



Research Paper

# Anticipatory Measures for Policy Success: Beyond the Crafting of the National Social Protection Policy in Nigeria

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**ABSTRACT:** There is a growing enthusiasm and increasing demands for social protection policy in Nigeria. Although there is now a draft National Social Protection Policy (NSPP) in Nigeria, the apparent inherent contradictory or centrifugal tendencies that characterised the crafting of the NSPP must be carefully managed and resolved, especially at the implementation phase to guarantee the realisation of policy success. Informed by these antecedents, anticipatory measures for policy success must be deliberately put in place in advance and meticulously followed during the implementation phase. Four of such anticipatory measures are identified here in this policy action oriented article.

**Keywords:** Social protection, anticipatory framework, anticipatory measures, social protection policy, policy success and risks.

## I. INTRODUCTION

A draft National Social Protection Policy (NSPP) is officially available in Nigeria and in the process of being gazetted and ultimately given a legal status (FMBNP, 2016). It has come as a bold response to the quests for redistributive mechanisms within a policy framework that empowers the hitherto excluded individuals and groups and guarantees a life of dignity for all citizens (Ukpong, 2016; 2013). Social protection is recognised in Nigeria as an emerging development framework with a comprehensive capacity to address issues of exclusions, risks, vulnerabilities and deprivations while ensuring a minimum standard of livelihood and wellbeing for all citizens as right and entitlement. The appeal of social protection is summarised in the Table below:

**Table:** The Matrix of Strength of Social Protection

| Functions (Achieve)  | Goals (Address)   |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ensure Income To Allow People Leave Poverty And Protect The Vulnerable People From Falling Into It.</li> <li>• Facilitate Access To Social Services (Health, Education, Housing, Food, Security, Etc.) And Social Promotion Policies (Labour, Training, Financing, Etc.)</li> <li>• Promote Life Of Dignity (Decent Work, Pension)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Income poverty and vulnerability</li> <li>• Access to social services</li> <li>• Access to promotion policies</li> <li>• Informality (lack of security)</li> <li>• Inequality (income and social groups)</li> <li>• Pro-poor growth (development impact)</li> <li>• Security of life and property</li> </ul> |

**Source:** Adapted from Martinez (2015) and Ukpong, (2013; 2016).

The popularity of social protection in Nigeria is also growing. With the facilitation of international development partners, notably UNICEF Nigeria and support from the World Bank, the draft NSPP has been produced at the national level. A second generation of interest is being spawned aimed at cascading the national experience and gains to the state and local government levels. Currently, Save the Children Nigeria is facilitating the design of state specific social protection policies for Jigawa and Zamfara States in the North West Geo-Political zone of Nigeria. Osun State Government is showing interest in the development of its social protection policy and has approached UNICEF Nigeria and the relevant national institution, Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research (NISER) for technical assistance in this direction. Many more informal approaches and tapings by other States in Nigeria for the production of their social protection policies have been noted. It is expected that the number of States that will formally embark on the development of their specific social protection policies will increase once NSPP is adopted by the Federal Executive Council (FEC) expectedly, at the end of this year. The enthusiasm and demands by states were unmistakably recorded during the zonal

revalidation meetings with the 36 states on the NSPP. The expanding acceptability and relevance of social protection in Nigeria is consistent with the trend in the developing world (Adata and Bassett, 2012).

The draft NSPP may appear common place and ready to fulfil its objectives now that it has been produced. However, taken alongside and having cognizance of the challenges against which it was produced, it becomes constraining to give regards or consideration to the implications of those challenges on the success and sustainability of the policy at its next phase of implementation.

