Assessment of the Causes for Policy-Implementation Narratives in Ethiopia: The Case of Selected Public Institutions

Dereje Terefe (PhD)
Associate Professor, School of Policy Studies
Ethiopian Civil Service University, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Tiruye Alemu (MA)
Training & Consultancy (ECSU)
Ethiopian Civil Service University, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Abstract
Policy implementation is one of the decisive policy processes where bureaucratic actors, individuals and institutions transform government commitments into action. Policy implementation cannot achieve its intended goals with a single ministry, agency or department; it has to bring all potential stakeholders together with varied interests. This adds to the frequent complexity of implementation unless public managers have the necessary skills or the art of "getting things done". Challenges in policy implementation have their own causes rooted in lack of knowledge and capacity by policymakers, implementing institutions, ambitious goals, human and material requisites, commitments and personal interests, and lack of policy continuity. The objective of this study was to examine the underlying causes of policy dichotomy narratives in Ethiopian public institutions with a focus to implementation and come up with suggestions for policymakers. The study employed a descriptive – explanatory design in order that what is described may not remain mere factual exhibitions but to be sufficiently explained with their causal-effect relationships. Study data sources (targets) include a purposively selected public institutions (both federal and regional states), members of the parliament and regional states councils, bureau heads, and senior experts. A mixed research approach was also opted to complement each of the data obtained through both quantitative and qualitative instruments. The findings show that the policy dichotomy narrative with due focus to implementation is deeply entrenched among higher government officials and middle level policy actors in a bid to escape accountability as well as maintain policy transcendence which is dictated by party loyalties. In response, it is recommended that the on-going policy dichotomy approach and attitudes need to give way to a shared accountability and timely review of policies before popular grievances pile up and result in irreversible consequences.
Keywords: policy dichotomy, implementation, top-down/ bottom-up, cognitive constraints, and public institutions.

INTRODUCTION
1.1 Background of the Study
A look at public policy conceptualization shows that there is no ready- made characterization to soundly explain, represent or define it. But what the famous policy scholar Dye (1979) conceptualizes is actually considered by most policy proponents. One widely quoted but simple definition of public policy by Dye is "what government chooses to do or not to do" (p.1). He further explained:

> Governments do many things, they regulate conflicts within society, they organize society to carry on conflicts within other societies, they distribute a great variety of symbolic rewards and material services to members of the society and extracts money from the society, most at times in the form of taxes. Thus policies may regulate behavior, organize bureaucracies, distribute benefits, extract taxes, or all of these things at once (p. 1).

The study of policy implementation was pioneered by scholars such as Pressman & Wildavsky during 1970s. To Pressman and Wildavsky (1984), achieving overall policy goals, the completion of both decision paths (policymaking and policy implementation) should be done at a time. Otherwise, it creates a situation where decision makers in one path may not necessarily care about the outcome of the other path. This cardinal statement informs that implementation "should not be divorced from policymaking and must not be conceived as a process that takes place after, and independent of, the design of policy" (Nangpuhan & Brenton, 2011).

The gap between policymaking and its implementation is attributed to a variety of reasons: too ambiguous policy objectives and not giving street-level bureaucrats room for adaptation of objectives to suit to their clients' or their own preferences (Lipsky, 1980). With vague and ambiguous objectives, it is difficult to measure if they (objectives) are realized through implementation. Implementation gaps also arise from lack of participation of stakeholders or actors including citizens, private businesses or interest groups, each with their own needs and interests and ability to exercise influence on policy implementation and its outcomes at its initial stage (Sabatier, 1999).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Policy implementation is a process "to actualize, apply and utilize policy in the world of practice" (Bhola, 2004:296). To Okoli and Onah (2003), Ikelegbe (2006), Kraft and Furlong (2007), policy implementation is the process of translating a policy into actions and presumptions into results through various projects and programs. Implementation is a step that follows policy approval, and carrying out a basic policy decision (Sabatier &Mazmanian, 1983, 43). In the modern world, policy implementation is considered as the litmus paper of governments through which they test their ability and be able to meet their promise in translating plans and commitments into action to provide goods and services.

Some scholars view causes for implementation deficits from different perspectives. They divide causes for the implementation deficits into conventional and neuro-cognitive accounts. The conventional accounts include factors such as unclear goals, lack of political commitments, governance, centralization, and level of resources allocated (Ali, 2006). Though these factors are partially true, they are not the only ones. Spillane, Reiser and Reimer (2002) further argue that cognitive factors play a critical role in policy implementation. This is observed when implementing agents or stakeholders try to make sense of policy provision before acting on them. For instance, Walshaw & Anthony (2007) believe that personal cognitive aspect heavily weighs on how a given policy is implemented. This mainly refers to implementers' sense-making of new policy ideas, and their actions based on the ideas they construct together with the human and material resources provided.

As any other developing countries, in Ethiopia, policy implementation faces several bottlenecks. Both policymakers and implementers admit that there is a gap between what is intended and what actually gets implemented. As a result, lamentations are often times heard in public conferences and implementation reports, at parliamentarian conventions, ministerial and wider social institutions (Mulugeta, 2005; Biruk, 2014; and Dereje, 2012). There is always a foolhardy argument that policy implementation deficit is the outcome of its implementation, rather than the process of policy making.

In the face of such arguments, policymakers fail to see their own design problems and try to maintain that existing policies do "transcend" and are 'timeless'. Such entrenched beliefs block ways to review policies that are once put in place. Moreover, beyond failing to convince wider stakeholders and targeted beneficiaries, the policy dichotomy also tends to pave ways of shirking responsibility as a result of poor implementation. In consequence, implementation problems are always displaced and projected unfairly to what is known as 'street-level bureaucracy' (Horn & Meter 1976; Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1989). The objective of this research is, therefore, to assess and find out the major causes for policy dichotomy and its challenges to implementation and come up with possible way forward suggestions.

1.3 Research Questions

The following research questions were put forward in order to come up with possible answers:
1. What are the causes for policy dichotomy narratives in Ethiopia?
2. What is the level of stakeholders' participation both at federal and regional states levels?
3. How is implementation commitment and accountability explained at each stage?
4. How can successful policy implementation be achieved?

1.4 Research Objectives

1.4.1 General objective

The general objective of this study is to assess the causes of policy dichotomy and its challenges to implementation in selected public institutions in Ethiopia and forward possible recommendations for the time to come.

1.4.2 Specific objectives

The specific objectives of this study intend:
1. To identify the causes of policy dichotomy narrative in Ethiopia
2. To explore the policy dichotomy challenges to implementation
3. To investigate the level of stakeholders' participation in policy implementation undertakings
4. To appraise the level of policy implementation commitments and accountability, and
5. To identify successful policy implementation strategies and their unique roles.

1.5 Significance of the study

The policy subject in general and policy implementation in particular is both important and timely in Ethiopia. A critical investigation of the causes of policy implementation deficits in Ethiopia also makes the study appealing due mainly to the policy-implementation dichotomy narrative, which is the displacement of policy failure responsibilities from the top policymakers to front-line implementers.

Consequently, it is hoped that this study will shed some lights as regards the root causes of wide-spread policy dichotomy and its implication to implementation among policy actors in the country and would add to the

policy implementation literature for future research undertakings. The study will also help provide basic hints for policymakers that unintentional or deliberate division of policy landscape into two uncompromising arenas does not promote and help to forge integrative as well as collaborative efforts among potential policy actors.

1.6 Scope of the study

The study was delimited to public institutions which are in charge of continuous policymaking and implementation processes at federal and state levels. Geographically, it is delimited to purposively selected federal and state-level public sectors (education, health, agriculture and finance and economic bureaus) which have greater scope of policymaking, implementation, evaluation and revision. The study was designed to cover five regional states (Tigray, Amhara, Oromia, SNNPRS and the Ethiopian Somali).

