards economic reforms, civil service reforms, labour reforms, trade reforms, etc. (Clark 1991).

Marxist Political Economy

The Marxists model draws its inspiration from the economic and political works of Karl Marx, Federich Engels, V. I. Lenin, Moa Tsetung and host of other Marxists. The political economy model generally agrees that (a) human beings have both individual and group needs which are met through collective action arrived at by their capacity for reasoned choices. These reasoned choices are influenced by their consciousness and behaviours which are in turn significantly shaped by their social and natural environment. The social and natural environment dictates that humans cannot fully develop their talents and capacities except in association with other persons. (b) Society is more than a collection of individuals. It is the living organism which individuals are born into and in which they enter relationship with others. This society precedes the individual and as such, it has an identity and interests of its own that may potentially conflict with a particular individual's desires. A good society is that whose institutions encourage individual development as well as social relations based on mutual respect. (c) The proper role of government is to serve as a representative of the collective interests of citizens. Government should permit citizens to do for themselves collectively what they cannot accomplish as individuals. (d) Government promotes justice in society, implying that rewards are distributed in accordance with the rights established by the democratic political process. Such rights the right to the fruits of labour and a right to those conditions essential for human development such as material necessities and health care. Justice also includes the impartial administration of the law. (e) The goal of a good society is that which guarantees and promotes freedom, equity and redistribution amongst its

members which are attained through a process of revolutionary change (Clark 1991).

The neo-Marxist school pays attention to issue of domestic and international relations and development to explain challenges facing humanity in the world. The proponents develop the theories of development to explain why some countries are developing while others are not. It is contended that colonial capitalism and foreign domination are perpetuate through the process of unequal exchange in trade, global structural imbalances, technological backwardness, etc.; in addition, the phenomenon of underdevelopment and dependency are eliminated when there is a severance of relationship between the centre and peripheral countries. This will then guarantee autonomous development which a developmental state will work towards the attainment of equality and freedom for citizens. Public policy should be directed to self-reliance and sustainable development which should be inclusive, pro-poor, pro-women and pro-environment development.

Institutional Political Economy

Institutional political economy (IPE) draws its inspiration from the fact that human nature and human behaviour needs to be constrained because it assumes that human beings are motivated purely by self-interest: maximising utility as consumers and profits as producers subject to budget and resource constraints. Hence, the function of the rules constraining human nature must be to limit such self-seeking behaviour. IPE pays attention to structures or sets of legal rules and social norms that affect the human economic transactions (Matthews 1986).

This perspective sees institutions as (1) property rights laid down by law, (2) moral conventions or norms, (3) types of contracts and (4) authority relations. Thus, institutions are sets of rights and obligations affecting people in their economic lives (Matthews 1986). IPE is also concerned with how political regulations affect economic behaviours and transactions of individuals, groups, and government and non-state actors. It finds out how taxation regulations, for instance, affect economic behaviour and transactions. It also focuses attention on (1) how institutions evolve in response to individual's incentives, strategies and choices and (2) how institutions affect the performance of political and economic systems (Matthews 1986).

IPE discusses transaction cost and argues that there are two types of "transactions costs": those costs associated with the efficiency of *exchange*, and those which are associated with *policing* opportunistic behaviour by economic agents. The former relates to the costs of finding potential trading partners and determining their supply-demand offers, the latter to enforcing the execution of promises and agreements. They are transaction costs that are the non-production costs of an exchange. When related to public policy, "these are the costs of time and effort invested in researching, creating, implementing, administering, monitoring and enforcing a policy or learning about and complying with the policy" (Crawford School of Public Policy n.d.).

For this chapter, we will use two theoretical contributions that have been used in the study of institutional political economy: the tragedy of the commons as a problem of collective action and the free rider problems. These proponents contend that there is a conflict between individual interests and the common good. In this situation, the "commons" is violated and overused by all its users because there is no cost for using it. The commons become depleted and unusable, and its users perish in the process (Hardin 1968).

The commons are public goods which individuals use and do not bear the entire cost of their use. When individuals seek to maximise individual utility, they ignore the costs borne by others. The individual tries to exploit more than their share of public resources. Assuming most individuals follow this strategy, then the public resource gets overexploited; the examples of the tragedy of the commons include pollution of waterways and the atmosphere, logging of forests, overfishing of the oceans, tossing of trash out of automobile windows, poaching, etc. (Hardin 1968).

The possible solutions to the "tragedy" will include the following: (1) every individual agrees not to seek more than their share or enforcement of conservation measures by an authority or by an outside agency selected by the resource users; or (2) convert each common into private property or "mutual coercion in relinquishing the freedom to breed" (Hardin 1968).

The Free Rider Problem
The free rider problem occurs when those who benefit from resources, goods or services do not pay for them, which results in either an underprovision of those goods or services or an overuse or degradation of a common property resources. The free rider problem is common among

public goods and the potential for free riding exists when people are asked to voluntarily pay for a public good (Phillips 2012).

Some examples of free riders are state governments that are not engaged in production and tax collection but heavily depend on the monthly allocation of revenue from the central government; non-payment of taxes by citizens; refusal to vote during an election with the understanding that others will vote; citizens and defence spending (government pays and citizens do not pay for their defence); collective agreements cover those who don't pay union dues or join strike actions (Phillips 2012, wiki).

The possible solutions to the free rider problem may include regulation by government to prevent environmental degradation or excessive resource use, compulsory participation (taxation), regulation linking public good to a desirable private good (getting people to pay voluntarily), etc.

Feminist Political Economy

Marxist/socialist feminism argue that class system in society is essentially responsible for the oppression of women. Historically, women did not occupy an inferior place in society until when the primitive-communal society broke down into classes and the introduction of private property, and the family.

The feminist political economy draws attention to the double oppression women suffer in the workplace as an exploited worker and in the family as a subordinated person with little status (Deckard 1979: 444). The scholars and activists focus on major aspects of women's subordination under capitalism. The proponents are concerned with the inequality of payment of the same job; inequality of employment opportunities for women (the crowding of women into particular occupations which are lowly paid); the absence of women in higher-paid and more influential jobs; the under-valuation, and in some instances, the non-valuation of women's work in the home and in the informal sector of the economy and women's under-representation in wage employment translate to their minimal presence in working-class struggles. Women's presence in the margins of the economy and politics makes it cardinal for them to join exploited and subordinated classes to fight for liberation (Riley, Maria, O.P. 2008; Peterson 2005).

The relatively high economic growth rates in Africa have not led to structural diversification, reduction of poverty and gender inequality. Many women do no own or control assets. Women's ownership of

property does not always endow them with the bargaining power. Joint ownership of assets with spouses does not translate into joint decision-making because of dominant social norms that privilege men as decision-makers (Oduro, Abena D. and van Staveren, Irene 2015).

There is the unequal and high burden of unpaid work for women. This is because the accompanying cuts in social infrastructure expenditures increase women's time burden in energy production, drinking water collection and mobility. Within the household, women's time burden is determined by gendered norms.

Globalisation is also disrupting gendered patterns by altering conventional beliefs, roles, livelihoods and political practices worldwide. While some changes are small and incremental, others challenge our deepest assumptions (e.g., male breadwinner roles) and most established institutions (e.g., patriarchal families). Feminists argue that not only are the benefits and costs of globalisation unevenly distributed between men and women, but that masculinist bias in theory/practice exacerbates structural hierarchies of race/ethnicity, class and nation (Oduro, Abena D. and van Staveren, Irene 2015: 508)?

At the reformist level, the policy option that can be adopted in the short run includes removing formal laws that discriminate against women, introducing awareness campaigns within local communities to change cultural norms and designing economic policies that create incentives for behavioural change. Women must continue to fight not only for free and equal entry into the productive sector of the society, but for the socialisation of housework

A socialist revolution is required to end women oppression. This implies that the very structures that nourish oppression such as private property and class division must completely be abolished. Women must sustain their struggle for liberation alongside with men who suffer equal forms of oppression like them. The socialist society is that which is politically and economically democratic (Deckard 1979: 449).

There are common themes in political economy, and they include interests and incentives, structures/states, agents, classes/actors/stakeholders, role of formal institutions (e.g., rule of law and elections) and informal social, political and cultural norms, impact of values and ideas—political ideologies, religion and cultural beliefs, and political change.

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND POLICY MAKING

Liberalism and Public Policy Making

The key actors at the centre of public policy making processes are the government institution and their personnel: legislature and the executive. The judiciary are tangentially involved at the level of rule adjudication. The perspectives claim that public policy is often designed to be in the interest of all citizens and groups in society. The ideology that guides public policy making is competitive capitalism and the mechanism for making public policy is the free market rather than the state. The outcome of the policy is the protection of private interest, promotion of prosperity and wealth creation. Public policy should be used to promote growth first before welfare considerations. Government should make public policy to promote private sector participation in the economy or the government should enact a policy that promotes public–private participation (PPP) in development.

Marxism and Public Policy

The Marxist perspective believes that public policy is highly political, and it involves class struggles and class conflicts in the process. Public policy becomes the site for class struggle. The ideology projects class interest and this in turn shapes the public policy choices and contents. Marxists contend that the actors in public policy should be the socialist state, working class in alliance with the subordinated classes in society. The interest which public policy claims to protect is that of the working class and other lower classes. The ideology that guides policy making is socialism and democratism led by a strong people's state. The mechanism for the implementation of public policy is in the centralised state controlled by the working people. The goal of public policy is inclusive policy in the interest of the majority to reduce inequality, fight poverty and corruption, and promote social justice. The goal of public policy should be the promotion of welfare, growth and development.

Institutionalism and Public Policy

The actors that dominate the policy arena in institutional political economy studies are gate keepers, veto-players, principal and agents, etc. *Gate*

keepers—the political actors and institutions act as gatekeepers—filtering demands into the tightly sealed political *black box*. The gatekeeper function is important, for it determines the political agenda. Most demands on the political system fail to pass through this filter (Haynes 2014).

Veto-players are individual or collective political actors whose agreement is required to make significant policy-change. The veto-player theory is about dispersion of political power amongst veto-players and how this dispersion affects agreements on policy-change (Klitgaard n.d.).

The number of veto-players and the policy-distance between them determine policy-change. When the policy-distance between veto-players expands, the stronger are the tendencies towards policy stability and maintenance of status quo (Tsebelis, 2003 quoted in Klitgaard).

Veto-players occur as partisan (the parties within a government coalition) or constitutional (a second chamber or the president). They both play roles in decision-making and determine the extent of policy-change. Partisan veto-players within a government coalition have veto power over governmental decisions, but since the parties need to stay in power, they are rather expected to spent time in settling internal disagreements through negotiations. The government-office serves as an institutional frame in which co-operative behaviour are likely to develop (Tsebelis 2003 quoted in Klitgaard).

Constitutional veto-players (parliament and the president) enjoy some level of independence and are also competitive to each other. Disagreements amongst these constitutional veto-players are more likely to lead to deadlocks and policy stability. Systems with partisan veto-players are expected as more efficient in decision-making than systems with constitutional veto-players because they are more inclined to produce significant policy-change and more responsive towards citizen preference (Tsebelis 2003 quoted in Klitgaard).

The other actors in the policy environment are the "principal" and the "agent". In the decision-making process according to proponent of this thought, the principal is expected to exercise control over the agent. For instance, the voter who is the principal is expected to direct the politicians who are the agents. Public policy according to the principle of political representation in parliament, the agent is expected to make laws on behalf and in the interest of the principal. The interest of the principal is uppermost. However, there is a problem in observing the rule of the social contract (Besley 2006).

The agent's interest becomes uppermost rather than that of the principal. This situation has been described as the "the principal–agent problem" in institutional political economy or agency dilemma or the agency problem. This problem arises in circumstances where agents are motivated to act in their own best interests, which are contrary to those of their principals. So public policies are designed and implemented to serve the interest of the agents rather than that of the principal. In extreme cases, the agents capture the machinery of the policy making (Besley 2006).

Feminism and Public Policy

The actors that have dominated the policy environment for the feminist are the global organisation for profits, capitalist state and their institutions, neo-patrimonial state, the men and women with little or no feminist ideology to guide their class actions. The parliament who are policy actors are in many countries dominated by men. The public bureaucracy which initiates policies and implements the programmes from these policies is dominated by men. These actors reproduce the patriarchal structures in state bureaucratic institutions such as the civil service, the parliament, executive, judicial apparatuses and related agencies. The control of these structures by men and international capital means the control of public policy making processes and outcomes which are usually in favour of men and profits.

The feminist advocate for more gender interests to be reflected in policy making processes. This implies more specifically increase in the representation of women in policy making at governmental, private spheres, community and family levels. The representation ensures equitable access to resources—state and community resources. The best way to go about this is to provide incentives such as the implementation of empowerment programmes, provide redistribution of income, grant more voice to women, and implement affirmative action through mandatory and voluntary quotas for women (Dahlerup 2005). Public policy should in turn promote inclusive development.

Competing Classes/Interests in Public Policy Making

What is common to all the perspectives in making public policy is the fact that the process is contentious with the variety of interests to be protected and defended. The following discussion tries to summarise the public

policy making process. The policy making process is political and this implies that there are many competing interest of stakeholders. Stakeholders are those who will be affected by a policy, may be affected by a policy, are interested in a policy and can affect the policy process. Stakeholders are individuals, groups, governments, government departments, associations, companies, communities, etc. (Dodd and Boyd 2000).

The collective of all stakeholders is referred to as the policy community. The policy community can be viewed as a series of concentric circles. The *centre* is the government department (or departments) with lead responsibility for the policy issue. The *closest to the centre* have the most influence over decision-makers. The periphery or *outside* are the interested citizens and informal groups who do not have any mechanism to contribute to the policy process (Dodd and Boyd 2000).

As noted earlier, policy making is a competitive process. There are the competing interests of different groups involved in shaping the direction that policy takes. These interests include economic, political, geographical, ethnic, religious, racial and gender. Some interest groups in the policy making process have a great deal more power than others because of their political position and their ability to influence the views represented in the mass media. For example, the Nigerian Medical Association (NMA) versus other medical unions in the health sector: the members of parliament listen more to the NMA and as such it shapes the public agenda more strongly than other groups, its opinions are reported more often by the mass media. Another example is the politicians, bureaucrats and powerful interest groups versus other citizens: the former set the agenda and decide the framework and philosophy of a policy (Dodd and Boyd 2000).

Policy making involves political settlement or compromise or consensus process. This is "the forging of a common understanding, usually between political elites, [so that] their best interests or beliefs are served through acquiescence to a framework for administering political power" (John and Putzel 2009). This involves *bargaining* outcomes among *contending* elites and the balance or distribution of power between contending social groups and social classes, on which any state is based (Khan 2010). The process focuses attention on (a) intra-elite contention and bargaining (political vs economic elites, landed and non-landed elites, regional elites, rural and urban, religious and secular, etc.); (b) contention and bargaining between elites and non-elites (either within groups or across them, as between classes); (c) inter-group contention and bargaining (gender, regional,

ethnic/linguistic and religious); and (d) contention and bargaining between those who occupy the state and society more widely (John and Putzel 2009).

It is crucial to note that every phase of the policy making process is political. For instance, the identification of the policy problem is often dominated by government and its agencies, but there is increasingly demand for the expansion of the policy environment by non-governmental actors. This phase involves methods of getting issues on the political agenda and methods of keeping them off the agenda. The factors that play a role here are political ideology, special interests, the mass media and public opinion (Smith 2003). The same it is for the process of allocating resources and implementation. "Who gets what and how" is the battle of interests at the allocation of resource phase of policy making. The implementation is marked by a strategy of inclusion and exclusion because this is the stage of resource use and the group that is in control of the bureaucracy, often determines the extent of resource use.

Political Economy and Public Policy Analysis

How do political economists analyse public policies? This section attempts to see how public policy perspectives will analyse taxation or a taxation policy.

Liberal/Neoliberal Analysis

The liberal scholars will call on citizens to pay tax as it will contribute towards government revenue and expenditure. The higher the tax that the citizens pay, the higher the revenues that are generated by government and subsequently, the higher expenditure on social service. The high-level progressive taxation is necessary and that low tax rates lead to reduced state revenues and as a result contribute to economic instability. In addition, high taxes stimulate economic activity and thus influence the stability of the economy (Laffer quoted in mbaknol.com 2017). It is argued by liberal scholars that large amounts of savings hinder economic development, because these savings represent a passive form of income that are not invested in production. Taxation is required to reduce these surplus savings (Keynes, quoted in mbaknol.com 2017).

The neo-classical scholars contend that a "taxation policy should be crafted under the assumptions that: taxes must be as small as possible, and

corporations should be granted significant tax exemptions. Otherwise, a high tax burden would hinder economic activity and restraint the investment policies of corporations, which would lead to a downfall in the production funds renewal and in an economic recession. A restricted taxation policy would also allow the market to provide independently for fast development and would lead to a significant expansion of the taxation basis" (Keynes, quoted in mbaknol.com 2017). What specific focus will liberals be looking out for when undertaking cost-benefit analysis? They will be interested in ascertaining the cost and benefits of taxing producers; does it hurt producers in their production processes? How can taxation be simple so that the middle class is encouraged to pay? What tax policy promote growth through tax incentives—on profits, tax holidays?

Marxist/Neo-Marxist Analysis
Class analysis: this is an analysis that pays attention to class categorisation of society. It discusses the composition of society on class basis. It draws attention to the position occupied by each class in the system of production, the control of the means of production, the control of the mode of distribution of surpluses and the control of the state apparatus. It analyses issues to find out which class contributes more to the generation of wealth and who benefits more from the distribution of wealth. Who are losers and winners of public policy?

The focus which a student employing a Marxist perspective to analyse a tax policy will include: (1) which class influences the designs, and which controls the implementation of tax policies? The answer can be deciphered from the following statement: "The concentration of wealth also translates into the concentration of political power which translates further into the level of influence elites have on the tax system" (Abugre, quoted in Tax Justice Network Africa 2014: 24). (2) What tax policies favour or disadvantage classes in an economy? The proponents of this perspective contend that personal income tax (PIT) systems lack equity as the bulk of the burden is on employees. The rich avoid and evade tax. Often income tax thresholds are too low and do not protect the poor. In many countries, the poor from the informal sector are now being compelled to pay "income" taxes (Tax Justice Network Africa 2014: 7); (3) Sharing of tax burden between classes will be the next concern of the Marxist analyst. It is argued that "in many countries, it is the poor who end up paying more taxes as a proportion of their income and this is just not right. When the rich can avoid paying their fair share of taxes, a government must rely on the rest

of its citizens to fill its coffers. While tax dodging goes unchecked, governments are severely hampered from putting in place progressive tax systems—so fairer domestic tax systems depend on global transparency measures" (Alvin Mosioma, quoted in Tax Justice Network 2014: 7).

Institutionalist Analysis

The institutionalist analysis pays attention to the rules and regulations, values, etc., generally called institutions and assesses how they promote the implementation of public policy and which ones will obstruct and prevent such policy implementation. This perspective will hold strongly that tax should be paid by every adult. There shouldn't be free riders in the payment of tax in a country. It is argued that if paid, tax will contribute to the quantum of the common good which is the common pool. The questions which a student using institutionalist perspective to study a tax policy of a country will be looking out for will include: What regulations and practices promote the payment of tax by citizens and agencies? What regulations and practices weaken or frustrate or obstruct the payment of taxes by citizens and agencies? It is argued for instance that the "the growth model has led to a concentration of wealth, but income inequality is also being considerably exacerbated by the inability of governments to tax the proceeds of growth, because a large part of sub-Saharan Africa's income and wealth has escaped offshore". Tax systems have also been heavily influenced by the tax consensus, led by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and supported by other multilateral institutions, bilateral donors and tax professionals. The tax consensus has focused on reducing corporate and, to a lesser extent, personal income tax rates while expanding the base for consumption taxes and value added tax (VAT) in particular (Tax Justice Network and Christian Aid 2014: 7). The other questions to be asked are: what legislations, values or ideologies encourage the attitude of "free-riding" in tax payment, that is, refusal to pay taxes but dependence on government for social services provision by citizens and private and public sector agencies? Elite successfully continue to resist paying taxes on the profits made from their real estate and stock market investments (Tax Justice Network and Christian Aid 2014: 8). In what ways can the government strengthen public agencies of tax collection?