As the history of designing Social Protection Policy in Nigeria clearly demonstrates, the initial attempt at producing such a policy was undertaken by the National Planning Commission (NPC) in 2004 (NPC, 2004). The proposal remained at the level of policy drafting because of lack of both political and policy tractions. The policy inertia prompted the drafting of yet another policy called The Draft National Social Security Policy for Inclusiveness, Solidarity and Sustainable Peace and Prosperity by the National Working Committee on Social Security, otherwise called General YakubuGowon Committee, under the auspices of the Federal Ministry of Labour (FML, 2009). The justification for the policy was given as the need to address the existence of a large deficit in social security coverage and provision in Nigeria. The draft policy changed backward, the trajectory to social security which subsume social protection within it. A problem of conceptual misgiving was introduced here and required clarification which was not forthcoming. As clearly demonstrated by Nwafor (2009), the drift towards social security became dominant during the period and was framed by economic perspective. Given the ensuing debate, more about institutional mandates than the adequacy of design, the policy was left a stillborn draft.

Fortuitously, Nigeria's quest for social protection policy occurred at the period Africa was in search of the evolution of social policy, with social protection placed at its vortex. Indeed, African Union Commission considers social protection as the basic function of social policy. Unfortunately, social policy had hitherto been considered subordinate to economic and political policies producing the unanticipated consequences of deepening social crises like poverty, unemployment. The narrow concerns of the dominant economic and political policies with focus on quantitative economic growth and macro-economic stability posited that on its own, and without deliberate intervention, the trickle-down effects of growth will address the emergent and persistent crises. This was not to be, hence the imperative of having a social policy with the primacy of social protection. Social protection in this framework is an active instrument of intervention, comprehensive in nature and not limited to the traditional measures of social security (AU, 2008: 8-11).

Crafting a progressive and implementable social protection policy in Nigeria requires deliberate efforts at resolving the inhibiting and centrifugal tendencies identified above. Indeed, these forces were openly at work in the course of crafting the draft NSPP. It explains the national delay in adopting a social protection policy. Interestingly, Nigeria formally committed itself at inception to the African Union's Ouagadougou Declaration and Plan of Action, 2004 which adopted social protection as a means of combating poverty and enhancing social development. Although the Ouagadougou Declaration was clearly underscored in two subsequent national development framework documents, Nigeria Vision 20:2020 (NV 20:2020) (NPC 2009) and Transformation Agenda 2011-2015 (NPC, 2011), no clear policy to drive the social protection agenda was put in place. The social protection policy development process which commenced in 2012 was only able to present the draft NSPP in August 2016, having been slowed down by many contending issues raised by its various stakeholders and actors in the policy loop.

The good news is that there is a draft NSPP in Nigeria. However, there were apparent internal contradictory or centrifugal tendencies witnessed during the policy crafting phase and they have the potentials to derail the attainment of the objectives of the policy. Given this awareness, it is necessary to carefully resolve and manage, especially at the implementation phase, these inhibiting factors to guarantee the realization and success of the policy. Informed by these antecedents, anticipatory measures for policy success must be carefully and deliberately put in place in advance and meticulously followed through during the implementation phase. Such measures, using the anticipating framework, are suggested in this article.

### **Methodological and Conceptual Issues**

Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler's (2004) transformative social protection framework dominantly influences studies on social protection in Africa in particular and has been acceptably used in Nigeria (Hagen-Zanker and Holmes, 2012:3). Its strengths are on two fronts. It takes into consideration both economic and social sources of risk and rely on the evidence of field data to support the development of appropriate social protection policies and programmes. This framework was utilized in the policy crafting phase of the draft NSPP. Beyond this point, however, articulating the next-step actions following the serendipitous observations made at this phase was informed by the anticipatory framework or foresight studies (Fuerth, 2009).

### **Data**

The data for this study were derived from the fieldwork held between 2012 and 2016 for the crafting of the NSPP<sup>1</sup>. The fieldwork consisted of the validation workshops on the research report on Triple F, Zonal and

Federal consultative workshops to harvest ideas on the policy content of the NSPP, Validation and Revalidation meetings on the draft NSPP at the six geo-political Zones and Federal MDAs levels as well as Technical and Inception meetings in Abuja, Lagos and Ibadan.