Parliament standing committee members at federal level and Speakers of the House in selected regional state councils were consulted. Moreover, regional state advisers, heads of sectoral bureaus, main core process heads and deputies were also made to provide their views in light of general and specific to their institutional practice in policy implementation. In consequence, 300 middle-level and senior experts were made to fill in the questionnaires, while parliamentary standing committees, state council Speakers of the House, bureau heads and senior experts (18) took part in the interviews. This makes the total study respondents to 318. Conceptually, the study was confined to dealing with policy dichotomy and its challenges to implementation. Delimitation of the study scope to the aforementioned is due to resource constraints out of which time stands tall. The time for data collection in both selected federal and regional states public institutions is also skewed due to parallel commitments that the researchers had to meet in their respective departments.

1.7 Limitations of the study

Though the study covers both federal and public sector institutions, it could not reveal policy dichotomy perceptions and practices in the rest of regional states and public institutions. Moreover, as the time for data collection coincided with the then on-going "deep evaluation" seasons across the nation, it was quite difficult to consult some key government officials to conduct depth interviews both at federal and regional state levels. Consequently, from the planned five interviews with Speakers of the House in the study regional states, it was only in three (Tigray, Oromia and partially in SNNPR) that interviews were successfully carried out.

It was completely impossible to find Speakers of the House in two (Amhara and the Ethiopian Somali regional states) to conduct planned interviews. Furthermore, lack of research outputs in the specific study area (implementation) has also been one of the limitations since most policy and program evaluations in almost all public institutions in the country are both 'self-contained' and are not usually made open to public disclosures. Finally, researchers' parallel assignments have also taken their respective tolls. Despite such limitations, however, the researchers have exerted their utmost efforts to bring about the desired research outcomes which could awaken the attention of policymakers and public managers at all levels.

2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE
2.1 Introduction

Public policy is the study of government decisions and actions in order to deal with public concerns. It is what governments choose to do or not to do (Cochran & Malone, 1999; Dye, 2005). Decisions and actions are directed to achieving desired goals or objectives, which in turn amount to solutions of public problems that are of multidimensional nature (Ikelegbe 2006). Public policy is considered as a decision-centric and goal-oriented process. Other than being the point of government decisions and actions, public policy is also a field of study and an academic discipline which brings together many social sciences concepts such as economics, sociology, political economy, program evaluation, policy analysis and public management, all as applied to problems of government administration.

2.2 Policy Implementation: Concept and practice

Policy implementation is one of the core stages where government's commitment is to be realized and the promise given to the public is fulfilled. To Webster's Dictionary and Roget Thesaurus, implementation is "…to carry out, accomplish, fulfill, produce, complete." The concept, "implementation" can also be presented in a formula where, Implementation = F (Intention, Output, Outcome). Owing to its multi-stakeholder interactions and their diverse interests, the implementation world is not without challenges. Such challenges are more prevalent in many of the developing countries than in the developed world. For instance, Nwagboso (2012), Ndah (2010), Suberu and Egonmwan (1991) have found that policy implementation bottlenecks are much common in developing countries and that of Africa in particular, which Ethiopia is a part. In their seminal text, *Implementation*, Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) uncovered many of the unmasked myths about policy implementation. Goggin *et al*., (1990:9) hold that "the nineties are likely to be the implementation era." However, the scholars did not hide that there was "still some confusions over when implementation begins, when it ends,

and how many types of implementation there are."   Eugene Bardach (1977) introduced the concept of implementation as a metaphor of 'games' to denote it as "implementation problem" (pp.55-6).

Mazmanian and Sabatier (1980) identified three main variables that affect the achievements of policy goals throughout the entire process: tractability of problems addressed; the ability of the statute to favorably structure the implementation process and the net effect of a variety of political variables. In contrast, Elmore (1978) identified four major ingredients for effective policy implementation: 1) clearly specified tasks and objectives that accurately reflect the intent of a policy; 2) a management plan that allocates tasks and performance standards to subunits; 3) an objective means of measuring subunit performance; and 4) a system of management controls and social sanctions sufficient to hold subordinates accountable for their performance (p.195). Dye (2005) further argues that implementation is "the continuation of politics by other means" (p. 45), implying that policymaking does not end with the passage of a law by the parliament and its signature by the head of the state; it rather is a shift from the top government house to the bureaucracy (departments, agencies, commissions of the executive branch).

2.3 Historical accounts of policy implementation researches and underlying theories
Until the late 1960s, there were few studies on the subject of policy implementation. One of the initial researches was a case study of an economic development program in Oakland California that had been created to stimulate minority employment, though it failed to achieve what it intended to achieve due to many actors having to work together. As a result, goal achievement has become the dominating standard and dependent variable in the implementation research discourse since 1970s.

In the late 1970s, Michael Lipsky's "street-level bureaucracy" theory forced political scientists to take a more serious consideration of what happens to policy after it has been created, and the role of individuals employed by government to effect implementation. He came up with what he described as "bottom-up approach" (1980). Michael Lipsky coined the term 'street-level bureaucrats' in his book 'Street-level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services' which was published in 1980. He made a compelling case for the role and power that street-level bureaucrats exert in policy implementation. In his model, Lipsky defines street-level bureaucrats as "public service workers who interact directly with citizens in the course of their jobs, and who have substantial discretion in the execution of their work" (P. 3). They include police officers, teachers, principals, public health workers, public lawyers, court officers, social workers, and many other public employees.

As pioneering policy implementation researchers, Pressman and Wildavsky's work became one of the fads of political science and policy analysis that reached its peak in terms of the number of publications in the mid 1980s. To Paudel (2009), this phase or generation of implementation research ranged from early 1970s to '80s, while the second generation continued from 1980s to the 90s. The third generation of research was from 1990s and onwards (Matland, 1995). The initial implementation research approach looked at policy implementation from the goals and strategies: from a single or multiple location or statute and authoritative statement of the policy (Goggin *et al.*, 1990).

Top-down implementation model is most concerned with compliance, while the bottom-up approach values understanding through bargaining modalities. In the absence of potential policy interacting forces from both directions, it only becomes what scholars consider as "policies without publics", which are developed and implemented with a relatively little or no public inputs (May, 1990). In this model, both policy problems and solutions are dominated by technocratic expert opinions, policy discussions largely take place in the backyards of political institutions ((May 1991, 194).

Contrary to conventional wisdom, however, local implementing agents do not simply go for implementation as though docile instruments. Interpretation and understanding of policy provisions by itself is a cognitive process where "implementing agents must first understand what the implementation directive is all about before any action on it" (Spillane *et al.*, 2002: 389). Consequently, the scope and quality of policy implementation depends on what is known as 'sense-making', 'not a simple decoding of the policy message but an active processes of comprehension and process of interpretation that draws on the individual's rich knowledge base of understanding, beliefs, and attitudes' (*Ibid.,* p. 391).

Policymaking process in many of the developing world, including Africa, is more centralized with greater participatory deficits. Most of the underdeveloped countries opt for a top-down approach as the only realistic way where policies remain highly centralized and elitist where there is limited popular participation that could enhance implementation. On the other hand, policy implementation failure is far-reaching: waste of scarce resources; political frustration; and disruption for ordinary citizens (Rahmat, 2015:310).

The second implementation perspective ("bottom-up") is a stark contrast with the implicit assumptions of "forward mapping" or top-down approach. Elmore (1979), one of the key prominent scholars of the bottom-up approach, calls this as "backward mapping", where implementation process and the relevant relationships are mapped backwards. This rejects the top-down approach on the grounds that goals are ambiguous rather than

explicit and may conflict not only with other goals in the same policy area, but also with the norms and motivations of the street-level bureaucrats (Birkland, 2009). The third generation of policy implementation research is known as the "combined" (synthesis) approach, which takes into account the relative strengths and weaknesses of the aforementioned two approaches and synthesizes them into a balanced implementation research generation. In this vein, "implementation is considered as much a matter of negotiation and communication as opposed to a matter of command, where it sometimes is resisted on the grounds of unclear or inconsistent goals with receivers' expectations" (Goggin *et al*., 1990).

