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Review

Touching the poor: Re-thinking on millennium development goals by promoting participatory governance and local development

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Is there any commitment made to reduce poverty? This is evident because 1.) The concept of poverty is vague, 2.) the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) mostly stop at the national level and not sub national level where there are needs. Less attention is devoted to local institutions and traditional authorities, which are the real agents of local development. In African development, less attention is devoted to grassroots' perspective and political leadership; traditional authorities who hold spiritual power to influence local community and transfer culture are neglected. Their potential to take collective action is disregarded, partly because of their ignorance and development paradigm, which is seen as "modernisation and scientific". To increase the effectiveness of local government is through democratic decentralization, which involves transfer of power and resources. Many developing countries use it to improve the quality of service delivery and strengthen sustainable local development. Decentralization is a vehicle for achieving MDGs because it operates at local and community level; and planning is crucial to ensure participation in governance and local development. Increasingly participatory governance is emerging as a key focal area, both in its own right, and as a means of securing MDGs, especially poverty reduction. Decentralization and participatory processes are complex and take years to implement; but they play critical role in achieving MDGs. Sustainable development cannot be realized without robust strong institutions and active citizenry engaged in key decision-making. Political leaders should promote good governance, by strengthening institutions and public participation to address national and local development agenda. Furthermore, functional local structures and ancestral systems are important for a strong service delivery, a prerequisite for any vibrant, democratic, and decentralized governance. The new development paradigm involves political commitment. To address local development, authority and resources have to be transferred, and it is crucial to promote citizen's engagement at all levels. The paradigm should consider: a) strengthening of Local governments, b) building capacity of Civil society, including communities and traditional authorities, and c) Promotion of emerging Private sectors by local economic development interventions that generate employment and income for the poor; local institutions should address local structures and systems to promote local development.

Key words: Governance, local development, millennium development goals, poverty, Africa, communities.

INTRODUCTION

Persistent rural poverty is one of the most stubborn social problems facing Africa. Considering that tomorrow is 1st

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January, 2015, how far the commitments made to achieve the MDGs were honored? What the world will be told about eradication of the extreme poverty? In many debates about Africa development, one issue has been part of the agenda: The need of strong Africa Leadership. It's consensual that in Africa's good governance, less attention has been devoted to local perspective, looking local institutions, traditional authorities and their capacity towards response to the local demands and to address local development agenda, meaning that there is a critical need to promote participatory governance and inclusive local development. This paper is a grassroots perspective that aims to bring the concept of Poverty and MDGs close to the poor, since many debates have mostly stopped at the national level and rarely does the concept sufficiently extended to sub national level where needs are felt, services are demanded. It is noted that less attention has been devoted to the role of local authorities, civil society and grassroots organizations and structures that are the real agents of local development. The concept of poverty is rhetoric and based on our self perceptions and never incorporates the grassroots perspectives or the poor dimension of who feels, what is poverty. The exercise of modeling the MDGs Massuanganhe (2006) is critical to identify the variable and support the governments to forecast what needs to be done today to achieve the MDGs tomorrow, meaning that the critical variables have to be identified (e.g. good governance, leadership, economic growth, population, etc). The variable determining the MDGs, almost are critical and under control of the governments. In most cases, the variable determining the MDGs are related to endogenous factors and internal capability to sustain local development.

Simultaneously, national and sub-national debates are needed. It is consensual that transferring capacity and resources to the poor is the most direct and immediate way to reduce poverty and to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. One way to increase the effectiveness of local government is through democratic decentralization, which involves a transfer of powers, resources, and assets to local structures. Effective local governments are vital to achieving the Millennium Development Goals. The MDG's implies strong commitment, long term development vision and will not be achieved if the governments do not strengthen institutions of governance and build capacity at local level. There are actions to be taken in view to touch the poor, e.g. promote leadership, public policies, institutions, and pro-active systems that provide better services, capacity development, and livelihoods improvement. If not, as result, in 2015 the world will continue being constrained and affected by current problems.

Participatory governance and local development

A recurrent question in development debates has been:

Why development agenda and international support failure in Africa? This old continent has been to the international community the most privileged recipient of donor support during last 20 years. More than US\$1 trillion in foreign aid¹ - more that the equivalent of four Marshall Aid Plans - was invested in Africa between 1960 and 2005 in development programmes. Instead of increasing development, aid has created dependence. The more aid poured into Africa, the lower its standard of living. Per capita GDP of Africans living south of the Sahara declined at an average annual rate of 0.59 percent between 1975 and 2000. Additionally, other direct and/or indirect forms of assistance were provided via technical cooperation/ assistance by multilateral or bilateral partners. Nevertheless, Africa is the poorest in the globe and still being affected by chronic poverty, violence and unstable regimes that are called to carry long term development vision of their people.

Africa, with enough natural resources, possesses large extension of arable land with diversity agro-ecologic conditions, but hungry and misery affects more that 1/2 of the population, with major incidence in Sub-Sahara Africa. Child and women mortality, associated with high HIV/AIDS prevalence rate, especially in women; illiteracy and low enrolment level are some critical challenges to be addressed in Africa development agenda. African agriculture itself is in crisis, and according to the International Food Policy Research Institute, this has left 200 million people malnourished. In many debates about Africa development, one issue has been part of the agenda: The need of strong *Africa Leadership*. In this connection, it is particularly highlighted political problems such as civil strife, refugee movements, and returnees. The implication is clear - Africa's years of wars, coups, and civil strife are responsible for more hunger than the natural problems that befall it². By some measures, more that 70 percent of African nations have experienced internal conflicts in the last three decades. Democracy and transparent and accountable governance and administration in all sectors of society are indispensable foundations for the realisation of social and people-centred sustainable development (Declaration of the World Summit for Social Development, 1995).

Conscious that Africa's poor are getting poorer and that good governance is essential for successful economic development, the continent adopted fundamental reforms - The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) (Robert, 2005). For a long time, the worsening rural poverty levels in Africa were explained principally in terms of poor economic performance, and externally prescribed economic remedies predominated in policy prescriptions. Emerging evidence, however, shows that

¹ <https://www.cato.org/pubs/edb/edb2.html>

² <http://www.globalpolicy.org/soecon/develop/africa/2006/0131sistcrisis.htm>

economic growth alone is not sufficient to bring about, in a sustainable way, the needed poverty reduction. It is particularly worthy to observe that Africa possess extremely low growth elasticities of poverty reduction³. This recognition does not minimise the importance of economic growth in poverty reduction and rural development. For poor countries, rapid growth is a necessary, essential and powerful tool for poverty reduction in the medium to long term. In interventions that target poverty, one of the primary conceptual hurdles is to define who the poor are and, consequently, how to target them. Proper targeting of the poor has generally proved to be elusive and this is one area where more work is still required. The other challenge regards how best to ensure that there is local ownership of the interventions. This consideration brings to the fore the issues of local governance. One of the lessons from the past failures of poverty-focused interventions is the importance of avoiding a 'top down' approach to project design and implementation, as this invariably results in ineffectiveness of the interventions, while a decentralised and participatory approach has resulted in poverty reduction. The global community has recognised the development of Africa, especially Sub-Saharan Africa, as the world's foremost development challenge.

Researchers have pointed out that the critical issue is Good Governance, meaning strengthen institutions and public administration reforms to address national and local development agenda. UNDP⁴ defines governance as the exercise of political, economic, and administrative authority to manage a society's affairs. This broad concept encompasses the organizational structures and activities of central, regional and local government; the parliament; the judiciary; and the institutions, organizations and individuals that constitute civil society and the private sector. Governance requires concerted efforts by those managing the affairs of developing countries. Elements contributing to the latter concept of good governance include the basic laws and institutions of a nation, the administrative competence, and transparency, decentralization of its administration, and the creation of an appropriate market environment; all of these are needed to support people's participation in every aspect of politics, the economy, and society. These are therefore necessary components of good governance as "the government functioning as the basis for participatory development."

In Africa good governance debate, less attention has been devoted to local governance perspective and political leadership, looking local institutions and their capacity towards response to the local demands and to

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address decentralization and local development issues. Good governance doesn't mean to advocate strong states or centralism, but in market economy is to have state intervening on behalf of the poor (regulatory) and let the poor bring his voice (devolution). Increasingly participatory governance is emerging as a key focal area, both in its own right, and as a means for securing the Millennium Development Goals, and especially poverty reduction. There is a growing consensus that democratic governance creates the conditions for sustainable development and poverty reduction. Local governments can play a major role in this effort by ensuring more effective and accountable local infrastructure and service delivery for the poor and by improving the dialogue between the state, citizens and their communities, and the private sector. Institutional capacity plays a central role in any decentralization process. Failure of institutional setting will result in poor outcomes. It's evident that the reluctance of decentralization in developing countries mainly is associated with weak systems, poor institutions, weak capacity and administrative diseconomies. Community developers must understand both how to work with individuals and how to affect communities' positions within the context of larger social institutions⁵.

DECENTRALIZATION, PARTICIPATION AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

Effective local governments and institutions are vital to achieving the Millennium Development Goals. One way to increase the effectiveness of local government is through democratic decentralization, which involves a transfer of powers, resources, and capacity. Many developing countries have initiated this process in an effort to improve the quality of service delivery and strengthen sustainable local development. By creating the conditions for more inclusive, accountable, and transparent operations, decentralization enhances civil participation in local government and allows communities and their elected representatives to take charge of their own development. There are strong evidences that improved decentralization is linked to poverty reduction and the achievement of MDG through the promotion of participatory governance, where resources and capacity are planned, allocated implemented and monitored in a participatory manner and though shared responsibility of the local level representative bodies and councils and thorough the promotion of local capacities to ensure that resources and services to the poor are being delivered in accordance with local poverty reduction objectives.

The potential of democratic decentralization will not be achieved automatically. The transfer of powers and resources necessary for local governments to work must

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³ Elasticities in the developing economies of Asia are, on average, much higher than those in Africa. This has led to the argument that while economic growth is important for poverty reduction in Africa, it is definitely *not* sufficient.

⁴ <http://www.undp.org/governance/programmes/life/LIFE.pdf>

⁵ http://www1.servicecanada.gc.ca/en/epb/sid/cia/comm_deve/cdhbooke.pdf

go beyond policy to become a fact on the ground. UNDP Practice Note on Capacities for Integrated Local Development identifies four approaches to local development: (i) Direct community support (community level); (ii) Support to local government (sub-national and community level); (iii) Area-based development (sub-national level); and (iii) Decentralized sector approach (cross-cutting)⁶. Participation must not be transient; it must entail the sustainable upgrading of participation quality. For this to happen, the underlying conditions must be met to facilitate the long-term process of participation and its self-reliant sustainability. The long-term process of participation cited here is raising the awareness of local people, forming community groups, upgrading their requisite resource management abilities, and creating norms or internalizing their mechanisms, and improving capabilities for external negotiations. Decentralization initiatives have been launched in at the majority of developing countries, but these rarely lay the foundations necessary to reach decentralization's purported efficiency and equity benefits. Those foundations include the transfer of important discretionary powers to downwardly accountable actors, capacity building, and technical assistance that represent and respond to local challenges. The shaping and planning of this participatory process requires both a long-term vision and a willingness to selectively improve and bolster traditional community systems as tools of development.

In many cases it is pointed out that central government cannot devolve significant power to local institutions and local authorities, because the lack essential technical and human capacity. This is the assumption that drives centralism of state, but in practice, transfer authority means to create capacity at the local level. "Good governance" assumes a government's ability to maintain social peace, guarantee law and order, promote or create conditions necessary for economic growth, and ensure a minimum level of social security. The concept of "governance" is not new. It is as old as human civilization. Simply put "governance" means: the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented). Governance can be used in several contexts such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance. Since governance is the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented, an analysis of governance focuses on the formal and informal actors involved in decision-making and implementing the decisions made, and the formal and informal structures that have been set in place to arrive at and implement those decisions. Government is one of the actors in governance. Other actors involved in governance vary depending on the level of government that is under

discussion.

Decentralisation is a process through which authority and responsibility for some functions are transferred from the central government to local governments, communities and the private sector. By means of this process, decentralised institutions⁷, either local offices of central government or local private and civil organisations (entrepreneurs, farmers, communities, associations, etc.), are provided with high levels of power when it comes to decision-making. defines decentralisation as the transfer of the authority to plan, make decisions, and manage public functions from a higher level of government to any individual, organisation or agency at a lower level. Effective decentralisation can provide exciting opportunities for democratic change at the local level and can help improve national democracy as well. Through local participation and practices such as public meetings, citizens can participate more effectively in local decision-making, gain experience in democratic processes, and hold local officials responsible for their decisions. Communities can become more pluralistic in the absence of central political control.

Decentralized government can provide space for people to participate in local development. It can ensure a more efficient allocation of resources, enhance local resource mobilization, and improve local governance. Decentralization is a complex process that takes years to implement, but is recognised that should play critical role to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), it because its nature to work at local level. Furthermore, a functional decentralized local government system is of particular importance to the flourishing of a strong service delivery, which is prerequisite to any meaningful, vibrant, democratic, and decentralized governance system. Decentralization is not "the end itself". It means consistent legal framework that articulate basic and stable principles, functions and responsibilities of local governance, coherent policy/strategy that indicate clear vision on how reforms should be taken and finally, technical support to deliver results. Indeed, the politics inherent in decentralization reforms means that alliances among different political actors can be formed across administrative levels of the state, and that actors at the same level – central, provincial, or local – are not necessarily united by a common set of interests.

Participatory governance is increasingly emerging as a key focal area, both in its own right and also as a means of achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – especially poverty reduction. Given insufficient participatory capabilities of local people and local societies, however, it tended on the other hand to put the intended

⁶ The draft [Strategy Statement on Local Development](#), which identifies four levels of local development programmes.

⁷ This is in part because the policy thrust seeking to empower the peasant communities is supply-led, and thus defined according to the terms and processes of external agents, including funders and central governments and their functionaries.

beneficiaries of development these very local people and societies in a passive position. From a local community perspective, effective decentralisation concerning powers requires these same elements. However, when examined in detail, community-based and decentralised forms of management often lack representation, downward accountability and/or sufficient powers. Decentralisation plays a special role in local democratisation, because local populations that participate in management and use participatory decision-making can be a fulcrum for rural development. A combination of locally accountable representation and discretionary powers is also needed and this combined condition is rarely established.

Participatory development is not an attempt to replace the top-down development approach with a local-community-led approach. Rather, it is a viewpoint that simultaneously stresses the need for the government-led approach in terms of national-level economic planning and coordination of development planning and the demerits of widening disparities and worsening poverty inherent in that approach when used alone. Participatory development attempts to introduce a bottom-up style of development in order to remedy the government-led approach's shortcomings, specifically by focusing on qualitative improvements in local society's participation. Recent experience from a number of developing countries suggests that programmes of decentralisation accompanied by parallel efforts to promote greater power and autonomy in decision-making for local communities can offer genuine opportunities to improve outcomes. The Government is increasingly seeking to involve citizens in public decisions and community development since plays an important role in the implementation of development policies. Community development seeks to empower individuals and groups of people by providing these groups with the skills they need to effect change in their own communities. These skills are often concentrated around building political power through the formation of large social groups working for a common agenda.

Institutions and the theory of efficiency

Traditionally many analytical techniques focused on quantitative measurements, ignoring qualitative influences of policies and institutions (formal and informal – traditional). The theory on how to measure poverty is rhetoric. The concept of Poverty usually is defined based on perceptions and rarely incorporate the poor dimensions exactly who feels what is poverty. What is the meaning of Poverty from the poor view point? Two recent strands of institutional economics have been influential in development literature. One is associated with the *theory of imperfect information*: the underlying rationale of institutional arrangements and contracts (formal or informal) are explained in terms of strategic behaviour under asymmetric information among the different parties

involved. Another is associated with the *rural theory of development*: It is recognised that effective and participatory decentralised systems are a precondition to promote practices and adopt mechanisms that contribute to providing *daily livelihoods of the local communities*.

As governments at all levels find it more and more difficult to deal with the social and economic issues, it becomes more and more obvious that we can't turn to governments for solutions. Citizens must see themselves as responsible for their own well-being and must stop depending on government for innovation and leadership. Cultural local identities will play a fundamental role in the process and very important – the way small villages or human settlements will feel represented in higher/wider structures of local government. In many cases it is pointed out that central government cannot devolve significant power to local institutions and local authorities, because the lack essential technical and human capacity. Through local participation and practices such as public meetings, citizens can participate more effectively in local decision-making, gain experience in democratic processes, and hold local officials responsible for their decisions.

It may give greater voice and representation to citizens, stress local ownership as an effective instrument of implementation, and bring greater grassroots-level control over resources and their utilisation. A combination of locally accountable representation and efficiency of discretionary powers are also needed. This combined condition is rarely established. Enhancing livelihood intensity is possible. It requires coordination to encourage the various institutional and managerial systems that formulate and implement rural policy to work together, and political commitment to overcome sectoral tendencies. This is the assumption that drives centralism of state, but in practice, transfer authority means to create capacity at the local level. Is to promote decentralization by building and strengthening local capacities to plan, implement and monitor local development programmes and strategies.

THE WAY FORWARD

Institutional setting

The role that institutions should play in development has been recognised for years. The classic example of inefficient institutions persisting as the lopsided outcome of distributive struggles relates to the historical evolution in developing countries. Institutions are generally categorised into formal and informal institutions. The *formal institutions* are largely governed by the pre-decided legal setup in the form of formal norms. In certain circumstances these norms are flexible and can change over time, whereas in other circumstances they can be static in nature. Therefore there are two types of categories:

One is the dynamic characteristic of the institution whereas, the other is static and inflexible in nature. The *informal institutions*, on the other hand, emerge out of the spontaneous requirements based on the needs of society. The profile of development is influenced and also determined by the institutional setup. Institutions shape human interaction and define the choices and decisions made by the individual, community, or society to achieve a satisfactory lifestyle under the given constraints. Thus institutions play a significant role in shaping and regulating human activities to optimise production and to minimise the risks associated with production systems. Any development process presumes three levels in achieving its goal. Of these, the first stage begins at the preparation for the process of development that essentially requires inducing growth in the first place. The erosion of the commons set in only with major demographic and institutional changes in recent decades, often accelerated by commercial or bureaucratic appropriation of the common resources, supplanting the traditional historical rights of local communities.

A major problem that hinders most schemes of decentralised governance is related to distributive conflicts. In areas of high social and economic inequality, the problem of 'capture' of the local governing agencies by the local elite can be severe, and the poor and the weaker sections of the population may be left grievously exposed to their mercies and their malfeasance. The central government can also be 'captured', but there are many reasons why the problem may be more serious at the local level. For example, there are certain fixed costs of organising resistance groups or lobbies, and as a result the poor may sometimes be more disorganised at the local level than at the national level where they can pool their organising capacities. Similarly, collusions among the elite groups may be easier at the local level than at the national level. Policymaking at the national level may represent greater compromise among the policy platforms of different parties, while capture at the national level may be subject to greater media attention, and so on. When the local government is captured by the powerful and the wealthy, instances of subordinate groups appealing to supra-local authorities for protection and relief are not uncommon.

It's found that the inevitable trade-off in the historical growth process between economies of scale and capacity on the one hand, and participation on the other. In Western societies, complex institutional (legal and corporate) structures have been devised over time to constrain the participants, to reduce the uncertainty of social interaction in general to prevent the transactions from being too costly, and thus to allow the productivity gains of larger scale and improved technology to be realised. These institutions include elaborately defined and effectively enforced property rights, formal contracts and guarantees, trademarks, limited liability, bankruptcy

laws, large corporate organisations with governance structures to limit problems of agency, and what North has called ex-post-opportunism. Some of these institutional structures are non-existent or weak or poorly devised and implemented in less developed countries. In these countries the State is either too weak to act as a guarantor of these rights and institutions and/or much too predatory in its own demands, posing a threat to them.

The nature and capacity of institutions is an issue, as is the question of the articulation between customary and formal state authority. The rationale behind decentralisation is that these reforms foster increased efficiency and equity in development activities. By virtue of their proximity to the people they serve, democratic local institutions are likely to have access to better information about local conditions and a better understanding of local needs and aspirations, and to be more easily held accountable by local populations. It's evident that institutions and governance policies have a role in creating an attractive climate for development, including institutional reforms needed to generate an enabling environment for local development. To create the conditions for promoting sustainable participation, governments must create and adapt basic legislation and institutions that guarantee political and economic freedoms as well as strive to meet a broader range of basic human needs. Governments also need to relax regulations in order to remove obstacles to economic participation, improve financial management, build infrastructure, and train business people and entrepreneurs. These are important components of good governance, which is the basis of participatory development. Understanding institutional processes allows for the identification of restrictions/barriers and opportunities (or "gateways") to sustainable livelihoods. The investment in the community capacity-building process should result in substantially improved local development plans, greater mobilization of local resources to finance plan implementation, better inter-institutional coordination in community development programmes and greater representation and more effective community participation in local consultative bodies.

The role of local authorities and traditional leaders

Sustainable development can not be realized without robust policies, strong institutions and active citizenry engaged in key decision-making. A key governance challenge is to build the political will and institutional capacity to promote sustainable livelihoods and this requires a particular focus on developing practical linkages to translate national policies, laws, and regulations into action at the local level. Support for local institutions to strengthen their ability to deliver services (government) and to make claims on entitlements (citizens) is an area on which there needs to be considerable

focus in the years ahead. Traditional leadership as part of the above-mentioned systems, in its form before external interference, operated on the principle of community participation, consultation, consensus, and an acceptable level of transparency through the village council or open tribal consultative meetings.

One important assumption is that the reduction of poverty is more likely to be assured when the people for whom pro-poor interventions are meant are allowed, through empowerment, to effectively participate in these interventions. Great care is needed to achieve an appropriate balance of respect for traditional authorities and their role in representing the interests of local communities, while still aiming to redress grievances that emerge from these same institutions. Traditional leaders are at the centre of development in rural areas and then the role of traditional leadership cannot be ignored. This is a role they have always played, as demonstrated by traditional leaders facilitating the building and maintenance of schools and clinics within their respective traditional authorities and representing the local communities. This representation should provide the necessary checks and balances to deal with suspicions that some traditional leaders and their courts are biased. Such bias could be against women or against people not related to the traditional leader.