Feminist Analysis

Gender analysis pays attention to the position male and female occupy in the system of production, exchange and in the public space such as the

family, community and the nation at large, and which of the gender benefits more from public policy and therefore from resources. The questions which a student seeks to answer using gender analysis to study a tax policy of a country will include: how does a tax policy of the country affect women generally? The student will analyse (a) the sharing of tax burden between male and female in society, (b) the sharing of tax burden in the workplace between male and female workers, (c) the promotion of tax policies that ensure gender equity and (d) the effects of multiple taxation on women—especially those in the informal sector.

Political Economy and Problem-Solving

Political economy can be deployed in problem-solving analysis. It gets beneath the formal structures to reveal the underlying interests, incentives and institutions that enable or frustrate change. The analysis is thus geared towards understanding and resolving a particular problem at the project level or in relation to specific policy issue. It is important to note that the "problem-driven" *does* not mean focusing exclusively on areas of difficulty, but also identifying opportunities and learning from where successes have been achieved (DFID 2009).

This framework (DFID 2009) encourages students and other users to systematically address problems or issues using the following steps: (1) identifying the problem, issue or vulnerability to be addressed; (2) mapping out the institutional and governance weaknesses which underpin the problem; (3) identifying the political economy drivers (local and international) which constrain or support progressive change and (4) designing policy reforms or changes. The student is at liberty to address any issue of interest. Some problems which can be addressed include: what has made the smuggling of foreign products into African countries difficult to be unresolved? Why has it been difficult to curb corruption in many African countries? Why have reforms in the education, health, roads sectors been difficult to implement? etc. The student may also address the following issues from a political economy perspective with the aim of influencing the policy outcomes: poverty and inequalities, health challenges in rural Africa, falling standards of education, de-industrialisation, agriculture, environment, etc.

Political Economy and Policy Research

Research Problem

Our understanding of political economy will assist us in stating a research problem. Political economist of the various variants will try to address public challenges from their class perspectives, but however, they need to address the following: (1) ensure that there is a problem to be studied and find explanations and/or solutions to; (2) ensure that there is a variable(s) that help such explanations; (3) ensure that the variable(s) are capable of being measured; (4) ensure that each variable has indicators describing it and (5) ensure that the research problem is stated in a way that it will lead to policy outcomes which could be reform(s).

The research questions may capture either a challenge facing a country, a sector or a region. Examples of research questions may include: Why are policies or institutional arrangements not being improved? Why are certain policies being resisted by intended beneficiaries? Why are corruption "wars" not yielding results? How can the minimum gains already recorded in the sector be enhanced? Are gender policies making the impact they were created to achieve?

Research Approach

The approach to the study of a problem can be qualitative and quantitative. The decision to adopt an approach will be dependent on the nature of the problem. Some problems will require that the student generates statistical data from secondary sources or from field surveys (especially pilot studies). Other problems may be addressed using qualitative approach which will require use of literature on topics already researched to identify the problem area, interviews and Focus Group Discussions. The other available approaches may include the use of class analysis (Shivji 2003) which has been explained earlier, power analysis (Overseas Development Institute 2009b), stakeholder's analysis (World Bank 2017), strategic governance and corruption analysis (Unsworth and Conflict Research Unit 2007), drivers of change analysis (Overseas Development Institute 2009a), or political settlement analysis (Gray 2019).

Power analysis: Power analysis is based on the understanding that to address socio-economic and political challenges confronting societies,

analysts must focus attention on issues of power asymmetries, access to resources, influence over politics as well as informal political landscape, including its rules and structures. It seeks to understand how policy decisions are influenced by this landscape. The analytical approach is designed to study issues such as justice, equity and organised redistribution of access to the welfare among the citizens (Overseas Development Institute 2009a).

The power analyst will often be interested in asking the following questions: Who sets the policy agenda? Whose ideas and values dominate policy? Who gets what, when and how, and how do formal institutions shape the distribution of costs and benefits? Who knows whom, why and where? How do informal social networks shape the policy process (Overseas Development Institute 2009)?

At the level of research, the information produced by this method is mostly qualitative and compares data over time in a single country. It produces in-depth knowledge on many governance issues as well as understanding how history has shaped the contemporary distribution of power (Overseas Development Institute 2009).

Stakeholder's analysis: Stakeholders are actors who may be individuals or organisations who have vested interest in a decision, or a policy being promoted. Depending on what it is being studied, there are stakeholders related to the issues. For instance, a study of poor performance in a health sector will require us to identify stakeholders in the health sector (Schmeer, Kammi).

Therefore, stakeholder analysis is a methodical way to analyse stakeholders by their power and interest. In research, we systematically gather and analyse qualitative information to determine the various interests that should be considered when initiating or executing a policy or a programme. We first identify the stakeholders. This is followed by finding out their power, influence and interest. This understanding will then help us determine those who are more like to resist or work co-operatively for the success of the policy. In policy science, stakeholders' analysis is employed as a tool for assessing key stakeholders for a project and to know their knowledge, interests, positions, alliances and importance in relation to the project. This understanding is required for making decisions to enhance the success of the project.

Strategic governance and corruption analysis: The strategic governance and corruption analysis (SGACA) is a guide used to structure and analyse information on governance and anti-corruption issues with the underlying assumption that building more effective, accountable states and public

institutions requires a political process of interaction between the state and civil society. At the level of research, the analytical model seeks to find out reasons behind governance problems, such as high levels of corruption, low legitimacy of state institutions, and weak commitment to human rights and poverty reduction. At the policy level, the analysis helps in identifying local and international pressures for change that would benefit poor people (Unsworth, S., and Conflict Research Unit 2007).

In using this model, the analysts examine the extent of government control of the territory and social and economic factors that shape the political system. It also examines the degree to which key institutions of the state and society operate according to known rules. It further investigates the capacities and interests of key actors and how to respond to key events and pressures. (Unsworth and Conflict Research Unit, 2007)

Drivers of change analysis: The "Drivers of Change" approach examines the reasons that drive change in a country or within specific contexts. These reasons must be in the economic, political and social conditions of the country and therefore the analyst must start his study from understanding the country's conditions without imposing his/her preconceive standards or criteria or what has worked elsewhere. The analysts pay attention to "what is working?" rather than "what is wrong?" (Warrener 2004: 1).

In discussing the drivers of change, the analyst is expected to pay attention to (1) the structural features comprising of the history of the state; natural and human resources; economic and social structures; demographic changes; regional issues; globalisation, trade and investment; and urbanisation; (2) the institutions which are made up of informal and formal rules that determine the realm of possible behaviour by agents; in this case, political and public administration processes; and (3) agents who are individuals and organisations pursuing particular interests (Warrener 2004: 8).

Political settlement analysis: Political settlement analysis examines how distributions of power among groups affect the way that institutions work. It has been used to analyse economic change, agricultural policy, industrialization, corruption, social policy, conflict, and state-building in several African countries. It emphasizes agreements made by powerful groups or elites that affect state stability and the possibilities of development. It assumes settlement is desirable, thus, forging and enforcing a viable and inclusive political settlement is necessary to support institutions that generate inclusion, stop war, or reduce violent conflict. According to Gray

(2019) a political settlement is "a combination of power and institutions that is mutually compatible and sustainable in terms of economic and political viability. The main theoretical building blocks of the framework are institutions, power, and rents". A political settlement can have profound consequences for what can be done in terms of development and of the distribution of the benefits among groups in society.

Decisions on Sample Population

The student is encouraged to ensure that the sample population is representative of class interest and power or stakeholders' interests. The representativeness is crucial in helping us to have a holistic view of the nature of the problem that is being explained and tackled. This implies mapping the sample population in a manner that will reveal the groups that resist change and those that support change, or identify gainers and losers of public policy.

Data Analysis

The political economy approach demands a focus on the roles of interests and incentive structure of classes/stakeholders in the organisation being studied. The design of the study should capture a class analysis or stakeholders analysis or a power analysis. In any case, the analysis will embed interests, values and norms.

Conclusions

This chapter introduces the student to political economy as an approach to understanding, analysing and designing public policy. Political economy approaches in general contend that the success or failure of public policies depends on political struggles, or the ability to neutralise political struggles, around resources. Political economy analysis helps us to understand how incentives, institutions and ideas shape political action and development outcomes. However, there are a variety of different schools of political economy, each with its own view on what constitute the most salient actors and modes of struggle for resources. This chapter has examined the various political economy traditions ranging from liberal/neoliberal, Marxist, new institutionalism, feminist approaches to political

economy. An attempt has been made to bring out their understanding of public policy, the processes and the interests that they seek to defend and protect.

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Social Diversity, Gender, Equity and Public Policy

Betty Akullu Ezati

Introduction

This chapter highlights some select issues of importance to policy makers arising from the discourse on social diversity, gender, equity and public policy. In particular, this chapter explains key issues in the discourse on social diversity, gender and equity including vulnerability and exclusion, multiculturalism, social accountability in pursuit of equity and citizen participation in public policy making. It also examines socio-cultural challenges to inclusive policies and legislations and policies on fairness. This chapter draws examples from the African continent as well as global contexts where necessary to illustrate the existing social diversity, gender and equity issues. The examples are meant to prompt readers of this chapter to reflect on the context of their countries and be able to analyse and seek ways to address discriminatory practices that hinder inclusivity in our very diverse societies.

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Social Diversity and Public Policy

The word "diversity" has multiple meanings and connotations depending on the context. Coleman and Anjur (2017) define diversity as the ways in which people differ, and it encompasses the characteristics that make one individual or group different from another. Laurencin (2019) noted that diversity was initially used to refer to race, gender and sexual orientation, but it has been expanded to cover physical appearance, belief systems, thoughts, styles, socio-economic status, rural/urban geographical locations and disability, and it continues to expand.

As a descriptive term, "diversity" is often used interchangeably with words such as heterogeneity, variety, variegated, multiplicity or multifarious. A diverse situation is typically contrasted with uniformity, homogeneity, sameness and standardization. Alternatively, "diversity" is sometimes used as a prescriptive term advocated as a policy principle or criterion, particularly in relation to the practices of specific institutions. For example, the achievement of a more diverse staff is often advanced as a desirable goal within both public and private sector organizations. Diversity has been promoted as an important criterion for the selection of students by many leading universities (Bowen and Bok, 1998; Mdepa and Lullu 2012) and in the workplace (Zulu and Parumasur 2009; Arubayi and Tiemo 2012).

In recent times, "diversity" has increasingly been used as a shorthand way of referring to *social diversity* (Wood 2003). Social diversity means co-existence of different social groups within a given geo-political setting. It is the differentiation of society into groups. The other terms that are commonly cited as synonyms of social diversity include "plurality", "multiculturalism", "social differentiation", among others.

In short, social diversity refers to differences seen in a particular society with respect to religions, cultural backgrounds, social status, economic status, and so on. Social diversity is regarded as something that makes the universe more liveable and attractive (Young 1994). Many African countries are known for their diversified nature in aspects such as faith, rituals and customs, geographical differences, linguistic elements and other social aspects.

> Social diversity should be considered a normal and healthy response to the pressures of the globalizing marketplace. It only becomes dangerous when it is mobilized and manipulated to serve selfish interests. The most important

policy question for accommodation in pluralist societies, therefore, becomes how to promote an inclusive sense of social diversity without simultaneously losing a feel of belonging and attachment to one's own social group. (Young 1994)

Many times, people make assumptions about others based on their membership in a group. Keefe, Marshall, & Robeson (2003) explain that people in diverse societies tolerate differences by generalizing individuals into groups and this is communicated in word and action to families, communities including young children. Such groupings create a culture of prejudice. In such cases, social diversity becomes negative and this results into social differences, inequality and division.

Social differences are distinctions and discriminations that occur between or even within different social groups in each society based on social, economic and racial inequality (Shannon 2018). Although many social differences are generally based on the accident of birth, for instance, the difference between males and females, heights and complexion, caste, tribe/ethnic groups and region, few are not attributable to birth, for example, being God fearing or atheists. These differences are voluntarily or involuntarily chosen by the people themselves.

Social differences need not be taken in a negative sense as it is natural and integral to the existence of any society (Young 1994). However, there is a tendency to sort people by the most salient category such as age, gender and race (Shannon 2018). The way people are sorted does not only determine how they are treated in the community (Lareau 2015) but also determine how they relate amongst themselves and the upbringing of their children. This in turn perpetuates the differences and inequality. For instance, Calarco (2014, 2019) in a study shows that middle-class parents provide direct and forceful coaching to their children, teaching them how to intervene in schools, whereas working-class parents admonish their children not to pester the teacher or engage in any potentially annoying behaviour. Likewise, Streib (2011) reports how day-care teachers create dynamics that often privilege the verbal skills of middle-class children compared to their working-class counterparts. These affect the performance of the children of the middle- and working-class parents and perpetuate inequality. In such cases, social differences become negative and cause social inequality.

Social Division: When social differences become acute and one community is discriminated against because of inborn or artificially crafted

differences, it becomes social division. Social division is the segregation among the members of a society that are based on factors such as religion, race, caste and language. It is therefore important to take time and learn about other people and ensure inclusivity in public policy.

Social inequality is a corollary to social differences. It refers to the existence of unequal opportunities and rewards for different social positions or statuses within a group or society. Social inequality has several dimensions including income and wealth, power, occupational prestige, schooling, ancestry, race and ethnicity. In addition, there are persistent inequalities of income and opportunity within and across countries and regions. For example, while some countries have abundant resources, in others the population live in deprivation (Mahembe and Odhiambo 2018). Baldry (2016) study shows difference in employment between blacks and whites in South Africa. The findings show that differences in race and socio-economic status were the major indicators of unemployment in South Africa with Coloured, Indian/Asian and white graduates five times more likely to be employed than black African graduates, and the upper three of four socio-economic status groups more than four times as likely to be employed than those in the lowest socio-economic status group.

Social inequalities are often associated with aspects such as age, gender, ethnicity and race. In relation to age, studies show increasing ageing generation and large numbers of the youth—shrinking working-age populations and rapid populations ageing amidst rapidly changing family structures and declining family support systems. These have implications for policy in terms of labour supply, old-age support, social security, healthcare systems, protecting older people's rights and interests and associated development strategies. Population dynamics, particularly in the context of persistent inequalities, will have major influence on development processes and on the inclusive and balanced growth and outcomes. Thus, taking stock of the existing inequality in a particular society is important in planning for interventions.

Similarly, increasing urbanization will continue affecting the demography and this is likely to impact policy. Africa is experiencing increased urbanization (Korah and Cobbinah 2017) and this is expected to continue. Urbanization, if well planned, has the potential to improve people's access to education, health, housing and other services, and to expand their opportunities for economic productivity. However, urban population growth also presents challenges for urban planning and good governance, particularly when that growth is rapid and countries and localities

are not prepared for it (see Akinyode 2016; Korah and Cobbinah 2017; Oluwatayo and Ojo 2018).

Another issue affecting demography is migration and displacement. Primarily driven by economic disparities, political instability or conflict, natural or man-made disasters including environmental degradation or chemical or nuclear disasters and famine or even development projects are also likely to continue in many African countries. Moreover, migration is not without hardship and struggle of what a newcomer thought was going to be a new life with new opportunities (Bellino and Dryden-Peterson 2019). Newcomers are constantly confronted with difficulties to access a country's resources including public housing, healthcare benefits, employment support services and social security benefits because they are seen as "undeserving foreigners". From instance, in South Africa, refugee children can only access education after presenting birth certificates (Perumal 2015). This in essence excludes most of the children who when fleeing leave their documents in their country of origin.

Social exclusion is the process in which individuals are blocked from (or denied full access to) various rights, opportunities and resources that are normally available to members of a different group and which are fundamental to social integration and observance of human rights within that group, for example, housing, employment, healthcare, civic engagement, democratic participation and due process (De Haan and Maxwell 1998).

Alienation or disenfranchisement resulting from social exclusion can be connected to a person's social class, race, skin colour, religious affiliation, ethnic origin, educational status, childhood relationship, living standards or appearance (De Haan and Maxwell 1998). Such exclusionary forms of discrimination may also apply to people with disability, minorities, different sexual orientations, drug users, elderly and the young. Anyone who appears to deviate in any way from perceived norms of a population may become subject to coarse or subtle forms of discrimination and social exclusion (Young 2000).

The outcome of social exclusion is that affected individuals or communities are prevented from participating fully in the economic, social and political life of the society in which they live. This may result to a resistance in form of demonstrations, protests or lobbying by the excluded people (Young 2000).

Vulnerability and Exclusion

Vulnerability is a broad concept that not only incorporates being individually exposed to physical, psychological or emotional harms but also incorporates a social dimension that refers to the inability of people, communities or societies to overcome the effect of stressors to which they are exposed and are at risk of not realizing their potential to achieve positive life outcomes (Morese et al. 2019). Vulnerability can have its roots in poverty, social exclusion, ethnicity, disability or simply in disease or specific developmental phases in life. There are many groups that are prone to vulnerability including the elderly and youth. Similarly, there are places that are disposed to landslides and other natural disasters (Korah and Cobbinah 2017). This could explain why recently, there has been a surge of interest in vulnerability and different measures have been gradually developed to capture a country's proneness to shocks and its ability to recover from shocks. It is, however, difficult to identify and assess vulnerability both at individual and community level, not only because of the different composite measures available but also because it involves a longitudinal perspective and tracking the well-being of a particular person, household or community over years (Morese et al. 2019).

Assessing vulnerability among adolescent is complex because adolescents do not always act to serving their own best interests (Parker et al. 2014) but also frequently underestimate the risk associated with actions or choices. Vulnerable youth are often at risk of developing problem behaviours and outcomes that increase the potential to hurt themselves and their community. In this context, effective preventive or prompt interventions are necessary. Policies to stem vulnerability require conceptualizing, measuring, evaluating the burden of adolescent vulnerability and identifying factors that potentially protect or can buffer youths from its effects (Parker et al. 2014).

Similarly, old age, usually associated with fragility, increases vulnerability to stressors due to decline in the ability to maintain homoeostasis, impairments in multiple systems and decreases in physiological reserves (Boston, 2006). Old age is linked to restrictions on mobility, reduced social networks, loss of confidence and self-esteem, access to political and civic processes, infrastructure, lack of opportunities to keep up to date with technological changes and information. Likewise, loneliness, social isolation and reduced participation in community activities have been associated with physical decline of the elderly. However, Valtorta and

Hanratty (2013) caution that individuals may feel lonely without being socially isolated, experience loneliness and isolation equally, or be socially isolated without feeling lonely. Conversely, a strong social network has a protective effect (Boston, 2006). Active involvement of the elderly in their communities can bring economic and social value through the contributions they make and the opportunities they create as volunteers, workers, informal careers and consumers. Community involvement can also help maintain their motivation and sense of feeling valued, thus avoiding social isolation and many of its associated problems and risks. For these reasons, policies should be designed to provide support and create the conditions that enable the elderly to participate fully in the life of their communities (Boston 2006).

Links Between Social Exclusion, Poverty and Vulnerability

From the above discussions, vulnerability is closely related to the concept of social exclusion. Social exclusion is a result of personal risk factors (age, gender, race, religion, ethnicity, social status, education and political affiliation); macro-societal changes (demographic and geographical location, globalization, immigration, economic and labour market developments, technological innovation, the evolution of social norms); government legislation and social policy; and the actual behaviour of businesses, administrative organizations and fellow citizens (Sen 1998; Hadjetian, 2008; Gerring, et al, 2018). These have potential to contribute negatively to one's access to resources and services.

Chambers (1989) explains that vulnerability is not a synonym for poverty because poverty means lack or want and is usually measured using income or consumption while vulnerability means insecurity, defencelessness and exposure to risk and shocks. Literature shows that exclusion in any form leads to poverty and poverty could also lead to exclusion. The result of discrimination is deprivation which leads to poverty and social exclusion. This relationship is shown in Fig. 8.1.