The study used qualitative research method and the data obtained were essentially qualitative and utilized in two ways-processed and fed into the draft policy to provide evidence for design and programmes (policy measures) and stored in the original raw form for future uses. The second category of data provided the inspiration and evidence for the anticipatory perspective of this article. During the validation and revalidation meetings, many probing “future questions” on implementation concerns that possibly could not be ignored were flagged for later attention.

### **The Anticipatory Framework**

The anticipatory framework has evolved from mere academic debate to practical tool with elegant theoretical base supporting its claims and applications. Given its wide appeal, it is seen by many in the mould of a general system theory. The current thought is that it has the capacity to integrate the human and social sciences in providing effective responsive tools to contain the various threats, risks and crises confronting the human societies at individual and collective levels (Poli, 2014; and Jacobs, 2016). As the title of Poli’s(2010) work aptly asserts, the anticipatory framework has been applied to many policy domains and rapidly so in the face of increasing existential threats and contemporary crises to provide insights and guide to a better future.

Anticipatory policy making is not new. It has a scientific status and has been applied in various fields, especially where policy makers and implementers need planning methods and guide for selected options or for navigating a nascent environment (Van Dijk, 1991). The anticipatory framework is known to have developed its tools for the expected prospective analysis, based on risk management, from the housing sector ( Hall and Berry, 2002 and Perril, 1998). The tools of anticipatory framework are well developed, hinging on sophisticated intelligence gathering techniques, new decision process models and practical accountabilities (Ashley and Morrison, 1996 and Hall and Berry, 2002).

Anticipatory framework, called variously as ‘contingency planning’ (Mabaso and Manyene, 2013) and ‘foresight’ (Fuerth, 2009), has been applied in various fields and policies such as agriculture (Lagerkvist, 2000), housing (Perril, 1998; and Croft, 2001), environment and disaster risk management (Coetzec and Van Niekerk, 2012; and Cohen, 1997) and health and hospital management (Ashley and Morrison, 1996). Polio (2014 and 2010) has shown the widest spectrum application of the framework to include technology and engineering. Above all, the Commonwealth Secretariat has applied the anticipatory framework in combination of the transformative approach to social protection (Waring, Mukherjee, Reid and Shirdas, 2013).

It is safe to say that the scientific status, theoretical base and practical tools of the anticipatory framework have underscored its importance. Above these considerations is its end use appeal. According to Fuerth (2009), the framework ‘can be employed in the service of pro-poor objectives’ and its perspective is germane to the developing countries, such as Nigeria, because such countries have narrower margins for prompt and efficient response to significant, disruptive changes of circumstances. This asserts for the imperative of reducing or averting avoidable crisis through inbuilt success elements to ‘guard against costly policy misplacement’ (Ukpong 1989). The emphasis is raising the risk avoidance threshold of the society as an integral process of designing and building a better future, often through policy instrumentality (Poli, 2014).

The appeal and reputation of the anticipatory framework are built on the coherence of its tenets, simplified and summarized in this final sub-section. Anticipatory framework is predicated on the needs to gain insights into the increasing risks and threats confronting the society as well as reduce the associated complexities in the policy environment so that the envisioned future can be approached with the confidence and certainty of attainment. It is premised on the need to actively respond to warnings about future threats and opportunities, hence the notion of anticipation - to deal ahead to forestall or prevent (King, 1986 and Nelson, Geltzer and Hilgartner 2008). The anticipatory framework stipulates the elements of model or process of attaining this objective through the well -developed prospective methods:

- Identify inherent and emerging issues that can adversely affect the course of set objectives;
- Scan and monitor signals of change over time within the social, technological, economic, environmental and political (STEEP) domains;
- Interrogate or challenge (implicit) assumptions;
- Conduct issue vulnerability audit.
- Establish sets of strategies or measures that will ensure success
- Develop (beyond key performance indicators (KPI) and monitoring and evaluation (M&E), implementation tracking elements.