Local institutions, the role of traditional authorities and leadership have changed over time. Traditional institutions are important to people in many parts of the developing world and especially, though not exclusively, among indigenous peoples. Traditional institutions such as indigenous cooperation groups, councils of elders, and customary laws and mediators are important for resolving disputes, enforcing widely agreed standards of behaviour, and uniting people within bonds of community solidarity and mutual assistance. Traditional authority includes those who hold local traditional power – the traditional chiefs, lineage chiefs, the chiefs of social groups, those who hold spiritual power, the traditional doctors, those who know the essential skills for the basic physical survival of the community, those who know and can work with the mechanisms of social control, and those who control cultural transmission. However, traditional institutions are rarely included within plans of development that are formulated for the most part in national capitals. Planners have mostly disregarded the potential for collective action that inheres within these institutions, partly because of ignorance and partly also because development, which is seen as “modernisation”, is often regarded as antithetical to tradition in any form.

Traditional community leaders have status (legitimacy), based on the lineage (or tribe) as a social unit and on religious grounds, as mediators between a given ethnic group and its natural and social environment. Their prime function is to ensure peace and harmony in the rural communities within their territory. Given the vast hetero-

geneity of traditional community institutions, which reaches well beyond the simplistic dichotomies taken as parameters within the confines of the definition employed in the present context, the present study focuses on the *existing dimensions of leadership* in a given rural area, and on the membership dynamics of their attributes. In many traditional agricultural and pastoral societies there is the custom of not passing decisions unless there is an absolute consensus among the local elite that in effect act as watchmen over natural resource management at the village level. In lineage-based hierarchical societies, mechanisms for redistribution are an expression of the moral obligations of the senior members of the community who are responsible for ensuring social and spiritual reproduction, as well as its junior members, responsible for ensuring economic welfare. They are essentially networks of mutual support and solidarity, as well as clientelistic relations among kinship groups of unequal social status, nested in historical power relations and priority rights for some lineages.

Scholars of anthropology and sociology have been creative in interpreting political movements and in offering conceptualisations for their understanding (Lundin and Alfane, 1999). Local governance has also followed from the same process. Revitalised local institutions have asserted the supremacy of civilian authority. The process has reinforced the recognition of the traditional system as a means of empower local authorities and has allowed people to come together and discuss diverse local problems within the forums that have drawn upon and strengthened their local institutions. Local government units are working in partnership with these traditional structures to support the development aspirations articulated by area residents. Working within their traditional norms and institutions enables people to understand and readily come to terms with change. However, traditional institutions are rarely included within plans of development that are formulated for the most part in national capitals. Planners have mostly disregarded the potential for collective action that inheres within these institutions, partly because of ignorance and partly also because development, which is seen as “modernisation”, is often regarded as antithetical to tradition in any form. On their own part, too, leaders of traditional institutions have been reluctant to adapt to new concerns. The incursion of modern activities and forms of governance is often seen as challenging the prerogatives of these institutions. It is exceptional, thus, to find traditional institutions taking an active role in regional development activities. It is even more unusual to see such institutions working closely in cooperation with technical personnel of government agencies.

As referred by Gebrehiwet⁸, the role of traditional
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⁸ <http://www.fiuc.org/umu/tmp/pdfs/the%20role%20of%20traditional%20leaders%20in%20decentralization%20governance%20-%20robie1%20gebrehiwet.pdf>

leaders in Africa, especially in modern African democracies and decentralization, is complex and multifaceted. Many people regard Africa's traditional chiefs and elders as the true representatives of their people, accessible, respected, and legitimate, and therefore still essential to politics on the continent. Most strikingly, the sharp distinctions outsiders draw between elected local government officials and traditional leaders are not made by most of the Africans who live under these dual systems of authority. Local government officials frequently lacked knowledge of the customs and beliefs of local population; traditional authorities, who "officially" did not exist, commanded more respect from local communities than local administrators appointed. Traditional Authority's in Africa are the leaders of an important traditional African socio-political institution; that their legitimacy derives exclusively from the community over which they hold authority. What emerges from this argument is a strong reminder that traditional authority is, at the root, an African institution that was in existence before colonialism and independence and remains very much alive into the democratic political system at present. It is an enduring institution that has survived more than two centuries of change because it has the confidence and support of local peoples. Throughout Africa's turbulent history, the many local governments that populate the country have looked to their traditional authorities for assistance in matters of the spirit and such pragmatic questions as who owns what land, who should be punished for a given crime, and how to provide moral, education to the young.

Traditional leadership as part of the above-mentioned systems, in its form before external interference, operated on the principle of community participation, consultation, consensus, and an acceptable level of transparency through the village council or open tribal consultative meetings. These principles are not too different from the ones which modern democracies prescribe as essential for democracy. It might serve a purpose, therefore, if African countries that are striving to achieve good governance could look with renewed focus to the role of traditional leaders, and pay specific attention to the similarities between the principles of traditional governance and the aspirations of new democracies the world over. The role to be played by traditional authorities in the society she characterised is seen as "culturally diverse". This position is that "the meaning and function of 'traditional authority' has been transformed many times over with changes in the larger political contexts in which local institutions have existed". As consequence of that, an understanding of the issue of traditional authorities can only be achieved through a close examination "of its variegated and contentious history", taking into account "local contexts" and "using terminology with greater geographical and historical precision".

Relationship between state organs and traditional leaders

In the older model of grassroots development, the target population or beneficiaries were largely seen as passive objects of pity, not agents of change in and of themselves. The new model views poor people as opportunities, not problems and seeks to enable them to actively participate in development. The role of customary institutions, particularly amidst recent waves of return migration, has been observed. However, "the nature and capacity of community-based management institutions is an issue, as is the question of the articulation between customary and formal state authority, at locality and district level. There are a variety of actors at the local level that pursue the same agenda as traditional leaders. These are structures such as the consultative councils, women's groups, youth groups, etc. While often targeting the same group of people, it is rare to find these structures in constant communication with one another in the new dispensation. The community, therefore, has a right to act against such a person. A traditional leader becomes an embodiment of the community; members of the community affected by a problem will therefore approach the traditional leader to seek relief. Traditional chiefs have legitimacy, on religious and lineage grounds, as mediators between a given ethnic group and its environment.

With regard to household participation in local institutions and arrangements with socio-economic wellbeing, using local classifications of poverty and wealth, it was found that in general, there are few barriers to participation in these institutions, and the poor and women are well represented. An exception may be political parties that appeal to the richer families, mainly men. There is concern among many people that the institution of traditional leadership is so inherently undemocratic that it simply does not have a place in an open democratic society. In support of this view, those against traditional leadership point to the hereditary nature of traditional leadership, the lack of representation of youth and women, as well as the unconstitutionality of some of the practices and sentences in the traditional court. Indeed, there is a great deal to take issue with in the institution of traditional leadership. By creating the conditions for more inclusive, accountable and transparent operations, decentralization enhances civil participation in local government and allows communities and their elected representatives to take charge of their own development.

The primary function of traditional authorities is to ensure peace and harmony in the rural communities within their territory. Thus, a "bad" chief would be someone not able to ensure this, for example during celebrations when people consume alcohol and fights break out. Mediating in conflict resolution and regulating access to local resources are thus the main tasks of traditional authorities. Most of the time solutions are

reached among the parties involved, often with the mediation of the respective local lineage chief(s). Only when the latter are unable to reach a verdict acceptable to everyone is the traditional chief approached. He or she is acknowledged to have ultimate knowledge of the customary geographical boundaries, and will reach a decision in consultation with his or her counsellors.

The new development paradigm: the integrated framework

As a process, local development involves a range of different stakeholders - civil society organizations, local communities, local governments, private sector companies, national governments - that act together to promote access to quality basic services and inclusive economic growth. For such concerted efforts to be successful, local actors need to be empowered and capacitated to improve their situation - either through direct action or indirectly through voice mechanisms. There may be some grain of truth in arguments about lack of local capacity, absence of technical expertise to govern. But these arguments also seem to be more than a little self-serving. At the same time, the case descriptions we have provided implicitly show that the central state is not a monolithic actor. To effectively address the MDGs, there is a need of consensual positioning, that become more relevant to meet the targets when is approached the local level interventions. It involves an integrated framework characterized by interaction between local government's capacity building, civil society and institutions empowerment and Private sector development:

- Strengthen *Local governments*, by build technical, human and institutional capacity to respond local needs and provision of public services. It include: (i) strengthening the provision Public Service, (ii) Strengthening Management of Local Government, including systems and practices, capacity building, systems for implementing change and measuring performance and results. (iii) Improved Fiscal Management involving systems for efficient, accountable and transparent inter-governmental financial transfer and creative mechanisms to mobilize, collect and manage local financial resources.

- Promote *Civil society organizations and local authorities*, including local community, by enhancing their capacity in provision of basic services and their involvement in local good governance. Local institutions/ CSOs and communities have opportunity in participatory manner to decide on how to generate and to use local and existing resources and capacity. Citizens, including women's associations have opportunity to participate actively in local governance/development, planning and budgeting close to the grassroots and provision of local basic

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services.

- Promote *Private sector* development- small and medium enterprises (including transformation of informal). As part of this framework the feasibility of introducing one-stop citizen services access centres will be studied and piloted in selected districts. A second step will be promoting of pro-poor Local Economic Development - LED, by strengthening and promoting employment and income via small and medium enterprises.

CONCLUSION

Public debate about development emerges from the cyclic question why poverty eradication is moving slowly, while development assistance and other direct and indirect supports are increasing? The Governments have agreed to reduce 50% incidence of the poverty by 2015. To attain the MDGs, means to target the poor. Simultaneously, this challenge implies harmonization of sectoral and territorial plans. In Africa, less attention has been devoted to local perspective⁹ and political leadership towards response to the local demands and development agenda, looking local institutions and the role of traditional authorities who are leaders, holding local traditional power, spiritual power, knowledge, and essential skills to influence local community, control over the territory and cultural transmission. However, traditional institutions and authorities are rarely included within plans of development that are formulated. States have mostly disregarded their potential for collective action within these institutions, partly because of ignorance and partly also because development paradigm, which is seen as "modernisation". Increasingly participatory governance is emerging as a key focal area, both in its own right, and as a means for securing the Millennium Development Goals, and especially poverty reduction. Decentralization is a complex process that takes years to implement, but play critical role to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Furthermore, a functional decentralized local government system is of particular importance to the flourishing of a strong service delivery, which is prerequisite to any meaningful, vibrant, democratic, and decentralized governance system.

Findings reveal that there seem to be a correlation between lack of capacity and environment conducive to fraudulent practices. Results-oriented development action plans require sound performance monitoring, realistic targets for performance assessment indicators, and timely provision of data. Cultural local identities will play a fundamental role in the process. Traditional institutions are important to people in many parts of the developing world and especially though not exclusively among

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⁹ local culture, agents and actors, traditional authorities and leadership, indigenous institutions and local livelihoods

indigenous peoples. Local Governments should promote good Governance, by strengthening local institutions and public administration reforms to address national and local development agenda. It means consistent legal framework that articulate basic and stable principles, strong institutions functions, and responsibilities of local governance, coherent policy/strategy involving all actors, governmental and non-governmental. Sustainable development can not be realized without robust civil society, private sector and active citizenry engaged in key decision-making. In order to realise an institutionalised system for capacity building, a realistic and need based capacity building strategy and programme is required.

Sustainable development cannot be realized without robust policies, strong institutions and active citizenry engaged in key decision-making. For their mere indispensability, there is a need to reconcile the political and the institutional decentralisation process with public-sector management reform. The role and importance of civil servants at sub-national levels of government must be considered. The absence of decentralisation, or only partial decentralisation of the public service, may compromise the links between that public service and its corresponding political structures on the same horizon or tier of government.

This paradigm requires a change in the policy infrastructure conception and efficient implementation mechanisms, and a movement away from the traditional hierarchical administrative structures and institutional arrangements. Planning and implementing a sustainable livelihoods approach is therefore necessarily iterative and dynamic. Having the support of technically qualified personnel facilitates the capacity-and knowledge-building required for dealing competently with the new tasks of modernisation and development. The resulting blend of capacity and legitimacy enables people to participate fully in development enterprises, deriving the best possible results in the process. MDGs should consider political commitment and the sub-national priorities have to be emphasized in national plans by transfer authority, resources and promote local institutions to respond citizen's needs and demands, while the new practices and systems are established and maintained.

The notion of endogenous development has been put forward in opposition to traditional understanding. As a process, local development involves a range of different stakeholders-civil society organizations, local communities, local governments, private sector companies, national governments – that act together to promote access to quality basic services and inclusive economic growth. It implies inclusive and participatory development by recognizing the role of the local agents, actors, and structures (traditional leaders, structures, cultural values and institutions) to improve their socio-economic well being. For such concerted efforts to be successful, local actors need to be empowered and capacitated to improve

their situation. It will involves strengthening of *Local governments*, build capacity of *Civil society organizations*, including local communities and traditional authorities, and finally promotion of emerging *Private sector* - small and medium enterprises through stimulation of local economic development interventions that generate employment and income for the poor, while local institutions create enable set to address local needs and demands.

A key governance challenge is to build the political will and institutional capacity to promote sustainable livelihoods and this requires a particular focus on developing practical linkages to translate national policies, laws, and regulations into action at the local level. MDG's implies strong commitment and long term development vision and will not be achieved if the governments do not strengthen institutions of governance and build capacity at local level. Africa leadership should promote good Governance, by strengthening institutions, local participation and practices such as public meetings, citizens can participate more effectively in local decision-making, gain experience in democratic processes and promote Local institutions and authorities to address local needs and demands. Ultimately it is consensual that effectiveness of the MDG's, depends on how local development plans are integrated into national strategies and development plans, and how local initiatives are being addressed at local level. In short, sustainable development can not be realized without robust policies, strong institutions and active citizenry engaged in key decision-making.

Conflict of Interests

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

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Full Length Research Paper

Identity, political efficacy and expected political participation among nursing students after 25th January revolution

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University students' political participation is of great significance to their own growth and it facilitates a country's democratization process. This study was conducted to investigate the relationship of personal and social identity, political efficacy and expected political participation among nursing students after 25th January 2011 Revolution of Egypt. The study was conducted at the Faculty of Nursing, Alexandria University. A random sample of 50% of nursing students (N = 463) who enrolled in the four academic years of the faculty were included with no exclusion criteria. Data were collected in April- June 2011. The main results of the study showed that majority of nursing students perceived themselves as politically effective and have willingness to be active participants in political activities especially after 25th January revolution. In addition to a significant positive correlation between students' identity and their political efficacy as well as their expected political participation, it is concluded that Nursing Education program should play a positive role in raising awareness through educating students about concepts of citizenship and the importance of political participation as means to achieve growth and development in their country. Furthermore, the atmosphere of the college may contribute to higher levels of political efficacy through enhancing sense of social and political identity among students.

Key words: 25th January Revolution, politics, political efficacy, political participation, university' students.

INTRODUCTION

During the past two decades, Egypt has witnessed an enormous change in the way political affairs are handled. Egypt has a special demographic distribution of the youth bulge-where the youths make up the majority of the population. For this reason, it is important to assess the

actual political participation of youths as a form of civic engagement and to estimate how much of the Egyptian youths today have a "sense of community" and thus how much have the potential to participate if directed to the right track [Mahgoub and Morsi, 2009].

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Egyptian 25th January Revolution (Youth Revolution)

Prior to the big demonstration on 25th January revolution, Mahgoub and Morsi [2009] conducted a survey at American University in Cairo; they found that the majority of students said that they did not participate politically in their country for any election and they did not believe that youths in Egypt can make a change or difference by their political participation or interest. They concluded that there is a huge gap in Egyptian youth political participation and by not participating in their country's political life, a major portion of Egyptian society is not represented politically and are thus more likely to be frustrated or disappointed with overall conditions. Another problem that was revealed by doing this research was the missing voice of youth within the Egyptian society [Mahgoub and Morsi, 2009]. Youths are not provided with the appropriate channels of communication and are not able to voice their ideas and their concerns towards their participation in the civil society. They are also not represented in accordance to their large number, but rather treated as any other faction in the Egyptian society [Mahgoub and Morsi, 2009; Halim, 2004].

On the 25th January, 2011, the whole of Egypt was taken by surprise; the young and the old, the rich and the poor, the civilian and the army and most of all President Hosni Mubarak. Nobody could have really believed that such protests would have gathered such strength. However, the demonstration, which then became the revolution, was started by the Egyptian youths after several years of protesting on social networks like Facebook and Twitter. Throughout the previous years, there were small demonstrations; but especially after the most recent fake parliament elections, it was obvious that corruption had increased and the protest groups became larger, which exploded on 25th January as revolution all over Egypt. This revolution is sometimes named the youth revolution [Ramses, 2012].

Nowadays, the younger generation such as university students is a significant and growing demographic of youths [Mannarini et al., 2008]. Many researchers have focused on the university students and their demographics to assess the civic and political health of the nation's new generations [Long and Meyer, 2011]. University students' political participation is of great significance to their own growth and it facilitates a country's democratization process. Therefore, educators must attach importance to investigate university students' identity, political participation and give them proper guidance [Tao, 2006].

School climate may enhance our sense of belonging in our community and social identity. This can be obtained through storytelling, which gives us an identity, allowing us to exist and function with one another. It is natural for us to communicate through narratives. The process of creating a sense of identity through story-

telling allows us to participate in interpersonal relationships, while developing and maintaining a satisfying self-concept [Horrocks et al., 2006].

Egyptian university students have proven to be one of the most politically active segments of the population in 25th January revolution. Not only did they participated in protests, sit-ins and marches, they also attempted to take the revolution to their respective universities. The students' protest movement has alternated between campus activism and street protests. Many students participated in the mass demonstrations that took place in public spaces such as Cairo's Tahrir Square. These students have the imagination to dream of a better life for themselves, and the energy to achieve it [Eskandar, 2010].

Study variables

A large body of work posits that self interest and positive feeling of personal and social identity are the primal forces for political interest, attitudes, efficacy and behaviors [Fowler and Kam, 2007]. Also, the concept of political efficacy has played a prominent role in studies on political behavior and political socialization. Political efficacy is defined as the "feeling that political and social change is possible and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change". Acquisition of political efficacy is often seen as crucial for future participation as an active citizen in a democracy [Schulz, 2005].

In particular, there is large consensus that political efficacy comprises two dimensions; internal efficacy and external efficacy. Internal efficacy is an individual's beliefs about his/her ability to understand as well as participate in politics. Alternatively, external efficacy refers to an individual's beliefs about political actors or government institutions' responsiveness to citizens' demands, needs and wishes. External efficacy is more likely to be influenced by experiences with political participation than internal efficacy [Curran, 2008; Morrell, 2005].

Active political participation requires citizens to believe in their own ability to influence the course of politics, in other words, to feel politically efficacious [Eskandar, 2010]. Political participation can be defined as activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government's action either directly by affecting the implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of those policies [Verba et al., 2010]. There are mainly different forms of political participation. They include electoral participation, which refers to the expectation of becoming informed voter once being in legal age and including behaviors such as voting, getting informed prior to elections; political activities refer to the actual behaviors of being an active participant in politics as an adult and including behaviors such as writing letters

to newspapers, joining a party, running for office; social movement activities refer to participating in community-based activities such as community volunteer work, collecting signatures, collecting money, participating in protest march/rally; and protest behavior is a form of unconventional but social activities which occur when dissatisfaction with political system occur and could be expressed illegally by spray-painting slogans, blocking traffic, occupying buildings [Schulz, 2005; Reichert, 2010; Torney-Purta et al., 2001].

Ultimately, an updated understanding of the current generation of university and colleges students' views and attitudes on politics and political participation requires more than a literature review; thus, an updated research with college students could be timely and relevant topic for study, contributing an important element to the efforts for democratic revitalization: the voices of the youngest generation [Long and Meyer, 2011]. Little is known about the political attitudes and behaviors of today's university nursing students.

Thus, the present study aims to clarify this issue by investigating the relationship of personal social identity, political efficacy and expected political participation among nursing students after 25 January 2011 Revolution of Egypt.

Research questions

- 1- How do nursing students perceive their identity, political efficacy and political participation?
- 2- Is there a relationship between feeling of identity, political efficacy and expected political participation among nursing students?

METHOD

Research design: a descriptive correlational design was used for the study.

Subject and setting

A sample of 50% nursing students (N = 463), who enrolled at the academic year (2011-2012) in the Faculty of Nursing, Alexandria University participated in this study.

The study instruments

Aspect of Identity Questionnaire (AIQ-IV) developed by Cheek and Tropp (2002) was used. It was used to measure the relative importance that individuals place on various attributes of their identity. The questionnaire consisted of 25 items, which contain two identity dimensions namely; personal identity orientation (10- items) and social identity orientation (15- items). Responses were rated on 5-point likert type scale ranged from (5) Extremely important to (1) Not important.

Political Efficacy and Expected Political Participation Question-

naires Are two parts of Surveys of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA)

Civic Education Study developed by Torney-Purta et al. (2001). It was used to test the civic knowledge and skills among adolescents and students and it is divided into:-

a. Political Efficacy Questionnaire: It includes ten items designed to measure political efficacy. Four items were related to internal efficacy dimension, six items related to the external efficacy dimension. Responses were rated on 5-point likert type scale that ranged from (5) strongly agree to (1) strongly disagree.

b. Political Participation Questionnaire: it is used to test the expected political participation among students as an adult. It included 11- items asking about electoral behaviors (two-items), political activities (three-items), social movement activities (three-items) and protest behaviors (three- items). Responses were rated on 4- point likert type scale that ranged from (4) I will certainly do this – to- (1) I will certainly not do this [Reichert, 2010].

Socio-demographic data which included age, sex, academic year, previous voting, effect of political participation, and change that occurred after 25 January 2011 revolution of Egypt were also used.