Social exclusion theoretically emerges at the individual or group level on four correlated dimensions:

- insufficient access to social rights,
- material deprivation,
- limited social participation and
- a lack of normative integration.
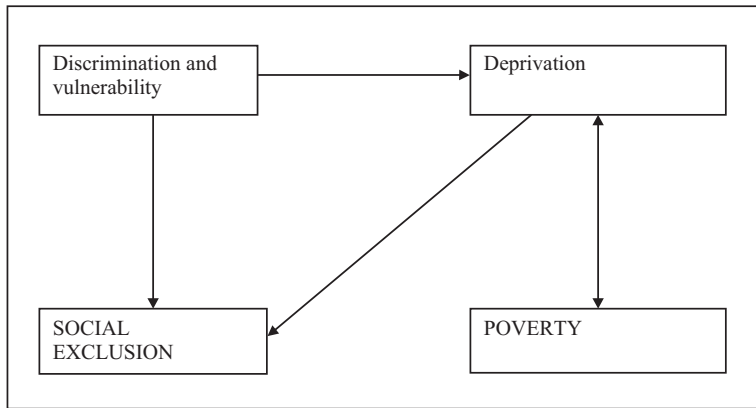
Fig. 8.1 Relationship between exclusion factors and poverty. *Source: Authors construct*

Individual Exclusion: This results into an individual being excluded from meaningful participation in society (Hadjetian, 2008). For instance, individuals with disabilities may be excluded from the labour force because they jeopardize productivity, increase rate of absenteeism and create more accidents in the workplace (Genevieve, 2011). The marginalization of individuals with disabilities is prevalent today (Kisanji 2006), despite the existence of legislations intended to prevent it in most countries, and the academic achievements, skills and training of many disabled people.

Community Exclusion: Many communities experience social exclusion, such as racial, for instance, African American, Native Indians in the United States, Aboriginals in Australia, the Untouchable or Low Castes in India and some ethnic groups in African countries. For instance, because of colonialism, Aboriginal communities lost their land, were forced into destitute areas, lost their sources of livelihood and were excluded from the labour market. Additionally, Aboriginal communities lost their culture and values through forced assimilation and lost their rights in society (Gerring, et al, 2018). Today various Aboriginal communities continue to be marginalized from society due to practices, policies and programmes that "met the needs of white people and not of the marginalized groups themselves" (Genevieve, 2011). Reports of exclusion have also been made of English-speaking Cameroon, in Pre-1994 Rwanda, Darfur in Sudan (Agbor and Njeassam 2019).

The World Bank 2019 World Development Report on the Changing Nature of Work suggests that enhanced social protection and better investments in human capital can improve equality of opportunity and social inclusion. The report also calls on countries to extend opportunities to people who are disadvantaged because of their identity to take part in society and to respect their dignity. Sen (2000) has stressed that what matters is not what people possess, but what they are enabled to do. Capabilities are absolute requirements for full membership of society.

Multiculturalism and Social Diversity

The term *multiculturalism*, in everyday usage, is a synonym with "ethnic pluralism". The two terms often used interchangeably to refer to context in which various ethnic groups collaborate and enter a dialogue with one another without having to sacrifice their identities (Boofu, 2012; Wessendorf 2013). Multiculturalism describes a mixed ethnic community area where multiple cultural traditions co-exist (as in many urban centres) (Genevieve, 2011; Wessendorf 2013).

As a sociological concept, multiculturalism is the end-state of either a natural or artificial process (e.g. legally controlled immigration) and occurs on either a large national scale or a smaller scale within a nation's communities. On a smaller scale this can occur artificially when a jurisdiction is established or expanded by amalgamating areas with two or more different cultures—for instance, the French Canada and English Canada (Wotherspoon and Jungbluth 1995; Tieney, 2011) and English- and French-speaking Cameroon (Agbor and Njeassam 2019). On a large scale, it can occur as a result of either legal or illegal migration to and from different jurisdictions around the world (e.g. Anglo-Saxon settlement of Britain by Angles, Saxons and Jutes in the fifth century or the colonization of the Americans, Africans and Asians by Europeans from the sixteenth century). Thus, the term multiculturalism as used in reference to Western nation-states, which had seemingly achieved a de facto single national identity during the eighteenth and/or nineteenth centuries.

Multiculturalism as a political philosophy involves ideologies and policies which vary widely but seeks to create a society that incorporates multiple cultures (Harper 2013). It has been described as a "salad bowl" and as a "cultural mosaic", in contrast to a "melting pot" (Burgess 2008). The term is often associated with "identity politics", "the politics of difference" and "the politics of recognition". It is also a matter of economic

interests and political power (Wessendorf 2013). In more recent times political multiculturalist ideologies have been expanding in their use to include and define disadvantaged groups such as African Americans, LGBT, with arguments often focusing on ethnic and religious minorities, minority nations, indigenous peoples and even the disabled. The scope of the term and its practical use has been the subject of serious debate.

Historically, support for modern multiculturalism stems from the changes in Western societies after World War II. Wessendorf (2013) called it the "human rights revolution", in which the horrors of institutionalized racism and ethnic cleansing became impossible to ignore because of the holocaust, the collapse of the colonial system and the rise of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. The collapse of the colonial system exposed the discriminatory practices of the colonial system while the Civil Rights Movement revealed how assimilation did not remove prejudices against those who did not act according to the Anglo-American Standards (Reitz 2009). Multiculturalism in Western countries was thus viewed as a strategy to combat racism, protect minority communities of all types and undo policies that had prevented minorities from having full access to the opportunities for freedom and equality promised by the liberalism that has been the hallmark of Western societies since the Age of the Enlightenment (Burgess 2008; Wessendorf 2013; Gunew, 2009).

The Canadian government has been viewed as the instigator of the current multicultural ideology because of its public emphasis on it through the Canadian Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Wotherspoon and Jungbluth 1995). In the Western English-speaking countries, multiculturalism as an official national policy started in Canada in 1971, followed by Australia in 1973 (Gunew, 2009; Tariq 2016), and it was quickly adopted as official policy by most member-states of the European Union. Since then, multiculturalism has been the official policy in several Western countries as many of the great cities of the Western world are increasingly composed of a mosaic of cultures (Harman, 2018; Nagayoshi 2011). Many nation-states in Africa, Asia and the Americas are culturally diverse and are "multicultural" in a descriptive sense.

Most debates over multiculturalism centre around whether multiculturalism is the appropriate way to deal with diversity and immigrant integration. The arguments regarding the perceived rights to a multicultural education include the proposition that it acts as a way to demand recognition of aspects of a group's culture subordination and its entire experience

in contrast to a melting pot or non-multicultural societies (Bissoondath, 2002; Burgess 2008; Gerring, et al, 2018).

The supporters of multiculturalism view it as a fairer system that allows people to truly express who they are within a society, that is more tolerant and that adapts better to social issues. They argue that culture is not one definable thing based on one race or religion, but rather the result of multiple factors that vary as the world changes (Furlong, 2004). In this sense, multiculturalism is valuable because it uses several disciplines to highlight neglected aspects of our social history, particularly the histories of women and minorities and promotes respect for the dignity of the lives and voices of the forgotten (Burgess 2008). By closing gaps, by raising consciousness about the past, multiculturalism tries to restore a sense of wholeness in a postmodern era that fragments human life and thought (Wessendorf 2013; Gunew, 2009). This is corroborated by Tariq (2016), who contends that multiculturalism is most timely and necessary in the twenty-first century since it is the form of integration that fits the ideal of egalitarianism and has the best chance of succeeding in the post-9/11 period.

However, the opponents of multiculturalism doubts whether the multicultural ideal of benignly co-existing cultures that interrelate and influence one another, and yet remain distinct, is sustainable, paradoxical or even desirable (Reitz 2009; Furlong, 2004). They argue that multiculturalism makes the nation-state lose their cultural identity in trying to enforce multiculturalism and that this ultimately erodes the host nations' distinct culture. This could probably explain the recent move by several European states including the Netherlands and Denmark to reverse the national policy and return to an official monoculturalism (Harman, 2018). A similar reversal is the subject of debate in the United Kingdom, among others, due to evidence of incipient segregation and anxieties over "home-grown" terrorism. Several heads-of-state or heads-of-government have expressed doubts about the success of multicultural policies. The former Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel, and the former Prime Ministers like David Cameron of the United Kingdom, John Howard of Australia, Jose Maria Aznar of Spain and Nicolas Sarkozy of France have all voiced concerns about the effectiveness of their multicultural policies for integrating migrants (Harman, 2018; Gerring, et al, 2018).

Gender and Public Policy

Gender is often confused with sex, but gender refers to socially constructed roles, responsibilities, rights, principles, behaviours, characteristics, entitlements and exclusions assigned to males and females. The United Nations Evaluation Group (UNEG) (2011) posits that gender refers to equal rights, responsibilities, opportunities of women and men, boys and girls. Gender is dynamic and contextual. It is "based on the idea that not only biological and physical differences between men and women are important, but also the social and cultural significance that society attaches to these differences" (Kayumova et al. 2018.

Gender inequalities remain prevalent in all sectors of the African societies (Elu 2017; Zawaira et al. 2018). Montgomery (2017) asserts that agricultural practices influence the origin of traditional gender norms and that societies that traditionally relied on plough agriculture have a higher degree of gender inequality. Similarly, Tibesigwa and Visser (2016) report that male-headed households are more food secured than female-headed ones.

All public policies impact on men's and women's lives in one way or another (Chapell, et al 2012). There are economic and social differences between men and women; hence, policy consequences, intended or unintended, often vary along gender lines. According to Abbott et al. (2018) notable differences between the gender include the following:

a) *Violence experienced*——Literature show that more women than men experience violence (Fry et al. 2017; Ahinkorah et al. 2018). For example, up to 48% of women in Zambia, 46% in Kenya experienced physical and sexual violence (Fry et al. 2017). Similarly, the WHO (2013) found that the prevalence of physical (such as wife beating) and sexual violence is 23.2% in high income countries, while the percentage higher (24.6%) in Western Pacific region and highest (36.6%) in Africa.

High prevalence of violence among women requires formulation of policies that articulate measures of assistance and public safety, including the application of more effective sentencing and preventive measures. It also requires creation of programmes that serve women who are the victims of domestic and sexual violence, including complete attention (legal, psychological and medical) and the creation of shelters.

Similarly, there is need for recognition of the rights of girls and adolescents in situations of personal and social risk. Girls who are "in the streets" and those who are victims of sexual exploitation, living in prostitution and who are exposed to drugs require special interventions.

b) *Healthcare*——Women's healthcare needs vary from men's (WHO 2013). There is need to plan to provide healthcare for all phases of women's life, including care for mental and occupational health, actions to control sexually transmitted diseases, cancer prevention and family planning, to overcome the concentration on maternal and infant care programmes.

c) *Education*——Education of women continue to lag that of men in Africa. Guaranteed access to education for women is necessary (Ahinkorah et al. 2018). There is need to revise textbooks and curricula to eliminate discriminatory references to women to offer an increased awareness of the rights of women. Training for men and women teachers to include a gender perspective in the educational process is also required, and the provision of day-care centres and pre-schools.

d) *Generation of income (fighting poverty)*—Majority of people living in poverty are women (Ahinkorah et al. 2018). Women, young girls are at greater risk due to resource constraints or environmental degradation. People living in constraining environments—particularly in vulnerable families, remote and underserved communities—face conditions that tend to perpetuate the vicious cycle of poverty, lack of education, ill health, low human capital, low economic productivity, poor reproductive health, high fertility, high infant mortality, maternal mortality and morbidity.

Productive projects aimed at training women for employment and to bolster their income should be combined with guaranteed access to credit for the creation or sustenance of small businesses and associations to overcome the prevailing sexual division of labour.

e) *Childcare and employment*——Women continue to perform a central role in relation to the sphere of reproduction. Their "centrality" in the formulation and implementation of public policies in this sphere should be recognized. The value of non-remunerated work should be recognized. Its burden on women can be minimized by creating social facilities such as the creation of professional training programmes, ensuring access to home ownership, construction of

urban facilities that focus on women such as day care, healthcare clinics, housing and basic sanitation.

f) *Land ownership*——Abbott et al. (2018) report that fewer women than men own land. This finding also agrees with that of Doss et al. (2013). Doss et al. found that 25% and 48% of women in Uganda and Ghana, respectively, own land. In Ethiopia 29% of the registered land was found to be held by women and 32% by men. The remaining 39% was held jointly. Lesser gender-equitable levels of landownership and management are found in South Africa and Niger (Jacobs et al. 2011; Niger 2008 cited in Doss et al). However, Doss et al. (2013) note that there is scanty literature on land ownership in Africa. The recognition of the relative rights of women in rural areas, in policies for land distribution, agrarian reform and agricultural credit in programmes to support rural production by policy makers would be important.

g) *Empowerment*——In many countries, women have relatively weak negotiation and bargaining power in the family. Ahinkorah et al. (2018) in study of 19 Sub-Saharan African countries noted that Namibia (32.7%) had more empowered women while those in Mali and Malawi were the least empowered at only 5.5% of the women population. Women's lower status in the community limits their access to information and resources——including access to adequate reproductive health services and information about reproductive rights, hinders their participation in decision making, restricts their physical and social mobility, and hampers their well-being and potential contributions to development.

Opening of decision-making spaces to women's participation to guarantee that their active influence in the formulation and implementation of public policies will create conditions of autonomy for women. This involves changes in power relations in the various spaces in which they are inserted: domestic space, at work, and so on.

Abbott and Malunda (2016) found that majority of women benefitted little from government policies to promote gender equality and empower women. Yet, public policy has the capacity to either perpetuate or eliminate discrimination and gender inequality. By making gender a central consideration in the development and implementation of public policy, gender equality and women's human rights can be enhanced (UNEG 2011). Abbott et al. (2018) call for incorporation of gender perspective in

all public policies. This should start with a gender analysis of policies to ascertain the differences and provide solutions (Chapell, et al 2012).

It is also worth pointing out that gender intersects with other variables (such as age, disability, race, social class, among others), creating double discrimination for some women and men. A study by Ahinkorah et al. (2018) found that women aged 15—19 years were less likely to report having ever experienced violence compared with older women and that women who belonged to other religious groups and Christians were more likely to experience intimate partner violence compared to those who were Muslims. These call for a "focus within a focus", such as focusing on adolescent women more than older women or women with disability more than those without.

Policy makers should be gender sensitive and responsive by analysing the gender situation in society when they make policies. It is also worth noting that gender equality does not mean men and women will become the same, rather women's and men's rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female (UNEG 2011).

Equity and Social Justice

Equity refers to fair treatment, access, opportunity and advancement for all while simultaneously striving to identify and eliminate barriers that have prevented the full participation of some groups (McIntyre and Gilson 2002). Thinking about equity can help with decision on how to distribute goods and services across society. It means the state is responsible and to be held accountable for its influence over how goods and services are distributed in a society in its bid to ensure fair treatment for all citizens. This involves making hard choices and embedding discussions of distributive justice into domestic political and policy debates in national development discourse.

Although there is a broad and deep understanding of inequity and its causes, and on what works and what does not, equity remains low on the policy agenda in some countries, mainly due to lack of political will (McIntyre and Gilson 2002). Tackling inequities often requires working against the interests of national elites, challenging vested interests or dominant ideologies, or speaking for people who are excluded and ignored systematically by those making policy. As a result, the biggest challenge for promoting equity in developing countries is how to address the political

economy of change. It is crucial to strengthen political movements and coalitions, to challenge prevailing beliefs and misconceptions around equity and to encourage a representative public debate on practical issues of distributive justice.

While many developing countries do not need to wait for the development community to get its act together on equity issues, donors can play a crucial role in influencing development debates and in promoting equity through programme design and policy influence. Because donors are separate from national power structures that may reinforce social, political and economic inequalities, they can also have a disproportionate influence. Where policy discourses draw on neo-liberal visions of development, principles such as equality of opportunity may be seen as unimportant, thereby constituting ideological barriers to putting this agenda into operation. Donor agencies need to focus more strongly on transforming an equity-focused agenda into tangible action for the poor, backed by political will at the top levels.

Efforts to Address Equity Problems

The promotion of social inclusion and equity is at the heart of the UN post-2015 agenda as well as African Union Agenda 2063. Both call for inclusive social development. In this regard, social inclusion, as a key dimension of social development, and as an enabler of intercultural dialogue and the fight against poverty, should inform the development of innovative public policies in favour of the most disadvantaged groups.

Turner and Louis (1996) and Skrtic et al. (1996) challenge countries to rethink how to improve acceptance of difference and create communities inclusive of all members of society. Indeed, many African countries including those in Africa proclaim fairness in their policies and are signatories to many global pronouncements that promote equity. Additionally, many African national constitutions and laws aim at banning discrimination and assuring equal opportunities to citizens regardless of their gender, race, ethnicity, age, disability or other characteristics. Social policies that aim to change the rules and provide advantages to groups that have traditionally been discriminated against have emerged. These social policies go beyond assuring equal rights to correct past wrongs (White 2003).

In line with the global pronouncements, various countries have attempted to address equity problems using different strategies as described below.

1. ***Providing Universal Public Services:*** This is particularly common in services such as health, education and water. This strategy may involve putting in place policies to improve infrastructures to ensure that services are free at the point of delivery wherever possible, and where this is not possible, arrangements are made to ensure that poor people are not excluded. McIntyre et al. (2008) describe the introduction of user fee in health, with exemptions and waivers to reduce the economic burden of ill health on poor and vulnerable households and expand access to healthcare in South Africa, Ghana and Tanzania.

   Examples above show that tackling inequity is crucial for developing country governments. Apart from being a valuable goal, improving equity reduces poverty as well as drive growth.

2. ***Targeted Action for Disadvantaged Groups (Affirmative Action)*** The public debate over positive/affirmative action policies has focused on social justice and economic principles. Proponents of these policies claim three main arguments:

   a. *Compensatory justice*—past injustices need to be undone and compensation should be given to those who were disadvantaged because of discriminatory traditions or intentional policies.
   b. *Distributive justice*—the social goods and wealth of a country should be distributed equally.
   c. *Social utility*—everyone in a society has something important to contribute, and the common good is best served by everyone's participation in the economic and social system.

Opponents of these policies present arguments that can also be classified into three groups, namely that

   i. *reverse discrimination* is another form of unfair practices that perpetuate discrimination, although it is now practised on a different group.
   ii. *preferential policies* go against the principles of individualism and interfere with the forces of a free market economy.
   iii. *preferential practices* may result in poor services and products because incompetent or unsuitable people may be appointed to jobs.

   Through affirmative action policies, including quota system, governments can plan and provide for the disadvantaged regions or

groups. Affirmative or positive action policies originated from the notion that discrimination against whole groups that has been persistent, institutionalized and long term cannot be remedied simply by banning such actions. Although antidiscrimination legislation is essential, these policies emerged out of the recognition that such legislation may not be enough to create a work environment that provides equality of opportunities for all and may cement past inequalities.

Affirmative or positive action policies have two goals: (a) righting past wrongs—compensating groups that have been disadvantaged in the past with better opportunities in the present; and (b) achieving social goals of increasing the representation of traditionally disadvantaged groups in more lucrative jobs as well as management and leadership positions (Chater & Chater, 1992). The rationale behind these policies is that they redress past discrimination by giving preference in hiring and promotion to members of groups that have been discriminated against in the past. Considering that for a long time these groups have had limited access to education, high-paying and prestigious jobs, networks of influence and promotion opportunities, they may continue to be deprived of these opportunities if not given such advantages until a more balanced representation can be achieved (Bennington and Wein 2000).

Affirmative or positive action means that employers must act directly and aggressively to remove all barriers that prevent women and members of minority groups from access to education, employment and political processes. Services targeted towards disadvantaged groups are crucial. These include education of girls, maternal and child healthcare, provision of clean water and access to employment. Governments around the world continue to legislate affirmative action in employment in favour of designated groups (Hodges-Aeberhard 1999). For example, South Africa and Namibia have both adopted legislation requiring employment equity through means that include affirmative action—the Employment Equity Act Bi, 55 of 1998 in South Africa and the Affirmative Action (Employment) Act No. 29 of 1998 in Namibia.