By demonstrating internal consistency in the explication of these tenets, anticipatory framework is seen to function in the realm of:

- Improving resilience in the face of threats and risks by articulating insecurities and measures of containment;
- Assisting in thinking through complexities in the process of understanding and designing ‘the prepared society’ or entity.
- Mobilization of support from stakeholders, including identification of competing traditions and models for joint actions.
- Promotion of structured proactive policy regime.

The demand for insights into the practices of having effective guide to the future are on the increase (Poli, 2014). Anticipatory framework has special appeal in social protection, considered as the terrain of ‘social risk management’ (Holzmann and Jorgensen, 1999) and has actually been applied in the social protection field (Waring, Mukherjee, Reid and Shirdas, 2013) to address the risks in the issues of vagueness of concept and multiplicity of stakeholders for instance. The framework’s commitment to promoting pro-poor objectives is considered a plus for social protection.

### **Review of the History of Social Protection in Nigeria**

The activities and interventions that can be described as forming historical and foundational elements for social protection in Nigeria can be grouped into two broad categories – social security residues and the politically motivated pay-offs, euphemistically called empowerment programmes. Both have strong government’s involvement with the former focused mainly on employees in the public and private sectors and the latter targeting the citizens outside the labour markets and/or in dire situations. The beginning of social protection agenda in Nigeria is the social security residues which had been dominant until the era of social protection momentum of the 2010 onward. It must be stated however, that the value of solidarity that helped the traditional African societies to offer care for each member has always been at the background of the thoughts on the social security and currently, social protection in Nigeria.

Nwafor (2009) shows that the evolution of social security in Nigeria has been rooted in the concerns of the colonial ruler to protect it expatriates employed in the public service as the practice in the home country; hence the extension of the home social security system to the colonial territory. Britain introduced the Workmen’s Compensation Act of 1942 for both private and public sectors and followed this up with the public sector pension legislation of 1951. Decrees Nos. 102 and 103 of 1979 established pension schemes for the Federal civil servants and the Armed Forces respectively, on the basis of the non-contributory defined benefits (DB). In 1961, the National Provident Fund (NPF) was established as social security for private sector employees. In 1993, NPF was replaced via Decree No. 73 by the Nigerian Social Insurance Trust Fund (NSITF) as both a contributory social insurance in health services and DB. In response to the demands for reforms, the Federal Government of Nigeria enacted into law the Pension Reform Act 2004 (PRA, 2004) which established the standardised defined contribution (DC) Pension scheme for the public and private sectors and harmonised for the first time, social security provisions in both sectors.

Despite the harmonization, the old challenge earlier identified by Nwabueze (1989) persisted. Government, both at the federal and state levels, was yet to comprehensively address within a policy framework, the considerations for social protection or social security as was largely conceived then. The measures in the schemes, including PRA 2004, were inadequate to deal with the growing risks in the country. In reflection of this inadequacy, the empowerment agenda emerged at both the federal and state levels where initiatives aimed at reducing poverty but more on raising the political profiles of the promoters and sponsors were implemented. Unfortunately, they failed. Umo (2012) lists over 40 of such failed poverty alleviation projects in Nigeria including the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP).

The failures spawned a new circle of social protection initiatives led by Government and international development partners including the World Bank and DFID. The projects, such as cash transfers, school feeding, public works, etc., were basically on pilot and ad hoc basis, limited in scope and without integration into broad policies and programmes. Besides, the project carried the peculiar signatures and traditions of sponsors in concepts and designs which inhibited easy programmes adoption across the country. It was against this background that demands for a comprehensive social protection system in Nigeria were made.