2.4 Policy-implementation Dichotomy: causes and challenges

Every year, policies are being formulated and implemented. However, there are always concerns and worries of what is known as the "implementation gap", that implies the difference between what governments promise and their achievements. Failure to implement public policy properly is the reason most cited by almost all public as well as private institutions and stakeholders at various governance levels. This is attributed to the inability of policymakers to formulate clear policy outcomes, inadequate governance mechanisms, and the failure of implementing agents because of limited capacity and vested interests (Spillane, Reiser, & Reimer, 2002: 309-91). While causes for implementation challenges can be numerous and sometimes country and development-specific, Ali (2006) has come with two main explanations for the issue under discussion: *conventional and cognitive accounts*. Common conventional accounts are related to policy goals: unclear or ambitious policy goals are devised whose targets ultimately fall short of their desired outcomes (Ahsan 2003; The World Bank, 1999). But Reimer (2002) and Ali (2006) argue that policy implementation cannot solely be explained through conventional constraints. Success of implementation ultimately depends on the way people perceive, make sense out of it and act on policy provisions.

Hence, Spillane et al., (2002) argue that cognition precedes action and "implementing agents must first understand what the implementation directive is all about before any action on it" (p.389). Implementation problems are believed to be common in many of the developing countries and Ethiopia is no exception to such challenges. Owing to years of centralized governance tradition that lasted for more than a century, most policymaking processes used to adhere to closed networks practices. In consequence, it's argued that few elite groups who are closer to the inner circle greatly influence the policy with much less popular participation. Consequently, a top-down policymaking tradition has been the *modus operandi* of the nation until the emergence of the federal system of governance and the formation of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) in 1995.

However, many scholars (Fekadu, 2016; Tiruye, 2015; Habiba, 2015; Omer, 2014; Biruk, 2014; Dereje, 2012; Taye, 2008; Amdissa, 2008; Mulugeta, 2005; Alemayehu, 2004; and Getahun, 2004), have found out that current popular policy participation level in Ethiopia is not commensurate with the political re-engineering that took place in the country, and the constitutional land mark which assigns roles to all policy actors at all governance levels (Mulugeta 2005; Assefa 2009; and Atsbeha 2012).

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design and Approaches

This study aimed at finding out the causes of policy dichotomy narratives and its implementation challenges in Ethiopia. It employed both descriptive and explanatory research designs to describe and explain the underlying causes of the dichotomy between policy and its implementation as a *'taken-for-granted'* administrative position in most of the mainstream media. The study also used a mixed approach to offset the weaknesses inherent within either of the two approaches (quantitative & qualitative) and to triangulate the findings to arrive at sound conclusions.

3.2 Methods of Data Collection and Sources

Because of the mixed nature of the study, questionnaires (close and open-ended), interviews and document reviews were employed to gather research data. In addition to the empirical data, secondary data were collected from extensively reviewed books, Journals, research outcomes, official government reports, working procedures of the federal and regional councils, the FDRE Constitution, and relevant documents to help triangulate and expound data obtained by the empirical data.

3.3. Population, Sampling Technique, and Sample Size

Policymakers and implementers at both federal and regional levels were part of the population of the study from which samples were drawn. Non-probability sampling technique was applied to purposively select respondents. To this end, relevant federal public institutions, the Parliament, five Regional States (Tigray, Amhara, Oromia, SNNPR and Ethiopia Somali), were purposively selected to explore the extent of policy dichotomy perceptions and the challenges practiced by main policy actors in the country. The selection of four major public sectoral institutions (Education, Health, Agriculture and Finance) was based on the accounts that they have been designing many of the

broad national policies that have been cascaded to regional states having nation-wide implications. The Ministry of Finance and Economic Cooperation (MoFEC) was selected as one of the data sources as it serves as a focal public institution to coordinate policy designs and implementation and reports all sectoral performances to the legislature.

3.4 Sampling Frame and Sample Size

The following figure portrays the sampling unit and sampling size of the study.

No	Sampling Frame	Sample Size/ Number of Participants from Each Sectors									Total Participants
		Agriculture		Education		Health		MoFEC		Parliament/ Regional Councils	
	Federal/Regional States	*M	*E	*M	*E	*M	*E	*M	*E	Chair persons and secretary of Standing Committees'	
1	Federal Government	10	10	10	10	10	10	3	3	6	72
2	Oromia regional State	5	10	5	10	3	10	3	3	6	55
3	Amhara Regional State	5	10	5	10	3	10	3	3	6	55
4	Tigray Regional State	5	10	5	10	3	10	3	3	6	55
5	Ethiopian Somali Regional State	5	10	5	10	3	10	3	3	6	55
6	SNNPR	5	10	5	10	3	10	3	3	6	55
	Total										347

3.5 Data Analysis

Empirical data collected through questionnaires, interviews and official government documents were first organized, analyzed and summarized using descriptive and thematic analyses. In particular, quantitative data collected through questionnaires were coded, processed and analyzed through a Statistical Package for Social Science Version 21 (SPSS 21) Software. Qualitative data were described and used to substantiate findings arrived at from the quantitative data.

3.6 Methodological Norms/ Ethical Considerations

An official letter was written from the ECSU leadership to the sample public institutions, the federal parliament and regional state council offices, mentioning the objective of the study and mentioning names of the researchers so that the former could cooperate with the latter to the success of the research project. Furthermore, a policy of anonymity of respondents' identity was optimally adhered to in order that subjects would not be affected in their career and professional development areas. In responding to the questionnaires, respondents' identity-related information was totally barred to avoid bias or unauthentic responses. As much as possible, data have been carefully analyzed and interpreted to the scope of the study in order to avoid misrepresentation or overrepresentation of situations on the ground.

Description		Frequency N=255	Percent 100
Sex of respondents	F	33	12.9
	M	222	87.1
Educational level of respondents	Diploma	3	1.2
	Bachelor	132	51.8
	Masters	119	46.7
	PhD	1	.4
Year of Experience	1-3	63	24.7
	4-7	77	30.2
	8-10	47	18.4
	11 and above	68	26.7
Current Position of Research Participants	Head of Bureau	2	.8
	Director of Directorate	19	7.5
	Senior Expert	194	76.1
	Junior Expert	28	11.0
	Beginner Expert	12	4.7

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the presentation, discussion and analysis of the data/information/ obtained from respondents and review of official government documents. Questionnaire and interview responses of both federal and regional public sector organizations, parliamentary standing committees, regional states Council Speakers, middle-level public managers, and senior experts have been utilized as source of data presentation, discussion, and analysis. The following Table 1 below shows the demographic characteristics of research respondents.

Table1: Demographic characteristics of respondents

Out of the total 330 questionnaires distributed, 255(77.2%) of the respondents filled in the questionnaire and returned. The rest (22.8 %) of papers were not returned mainly due to tight field work and continuous meetings in all of the study public institutions. From the entire respondents, 222(87.1%) of them are male, while 33(12.9%) of them, female. The profile of respondents shows that 1(0.4%) PhD; 119(46.7%) Masters; 132(51.8%) Bachelor degrees; and 3(1.2%) are Diploma holders respectively.

4.2 Issues Related to Policy-Implementation Dichotomy

Table 2: Belief and practice in policy-implementation dichotomy

Description		Frequency N=255	Percent 100
How much do you believe in the argument that the "policy is good if it is not for its implementation…" views?	Fully agree	97	38.0
	partially agree	95	37.3
	don't agree	61	23.9
	don't know	2	.8
Do you agree to thinking that policy and implementation have to be set as two independent entities (activities)?	Yes, I fully agree	71	27.8
	Yes, I partially agree	78	30.6
	I have no thought about it	16	6.3
	I don't agree with the stand	90	35.3
The policy-implementation dichotomy advocates perspective is solely policy- centered and top-down approach.	Strongly Agree	21	8.2
	Agree	51	20
	Neutral	111	43.5
	Disagree	56	22.0
	Strongly Disagree	16	6.3
Policies do not achieve their goals because implementers do not comply with center's implementation guide line	agree	149	58.4
	disagree	106	41.6

As indicated in Table 2, item one respondents were asked if they share the apparent policy dichotomy view of the mainstream, in reference to the implementation challenges and practice. The response shows that 75.3% (38% and 37.3 %) of them fully and partially agree to the notion respectively. On the other hand, 23.9 % of the respondents confirmed not to agree with the statement, implying that there could also be a problem at the initial

stage of the policymaking process in many forms (e.g. not conducting informative policy analysis, unable to make implementation stakeholders on board while making public policies, etc.). The fact that majority of the respondents (75.3%) favorably agreed to the policy dichotomy view under discussion may not be a surprise as it has nowadays become an organizing political as well as administrative principle of the nation. As can be seen in the proceeding part of this study, this deeply-entrenched belief has contributed not only to low level of policy implementation quagmire that the country is grappling with but also blocks ways for critical self-assessment and policy innovations.