Procedures for data collection

Written approval was obtained from administrative authority in the identified setting to collect the necessary data. Tools 1 and 2 were translated into Arabic and tested for content validity by 6 experts in the field of study, who represent professors, at Department of Psychiatric Nursing, as well as the Department of Nursing Administration. Accordingly, some items were modified. Tools were tested for reliability using the Cronbach's alpha coefficient. The two tools were reliable ($p = 0.832, 0.787$), respectively.

A pilot study for the questionnaires was conducted on 10% (N = 46) nursing students that were excluded from the study. No changes occurred in the tools. Data were collected from nursing students after obtaining their acceptance through distributing questionnaires to them. Researchers stayed with students during time of data collection; and any clarification was explained. Confidentiality was assured. Data were collected in three months; it started from 1/4/2011 to 30/6/2011.

Data management and analysis

Data were coded by the researchers and statistically analyzed using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Science) version 16. Descriptive statistics, such as frequency and percentages were used for describing and summarizing qualitative and categorical data. Arithmetic Mean (X) and Standard Deviation (SD) were used as measures of central tendency and dispersion respectively for quantitative data. Analytical statistics was conducted using t test (t) to test difference between two means. Pearson Correlation Coefficient (r) was used to measure the degree of association between variables. All tests of significance were done at the 5% level.

RESULT

Regarding the demographic characteristics of nursing students, about one third of the students was enrolled either in third or fourth academic year (34.6-30.5%) respectively. The highest percentages of students were

Table 1. Distribution of nursing students according to their demographic characteristics (N= 463).

Variable	No	%
Academic		
1 st	55	11.9
2 nd	107	23.1
3 rd	141	30.5
4 th	160	34.6
Age:		
< 20 years	120	25.9
20 – 22 years	323	69.8
22 – 25 years	16	3.5
> 25 years	4	0.9
Sex:		
Male	153	33.0
Female	310	67.0
Feeling of identity as a university student:		
Yes	257	55.5
No	206	44.5
Liking voting in election		
Yes	378	81.6
No	85	18.4
Previous voting in election:		
Yes	256	55.3
No	207	44.7
Effect of own political participation on country:		
Yes	398	86.0
No	65	14.0
Change after 25 January revolution:		
Yes	365	78.8
No	98	21.2

in the age group of 20 to less than 22 years old. Also more than half of them were females. Furthermore, 55.5% of students have feeling of identity as university students. The highest percentages of nursing students liking voting, share in previous voting in election as well as feel that their voting and political participation could have a positive effect on their country's politics represented by 81.6, 55.3 and 86.0% respectively; so they participated especially after 25th January Egyptian revolution (25 Jan revolution). In addition, the majority of nursing students (78.8%) perceived that they changed

after 25 January revolution (Table 1).

As regard nursing students' perception of changes after 25 January revolution, all students who felt changes reported that they were proud as Egyptian youths who made a greater change in Egypt, felt more freedom, had the ability for change and expressed opinions with respect and democracy. Also, the highest percentage of students (91.78%) stated that they became more interested in politics and political participation, as well as had increased commitment and loyalty to their country (Egypt) (Table 2a). Moreover, there are statistical significant difference between students who felt change after the revolution and who did not feel change regarding their perception of identity, political efficacy as well as expected political participation ($p=0.006$, 0.001 , 0.004) respectively. Students who felt change after the 25 January revolution have the higher mean (Table 2b).

Students' perception of personal and social identity is represented by mean 4.30 ± 0.47 ; their political efficacy is represented by 3.30 ± 0.77 and expected political participation by 2.80 ± 0.46 . In addition, almost all nursing students (99.6%) perceived their identity as important to them with the highest percentage given to their personal identity (99.8%). The majority of students (73.2%) perceived their political efficacy as high especially their internal political efficacy. In addition, 97.0% of nursing students have willingness and expectation for political participation with the highest percentage (99.6%) related to electoral behaviors and social activities (Tables 3a, b).

The results reveal that there is a positive statistical significant correlation between students' feeling of identity and their political efficacy ($r=0.132, p=0.004$). Also, there is a positive statistical significant correlation between students' identity and expected political participation ($r=0.284, p=0.001$). In addition, there is a positive statistical significant correlation between students' political efficacy and expected political participation ($r=0.330, p=0.001$) (Table 4).

DISCUSSION

The preliminary findings of the present study revealed that nursing students who perceived changes occur after 25 January revolution significantly have feeling of personal and social identity, political efficacy as well as willingness for expected political participation higher than those who did not feel changes. This is because the students in this study reported that they feel and believe that Egyptian youths are proud with their revolution and role in this revolution. This revolution causes significant many changes for them such as feeling of proud with their Egyptian nation and as Egyptian citizen, feeling of freedom and democracy and being able to participate in political life and expressing their ideas and voices in what concern them in their country.

Table 2a. Nursing students' perception of the changes that occurred after 25 January revolution (Those students who feel changes N= 365 from total N= 463).

Change after 25 January revolution	No	%
Sense of proud with 25 January revolution and youths' role and being Egyptian citizen.	365	100.0
Feeling of freedom, ability to change.	365	100.0
Expressing my opinions with respect.	365	100.0
Feeling of democracy.	365	100.0
Being interesting in politics and political participation.	335	91.78
Increases my commitment & loyalty to my country Egypt.	335	91.78

Table 2b. Relationship of students' identity, political efficacy and expected political participation with their perception of change after January revolution (N = 463).

Variable	Identity	Political efficacy	Expected political participation
Change after 25 th January Revolution			
Yes (n = 365)	4.33 ± 0.43	3.40 ± 0.75	2.83 ± 0.44
No (n = 98)	4.16 ± 0.56	2.92 ± 0.75	2.68 ± 0.50
P	0.006*	<0.001*	0.004*

P: value for student's t test; *: statistically significant at $p \leq 0.05$.

Table 3a. Mean score of identity, political efficacy and expected political participation as perceived by nursing students (N = 463).

Variable	Mean ± SD
Identity	4.30 ± 0.47
Personal identity	4.34 ± 0.50
Social identity	4.26 ± 0.54
Political efficacy	3.30 ± 0.77
Internal political efficacy	3.42 ± 0.86
External political efficacy	3.23 ± 0.96
Expected Political participation	2.80 ± 0.46
Electoral behaviors	3.69 ± 0.51
Political activities	2.37 ± 0.73
Social movement activities	3.21 ± 0.69
Protest activities	2.22 ± 0.65

Moreover, almost all nursing students perceived the importance of their personal and social identity. This could be because students value their identity as a mean for identifying themselves, their unique attributes, roles, motives and their attitude toward their future and toward socialization with others in their personal life. Moreover social identity is the portion of an individual's self-concept derived from perceived membership in a relevant social group. In this respect, Gaytán (2010) clarified that, an integrated understanding of one's identity is important for the individual's

successful functioning in adolescence and into adulthood [Gaytán, 2010].

The main result of the present study revealed that the majority of nursing students perceived themselves as politically effective especially their feeling of internal political efficacy as well as their willingness to be active participants in political activities. This could be attributed to the changes that occur to these students and to Egyptian youths in general during and after 25 January Egyptian revolution. Students could feel that they have an important role and responsibility in their

Table 3b. Percentage of identity, political efficacy and expected political participation as perceived by nursing students (N = 463).

Variable	Important		Not Important	
	No	%	No	%
Identity	461	99.6	2	0.4
Personal identity	462	99.8	1	0.2
Social identity	458	98.9	5	1.1
Political efficacy	High		Low	
Internal political efficacy	401	86.6	62	13.4
External political efficacy	273	59.0	190	41.0
Political participation	Will do that		Will not do that	
Electoral behaviors	461	99.6	2	0.4
Political activities	371	80.1	92	19.9
Social movement activities	439	94.8	24	5.2
Protest activities	359	77.5	104	22.5

Table 4. Correlation among identity, political efficacy and expected political participation as perceived by nursing students (N = 463).

Variable		Social identity	Identity	Internal political efficacy	External political efficacy	Political efficacy	Electoral behaviors	Political activities	Social movement activities	Protest activities	Political participation
Personal identity	r	0.584*	0.847*	0.111	0.017	0.62	0.141*	0.085	0.188*	0.194*	0.217
	p	<0.001	<0.001	0.017	0.719	0.182	0.002	0.067	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001
Social identity	r		0.926*	0.195*	0.096*	0.158*	0.174*	0.160*	0.229*	0.211*	0.280*
	p		<0.001	0.179*	0.040	0.001	<0.001	0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001
Identity	r			<0.001	0.070	0.132*	0.180*	0.145*	0.237*	0.228*	0.284*
	p				0.130	0.004	<0.001	0.002	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001
Internal political efficacy	r				0.375*	0.726*	0.288*	0.279*	0.161*	0.190*	0.318*
	p				<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	0.001	<0.001	<0.001
External political efficacy	r					0.910*	0.242*	0.240*	0.121*	0.132*	0.253*
	p					<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	0.009	0.004	<0.001
Political efficacy	r						0.309*	0.303*	0.161*	0.183*	0.330*
	p						<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001
Electoral behaviors	r							0.233*	0.224*	0.059	0.416*
	p							<0.001	<0.001	0.203	<0.001
Political activities	r								0.280*	0.458*	0.771*
	p								<0.001	<0.001	<0.001
Social movement activities	r									0.717*	0.371*
	p									<0.001	<0.001
Protest activities	r										0.749*
	p										<0.001

r: Pearson coefficient * : Statistically significant at $p \leq 0.05$.

country's politics and civil life in order to make a positive change and improve the Egyptian image. This was supported by Hoigilt (2011) who high-lighted the impor-

tant role of young population and Egyptian youths in 25 January revolution and stated that it is note worthy that one of the most important concepts for the Egyptian

youths in this revolution is “dignity and image of Egypt” abroad; they have a sense of responsibility toward their country. He stated that it is important to describe the uprising of young Egyptian people that began in 25 January as not only just a revolution against a whole generation of political actors corruption but also as a significant change for their political efficacy and their civil life. This may be due to the learning of social roles through personal experience, discussing different experiences through the social networking (Facebook) [Høigilt, 2011].

Moreover, the findings of this study revealed a significant positive correlation among students’ identity and their political efficacy as well as their expected political participation. This is because students perceive that their political efficacy and competency as well as their participative role in political activities are important for their self concept and considered a significant part for their personal and social identity. This is supported by Fowler and Kam (2007) who stated that, self interest and positive feeling of personal and social identity are primal forces for political attitude and behaviors and vice versa. Also, Schulz [2005] stated that, participation in political discussion increases the feeling of political efficacy and self confidence which enhance desire for being active participant in political activities. Therefore, the relationship between efficacy and participation in political discussion and activities certainly be seen as reciprocal one [Schulz, 2005]. This result is consistent with that of Schulz (2010) and Amadeo et al. (2002) who found a significant relationship between political efficacy and expected political participation.

In this respect, Li [2009] suggested that student’ orientation and identification with their identities, values and judgment toward their societal role and civil society play an important role in the process of students’ political socialization including efficacy and participation.

Based on the result of the present study, it can be concluded that the majority of nursing students perceived themselves as politically effective and competent and have willingness to be active participants in political activities especially after 25 January revolution. They become more interested in politics and political participation, as well as increased commitment and loyalty to their country (Egypt) after 25 January revolution. Also, there is a significant positive correlation between students’ identity and their political efficacy as well as their expected political participation. It is recommended that Nursing Education should play a positive role in raising students’ political awareness through providing them with courses for politics and civilization in core nursing curricula. Also, nurse educators should encourage students for practicing their political and civil life in university setting such as conducting the periodical election for students’ parliament and encourage their participation in social and voluntary community activities. This would increase the sense of belonging and identity amongst

students and drive them to participate in a civil society that respects their presence and admits their involvement.

Teachers must aim to build students’ political efficacy by giving them opportunities to feel successful in real or simulated democratic decision-making processes.

Study strength and limitation

There is a paucity of research in the area of identity, political efficacy and expected political participation among university nursing students. Thus, this research could make a unique contribution to the literature by providing insight into Egyptian university nursing students’ political attitude especially after 25th January revolution. However, there is a limitation that, researchers surveyed nursing students only in Alexandria governorate and did not include other students; so, the findings cannot be generalized.

RECOMMENDATION FOR FURTHER STUDY

Prospective studies may be needed to address stability of the study variables over a period of time to assess stability of young generation beliefs about their political efficacy and participation as well as factor affecting these beliefs .

Conflict of Interests

The authors have not declared any conflict of interests.

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Full Length Research Paper

E-governance: An imperative for sustainable grass root development in Nigeria

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This paper aims to put forward the importance of e-governance in achieving sustainable grassroots development in Nigeria. The emergence of information communication technology has provided opportunity for borderlessness, interconnectedness and de-territorialization of government policies and programmes within the global village. Information communication technology is a necessary political tool set out to reconcile traditional barrier of distance in the management of public affairs. Today, E-governance has being implemented in Europe and other westernized countries for sustainable development through the application and adoption of Open Access Information Communication Technology (OAICT) designed to enhance social service delivery at the grassroots level. This paper adopts secondary sources of data. It argues that e-governance promotes participatory, transparent, responsive and inclusive democracy to enhance grassroots development. The accessibility of local citizens to their elected representatives and basic social services through the provision of information communication technology enhances effective communication between the government and the governed at the grassroots level, while it creates open plain ground for the citizens to receive feedbacks from the appropriate local government channel. This study concludes that e-governance ensures effective and efficient service delivery and enhancing citizen's participation in local affairs. It therefore recommends that federal government should make policy that will facilitate and fast-track the adoption of ICT and training of local government personnel in the art of e-governance through which sustainable grassroots development could be accomplished in Nigeria.

Key words: E-governance, e-government, information communication technology, grassroot development, local government, democracy, Nigeria.

INTRODUCTION

The emergence of information communication technology has provided opportunity for borderlessness, interconnectedness and de-territorialization of government policies and programmes within the global village. The discovery of information communication technology has made the activities of government more accessible to the

governed while the traditional barrier of distance becomes surmountable through the modern approach of communication. Application of e-governance has been a potent instrument in disseminating information, consultation, enhancing citizen's participation, sending feedback to the citizens, monitoring and evaluating government projects

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and making government accountable and transparent in its total political engagements. E-governance has become a necessary political mechanism in evaluating government performance in many developed nations of the world, including United Kingdom, U.S.A, Netherland, Germany etc; it enhances citizen's ability to have access to the basic programmes of government while it brings about openness in performing public functions. The scope of e-governance revolves around e-registration, e-participation, e-taxation, e-mobilization, e-education, e-service delivery, e-feedback, e-policing, e-planning, e-debate and analyses of public financial statements. It also creates awareness for the general local populace in relation to activities such as immunization, vaccination, civic education, time for collection of waste, identification of community development association in every neighborhood and making suggestions for the betterment of government programmes. A few developing nations have also set off to adopt e-governance for the public functions, for instance, India has commenced pilot project on e-governance to facilitate citizen's participation and enhance social service delivery. According to Norris (2000) Cyber-optimists are hopeful that the development of interactive services, new channels of communication, and efficiency gains from digital technologies will contribute towards revitalizing the role of government executives in representative democracies, facilitating communications between citizen and the state.

Governments throughout the world are in quest of finding ways to deliver public services more efficiently and effectively. Incorporation of electronic governance (e-governance) in the local governments tier is an option often discussed, although the expectations often differ. For example, some expect service delivery costs to be reduced, many hopes for equitable provision of public services and others anticipate better planning across a metropolitan area. Various social and political motivations may also be reasons for the change as well. Despite the immense popularity and potency of electronic government, it remains uncharted in many countries regarding proper implementation at the local government level. However, technology possesses the prospect of improvement in the way government works, and makes better interactions with their citizens. National governments are trying to realize this potential by finding ways to implement novel technology in spearheading its utilization to achieve the best services for their citizens. They range from awareness raising campaign, knowledge acquisition, social networking to strategic planning, development, and implementation (Rahman, 2011). According to Siar (2005) the application of information and communication technology for improving governance by enhancing government's role in service delivery, public administration, and promotion of participatory democracy has been gaining momentum in many parts of the world. Maswood (2009) opines that E-governance may be understood as the performance of governance through

the electronic medium in order to facilitate an efficient, speedy and transparent process of disseminating information to the public, and other agencies, and for performing government administration activities. It is the use of modern Information and Communication Technologies, such as Internet, Local Area Networks, Mobiles etc, by Governments to improve effectiveness, efficiency and service delivery to promote easy access to the Government services to the public. E-Governance is a network of organizations to include government, nonprofit, and private-sector entities; in e-governance there are no distinct boundaries.

The purpose of implementing e-governance is to enhance good governance. Good governance is generally characterized by participation, transparency and accountability. The recent advances in communication technologies and the Internet provide opportunities to transform the relationship between governments and citizens in a new way, thus contributing to the achievement of good governance goals. The use of information technology can increase the broad involvement of citizens in the process of governance at all levels by providing the possibility of on-line discussion groups and by enhancing the rapid development and effectiveness of pressure groups. Advantages for the government involve that the government may provide better service in terms of time, making governance more efficient and more effective. In addition, the transaction costs can be lowered and government services become more accessible (UNESCO 2005). According to Danfulani (2013) E-governance came as a result of revolution in Information and Communication Technology (ICT) which finds expression in digital technologies like personal Computers, the internet, mobile telephony, and different electronic applications. A confluence of these technologies eased the flow of information, its accessibility and delivery. This came with numerous advantages because citizens were connected with government, government became more efficient and robust, cost of governance and transaction were scaled down, and transparency was enhanced. Akbar (2004) corroborates that e-Governance is improving the lives of billions of people worldwide and is integrating government services in a way never seen before.

Today, the leading e-governance issues for state and local officials are more complex and more deeply embedded in social and organizational context than ever before. Networks continue to connect vast amounts of data from an increasing number of sources, with impacts on the social, political, and economic geographies of governance. Security has taken on renewed importance associated with increasing dependence on massive data bases and networks and the related need to protect individuals, organizations, systems, and infrastructure from fraud, errors, hackers, and attacks. At the same time, concern for service delivery, effective management, IT investments, and public access all continue to receive leadership attention (Dawes, 2008).

Information Communications Technologies has been described as the tools for changing the world values and making our society a knowledge base environment where everything is done electronically. The Information Society is creating unprecedented conditions for bridging the digital divide through supporting government operations to strengthen the establishment of efficient, effective and transparent governance systems. Electronic tools can significantly improve the services and information flows from administrations to their constituencies. Communication among administrations and citizens and businesses can be enhanced as ICTs offer unique opportunities for the re-use and exploitation of public sector information within the emerging digital economy which in turn create vast economic opportunities for the country at large (Hassan and Willie, 2010). The revolutionary power of Information Communication Technology (ICT) has therefore redirected the way people do things, most especially government business. Governments, all over the world are adopting ICT tools to achieve the goals of increased effectiveness, transparency and accountability to their people. The use of these tools in governance is what is called Electronic Governance or e-Governance (Awoleye et al., 2008).

E-Governance has consequently become an accepted methodology involving the use of Information Technology in improving transparency, providing information speedily to all citizens, improving administration efficiency and improving public services such as transportation, power, health, water, security and municipal services (Radhakrishnan, 2006). Local government institution is the closest governmental unit closest to the citizens in the world over; it is assigned to perform fundamental functions capable of ensuring grassroots development by providing social services and promoting citizens participation in local decision making. Thus, application of information communication technology at local level will facilitate efficiency and effectiveness in achieving the stated objectives at the local level. Hence, E-governance therefore becomes a political device adopted to ensure good governance at the grassroot level through which government and citizen's relationships are facilitated to ensure better performance. It brings about openness and transparency in the running of governmental business. It is against this backdrop that this study examines e-governance as a fundamental political strategy through which the realization of sustainable grassroots development could be attained in Nigeria.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Governance is the act of governing. It is not a new concept and it is as old as the human civilization. In a country domain, the governing of its decision making processes and related systems are typically administered by the government. In one of its strategy papers, the World Bank

defines governance as "the way the power is exercised through a country's economic, political, and social institutions." The UNDP explanation states that, it is the exercise of economic, political, and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises mechanisms, processes, and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations, and mediate their differences (Daily news, August 2, 2013). The concept of e-governance may be referred to application of information communication technology by the government to enhance accountability, creating awareness and ensures transparency in the management of governmental business. It is a political strategy through which the activities of government are made known through the adoption of modern communication. In similar direction, Backus (2001) opines that e-governance is defined as the application of electronic means in the interaction between government and citizens and government and businesses, as well as in internal government operations to simplify and improve democratic, government and business aspects of Governance. The term interaction stands for the delivery of government products and services, exchange of information, communication, transactions and system integration. Dawes (2008) furthers that E-governance comprises the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) to support public services, government administration, democratic processes, and relationships among citizens, civil society, the private sector, and the state.

By implementing e-governance systems, we can provide the possibility of closer interactions, government to government, government to public services, government to citizens, and public services to citizens. Electronic Governance (e-Governance) is the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) for the planning, implementation, and monitoring of government programmes, projects, and activities (Crowley, 2008). E-Governance is expected to help deliver cost-effective and easy-to-access citizen services. It is defined as delivery of government services and information to the public using electronic channels (Baidyabati Municipality, 2012). E-governance means using information and communication technologies (ICTs) at various levels of the government and the public sector and beyond, for the purpose of enhancing governance (Bedi et al., 2001; Holmes, 2001; Okot-Uma, 2000 cited in Palvia and Sharma, 2007). E-governance is a set of "technology-mediated processes" that are changing both the delivery of public services and the broader interactions between the citizens and Government. E-governance is generally considered as a wider concept than e-government, since it can bring about a change in the way how citizens relate to governments and to each other (Maswood, 2000). In the view of Akbar (2004), E-governance is the computerization and automation of common government processes with the goal of lowering costs, improving efficiency and

generally providing better services to citizens.