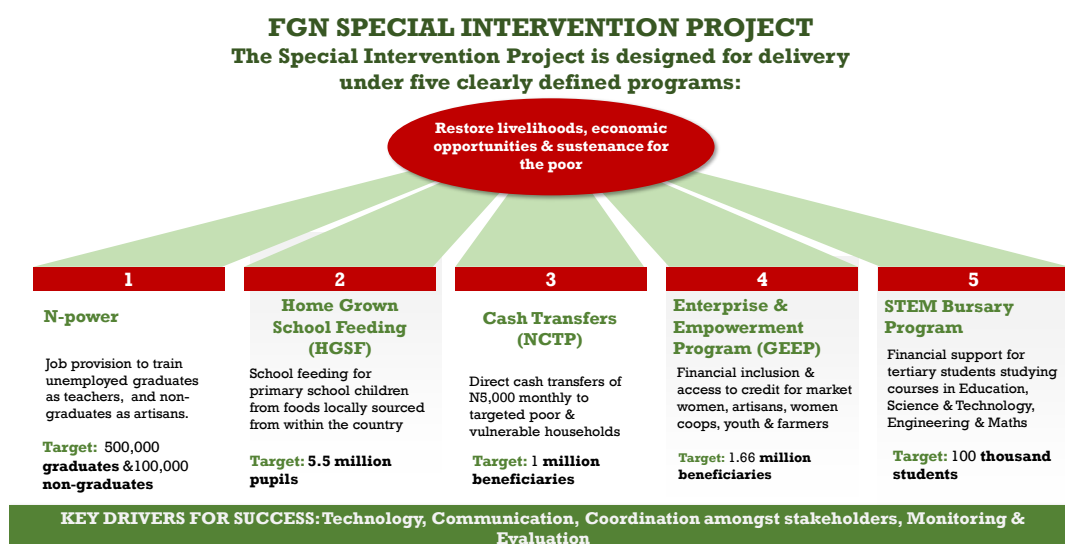
By the early 2000s, a national consensus had emerged on the urgency of adopting social protection agenda within a policy framework to tackle the increasing risks and vulnerabilities in Nigeria. Thus in 2004, the Social Protection Advisory Group (SPAG) was set up and charged with the responsibility of developing a social protection strategy for the country (Okoli, 2013). SPAG produce a draft National Policy on Social Protection under the auspices of the National Planning Commission (NPC) and with the technical support of the World Bank using the life cycle approach (NPC, 2004). The priorities of the age groups as identified by the draft policy were 0-5 - Child health and early childhood education, 6-14 - improving quality of primary education, 15-24 and

25-64 - increasing human capital, labour market policies/public works and 65 and above - risk of income loss and poor health.

The draft was innovative and bold, being the first attempt with conceptual clarity. However, it remained at a draft level for lack of political and policy traction. The policy inertia prompted the drafting of the National Social Security Policy for Inclusiveness, Solidarity and Sustainable Peace and Prosperity in 2009 by the National Working Committee on Social Security (also called the General Yakubu Gowon’s Committee) under the Federal Ministry of Labour, with technical backstopping provided by the International Labour Organization (ILO) (FML, 2009). A draft Social Protection Bill was also prepared and sent to the National Assembly. Both the draft policy and bill remained stillborn.

By mid-2000, Nigeria had formally committed to the social protection agenda as it was admitted into the national development framework, Nigeria Vision 20:2020 (NV 20:2020) and the sum of N186,060 billion allocated to social protection sector during the plan period 2010-2013 (NPC, 2009:123). But as officially acknowledged in the plan document itself, the major constraints of social protection in Nigeria are coordination and lack of a comprehensive policy. Following the official admission of the existence of institutional deficiencies, the National Planning Commission, supported by UNICEF Nigeria commissioned Overseas Development Institute (ODI) to undertake baseline study of social protection in the country. The seminal outcome is published in five thematic and one synthesis reports viz: Hagen-Zanker and Holmes (2012), Holmes and Akinrimisi (2012), Holmes, Samson, Magoronga and Akinrimisi (2012), Samuels, Blake and Akinrimisi (2012), Jones, Presler-Marshall, Cooke and Akinrimisi (2012) and Hagen-Zanker and Tavakoli (2012). Empowered by the main recommendation of the study which called for the development of an “overarching social protection policy framework to provide clear institutional roles and responsibility which guides social protection design and implementation at the federal and state levels”, the Federal Government, supported by UNICEF, has now produced a draft National Social Protection Policy.