On the other hand, whether or not the same dichotomous view is also shared by the federal parliament (HPRs), a participant interview was carried out with members of a three-standing committee purposively selected on the basis of accessibility to the researchers. Their response confirms that they do not believe in the exclusiveness of policy and its implementation by stating the following: "policy and implementation could not be seen as independent of (distinct) of each other". However, the parliamentarians at the same time have expressed doubts and reservations that 'once a policy has been legitimated by the House, it will have to be automatically implemented and the desired results, attained'. This implies that there is still a tacit dichotomous view, though as parliamentarians it may be a risk to admit it for they are responsible in both cases when it comes to implementation. It can, therefore, be inferred from the responses obtained that the implementation end of the scale is left to 'others', who would have the desire as well as the power to "make or break" the policy over which the parliament has no power.

Regional state council respondents (Speakers of the House in particular) also have quite similar views, but with only few exceptions. They share more or less the above view that the implementation end and implementers are the 'causes for policy mal-implementation'. This vividly confirms that the policy-implementation dichotomy appears a settled common understanding among higher government officials and their immediate heads of public institutions. Despite being in such high profile and also relatively closer to policy matters, they subscribe to the entrenched policy dichotomy position spearheaded by the policy and political elites. The view is also a clear manifestation of the traditional top-down approach where policy implementation is looked at from its goal and strategies perspective, from a single location or statute and authoritative statement of the policy (Goggin, *et al*., 1990).

In the same Table, respondents were also inquired if they agree to the view that policy and implementation are two independent entities, for which majority of the respondents (27, 8% and 30.6%) confirmed with "fully" and "partially" agree respectively. While the dichotomy position still remains strong, 35. 5% of the respondents declined it and 6.3 % of the respondents did not have the idea to comment on the subject under discussion. On the other hand, the fact that about more than half of the "disagree" camp declined the dichotomy view shows that there is at least doubt of the credibility of the belief on the same subject. This latter group of respondents might be those who have witnessed the mismatch between policy and implementation due mainly to the implementation strategy laid out at the outset of the policymaking process.

Some consulted parliamentarians and high profile government officials, who are also staunch supporters of the policy-implementation dichotomy view, argue that "thinking otherwise may be interpreted as 'betrayal' (emphasis added), despite the obvious policy implementation challenges". In consequence, most core policy actors, including higher government officials, preferred often to be argumentative, dismissive, and at the same time ambivalent about the subject under discussion.

Contrary to the view thus far discussed, however, most policy scholars do not accept the policy-implementation dichotomy theoretical position on the grounds that it is not a professional approach; it's a 'traditional' model and belief. According to Parsons (2001), the traditional policy model is a stagist approach which sees policymaking process as moving through a series of rational stages or steps beginning with problems and ending with implementation and evaluation. The scholar further argues that approaching policymaking as series of sequential steps tempts policymakers to 'leave' (emphasis added) thinking about some stages, such as implementation and evaluation, *until late in the process (*emphasis added*)* whenever they begin thinking of designing a public policy (Cabinet office, 1999).

The point of view of some middle and top-level government officials who were consulted for this study strongly emphasized that it's only the implementation end of the scale that is the main challenge. One of the respondents went in defense of the on-going (operating) public policies as there is no "force majeure" to change or review them. A similar idea was aired in one of the interview sessions in SNNPR in which the policy dichotomy view was defended against any change as follows:

The policies so far put in place have brought about fundamental changes in the entire nation including in SNNPR that we see today… changes in the area of education, rural road and electrification, water supply and related infrastructures, etc. are the outcomes of the policies designed for the nation (SNNPR Megabit 29-07-2009). The basis of the above argument is crystal clear to imply, as "what else more do you want?" In doing so, both parliamentarians and top-level executives are inadvertently distancing implementation from their quarters in order not be held accountable in cases where such concerns comes into light. Such beliefs have been boldly

reflected by members of the parliament standing committee who participated in the participant interview as follows:

> … In Ethiopia, most policies that are endorsed by the House in the last two and half decades can be said well-designed and bear fruition by changing the life of the people. The problems that arise 'here and there' (emphasis added) are persistently seen during their implementation.
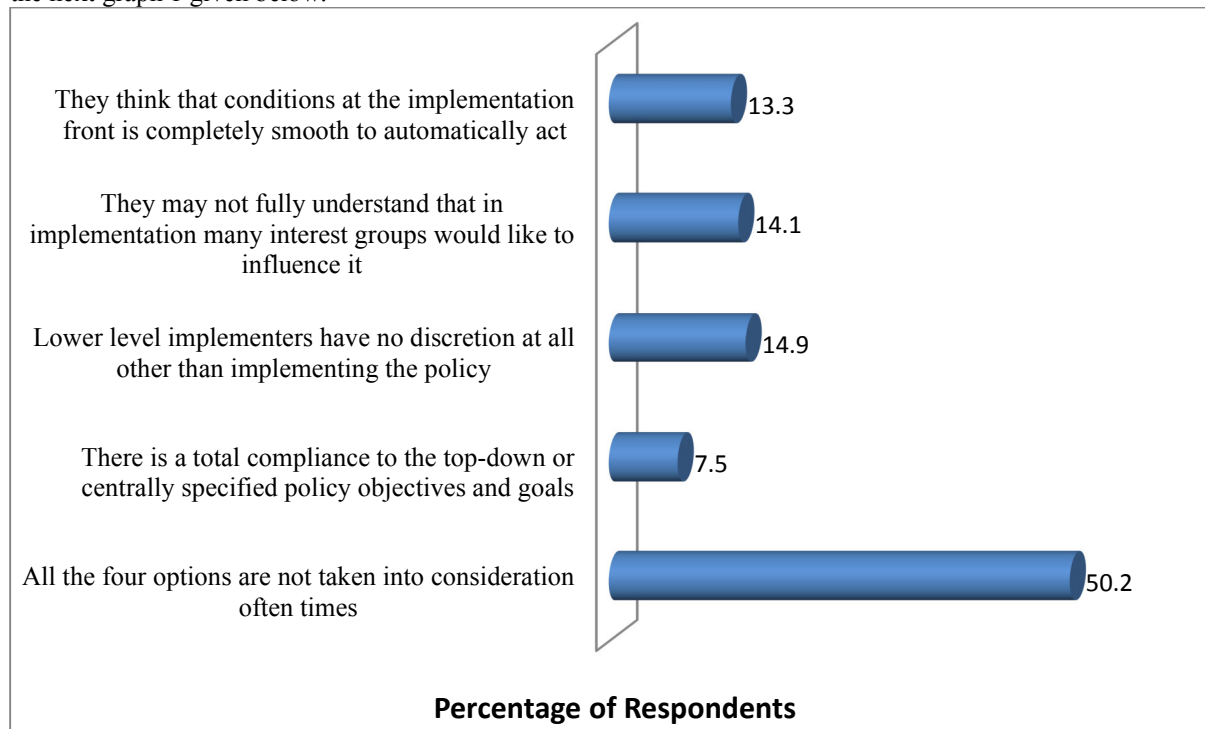
Hence, what keeps resonating now and again is that it's the implementation stage and the implementers who are both the 'culprits'. Neither the executives who formulate the policies nor the parliamentarians who approve them are "not responsible" for the mal-implementation that the larger public is always expressing implicitly and explicitly its resentments in many forms.