Governance refers to the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority in the management of a country's affairs, including citizens' articulation of their interests and exercise of their legal rights and obligations. E-governance may be understood as the performance of this governance via the electronic medium in order to facilitate an efficient, speedy and transparent process of disseminating information to the public, and other agencies, and for performing government administration activities. E-governance is generally considered as a wider concept than e-government, since it can bring about a change in the way how citizens relate to governments and to each other. E-governance can bring forth new concepts of citizenship, both in terms of citizen needs and responsibilities. Its objective is to engage, enable and empower the citizen (UNESCO 2005). It stands for electronic-governance and the word "electronic" denotes the use of technology in the system of governance. If it is made more explanatory, e-Governance is the application of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) for assisting the government for efficient and meaningful delivery of government services (Daily news, August 2, 2013).

E-Governance is the delivery of government services and information to the public using electronic means (usually Information Technology). It is seen as the best way for the implementation of e-governance because it is efficient, speedy, participatory, transparent, and affords accountability when disseminating information to the public while at the same time performing Government activities (Government Information Agency, Guyana). E-Governance usually falls under three sections:

E-administration, which is aimed at improving government processes especially in the public Sector

E-services, aimed at improving the delivery of public services, for example, providing public documents online (such as birth certificates, etc.)

E-Democracy which is aimed at involving greater participation by the public in the decision making process of a country (Government Information Agency, Guyana).

E-Governance is a wider concept that defines and assesses the impacts technologies are having on the practice and administration of governments and the relationships between public servants and the wider society, such as dealings with the elected bodies or outside groups such as not for profits organizations, NGO's or private sector corporate entities. E-Governance encompasses a series of necessary steps for government agencies to develop and administer to ensure successful implementation of e-government services to the public at large (theinformationdaily.com). E-governance can transform citizen service, provide access to information to empower citizens, enable their participation in government and enhance citizen's economic and social opportunities, so

that they can make better lives, for themselves and for the next generation (www.saaritresources.com). The features of E-Governance includes the ability for citizens to leave feedback to various government offices; a subscription based list serve or e-Newsletter that keeps citizens and other agencies informed; Online discussion forums or chat rooms to discuss policy issues; e-Meetings for cross agency/cross governmental participation; Online citizen surveys or polls for specific issues with published results; Online citizen satisfaction surveys with published results; Online decision-making - e-petitions, e-referenda; Online performance measures with published results (Crowley, 2008). Hence, The 'connected citizen' now has the option to communicate with the government to monitor its performance at local level and immediately respond to the effectiveness of their services, rather than wait for the electoral process to indicate its performance. Thus enhanced accountability and transparency that are keys to good governance are ensured through electronic interaction (Hina, 2007).

Development defined

Defining the concept of development is not an easy task; this is due to divergence philosophical views of various scholars. Many have defined it along economic growth while some provide analytical orientation along the part of social well-being of a nation. However, despite these variations, development may be defined as positive transformation in social, political, economic and institutional structures of a nation. The above definition conceptualized development as all encompassing revolving around all aspects of life of a nation. Development is seen as a giant stride taken towards achieving the optimum welfarism of the people in a society; it accommodates psychological, social, emotional and intellectual well-being of the people, therefore, development is defined in relation to socio-economic transformation directed towards improving the lives of the general citizenry.

Development is a multi-dimensional process but gives a definition that is often considered as the other extreme of emphasis from that of Rodney. He describes development as a multi-dimensional process involving the reorganization and reorientation of the entire economic and social system. This involves in addition to improvement of income and output, radical changes in institutional, social and administrative structures as well as in popular attitudes, customs and belief (Todaro, 1982 cit in Ikeanyibe, 2009). Todaro's definition gives the meaning, which Todaro's definition gives the meaning, which the concept of development assumes whenever it is discussed in relation to countries. Development at this level of conceptualization is often understood in terms of economic development. This does not only signify economic development, but as Todaro notes above, it equally implies improving the social, administrative,

political as well as people's cultural attitudes and beliefs that are anti-progress (Ikeanyibe, 2009).

Furthermore, the classical definition put forward by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987, emphasizes that development is sustainable if it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

E-Government versus e-governance

E-government focuses on constituencies and stakeholders outside the organization, whether it is the government or public sector at the city, county, state, national, or international levels. On the other hand, e-governance focuses on administration and management within an organization, whether it is public or private, large or small. E-governance concerns internally-focused utilization of information and internet technologies to manage organizational resources – capital, human, material, machines – and administer policies and procedures (both for the public sector or private sector). E-governance deals with the online activities of government employees. The activities might include information to calculate retirement benefits, access to important applications, and content and collaboration with other government employees anytime, anywhere (Palvia and Sharma, 2007). E-government is a generic term for web-based services from agencies of local, state and federal governments. In e-government, the government uses information technology and particularly the Internet to support government operations, engage citizens, and provide government services. The interaction may be in the form of obtaining information, filings, or making payments and a host of other activities via the World Wide Web (Sharma and Gupta, 2003, Sharma, 2004, 2006 cit in Palvia and Sharma, 2007). While e-government encompasses a wide range of activities, we can identify three distinct areas. These include government-to-government (G to G), government-to-citizens (G to C), and government to business (G to B). Each of these represents a different combination of motivating forces. However, some common goals include improving the efficiency, reliability, and quality of services for the respective groups. In many respects, the government to government (G to G) sector represents the backbone of e-government. It is felt that governments at the union, state and local level must enhance and update their own internal systems and procedures before electronic transactions with citizens and business are introduced. Government to government e-government involves sharing data and conducting electronic exchanges between various governmental agencies. Government to citizen (G to C) facilitates citizen interaction with government, which is primary goal of e-government. This attempts to make transactions, such as payment of taxes, renewing licenses and applying for certain benefits, less time consuming and easy to

carry out. Government to citizen initiatives also strives to enhance access to public information through the use of websites and kiosks (Monge, 2008). Citizens to Government (C2G) will mainly constitute the areas where the citizen interacts with the Government. It will include areas like election when citizens vote for the Government; Census where he provides information about himself to the Government; taxation where he is paying taxes to the Government (Sachdeva, 2004). In similar direction, E Governance provides a common framework and direction in the implementation of Government Policies in the following areas: Across the Public Sector Organizations and Institutions (G2G) between government and the Business community (G2B) between government and Citizens (G2C). A very interesting set of options emerges when considering the impact of e-Government reforms on business environment. New technologies applied to the transformation of government procedures among trade partners have the potential of lowering transaction costs between government and business. In turn, this can increase the competitiveness of local industries as well as attract foreign investment. It also provides a support to the business sector to effectively integrate into global markets (Maswood, 2009). One step toward a more evolved model of governance is linked to the new public management (NPM) model. The NPM postulates that the governmental entity is driven by a mission and operates strategically like a business unit, being conscious of cost efficiency. In this model, governance bureaucracies turn into strategic business units, competing with each other, and citizens become customers (Gabriela, 2012). Therefore, E-Government is suited for a well-informed, educated citizen and such a resource needs to be deployed across the urban and rural divide to reach out to the stakeholders through awareness. The legislative environment is embedded in the 'e' capsule which acts as a stimulant to provide better services in a secure and effective manner thereby cultivating trust. Online presence in the global world is inevitable to utilize the potential of emerging e-economy at both local and state level. Trust creation through reversible participation can work to build bridges by implementing ICT in an offline sphere for sustainable e-governance (Hina, 2007) (Table 1 and Figure 1).

E-Governance in the United States of America, UK, Singapore and Norway

These are seen in Figures 2-5.

Necessity of e-governance for sustainable grassroots development in Nigeria

Nowadays, local e-government management includes the extended use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) within government for purposes of improving

Table 1. E-government readiness index 2005: top 50 countries.

Rank	Country	Index	Rank	Country	Index
1	United States	0.9062	26	Slovenia	0.6762
2	Denmark	0.9058	29	Hungary	0.6536
3	Sweden	0.8983	28	Luxembourg	0.6513
4	United Kingdom	0.8777	29	Czech Republic	0.6396
5	Republic of Korea	0.8727	30	Portugal	0.6084
6	Australia	0.8679	31	Mexico	0.6061
7	Singapore	0.8503	32	Latvia	0.6050
8	Canada	0.8425	33	Brazil	0.5981
9	Finland	0.8231	34	Argentina	0.5971
10	Norway	0.8228	35	Greece	0.5921
11	Germany	0.8050	36	Slovakia	0.5887
12	Netherlands	0.8021	37	Cyprus	0.5872
13	New Zealand	0.7987	38	Poland	0.5872
14	Japan	0.7801	39	Spain	0.5847
15	Iceland	0.7794	40	Lithuania	0.5786
16	Austria	0.7602	41	Philippines	0.5721
17	Switzerland	0.7548	42	United Arab Emirates	0.5718
18	Belgium	0.7381	43	Malaysia	0.5706
19	Estonia	0.7347	44	Romania	0.5704
20	Ireland	0.7251	45	Bulgaria	0.5605
21	Malta	0.7012	46	Thailand	0.5518
22	Chile	0.6963	47	Croatia	0.5480
23	France	0.6925	48	Ukraine	0.5456
24	Israel	0.6903	49	Uruguay	0.5387
25	Italy	0.6794	50	Russia federation	0.5329

Source: The UN Global E-Government Readiness Report 2005 adapted from Palvia and Sharma (2007).

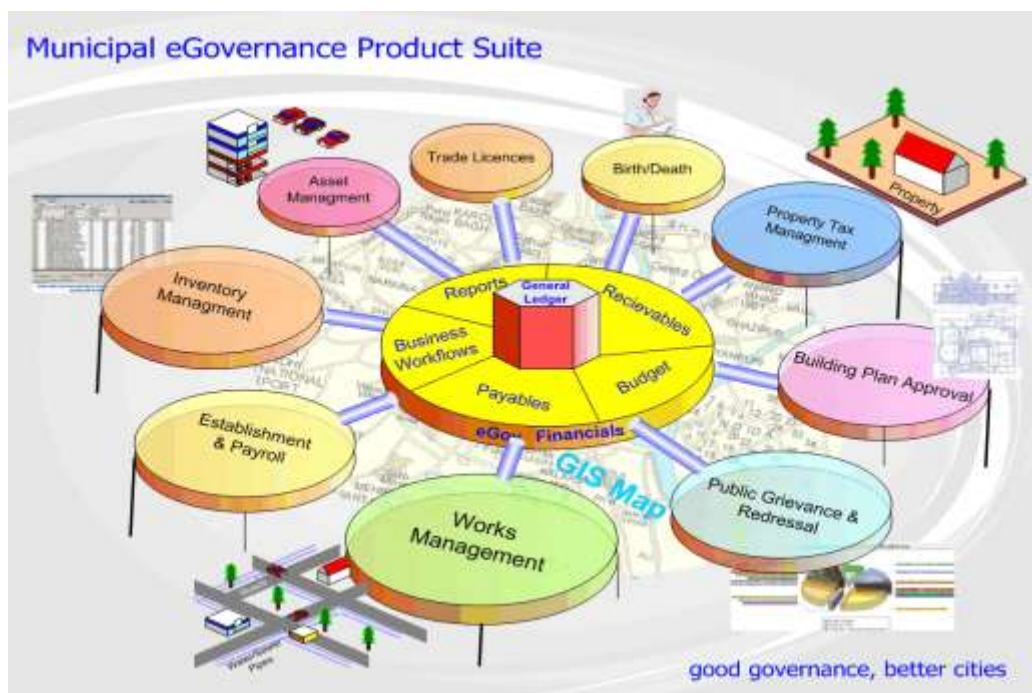


Figure 1. Municipal e-governance product suite. Source: Nadhamuni (2009).



Figure 2. E-Governance in United States of America.



Figure 3. E-governance in UK. Source: Norris (2000).



Figure 4. E-governance in Singapore. Source: Norris (2000).



Figure 5. E-governance in Norway. Source: Norris (2000).

service delivery to citizens or to enhance back-office operations. The implementation of ICT for overall development and advancement of e-government strategies are likely to have a strong bias towards cities and local towns where most of the citizens reside. However, it has been observed that, at the national level and in the advantaged localities (central cities, capital cities, and urban areas) ICT's are extensively used to address only key business processes. The national e-government policy does not always apply in devotion to the local government level. Even they are being applied; the policy cannot avoid duplication of efforts, problems of interoperability, and inability to leverage economies of scale and security. The key components that drive the local governance and ICT's remain access, content, citizen service, and economic and social development, and for proper implementation of the ICT strategies, the need for these initiatives targeting marginalized areas has also remained not properly identified. Furthermore, in spite of the local governments differ considerably in terms of capacity, content, service delivery, and effectiveness; they have to be dynamic and developmental due to their involvement in local economic development. Local governments need to take the role of the key player in developing integrated rural-based, citizen-centric, information-driven, user-friendly, easily-accessible, and dynamic e-governance system (CPSI, 2005; Samarajiva and Zainudeen, 2008 cit in Rahman, 2011). The new opportunities afforded to local government by the rapid take up of social media mean councils should go beyond basic local e-government – where information and services are delivered through digital technology – to a more collaborative way of governing. This socio-technological shift requires councils to adopt a new form of governance that is based on online participation and the co-production of services with citizens and communities (Magele, 2012). Cramped spaces; shabby ambience; discourteous dealing personnel and their chronic absenteeism; demands of gratification; inefficiency in work; long queues; procrastinating officials; procedural complexities; etc., were some of the undesirable features of the working of the government departments. Consequently, a visit to government department by a citizen to make use of any service used to be a harrowing experience. With the rising awareness amongst the citizens and their better experiences with the private sector – the demand for better services on the part of government departments became more pronounced (Monga, 2008).

The recent development in information communication technology provides opportunities for bridging the gap between the government and the citizens. The lack of basic modern communication technology at the grassroots level has hampering the citizen's participation and good service delivery in Nigeria. Looking at the organizational structure of local government in Nigeria, it is discovered that they are not adequate equipped with modern technological development which has been

creating wider gap between the government and the governed at the grassroots level. In this context, there is need to advance information communication technology through which sustainable development could be achieved at the grassroots level in Nigeria. E-governance is capable of promoting participatory democracy at the grassroots level and providing riding board for citizen's involvement in governance, as it was upheld by Sachdeva (2002) that e-democracy is an effort to change the role of citizen from passive information giving to active citizen involvement. In an e-democracy the Government will be informing the citizen, representing the citizen, encouraging the citizen to vote, consulting the citizen and engaging the citizen in the Governance. Taking the citizens input about the various government policies by organizing an e-debate will further strengthen the e-democracy.

The roots of this government reinvention can be traced back to a number of historical causes (Heeks, 1999 cit in Siar, 2005). One of them is the challenge confronting governments to keep or win back citizens' trust and confidence in public institutions, which has waned through the years with increasing reports of corruption. Another is the influence of the neoliberal thinking that emphasizes the efficiency of markets and the notion that the inefficiency of the public sector may be corrected by making it as similar as possible to the private sector. Corollary to this is the intensified pace of competition brought about by globalization, which could also explain why so many governments pursued many reform strategies so aggressively at much the same time (Kettl, 2002 cit in Siar, 2005). The purpose of implementing e-governance is to enhance good governance. Good governance is generally characterized by participation, transparency and accountability. The recent advances in communication technologies and the Internet provide opportunities to transform the relationship between government and citizens in a new way, thus contributing to the achievement of good governance goals. The use of information technology can increase the broad involvement of citizens in the process of governance at all levels by providing the possibility of on-line discussion groups and by enhancing the rapid development and effectiveness of pressure groups. Advantages for the government involve that the government may provide better service in terms of time, making governance more efficient and more effective. In addition, the transaction costs can be lowered and government services become more accessible to the public at large. Ultimately, the overall goal of E Governance is to make the Government more result oriented, efficient and citizen centered. It enables the citizens and outside world to access Government services and information as efficiently possible through the use of Internet and other channels (Maswood, 2009).

Over the past two decades, rapidly evolving information and communication technologies (ICTs) have permeated nearly every aspect of government, business, and daily

life. Digital information has exploded in volume and diversity. It is created, shared, and used in myriad ways that can generate both public and private value. Communication networks span the globe, allowing individuals, groups, and organizations to interact regardless of time or location (Dawes, 2008). E-Governance helps simplify processes and makes access to government information easier. The other anticipated benefits of e-governance include efficiency in services, improvement in services delivery, standardization of services, better accessibility of services, and more transparency and accountability. It is convenient and cost-effective for the Government also in terms of data storage and access to the stored data. The government benefits from reduced duplication of work. In addition, the processes of data collection, analysis and audit are simplified, and become less tedious. Another cherished goal of e-governance is greater citizen participation in the governance of the country (Barman, 2009). While ICTs have the potential to create a platform for greater community awareness and participation in civic processes, e-governance initiatives tend to emerge under a model of service delivery (Nuggehalli, 2009), from an ICT for development perspective, all municipalities can adopt effective e-governance for social and local economic development (Abrahams and Newton-Reid, 2008). In this regard, e-governance facilitates effective communication, promotes accountability and transparency and sending feedback to the citizens on the state of local affairs. When communication takes place between the local governing body and the governed, the government provides feedback promptly through internet facilities. Effective communication implies understandable message between two or more people that engage in a conversation. E-governance provides the template for effective communication at the grassroots level. The communication may be in form of local language which must be decoded by the receiver of the message. When government provides room for openness in all its dealings through the open access information communication technology (OAICT), it will promote accountability and transparency in the management of public affairs.

E-governance Promotes linkage between government, business, nongovernment organizations, and other groups in society. E-governance as a reform strategy for improving the governance process could also improve the relationship between government and other groups in society, particularly the business sector. The business focus is in recognition of two things: its importance as a service provider to government's own needs and, at the same time, as a partner of government in responding to the needs of the public through outsourcing, given government's limited capacity; and the sector's apparent role in economic development. Tourism information also promotes linkage with business by providing a snapshot of the city's investment potentials, which private businesses need in their own decision making processes.

Such information could also help boost the local economy by attracting local and foreign tourists (Sier, 2005). For all countries resolved to fight poverty and accelerate overall social and economic development, the implementation of e-governance can make a valuable contribution. It can help to create new jobs, foster the development of business, enhance citizens' participation in decision-making and improve the efficiency of government services. In that sense, e-governance can contribute to capacity-building in Africa, improve the accountability of governments and enhance citizens' trust in them (UNESCO, 2007).

New technologies can support effective decentralization and expand its benefits. They create new relationships and enable collaborative work across time and distance. They create better conditions for the decentralization of resource management as Integrated Financial Information Systems (IFMS) allow for shared and timely management of information, traceable transactions, and the implementation of various accountability measures (Maswood, 2009). Corroboratively, Urban and rural divide can now be minimized through application of ICT services, bridging the gap. However, governance is often quoted for urban/metropolitan areas, whether that governance reaches across the void, is where innovation of governance mechanisms can be manipulated. Globalization has further diffused that division and now there is unlimited potential through which rural areas can achieve sustainable, self reliant, localized economy. Participation of private and public actors will stimulate the process of governance while trust and accountability factors will harness ICT empowered stakeholders. Such is only possible if weaker side of the equation is given adequate resources (water, power, land, sanitation) and is provided with standardized services across board. Barriers to minimizing the divide would lay largely with agency and bureaucracy intervention as well as capitalist corporate gains through unfair means. Ethical and good e-governance is the only sustainable solution in an ICT enabled urban and rural environment (Hina, 2007).

The diagrammatical model (Figure 6) for e-governance at the grassroots level may be sustained through the application of information communication technology in Nigeria, therefore the various components of e-governance are explained below:

E-participation: Participation in local affairs becomes paramount in democratic society; e-governance promotes citizens participation while the elected representative becomes more accessible through the provision of information communication technology. This modern system of communication encourages citizens to be involved in the local decision making. According to Hina (2007) successful e-governance mechanism can only operate through strong private and public participation. Trust and accountability will play a vital role in converting the potential to reality. Awareness is pivotal to create

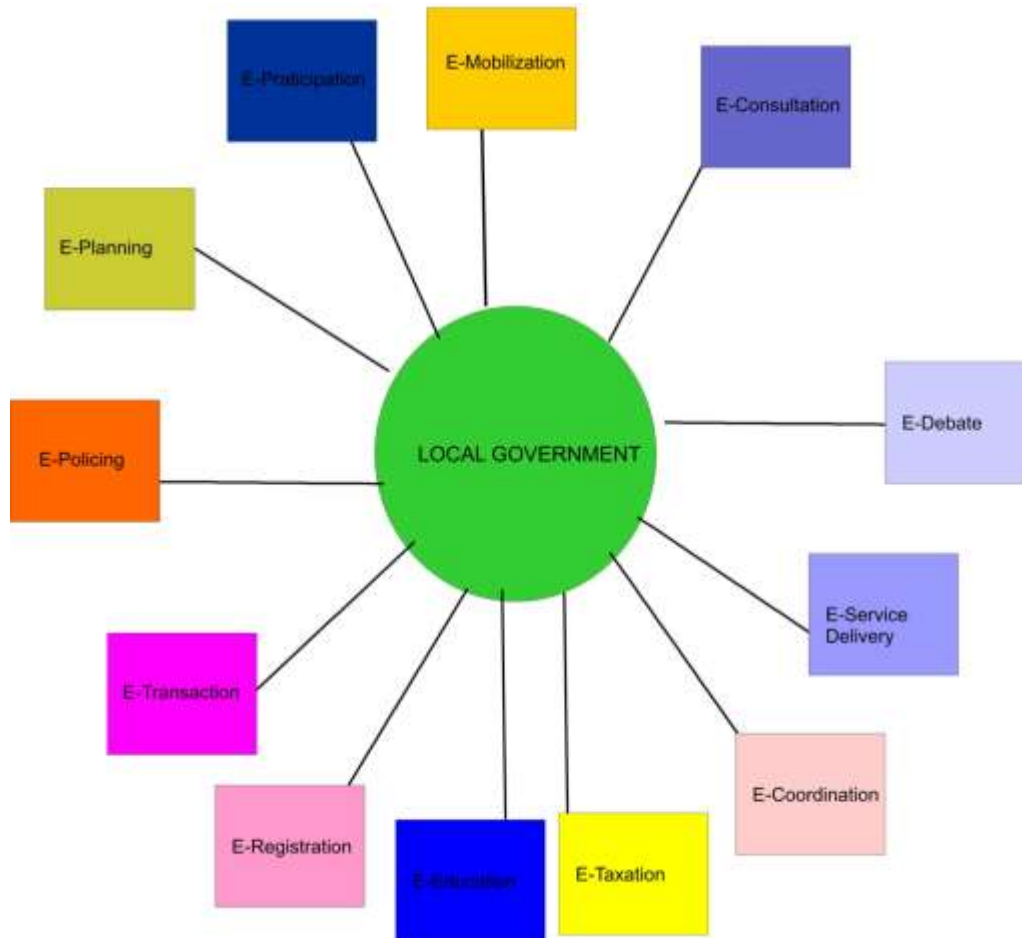


Figure 6. E-governance model at grass root level. Source: author.

such participation, yet literacy plays an important role in obtaining it. ICT will provide that enabling environment. The participatory approach must be translated within each process of e-government institution be it at the local or state level through horizontal and vertical integration. This participation would follow the earlier model where business citizen, individual, marketplace, employees and institutions have direct access to government services, maximizing interaction through online transactions. One way of achieving such is through mandatory adaptation of offline financial services in a secure online framework thereby minimizing the cost to government. Participation must occur through electoral process as well as e-voting mechanism, ensuring democratic e-governance.