McIntyre et al. (2008) show how targeted strategies are used to address challenges with specific vulnerable groups such as pregnant women, children aged less than six years, the disabled and the elderly in South Africa, people with low income and specific diseases such as

leprosy and tuberculosis in Ghana and Tanzania. Targeting priority selected groups and health condition was reported as successful. Quota system has also been used by many countries to increase access for girls in higher education. But Dunne & Sayed (2002) observed that although increasing female representation is crucial, the review of organizational structures and practices must be a concomitant focus for supporting the disadvantaged group. Putting equity at the heart of development programming could potentially have practical value; the symbolic, normative and political dimensions of the concept promote the recognition of key challenges, foster empowerment and engagement, and promote deeper, more sustainable change.

Further, even among proponents of strong social policies, there is uneasiness with policies that may amount to "quotas" and outright reverse discrimination because they undermine the real achievements of members of underrepresented groups and perpetuate the notion that members of these groups intrinsically lack the characteristics for success in employment and will always need special assistance. The controversy around affirmative and positive action is reflected in the numerous challenges it faced in courtrooms throughout the world. It is interesting to note that despite the diversity of countries and jurisdictions, courts have generally supported the concept as an acceptable tool in the struggle to eliminate discrimination in employment. Many constitutions of the African countries sanction affirmative action. Chapter 10 of the South African constitution states that public administration must be broadly representative of the South African people. South Africa's constitution notes that although objectivity and fairness must be applied, an important goal is redressing the imbalances of the past and achieving broad representation.

3. *Social Protection*. Another way of addressing inequity is through social protection. Provision of social protection can ensure that nobody drops below a minimum level of well-being, beyond which unmet needs will create cycles of disadvantage. Options include payments such as social insurance or basic income grants, conditional transfers to promote human development, minimum wage policies, guaranteed government employment programmes and labour market regulations to those in employment. However, social protection is not common in African countries.

Although social protection has been used to address inequity, scholars assert that social policies can also exclude individuals from necessities and support programmes. This is because in some cases welfare support programmes create injustices by restricting certain behaviours (Wilson and Beresford 2000), especially where the individual is forced into a new system of rules while facing social stigma and stereotypes from the dominant group in society, further marginalizing and excluding individuals (Young 2000). In this way, social policy and welfare provisions reflect the dominant notions in society by constructing and reinforcing categories of people and their needs (Wilson and Beresford 2000).

4. *Progressive Taxation.* This can be through increasing tax for those that have more income. Other priorities include lowering taxes on staple goods and applying taxes on property. Land reform is also crucial, and redistribution may be required to provide the poor with productive assets. Progressive taxation could help, if the additional fiscal space created is used to fund interventions that will support equity.

Inclusive Policies

Social diversity calls for inclusive policies. Inclusion involves all people having the right to be truly involved, to actively participate with others, to be valued as members of the society and to have access to a system that delivers quality services (Abbott et al. 2017). Social inclusion aims to create a society for all, a society in which no one is left behind, a society that guarantees human rights and promotes justice for all, increases the quality of life of citizens and improves individual well-being (Abbott et al. 2017). Inclusive policies are about listening to the diverse voices in society and empowering all members to develop an approach to development that is committed to identifying and dismantling actual and potential sources of exclusion (Slee 2018). Above all, it is about a philosophy of acceptance where all people are valued and treated with respect (Gillies and Carrington 2004). Indeed, Ballard (1996) argues that inclusion is unending, so that there is no such thing as an inclusive society. According to this notion, all societies can continue to develop greater inclusion whatever their current state (Ainscow and Messiou 2018).

The inevitable presence of difference among groups of people means that societies need to build inclusive communities that value diversity.

Communities in inclusive societies cooperate and collaborate for the common good of all, recognize and respect difference (Slee 2001). In essence, inclusive policies are about the politics of representation or how people can be given a voice in the construction of their own unique identities (Slee 2001). A study by Abbott et al. (2017) showed that Rwanda, Ethiopia and Namibia scored highly on social inclusion while Malawi, Zambia and Comoros had lower scores.

There are a few challenges and obstacles to implementing inclusive policies. McIntyre et al. (2008) report that waivers directed at protecting the poorest people have proven to be ineffective due to the difficulties of identifying them, as well as a lack of awareness on eligibility criteria and the deterrent effects of excessive " red-tape". Scholars suggest incorporating a more systematic understanding of equity and inequity into policy decisions, embedding equity in decision-making tools and procedures, and implementing pro-equity policies.

Social Accountability in Pursuit of Equity

Social accountability refers to "an approach towards building accountability that relies on civic engagement, in which ordinary citizens and/or civil society organizations participate directly or indirectly in exacting accountability" (McNeil and Malena 2010). It encompasses a wide range of approaches, tools and methods, from information dissemination about user rights and entitlements to client exit interviews and participatory budgeting exercises.

Social accountability can be initiated by a wide range of actors from community members and civil society organizations (CSO) to government ministries, parliamentarians and media organizations. Some countries use scorecards. Interventions such as the community scorecard methodology can take place at village or community levels, while participatory policy formulation exercises tend to be more focused at national level. Social accountability initiatives can rely on diverse strategies, including monitoring, civic education, research, media coverage, advocacy and coalition building. They can be focused on the development of policies and plans, monitoring of budgets and expenditures, or oversight of service quality. Lastly, they can employ different forms of formal and informal sanctions like public shaming, judicial enforcement and public exposés in the media (McNeil and Malena 2010).

Social accountability can increase transparency, foster greater civic voice and participation in service delivery or support efforts to monitor performance and hold service providers accountable. For example, community scorecards can increase transparency (through access to information about entitlements), strengthen citizen voice (through the scorecard process and interface meeting) and support user monitoring and oversight (through the development and monitoring of joint action plans). Similarly, support for health user management committees can not only serve to mobilize user voice but also support oversight of drug stocks and health facility budgets.

Citizen Participation in Public Policy Making

Yang and Callahan (2005) define citizen participation as involvement of the public in the administrative decision-making process. This may include political participation and civic engagement such as the involvement in political processes like voting, campaigning (Denhardt et al. 2009) and volunteering in activities at individual or organizational level (Oliver, 2000).

In the last two decades, governments have been under increasing pressure to change the way they interact with citizens, open or increase access to services provided. An open government is increasingly recognized as an essential ingredient for democratic governance, social stability and economic development (Kirkpatrick and Jesover 2005). An open government means satisfying three basic principles (Kirkpatrick and Jesover 2005): *transparency*, meaning that governmental activity must be placed under public scrutiny; *accessibility,* citizens must have the possibility to access and use public information anytime and anywhere; *responsiveness,* capacity of governments to respond efficiently to new demands and needs coming from the citizens.

The concept of open government must be supported by a thorough public participation strategy that will embrace all governmental activity. Public participation can be viewed as a process by which public concerns, needs and values are incorporated into governmental and corporate decision making aiming for better decisions supported by the public (Creighton, 2005). Another way to put it is that public participation is a framework of policies, principles and techniques which ensure that citizens and communities, individuals, groups and organizations can be involved in a meaningful way in making decisions that will affect them or in which they have an interest (Denhardt et al. 2009).

The main goal of public participation is about ensuring responsiveness of policies to citizen's needs and with a higher degree of public support. It is a planned process included in the routine processes of the institution and not something spontaneous, or a decision made on the spot by public institutions. The public should have a certain degree of influence on the final decision. Public participation is part of the inner mechanisms of representative democracy.

Public participation is the link between members of society and government, ensuring that the decisions taken by non-elected officials carry legitimacy by providing a form of dialogue and interaction between decision makers and the people who are affected by government's policies. The first reason in doing so is that policy proposals that have been discussed with the public have better chances to be accepted because the process build trust between government and citizens. Secondly, the quality of the decisional process is greater. It helps to clarify the objectives and requirements of a project or policy, results in considering new alternatives, increases the chances of success and can bring new information to light helpful in the design and implementation of the policy (Creighton, 2005). Another rationale for public participation is that it promotes openness and accountability, and in the process, advances fairness and justice (Callahan 2007).

Public participation has an instrumental value by strengthening the evidence base for policy making, reducing the implementation costs and tapping greater reservoirs of experience and creativity in the design and delivery of public services (Bourgon 2007). It is also a source of innovation, by opening new doors for government in service delivery. Ultimately, public participation can build social capital and cultivate mutual understanding and bonds of trust among the public, decision makers and governing institutions (Callahan 2007). Studies show that involving the public not only frequently produces decisions that are responsive to public values and substantively robust, but it also helps to resolve conflict, build trust, and educate and inform the public about the environment (Leach et al. 2002). In this light, the issue of public participation is of major interest in preserving legitimacy and accountability of decisions.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the world of public policy is increasingly complex, uncertain and unpredictable and characterized by diversity in terms of gender, age, race, disability and socio-economic status. At the same time the world

is increasingly interconnected and interdependent. For example, disease outbreaks can affect several countries simultaneously. These call for careful policy making processes to ensure inclusivity in society. This is especially important as the world is undergoing social transformations driven by the impact of globalization, global environmental change, and economic and financial crises, resulting in growing inequalities, extreme poverty, exclusion and the denial of basic human rights. These transformations require innovative solutions conducive to universal values of peace, human dignity, gender equality and non-violence and non-discrimination.

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Leadership, Governance and Public Policy in Africa

Seidu Alidu

INTRODUCTION

Many African economies recorded consistent economic growth over the second decade of the twenty-first century (UNECA 2017a, b; Awortwi and Remi Aiyede 2017). Indeed, six out of the ten fastest growing economies in the world in 2014 were in Africa (AfDB 2015) and this had encouraged the provision of social assistance and other pro-poor policies and programmes in the continent. The World Bank's State of Social Safety Net report for 2015 indicated that the number of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa implementing cash assistance programmes to deserving citizens had increased from 20 to 40 within the period of 2012 to 2014. Garcia and Charity (2012) indicated similar growing trend for the number of countries in Africa implementing social assistance programmes. According to them, more than 120 social cash transfer programmes were being implemented in Africa between 2000 and 2009. However, economic growth in Africa have not translated into social development everywhere since poverty, exclusion and unemployment remain major issues in the continent

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(Awortwi and Remi Aiyede 2017). The 2017 Africa Sustainable Development Report (UNECA 2017a) underscored the continent's slow progress in reducing poverty, notwithstanding the economic growth recorded. It noted the lack of inclusiveness and the disproportionate prevalence of poverty among women and the youth (p. ix). There are doubts things may improve anytime soon. UNECA (2017b) Economic Report on Africa (ERA) also indicated a falling growth in the continent's economy by more than half (i.e., from 3.7% in 2015 to 1.7% in 2016). Though the fall is attributable to several factors, including weak global economic conditions, low oil and commodity prices as well as adverse weather conditions (UNECA 2017b), it also points to the weak economic conditions and policies of Africa's largest economies. For instance, Nigeria's economic growth contracted by 1.6% while South Africa grew by 0.6%, Angola by 0.8%, Algeria by 2.9%, Egypt by 3.4% and Morocco by 1.7% in 2016 (UNECA 2017b: 3). This slow growth by countries perceived to be the continent's economic giants has been insignificant to be able to push the continent out of poverty.

In addition to severe infrastructural deficits and data limitations that restrict Africa's industrial development relative to other regions in Southeast Asia, Southeast Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean, this chapter argues that governance and leadership are also crucial to the continent's development. Countries in Southeast Asia, Southeast Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean face similar developmental challenges as Africa including global economic competitions, the often-low oil and commodity prices and severe adverse weather conditions. They also face challenges of limited data, infrastructural deficits and land reforms. However, they have been able to record sustainable economic growth with very limited natural resources. The difference in how these regions manage their developmental challenges relative to Africa is leadership, and this has been aptly captured in the 1989 World Bank's World Development Report (WDR).

Leadership has a direct link to good governance and economic development as it provides the guide to achieving both (Chazan et al. 1992). Great leadership skills, intertwined with remarkable understanding of the policy making process, could produce outcomes that are germane. Therefore, leadership and policy implementation competencies have direct implications on policy direction and are very critical to ensuring that policies yield positive impact on the lives of majority of people in society.

This chapter is divided into five sections. Section "Leadership in Africa" examines the concept of leadership broadly and leadership in Africa specifically, after the introductory section in one above. It focuses on traditional and modern leadership features and roles in Africa. Section "Governance in Africa" discusses the evolution of governance in Africa since 1900 to 2016 using five indicators (Accountability, Participation, Deliberation, Division of Power and Freedom of Expression) drawn from the Varieties of Democracy data version 7. Section "Governance, Leadership and Public Policy Interface in Africa" looks at the interface between leadership, governance and public policy making in Africa and the likely challenges, while Section "Conclusion" provides the conclusion.

Leadership in Africa

Leadership is an influential process towards achieving a set goal (Northouse 2004). It is both a process and an outcome. The process involves the skill of persuading people to obey or accept the vision and thinking of the person leading. This skill either is acquired through learning experience as in process leadership or could be innate as in trait leadership (Jago 1982). In either case, the outcome focuses on meeting a specific objective, target, vision or goal. Ayee (2013: 182) identifies three major features of leadership; its ability to mobilize and inspire people, its ability to promote unity and encourage group behaviour, and its ability to strengthen institutions by roles and hierarchy of responsibilities. It can therefore be argued that leadership is about the exercise of influence by one person over another or group of persons using the best traits as well as required skills and knowledge to achieve desired goals (Lawal 1993; Sikula 1996; Akpala 1982).

The literature on leadership in Africa developed slowly, yet examined many themes after independence (Fourie et al. 2017), including political leadership, leadership and management; leadership styles; leadership and gender; leadership development; leadership and development; leadership and African values; traditional leadership; individual leadership; leadership and ideology; leadership and religion; local leadership; leadership succession and leadership in education in that order (Fourie et al. 2017: 3).

The 1970s witnessed an expansion of the leadership literature in Africa in three main fronts (Fourie et al. 2017: 3): the decoupling of traditional leadership that existed before independence and which was widely utilized during colonial rule from political leadership. In Ghana and Uganda, traditional leadership came under a barrage of criticisms and alienation. The

second front was the emergence of constructive criticisms on the dominant focus of the leadership on literature on only political leadership to the neglect of other forms of leadership in the continent. Hotchkiss (1979), in this regard, wrote about the role of union leaders in Sierra Leone and how they fought for the interests of their members. Also, the role of traditional and unionize leadership (including the Aborigines Rights Protection Society and the Fante Confederacy) to the colonial struggle in Ghana became prominent. This type of leadership was also felt in Mali when the Cocoa Farmers' Movement mobilized local people to attain heroic results and influence policy (Bingen 1996). Other themes and conceptualization of leadership were discussed continuously, notably among them were charismatic[1] and instrumental[2] leadership. Kofele-Kale (1978) defines instrumental leadership in Africa as amounting to "societal leadership" where power and influence are primarily exercised by family members and close associates of the leader to achieve private ends. He concludes that instrumental leadership in Africa advances the interest of the self rather than the collective or group.

Africa's historical experiences interrupted the natural development of the discourse on leadership. Colonialism created a bifurcated leadership in Africa: traditional and modern.[3] Ekeh (1975) explains the role of colonialism in creating "two publics" in Africa: the "primordial" and the "civic" publics. Even though both "publics" are underpinned by morality, the primordial public is more private and personal and more akin to traditional leadership compared to the civic public which is more civil and relies on transparent institutions to function. Traditional leadership in Africa is more of a personal rule associated with the office holder, underpinned by history, tradition and customs (Ayee 2001). Traditional leaders are acceptable within specific ethnic communities and closely linked to the hereditary systems of power and privileges (Ayee 2013). They have monopoly of power and often govern with arbitrariness. On the other hand, contemporary leadership comes with some of the features of the civic public. It is characterized by norms of impersonality and the absence of

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[1] The charismatic leader draws much on personal appeal and love to influence decisions and achieve results.

[2] Instrumental leadership is often associated to personal rule at the level of the community.

[3] The usage of "traditional" and "modern" does not suggest any superior relationship. Traditional leadership is related to the pre-existing governance arrangements before colonialism, while modern leadership refers largely to the secular governance system inherited from the West.

Table 9.1 Traditional and modern leadership compared

Traditional leadership	Modern leadership
• Informed and based on history, tradition and customs • Legitimacy rest so much in traditional norms • Acceptable among specific ethnic communities and groups • Closely linked to hereditary system of power and privileges • Has monopoly of and exercises absolute power • Personal rule associated with the office holder • There is arbitrariness and no equality before the law • All powers, Legislative, Judicial and Executive, are vested in one person	• Informed and based on institutions, rules and regulations • Legitimacy rest with the people and the Constitution • Acceptable to multi-ethnic communities and groups • Impersonal rule associated with an office • Leaders have no monopolistic power and are subjected to the laws of the land • There is rule of law and equality before the law • Society is characterized by norms of impersonality and the absence of arbitrariness • There is Division of Power and functions among different office holders responsible for different functions

Source: Ayee (2001, 2013)

arbitrariness (Ayee 2001). Legitimacy is drawn from the people and documented legislations. Leaders are accepted by everyone regardless of their ethnicity and there is the rule of law and equality before same (Table 9.1).

These leadership features influence the kind of role they play in society. The traditional leader in Africa had all powers of the kingdom vested in him. Mamdani (1996) argues that the multiple roles of the traditional leader in Africa are commensurate with the "sum and substance of his authority" (p. 23). The traditional African leader played the following functions: governance function, where s/he serves as the head of the traditional governance council; military function, where s/he serves as the commander-in-chief of his people and personally leads the army into battles in defence of her/his kingdom or for expansion; religious function, where s/he serves as the spiritual head of the community and performs sacrifices on behalf of the kingdom; administrative function, where s/he serves as both the custodian of the land and superintend over the day-to-day administration of his kingdom. Traditional leaders also embodied deep cultural values of the people and represent the identity of the community. They provide symbolic leadership and serve as custodians of

development and the dynasty, mediate in disputes and serve as symbols of reconciliation.

Modern leadership is engulfed in a myriad of functions, some of them not quite different from traditional leadership roles. Leaders often represent political parties and contest elections to win power. They organize government upon winning political power and formulate policies as well as supervise their implementation. Modern leaders provide direction, coherence and meaning for development; they work to create jobs, improve people's living standard and alleviate poverty. They govern to fight crime and protect their citizens. They embody the values of their society and represent the state at international forums (Table 9.2).

The difference between traditional and modern leadership can be narrowed down to three crucial issues: mode of selection, attributes and performance evaluation (Ayee 2013). According to Ayee (2013: 188) "traditional leadership is regarded as a closed system, characterised by stratification, hereditary succession, legitimacy and personalism. These features are untenable in modern leadership characterised by openness, legal rationality, universalism, equality and change."

The way traditional and modern leaders are selected constitutes one of the major differences between them. The acceptance of electoral democracy in Africa has led to majority of modern political leaders being elected

Table 9.2   Functions of traditional and modern leadership

Traditional leadership	Modern leadership
• Governance function • Military function • Religious function • Administrative function • Embodiment of the deep cultural values of the people • Representation of and an identity for the people and community • Provides symbolic leadership and a custodian of development and the dynasty • Mediator and a judge in conflict resolution process	• Party representation and winning elections • Organizing government upon winning elections • Providing personal vision, formulating policies and supervising their implementation • Providing direction, coherence and meaning for development • Creating jobs, improving peoples' standard of living and alleviating poverty • Fight crime and protect citizens • Represent the interests of the state at the international level

Source: Ayee (2001, 2013)

by their people in a relatively competitive manner. Traditional leaders, on the other hand, are born into nobility and inherit power. The mode of selection invariably has an impact on the performance evaluation of both traditional and modern leaderships. While modern leaders are evaluated by citizens and the international community based on their performance, traditional leaders are not evaluated in the same manner. Attributes differ among individual leaders and not by the generic titles of traditional or modern leadership and may be very difficult to discuss without reference to specific individuals.

