



# FEED THE FUTURE

The U.S. Government's Global Hunger & Food Security Initiative



## Conceptualizing Drivers of Change for Improved Food Security Policies

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October 28, 2015  
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# Outline

- 1) Motivations for a conceptual framework of drivers of policy change
- 2) Introducing components of Kaleidoscope Model
- 3) Brief application of the Model to Ghana's input subsidy program

# Motivations and Objectives

- Achieving **policy impact** requires a deep understanding of the national **policy process** to identify practical entry points
- The process is messy, opaque, with volatility and incoherence, but...can we find an operational framework with testable hypotheses?
- Doing so requires reconciling silver bullet approaches from the development community with academic policy process theorizing

# Development Community Approaches

	Hypotheses	Operational examples
<b>Monte Carlo</b>	Changes in the payoff matrix influence the likelihood and direction of public investments and policy change.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policy lending, 1960s</li> <li>• SAPs, 1980s</li> <li>• CAADP investment plans, 2000s</li> </ul>
<b>Sherlock Holmes</b>	Better empirical evidence leads to better policies.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• IFPRI, HIID, ReSAKSS</li> <li>• UN - HLPE, HLTF, SCN</li> </ul>
<b>Contagion Inoculation</b>	Policy inoculation, by showcasing prominent policy “success stories,” can spur international emulation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SUN initiative</li> <li>• Abuja Fertilizer Summit</li> </ul>
<b>Frank Lloyd Wright</b>	Open, transparent, inclusive, evidence-based policy processes improve policy outcomes.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• CAADP peer-reviewed country investment programs</li> <li>• Joint Sector Reviews</li> <li>• GAFSP</li> <li>• New Alliance</li> </ul>
<b>Hercules</b>	Champions of policy change can overcome flawed institutional architecture to effect policy change.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Africa-Lead “Champions of Change”</li> <li>• AGRA policy champions</li> <li>• Transform Nutrition Champions</li> </ul>
<b>Masters of the Universe</b>	Top-down negotiations and high-level commitments can enable and enforce policy change.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New Alliance agreements</li> <li>• CAADP regional compacts</li> </ul>