Similarly, under Table two, item four, question items were put forward to find out if respondents prove or disprove that implementers have to comply with centrally designed implementation guideline. As can be seen, majority (58.4%) of the respondents made clear their position and agreed to the proposition, while 41.6% of them disagreed. These two competing views can be explained from the data. First, many policymakers in Ethiopia value to comply with a single and centrally set implementation guideline, regardless of the realities on the ground. Such temptations may originate from long years of centralized public policy practices and implementation traditions. Despite that, however, federalism is put in place to address diverse needs and policy environments. However, many policymakers in the country still subscribe to a top-down policymaking approach, including implementation.

Such a 'straightjacket' policymaking and implementation approach is not only the antithesis of federalism but its outcome is also that of ineffective implementation. Furthermore, it undermines the discretion and innovation of the lower level governance to bring about effective policy implementation. Second, a look at the figure also shows that a considerable portion of respondents declined the view that 'it's due to implementers' non-compliance that results in poor implementation outcomes'. Again, this category of respondents seem to oppose the aforementioned mainstream gross judgment held that "… it is the implementation…" blame shift without making deeper and sound analysis of the issue as to how the implementation strategy was thought out and designed at the policy inception.

4.3 Issues Frequently Underrated by Policymakers at the Center

Whether pursuing federal or unitary governance, most policy locus is at the center. The assumption behind is that the federal (central) or state government has the obligation to fulfill the commitments they entered to deliver to the electorate. Nevertheless, scholars believe that there are issues that policymakers at the center fail to pay attention while designing public policies. To this end, respondents were made to verify statements to hold true in the next graph 1 given below.

They think that conditions at the implementation front is completely smooth to automatically act — 13.3

They may not fully understand that in implementation many interest groups would like to influence it — 14.1

Lower level implementers have no discretion at all other than implementing the policy — 14.9

There is a total compliance to the top-down or centrally specified policy objectives and goals — 7.5

All the four options are not taken into consideration often times — 50.2

Percentage of Respondents

As can be seen in Graph one, there are five descriptive statements to which respondents have to indicate their level of importance. The first statement deals with the assumption that policymakers at the center believe,

"conditions at the implementation point (front) are fully smooth and automatic", for which 13.3% endorsed it. The responses clearly indicate that such assumptions only exist in the minds of unwise or naive policymakers where outcomes are far lower than expected. Moreover, in a bid to know if there is 'total compliance' with the top-down or centrally specified policy goals and objectives, only 7.5% of the respondents are attracted to the same.

This response is starkly revealing that a one-sided policy implementation is quite difficult, if not totally impossible. However, a little more than half (50.2%) of the respondents confirmed that all of the four statements are commonplace oversights by policymakers. Hence, looking at the first, third and fourth responses together, it can easily be inferred that a number of policymakers in Ethiopia seem to be both naïve and tend to lose sight of the significant factors that affect policy implementation on the ground. In consequence, it can be argued that the frequent policy implementation deficits heard are not without reason.

But for effective implementation, necessary prerequisites have to be put in place. The following Graph (2) depicts how much implementation readiness is put into account.
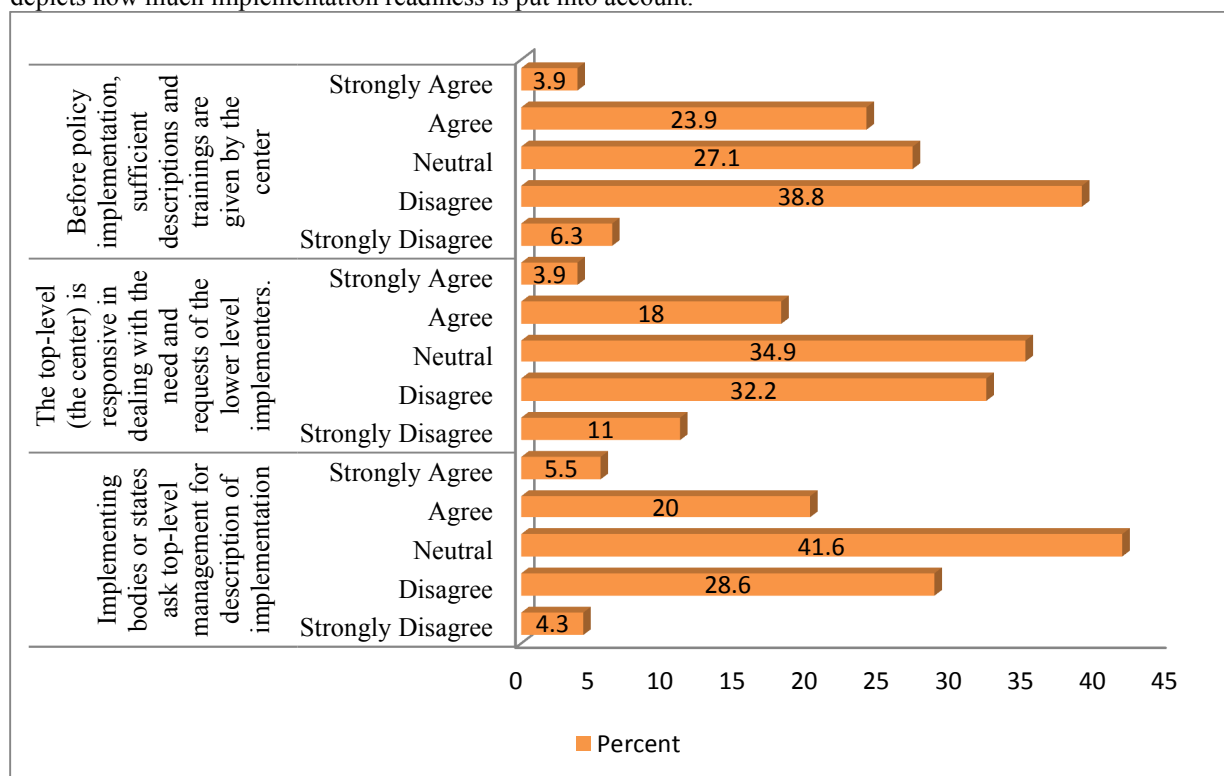
Items stated in Graph 2 require respondents of the degree of their agreement or disagreement as it relates to the practices of providing sufficient descriptions about a policy to be implemented and if it is also accompanied by training program that enhances implementation. To this end, 6.3 % and 38.3% of the respondents confirmed that they strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively. Those who broadly agreed constitute 27.8% of the respondents together, while 27.1% of them remained neutral.

Although one cannot be sure the intentions of the groups who remained neutral, it can be argued that clear and official working guideline, implementation descriptions and training programs are not always the *modus operandi* of policy implementation at least in the study institutions and regional states. This can be considered as one of the causal factors for the frequent policy implementation deficits reports in Ethiopia. According to Weaver (2009), although many implementation challenges can be predicated in advance, the fact that policymakers (legislators) often pay little attention when policies or programs are enacted is the root cause of the implementation plethora.

In item 2 of the same graph, 43.2% of the respondents declined or disproved, while 21.9% of them affirmed. But a considerable number of respondents (34.9%) chose to remain neutral. It's, however, clear from the findings that the policy-implementation dichotomy is quite dominant by distinctly demarcating the two groups of respondents into policymaking and implementation. Interviews conducted with regional states' middle-level managers and senior experts have also confirmed this reality where most of them consented that the relations between the center and subnational level of conceptualization of policy and its implementation is not to the level desired. Respondents at subnational level characterize their counterparts at center as 'rigid' and with a "know all" attitudes rather than attending to practical implementation options proposed by front-line implementers. As a result, instead of forging cooperative and collegial implementation attitudes, inadvertent coercive and

confrontational atmosphere seems to dominate the relations between the two parties.

The third item in the same graph was to find out if lower implementing bodies (states and local) can ask the top-level management bodies for further descriptions (explanations) as to how to go about implementation. Respondents seem to have been divided along the practices and on-going rule of the game. Similar to item two, a considerable number of respondents (41.6%) chose to remain neutral which is close to half and to be a concern. As these are both middle-level public managers and senior experts who are much closer to policy implementation activities, it is difficult to think that this is due to lack of knowledge rather a matter of uncertainty of the subject under consideration. Lack of certainty can be construed as lack of the two essential inputs or services (explanations and trainings). Moreover, the 32.9% of respondents who proved to disagree to the statement also adds to the lack of attention to the two main factors that have relevant bearing with implementation.