Leadership, whether traditional or modern, has been identified as the bane of Africa's development due to the myriad of challenges that it confronts as an institution. The first leadership challenge, vis-a-vis, development is the tension that sometimes exists between modern and traditional leadership in Africa. Countries in Western Europe have maintained the same leadership form overtime, refining and reforming it in response to challenges and circumstances in the quest for development. This is not the same in Africa because of colonialism. Colonialism has led to a situation where traditional leadership and the leadership in the modern sector are separated. They exist side by side and are often not synergetic. The role of traditional leadership in modern policy making process varies considerably across countries on the continent. In some African countries (including Burundi, Rwanda, Tunisia and Tanzania) traditional leaders play very minimal role in the policy making process. In others like Ghana and Nigeria, they play very significant roles and are quite influential in affecting policy outcomes. In the latter case, there are often tensions between these two leadership categories. For example, in Ghana the Constitution recognizes the role of traditional leadership institutions and has created the National and Regional Houses of Chiefs. Chiefs are also appointed into the Council of State which has the role of advising the President on national policy issues. At the same time Clause 1 of Article 276 bars Chiefs from engaging in active partisan politics. Traditional leaders that often attempt to openly influence the policy making process are often misconstrued to be actively partisan. Indeed, some traditional leaders have openly violated this provision. However, there is a third case where traditional and modern leadership work closely together to foster unity and bring about development in Africa, especially in countries like Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

Modernity and Western liberal democracy have withered the powers of traditional leadership in majority of African countries; the remaining traditional rights and privileges that they use to exercise are constantly being

taken away from them. Traditional leaders are required by Western liberal democracy to reform and change cultural practices that form the source of their authority. Secondly, globalization and urbanization have both globalized local challenges beyond the reach of just a single leader. The shared challenge of ending poverty, stemming the spread of HIV/AIDS, checking human rights abuses, fighting corruption and bad governance are localized issues but global in response. Globalized problems require international solutions. International solutions need international cooperation, and a country's ability to benefit from a global solutions and interdependency requires a certain amount of political, economic and security powers that are way beyond the reach of the traditional leader.

The increasing monetization of leadership selection procedures, both traditional and modern, has negatively affected the quality of leadership in terms of impartial and selfless rule. Monetization of traditional leadership has led to the selection of people outside of the royal family that have money and these practices have raised legitimacy concerns. Increasingly, it becomes difficult for traditional leaders to exercise authority when they have questionable legitimacy. In modern leadership, elections are conducted with money and often won with money. This creates a situation where elites that sponsor electoral campaigns capture governments. Developments of this nature breed political exclusion, urban bias, weak political will and centralization of political power. These few leadership challenges, from the many lot that face Africa, continue to impact on the governance process of the continent. The next section examines their implications for governance in the continent.

GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

Broadly defined, governance refers to the various means through which social life is coordinated (Heywood 2007: 6). The World Development Report (WDR) defines governance as "the process through which states and non-state actors interact to design and implement policies within a given set of formal and informal rules that shape and are shaped by power" (WDR 2017: 41). Governance has to do with the changes in "responsibilities of public authorities and institutions and the several ways in which order, and stability are generated in modern society" (Ayee 2016: 3). A best fit summary from these definitions will assume governance to be a kind of interactive process (Edwards and Romero 2015), societal regulatory rules (Koiman 2003; Hyden and Court 2002) and power dynamics

(WDR 2017; Ayee 2016). Governance occurs at different levels (i.e., from the international to community levels) creating a complex and an overlapping network of actors with different power dynamics. There are several ways of acquiring political power. Yet, this section will examine three critical modes: first, through inheritance or hereditary transfer; second, through the gun or military coup d'état; and finally, through elections or democracy. Power that is acquired hereditarily is less likely to be openly contested, participatory and inclusive. The level of Accountability may also be limited since power holders will be more inclined to account to the source of their power rather than to those that are being governed with the power. Similarly, power acquired through military coup d'état is more likely to follow in the same fashion as hereditary power; being dependent on the gun and the few elements that helped made the coup a success. Power acquired through elections is more likely to be transparent, accountable and participatory. This assumption is reinforced by the way power is acquired in a democracy—basically, through popular ballot. Elections and perhaps the existence of both horizontal and vertical institutions of Accountability have made transparency, Accountability and Participation more likely in a democracy than in the other modes of acquiring power.

Which of these modes of acquiring power is most developmental? Democracy is assumed to be the most developmental since decisions are made in a more inclusive and participatory manner. Democracy is therefore deemed befitting for the African continent to address the conflicts, poverty and poor governance that challenge its progress. For example, the 2003 Human Development Report noted that the 1990s was a "decade of despair" in which many countries, majority of them from Africa, experienced reverse development because of war. Williams (2011) also notes the sheer volume of armed conflicts that are fought in the continent and the propensity of these conflicts to retard development. The democratic peace theory suggests that democracies have in-built conflict resolution mechanisms that prevent the escalation of ordinary disputes into full-blown conflicts. Democratic institutions could reverse the developmental deficits necessitated by conflicts. Despite these virtues of democracy, there has been a democratic recession globally (Diamond 2011, 2015; Gyimah-Boadi 2015; Kurlantzick 2011; Levitsky and Way 2015). Democratic norms and practice are in retreat globally. The increasing deficits in the provisions of services and the satisfaction of the basic needs of citizens in a democracy, the unflinching equation of democracy to elections and the tendency of states to have illegitimate governments that rose to power

through electoral fraud and monetized elections, and the adequate influence of the electorate in decision making after elections account for erosion of confidence in democracy.

Conclusively, how power is acquired is as important as the manner it is used. Most countries have been able to successfully develop under conditions described as less democratic. Wade (2003) describes the developmental strategies employed by the Asian Tigers in their infant stages of development as purely illiberal. Therefore, when the Asian financial crisis occurred in 1996, one of the neo-liberal explanations was what they termed "crony capitalism"—a term that symbolizes the practice, as well as the implementation of economic principles that are contrary to the established practices under a capitalist economy (O'Brien and Williams 2004). Indeed, capitalism is the economic manifestation of political liberalism and the two are expected to complement each other. The relative economic successes of Rwanda and Ethiopia as well as similar feats achieved under military regimes in Africa (also under the Acheampong's regime in Ghana in the 1970s) collectively reinforce the now popular theory of "developmental autocracies." Developmental autocracy refers to a situation where an economy superintended by a supposedly non-democratic government can grow and develop. It is important, however, to note that developmental autocracies are often fragile and exposes countries to severe developmental crisis. Developments are better managed by strong and efficient institutions rather than strong men. The economic challenges post-Meles Zenawi Ethiopia is going through is evident of the fragility of this development model. In this section I present the evolution of governance in Africa since 1900 to 2016 using the five indicators: Accountability, Participation, Deliberation, Division of Power and Freedom of Expression drawn from the Varieties of Democracy data.

In the 1900s in West Africa, Division of Power was the least deep in terms of the five democratic indicators selected for analysis with a value of 0.12 and the Accountability indicator was deepest than all the other indicators with a value of 1.51. The values for the other indicators are Freedom of Expression (1.21), Deliberation (0.73) and Participation (0.63). As the West African sub-region progresses in democratic governance, most of these indicators appreciated remarkably: Accountability by 69%, Participation by 203%, Deliberation by 297%, Division of Power by 1392% and Freedom of Expression by 150%, all in 2016. Figure 9.1 indicates this growth for West Africa. The figures for Southern Africa are not quite different from West Africa in terms of the deepening of the principles of good
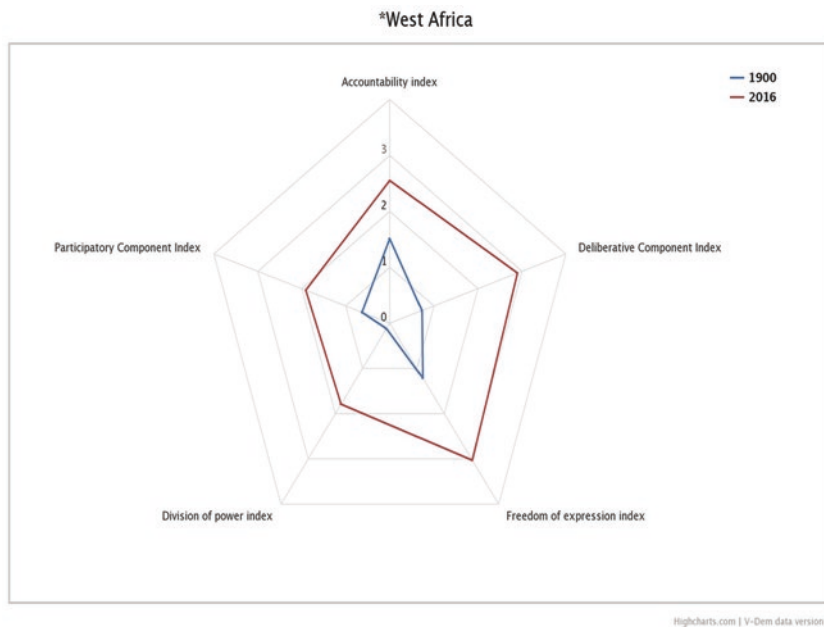
Fig. 9.1 Development of good governance in West Africa (1900–2016). Source: Analysed from V-Dem online data version 7 (2018)

governance. In the 1900s in Southern Africa, Division of Power was the least deep in terms of the five democratic indicators selected for analysis with a value of 0.44 and the Accountability indicator was deepest than all the other indicators with a value of 1.52. The other indicators had these values: Freedom of Expression (0.88), Deliberation (0.58) and Participation (0.47). As democracy deepens in Southern Africa, most of these indicators leapfrogged as well: Accountability by 53%, Participation by 296%, Deliberation by 310%, Division of Power by 361% and Freedom of Expression by 177%, all in 2016. Figure 9.2 indicate the growth for Southern Africa.

The development of good governance at East Africa followed the same pattern of growth as in West and Southern Africa from 1900 to 2016. In the 1900s in East Africa, Division of Power was the least deep with a value of 0.33 and the Accountability indicator was the deepest with a value of 1.43; Deliberation tied with Participation at 0.47 and Division of Power
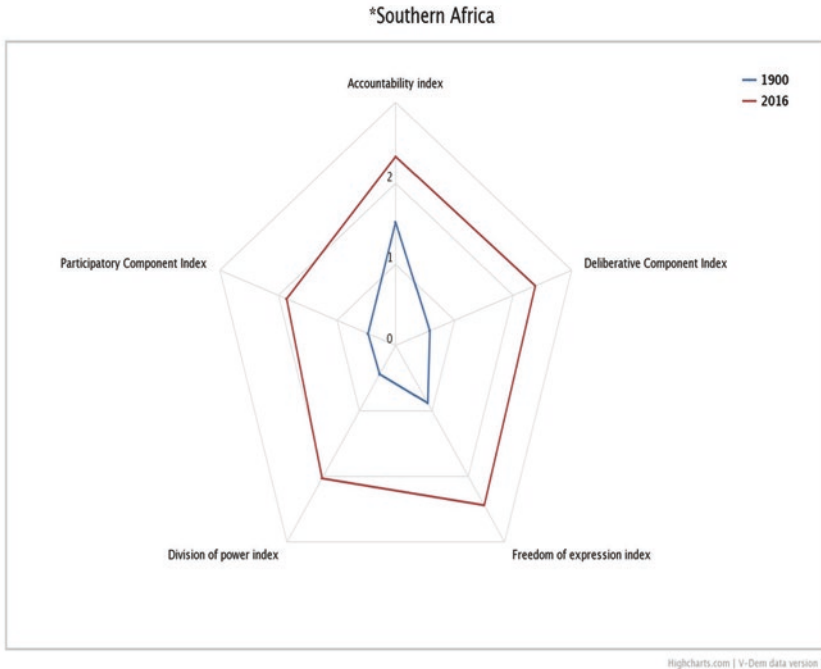
Fig. 9.2 Development of good governance in Southern Africa (1900–2016). Source: Analysed from V-Dem online data version 7 (2018)

came last (0.33). The figures witnessed tremendous growth over the years with Accountability recording 46%, Participation 232%, Deliberation 319%, Division of Power 303% and Freedom of Expression by 62%, all in 2016.

The development of good governance at Central Africa also followed the same pattern of growth as in the previous three regions: West, South and East Africa from 1900 to 2016. In the 1900s in Central Africa, Division of Power was the least deep in terms of the five democratic indicators selected for analysis with a value of 0.12 and the Accountability indicator was deepest than all the other indicators with a value of 1.25. In the 1900s, therefore, Accountability was deepest (1.25), followed by Freedom of Expression (0.62), Deliberation (0.5), Participation (0.45) and Division of Power came last (0.12). The figures witnessed tremendous
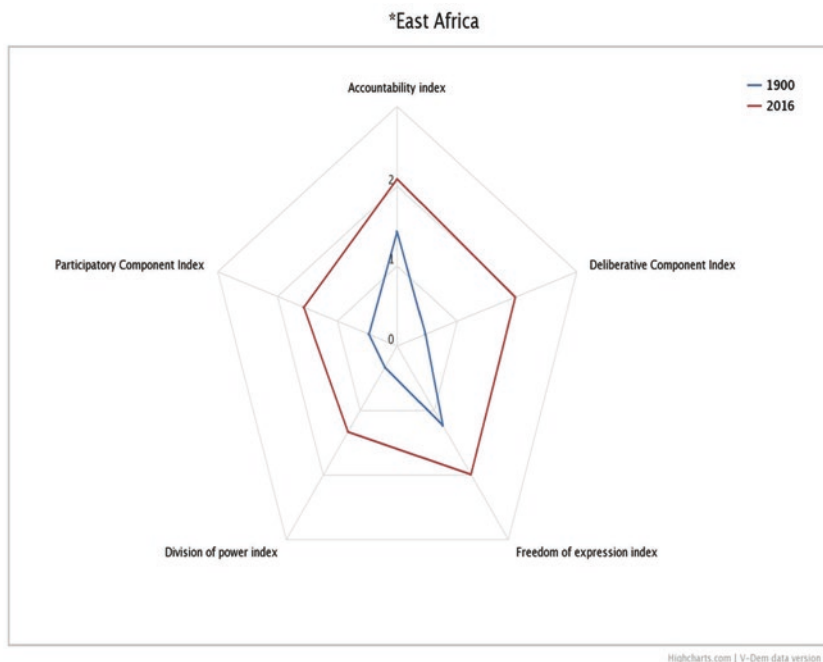
Fig. 9.3 Development of good governance in East Africa (1900–2016). Source: Analysed from V-Dem online data version 7 (2018)

growth over the years with Accountability recording by 67% in 2016, Participation by 231%, Deliberation by 338%, Division of Power by 1058% and Freedom of Expression by 266%, all in 2016. This is shown in Fig. 9.4.

Even though different reasons could explain the relative improvement in some of these indicators of good governance in all the four sub-regional blocs (i.e., the fact that these regions were centralized or acephalous around the 1900s could explain why the indicator on Division of Power or Deliberation or even Participation may be weak or deep; military regimes and one party states after independence could also explain why these indicators could be high or low; another reason could be efficient local government system, federal or unitary governmental system as opposed to any other reasons), there is the clear message that between the years of 1900 and 2016, these indicators have witnessed tremendous advancement in all these four regions, except in Northern Africa where no data exist. Table 9.3
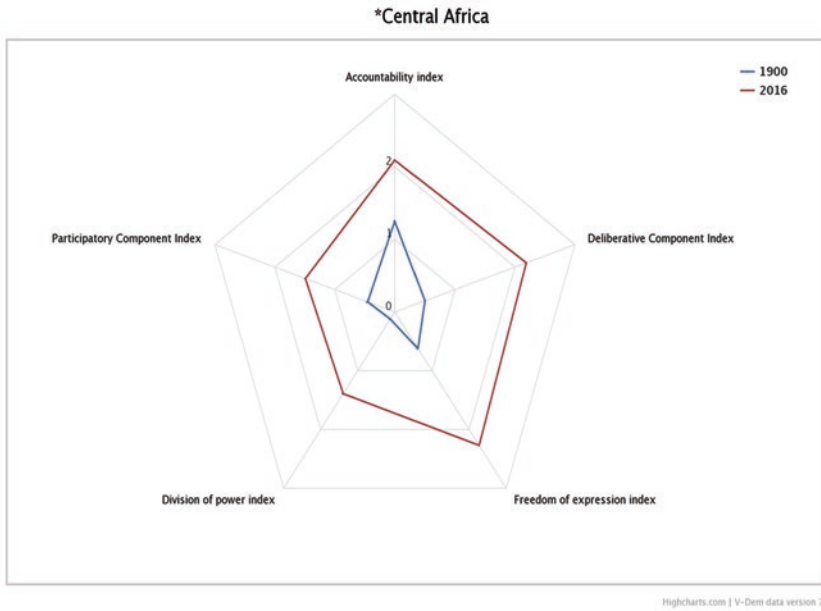
Fig. 9.4 Development of good governance in East Africa (1900–2016). Source: Analysed from V-Dem online data version 7 (2018)

Table 9.3 Average measures of good governance in African regions (1900–2016)

Indicators	Area			
	West Africa 1900–2016	East Africa 1900–2016	Southern Africa 1900–2016	Central Africa 1900–2016
Accountability	1.51–2.55	1.43–2.09	1.52–2.33	1.25–2.09
Participation	0.63–1.91	0.47–1.56	0.47–1.86	0.45–1.49
Deliberation	0.73–2.9	0.47–1.97	0.58–2.38	0.5–2.19
Division of Power	0.12–1.79	0.33–1.33	0.44–2.03	0.12–1.39
Freedom of Expression	1.21–3.03	1.23–1.99	0.88–2.44	0.62–2.27

Source: Generated from v-dem website (2018)

Note: The values in this table range from 0 to 5, with 5 representing the highest quality of governance

Table 9.4 Changes in measures of good governance in African regions in percentages (1900–2016)

Variable	West Africa (%)	East Africa (%)	Southern Africa (%)	Central Africa (%)
Accountability	69	46	53	67
Participation	203	232	296	231
Deliberation	297	319	310	338
Division of Power	1392	303	361	1058
Freedom of Expression	150	62	177	266

Source: Authors computation

presents the values shown in the radar graphs above, while Table 9.4 presents, in comparative terms, the percentage of improvement that these indicators have gone through.

There are two cautions that need to be exercised here in looking at these figures. First, the figures in Table 9.4 do not indicate, for example, that the West African sub-region is the best in terms of Accountability compared to the rest of the regions. The figure there suggests that the West African sub-region appreciated more in the Accountability index than all the other regions on the same variable. Second, the increasing pattern of development for all the indicators of good governance does not suggest that there are entrenched good governance practices. Several challenges remain regarding the practice of good governance, notwithstanding its increasing development. For example, the increase in acceptability of good governance and its broader indicators may be since it is now the global dominant paradigm and has become conditional in Africa's dealings with the rest of the world, including the International Financial Institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund as well as in bilateral and multilateral engagements. These could condition acceptability but not quality in practice. Good governance in Africa is affected by elite capture, patrimonial tendencies, urban bias, corruption and a plain confusion of the theoretical understanding of these concepts and how they should be practised. These challenges vary from one sub-region to another and from one country to another, yet they should not be discounted since they have broader implication on policy making in the continent.

Governance, Leadership and Public Policy Interface in Africa

Public policy issues relate to basic ethical issues facing society (Stewart et al. 2008). Public policy can therefore be seen as a "set of ideas and practical search for institutional arrangements for the realization of the goals of society" (Anderson 1975: 5). Policy constitutes collective thoughts about how societal challenges are addressed in a more equitable and ethical manner. It also requires institutional arrangements for service delivery, including legislations and regulatory bodies. Public policy also involves processes, activities and actions (Nielson 2001), and not merely a single event. The nature of public policy suggests that it requires adequate planning, introspection and the capacity to execute it meaningfully and successfully. Public policies are implemented with purpose. Hence Anderson (1975) perceives public policy as a "purposive course of action" (p.2). Public policy as decisions, (in) actions or activities pursued by an actor or set of actors are to achieve often specified goals in the public interest.