Social Protection currently receives priority attention being germane to the core ‘social welfare’ programme of President MuhammaduBuhari Administration. In demonstration of this, the government has brought together all the strands of its social protection programmes under a single initiative called Social Investment and coordinated by the Office of the Vice President (OVP). Its five programmes called Special Intervention Projects are shown in the figure below (Uwais, 2016). The sum of N500 billion was provided in 2016 Federal budget for the execution of these programmes (FMBNP, 2016a and 2016b). As shown elsewhere (Ukpong, 2016), already the implementation of the initiative is being slowed down by absence of a guiding policy framework as the draft NSPP is yet to be adopted and passed into law.



Source: Social Investments, OVP

The international development partners in Nigeria are equally strongly positioned today to support social protection agenda under a coordinated framework, led by UNICEF. It seeks to do this within a ‘fiscally sustainable social protection policy and system’ (UN, 2013:13). Although the draft NSPP is now available, it will take more than just a policy to have an effective and delivering social protection system in place in Nigeria. As the early signals from the implementation of the social investment programmes would alert, a lot more design works are needed to develop a system to drive the policy for performance and results.

### The Draft National Social Protection Policy

The summary of the draft National Social Protection Policy (NSPP) is presented in this section. Its key elements are highlighted. In its present form the background issues and the methodological, technical and conceptual concerns that went into its crafting are not openly captured in the policy document. Neither are the implementation anxieties expressed by stakeholders during the validation and revalidation exercises annexed to the policy document itself. But these are the important elements underpinning the anticipatory framework discussed in the next section of this article.

The NSPP for Nigeria is an umbrella policy framework that seeks to integrate related social protection activities into a coordinated agenda with a common objective of poverty reduction and provision of a life of dignity for all citizens. It is a transformative tool for promoting social justice, equity and inclusive growth. The strength of NSPP lies within its treatments of the central issues of the rationale which include engendering citizens' rights and promoting security, the goal and objectives of the policy as well as the approach and programmes (Policy Measures).

The NSPP was developed using a bottom-up approach. It has benefitted from the insights of wide consultations with key stakeholders and experts at the Federal, Regional and State levels and the international development community. For its purposes, NSPP defines social protection as

**'A mix of policies and programmes designed for individuals and households throughout the life cycle to prevent and reduce poverty and socio-economic shocks by promoting and enhancing livelihoods and a life of dignity'**

The overarching goal of the NSPP is to establish a gender-sensitive and age-appropriate framework to ensure a minimum social floor for all Nigerian citizens for a life of dignity.

**This follows a life cycle approach with ten specific objectives it intends to achieve, including:**

1. Reduce poverty among the people vulnerable to being poor;
2. Empower the poor and people vulnerable to economic shocks;
3. Provide guiding principles for managing social protection projects and programmes;
4. Protect individuals and household from shocks that can make them fall into extreme poverty; and
5. Promote synergy and coordination among all social protection intervention agencies.

The policy is based on the principles of political economy with emphasis on the universal basic needs, citizenship, human rights, social control, redistribution and social inclusiveness. The policy is to be implemented following a transformative social protection framework, which takes into consideration both economic and social forms of vulnerabilities. The framework includes four levels of social protection provisions which include Protection, Prevention, Promotion and Transformation (PPPT).

The policy will be implemented based on prioritization of intended beneficiaries in the short term and progressively in the long run to accomplish the principles of universality – progressive realization. States will have flexibility to give priority to one or other interventions. Not all of the interventions need to be addressed at the same time. Moreover, states can implement additional measures if they so desire as the NSPPF only establishes the minimum.