Since implementation is unintentionally regarded 'the sole duty of the lower level of governance', the center may unintentionally think that the lower level governance tier have to come up with the 'beef', implying the dire obligation to unconditionally comply with what is once said and written at the top. A study by Harrison (2002) shows that the policy-implementation dichotomy in Ethiopia is not only vivid but the center and state level also do not have harmonious relationships toward policy implementation. Consequently, the author witnessed a gap between the two levels in her discussion with one policy informant in Addis Ababa whose centralist entrenched views was quoted as follows: "We generate policy, so implementation is not our business" (Harrison, 2002:603). There is no more confirmation than the respondent who represents the center and whose views or attitudes of mutual exclusivity may be shared by others, between policy and its implementation.
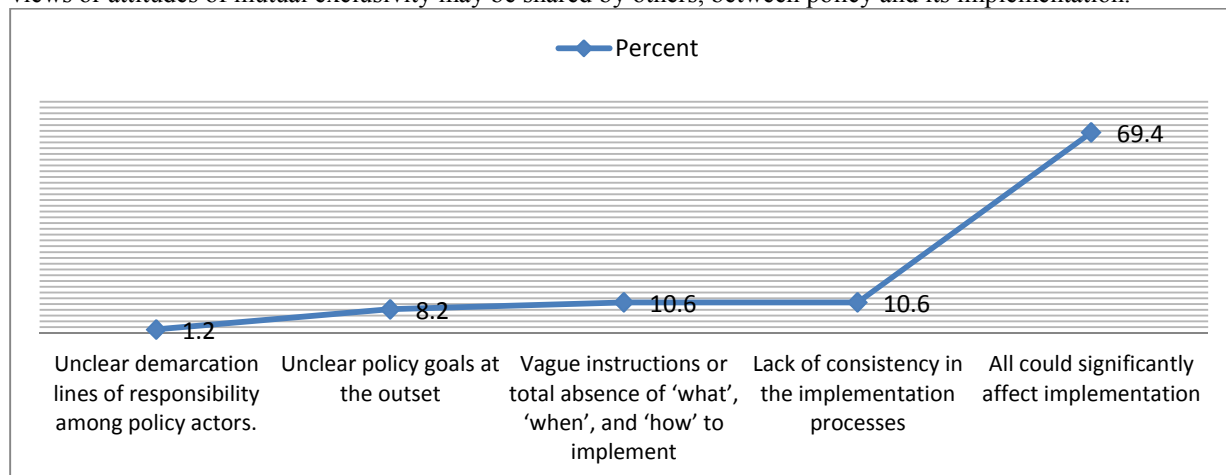
Graph 3: Factors greatly affecting policy implementation processes

As can be seen in graph 3, unclear policy goals at the outset, vague instructions such as lack of 'what', 'when', and 'how', and inconsistency in the implementation processes were favored by 29.4% of the respondents. However, a great majority of respondents (69.4%) have concluded all of the factors to impede effective implementation. Indeed, almost all implementation scholars have similar views and consensus as clarity of goals is one of the essential elements of effective implementation. Consequently, Keats (2007) is of the view that, "*failing to articulate clear and measurable goals for a project is often the first in chain of errors that includes poor information infrastructure, a failure to measure progress, and an inability to demonstrate to funding agencies and policymakers that their money has yielded tangible results*"(p.2).

Table 3: Flexibility, duties and accountability, networks and coordination

| Descriptions		Frequency N=255	Percent 100
Lack of flexible approach is one possible reason for poor policy implementation.	Strongly Disagree	1	.4
	Disagree	31	12.2
	Neutral	40	15.7
	Agree	143	56.1
	Strongly Agree	40	15.7
Implementation challenges are the results of absence of clear and detail duties and accountability guidelines	Strongly Disagree	20	7.8
	Disagree	42	16.5
	Neutral	27	10.6
	Agree	108	42.4
	Strongly Agree	58	22.7
One aspect of policy implementation challenges is lack of creating network governance stakeholders' consultations and coordinating multiple actors to be on board for implementation.	Strongly Disagree	3	1.2
	Disagree	32	12.5
	Neutral	9	3.5
	Agree	89	34.9
	Strongly Agree	122	47.8

In Table 3, item 1, those who confirmed 'agree' and 'strongly agree' responses comprise of the majority (71.8%), implying that there is lack of implementation flexibility. On the other hand, 12.6% of the respondents generally disagreed, while 15.7% of them remained neutral. The overall implication succinctly shows that policies and their implementation guidelines are designed without implementation alternatives which result in much lower outcomes than expected. This is quite common especially in a top-down policymaking process where rigid implementation guidelines are sent down and implementers are made to adhere, without taking into account of realities operating on the ground. It can, therefore, be inferred that since policy implementation modality in the country is largely led by such strict "one-size-fits-all" policy, implementation failures are partly attributable to the former.

Induced by long centralized traditions, some central public institutions pass strict and water-tight implementation guidelines to be adhered to, regardless of diverse human, geographic and climatic factors in the country. At times, subnational level implementers do not also question the strict top-down guidelines with the fear of "obstruction" (ማደናቀፍ) labels and with the assumption that it is the center's decision that always "prevails" at the end. As a result, there is no leeway or alternate implementation avenue. On the other hand, scholars argue against such "one-size-fits-all" attitudes. For instance, Payne (2008) argues that looking only for general solutions and not acknowledging particular contexts can lead to incoherent implementation efforts. The scholar further upholds the view that successful implementation can only be achieved when there is coherence, stability, peer support, training, and engagement of all the concerned.

Spillane et al., (2002) argue that contrary to general assumptions, local implementing agencies do not simply act on policy provision by the center like "docile bodies" (p. 389). Rather, they interpret the policy and try to work out the practical demands that the policy puts on them before acting on it (interpretation and understanding of policy provisions which is a cognitive process). This makes cognition or 'sense-making' to precede real action (implementation). On the other hand, policy implementation in a federal system is believed to provide flexible way of dealing with for both center and subnational levels. However, owing to the age-old policy centralization traditions, there is always resentment and half-hearted participation at subnational levels as implementation guidelines sometimes out-step governance jurisdictions. This in turn induces resistance on the part of immediate front-line implementers in a way top-downers may not notice of its final repercussions.

Accountability is one of the principles of good governance. However, common implementation practices in Ethiopia tend to show that there is lack of clear-cut accountability attached to policy implementation and its consequences. Respondents were made to provide their views on the same subject and the following table depicts the response as portrayed in the next graph.

Graph 4: Level of implementation accountability
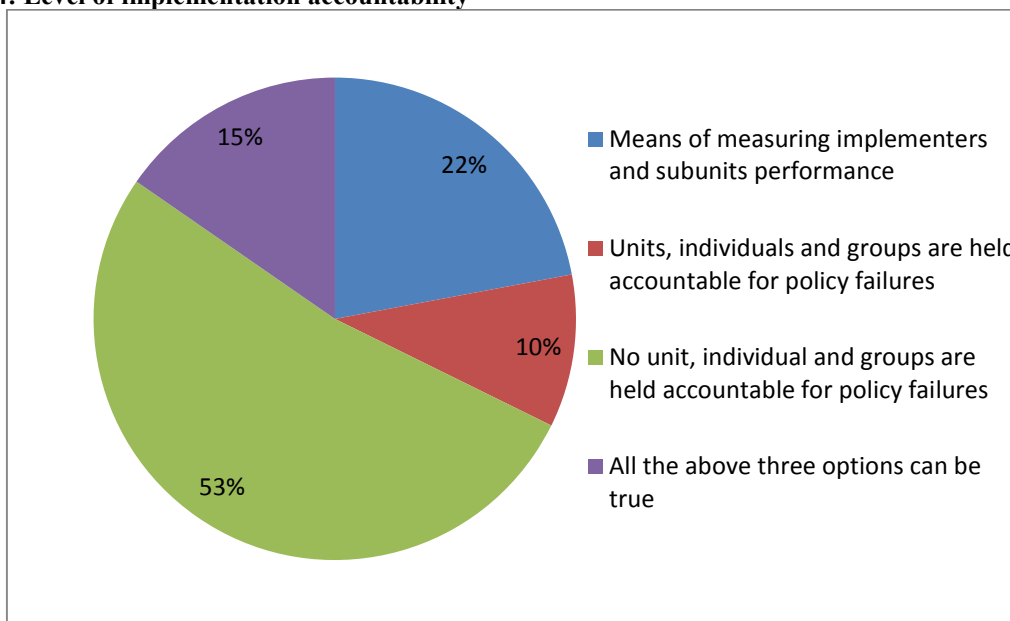
From the Graph(4) above, 53% of the respondents confirmed absence of mechanism put in place for holding the above units or persons accountable, while 10 % of them affirmed the opposite. Almost all interview participants, including those in higher government echelons, are also of the view that there is no concrete accountability against policy implementation failure or failing to deliver services; it "is not a serious subject and common trend" in the country. The interviewees further explained that the maximum that public managers or political leaders face as a result of implementation failure is "removal from current position", and the modest explanations are that they are "not able to lead", "low capacity" (*beaqim manes*), and related attributes instead of being determined and "sharp" to identify persons or institutions to account for their failures. Respondents further added that the dramatic scene seen during such instances is that "after a while, sacked leaders are found to be re-assigned in higher level of governance positions which could be interpreted as a 'reward' rather than facing concrete and itching disciplinary measures".