Governance has intrinsic values. These values include creating opportunities for people to live peacefully without fear, setting the environment for people to live and interact according to the laws of the land, creating opportunities for sustained economic growth and expanding the freedoms that people enjoy (WDR 2017). Leadership and policy making are therefore crucial to achieving the intrinsic values of governance. Leadership (as in an individual King or Government as a collective entity) is necessary in the provision of security that will enable citizens live in a peaceful manner. Leaders need policy to guide action to achieve the goals of security, economic growth, expansion of freedom and to guarantee the rule of law and the general well-being of citizens. The kind of leadership exercised in a state or society will influence the calibre of policies formulated and implemented and that will invariably impact on governance.

There is relative stability of tenure in a traditional leadership than in a modern leadership. While traditional leaders could be removed from office for committing selected offences considered as taboos, leaders mostly stay in power through their life course if they avoid these misconducts. Modern leaders could also be impeached (in a typical Presidential system) or lose power in a vote of no confidence situation (in a typical Parliamentary system). Whereas the Presidential system is relatively stable than the Parliamentary system, leaders in both systems face constitutional term

limits which make a person unable to lead for a life course. Stability of tenure could have implications for public policy making.

Leadership stability provides opportunity for the formulation and implementation of long-term policies that do not only deal with proximate developmental challenges but deeper structural ones as well. Stability in tenure also makes room for continuity in policy making rather than truncation. It prevents abandonment when a new political party with different ideological orientation succeeds a rival party. In some countries in Africa, constitutional provisions reinforce policy continuity in the event of a change of government, yet new governments often abandon capital-intensive investments. For example, Chap. 6 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana (i.e., the Directive Principle of State Policy) calls for, among other things, the continuation of government policies regardless of the party in power, but this call is often not heeded once there is a change of government.

Also, there is mostly fusion of powers in traditional leadership (i.e., where the King exercises Executive, Legislative and Judicial powers at the same time) compared to the relative separation of powers in modern governance systems. Fusion of powers is more manifest in a Parliamentary system of government than in a Presidential system. However, the collaboration/conflict relationship is felt more between the Legislative and Executive branches of government than in the relationship between these and the Judicial branch. The Judiciary is relatively independent and often exercises independent judgement and oversight over the other two branches. Further, per the design of modern governance institutions, the three branches of government are mostly presided over by different individuals or actors (i.e., the Chief Justice for the Judiciary, the Speaker of Parliament for the legislature and the President or the Prime Minister for the Executive; in a typical Anglo-Saxon fashion) unlike in the traditional system where one person (normally the King or Queen) carry out the three main functions of government.

This separation or fusion of the branches of government have implications for policy making. Speed in policy making may characterize the traditional leadership relative to the modern context (especially in situations where there exists a bicameral legislature) in which the first and second houses of the legislature will have to pass a bill before it goes to the Executive branch for assent. On the flip side, there is relatively less scrutiny and the exercise of oversight in public policy making where one person superintends the entire processes through its different stages of maturity.

This explanation could be theoretical more than practical especially in some African countries where majority of the membership of the legislature come from the party that controls the Executive branch. In situations like this, the work of the Legislative branch (including public policy making) is influenced more by partisan politics than the common good.

Further, the policy making environment in modern governance system is influenced by a wide range of complex and networked actors than in the traditional context. States, under modern governance system, enter into bilateral and multilateral agreements with other states but are also members of international institutions, including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organizations, among others. These arrangements have wider implication for public policy making in a modern leadership compared to the context of traditional leadership. For example, bilateral or multilateral agreements as well as policy conditionalities from international organizations could affect domestic policy making process in a positive or negative manner. Besides these international policy actors, local policy actors including civil society, unions, pressure and interest groups could bring their influences to bear on the policy making process of modern system. A policy making context of this kind will require relative commitment, coordination and cooperation to be successful. According to the WDR (2017) commitment in this sense is about duty bearers making the right policy decisions and public service providers thinking in the interest of the larger population and not only their personal interest. Coordination requires competitive investment environment that guarantees financial stability through the pursuit of credible policies, and clearly defined and enforced laws. Cooperation guarantees against opportunistic behaviour and allow for equity and inclusion. There is always a challenge to align global and continental developmental goals with that of national development priorities. African countries are members of many sub-regional, regional and global institutions—that is economic, political, security, etc.—yet in the pursuit of programmes of actions agreed upon from these bodies, they lose sight of their national developmental priorities. This therefore calls for a better coordination and harmonization to reap the benefits of the many confusing development agenda out there.

However, serious challenges remain in this interactive process. Prominent of these challenges is the poor development of scientific and technological knowledge via research. Research is fundamental to development (Chang 2005; Wade 2003) and according to the Economic

Commission for Africa (2017a: 8), Africa spends less than 0.5% of its GDP on research and development compared to the more than 1% spent in most developing regions as a whole and the 2% in developed regions. The realization of Africa Union's Agenda 2063 as well as the Sustainable Development Goals, the Commission noted, is hampered by inadequate scientific data. Indeed, research and development expenditure as a share of GDP stagnated at 0.4% during the period 2000–2013 in Africa (excluding the North).

There is also a challenge of investment in key sectors such as agriculture that employs majority of the African labour force. About 355 million people in Africa face food insecurity (UNECA 2017a); yet, agricultural productivity has been low with little deliberate attempt to improve that sector. Fiscal allocations to that sector in most African countries are below 10% of budgetary resources commitment made under the Maputo Protocol. Africa has vast land but only 5% of agricultural land in the continent is irrigated compared to 41% in Asia and 21% globally (UNECA 2017a). At the country-specific levels, not enough is being done to improve the levels of citizens' well-being. The New Patriotic Party government under Nana Addo Danquah Akufo-Addo launched what it dubbed "Planting for Food and Jobs" programme as a way of increasing agricultural production to reduce food insecurity and to rebrand agriculture to make it attractive to much of the youth who are unemployed but seek white-collar jobs.

Conclusion

This chapter sets out to examine the role and interaction of leadership, governance and public policy in Africa and its implication for development. It shows that leadership attributes are generic and may qualify a person to lead. However, the ability of leaders to translate public confidence reposed in them through either royalty or popular vote into actionable developmental policy is cumbersome and context-specific. While in developed democracies, there is basically one major culture and tradition that evolved and has been refined by situations and circumstances, in Africa colonialism has created a bifurcated public sphere of leadership, thereby generating tensions rather than integrated co-existence in governance. The limited penetration of Western liberal democracy further alienates the contribution of traditional leadership to national development. This should be addressed as matter of policy to achieve synergy and the benefits of both institutions.

Segregated and often conflictual leadership systems in Africa have implication for governance. Policy making in Africa is limited by both bifurcated leadership and bad governance. In addition, limited data, poor capacity (both institutional and human) as well as bureaucracy and politicization are rampant in the African policy making environment. These together militate against the genuine quest and the countless efforts of the continent to either grow on its own or catch up with the now industrialized countries.

Moving forward, Africa needs to strengthen its leadership capacity by building cohesion between traditional and modern leadership. This is possible by reforming traditional leadership institutions and de-monetizing modern electoral processes. This reform could reduce apathy, exclusion and foster collaboration between these two institutions. Also, good governance can gain traction when practical steps are taken to address patrimonialism and corruption in the modern sectors. These will enable leadership and governance to address the concerns of citizens, promote the interest of the people and bridge the gap between the continent and other developed economies.

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CHAPTER 10

The Global Context of Public Policy

Fred Jonyo

INTRODUCTION

The concept of public policy, according to Casey (2004), refers to a process whereby state agencies come up with a plan of action which is pursued with an intention to solve public problems. Public policy may also be conceptualized as a system of laws, regulatory measures, causes of action and funding priorities concerning a given topic promulgated by a government entity or its representatives (Zahariadis 2006). The public policy serves several advantages to a country such as assisting the government to eliminate all forms of ambiguities in the decision-making process. Avoidance of making uncoordinated decisions which may jeopardize government's decisions, avoidance of future pitfalls, disasters and unplanned emergencies, stabilization of national government programmes as well as acting as negotiation tools, just to mention but a few.

This chapter seeks to establish the influence of globalization on public policy. To make it specific, illustrations would be drawn from Kenya. The central question of this chapter is to what extent does globalization impact Kenya's public policy processes? To answer this question, this chapter sets

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out the following specific objectives, examine the nature of the public policy making process in Kenya, and identify and explain the external factors that influence public policy making in Kenya.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: WORLD SYSTEMS THEORY

This chapter will be anchored on the world systems theory. Immanuel Wallenstein, who was a neo-Marxist, advanced this theory. He refers to the world system as a world economy. This world economy, according to him, has integrated markets and a disjointed political centre. The world has been divided into two, the core and the periphery. They rely on each other for the basic needs such as food, protection and fuel, among others. The states both at the core and at the periphery are in constant competition with each other (Goldfrank 2000).

Immanuel Wallenstein (1974) defines world system as a territory that is multi-cultured and characterized by divisions of labour as well as specialization of labour in the process of production. By division of labour, Immanuel Wallenstein refers to the production forces and class relations of the two segments of the world apart from being different in terms of geography and culture. He notes that the core region uses capital-intensive methods to produce while the periphery adopts the labour-intensive methods to produce (Goldfrank 2000). This means that the relationship between the core and the periphery is characterized by structuralism. States that are at the middle of peripheral and the core states (semi-peripheral states) in Skocpol's view (2017) act as a buffer between the two groups of states. This structural nature of the international system has also extended to the policy areas. Whereby the state at the core usually sets the agenda, states at the periphery adopt the agenda as advanced by the states at the core. For instance, the Millennium Development goals emanated from the states at the core as a strategy of enhancing development to the states at the periphery.

Chase-Dunn and Grimes (1995) observe that the structure of the world economy between the two states is hierarchical. The core states are in constant domination of the weaker states. The core states are usually aided by technology that helps to position countries whether at the core or at the periphery. Technology also helps to indicate whether the state is advanced or not. The production levels of the core are usually higher than those at the periphery, hence economic domination.

Skocpol (2017) explains that the existence of the core and the periphery is good for survival and reproduction of the international system. This is because the states in each of the segments are interdependent on each other. Immanuel Wallenstein refers to this type of relationship as unequal exchange, whereby periphery states constantly supply countries at the core with the raw materials and in turn countries at the core sell finished products to those at the peripheral states. In addition to that, core states supply peripheral states with modern technology and industrial machines. In turn capital accumulation internationally increases and states in the peripheral are developed.

Politically, Wallenstein (1979) observes that states are just mere variables or elements of the international system. It is the existing classes that use the states as avenues of pursuing their interests. He argues that what holds or makes the international systems to survive are the division of labour as well as specialization of labour. This means that the interests of the core states and the class of the rich are always united in safeguarding their interests. This means that the efficacious arrangement works best for the international system.

Wallenstein (2004) also emphasizes that products in the core states are usually done by monopolies while products that emanate from the peripheral states are usually produced through a competitive environment. This means that products from the core states that are produced by the monopolies are highly priced and highly demanded in the globalized market unlike those products from the peripheral states that are produced in a competitive manner. This therefore makes the core states to grow richer while peripheral states become poorer.

Wallenstein (2004) further argues that in the modern international system, the concept of racism as well as sexism is so rampant and people are discriminated against based on their race, colour and religion. This is the divide between Universalism and the Particularism. This means that people belonging to races and religions that are dominant in the core states are usually favoured in terms of power, work and allocation of privileges to the disadvantage of states in the periphery.

Wallenstein explains that the modern sovereign state is a product of the international system. Before the consolidation of the international system, states were pursuing contradictory self-interests. This rendered the international system to be anarchic. To restore order in the international system, states had to recognize each other as well as respect other states. This happens through the concept of reciprocity in the diplomatic and

international relations. However, states at the core have continued to disregard the states from the periphery. As a result, instead of the relationship between states being horizontal, it is now vertical. States at the periphery are forced to open their markets and subject to economic policies from the centre, which do not help them to get out of underdevelopment.

Wallenstein further describes the states at the periphery as neo-colonies of states of the core. This is because they are controlled formally and informally by the states at the core. The peripheral states (neo-colonies) are managed like the "mother country" in a discreet manner. The relations between the core and the peripheral states are exploitative; the states at the core are not the best of friends to each other either. But they are united because of common interests, but deep down they are bitter rivals. This bitter rivalry that usually push them in different directions is mediated by their common interests, hence the survival of the international system sustained by these global hegemons.

STAGES OF PUBLIC POLICY MAKING PROCESS

The global arena as prescribed by Diane is expanding and diversifying. This is because the state is not necessarily retreating or declining; however, it is reconfiguring with the dynamics of globalization and remains an important or central agent in the international system. Yet, the components of the agora or the international system, its values, discourses, symbols, norms, institutions and practices, as argued by Arthurs (2001), are also created by other non-state actors that have acquired or appropriated public authority when responding unilaterally or in partnership to global policy problems. Global policy processes have emerged with governments, international organizations and non-state actors responding to three types of policy problems (Soros 1991), namely "trans boundary problems" of cross-border movement such as money laundering, pollution, drug trafficking; "common property problems" regarding oceans, Antarctica, the atmosphere; "Simultaneous problems" of nations experiencing similar problems in areas of education, health, welfare, urbanization and population growth.

These three problems, according to these authors, have led to new forms of "soft" authority or "soft law" that complements the traditional "hard" or formal authority of states and international organizations. "Soft" authority is seen in the emergence of private regimes, and global standard setting and transnational policy communities. The exercise of

public and private authority through policy networks and law-like arrangements creates global policy processes.

Adapting traditional concepts from policy studies highlights some of the difficulties in analytically capturing the idea of global public policy. Nonetheless, one advantage of public policy at the global level is that it brings into relief the role of private actors and processes of self-regulation. The policy process is often divided into four stages:

1. Problem definition and agenda setting.
2. Formal decision making.
3. Policy implementation and
4. Monitoring and evaluation.

These traditional elements of the national policy processes are also extended to the global arena where states pursue their interests at the global arena. However, the global contents show more clearly the volatility of policy processes. The ever-changing character of the global policy process shows the lack of formal, authoritative and sovereign power to give guidance. In fact, the studies have concluded that transnational public administration has also been less transparent than at the domestic level.

GLOBALIZATION AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE GLOBAL POLICY PROCESS

Globalization, according to Richard (2012), is a phenomenon that has emerged as one of the unchallenged issues in the contemporary world. Globalization as a process is not a recent phenomenon but has been there for a while without critical recognition; previously it took different forms from what it is today. However, the essence of globalization is closeness and interaction; countries and societies have closer working relations. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) perceived globalization as the increasing interdependence on a worldwide state where cross-border trade intensifies free flow of capital and widespread expansion of technology.

Naisbit (1982) further conceptualized globalization as a situation where one can invest anywhere, locate industries anywhere, produce any product anywhere, source labour from anywhere, mobilize resources anywhere and sell products anywhere so long as investible capital benefits from it. Public policies will thus be made with these profitable returns in

mind. David Held (2010) defined globalization as the widening, deepening and speeding of global interconnections, in a multidimensional way, whereby states and societies get deeply involved in a wider and quicker way. Anthony Mcgrew (2007) provided a comprehensive conceptualization of globalization where he defined it as a forging of multiplicity of interconnections socially, economically, politically and other faces of interactions where societies and states come together so that events and activities in one place come to have significant impacts in other distant societies. Kenichi Ohmae defined globalization as the end of geography; that is, the borders that define states are not only absent but irrelevant because investible capital will march irrespective of territoriality so long as there are profitable returns (Richard 2012).

Due to globalization, developing country's public policy making process, according to Adar, has continued to be externally influenced through several strategies and avenues. First, technological advancements today are so sophisticated that information moves quite faster irrespective of distance. For instance, people can share information within a very short time and individuals can make decisions quite faster because the information is readily available. As a result of the existence of the Internet and social media platforms, problems facing Africans and countries in the south are highlighted and broadcasted all over the world and therefore elicit immediate reactions from all concerned persons and entities across the world. All these entities and concerned persons become part and parcel of public policy making in addressing issues. External influence on public policy processes of states in the south are quite strong.

Secondly, public policy making of states in the south are being influenced by the industrial revolution that took place in Europe in the early part of nineteenth century. The western conception of modernity has led to linear precedence where a roadmap to country's development in the south was predetermined. According to the Rostovian model, the countries in Africa must go through several stages in their development trajectory, including the traditional phase, the preconditions for take-off, take-off stage, drive to maturity and high mass consumption, to come out of the quandary of over-production and under-consumption. The quest for industrial success logically involves vicious external search for market outlets. Meanwhile, industrialized countries have remained very active in foreign markets through which they compensate for loss of market at home. They dominate the global market so that no competition can emerge to forestall profitable returns to their powerful and widespread

multi-national corporations. Examples of powerful MNCs that operate in Kenya includes Barclays Bank of Kenya, Coca-Cola, BAT Kenya, Unilever, Demonte Group, Samea Africa, just to mention but a few. The spread of the MNCs in different countries has also intensified globalization because resource movement, raw material movement and other factors of production have transcended the state borders. MNCs influence national public policies as they pursue their interest within the countries.

The other strategy in which globalization has influenced public policy processes of African states is through the easy flow of capital (Money), the internationalization of capital. For instance, the issue of portfolio investments has been developed and most MNCs are entering into subcontracting ventures with the local companies. They are also entering into a partnership with other regional-based companies where they conduct joint investments or split their operations. In all these arrangements they remain the dominant players. Again, the easy movement of money across state borders has also come along with the challenges of illicit financial flows as well as money laundering. Huge resources can easily be wired for any investments, wherever it is and equally currency convertibility is well developed, so that it is no longer an impediment. Relative under capacity of the state in Africa means that a state like Kenya must rely on the safety policies that have been adopted at the global level to contain any economic crimes such as money laundering.

The emergence of global coverage mass media has also contributed to influencing Kenya's public policy. Examples of global mass media which have continued to play a big role in influencing Kenya's public policy include Aljazeera, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), the Voice of America, the *New York Times*, Cable News Network (CNN), among others. The mass media has had a powerful influence on the global stage where events in different parts of the world are quickly disseminated to a large audience creating a single village. Equally, the media exposes debates within Kenya and outside Kenya on topical issues where people from all over the world can call in and interact around issues. For instance, the subject of international terrorism has been widely discussed by the international media to an extent that they have managed to shape the perceptions of Kenyans along certain lines. These perceptions at times have advanced the interests of the states at the core at the expense of the states of the south.

The advancement in global transportation systems has also succeeded in ensuring globalization perfectly influences public policy processes of the

counties in the south. For instance, the mushrooming of the many airlines across the world has made it easier for individuals across the world to jet in and out of Kenya easily. In cities where airlines have massive connections, there have been seen large movements from one point to the other in pursuit of diverse interests. The advent of naval ships and sea transport has increased emergence and development of the global businesses across the world and the expansion of the international trade. The construction of modern ports and harbours and the standard gauge railway has enabled investors from all over the world to come and make huge investments in Kenya. This has had as serious effects on Kenya's public policy because most of these players are clamouring to have a say on these processes of public making process to protect their diverse interests.

The rise and spread of formal education and widening of employment opportunities, expansion of tourism interests and health management has made many people to travel across the world and within the African continent in search of opportunities to better their lives. African governments have formulated public policies in response to these needs that have been shaped by globalization. Local and the foreign tourism organizations have also sought to influence the relevant African governments in line with their interests. Many African governments have responded quickly to these interests as they seek revenue; sometimes, they have become more accountable to external interests than their own citizens. Thus, there is greater external influence on public policy making processes of Africa's developing states.

The emergence of regional integration schemes across the world has also influenced the formulation and the conduct of the public policy in many of the states in the south. For instance, the East African Community and the European Union (EAC-EU), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), United Nations (UN) and African Union (AU), among others, have seen states surrender some of their decision-making powers on certain issues to the larger union. The regional organizations have increasingly taken responsibilities on behalf of the individual states and of regional community in certain matters. Therefore, such states interact, make decisions and act as a block. This therefore makes public policy in almost every African state is no regional but global activity, eroding national policy making capacities.