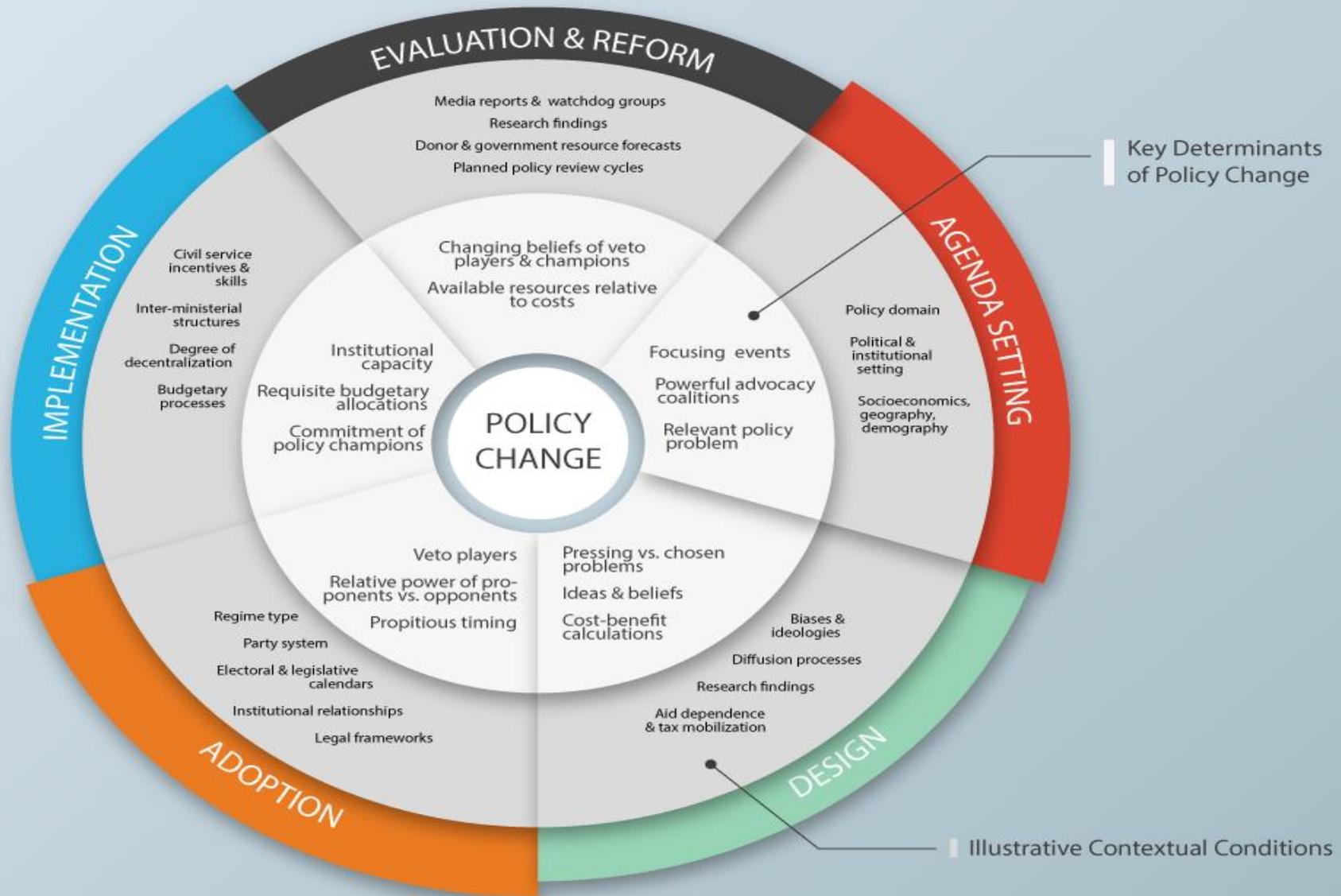
# Academic Approaches

Dominant view of the state	What shapes actors' behavior?		
	<i>Interests</i>	<i>Institutions</i>	<i>Ideas and Identity</i>
<i>Captured by society</i>	Public choice theory		
	Marxism		
<i>Autonomous from society, unitary preferences</i>	Elitist theory	Street level bureaucrats	
	Corporatism		
	Developmental states		
<i>Interactive with society, diverse preferences</i>	Multiple streams		
		Punctuated equilibrium	
		Policy paradigms	
	Policy networks theory		
			Advocacy coalitions
			Social construction theory

# Our Approach

- Inductively derived by comparing existing case studies of policy change in developing regions in domains related to food security (*e.g. health, education, agriculture, social protection*)
- Macro variables were identified across cases that were consistently important in explaining why a policy reached a particular stage of the policy process
- Attention given to highlighting necessary and sufficient conditions for policy change to occur

# The Kaleidoscope Model



# Application to Policy Domains

<b>Characteristics of Policy Domain</b>	<b>Input Subsidies Ghana, Tanzania, Zambia</b>	<b>Micronutrients Malawi, S. Africa, Zambia</b>
Evidence Base	More contested (social science)	Less contested (medical science)
Awareness of Problem	Short-term	Long-term
Visibility of Response	High	Low
Beneficiaries	Targeted	Disperse
First Movers	Domestic governments	International donors
Vertical Policy Implementation	More Complex	Less Complex
Horizontal Policy Implementation	Less Complex	More Complex

# Analytical Tools

- **Policy chronologies** –process tracing by indicating whether certain events precipitated subsequent policy changes
- **Agricultural policy mapping**- identifies key institutions and frameworks, regulations, procedures, etc.
- **Policy domain mapping** - roles of key actors (e.g.formulation, administration, oversight, or knowledge)
- **Stakeholder inventories** - identifies perceived winners and losers and their preferences
- **Circle of influence graphics** - aligns stakeholders in a two dimensional space to map their preferences vis-à-vis a policy with their power

# Application to Ghana FSP

- Started in mid-2008 through a voucher system and is based on a private sector “friendly” approach
- Switched to a waybill system in 2010
- Targeting food crop producers

Item	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Average subsidy as share of market price (%)	30.3	40.4	41.2	44.2	47.0	25.8	N/A	21
Actual subsidized fertilizer (mt)	43,176	72,795	91,244	176,278	173,755	166,809	N/A	180,000
Subsidy expenditures as % of total MoFA agricultural expenditures	20.2	23.6	18.8	32.6	53.3	19.5	N/A	22