The response of one of the Speakers of the House, however, emphasized the fact that the people have come to a level where they clearly began to talk about the leadership and their failures as follows:

As of recent, people have begun to openly speak and are determined not to tolerate the "unfulfilled promises" by some persons in the leadership position on the grounds that they (persons in the leadership) 'always promise to correct their mistakes but remain in vein'. As a result, people do not want them to continue in the leadership position. This can pave the way for realizing policy accountability in public institutions (an excerpt from a full interview dated 25/07/2009 E. C. in one of the study regional states).

In the interview conducted with the three standing committees of the FDRE House of People's Representatives (HPRs), it was revealed that after evaluating the performance of the executive branches, "the only thing it can do is reporting the findings to the Prime Minister. This is communicated through the Speaker of the House". Though the FDRE constitution stipulates that the executive is accountable to the House, it is not clear why the Prime Minister has to take measures over the executive for its poor implementation records.

5. CONCLUSION

The policy dichotomy and its challenges to implementation is largely felt and practiced in Ethiopia. This entrenched outlook has also created two main policy loci which are mutually exclusive. It also nurtured that a policy always transcends and at most 'eternal'. In the Ethiopian political discourses, such views are also enunciated by top government officials where policies are generously labeled as *"zementeshagari"*, to imply sustain beyond the present, emulated by the mainstream media. This precludes accountability to policy implementation deficits and also closes the window of change in the face of rapid socio-economic and political dynamism to which public policies are subservient.

The policy-implementation dichotomy perception has also tacitly created two extreme policy loci (policymaking and policy implementation), where each of them is given a separate package and agency. Unfortunately, such dichotomous notions divide policy actors disregarding policy process as a continuum. Attempts to create dichotomy also pave ways for escaping accountability while as a prime agent, government cannot shirk responsibility when policy goals not are achieved. While most public institutions produce flowery implementation performance reports, it is, however, common to see and hear from the mainstream media that

almost all reports presented to the House of People's Representatives (HPRs) are caught between arguments and counter-arguments where institutional performances are either far behind the set goals and some in their beginning stages but millions and billions of public resources have been spent as indicated by the Auditor General Office's financial audit findings featured in bold on the daily Addis Zemen as follows:

More than 763 million Birr has been found as deficits; more than 5.2 billion Birr accounts are not settled; more than 1 billion Birr revenue has not been collected; and more than 1 billion birr bank interest has been paid for the fertilizer factory whose construction is not complete (Addis Zemen 76th Year No. 263, *'Rebui'* (Wednesday,'Ginbot' 23/2009).

The implication of the above is crystal clear; accountability is loose where policy implementers are not held to account for any failure or short of expectations. One more recent testimonial report by Policy Research Institute (PRI) is presented as follows:

> *The level of accountability measures in failing to accomplish entrusted public office is as follows: For the leadership, the punishment made is to remove from one position or place to another… Since the leadership believes that he/she will be assigned in other post or place, he does not mind (fear) of facing accountability (PRI 2016, as translated from Amharic).*

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Public policies emanate from prevailing needs and are thought to be purposeful and target-oriented. To respond to target needs, policy goals and objectives have to be clear and understood by stakeholders in order to have receptive targets who can actively take part in the implementation process.

Policymakers and implementing agencies at various stages should understand that success of a given policy depends on coherent and conscious consent of groups, coalition of partners within and outside of an agency, ministry or department to ensure the essential principle of "policy with publics".

2. Pursuing a federal system of governance, where diverse needs have to be taken into account, flexibility and discretionary power has to be allowed for innovation and creativity to the implementation process at subnational level. This discourages the "one-size-fits-all" subnational implementation strategies to the detriment of a policy in question.

3. Moving away from the age-old centralized policy legacies, there is a need to do away with the temptation of failing to consider the present sociopolitical context (federalism) of the country. It is, therefore, recommended to democratize the entire policy process where stakeholders (governmental and non-governmental) at all levels widely take part in order that negotiation and pluralistic policy approach will prevail over the technocratic and elitist approaches now seem to dominate the policy landscape in Ethiopia.

4. From the study, it was concluded that there are instances where policy implementation gaps have been indicated by the respondents. While the causes could vary depending on the existing realities in each governance levels, lack of dedication and accountability were identified in the current policy implementation processes and achieving set goals and objectives. In response, there have to be clear compliance with norms and sound accountability to be realized.

5. Most policy implementation gaps have been attributed to what are known as 'conventional constraints', that are related to lack of clarity of goals, governance structures, resources, etc. But the cognitive aspect of implementers has nowadays become clear and integral part of the constraints which call for attending to the neuro-cognitive needs of implementers. To this end, planned and merit-based incentive packages have to be in place to motivate implementers on the front-line (grass-root levels)

6. Many respondents believed that most policies that have been put in place nearly two decades back have not been evaluated and revised. This has led to a situation where popular grievances are brewed up and result in undesirable consequences. It is, therefore, important that the government frequently assess, evaluate and revise public policies to fit for purpose and avoid likely political back lashes due to lack of relevance.

SELECTED REFERENCES

Ahmed, Iyanda K. and Dantata, Bello S. 2016. Problems and challenges of policy implementation for national development. Kano (Nigeria): Research on Humanities and Social Sciences Vol. 6, No.15, 2016

Ali, Sajid. 2006. Why does policy fail? Understanding the problems of policy implementation in Pakistan- a neurocognitive perspective, Aga Khan University, Institute for Educational Development

Anderson, James E. 1997. Public policymaking: an introduction (3rd edn). Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company

Assefa Fiseha. 2009. Legislative-Executive Relations in the Ethiopian Parliamentary System: Towards Institutional and legal reform, Addis Ababa

Atsbeha Aregawi. 2012. The Practice of Policy Making Process in Ethiopia. The case of HPR. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University (Master's Thesis)

Bardach, E. 1977.The Implementation Game: What Happens After a Bill Becomes a Law. Cambridge: The MIT Press

Biruk Shewakana. 2014. Public policymaking in Post-1991 Ethiopia: The Case of Land-Lease Policy. MA Thesis, AAU

Bolaji, Stephen D. and Gray, Jan R. 2015. Why do policies fail in Nigeria? Journal of Education & Social Policy, Vol.2, NO. 5: November 2015

deLeon, Peter and deLeon, Linda. 2002. Whatever Happened to Policy Implementation? An Alternative Approach. http: // J-Part. Oxford Journal. org at D.H Hill Library

deLeon, P.1977. Democracy and the policy sciences. Albany, NY: SUNY Press

Dereje Terefe. 2016. Imperatives of Multicultural education in Ethiopia: Reflection on awareness, practices, and challenges in our Higher Learning Institutions. Journal of Culture, Society and Development, Vol. 22, 2016