E-mobilization: E-Mobilization may also foster citizen's participation in local decision making and community projects. For instance, the activities of Community Development Association can be placed on the government data page, informing the citizens to participate in communal project. This avenue will facilitate peoples participation in ensuring grassroots development

E-consultation: The programmes of government

become informative through the application of ICT at the grassroots level. When the activities of government are widely and popularly disseminated, it makes the citizens informed on the various programmes provided for the sustainable grassroots development. Sier (2005) corroborates this argument that the increased availability of political information using e-governance is envisioned to improve participatory democracy. The publication of information on the local policymaking process such as those that could be found in the minutes of meetings of the City Council, the city's legislative body, promotes accountability of elected officials to their electorate, thus enhancing their representative role. For the citizens, information on both the process and the outcome (resulting ordinances) may raise their appreciation of the policymaking process, including the role of their elected officials, which may, in turn, increase their participation in the selection of local leaders. Consulting citizens through online polls and surveys facilitates direct feedback that could raise the quality of decision making and help promote partnership.

E-debate: The concept of e-debate is similar to chat over

the Internet, wherein not only the citizens but also the political leaders contesting the elections participate. The citizens give their feedback about the various policies of the parties and particularly the manifesto of the party. The initiative will further strengthen the process by enhancing the representative role, improving accessibility of citizens to their elected members and developing the capacity of elected representatives to engage in e-government. Elected members will also be provided with access to the local authority's Intranet and e-mail systems so that they become available online for decision making and people can easily access them (Sacdeva, 2002).

E-service delivery: The demands for effective and efficient service delivery by the citizens at the local level requires total overhauling of traditional mode of operation in Nigerian local government, therefore, there is need to re-shape the political structure of local government through information communication technology in order to meet up with the current technological challenge. E-governance promotes effective and efficient social service delivery at the grassroots level such as immunization, vaccination, waste management etc. In many developed nations of the world such as United Kingdom and United State of America, the local governments are capable of rendering effective and efficient services through the functional internet platform provided by the local councils.

E-coordination: Coordination is very important in the management of public affairs, therefore e-coordination is a platform where the government

E-taxation: E-taxation is another area where citizens can pay their taxes such as property tax, tenement rates, income tax and so on through online payment. This is even more convenient and secure for every tax payers to that of manual approach.

E-education: In a democratic society such as Nigeria, civic education is bedrock through which sustainable democracy could be realized. This involves information relating to citizen's democratic exercises such as voting eligibility and sensitization towards citizen's political rights etc. The adoption of internet facilities may enhance the actualization of these various programmes that may benefit the citizens at the grassroots level in Nigeria. According to Norris (2002), democracy requires two-way communication as well as information, at regular intervals beyond elections, so that political leaders receive feedback and maintain contact with the grassroots. Many commentators who advocate 'strong' or 'direct' democracy commonly argue that these functions are not well served by e-governance, and this criticism has some value if judged by government websites alone. The opportunities for 'bottom up' interactivity in communicating with official departments are far fewer than the opportunities to read 'top down' information.

E-registration: This may involve registration of birth certificate, Motor Vehicle, Driving License, local government identification letter, employment opportunities, Domicile Certificate, trade permit etc. All these may be done on the

website without being physically present at the local government.

E-transaction: This implies business engagements between the citizens and the government or private institution and the government. Through online facilities, this can facilitate effectiveness and efficiency in the day to day governmental business.

E-policing: Security of lives and properties is the primary responsibility of any responsible government all over the world. Therefore, e-policing could be a platform for citizens to alert the security agency of the major issues related to security in the community and this will also facilitate adequate feedbacks.

E-planning: Planning is very important for any organization to survive be it private or public. E-planning involves informing the general citizens of the policies and programmes of government before the final implementations. The citizens therefore may provide advice and share their view towards government initiatives to enhance better outcomes.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The raison d'être for the application of e-governance for sustainable grassroots development in Nigeria has been examined in this study. E-governance promotes participatory democracy, provides adequate information about political process and enhances faster social service delivery at the grassroots level. The adoption of information communication technology makes governance inclusive, efficient, responsive, transparent, accountable and more participatory which embodies the elements of good governance at local level. Application of modern technologies may facilitate the current struggle against corruption at the local government level; the government becomes more institutionalized and transparent in its local political rendezvous. This could be easily achieved through the adoption and application of information communication technology (ICT) at the local level. The various programmes of government such as vaccination, waste management, registration and some other services rendered by the local government become more circulated among the local dwellers; therefore, e-governance has been a political strategy to ameliorate people's predicaments through the modern technological facilities at the grassroots level. While this study suggest that policy should be made at the national level to enhance and facilitates the usage of information communication technology at the local level as well as training and re-training of local government personnel in the area of information communication technology (ICT) become an imperative for rapid grassroots development in Nigeria.

Conflict of Interests

The author have not declared any conflict of interests.

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Full Length Research Paper

The changing global Public Administration and its theoretical and practical implications for Africa

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‘Classical’ public administration theories, principles and paradigms continually fascinate scholars given their relevance to government practices especially in Africa. As used here, ‘public administration’ (in lower case) denotes government activities whereas ‘Public Administration’, often associated with Woodrow Wilson’s renowned 1887 essay, refers to the subject matter. However, New Public Management (NPM) dominated Public Administration from the 1970s-1990s when it was replaced by ‘Governance’. This article examines Public Administration theory, practice and related theories and how the centuries-old discipline developed from their introduction, interpretation and application in the public sector during each era. It will conclude that these developments have had mixed consequences for Africa, on which the article focuses, owing largely to the effect of colonialism on the continent’s public administration. Using the selected examples of African countries’ experiences, this article relies on a qualitative and literature analysis of the issues discussed. Africa, like other ‘Third World’ or developing regions, is largely perceived as a consumer of the mostly western-dominated or inclined Public Administration, New Public Management and governance models which it inherited primarily through colonialism.

Key words: Public administration theory, new public management, governance, Africa.

INTRODUCTION

The field of public administration has experienced a continuous shift from one theory to the other well over 100 years (1880s-2014). Public Administration, the oldest theory that was introduced in 1887, was replaced by New Public Management (NPM) from the 1970s – 1990s. NPM itself was replaced by governance (1990s to date-2014). This article attempts to explain the seemingly endless movement from one theory to another in this field and how this affected the African continent. It analyses the historical development of the discipline, especially the

subsequent introduction of NPM; the successes and limitations of NPM and the emergence of governance as an alternative approach. These authors subscribe to the view that in as much as the practice of public administration is now fully integrated into the operational requirements of many countries’ public sectors, Public Administration as a subject in universities and colleges globally can similarly be viewed as a distinct discipline in the same way that economics, history, psychology, political science, sociology, law, philosophy etc. are

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accepted as disciplines (Peters and Pierre, 2003: 7). Over the years, a concerted attempt has been made by numerous scholars to define its scope, terms, conceptual features including what is generally known as theories of public administration (Basu, 2009; Peters and Pierre, 2003; Thoenig, 2003; Knott and Hammond, 2003; and Heady, 1984).

Due to the difficulty in developing this subject, some terms such as 'discipline' 'theory', 'paradigm' 'concept' 'terminology' etc. have been used interchangeably and probably to the detriment of the subject. Nevertheless, while recognising this apparent limitation, it cannot be assumed that public administration as a school of thought does not have its own body of knowledge which includes theories, terms and systematically researched frameworks which have informed its development trajectory.

In this regard, the methodology and approach adopted in this paper warrants some attention.

METHODOLOGY, SCOPE AND CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

The methodology adopted in this article essentially follows a qualitative approach in order to understand the relationships between Public Administration, New Public Management (NPM) and governance as well as their practical manifestation in Africa. The article attempts to trace the key arguments of scholars who have over centuries postulated the formulation and re-formulation of a body of ideas for the development of what subsequently became popularly known as Public Administration; its practical implementation especially within a government or public sector setting; as well as its metamorphosis into NPM and governance.

The authors assume that the subject of Public Administration and its practical manifestation have now been accepted globally to an extent that methodical study of this body of knowledge is possible through systematic analysis and critique. In this article, such systematic analysis and critique essentially take the form of document and literature analysis as well as theoretical postulation in an attempt to explain the development of the subject matter and unravel its implications for Africa. Owing to the wealth of literature that has developed over centuries, the authors adopted a review of the extant literature on Public Administration and its practical component in an attempt to understand how far the school of thought has developed and to analyse its development trajectory.

In terms of the literature review, the objective was not to compile a bibliography but rather to identify references that focus on the key issues raised by the authors. It is acknowledged that Africa is not homogeneous but rather a very diverse and complex range of countries that are largely divided along Anglophone, Lusophone, Francophone (that is, former British, Portuguese and French

colonies, respectively) and the Afro-Arabic countries in North Africa (Ndjoze-Ojo, 2008:162). These geo-political dynamics are accommodated in the analysis and not overlooked. Yet, despite Africa's vast geographical landscape, huge demographic and cultural diversities and the fact that the continent now comprises 54 independent countries in terms of the scope of the article, the attempt was not to cover each region comprehensively but to draw inferences where possible on the literature available using a few selected examples.

Conceptualizing Public Administration

The importance of creating common terms in the development of a body of knowledge is critical. However, in the case of Public Administration scholars often disagree on concepts or terms, especially the name of the discipline itself (Coetzee, 2012:16). Similarly, observers note that:

While theory and practice, and an array of academic disciplines contend for control over the study of public administration, the fundamental point that should be emphasized is that all of these perspectives bring something with them that helps to illuminate administration in the public sector (Peters and Pierre, 2003: 7).

Therefore, this article also does not posit to offer a universally acceptable definition of the idea. However, some distinguish between 'public administration' with lower case and 'Public Administration' (capital initials P and A) (Coetzee, 2012:30), based on the origin and content of the subject matter. In terms of content, Botes et al. (1997:257) argue that Public Administration (with capital initials) is an academic discipline or subject taught at tertiary institutions, whereas "public administration" (lower case) indicates the execution of a country's laws, rules and regulations, in order to meet the needs of the citizenry (see also Botes et al., 1997; Coetzee, 2012:16-21). That is, 'One teaches Public Administration but one performs or carries out public administration' (Kent-Brown and Roux, 2003:68). In terms of origin, according to Fox and Meyer (1995), Coetzee (2012:30) and Basu (2009:1) the practice of public administration is as old as mankind itself, while Public Administration is almost a century old.

Furthermore, the rudimentary development of this subject is inextricably linked with the work of the German sociologist, Max Weber, '...who developed much of what is today called the theory of bureaucracy' (Robbin and Barnwell 2002:42, 487; Fox et al., 2000:79). This particularly includes his focus on public administration as an area of study and its general characteristics such as 'hierarchy, formal authority, division of labor by specialization, employment by merit, merit judged by education and other formal preparation, compensation

based on performance of official functions...to enhance efficiency' (Cooper et al., 1998:5-6). Yet, as observers argued, it is to be noted that the "[t]he Weberian or 'classic' model of bureaucracy [or public administration] applies essentially to the countries of Western Europe, which are the prototypes for developed or modernised polities" (Heady, 1984: 76).

The following outlines some important stages in the development of Public Administration.

Development of Public Administration

According to Coetzee (2012:35-36) and Basu (2009:16) the first stage in the development of public administration as a systematic study began with the publication of Woodrow Wilson's 'The Study of Administration' in 1887 during what Basu calls the "politics-administration dichotomy" (1887-1926) era. Distinguishing between politics and administration, Wilson saw administration as being concerned with the implementation of policy decisions, not making them (Uwizeyimana, 2013:2). Similarly, Goodnow's *Politics and Administration* 1900, which endorsed the Wilsonian theme, identified three separate government authorities (powers), which he termed 'the execution of the state will' (Goodnow, in Shafritz et al., 2004:35-37). The first was the judiciary, which makes laws (Goodnow, 1900:17-26); followed by 'the executive authorities', whose function is the "general supervision of the execution of the state will" (ibid). The third was the administrative authority whose function was 'to attend to the scientific, technical and, so to speak, commercial activities of government' (Goodnow, 1900:17-27; Goodnow in Shafritz et al., 2004:35-37).

Yet, it is Leonard White's 'Introduction to the Study of Public Administration' in 1926 which was recognized as the first textbook on the subject (Basu, 2009:16; Hyde and Shafritz, 2012:12). The second stage called 'scientific management' (also known as *principles of administration phase*) ranges from 1927 to 1937 (Nasrullah, 2005:199; Basheka, 2012:41). According to Basu (2009:17) the central belief of this period was that certain 'principles of administration' existed and scholars had to discover and advocate them.

The most influential of these scientists is Frederick W. Taylor who is also often credited as being the 'founder of scientific management' (Locke, 1982:14). In 1909, Taylor proposed that by optimizing and simplifying jobs, productivity would increase. In one of his experiments, Taylor 'experimented with a shovel design until he had a one that would allow workers to shovel for several hours straight' (Mindtools, n.d.:1). With bricklayers, according to Costanzo (2014:2), he experimented with the various motions required and developed an efficient way to lay bricks. Literature shows that the persons who directly imported Taylor's theories of 'scientific management' and Fayol's 'theories of business administration' in the public sector were Gulick and Urwick through their famous POSDCORB acronym, which stands for steps in

the administrative process, namely: Planning, Organizing, Staffing, Directing, Coordinating, Reporting and Budgeting (Gulick, 1936:3). Thanks to Sarah Greer, a bilingual assistant to Luther Gulick, who found and translated a 1923 speech by Fayol on 'The Administrative Theory in the State'. Gulick and Urwick (1937) were able to publish the acronym (Wren et al., 2002:906; Basu, 2009:17). Largely drawn from the work of French industrialist Henri Fayol, it first appeared in a 1936 staff paper '*Notes on the Theory of Organization*', written by Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick for the Brownlow Committee in 1937 (Basu, 2009:17). Being a mining engineer and director of mines, Henri Fayol's theories were developed for the private sector in general and for the mining industries in particular. It could therefore be argued that while the application of the scientific management principles in the private sector was based on a number of known scientific experiments, it was not the case in the public sector.

The third stage in the development of public administration, known as 'Era of Heterodoxy and Challenge' (1938-1947) (Coetzee, 2012:37; Basheka, 2012:43), was a reaction against what was perceived as the mechanical approach of the scientific management. The so-called 'principles of administration' were challenged and dubbed 'naturalistic fallacies' and 'proverbs' (Basu, 2009:19). In short, according to the University of Mumbai (n.d.:12) "this period witnessed the spectacle of Political Science not only letting Public Administration separate itself from what was then seen as the main subject, but also not fostering and encouraging its growth and development within its own field". Inevitably, at that time there were serious disagreements as to whether Public Administration deserves to be a stand-alone science or a subset of Political Science (is it or is it not)? Therefore, in the post-World War II period, the claims of Public Administration of being a science and a distinct subject or area of study from political science were questioned. This led to the perception of Public Administration as a political science as well as an administration science and subsequently the development of administrative theory (Lungu, 1986:126).

The most notable contribution to this era came from the famous Hawthorne experiments from 1920 to 1932. The Hawthorne study found that productivity in organizations was not only affected by the way in which the job is designed and economic rewards associated to it, but also by 'certain social, environmental and psychological factors too' (Basu, 2009:19). The focus in both the private and public sector organizations then shifted to 'human relations' (Basu, 2009:19).

The fourth stage, 'New Public Administration (NPA)', a period of 'Identity Crisis' (Basheka, 2012:51), ranged from 1948 to 1970s and is characterized by the rejection of the principles of administration and the politics-administration dichotomy (Basu, 2009:19). Accordingly, the latter approach not only recognized the political environment within which administration functioned especially in the public sector, but also posited that

politics and public administration should be separated. However, as a comprehensive body of literature has shown, this would be easier said than done given that public administration operates in a largely political environment and given ‘...the constant and insistent demands which “politics” makes on administration...’ (Wamalwa, 1986:59; Uwizeyimana, 2013:171). This stage was ushered in by two significant publications of Simon’s ‘Administrative Behavior’ and Robert Dahl’s essay entitled ‘The Science of Public Administration: three Problems’ in the 1940s. According to Nasrullah (2005: 200), by rejecting both the ‘classical principles of administration’ and the ‘politics-administration dichotomy’ in administrative thought and practice, Simon’s approach widened the scope of the subject by relating it to psychology, sociology, economics and political science. The fifth stage is known as ‘New public management – NPM’, which lasted from the 1970s to the late 1990s (Nasrullah, 2005:200, Basheka, 2012:51). NPM or ‘managerialism’ essentially sought to transform the traditional tenets of ‘old’ or Weberian public administration, particularly through the greater involvement of the private sector in public institutions (Uwizeyimana, 2008:20). As observers noted, ‘...almost every reform in the 1980s and 1990s included participation of one or more big management consultancies...’ such as Andersen, Ernst and Young, and KPMG (Maphunye, 2003:7, citing Pollit and Bouckaert, 2000:20).

NPM dominated the field till the early 1990s when it was replaced by a new paradigm, governance (from the late 1990s to-date) (Basheka, 2012:56). The theory of governance has in turn spawned what became known as “good governance” (Levy, 2002). In Africa, this approach is usually associated with multi-lateral or donor agencies and closely related to ‘institutional reforms to strengthen political governance...’ (Hope, 2003:4). Key among its mechanisms is the improvement of ‘...administrative and civil services...the strengthening of parliamentary oversight...the promotion of participatory decision-making...and the adoption of judicial reforms’ (Hope, 2003:4). The approach emphasized on assessing and improving governance and the quality of the bureaucracy using specific ‘governance indicators’ (Levy, 2002:14-22).

All these stages, except NPM and governance (that is, Stage 1-4) constitute what this article refers to as Old/Traditional Public Administration. In the case of Africa, much of this debate on the historical development outlined above happened mostly in Europe and North America although much of it had serious implications for public administration in many developing countries.

Table 1 traces different stages of development of Public Administration and the movement from old/traditional public administration to NPM and governance.

Criticism of the ‘Old’ Public Administration

The traditional public administration contributed to many

countries around the world up to the end of the late 1960s and early 1970s (Ibrahim, 2012). However, by the 1970s, there were calls for new management systems based on market orientation. The need for such a management system arose from mounting criticism that traditional public administration was no longer suitable for modern circumstances and thus should be replaced (Ibrahim, 2012:1). Some criticisms focused on large scale government which led to overconsumption of resources; government’s involvement in too many activities; widespread bureaucracy; high rates of inflation; the absence of separation between policy and administration; the absence of rational decision-making; and disregard for citizens’ satisfaction (Ibrahim, 2012:1).

Others targeted inefficiency, corruption, lack of accountability and inflexibility (Ibrahim, 2012:1). Given such criticisms, it is not surprising that countries that recently achieved independence e.g. South Africa, wanted to ‘transform’ their Weberian-type public administration systems by learning from the best practices of ‘civil service systems [such as those] of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Singapore and the United Kingdom’ (Maphunye, 2003: 7). Perhaps the harshest criticism of the traditional public administration focused on its implementation of policies. Its emphasis on the supremacy of politicians over the administrators (as in the politics-administration dichotomy) (1887-1930s), and its over-emphasis on the scientific management methods (according to POSDCORB) after Gulick and Urwick’s ‘*Papers on the Science of Administration*’ in 1937 affected negatively the relationship between policy-makers and administrators. Policy-makers have been variously described as politicians, statesmen (Wilson, 1887:28-29) and law makers (Goodnow, 1900:17-26). Traditional public administration considered politicians to be at the apex of the bureaucratic pyramid (Weber, 1946 in Shafritz et al., 2004:50) and to be the key actors in policy-making and implementation. This assumes policy implementation to be a machine-like process (Cloete and Wissink, 2000:167) and considers subordinates as cogs in the policy implementation machine (Hjern and Hull, 1982:107; Moya, 2002:30; Botes in Cloete and Wissink, 2000:167). The model also assumed that subordinates are passive and unquestioning receivers and executors of instructions from politicians/policy-makers at the top, obediently, dutifully and with military precision (Uwizeyimana, 2011:110, citing Matland, 1995:146; Cloete and Wissink, 2000:166-167).

For decades, this bone of contention as revealed in the 1980s debates on the ‘convergence thesis’ by Joel Aberbach and his colleagues has marred public administration discourse. Their research sought to expose the limitations of the so-called politics-administration dichotomy and instead proposed that senior officials (bureaucrats) and their political executives (ministers) tended to think more alike because they faced increasingly similar problems (Aberbach et al., 1981).

Table 1. Stages of development of Public Administration.