# Ghana FSP – Agenda Setting

## Relevant problem:

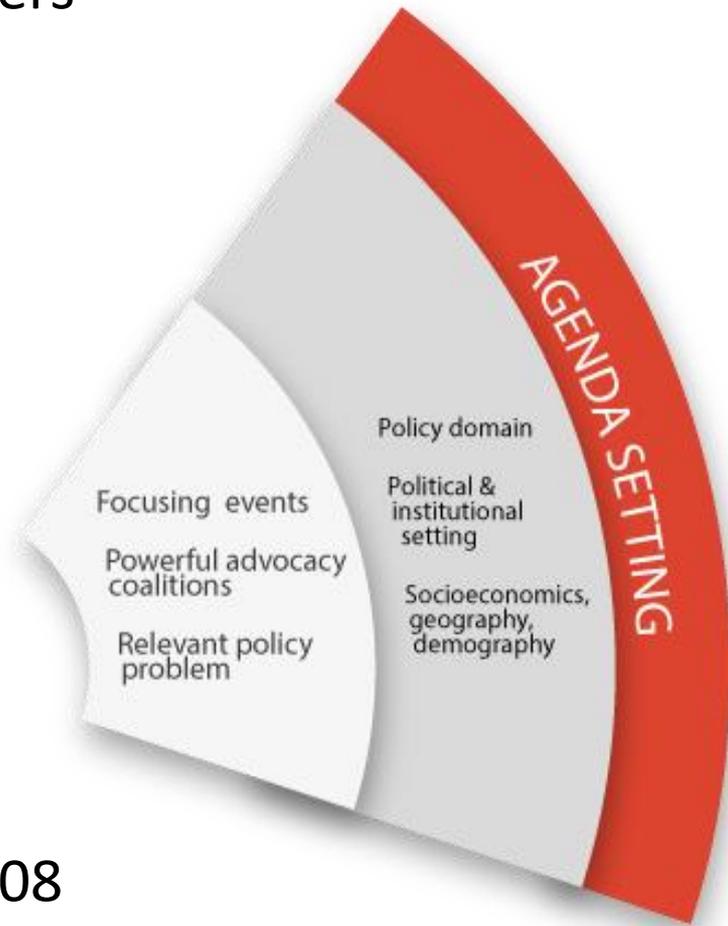
- One of Africa's lowest fertilizer users (8kg/ha)

## Key focusing events:

- Abuja Declaration
- 2007/8 food price crisis
- Forthcoming elections

## Advocacy Coalition:

- Four key importers approached Government
- President Kufour announced in 2008
- Donors



# Ghana FSP – Design: Vouchers

## Pressing vs. chosen problem:

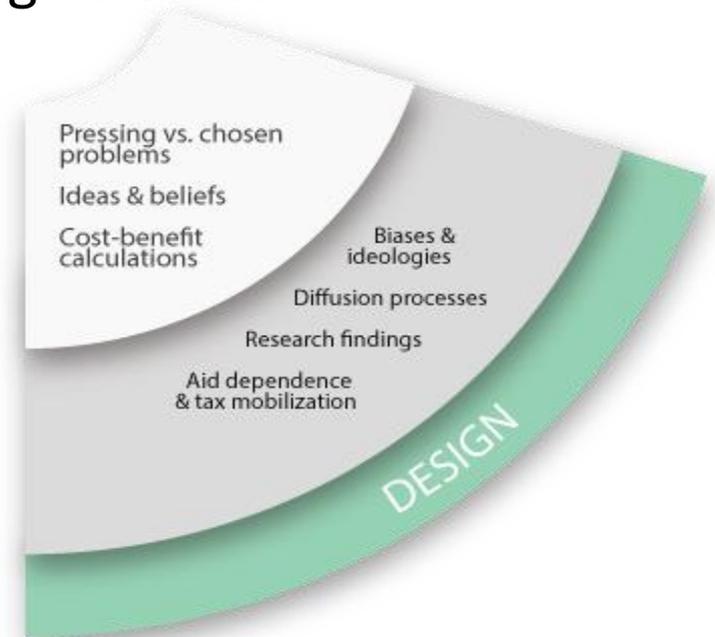
- Resulted in initial “off the shelf approach” based on Ghana’s history
- Highly visible and quick to roll out through district agricultural officers

## Ideas and Beliefs:

- Golden Age of Business
- World Bank influence

## Cost-benefit calculations:

- Help the incumbent party
- Financial support through sectoral budget support, cocoa and oil revenues