-------------------- 2016. Policy mandates and practices in a federal system: The case of Oromia National Regional State (Caffee). Lambert Academic publishing

--------------------2015. Assessment of Wereda Policy Implementation Capacity: Opportunities and Challenges (The case of selected Wereda Administrations in Yeka Sub-city, Addis Ababa

----------------------2012. Policy Practice and challenges in Ethiopia. Lambert Academic Publishing Company

Dye, Thomas R. 1987.Understanding public policy. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Domhoff, G. W. 1990. The power elite and the state: How policy is made in America. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Egonmwan, J. A. 1991. Public Policy An analysis: Concepts and Applications, Benin City: S.M.O. Aka and Brothers Press Focus on Citizens: Public Engagement for better policy and services. 2009. Executive Summary: OECD

Elmore, R.F. 1987. 'Instruments and Strategy in Pubic Policy'. Policy Studies Review 7 (1): 174-186

----------- 1982. "Backward Mapping: Implementation Research and Policy Decision" in Williams (ed.) Studying Implementation

--------- 1978. "Organizational Models of Social Program Implementation" in Public Policy, Vol. 26, No. 2: 185-228

Ginsberg, B. 1986. The captive public: How mass opinion promotes state power. NY: B. Books Gramberger, Marc. 2001. Citizens as Partners. OECD: OECD Handbook on information Consultation and public participation on policy-making

Goggin, ML. 1986. The 'Too Few Cases/too Many Variables' Problem in Implementation Research. Political Research Quarterly 39: 328-347

Goggin, M. L., Bowman, A. O., Lester, James P. & O' Toole, L.J. (1990). Implementation theory and practice: Toward a third generation. New York: Harper- Collins

Grindle, M.S. 1980. Politics and Policy Implementation in the Third World. NJ: Princeton University Press

Harrison, Elizabeth. 2002. The problem with the Locals' Partnership and Participation in Ethiopia. Development and Change 33(4): 587-610. Institute of Social Studies, UK: Blackwell Publishers

Hill, M.J and Hupe, P. L. 2009. Implementing Public Policy:: An Introduction to the Study of Operational Governance, 2nd edn. London: SAGE

Hupe, Peter L. 2011. The thesis of incongruent implementation: revisiting Pressman and Wildavsky. Rotterdam: Erasmus University

Ingram, H.M & Mann, D. E. (eds), 1980. Why Policies succeed or Fail. Beverly Hills: Sage

Lester, James P. and Goggin, Malcolm L. 1998. Back to the future: The rediscovery of Implementation Studies. The University of New Mexico Institute for Public Policy: Newsletter of the public policy section American Political Science Association

Lipsky, Michael. 1980. Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the individual in Public Services. New York: Russell Sage Foundation

----------- 1971. Street-Level Bureaucracy and the Analysis of Urban Reform". Urban Affairs Quarterly 6: 391-409.

Makinde, J. Taiwo. 2005. Problems of Policy Implementation in Developing Nations: The Nigerian Experience. Journal of Social Sciences, 11 (1): 63-69 (20050)

Makinde, J. Taiwo. 2003. The Implementation of the better life and family support programmes and women's empowerment in Osun State, Nigeria: Department of Public Administration, Obafemi Awolowo University of Machiavelli, N. (1995). The Prince, D. Wootton (ed. and trans). Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing

Matland, Richard E. 1995. :Synthesizing the implementation Literature: The Ambiguity Conflict Model of Policy Implementation. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 5:2:145-74

May, Peter J. 1993. Mandate Design and Implementation: Enhancing Implementation Efforts and Shaping Regulatory Styles. Journal of Policy Analysis and management 124 (4): 634-663

--------1991. Reconsidering policy design: Policies and publics. Journal of Public Policy, Vol.11, No. 2 (Apr.-June., 1991), pp. 187-206

May, Peter J. and Winter, Soren C. 2007. Politicians, managers, and street-level bureaucrats: influences on policy implementation. Advance Access Publication: Oxford University Press

Mulugeta Abebe. 2005. A Critical assessment of institutions, roles and leverage in public policymaking in Ethiopia, 1974-2004 (PhD Dissertation), University of Stellenbosch (S.A)

Ndah, Anthony Banyouko. 2010. Public policy and inappropriateness in Africa: Causes, Consequences and the way forward. Xiamen University: Coastal and Ocean. Management Institute COMI)

Nwagboso, Chris, I. 2012. Public Policy and the Challenges of Policy Evaluation in the Third World. British Journal of humanities and Social sciences, April 2012, Vol. 5 91)

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). 2009. Focus on Citizens: Public Engagement for better policy and services- ISBN 978-92-64-04886-7

---------- 2002. Citizens as Partners: Engaging Citizens in policy-making. Public Governance and territorial Development-OECD

-----------2001. Engaging Citizens in Policymaking: Information, Consultation and Public participation. OECD Public Management(PUMA) Policy Brief No. 10. Page, Benjamin I., and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1983. Effects of Public Opinion on Policy. American Political Science Review 77: 175-90.

O' Toole, Laurence J. Jr. 2000. "Research on Policy Implementation: Assessment and Prospects." Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 20: 263-88

----------1986. Policy Recommendations for Multi-actor implementation: An Assessment of the Field. Journal of Public Policy 6 (2): 181-210

-----------1986. 'Policy Recommendations for Multi-Actor Implementation: An Assessment of the Field'. Journal of Public Policy 6 (2):181-210.

O'Toole, Laurence J. Jr and Montjoy, Roberts S. 1984 "Intergovernmental Policy Implementation: A Theoretical Perspective". Public Administration Review 44: 6: 491-503

Parsons, W. 1995. Public policy: An Introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar

Peters, B. G., & Pierre, J. 1998. Governance without government? Rethinking public administration. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, 8 (2), 223-243.

Pateman, C. 1970. Participation and Democratic Theory. Cambridge: Cambridge University Powell, B. 2000. Elections as Instruments of Democracy- Majoritarian and proportional Visions. New Haven CT: Yale University Press

Payne, Charles M. 2008. So much reform, so little change: The Persistence of failure in Urban schools. Boston: Harvard Education Press.

Rahmat, Afifa Aisha. 2015. Policy Implementation: Process and Problems. Aligarm Muslim University. Internal Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research. ISSN 2348-3164, Vol. 3, Issue 3, pp: (306-311)

Pressman, J. and Wildavsky A. 2011. Policy Implementation. Public Administration Issues

Pressman, J. &Wildavsky, A. 1984. Implementation: How Great Expectations in Washington Are dashed in Oakland: or, Why it is Amazing that the federal Programs Work All, Charless Cole, III Book Review

Sabatier, Paul and Mazmaiman. 1980. The Implementation of Public Policy: A Framework of Analysis. Policy Studies journal, 8 (2): 538-560.

Spillane, J, P., Reiser, B.J., and Reimer, T. 2002. Policy Implementation and Cognition Reframing and refocusing implementation research. Review of Educational Research, 72 (3), 387-431

Surel, Y. 2000. The role of cognitive and normative frames in policymaking. .Journal of European Public Policy, 7 (4), 495-512.

Tiruye Alemu. 2015. Policymaking practice and challenges of the House of Peoples' Representative (HPR). Journal of Public policy and Administration Research. ISSN 2224-5731. Vol. No.1.

Tummers, L.G & Bekkers, V.J.J. M. 2014. Policy Implementation, Street-level bureaucracy and the importance of discretion. Erasmus University: Public Management Review, 16(4), 527-547

Walshaw, Margaret and Anthony Glenda.2007. Policy Implementation: Integrating the Personal and the Social. Mathematics Teacher Education Development. Special Issue 2007, Vol. 8, 5-22.

Weaver, Kent R.2020.But will it work? Implementation analysis to improve government performance. Governance Studies at BROOKINGS: Issues in Governance Studies,(Number 32/2010)

Wildavsky, Aaron. 1975. If planning is everything, maybe it's nothing. In A.P Johnston & J. F. McNamara (Eds.), Planning Perspectives for Education (pp 267-287). New York: MSS Information Corporation

World Bank. 2000.World Development Report 2000/2001: attacking poverty, NY: WB