Stages	Period	Description	Main characteristics	
Stage 1	1887-1926	Politics-administration dichotomy	1.Woodrow Wilson writing, 1887 2.Goodnow's <i>Politics and Administration</i> , 1900 3.Leonard White's <i>Introduction to the Study of Public Administration</i> , 1926	OLD/ TRADITIONAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
Stage 2	1927-1937	Scientific Management (and Principles of administration)	1.Orthodoxy in Public Administration and a drive towards efficiency, 2.Gulick and Urwick importation of Fredrick N. Taylor's theories of 'scientific management' and Henri Fayol's 'theories of business administration' in the public sector-through the famous POSDCORB.	
Stage 3	1938-1950	Period of heterodoxy (or Conceptual challenge)	1.Challenge of both the politics-administration dichotomy and scientific management. 2.Hawthorne experiments (1920 to 1932) and 3.More emphasis on human relations	
Stage 4	1950s-1970s	The New Public Administration (NPA)	1.Identity Crisis 2.Rejection of both the principles of administration and the politics-administration dichotomy. 3.Simon's 'Administrative Behavior' and Robert Dahl's essay on 'The Science of Public Administration: three Problems', 1940s'. 4.Widening the scope of the Public Administration by relating it to other subjects such as psychology, sociology, economics and political science	NPM
Stage 5	1970s – 1990s	The New Public Management (NPM)	1.Focus on "Managerialism", 2.Introduction of various forms of privatisation 3.Greater involvement of the private sector institutions in the management of public institutions and provision of public goods and services, 4.Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPS) especially in Africa.	
Stage 6	1990s to date (2014)	Governance period	1.Improvement of administrative and civil services 2.strengthening of parliamentary oversight 3.promotion of participatory decision-making 4.adoption of judicial reforms	GOVERNANCE/ GOOD GOVERNANCE

Table adapted by the authors on the basis of arguments presented by Coetzee, 2012; Basheka, 2012; Basu, 2009; Nasrullah, 2005.

Some major criticisms of the scientific model included Its ignorance of the effects of the prevailing environmental circumstances and/or social, economic and political contexts in which government operates; and ignoring human factors such as resistance to orders given by authorities (Uwizeyimana, 2011:112).. In countries such as South Africa, with its command and control culture or control-driven apartheid legacy, this model generated tensions between the authorities and the communities. Hence, the country experienced several service delivery public protests a few years after the 1994 inauguration of Nelson Mandela's African National Congress government.

It is the harsh criticisms leveled against the traditional/old public administration that helped in the rapid emergence of the New Public Management (NPM) a new model in the late 1980s/1990s (Ibrahim, 2012:1).

In the case of many African countries, it has to be noted that the above period was an era that was largely characterised by the overall enforcement of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes Programmes (Uwizeyimana, 2006:37); which inevitably attracted resistance and rejection by the citizens of the African countries that had to implement such programmes. Thus, as Olowu clearly demonstrates in his essay on "The

Crisis of African Public Administration”, the reform of African Public Administration to such programmes or even NPM was essentially characterised by the age-old colonial legacy. He argues that “the continent’s public administration systems have functioned under the shadow of the colonial model of the state since their development in the early parts of the twentieth century” (Olowu, 2003: 510).

THE NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT (NPM)

The era of the New Public Management (NPM) stretches from the 1970s to the late 1990s although in Africa these public administration reforms were slow to take root in many African countries for reasons already outlined above. It is thus not surprising that even when these reforms eventually reached the African shores, many countries in the continent were still reeling from the shocks and effects of the structural adjustment programmes, making them to be less receptive to yet another new model of Public Administration that would presumably improve their situations. As Olowu rightly defines these effects, many African countries which were adversely affected by the programmes had to cut their civil services drastically; some public enterprises were sold to the private sector, which resulted in negative perceptions among Africans about any new initiatives such as NPM which followed subsequently (Olowu, 2003: 510).

However, in terms of its origins, according to Gruening (2001:1) and Bala and Alibali (2010:75), the first practitioners of the NPM emerged in the United Kingdom under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (1979–90) and in the municipal governments in the U.S. (e.g., Sunnyvale, California) that had suffered most heavily from economic recession and tax revolts. The governments of New Zealand and Australia were the next to join the movement (Bala and Alibali, 2010:75). It is the success in these pioneer countries that put NPM administrative reforms on the agendas of most OECD countries and other nations (Gruening, 2001:1, citing OECD, 1995). Like public administration, NPM has no universally acceptable definition. Some such as Waine (2004:16) argue that NPM is a generic term which refers to a set of systematic changes, which occurred in the organization of public sector services. Ormond and Loffler (2002:11) and Batley (2004:32) argue that NPM should be viewed as a ‘shopping list’, ‘toolbox’ or just a ‘menu’ with many elements. From the NPM toolbox or shopping list different countries pick some elements to implement with a view to developing an ‘Effective, Efficient, and Economic’ public management’ (Uwizeyimana, 2012:11, citing Manning, 2001:297; Kessler and Alexander, 2003:2; Polidano, 1999:6-8; Mutahaba and Kiragu, 2004:51-72; Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2000).

An analysis of the relevant literature shows that NPM was supposed to represent a move both “down grid” in

the sense of relaxing procedural rules as well as “down group” in the sense of reducing the professional boundaries between public and private sectors (Lodge and Gill, 2011:142). The pioneers of the NPM such as New Zealand sought to introduce NPM principles by being more radical in pursuing ‘massive scale privatization’, while others like the United Kingdom (UK) were more radical in their focus on the ‘Managerialism’ (Uwizeyimana, 2008 citing O’Neil, 1994:4). According to Steward and Walsh (1992:1) ‘in reality, it is these two different approaches (that is, *privatization* and *managerialism*) that are referred to when the term New Public Management is mentioned’ (Uwizeyimana, 2008:33-34). Managerialism is about the application of ‘a set of particular management approaches and techniques which are mainly borrowed from the private sector’ to the public sector (Mongkol, 2011:36). Privatization is used to denote all possible practical policy options designed to promote greater role and involvement of the private sector in the provision, administration and/or financing of traditional government services (Baird, 2004:3).

Successes and limitations of the NPM

One of the highlights of the NPM approach was its criticism of the ‘classical role of the civil servant as a Weberian bureaucrat...’ (Lægreid, 2000: 880) who passively obeys orders from higher up without any discretion or significant contribution to the policy-making process in public administration. During the 1970s to late 1990s, according to Manning (2001:299) ‘NPM presented itself unambiguously as the first best model for policy implementation - a public management for all seasons or the one-best way’ in all situations. NPM ‘was often derided as a useful model for developing countries to follow from the first spotting of the trend’ (Manning, 2001:297). According to Osborne and Gaebler (1992 in Manning, 2001:299) many managerial innovations were also well packaged as the best of their times; but the ‘NPM was distinctive in that it carried overtones of the end of history, suggesting that we were lucky to be in public management at a time when the truth had been discovered’ (Manning, 2001:299). For example, its proponents claimed that “the NPM menu or toolbox” was no dietary supplement to its administrative theory predecessors – ‘NPM was seemingly to replace the previous managerialfare’ once and for all (Manning, 2001: 300). Evidence shows that the NPM did not win as resoundingly as it claimed (Mangkol, 2011:35).

One of the compelling analyses of the successes and failures of NPM in developed countries such as Switzerland and the Netherlands was presented by Noordhoek and Saner in their 2005 article entitled ‘*Beyond New Public Management: answering the claims of both politics and society*’. In this article, Noordhoek and Saner (2005:36) argue that the NPM was actively

propagated to Switzerland by Professor Ernst Buschor in the early 1990s while he was still professor of management at St. Gallen University, the premier MBA school of Switzerland. Like many other countries in developed and developing world (e.g. New Zealand, Wallis and Dollery, 2001), 'NPM principles were proposed to Swiss administrations as sine qua non conditions to achieve a modern form of public administration' (Noordhoek and Saner, 2005:36).

Despite the seemingly 'unstoppable implementation of the NPM in Switzerland there were also clear indications of increasing difficulties with its implementation and strong reservations expressed by some leading academics' (Noordhoek and Saner, 2005:3). In the case of Switzerland, according to Noordhoek and Saner (2005:35), 'NPM was rejected by the votes of two parliaments, one provincial, the other municipal'. As they put it: "Voters expressed concerns about the incompatibility of NPM with existing administrative culture and others raised objections to the political implications of NPM for Switzerland's federal and political constitution and its citizens' rights" (Noordhoek and Saner, 2005:36). For example, in Geneva, an important city and canton in Switzerland ventured into NPM projects in the mid 1990's but then also abandoned the exercise because the privatization element that came with it was considered to be 'a step too far' (Noordhoek and Saner, 2005:4).

Furthermore, unlike Manning (2001:298) who argues that 'NPM has in practice not been applied extensively outside its native OECD/Commonwealth habitat'; a body of literature suggests that the IMF and World Bank among other international financial institutions (IFIs) 'took advantage of the need for loan and debt relief of many of the Sub-Saharan African countries to increase the pace and the magnitude of New Public Management style reforms in the 1980s and 1990s' (Uwizeyimana, 2008:34-35, citing Common, 2001:440-448; Baird, 2004:3; Björkman, 2003:2). The Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) have been singled out as 'the main vehicle through which the NPM principles were transported and expended into some Sub-Sahara African countries in the 1980s' (Osei, 2002:3; ECA, 2003:5; Mutahaba and Kiragu, 2004:51-72). Apart from donor agencies' insistence on 'managerialism' or decentralized management as part of a package of public sector reforms in Africa (ECA, 2003:17), 'privatization was the main condition laid by the IMF and World Bank, so that developing countries can access loans and debt relief' (Tangri, 1999:38; Grusky, 2001:46; Uwizeyimana, 2012: 148). Unfortunately, in the case of many African countries, the several donor-driven attempts to introduce NPM-related public sector reforms were usually associated with the negative image of Africa as '...a continent mired in social-political strife, armed conflict and military dictatorships, diseases, corruption, vulnerability to the elements leading to famine and a global decline in standards of living...' (Kamoche, 2002:994). Thus, whether NPM type of reforms were the panacea for such

challenges has always been contentious.

Reasons for the NPM failure

The primary reason why the NPM did not win as resoundingly as it promised in developed and developing countries is that its debate was unable to establish visible 'public service ethos' or the 'civil service culture' which are distinct from those of the Old/traditional Public Administration it sought to replace (Manning, 2001:302). For example, some important characteristics of the Old Public Administration such as 'the continuing discipline of compliance management' remained. Furthermore, 'most government functions retained their vertically integrated bureaucracies which operated pretty much as Weber might have intended, more than a century ago' (Manning, 2001:302; Bhatta, 2003:12). Manning maintains that 'any review of public management developments in any developing country in any region demonstrates beyond doubt that hierarchical bureaucracies have not been substantially replaced by chains of interlinked contracts' (2001:302).

Finally, the NPM could not connect to existing key drivers of public service improvement and failed to create them where they did not exist. According to Noordhoek and Saner (2005:38-40) 'NPM has been used as too much of a stand-alone method with less or no consideration for the economic and social-political environment context in which it was being applied.' Unfortunately, as this article will show, NPM was also replaced by governance only after having partially achieved the objectives set by its proponents.

GOVERNANCE

According to Maldonado (2010:3), 'governance' was first used in the 1989 World Bank Study '*Sub-Saharan Africa – from Crisis to Sustainable Growth*' to describe the need for institutional reform and a better and more efficient public sector in Sub-Saharan countries. The Africa-study of 1989 defined governance as "the exercise of political power to manage a nation's affairs" (Maldonado, 2010:3) in an effective, efficient and economic manner (my emphasis). The term 'governance' as championed by Western countries and financial institutions is offered by Cajvaneanu (2011:113-114) who argues that:

'The concept of governance accompanied a paradigmatic shift in economic thought through a focus on political institutions as determinants of economic development and growth. The World Bank's question was "what types of political institutions were needed to create and maintain an institutional infrastructure that led to economizing on transaction costs"?

This resonates with the argument of scholars who

advocate for a democratic developmental state in Africa whose public administration will be of greater relevance to the continent's contemporary development challenges (Maphunye, 2011). Once again, like its predecessors, especially the NPM, the focus of governance, as originally envisaged by the International Monetary Fund (IMF)/World Bank (WB) was to grow the economy and this was to be achieved through the application of private business principles in government services. To some extent, this meant the neglect by the WB and IMF of largely social and political issues (Uwizeyimana, 2014:1), which have not been analysed comprehensively here as they are beyond the scope of this article.

Thus, a pertinent question then is how issues of democracy and social justice became part of governance. According to Grindle (2010:6-7) it is the human rights community and the United Nations including its subsidiaries such as UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), human rights organizations such as Human Right Watch and Amnesty International but most importantly social and environmental organizations that claimed 'with considerable force and reason, that countries with good governance respected human rights' (UNDP, 1997; Chowdhury and Skarstedt, 2005:5). Once these organizations had generated a belief that 'good governance' was essential to development - and in their view, a precondition for it—then it was certainly advantageous for these environmentalist and human right advocates to have their cause listed among the characteristics of good governance (Grindle, 2010:7).

This is not to deny the IMF's/World Bank's roles in promoting development in Africa (Davids et al., 2005:30, 90) or its interest in democracy and human rights globally. According to Dañino (2006:7) and Maldonado (2010:16) the Bank [and other IFIs] could only take human rights considerations into account in three specific situations: 'First, if the borrowing country asked the Bank to do so; second, if human rights violations had an economic effect; and third, if a human rights violation would lead to a breach of international obligations relevant to the Bank, such as those created under binding decisions of the UN Security Council.' Based on this analysis, it is clear that the only time the Bank takes into account countries' human rights records is when the violation of such rights affects foreign investors and when such violation leads to a situation in which the country cannot fulfil its financial commitments to the World Bank. Examples of countries that have been able to avoid economic sanctions facing Zimbabwe today- because, despite their poor human right records, they embraced the neo-liberal structural adjustments advocated by the World Bank and the IMF include Rwanda under Major-General Paul Kagame, and Uganda under Lt. General Yoweri Kaguta Museveni (Uwizeyimana, 2012). Following is clear evidence that the term governance was invented by the IMF/World Bank and its original intention was purely for economic development - not human right or democracy etc.

Governance as the IMF/World Bank's project

An analysis of the World Bank (and all banks associated with it) such as the African Development Bank's (AFDB) own 'Articles of agreement' leaves no doubt that the World Bank did not agree with the inclusion of demands such as human rights, democracy, social justice etc. in its governance proposals. According to Maldonado (2010: 22) at 'the beginning of the governance debate, the Bank limited itself to 'purely' economic aspects of its work, thereby following a strict interpretation of the Bank's articles of agreement'. For example, Art. IV, section 10 of the 'articles of agreement' commands that the bank must refrain at all costs from taking account of political considerations in its work (Maldonado, 2010:13). This section entitled 'Political Activity Prohibited' reads thus:

The bank and its officers shall not interfere in the political affairs of any member; nor shall they be influenced in their decisions by the political character of the member or members concerned. Only economic considerations shall be relevant to their decisions, and these considerations shall be weighed impartially in order to achieve the purposes stated in Article I (World Bank, Article IV, Section 10; Sheeran and Rodley, 2014:267).

Moreover, the prohibition of political activities also relates to two articles Article III and Article V of the Bank's articles of agreement which read as follows:

Art. III, section 5 (b): The Bank shall make arrangements to ensure that the proceeds of any loan are used only for the purposes for which the loan was granted, with due attention to considerations of economy and efficiency and without regard to political or other non-economic influences or considerations (World Bank's Articles of Agreement; Article III, Section 5(b) see also Palacio, 2006:2).

Both articles III and V of the World Bank's articles of agreement are strengthened by Article V section 5 (c) which reads as follows:

The President, officers and staff of the Bank, in the discharge of their offices, owe their duty entirely to the Bank and to no other authority. Each member of the Bank shall respect the international character of this duty and shall refrain from all attempts to influence any of them in the discharge of their duties (Article V section 5 (c); Palacio, 2006:2).

Section 2 of Article 38 of the Agreement establishing the African Development Bank (AFDB) emphasizes that: 'The Bank, its President, Vice-Presidents, officers and staff shall not interfere in the political affairs of any member; nor shall they be influenced in their decisions by the political character of the member concerned. Only economic considerations shall be relevant to their decisions. Such considerations shall be weighed impartially in order

to achieve and carry out the functions of the Bank' (AFDB, 2011:31). Section 5 of article 15 which deals with the 'Conditions of Financing', states that: 'The Fund shall make arrangements to ensure that the proceeds of any financing are used only for the purposes for which the financing was provided, with due attention to considerations of economy, efficiency and competitive international trade and without regard to political or other non-economic influences or considerations' (AFDB, 2011:8).

The authors' contention is that human rights and other democratic movements' activities or operations were adversely affected in some African countries wherein the IMF-WB and other IFIs deliberately ignored adverse socio-political conditions of the citizenry as perpetrated by their own governments during the course of enforcing public sector reforms such as NPM and "good governance". Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that this offshoot of these reforms itself requires systematic treatment and study which is beyond the scope of the analysis in this article.

Yet, a strong link exists between this discussion on the IMF/World Bank's articles of agreement and the NPM and the governance debate with the politico-economic development processes currently taking place in Africa. As analysis in this article shows, much of this debate or historical development outlined here mostly happened in Europe and North America and was introduced in Africa by the IFIs and western donor countries to some extent. The trend has been like this over the years. Whether it was Daniel Arap Moi (former Kenyan President, 1978-2002), Jerry Rawlings (former Ghanaian President, 1966-1968) or Yoweri Museveni, current Ugandan President (1986-) — all their regimes had to demonstrate to the IMF, WB and some western donors that they had the ability to push through anti-democratic, anti-labor and other anti-people policies (Boafo-Arthur, 1999:17 in Alidu and Ame, 2012). For example, while critics accuse Paul Kagame, the Rwandan President of being authoritarian and trampling on political freedoms" he (Kagame) has continued to earn international praise for rebuilding the country after the 1994 genocide and both the IFIs as well as many foreign governments continued to applaud Rwanda's development successes (Clover et al., 2013:1).

SUMMARY ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR AFRICA

The development of Public Administration as a subject matter as well as a practice has largely produced mixed results for Africa in particular. On the one hand, Africa has over the years since the development of Public Administration enjoyed the spin-offs from the largely developed countries through the training of its public sector workers and its civil services, and the development of its private sector and overall infrastructure. This has

largely developed into Public Administration as we know it today in Africa, with its distinct characteristics and features that have largely enabled African countries to participate in the global economy. From reforms and immense developments in Public Administration, introduction of New Public Management and further reform of the system through the introduction of governance models, African countries have largely managed to keep pace with the rest of the world in terms of the metamorphosis of the subject; though they usually lagged behind as the overall flow of innovative ideas and practices was predominantly from Western countries.

On the other hand, however, the development of Public Administration as a distinct subject area as well as a practice, including its subsequent derivatives, has had few positive implications for the African continent primarily because these developments largely emanated from colonialism. First, a fallacy has been spread by successive colonial regimes that Africa was a mere "waste land" or unpopulated geographic space where no semblance of culture, development or civilisation existed (Arowolo, 2010:1). Obviously, this was part of the propaganda machinery of the colonisers to gain control of the "subject peoples" (Arowolo, 2010:1). Second, a careful analysis of the historical records of Africa before slavery and colonisation reveals that Africans had their own civilisations and public administration systems which were subjugated during slavery and colonialism. Third, the introduction of Western systems of administration, which largely ignored indigenous African public administration varieties that existed hitherto, produced resentment among local populations and in some instances resulted in violence and wars (Basheka, 2012). However, the enforcement of such models by the colonisers' resulted in grudging acceptance of the "new" public administration systems. Thus, over the years, whether it was Public Administration as a subject, practice or its later developments, it can safely be assumed that such models were almost always accepted reluctantly owing to their association with the military conquest of Africans by the colonisers. In fact, to-date, many African countries still grapple with the uneasy co-existence of "modern" public administration with different varieties of "traditional" African leadership or "chiefs" whose status has long been emasculated during slavery and colonialism. In some African countries (especially Francophone and Lusophone), the system of indigenous or "tribal" authorities has virtually been assimilated into "modern" public administration; but where it still exists we now have a largely watered down or adulterated version of the once powerful and effective indigenous authority system which remains heavily overshadowed by its western counterpart.

Conclusion

The aim of this article was to demonstrate that the

movement from one theory of public administration to the other over the past 134 years (1880s-2014) is a result, not of faulty theories, but of the way those theories were applied in the public sector during each era. The application of each of the above theories has generally had mixed results in the public sector and in the African context in particular. This article argues that contradiction between theoretical postulations and actual results in terms of socio-economic development during the old/traditional public administration era (1887-1970s) was a result of the fact that the principles on which the old public administration were based were not designed for the public sector. Apart from Woodrow Wilson's contribution (introduction of public administration as an independent science from politics and law), the majority of the principles on which the practice of public administration were based emanated from the private sector, as in the case of Frederick W. Taylor's scientific management which focused on manufacturing and construction industries. Furthermore, the POSDCORB acronym was based on Henri Fayol's theory of private business – not government - administration. However, they did not bother to conduct appropriate experiments in government environment- before claiming universal applicability of the POSDCORB. By the 1970s, the idea that policy could be implemented in military precision and that success could be achieved by strict planning; organizing, directing and controlling through list-checking had dismally failed. However, the failure of the old/traditional public administration does not mean the POSDCORB principles failed. The POSDCORB still describes the core functions of managers in both governments and private sectors. What led to the failure of the Old/Traditional public administration are the rigid application of the POSDCORB and other scientific management approaches of this era as well as the failure on the part of its proponents to acknowledge that government cannot be run as a mining, production or manufacturing industries. The proponents of the old/traditional public administration also failed to appreciate that, complex problems and environmental uncertainties require that the problem not only get defined and redefined, but also that a policy be interpreted and reality checked throughout the policy lifespan (Alesch and Petak, 2001: 2-3). All attempts to apply the cybernetic paradigms were bound to fail if applied in a non-industry-like process (that is, state) (Hofstede, 1978).