The rise of international institutions of governance such as the UN, Federation of International Football Associations (FIFA), World Bank, IMF, among others, has continued to influence developing countries public policy processes. According to Kenichi Ohmae, there is a large array of international institutions like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organisation (WTO), the UN which have over the years developed common policies to guide the behaviour of states, so that collectively, they have created an international regime which countries have to comply with. Therefore, the UN through its agencies such as the UNDP, FAO, WHO, WTO, just to mention a few, have continued to form a basis upon which public policies in Kenya are formulated and implemented, epitomizing the external influence on Kenya's public policy making.

The idea of environmental change and conservation has also brought countries together. For instance, due to global warming and the problem of the environmental degradation, Kenya has been at the forefront in pushing for the environmental conservation and protection of its natural resources. For instance, during the signing of the Kyoto protocol, all the signatory and non-signatory states including Kenya were bound by the decisions that were taken in that protocol. Also, a few Kenyans have been internationally acclaimed all over the world in the environmental conservation. Wangari Maathai is a perfect example. In addition to these, in a bid to protect its wildlife, to deal with the poaching menace, among others, Kenya entered into international agreements with other states. Now, the global policies against poaching and environmental protection are also part of Kenya's public policies.

The urge to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security has also seen the idea of globalization impacting on the security policies of states. For instance, Kenya's security policies on issues such as the war on terror, money laundering, drug trafficking and international terrorism have largely been informed by the guidelines issued by the United Nations Security Council and the African Union Continental Early Warning Systems. In addition to these, Kenya has been partnering with its regional neighbours to ensure its own security.

Finally, the impact of globalization on Kenya's public policy is marked by the implementation of various structural adjustment programmes such as liberalization, privatization, reduction of government expenditure, retrenchment, currency stabilization through the devaluation of currencies, among others. These came from the Washington consensus

underscored by a neoliberal theocracy propagated by the World Bank and the IMF. Today, globalization is faithful to the idea of open markets whereby all countries must liberalize their markets, be exposed to competition with free capital mobility.

The idea of liberalization has largely been pushed by industrialized economies to enable them access market opportunities in the global south. Concerning matters of privatization of public enterprises, globalization required that public enterprises which were notorious for poor performance needed to be sold off to the private sector which will now overhaul these entities into profitable outfits. The argument being those inefficient states in developing countries have crowded out private capital, yet it is private sector that should be the engine growth. The private sector had sufficient resource capacity to productively move these countries. Privatization was considered necessary to address the fiscal crisis of the state, reduce government expenditure, reduce waste in non-essential services and release more funds to critical needs like social welfare in education and health, among others.

Retrenchment of government work force was considered necessary to cut the size of the public service that was bloated, so that the few who remain will be better paid for efficient performance. However, many of this work force became highly demoralized, due to low pay as wages stagnated. Labour market flexibility required that labour unions were prevented from embarking on strikes and other disruptions that would affect production; that is, harsh mechanisms be made to regulate labour unions, so that there is stability and continuity in production. Currency stabilization measures were abandoned, and currency devaluation and floating of the currency in the foreign exchange market was considered necessary in an "interdependent" global economy. The government of Kenya accepted all these conditionalities and prescriptions made by the Bretton Woods institutions.

GLOBALIZATION AND THE POLICY PROCESS IN KENYA

Among the global influences of Kenya's domestic public policy process are the many international charters, treaties and agreements which the Republic of Kenya has signed. These have been in various areas including the key sectoral policies: education policies, health sector polices and agricultural policies.

The education sector is one of the foci of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). The Kenyan government identified achieving the SDG goals in relation to education as one of its priorities. Education is considered an important tool of development since it is through education that the citizens are informed, formed and transformed both in their thinking capacity and in their behavioural expectations. Besides, education is also a source of ensuring that poverty is eradicated, and acts of insecurity are reduced. Education has also been lauded by many stakeholders as a means through which inequalities are narrowed and national integration and cohesion is fostered. As a result of these, the government of Kenya in partnership with its 47 county governments has embarked on various programmes informed by the SDGs. For instance, there is the provision of universal free primary education, which made education compulsory for all children of school-going age. There has also been a policy of universal free secondary education. Technical, tertiary and vocational educational training institutions (TVETS) at the local levels have been expanded. Besides these, there has been expansion of the higher education loan funds that now include both the university students and the TVET students. These initiatives have gone a long way in ensuring that there is the localization of education, and every child acquires the necessary education that he or she needs to develop him/herself. They are meant to ensure that the Kenya's vision 2030 and the SDGs goals and targets are met within the stipulated timelines.

The government of Kenya and all the 47 counties carried out several initiatives in the health sectors. The Kenyan health sector has historically suffered from serious challenges including poor health infrastructure, inadequate medical equipment and personnel across the country, scarcity of drugs in the health centres, among others. The government of Kenya and the county governments have invested in infrastructures in the 47 counties' health facilities. These include the construction and expansion of referral hospitals, the construction of new level 4 and level 5 hospitals in every sub-county, and the introduction of the mobile clinics in remote areas by the county governments. The national government extended the coverage of the National Health Insurance Fund (NHIF) scheme to cater for all Kenyans with the involvement of public and private hospitals. The NHIF scheme covers both the inpatient and the outpatient services. The scheme is known to cover various forms of treatment such as major and minor surgeries, cardiac conditions and various chronic illnesses. In a bid to address the shortage of the medical personnel, the government of

Kenya has gone to an extent of hiring medical doctors with different spe-cializations from the Republics of Tanzania and Cuba in a bid to ensure that Kenyan citizens receive proper and adequate treatment from its health facilities. These doctors have been distributed to all parts of the country, especially in the far-flung areas. This is a good initiative in ensuring that there is full localization and domestication of the SDGs.

In agriculture and food security, the government of Kenya in partner-ship with the 47 county governments implemented various agricultural programmes. For instance, mega dams have been constructed in far-flung locations in the arid and semi-arid areas. More than 1000 acres of land have been put under irrigation to ensure that there is food available across the country. The government of Kenya has transferred responsibilities for agriculture to the county governments where most citizens are. Finally, farmers in different sectors have been supplied with fertilizers and credit facilities enabling them to expand their production. These programmes and policies have been influenced by the global policies with regard to food security and agricultural development which Kenya has acceded to.

Globalization has had both negative and positive influences on Kenya. Some of the benefits that Kenya has recived from the globalization of public policy, according to Adar are numerous. First, there has been a steady increase in the economic production process in Kenya. This is because there has been a heavy capital inflow by the MNCs and increase in foreign direct investments. These have resulted in the emergence of many industries which produces at a large-scale level. Large-scale production allows the enjoyment of economies of scale which is good for Kenya's economy. The heavy presence of the MNCs in Kenya has ensured that there is transfer of sophisticated technology from developed countries to Kenya. Small- and medium-scale enterprises in Kenya can be mentored and nurtured by these MNCs. Also, these MNCs have influenced the vari-ous government policies on taxation and regulation of the conduct of the MNCs.

Second, because of this external influence, there has been a significant increase in government revenues. There has been a constant push by the World Bank and the IMF on the government to fight corruption, promote financial austerity measures, ensure there is good governance and account-ability, and ensure the digitization of the government's taxation system.

Third, external influence on Kenya's public policy has ensured the free flow of the factors of production across the country. Globalization allows movement of labour and capital. The production of goods and services has

continued to register optimum results arising from the massive mobility of labour and capital.

Fourth, globalization has enabled Kenya's government to focus public policy on competitiveness. This has enhanced competitive production and exchange which has improved market quality and increased income elasticity of most products sold in the market.

Fifth, the forces of globalization, especially the revolution in information and communication technology, have made it easier for Kenyans to access information on various opportunities. The flow of information, fast and easy access to information on several issues, has facilitated the pace of decision making by government officials and relevant stakeholders, thereby improving efficiency.

Finally, globalization has also expanded democratic space and promoted the ideals of liberalism. As a result of this influence, Kenya succeeded in promulgating a new constitution in 2010. This constitution has entrenched progressive ideas such as devolution, expansion of human rights, good governance, accountability and public participation in the governance process. The views of the people now matter in decision making.

On the other hand, the negative impact of globalization on Kenya's public policy making, according to Kegley and Wittkopff (1997), includes the following.

First, globalization has categorized countries into two, the developed industrialized countries and the underdeveloped poor countries. In this classification, the benefits of globalization are mainly found within the industrialized economies which can maximize their investible capital, whereas many developing countries have also opened their economies, not much has been seen in terms of benefits to these countries. Rather, globalization of public policies has accelerated the exploitative tendencies of the states at the core.

Second, although globalization has orientated Kenya's public policy on competitiveness, the country does not have sufficient productive capacity to take advantage of global markets. Therefore, Kenya loses in international trade to the advantage of the developed countries.

Third, under globalization multi-national capital has eroded the sovereign authority of Kenya as a state. This is so because these MNCs have constantly put undue pressure on Kenya's government policy on various issues. Regulatory capture in some instances has led to decisions that are quite unfair to the citizens of Kenya. This implies that the government of

Kenya cannot effectively enforce some of their economic policies due to the fear of antagonizing global capital.

Fourth, global interdependence has come with risks. Any crisis in one economy may have adverse effects in other economies due to integration. The contagion effect occurs as import—export trade suffers, especially seen in the conversion of currencies. For instance, during the global financial crisis in the United States, Kenya suffered heavily because its economy has been integrated into the global economy.

Fifth, globalization has led to massive erosion of cultural values and social practices in Kenya. This is because Kenyans have gradually abandoned their own culture and traditions in favour of the western culture. This is seen in the mode of dressing, music, food and social life habits more generally. Therefore, the Kenyan public policy on culture and national heritage has been affected by globalization in a manner that can be described as cultural imperialism.

Finally, the problems of insecurity have worsened for Kenya. For instance, there has been an increase in terrorist attacks on Kenyan soil, widespread cases of money laundering, increased drug trafficking and the spread of infectious diseases in the last two decades. These pose challenges for Kenya's public policy on security, health and investments.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the sharp divide which existed between states at the core and the states at the periphery has been drastically bridged by globalization even though inequalities have increased in terms of interstate relations and on matters of trade, security, decision making, cultural values, and so on. The world systems theory remains relevant in an era of globalization where the countries of the world are brought closer to each other with greater collaboration between states and non-state actors. Globalization has influenced public policy processes of most states in the African continent. This influence has had both positive and negative effects, as shown in Kenya's public policy making. Interactions among countries will continue to intensify as cross-border activities intensify. The issue of who benefits will be of much relevance; hence, Kenya and by extension states in the global south must re-strategize to take advantage of the opportunities that come with globalization and reduce the disadvantages that globalization presents.

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CHAPTER 11

From Research to Policy Action: Communicating Research for Public Policy Making

E. Remi Aiyede

Introduction

The growing concern that scientific research and the academic community in general do not meaningfully engage the world of public policy is not entirely new. The "two communities" construct is widely used to describe the sharp disconnect between the worlds of academia and policy (Newman et al. 2015). This construct generally depicts the existence of an underutilization or, in most cases, non-utilization of scientific research in the policy making process. Although policy makers recognize that scientific research has the potential to largely inform and transform policy outcomes and is in fact an essential determinant of effective government decision making, wide communication gap continues to exist between both worlds.

There is a growing interest in connecting scientific research, with its rigour of methodology and finesse of analysis, to the world that it is expected to influence and change. It is indeed crucial to expand research

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findings beyond the boundaries of the academic community to reach policy makers as they intervene through their daily activities to solve societal problems. Furthermore, evidence from policy makers in various parts of the world shows that the quality of research does not automatically guarantee that it will make its way to the appropriate stakeholders and generate positive impact. Promoting the utilization of scientific research and supporting evidence-informed decision making at the political level requires a better understanding of the enablers. What are the major challenges that militate against collaboration and knowledge transfer from scientific research to policy making process? How can policy makers maximize the underutilized potentials in scientific research? What tools of communication are appropriate to make research accessible to various stakeholders?

A MOVEMENT FOR POLICY-ENGAGED RESEARCH

Across the world the concern about evidence-informed policy making has gained traction. A few governments, like those of the United Kingdom and the United States, and non-state organizations like the International Rescue Committee and the Hewlett Foundation, have placed premium on policy-engaged research. They have invested efforts in moving relevant findings from research institutions and academic outlets to the policy process. Also, the Centre for Global Development and a few foundations have promoted the development of research through engagement with stakeholders and translating the outputs from research into forms that could reach a wider audience, especially stakeholders and strategic policy actors. Indeed, White (2019) considered the current state of the engagement as an evidence revolution. He identified four waves of the evidence revolution. He traced the first wave to the results agenda of the 1990s that came with the New Public Management or managerial movement in public administration. The emphasis was on outcome as against the previous focus on inputs. This was followed by efforts to develop indicators to measure performance. In the international development community, it witnessed the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals, later succeeded by the Sustainable Development Goals and the widespread use of the "Results Framework". The limitations of the results framework as a measure of agency performance were that goals set by agencies were often too broad and affected by multiple factors for clear attribution.

   The second wave was defined by the rise of the use of randomized control trials (RCTs) in impact evaluation and the emergence of the

International Initiative for Impact Evaluation. The results from the burgeoning RCTs showed that interventions often do not work. They are often less than 20% in effect, with exception from some experiences in Africa. Wary of the duplication of dubious interventions that studies have shown to have no effects, some organizations such as the Department for International Development (DFID) and the Bill Melinda Gates Foundation demand a statement of evidence from rigorous studies to support new proposals. Furthermore, to establish buy-in, preference was given to a larger set of literature rather than a small number of studies. This led to the emergence and popularity of systematic literature reviews.

Systematic reviews marked the third wave of the evidence revolution. Systematic reviews for all their values posed problems of discoverability and accessibility by policy makers because they are long technical documents. There was need to translate lessons and ideas from these reviews for use by policy makers. He described the production of systematic reviews for use in the policy process as knowledge brokerage and knowledge translation.

He therefore named the fourth wave the brokering wave, defined by the emergence of "researchers whose incentive is to produce systematic reviews relevant for policy and practice". These researchers are engaged in knowledge brokerage, by providing evidence as responses to the needs of government for informed decision making. Apart from doing reviews, these researchers connect with government agencies that need evidence to discuss priorities, available evidence and interpret them for decision making. They represent the part of an emerging evidence architecture that can institutionalize the use of evidence in policy making. He then described the dimensions of an emerging evidence architecture that will institutionalize the use of evidence in the policy process. Important parts of this architecture included legislation requiring evidence-based policy like the United States 2018 Evidence-based Policy Making Act, data bases that contain studies and reviews, evidence mapping and maps, evidence platforms for user-friendly products, evidence portals, guidelines and checklists. The evolving architecture has benefitted from the what works movement. The goals of the evidence movement can be advanced if the international development community invest in the evidence architecture beyond knowledge brokerage. He emphasized the need to undertake Evidence Ecosystem Assessment, Evidence gaps mapping and evidence-based budgeting. Finally, new technologies such as machine learning, big data and Artificial Intelligence constitute important factors in building the

evidence architecture, according to White (2019). These technologies can facilitate systematic reviews, speed and accuracy of evidence synthesis. These mean that more investment on what works is required.

Demand and Supply Side Challenges in the Use of Scientific Research in the Policy Making Process

Despite the claim of an evidence revolution in the international development policy process, it is generally agreed that the use of evidence is not a settled matter in many countries. Indeed, the claim of an evolving architecture shows very clearly that there are major grounds yet to be covered even in the developed world. How many countries have legislations that require evidence-based policy making? In how many countries of the world can we point to an emerging evidence architecture? In Africa, a few countries have only begun to buy into establishing national evaluation policies and national evaluation systems. These mean that many African countries are still grappling with the results frameworks. As is often the case, many of the policies relating to monitoring and evaluation have been driven by donors and international development agencies such as the DFID. Thus, any engagement with research communication and the use of evidence in policy making must focus on both the demand and supply side. White's ideas of the evidence architecture provide insight into what is emerging and future possibilities.

Studies on challenges of research communication and the use of evidence in policy have focused on three dimensions in bridging the gap between the world of research and policy (Wimberley and Morris 2007). The first dimension is focused on academics. The second is on practitioners and policy actors. The third is the intermediaries who broker within the policy process to promote interaction between the suppliers of research outputs and practitioners or actors who utilize research results for decision making. Thus, studies on research uptake for policy relate to both researchers who supply evidence and practitioners who use evidence in decision and policy making within the dynamic contexts of policy making processes around the world. Such studies also address various ways interventions can be made to smoothen and sustain the connections, to address the challenges of achieving evidence-informed policy making (Oliver and Cairney 2019). Some of these challenges are similar across the policy world, while

others are contextual challenges, deriving from the nature of specific policy contexts (Wowk et al. 2017, Phoenix et al. 2019).

While the academic environment is a marketplace of contending ideas, the policy process is a place of contending values and interests. These mean that the researcher who wants to take her/his ideas to the policy process must recognize that her/his ideas would face scrutiny. Thus, the quality of research is considered very important and has consequences for the goal of influencing policy. Secondly, it cannot be assumed that policy makers are impervious to research ideas (Newman et al. 2015). Scholars must consider the various policy networks and communities, and the effective ways to engage them. In this regard, there are several prescriptions on offer to academics who want to make an impact on the policy process. A lot of the literature on research communication have focused on the supply side. Cairney and Oliver (2020) provide a survey of such prescriptions derived from concerns about breaking barrier and overcoming obstacles to communication between researchers and practitioners and advancing collaboration, recognizing that academic research is not traditionally designed to feed the policy process. These include the following:

- Researchers should produce high-quality research.
- They should evolve an effective means of communicating research with the goal of making it easier for policy makers to access research. This relates to presentation of the content of research outputs: the elimination of academic and disciplinary jargons, use of simple, readable and accessible language, aimed for the general and not the ignorant or specialist reader, and the use techniques and forms that can fit into and catch the attention of policy makers.
- Engagement with the policy process. Researchers are urged to connect with practitioners, be accessible to policy makers, take advantage of windows of opportunity, and use intermediaries or knowledge brokers.
- Pay attention to the context and process of policy and the key actors in the process.
- Scholars must be entrepreneurial or active in the policy process, seek collaboration and build relationships.
- Academics should co-produce knowledge with practitioners; this is considered one of the best guarantees of the use of evidence in the policy process.

It is however recognized that there are ethical dilemmas and practical challenges around these prescriptions faced by individual researchers in higher education. Indeed, there are several reasons why concern about policy relevance may not to be a priority for these researchers. Time, effort and resources are involved in trying to implement these prescriptions. Everyone cannot be excited by the possibilities and opportunities to make an impact in solving real-world problems. Besides, the probability of making such an impact is often remote as noted from the experience with the results framework even in developed countries (Cairney and Kwiatkowski 2017; Egbetokun et al. 2020).

From the perspectives of policy context, policy theory provides us with several ideas about the policy process that requires reflection concerning our expectation of promoting the use of evidence (Cairney and Oliver 2020). Academic institutions do not provide incentives for those interested in making an impact. In many universities, promotion is not tied to relevance and impact of research. Promotion is tied to publishing in professional and specialized journals of the various disciplines, through which academics communicate with one another, the scientific community. However, breaking out of the ivory tower and reaching out to practitioners may even require specific training or reorientation and few universities invest in such an enterprise. The policy conscious academic would have to go the extra mile of finding ways and means of implementing such prescriptions without institutional incentive.

Policy makers are usually faced with issues that offer a limited time for decision making while scientists take years to publish research findings and they examine issues over a long period of time. There may be a misfit of priorities between scientists and policy makers. The value of communicating one's research findings with policy makers to produce accessible reports within a short time is not as valuable as securing funding for new research and publishing it in high-status journals with a long-time lag (Cairney 2016). Besides, there is a risk of failure to impact regardless of the efforts invested by the individual. This is because the payoff to engagement may be affected by choices already made and reinforced over time within the policy process.