# Ghana FSP: Design-Waybills

## Pressing vs. chosen problem:

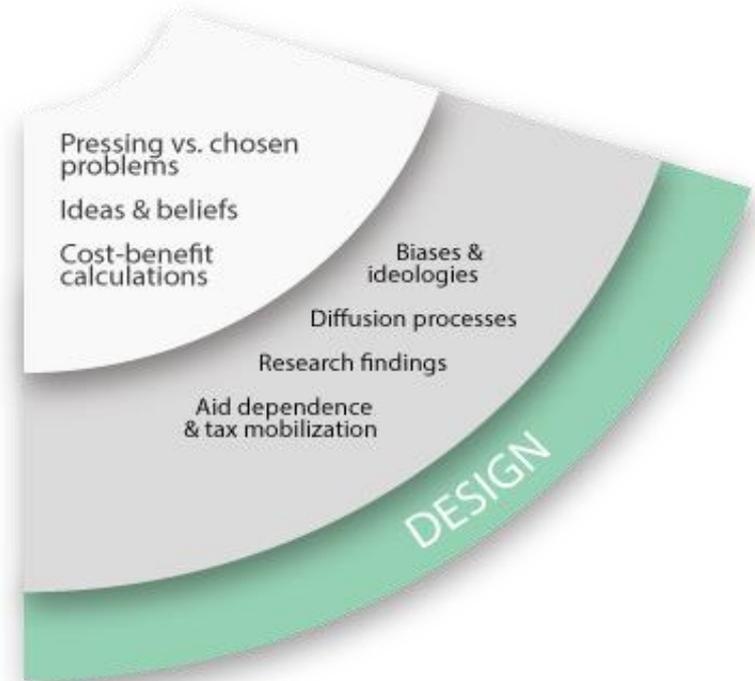
- International grain and fertilizer prices had fallen

## Ideas and Beliefs:

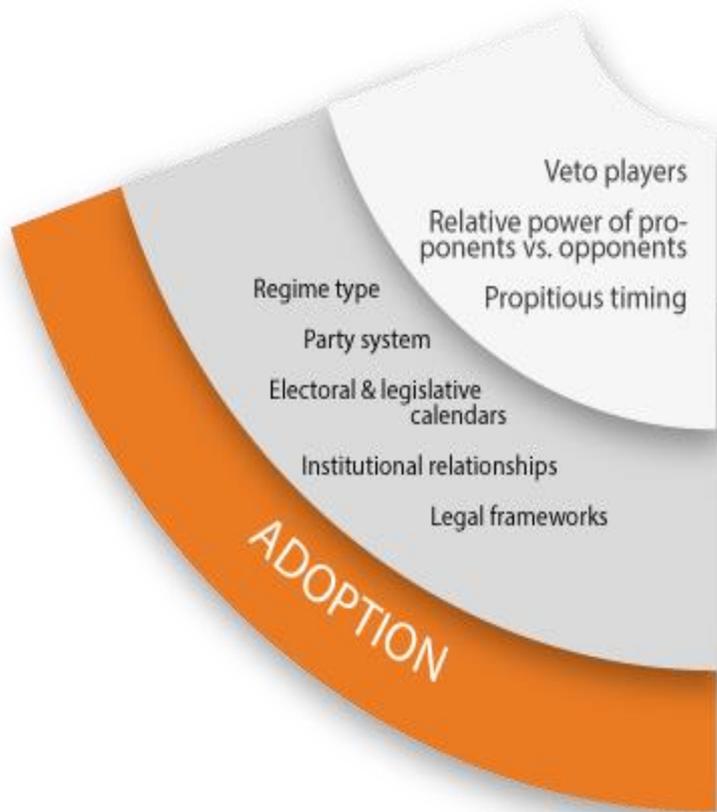
- New party in office (NDC)
- WB leverage
- IFPRI/PFAG research

## Cost-benefit calculations:

- Help the NDC if better designed
- Status quo requiring too much of MoFA's time



# Ghana FSP: Adoption



## Veto players:

- “Our democracy is such that if the President says we want to invest in more roads (for instance), that becomes a policy imperative that year”

## Power of opponents vs. proponents:

- Opposed by Committee for Joint Action
- Supported by PFAG & MoF

## Propitious timing:

- 7 months before elections
- AgDPO approved just a few weeks before program announcement

# Conclusions about Kaleidoscope Model

- Potential for predictive explanation for why some policies are adopted but never implemented, and why some never even get on the agenda
- Opportunities for controlled comparative analysis by identifying common drivers of policy change in...
  - *similar policy domains across different countries*
  - *different policy domains within the same country*
- Integrates importance of interests, ideas, and institutions, as well as the relative weight of external and domestic actors
- Identifies relative weight of research compared with many other factors and when research may have the most impact

# Thank you!



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