

CHAPTER 6

Contemporary Issues in Public Policy

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Introduction

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

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

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

A CHANGING CONTEXT OF PUBLIC POLICY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE CHANGING LOCUS AND FOCUS OF PUBLIC POLICY

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

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

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

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

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

Issues and Public Policies

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

HEALTH ISSUES AND PUBLIC POLICY IN AFRICA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ECONOMIC ISSUES AND PUBLIC POLICY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECURITY ISSUES AND PUBLIC POLICY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Push Factors

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

Pull Factors

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

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

THE ENVIRONMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCES POLICY ISSUES

Tangible assets such as water, medicinal plants and large expanse of arable land are assets which the regional leadership need to intentionally protect through active policies. In the absence of adequate safeguards, the impacts of climate change continue to threaten. There needs to be promotion of integrated and sustainable management of natural resources (Akanle et al. 2021). Access to public services remains inadequate especially in low- and middle-income countries. About 1 billion people live in slums in developing countries, lacking access to water, sanitation, electricity and healthcare (Akanle and Shittu 2018; Akanle and Adejare 2017; Akanle 2015). This number is expected to triple by 2050, if necessary, policy actions are not taken against it. Due to the growing population, there is increased land use, low water conservation, loss of biodiversity and low water management and recycling (Akanle et al. 2021). As urbanization rapidly occurs, natural habitats of significant species are eroded and slums are created (Akanle and Adejare 2017). There are activities of sea dredging and sand filling of wetlands to increase available land for urban infrastructures. The need for tourist attraction centres has also influenced the alternation of natural habitats to accommodate human needs. Conversion of forests and wetlands for food production also occurs as urban areas develop. In the African region, climate changes have caused changes in temperature, human mobility and migration, precipitation, sea-level rise, aridity and potential evapotranspiration (Omobowale et al. 2019; Akanle et al. 2021).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GOVERNANCE AND POLICY ISSUES IN AFRICA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Inclusion, Exclusion, Vulnerability and Public Policy

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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