In developing country contexts, there is a challenge of access to the policy process that is already saturated with agenda-laden ideas promoted by powerful western institutions backed by resources. In other words, the challenge of the academic in a developing context is complicated by an unequal access to the policy process. In many African countries, donors

and international institutions have a hold in the policy process that may stand in the way of alternative ideas. Such organizations often support their policy preferences with funding that make it impossible for policy makers to resist. In many instances, international policy initiatives have supplanted national policy making (see Mkandawire 1997).

In general, it must be recognized that not all researchers would become interested in making a difference in the world regardless of the available incentive to do so. Some would be interested in extending the frontiers of knowledge with the hope that those interested in impacting would pick up their ideas for use in the policy process. Pielke (2007) provides a typology of policy orientations among scientists regarding influencing public policy: the pure scientist, the issue advocate, the science arbiter and the honest broker. These draw on the typology of research, in terms of the nature and purpose of research. For instance, a distinction is often made between basic and applied research. Basic research is not focused on intervention while applied research targets practice.

The research activities of the pure scientist have no consideration for use or utility of research outputs for decision makers. The importance attached to research is the original contribution to the repository of knowledge. It is the responsibility of those who want to use the knowledge to search for it. They can then draw on the knowledge to clarify and solve issues of public interests. Thus, the pure scientist remains removed from the messiness of policy and politics. This position is particularly appealing if it is recognized that evidence is not the only factor to be considered in public decision making. As noted earlier, in many universities, scholars do not have to demonstrate the impact of their work for promotion. Many scholars are quite content with their roles as scientists and feel not burden to impact the policy process.

On the other hand, the issue advocate is concerned about a political or ideological position and deploys research to advance a cause. The issue advocate is a programmatic scholar or scholar activist who aligns with an interest group or movement seeking to advance policy and politics. For scholars in this orientation, science must be engaged with policy and seek to participate in the decision-making process. This orientation relates with scholars who question the neutrality of science, the argument that values and preferences of the scientist come to play in the choice of issues and priorities of research which we find in critical theory, standpoint epistemologies and similar schools. For such scholars, scientists should be

concerned about changing the world and bring scientific knowledge to serve the cause of justice and the public interest.

The third orientation is the science arbiter, who seeks to stay away from explicit considerations of policy and politics but recognizes that as experts or technocrats in society, he or she should provide advice when called upon by decision makers. Decision makers are sometimes confronted with specific questions that require expert judgement. Although the question originates from a debate among decision makers who are faced with practical issues, they require expert knowledge. Questions that can be resolved by science have to be taken to the experts. In this context, the scientist plays no role of an advocate, but that of an adjudicator, who may be on an assessment panel or advisory committee, providing policy makers objective scientific results, assessments or findings.

The fourth type, the honest broker, seeks to pursue the expansion of policy alternatives that can inform decision making by clarifying choices available to decision makers. The aim is to integrate scientific knowledge with stakeholder concerns in the form of alternative possible courses of action. It is recognized that there may be conflict of values among stakeholders and uncertainty in science. But a diversity of perspectives can help place scientific understandings in the context of a wide range of interests. Thus, the scholar concerned about influencing policy must recognize that he or she is part of a community of scholars as well recognize the difficulties of interacting with the policy community with its challenges and opportunities.

It is critical that scientists bring their research findings to bear on the policy process. In many instances, research findings have led to the development of policy agenda and the prioritization of certain issues and effective solutions. It is central to the policy sciences that research is focused on issues that are relevant to policy and decision making. Public policy scholars necessarily seek to address policy issues. This is shown in the level of engagement with the policy actors within the research process, from the conception, execution of research and the implementation of its policy recommendations.

Contemporary social science methodology affirms the need for research to play a vital role in transforming society by advancing socially relevant research findings. Ojebode et al. (2018) in a study conducted among 400 social science and humanities researchers found that whereas researchers held different views about the type of researcher Africa needed the most, most of them agreed that Africa did not need pure scientists as much as

other types (honest brokers and issue advocates) based on Pielke's (2007) categorization of researchers.

Public policy scholars conduct research to understand and improve public policy, to advance knowledge in a variety of policy issues and to conduct public policy research for government, business, think tanks and other research organizations. They are expected to actively seek to influence public policy making. This is because public policy as field of study is problem-solving oriented and seeks to provide intervention to address concrete human problems. Such scholars seek to provide expert knowledge in the form of evidence to inform policy making. To do this effectively, they must understand where and how public policy practitioners' and policy makers get scientific information.

It is equally important to have a clear idea who the policy makers are regarding specific policy issues. Policy makers could include anyone from the president or leader of government, the legislators, the senior public servants, judges or even ordinary citizens. We include ordinary citizens because they sometimes play key roles as implementers, catalysts or beneficiaries of public policy. Hence, knowledge is required for them to be effective players. For instance, during the covid-19 pandemic the general populace was the target of policies to stem the spread of the virus. They were expected to sit at home, wear nose masks and regularly wash their hands. They need to be informed and convinced about the scientific basis of this requirement to achieve voluntary compliance. Without this information available to the public, achieving significant compliance would have been impossible given the level of resistance experienced all over the world.

In general, the news media is a major source of information for policy makers. Politicians who are elected to make public policy on behalf of their constituencies pay attention to the news. The media sets the agenda by reporting what is of interest to the various communities. Politicians pay attention to what matters to their constituents. The news media include newspapers and magazines, the broadcast platforms of television and radio, and social media such as twitter, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube and WhatsApp of which they get regular alerts. These media are ubiquitous and are influential sources of information.

In addition to the media, government agencies and departments produce reports and white papers to guide policy makers. Governments have think-tanks, regulatory agencies that monitor developments in such areas as environmental protection, drug administration, sanitation, etc. They

also set up commissions to investigate issues such as the Panel of Inquiry frequently used in Nigeria, or the various Committees, (such as the Davis Tax Committee in South Africa) and Commissions of inquiry used across Africa. These bodies provide reports as source of policy decision making for both parliament and the executive arm of government.

Another source of information is the various public hearings organized by the legislature or any of its committees. These hearings provide opportunity for individuals and groups to present written memoranda or speak on issues of concern or focus on such hearing events.

These mean that policy researchers must use these opportunities to communicate research findings. It is becoming the norm that outputs from research are translated into forms that are accessible to policy makers. These included policy briefs, press releases or opinion pieces, blogs and twits. These can be circulated through traditional or social media. The assumption is that the barriers to evidence-informed policy from the perspective of the policy makers can be classified into three:

1. Available evidence may not be used if policy makers are not aware of their existence and if the research evidence is not in a format that is accessible to policy maker. When policy makers do not have access to timely, quality and relevant research evidence, they resort to other sources of information beyond research. They may not be able to comprehend and identify the key messages from research outputs, not to talk of using the evidence from research outputs, including systematic reviews, if they are detailed and couched in technical language for their decision making. Policy makers may be overwhelmed by the vast amount of information they need to go through to deal with a particular case. Thus, research outputs must be presented in easily accessible format to facilitate their use.

2. Even when research evidence is presented in accessible format and policy makers are aware of its existence, they may resist the use of evidence if the sub-cultures of policy making grant little importance to evidence-informed solutions. Some of them may prioritize their own opinion when research findings go against their expectations or against current policy. Thus, methods to disseminate evidence must be done in a way that policy makers will be open to receive and consider. There is need to recognize that policy makers tend to interpret new information based on their past attitudes and beliefs, much like the general population. Research evidence may be disregarded if it

goes contrary to the political environment or ideological orientation of the prevailing government.

3. Research needs to be sensitive to different contexts and the competitive environment of policy making. Several factors are implicated in the use or non-use of evidence in policy making. These factors include political and institutional factors such as the level of state centralization and democratization, the influence of external organizations and donors, the organization of bureaucracies and the social norms and values. This implies that policy makers make choices between different priorities while taking into consideration the limited resources available. When policy makers engage scientific research, they make judgements that balances different opinions, as well as claims and counterclaims from interest groups, including scientists. Policy makers do not necessarily hold the same value orientations with scientists on the drive to produce scientific knowledge. They do not see scientific knowledge as less biased than other forms of knowledge such as community and cultural knowledge (Cairney 2016)

The various platforms listed above for the dissemination of research evidence are useful to achieve uptake because they enable research findings to be more accessible to non-scientific audiences and policy makers. A blog writing is easily accessed and digested by a broad audience who can understand and perhaps apply the key messages from the research output. In addition, a blog creates the opportunity for a more conversational interaction with the audience than an academic publication. By using techniques such as good keyword identification, it is more likely to rank more highly in search engines, increasing the visibility and uptake of blog post. Converting the research output into a blog post enables the researcher to present academic papers, including the title used, in a way that engage with the audience. By converting a research paper to a blog, researchers achieve the positive flow-on effect of research outputs, distilling and presenting some of the key messages for a defined audience. They can also amplify those messages to create a convincing story.

Policy briefs are an information-packaging documents used to support evidence-informed policy making. The name policy brief may also be used interchangeably with the technical note, policy note, evidence brief, evidence summary, research snapshot, etc. (Dagenais and Ridde 2018). A policy brief is easier to handle by policy makers than systematic reviews because they are precise documents, taking into consideration the time

scales and simplicity required by a non-technical audience. The policy brief may be used to clarify and improve the understanding of a problem or a situation, to confirm or justify a decision or a choice, which has already been made (Arnautu, Diana and Christian Dagenais 2021). The policy brief presents the evidence in a manner that is easily identified, interpreted and considered to better inform the parties involved in a policy issue.

There are tools for transforming technical writing, that is the output from scientific research in easy, straightforward manner. They enable the presentation of the main points or key messages of a scientific research. These include the inverted pyramid and the message box. The inverted pyramid is a story-telling tool usually used in news reporting (Fig. 11.1). The inverted pyramid style presents information in a descending order of importance with the most crucial details presented first. This enables readers to get the most important information so that they can decide quickly whether to continue or stop reading the story (Scalan 2003).

Similarly, the message box helps to explain what the research output is about and why it matters to the policy maker or the journalist (Fig. 11.2). It can be used to prepare for interviews with the media, frame a policy brief or press release, structure a presentation or an opinion piece. The
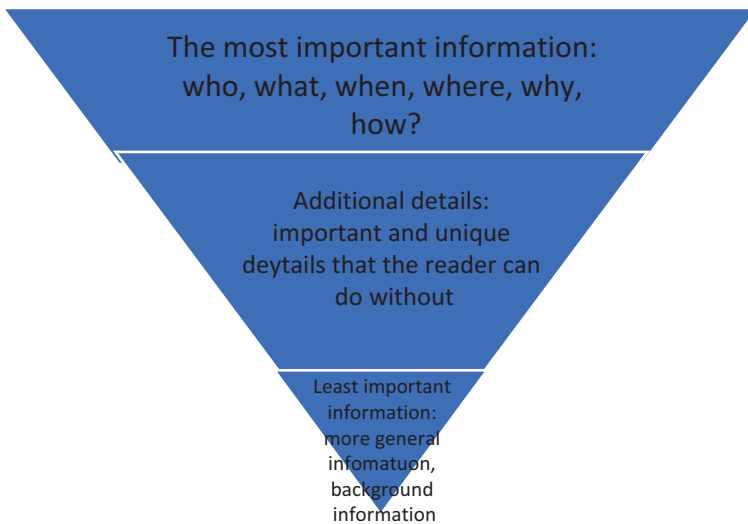
Fig. 11.1   The inverted pyramid

Fig. 11.2   The message box
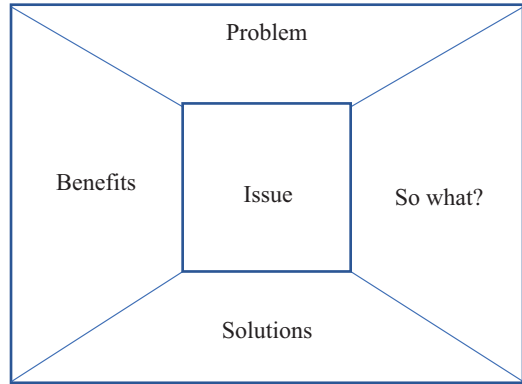
message box can also serve as a tool to clarify the main issues of a research, the relevance of the research to the specific audience, and for condensing content of the research work into five to six sentences stating the problem, potential solutions and how the research relates to the concerns of the audience (Baron 2010: 108). The resulting set of concise messages can be disseminated using channels appropriate for the end user, ranging from social media, to newspapers, to policy briefings and events.

These tools enable research outputs to be presented in a concise, easy to examine, understandable, user-friendly forms. They enable research outputs to be tailored and targeted to specific audiences with simple and clear messages focused on required information and recommendations. Usually, such presentations contain a link to the original journal article or source.

Research dissemination in contemporary times can be carried out in different ways, from long reports to policy briefs, message boxes, blog posts, social media posts, presentations and many more. Other means of disseminating research may take the form of engagement events by stakeholders to review the content and process of research. These include events in the form of round tables, town hall meetings, workshops, etc., involving exchanges and interactions among scholars, advocates and policy makers. They also include media interviews, writing blog features and data visualization, and social media content creation. However, determining the appropriate tool of communicating research is dependent on who the policy makers are and the kind of research being conducted. Communicating research work can adopt a multi-layered approach.

There is no scarcity of ideas how to engage the policy process. Several scholars have drawn ideas from their experiences in engagement with the policy process, others draw on the experiences of brokers or tease out ideas from policy theory and psychology. Engagements relates directly to the methodology of research. If research is directed at meeting broad policy objectives, then engagement with policy makers should be incorporated right from the inception of the research. Engagement facilitates the effective definition of questions to address the concerns of policy makers. When policy makers are engaged in the formulation of research questions, the research becomes more policy relevant. Evidence-based research is only relevant to policy making if it addresses the key policies at hand, is applicable to a local context and is constructed to meet policy needs. To enhance the possibility of a policy-engaged research, scientists must be open and willing to engage policy makers in the research process.

Conclusion

For social science research to be relevant for policy making, researchers and policy makers must understand their relevance and roles in the knowledge production process. Both parties need a shared understanding of the significance of these roles in policy making and implementation. Africa's urgent problems require the expertise of policy-engaged researchers who would engage policy actors and politics. Engagement and effective communication of research would benefit society.

Efforts must be made by research communities to create engagement platforms between scientists and researchers. These platforms will ensure that policy makers are carried along at each step of the research process, thereby moving away from the common methods of engagement that reduces policy makers and other non-scientists to mere subjects of scientific research. A close interaction with policy makers on choice of method, design of instruments and major aspects of the research work stimulates an atmosphere of co-knowledge production between both worlds.

Although research communication involves distilling the key findings of high-quality research and presenting them in a format that non-scientists and policy makers can understand, interpret and use for decision making, the relevance of research will not be improved by mere speculations of policy needs and improvement in tools of communication. Effective communication involves developing relationships with stakeholders in the research process. The existence of good-quality research is not sufficient

for evidence-informed policy making, a difficult task that requires interventions from both the demand and supply sides of policy-relevant research. Knowledge brokerage should be encouraged to facilitate the use of evidence in the policy processes of African governments by regional bodies like the African Union that has demonstrated capacity to promote policy diffusion across the continent.

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Conclusion: Towards Excellence in Research, Learning and Teaching Public Policy

E. Remi Aiyede and Beatrice Muganda

Introduction

The importance of research to effective and result-oriented policy making in Africa has long been recognised. In many countries of Africa, one of the hallmarks of the march towards independence was the establishment of think tanks and research institutes for promoting evidence-informed policy making. Laakso (2022: 25) identified the Nigerian Institute for Social and Economic Research and the Makerere Institute for Social Research as epitomising the government intervention to promote development and policy research in the 1950s. Furthermore, by the early 1960s, several universities went on to establish their own institute to conduct policy-oriented research to support the development initiatives of African governments. In some countries the institutes earlier established by the colonial authorities as colleges for training of public servants were

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upgraded while in others new institutes were established by the government. These institutes were particularly active on the continent during the heydays of central planning.

However, as governments increasingly focused on consolidating power to extract economic gains, they became more repressive and intolerant of criticism. Criticism of policy was taken as a challenge to the rule of leaders who had increasingly became dictatorial. The relationship between the government and the intellectual community soured and intellectual freedom became constrained. Thus, despite the initial efforts to develop institutions to provide evidence for policy, African governments struggled to generate accurate data for governance until crisis of the 1980s that led to the introduction of structural adjustment programmes.

Under structural adjustment in the 1990s, governments faced severe fiscal pressures and slashed funds to university research centres constraining their ability to undertake independent research. Worse still, the entire tertiary education systems were ruined by 'brain drain'. The combined result was the reduction in the quality of policy making for future generations. During the same period, some university professors returned to the policy fold by setting up their own (donor-funded) research centres, such as the Development Policy Centre in Nigeria, the Economic and Social Research Foundation in Tanzania and the Centre for Policy Studies in South Africa (Kimenyi and Datta 2011).

The structural adjustment programme therefore marked the increasing role of the Bretton Woods Institution, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and donor agencies attached to governments of the West, such as the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) and Germany's German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) in sub-Saharan Africa. Also, during the period, as Mkandawire noted (2000), African intellectuals, being largely under-utilised by their governments, turned to civil society, mostly foreign-funded non-governmental research institutes for policy research. Indeed, the situation was such that some African governments had to access the research of their own intellectuals indirectly through donor-commissioned reports.

The political liberalisation and governance reforms of the 2000s saw many of government's functions, including research, transferred to non-state actors leading to the proliferation of independent think tanks. In the last decades working with donors, these think tanks have rekindled the consciousness of the need for evidence-informed policy making across the continent. Under the liberalised environment, politicians have had to respond to their constituencies, and the demands of political competition

by pressing for more effectiveness in policy making. The renewed interest in issues of accountability and inclusivity in policy making has led to the call for more participatory policy processes at the continental, regional and national levels to improve coordination, mutual learning and the adoption of best practices. Hence the increasing investment of African governments in policy evaluation. Evaluation is central to evidence generation and use and for infusing evidence into the policy making process. These in turn can increase politicians' incentives to select the most efficient policies and to address the capacity gaps in policy learning (Ball 1995). As Aiyede and Quadri (2022) noted, policy evaluation on a national scale is beginning to take root in many countries in Africa.

Furthermore, like the rest of the world, the Covid-19 pandemic and the interventions to stem its spread and overcome it has had consequences for life and welfare and for policy making in Africa. The border closures and movement restrictions imposed by governments to curb the spread of the virus disrupted social and economic life, affecting the livelihoods and well-being of hundreds of millions of people in sub-Saharan Africa. The production of relevant healthcare materials such as nose masks, ventilators, vaccine, etc., and social engineering required to address the pandemic rekindled economic nationalism and reinforced global inequality and inequities across the world. It created a new vision of policy making that emphasised the need to build national capabilities in policy making and state intervention to address welfare in an uncertain and risky environment of the Covid-19 pandemic.

In sum, the experience of Covid-19 clearly showed the centrality of national research capability for evidence-informed policy making to address public problems which have grown in scale, complexity and urgency. The context of policy making has become increasingly uncertain, characterised by rapid and widespread changes. Expert knowledge in the form of evidence that can inform policy making is increasingly sought and utilised in the policy process to achieve sustainable development.

The chapters in this book are written to provide ideas for reflection in the effort to empower a generation of scholars in policy analysis who will take on the task of generating new evidence and analyses needed to highlight the critical political, economic, social, institutional and technical factors that can enable or constrain the ability of African societies to meet mounting developmental challenges relating to poverty reduction, infrastructural development, education and healthcare provision, food security; and for mitigating climate change and its consequences, to achieve effective governance and sustainable development more broadly.

The chapters in this book are put together to support graduate programmes at the masters and doctoral levels in public policy across Africa. They constitute a useful contribution to addressing the need for scholarly research that empowers public policy practitioners to make informed decisions, an effort by the Partnership for Africa Social and Governance Research (PASGR) to produce a generation of educators, researchers and practitioners in public policy. These chapters are a resource for teaching and learning in schools of public policy and in multiple disciplinary departments. They provide ingredients for training in policy-focused research and underscore the need to draw on a wide range of perspectives, disciplines and approaches in public policy teaching and learning.

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