Unfortunately, the proponents of the NPM were not different either. As the article has shown, the first and foremost weakness of the NPM debate was that its proponents marketed it as a new and different approach of running government. However, this article found that the NPM was not able to establish visible 'public service ethos' or the 'civil service culture' which are distinct from those of the Old/traditional Public Administration it sought to replace. For example, it maintained the bureaucratic structure of government (Manning, 2001:302) and went

on to apply the private business management principles (similar to the POSDCORB) in the management of the state. The only difference being that it was so blatant on its emphasis on privatization than the old/traditional public administration. Secondary, while the NPM sought to replace the Old/traditional Public Administration, it was not able to create a neutral and depoliticized bureaucracy (Manning, 2001:302). This article has shown that one of the NPM weaknesses was its failure to consider the socio-economic environment context in which government operates. For example the NPM was abandoned in some countries discussed in this article because citizens raised concerns about its lack of democracy, lack of accountability and high costs of goods and services resulting from the NPM reforms.

Finally, this article finds considerable differences between the interpretation of the term governance as envisaged by the IFIs (such as Banks) and non-IFIs such as UNDP, Human Rights Watch etc. There is ample evidence to suggest that a number of IFIs such as the World Bank and AFDB have deliberately and explicitly excluded issues of social justice, democracy and human rights in their definition of the term governance and in the principles which govern their financial lending practices. The fact that organizations with financial muscles such as the IFIs differed with human rights and environmental organizations on the content and meaning of 'governance' has had a major impact on the acceptability, practice and ultimately success of governance. This is because, while the IFIs could use their financial muscle to force governments needing loans and financial support to adopt governance (including democratic, human rights and social justice issues), these IFIs seldom do so. The IFIs have made it clear that the proceeds of any of their loans must be used with due attention to considerations of economy and efficiency and without regard to political or other non-economic influences or considerations. Because of this guarantee, governments such as the one in Rwanda have no incentives to promote human rights and democracy etc. It is on the basis of the challenges identified by this research that this article concludes that the failure of the theories of public administration to live up to their expectation has been a result of the way they were introduced, interpreted and applied in the public sector – but not that they were faulty. The problem seems to be that policies that are originally designed to achieve individualistic private business interests and objectives have been transported into the public sector, often without prior experiment. Based on the argument of this article, it can therefore be safely concluded that after the 'current theory of governance' new theories are needed to help explain the new dynamics within which public administration as a discipline and practice now has to grapple with. However new or future theories will also have to address the failure of the theory of governance to explain contemporary phenomena such as the trade-offs between human rights violation and economic growth

which are the direct consequences of the World Bank/IMF's Articles of agreement. This is particularly in view of the fact that the sustainability of any theory depends on its ability to adapt to changes in a changing environment in which governments operate and Public Administration is practiced.

Conflict of Interests

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Full Length Research Paper

Interest groups, voluntary agreements and tobacco control in Ghana

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The paper examines the role of tobacco interest groups in obstructing the adoption of tobacco control policies in developing countries using the interest groups and global advocacy network theories. Specifically, it combines expert interviews with review of secondary materials to examine the strategies to promote the adoption of a tobacco control law in Ghana. This study finds that the adoption of the voluntary agreements in Ghana created the enabling environment for the adoption of a tobacco control law by the National Parliament in 2012, in contradiction to the findings of studies conducted in western countries that concluded that voluntary agreements are ineffective tobacco control instruments.

Key words: Ghana, tobacco control law, interest groups, pro – tobacco groups, anti- tobacco group, developing countries, global advocacy network.

INTRODUCTION

The shift of tobacco companies' activities to the developing countries since the 1970s has created a constant struggle between anti and pro-tobacco tobacco interest groups over the adoption of the tobacco control policy by individual countries in Africa. The increased tobacco activities in developing countries were necessitated by the adoption of tough tobacco control laws in some developed countries (WCTOH, 2000). This has led to high consumption of tobacco with an estimated projection that about 350 million tobacco-related deaths and health hazards may occur in the developing countries by 2030 if actions are not taken to prevent the current trend of tobacco consumption (WHO, 2008). For instance,

research shows that out of about seven thousand chemical compounds tobacco smoke contains, close to seventy have been identified as cancer causing agents or toxic compounds that can cause diseases such as lung cancer, bronchitis and emphysema (Ali, 2012). The chemicals have also been identified as major sources of high gravity of cardiac diseases. This makes tobacco a substance that is extremely harmful to the health of both smokers and non-smokers. Additionally, it raises concern of a public health epidemic emanating from the consumption of tobacco products (Lopez et al., 1994). In an effort to avoid such a tobacco epidemic, anti-tobacco interest groups have intensified their tobacco control

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activities and campaigns for the adoption of policies to protect public health. The interest groups collaborate with nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and inter-governmental organizations (IGOs) that share a similar passion to avoid the tobacco epidemic (Asare, 2009). On the contrary, the pro-tobacco interest groups that perceive the developing countries as safe havens for promoting their profit making activities are vigorously resisting the activities of the anti-tobacco interest groups. More specifically, the pro-tobacco interest groups use their attained political power to lobby policymakers against the adoption of laws that can have adverse effect on their business (Brenya, 2012c). In other scenarios, the tobacco companies and other groups affiliated to the companies promote the adoption of voluntary agreements such as tobacco control instruments instead of legally backed laws enacted by the National Parliament. These voluntary agreements are often tobacco control instruments consented by the tobacco companies and thus violators receive no punishments and compliance is based on the will of the parties to respect the law.

The agreements are mostly issued as directives of the Ministry of Health, which are often the governmental agencies that promote tobacco control in developing countries because of the health hazards of tobacco (Cairney et al., 2012). However, the impact of the voluntary agreements varies from country to country depending on the strength of the pro-tobacco interest groups, activities of tobacco control interest groups, the negotiating power of the Ministry of Health, and the direct involvement of policymakers in the tobacco business. In countries where policymakers are directly involved in the tobacco business, the policymakers often become the actors who resist the adoption of stricter tobacco control instruments. Also, the voluntary agreements are often not regarded as tobacco control instruments and vice versa. For instance, Ghana adopted several voluntary agreements, which were issued by the Ministry of Health as directives to control tobacco despite the active tobacco industry activities that thrived in the country for over fifty years (Table 1). The agreements were well respected and were significantly impacting as tobacco control instruments due to the activities of the tobacco control groups led by the Ministry of Health.

The success of the voluntary agreements as tobacco control instruments can also be attributed to the absence of policymakers who were directly involved in the tobacco business. The voluntary agreements created the enabling environment for the official passage of a tobacco control bill into law in 2012 because the bill attracted less resistance from the tobacco industry interest groups because of the environment created by the voluntary agreements. Using the global advocacy network and the interest group theories, this paper strives to examine the politics surrounding the adoption of a tobacco control law in Ghana. Specifically, it seeks to explain how the

tobacco control interest groups used the voluntary agreements as tobacco control instruments in the period before the passage of the tobacco law. It also examines the impact of the strategy on the subsequent adoption of the tobacco law in July 2012. Lastly, it assesses how useful the Ghanaian tobacco control strategy could be for tobacco control in other countries of the developing world. Methodologically, the paper records data from interviews with twelve tobacco control experts and NGOs.

The data are triangulated with other data obtained from the review of policy documents and reports from government officials, governmental and nongovernmental organizations and existing research materials. The selection of interview participants was based solely on their research and involvement in tobacco control activities of Ghana. Furthermore, the data collected through correspondences with the interviewees are cited as personal communications in the paper. Finally, the information of the interviewees was withheld to comply with the requirement of the Institutional Review Board of West Virginia University that approved the questions before they were used for the interviews conducted between July 2010 and March 2011.

Interest groups, global advocacy network and tobacco control

The interest groups theory is generally used to examine the politics of policy adoption because of how the groups promote their interest as public policy. Generally, the activities of the interest groups take several forms with the basic objective of promoting issues considered important to their members as public policy in a specific country (Ethridge and Handelman, 2004). The activities of interest groups place the groups in one organization, association, union or community such as farmers, medical/health, or traditional group to influence the design, adoption and implementation of policies to their desire (Brenya, 2011). The activities of interest groups thrive well in a pluralistic political system where competitions, bargains and compromises are the core features of their operations (Lijphart, 1999; Wilensky, 2002). While some groups operate within the domestic arena, others focus on the global level to promote the adoption of policies for addressing issues considered to be global problems. In such instances, several interest groups collaborate to promote issues by advocating for the adoption of measures to address what they project as a global problem. For instance, interest groups that are concerned with preventing a global tobacco epidemic have formed a global advocacy network to promote the tobacco control campaign (Farquharson, 2003).

Farquharson (2003) identifies the global advocacy network as group of individuals with a shared discourse and beliefs. The network is made up of two types of

Table 1. Timeline of tobacco production and control efforts in Ghana.

Ghana	
1948	Veterans returning from WWII brought some tobacco products to the Ghana and started to demand for tobacco products in the country. Subsequently, the British American Tobacco (BAT) partnered with local groups to establish a tobacco warehouse and began selling cigarettes imported into the country
1951	The Gold Coast Tobacco Company was established in Ghana
1952	Pioneer Tobacco Company was established to promote domestic tobacco leaf cultivation and manufacturing of cigarette and the official manufacturing of cigarettes began in the country.
1959	The Pioneer Tobacco Company took over Gold Coast Tobacco Company
1962	Nkrumah's government passed a law to take over tobacco marketing, but the private companies returned after the overthrow of his government in 1966
1971	The government established the Ghana Tobacco Leaf Company in order to manage the marketing of tobacco products
1976	The Acheampong's government passed a law to take over ownership of private cigarette manufacturing and tobacco leaf companies. The government also established the International Tobacco Ghana to take over the marketing and production of all tobacco products in the country.
1980	The government issued directives to prohibit smoking in government facilities, offices, and public places, including restaurants and cinema centers.
1982	The Ministry of Health issued a directive to ban tobacco advertisements on TV, radio and the print media
1988	The Leaf Development Company was established in 1988 to produce tobacco leaf for the local market and to lay the basis of a future export industry
1989	The government privatized the International Tobacco Ghana
1993	Ghana Committee on Tobacco Control was established
1999	BAT merged with Meridian Tobacco Company and became the sole local manufacturer of tobacco products in Ghana. Ghana also signed the Lome, Togo Declaration on the Contribution of Parliamentarians to Tobacco Control in the African Region the same year
2000	Ghana joined Global Tobacco Surveillance System (GTSS) and the first national Global Youth Tobacco Survey (GYTS) was conducted to determine prevalence of tobacco among the youth
2001	The immediate Director General of Ghana Health Service complained about the painting of the Kaneshie market, the biggest market in Accra with BAT products, and this generated a national debate about tobacco control
2002	Ghana became a member of Quit and Win International Smoking Cessation Program and the Ghana National Tobacco Control Steering Committee (GNTCSC) was inaugurated the same year
2003	The National Tobacco Control Steering Committee drafted the first national tobacco control bill for approval by Cabinet. A demographic and a health survey was also conducted the same year to assess the prevalence of tobacco among adults in the country
2004	Ghana signed and ratified the Framework Convention Tobacco Control (FCTC)
2005	A second national GYTS survey was conducted to determine tobacco prevalence among the youth and the tobacco bill was re-drafted to reflect the FCTC provisions and sent to Cabinet for consideration
2006	The Ministry of Health issued another directive to ban smoking in all Ministry of Health facilities. In addition, the Ministry of Transportation issued a directive to ban smoking in public and private commercial transport including the Ghana Private Roads Transport Union (GPRTU) and Inter City Buses, and also on both domestic and international flights, transport, buildings, ports, and stadia. Ghana also chaired one of the committee meetings of the first session of the FCTC Conference of Parties held in Geneva. Lastly, the British American Tobacco closed down its manufacturing company and relocated to Nigeria.
2007	The Ministry of Health issued another directive to compel all importers of tobacco products to register their products and comply with the Food and Drugs Board (FDB) regulatory requirements. In addition, the Ministry, the GNTCSC, and the Ghana Tourist Board reached voluntary agreement with owners of entertainment industry to create smoke free area for nonsmokers. Ghana also chaired one of the committee meetings of the second session of the FCTC Conference of Parties meeting held in Thailand. The GNTCSC instituted a five-year plan of action to control tobacco in the country the same year.

Table 1. Continue

Ghana	
2008	The Ghana National Tobacco Control Steering Committee reached an agreement with importers requiring the importers to disclose the content of tobacco products to be imported into the country. Ghana Demographic Health Survey (GDHS) conducted another survey to determine national tobacco prevalence among the adults in the country
2009	GYTS conducted another national survey to determine tobacco prevalence among the youth in the country. The Ministry of Education also developed a School Health Education Policy to promote healthy lifestyles and prohibit the use of tobacco by children in educational complexes. In addition, the Ghana Food and Drug Board directed all tobacco imported into Ghana to have the approved health warnings and cover the required sizes
2010	Ghana hosted the Second Meeting of the Working Group of the FCTC on Article (17) and (18)
2011	The Ministry of Health issued additional directives to mandate the posting of no smoking signs on the premises of all health facilities to strengthen its effort to prevent tobacco smoking on health facilities
2012	The National Parliament unanimously passed a tobacco control law as part of the Public Health bill to protect public health.

Source: (Brenya, 2012b).

groups that operate globally to promote their members' beliefs through the exchange of services and relevant information. The first are groups with instrumental goals such as those affiliated to the tobacco industry, focusing on profit making and seeking to protect the industry's economic interest. The second are groups such as the IGOs, NGOs, epistemic communities and individuals linked to the tobacco control network that are motivated by shared principled ideas or values to prohibit the hazards of tobacco. Often, interest groups affiliated with both groups compete for the control of policy adoption that favors the interest of their members because of the pluralistic environment that they operate in (Ethridge and Handelman, 2004). In such a scenario, the pro-tobacco interest groups prevent the adoption of tobacco control laws that will limit the activities of the tobacco companies and affiliated groups in any country. Alternatively, the anti-tobacco interest groups champion activities that promote the adoption of laws to prohibit the consumption of tobacco and its related health hazards. The success of each group is primarily based on how organized and well-resourced the groups are (Asare, 2009). This renders it virtually impossible for one group to dominate policymaking activities in a pluralistic policy system.

Generally, the pro and anti-tobacco interest groups disseminate vital information and resources to protect their interest in certain areas. Typically, the aim of these groups is to influence government officials and bureaucrats to believe that there is a policy problem that can be addressed by the groups' policy proposals (Studlar, 2002). For instance, the anti-tobacco interest groups use scientific evidence to convince governmental officials of an epidemic associated with tobacco consumption and offer tobacco control ideas as new

policy solutions to prevent the epidemic (Mamudu, 2005). Simultaneously, the pro-tobacco interest groups also project tobacco production and sales as activities that can help to address the issue of poverty and unemployment in countries where the companies have economic interests (Mamudu et al., 2009). Therefore, the two groups also use their affiliates to lobby policy-makers to promote their objectives in a particular country. Often, the anti-tobacco interest groups use activists and local NGOs to put pressure on policy-makers to adopt stricter tobacco control laws in order to protect public health in a specific country. Meanwhile, the pro-tobacco interest groups use farmers and tobacco industry workers to protest the adoption of such tobacco laws (Otanez et al., 2007).

Pro -tobacco activities in Ghana

Ghana's experience with tobacco dates back to the 1940s when the product was first introduced to the country by veterans returning from World War II (Owusu-Dabo et al., 2009). The veterans were exposed to tobacco through their service abroad. Consequently, they brought some with them in 1948 and also demanded for the tobacco products when they returned to Ghana. In response, BAT entered into alliance with local entities to sell imported tobacco products the same year. This ushered the country to engage in active tobacco industry activities for several years. For instance, tobacco manufacturing plants and leaf buying companies, including state-owned tobacco manufacturing and leaf buying companies, operated in the country for more than 50 years until the last tobacco manufacturing company closed its plant in 2006 (Owusu-Dabo et al., 2009;

Wellington et al., 2011). The presence of the companies caused tobacco leaf farming to supply raw materials for the local cigarette manufacturing companies (Personal Communication, 2010). However, tobacco farming decreased after the last tobacco manufacturing plant closed down. Currently, tobacco farming is a small portion of the diverse agricultural sector and the product is primarily cultivated in the northern and middle belts of Ghana.

Statistically speaking, agriculture generally accounts for over 50% of the foreign earnings, 54% of the gross domestic product (GDP), and employs about 55% of the workforce (Oppong-Anane, 2001; Owusu-Dabo et al., 2009). However, the distribution or selling of tobacco is considered one of the least contributors to the GDP and foreign earnings of the country¹. For instance, in 2007, Ghana produced 2700 tons of tobacco and exported 2455 tons, and the tobacco export ranked 17th of the total commodities exported that year (Wellington et al., 2011). The total tobacco cultivated in 2007 was 5,750 hectares of the WHO's tobacco region, which ranked 75th in the global production of tobacco leaves (Wellington et al., 2011; ACS and WLF, 2009). Nonetheless, tobacco is a major source of income and employment for farmers in the regions where it is cultivated. In fact, the tobacco industry also serves as a source of employment for importers and traders who sell cigarette products in the country. As a result, Ghana's tobacco control effort for a long time was hindered by the Ministries of Agriculture and Finance on grounds that adopting stricter tobacco control measures may cause farmers and other workers to become unemployed, thus having a negative impact on the country's GDP (Personal Communication, 2010).

In spite of the fact that there has been no tobacco manufacturing plant physically located in the country since 2006, the pro-tobacco interest groups still played an influential role to prevent the adoption of strict tobacco control law for several years. Currently, tobacco companies such as the British American Tobacco and Embassy along with distributors and importers of cigarettes such as Market Direct and Target Link spearhead the tobacco industry activities in the country. The groups lobby policymakers to prevent the adoption of tobacco control law that can obstruct their businesses. For instance, the failure of the NPP government to pass the tobacco control bill drafted by the National Tobacco Control Steering Committee (NTCSC) in 2007 into law has been attributed to the visit of the President of British American Tobacco Company and his private discussion with the former President, Mr. J.A. Kufour during his second term in office (Personal Communication, 2010).

¹ The exact contribution of tobacco to the GDP and percentage of employment offered by the tobacco sector is lump up together and presented as the agricultural sector. The data so far only talks about the amount of export and total volume of tobacco produced.

Anti-tobacco activities in Ghana

Ghana's experience with tobacco control precedes the creation of the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) protocol. In the 1980s, the government, through directives, adopted tobacco control instruments a decade before the international tobacco treaty was adopted in 2005 (Owusu-Dabo et al., 2010). In spite of the vibrant tobacco industry activities and the efforts of pro-tobacco interest groups to prevent the adoption of control laws in Ghana, the anti-tobacco interest groups have pushed for the adoption of tobacco control instruments. Their efforts led to the adoption of voluntary agreements as tobacco control instruments, which lasted until tobacco control legislation was passed by the National Parliament in July, 2012.

The physical location of tobacco manufacturing plants in Ghana from the 1940s to the 2000s and the vibrant activities of the tobacco companies within that period is often considered a blessing for tobacco control in the country for it made it feasible for anti-tobacco interest groups to demonize the tobacco companies as entities that were tactlessly interested in their profit-making activities at the expense of public health. Simultaneously, it could also be argued that the insignificant contributions of tobacco to the GDP and foreign earnings of the country may have also contributed to Ghana's success with tobacco control compared to other African countries. Ghana generally relies on different agricultural products as major contributors to its GDP, such as cocoa farming, which is a major source of agricultural employment (Oppong-Anane, 2001). Therefore, tobacco-control interest groups received less resistance for tobacco control than they would have received if the country had relied on tobacco such as Zimbabwe and Malawi, which receives over 70% of their foreign earnings from tobacco (Otanez et al., 2009).

Nevertheless, Ghana deserves to be commended for their successful use of voluntary agreements to control tobacco in the country until the formal adoption of tobacco control law in 2012. This is because the voluntary agreements are often considered to be weak tobacco control instruments in some developed countries (Studlar, 2004). The Ministry of Health of Ghana collaborated with domestic and international tobacco control organizations and interest groups to promote tobacco control by using voluntary agreements often issued as directives of the Ministry as tobacco control instruments. The effective activities of the tobacco control groups and their international partners such as the WHO, Global Youth Tobacco Survey (GYTS), International Development Research Center (IDRC), American Cancer Society (ACS), Bill and Melinda Gates and Bloomberg Foundations created an unfavorable environment for the tobacco companies in Ghana.

For instance, the closing down of the BAT tobacco manufacturing plant in Ghana is attributed to the

Table 2. Status of policies and progress towards selected demand reduction tobacco control measures.

Country	Monitor	Protect from tobacco smoke	Offer help to quit tobacco use	Warning about the dangers of tobacco	Enforce bans on tobacco advertising	Raise taxes on tobacco
Ghana	4	4	4	5	4	4

Source: (WHO, 2011; Brenya, 2012b)

unfavorable environment for operation created by the tobacco control activities in the country (Personal Communication, 2010). BAT was forced to relocate its plant to Nigeria where it felt that the environment for production was more favorable than in Ghana. Generally, the international tobacco control partners offer assistance to their domestic partners in the form of funding and capacity building training to organize campaigns and educational programs aimed at facilitating the adoption of comprehensive domestic tobacco control policy (Becker, 2010; IDRC, 2009).

For instance, the Bloomberg Foundation and Initiative offered a grant to the Vision for Alternative Development (VALD), a nongovernmental organization in Ghana to undertake a consolidated campaign for the implementation of FCTC Article 11 (pictorial warning) and also to promote the adoption of a strong national tobacco control bill in Ghana (Personal Communication, 2010). In addition, the WHO, through the tobacco free initiative, assists the country with the organization of the *annual no tobacco day* celebration every year. The event has been serving as a major means for educating the public about the harm tobacco poses in Ghana. The IDRC also offered assistance to Ms. Edith Wellington, the focal point person for tobacco control at the Ghana Health Service, for training on effective tobacco control strategies in Canada (Personal Communication, 2010). The aid of the organizations helped Ghana to adopt some voluntary agreements as tobacco control instruments, which furthermore created an environment that allowed for the eventual passage of the tobacco control bill into law.

FINDINGS

Voluntary agreements as tobacco control instruments in Ghana

The analysis of the data indicates that Ghana made significant progress with the adoption of certain demand reduction measures as tobacco control instruments through its adoption of certain voluntary agreements (WHO, 2011). Using a scale and data from a previous study by the WHO, this research finds that the country made significant progress with the adoption of measures to reduce the demand of tobacco (Table 2). The original

WHO 2011 study used the data reported by the country to the organization to develop indicators for estimating the status of tobacco control (WHO, 2011).

On the monitoring measure of the FCTC protocol, the original measure of the WHO study required a country to have data acquired in 2003 or later, that is representative of the whole population and is repeated every five years in order to be at the fourth level of the scale. Ghana is within the fourth ranking on the scale because it has data that was from at least 2003 and is representative of the entire population (WHO, 2011). The Global Youth Tobacco Survey was conducted in Ghana in 2000, 2005 and 2009 to assess tobacco use among the youths. In addition, a national demographic and health survey to determine tobacco prevalence among adults was conducted in 2003 and 2008. The indicator for the protection against secondhand smoke measure examines the number of public places that are completely smoke-free based on a six scale measure that requires all, or at least 90% of the public places to be completely smoke-free (WHO, 2011). Ghana has voluntary agreements that prohibit smoking in all government buildings, Ministry of Health facilities, ports and harbors, stadia, airports. Additionally, smoking in public and certain private transport as well as all domestic and international airlines is prohibited (Owusu-Dabo et al., 2010). The directives for smoke free environments in Ghana were implemented in the 1980s when the government administratively restricted smoking in all government facilities, offices, and public through the directives of the Ministry of Health. The Ministry of Health has continued to exercise its disdain towards smoking with the active involvement of other ministries that have issued similar administrative directives. For example, the Ministry of Education in 2009 established the School Health Education Policy, which encourages both child-friendly school environments and healthy lifestyles along with prohibiting tobacco consumption (MOH et al., 2010).

The policy of the Ministry was instituted by directives to prohibit smoking by school children and teachers within certain parameters of the school. Failing to abide by these directives requires academic institutions to administer severe punishments in order to ensure compliance with the policy (ibid). In addition, the Ministry of Transport issued a directive to ban smoking in public transports, ports, domestic and international flights and some private

commercial transports such as the GPRTU and inter-city buses in 2006. The National Tobacco Steering Committee and the Ghana Tourist Board (GTB) were also able to reach an agreement with the hospitality industry - restaurants and hotels - to designate certain areas as smoke-free ones (Personal Communication, 2010). Recently, the Ministry of Health has issued another directive to mount no smoking signs on the premises of all health facilities to further reinforce its smoke free measures (GNA, 2011). Granted, the country still allows smoking in certain public places such as the market places and police stations, placing the country in the fourth level of the scale.

The measure on assistance to quit tobacco use was analyzed using a five-scale indicator that examines whether or not a country has a national quit line along with government-funded nicotine replacement therapy or smoking cessation programs. The evidence from available data designates Ghana as a category-four country. This is because Ghana is a member of the international "quit and win cessation program", a program that offers incentives for smokers to quit. The costs and incentives encouraging smokers to abandon their habits are covered by the Ministry of Health and the Ghana Health Service (Wellington, 2007). Unfortunately, however, the country does not have a national quit line for smokers to call if they want assistance to quit smoking.

The measure for warning about the dangers of tobacco complies with the product regulation and ingredient disclosure of the FCTC stipulated in Articles (9), (10) and (11), which requires parties to make an effort to test and disclose the contents of tobacco products. Also, parties are encouraged to promote compliance with the required health warnings for tobacco products to be imported into the country (WHO-FCTC, 2009). The indicator was based on a six-scale measure that determines if a country has rotational health warnings on its available cigarette packs, the position and size of these warnings if deemed present, and whether or not specific health warnings are written in all the major languages of the country or are in pictorial form. Ghana ranked within the fifth category due to its voluntary agreement requiring the importers of the cigarettes to register and disclose the contents of cigarettes to be imported into the country. The Ghana Food and Drugs Board (FDB), per the 2007 directives of the Ministry of Health,ⁱ mandates tobacco importers to register all tobacco products (MOH et al., 2010). By way of monitoring, the importers are required to complete a form in which they indicate the contents of the products to be imported into the country and also required to test the ignition propensity of cigarettes.

The forms issued to the importers clearly suggest the required contents of cigarettes to be imported into the country with the required health warnings to be written on the cigarette packs. Generally, the importers are obliged to carry one of three rotational sets of textual health

warningsⁱⁱ on both the front and back of each pack (VALD, 2010; MOH et al., 2010; Personal Communication, 2011). Since 2010, the Ghana Food and Drug Board has been enforcing a requirement ensuring that the size of the warning covers 50% of both the front and back of the pack and also be written in black and white (MOH et al., 2010). The warnings are also required to be visible, legible, and written in English, in order to ensure clarity (MOH et al., 2010; Personal Communication, 2011). Moreover, all retailers are required to display a common warning of the Ministry of Health at all point of sales (Personal Communication, 2011). In addition, the Minister of Health hinted that the FDB is considering implementing appropriate pictorial health warnings for tobacco packs (Personal Communication, 2011; MOH et al., 2010). The Northern Command of Custom, Excise and Preventive Services (CEPS), has, on certain occasions, seized and destroyed certain cigarettes imported into Ghana because the packs did not exhibit a clear, mandated warning indicating the harmful effect of smoking (Personal Communication, 2010; GNA, 2009).

The measure for enforcing a ban on tobacco advertising is also in compliance with the FCTC. This measure places restrictions on advertising, promotion and sponsorship, indicated by Article (13), requiring all parties to adopt a comprehensive ban for these tobacco-marketing activities. The measure is based on a five-scale indicator that examines if a country has a complete ban on all direct and indirect forms of tobacco advertising, promotion and sponsorship (WHO, 2011). Ghana ranked four on a five-scale category because the country has, since 1982, successfully banned all direct cigarette advertisements of any form within the media (Personal communication, 2011; MOH et al., 2010; Wellington et al., 2011).

In addition, the Ghana Food and Drug Board's requirements for the importation of tobacco products into the country bans tobacco advertising on billboards, vehicles, and transportation stations as well as on walls of building. The requirements also prohibit tobacco sponsorship for events, and the offer of promotional samples of cigarettes to under age children is outlawed as well. However, point-of-sale advertising, outdoor and billboard advertising, and tobacco sponsorship of certain events is allowed under stringent restrictions (MOH et al., 2010). For instance, the National Media Commission allows for smoking to be broadcasted on TV when it is meant for plot and character development (MOH et al., 2010). In addition, international tobacco sponsorship is allowed for certain international events such as the FIFA world cup.

The measure for raising taxes on tobacco products is based on FCTC measure indicated in Article (6), which admonishes the adoption of price and tax measures to reduce tobacco consumption by all cohorts of society. This instrument is considered effective because it is based on the belief that as excise taxes on tobacco

increases, tobacco prices increase as well, rendering the product inaccessible to marginal smokers and those with limited income. The measure was based on a five-scale indicator requiring at least 75% or more of the cigarette prices as taxes (WHO, 2011). Ghana ranked within category four of a five-scale indicator for the tax measure due to the manner in which it increased excise taxes on tobacco products on several occasions in order to raise revenue (Personal Communication, 2010; 2011). Ghana has a total of between 14-59% excise taxes as a proportion of cigarette prices (Mackay et al., 2012; MOH et al., 2010).

The government of Ghana imposed an import duty of a flat ad valorem rate of 140% of the Cost, Insurance, and Freight (CIF) value on cigarettes, but the rate was changed and replaced in 2007 with a varied excise tax system for different brands of cigarettes (MOH et al., 2010). However, the government re-adopted the pre-2007 rates in 2009 (MOH et al., 2010). In addition, the Ministry of Finance increased the import duty to 150% in 2011 (Personal Communication, 2011). Additional taxes on cigarettes in the country include a value added tax (VAT) of 12.5% and a health insurance levy (NHIL) of 2.5%, both of which are imposed on all goods (Wellington et al., 2011). Tobacco products also attract 0.5% levies of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), domestic export development, and investment funds (EDIF) (Wellington et al., 2011; MOH et al., 2010). Generally, the taxes imposed on cigarettes in Ghana have been intended for revenue, not as punitive measures to control tobacco consumption (Wellington et al., 2011). This explains why some tobacco control activists criticize the prices of cigarettes, asserting that they are still cheap in Ghana relative to countries such as Canada and the UK. As a result, they have been urging the government to increase taxes in order to deter smokers from smoking (VALD, 2010). Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that the tax increases so far could still serve the dual purpose of compelling marginal smokers to quit and increase the country's revenue.

This study also analyzed other measures of the FCTC that were not covered by the WHO 2011 study. One such measure is the *Provision of Support for Economically Viable Alternatives* covered by the Article (17) of the FCTC, which mandates parties to assist tobacco farmers and workers with economically viable alternative crops to grow and also provide jobs (WHO-FCTC, 2009). In Ghana, minimal efforts has been undertaken to provide alternative economic activities for tobacco farmers. Generally, the closure of the BAT manufacturing plant caused tobacco farming to decrease. In turn, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA), with assistance from the World Bank, has been offering limited loans to farmers to undertake alternative farming activities (Personal Communication, 2011). However, the credits offered to the farmers are nominally small and fail to motivate

farmers to stop growing tobacco leaves completely. The credit often extended to the farmers is not enough for them to acquire large farming land or undertake mechanized farming (Personal Communication, 2011). As a result, farmers end up consuming their crops, which prevent them from selling some of their products for income. The farmers, nevertheless, are able to obtain enough income to buy food and sometimes save.

Another measure examined is the education, communication, and public awareness on the consequences of smoking covered by Article (12) of the FCTC. This measure requires parties to adopt programs to promote effective and comprehensive education and public awareness on the harm associated with tobacco consumption. In addition, it educates the public on second hand smoking along with informing smokers about where assistance in terms of quitting can be obtained. This measure is perhaps the most undertaken in Ghana to educate the public on the dangers and consequences that smoking and tobacco poses to public health. The Ministry of Health uses the *annual no tobacco day*, celebrated on May 31, to educate the public about the harmful effects of tobacco consumption (MOH et al., 2010).

The Ghana Health Service also uses the *quit and wins* campaign to highlight the benefits of tobacco cessation and living a tobacco free lifestyle (Wellington, 2007). The Health Ministry also collaborates with other Ministries and governmental agencies to offer educative programs on tobacco control. For instance, the Ministry of Education of Ghana, with the assistance of the Ghana Health Service, offers educational programs on the harm of tobacco in schools. Pictorial information known as the *smoker's body* posters are distributed to schools to increase awareness of the dangers associated with smoking (MOH et al., 2010). In addition, local NGOs, some media groups, and tobacco control organizations periodically organize public education events on the negative effect of smoking on public health. NGOs such as VALD periodically organize programs to educate the public on the harm of smoking (VALD, 2010).

The measure for the establishment of a national coordinating mechanism for tobacco control provided by Article (5) of the FCTC that recommends establishing a focal point for tobacco control was also examined. The formation of a national coordinating mechanism for controlling tobacco is considered essential to an effective tobacco control program (WHO-FCTC, 2009). As indicated earlier, the Ministry of Health spearheads tobacco control activities in the country. In 2002, a National Tobacco Control Steering Committee (NTCSC) was established and tasked with adopting the appropriate mechanism for controlling tobacco in the country (Wellington, 2007). The Parliament of Ghana also tasked the committee with the responsibility of drafting a tobacco control bill for passage into law. Subsequently, the

committee produced the first tobacco draft bill in 2005 (Wellington, 2007). The bill was re-drafted in 2007 and incorporated into the Public Health bill that was passed into law by Parliament in July of 2012 (Wellington, 2007; Ali, 2012). Moreover, a tobacco control focal point has been established and located at the Research and Development Division (RDD) of the Ghana Health Service to coordinate the tobacco control activities of the country (MOH et al., 2010).

DISCUSSION

Impact of voluntary agreements as tobacco control instrument in Ghana

The general perception often presented by studies conducted in some developed countries is that voluntary agreements are not effective tobacco control instruments (Studlar, 2004; Cairney, 2007). In spite of this, the analysis of Ghana Tobacco Control Process shows that the voluntary agreements have played a significant role as a tobacco control instrument that has facilitated the adoption of a tobacco control law. For instance, as stated earlier, the last tobacco manufacturing plant in Ghana left the country in 2006 because of the tobacco control activities (Personal Communication, 2010; Owusu-Dabo et al., 2010). The activities of the tobacco control interest groups created an unfavorable environment for British American Tobacco Company, which forced BAT to close down its plant in the country. An interviewee indicated that:

I met one of the top people in the BAT, who said to me that they folded up in Ghana largely because of the campaign that was going on to get people to stop smoking cigarettes and the use of other products. I was told that it was strategically more economical to send the manufacturing to Nigeria and import into the country²

Other actions that were taken to decrease the consumption of cigarettes included the adoption of tobacco control instruments such as a tobacco-advertising ban and periodic campaigns focusing on the harm of cigarettes to the health of smokers (Personal Communication, 2011). This affected the purchase of cigarettes and made it uneconomical to continue cigarette production in the country.

In addition, the requirement for importers to disclose the contents of cigarette products was well respected and it aided in regulating importers' activities (Personal Communication, 2010). Not only did the imported cigarettes carry the stipulated health warnings, but the ignition propensities were tested to meet the required

standard. Notably, the actions of these anti-tobacco groups satisfy the objective of the supply side of the tobacco control measures – to control the activities of the tobacco industry (WHO-FCTC, 2009). On the demand side, 43.3% of participants who took part in the *quit and win* program stayed tobacco-free three years after the adoption of the program in 2002 (Wellington, 2007). Nonetheless, some surveys conducted in the country show that the majority of the people consider the tobacco issue as a public health issue as opposed to the political economy image that was presented by the tobacco industry in the past (Wellington et al., 2009). While a comprehensive analysis of the impact of these voluntary agreements was not the focus of this study, these indicators, to some extent, show the impact that voluntary agreements had in the country, especially on the supply side control measures.

Interest groups, global advocacy network and adoption of domestic tobacco control instruments

The passage of the Public Health bill, which has section six on tobacco control, was facilitated by the interactions and collaborations between the international, non-governmental and governmental organizations and agencies along with local tobacco control groups (Hudson, 2001). The collaboration between the Ministry of Health and local NGOs assisted the adoption of certain voluntary agreements on tobacco control, thus providing an enabling environment for the passage of the tobacco control bill. The adoption of the voluntary agreements in Ghana has primarily been the result of the interactions between the Ministry of Health and anti-tobacco interest groups, along with the actions of transnational tobacco control actors at different tobacco control venues (Cairney et al., 2012).

Normally, the information regarding the best practices for enforcing tobacco control are presented to the countries at such meetings, and the countries proceed to adopt the ones that are relevant to their tobacco control situation (Mamudu, 2005). In other instances, the countries receive funding for the adoption of a specific instrument of tobacco control. The director of VALD was influential in pushing for the passage of the Public Health bill because VALD received funding from the Bloomberg Foundation to promote the adoption of pictorial warnings as a tobacco control instrument in Ghana. Consequently, the tobacco control section of the bill expends a significant portion on pictorial warnings (Ali, 2012). Therefore, it is reasonable to state that advocacy networks and the activities of interest groups influenced the adoption of tobacco control instruments in the country.

As indicated above, many of the voluntary agreements adopted through the directives of the Ministry of Health along with the increases in excise taxes on cigarettes in Ghana were influenced by the international non-

² Adopted from Brenya (2012b)

governmental and governmental organizations and agencies. Such groups include the IDRC/RITC, the WHO, America Cancer Society, the International Union against Cancer (UICC), and the Framework Convention Alliance. These organizations champion the adoption tobacco control best practices and ideas such as implementing high excise taxes, health warnings, and placing bans on tobacco advertising and smoking in public places (Laugesen, 2000). For instance, the Ministry of Health issued a directive for smoke free areas to be designated at certain public places following the adoption of smoke free laws by conference of parties of the FCTC since 2007 (WHO-FCTC, 2009).

It needs to be indicated that the battle between pro-tobacco and anti-tobacco interest groups over tobacco control is not only about the adoption or non-adoption of tobacco control laws but also about shaping an understanding of the tobacco issue. The interest groups affiliated with the tobacco industry want the issue to be perceived as that of political economy and, as a result, hope to project the economic importance of tobacco products on developing countries (Mamudu et al., 2008; WHO, 2008). On the other hand, the anti-tobacco interest groups refute the political economy argument, highlighting the negative health hazards of cigarette smoking on both smokers and non-smokers. The interest groups organize campaigns and educational programs to educate the public on the health hazards of tobacco consumption. As indicated above, the *annual no tobacco day* is a means used to demonstrate the dangers of smoking, ultimately pressuring policy makers to adopt relevant policies that will protect public health. The celebration is a form of symbolic politics, whereby the harm caused by tobacco consumption somewhere is emphasized to seek support for the adoption of tobacco control policy in the domestic arena (Keck and Sikkink, 1998).

In the past, the tobacco industry network was successful in informing a majority of countries about the economic importance of tobacco (WB, 1999). However, the World Bank's 1999 groundbreaking study has rejected the tobacco industry's claim regarding the economic importance of tobacco for the development of developing countries. Simultaneously, the findings from other studies have provided evidence demonstrating the harm associated with tobacco consumption. As a result, the general understanding has shifted towards a support for tobacco control laws that protect public health (Mamudu et al., 2008; WHO, 2008). A recent survey conducted in one of the main tobacco growing areas in Ghana indicates a willingness of farmers to grow alternative crops due to the negative health hazards associated with tobacco leaf farming (IDRC, 2009).

In addition, another survey found massive support among the public for the adoption of stricter tobacco control policies, aiming primarily to prevent the sales of cigarettes to minors and to enforce a total ban of smoking

in public places (IDRC, 2009). One of the surveys, which were conducted by Ms. Edith Wellington of the Ghana Health Service and three other colleagues, had a total participation count of 308 people, and included members of Parliament and other policy makers. To gather data, the survey used questionnaires on 242 participants and in-depth interviews of 66 participants (IDRC, 2009). The survey found that the majority of Ghanaians were concerned with the problem of tobacco consumption and its health hazards, especially those posed on the youths. In another instance, the Chairman of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Health and the Minister of Local Government and Regional Development in 2009 called for the immediate passage of the tobacco control bill into law to protect public health and to prevent the negative impacts of tobacco smoke on nonsmokers (Odoi-Larbi, 2009).

Tobacco control experts and activists indicated that the change in policymakers' attitudes and the recent public support in terms of tobacco control policies were the result of the existing tobacco control information and educational programs (Personal Communication, 2011). Some of the people interviewed agreed that the current interpretation of the tobacco issue as a public health issue by the public is due to the messages that the public has been receiving from tobacco control actors and programs. It is generally believed that a change in the understanding of the tobacco issue was a necessary precursor to the adoption of tobacco control legislation. Therefore, it was the campaign and advocacy activities of the anti-tobacco interest groups in collaboration with international partners that generated support for the adoption of the tobacco control law in Ghana.

Conclusion

The analysis above provides insight into the politics surrounding the adoption of tobacco control policies in Ghana, focusing on how tobacco control interest groups have collaborated with international governmental and nongovernmental organizations to advocate for the adoption of a tobacco law in the country. Previous studies have shown how international governmental and nongovernmental actors collaborate with actors to ensure the adoption of a certain policy (Asare, 2009; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Farquharson, 2003; Hudson, 2001, Trubek et al, 2000, Mamudu and Studlar, 2009). For example, a research by Keck and Sikkink (1998) found that international NGOs and governmental actors collaborated to push for the adoption of laws to abolish slavery and to protect human rights and women's rights in certain countries at different periods.

In addition, a study by Malan and Leaver (2003) found that the success of South Africa's tobacco control was

partly due to the pressure from anti-smoking groups and nongovernmental organizations on policymakers to adopt domestic tobacco control laws. Asare (2009: 103) identifies some of the anti-smoking groups in South Africa as the National Council against Smoking (NCAS), the South African Medical Research Council (SAMRC), the Cancer Association of South Africa (CANSA), the Heart and Stroke Foundation of South Africa (HSFSA). Asare (2009) indicates that the anti-tobacco groups in South Africa collaborated with inter-governmental and nongovernmental organizations such as the WHO, World Heart Federation, International Union against Cancer, and the World Conference on Tobacco or Health, (WCTOH) to ensure the success of the tobacco control campaign.

Asare (2009) along with Malan and Leaver (2003) note that the groups lobbied persistently, waging a relentless war to protect both smokers and non-smokers from the harm of tobacco before government intervention in the 1990s. Furthermore, they argue that the lobbying, combined with the subsequent commitment to public health by the African National Congress government led by Nelson Mandela, resulted in the adoption of a tobacco control law in South Africa. According to Waverly (2007), it was the collaborations between the domestic and international tobacco control actors that helped South Africa control the consumption of tobacco products despite the strong opposition from the tobacco companies and interest groups.

This study illustrates how international governmental and nongovernmental organizations have actively collaborated with domestic tobacco control interest groups in Ghana to push for the adoption of a tobacco control law in the country despite the vibrant tobacco industry activities occurring simultaneously. This study argues that the activities of the tobacco control interest groups and organizations led to the adoption of certain voluntary agreements as tobacco control instruments through the directives of the Ministry of Health (and other government ministries in Ghana) in the face of opposition by the tobacco industry network. The adoption of the voluntary agreements as tobacco control instruments weakened the influence of the pro-tobacco interest groups, creating a favorable environment for the subsequent adoption of a tobacco control law in the country. Consequently, the tobacco industry interest groups were incapable of resisting the passage of the Public Health bill, which declares tobacco control in the sixth section of the bill as a law. Therefore, Ghana's strategy could be a model for other developing countries who are struggling with adopting tobacco control policies and its related hazards to utilize.

Conflict of Interests

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

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ⁱ The Ministry of Health directed that all importers should comply with the requirement of the FDA about the regulations and required content of tobacco products allowed in the country.

ⁱⁱ The health warning was developed by the National Tobacco Control Steering Committee but regulated by the FDA



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