**The policy measures designed for implementation are 16 and are classified into 8 categories as follows:**

#### **Education and Health Services**

1. Free school meals will be provided to all pupils in public primary schools;
2. Scholarship, learning materials, uniforms and cash transfers to children from poor households and children living with disabilities;
3. All children and adults living with disabilities have access to free health care, education and required special services and assistive devices;
4. Free health care services for pregnant women, lactating mothers, children under-5, the aged (people over 65 years old) and people living with disabilities and
5. Universal access to Health Insurance Scheme (HIS) or Community - Based Health Insurance Scheme(CBHIS) and or other social health insurance schemes.

#### **Social welfare and children protection**

6. Health services, emotional support and counselling for victim of child labour, child abuse, child rape and human trafficking.

#### **Social Housing**

7. Decent and affordable housing for the homeless, the monetary poor, and families living in overcrowded and unhealthy conditions.

### **Livelihood enhancement and employment**

8. Unemployment insurance and non-cash unemployment benefits for job seekers;
9. Labour based conditional cash transfer/public works programmes for youths, persons with disabilities and the unemployed;
10. Provide support for sustainable livelihood through skills training, access to land, inputs for smallholder farmers, affirmative action for youth and women's employment, and access to micro and small enterprises and finances and
11. Provide affordable child care services for children under 5.

### **Social insurance scheme**

12. Provide cash transfers to families and cash for work schemes which are activated at the onset of emergencies
13. Contributory and non-contributory pensions available to all citizens over 65 years old

### **Social Assistance**

14. Cash and food grants for poor families, orphans, street children, and person vulnerable to harmful traditional practise.

### **Traditional Family and Community Support**

15. Support existing family and community-based mechanisms and systems for the intended beneficiaries to respond to shocks and extreme poverty.

### **Legislation and Regulation**

16. A legal framework that specifically protects intended beneficiaries including children through inheritance rights, birth registration, child care services and breast feeding.

The issues of targeting and registration are addressed in pursuit of one of the fundamental principles of the NSPP being universality. The NSPP establishes a social protection floor for all Nigerians. However, in order to ensure universality, some individuals, families and groups may need to receive special attention through appropriate targeting scheme and canvassing mechanisms outlined in the policy. Graduation and exit provisions are also made.

Finally, NSPP addresses the important issues of coordination and integration. Intervention are expected to be delivered in a coordinated manner to ensure that all stakeholders are engaged and have clearly defined roles and responsibilities. To achieve this, the institutional framework made up of national, states and non-state actors, is specified. Government, MDAs and partners involved in social protection will commit to a harmonized set of financial management procedure, audit process, advancement, monitoring and evaluation and reporting processes, consistent with national, regional and international guidelines as well as subscribe to the use of indicators for the purpose of comparing progress made in different sectors, among others.

An act of the National Assembly is expected to set up a National Social Protection Council (NSPC) to oversee the strategic direction of the NSPP. Technical working groups will also be initiated as the "think tank" of the policy to periodically design and implement social protection initiatives and programmes.

### **The Anticipatory Measures**

Social protection policy is seen as an 'emergent policy' (Heintz, Kabeer and Cook, 2008) and therefore in need of strengthening. In particular, it needs to be 'rescued' from the current dominant conceptualization of being just a response to risk and crisis and instead to be integrated into the mainstream development policy (Cook and Kabeer2010). As a development policy, social protection policy must evolve key features that enhance its delivering capacity while eliminating its internal inhibitors. The policy must be internally risks and threats free in order to effectively contain the external shocks and vulnerabilities facing the citizens on whose behalf it functions. At this phase of the social protection policy development in Nigeria, great opportunity to attain strategic advantage can be gained by understanding and dealing with in advance, the likely constraints to the successful implementation of the policy. This is the strength of the anticipatory framework. In this section, a few salient internal inhibitors, picked by intelligence and signals during the field work are highlighted below.

### **Vague conceptualization, loose competing models**

Three sets of internal challenges confront NSPP at this moment. One, the concept of social protection is known to have persistently remained very vague (Waring, Mukherjee, Reid and Shirdas, 2013). The adoption of Nigeria definition, paradoxically, accentuated this challenge when it shows social protection as a 'mix of policies and programmes'. Two, social protection is often approached in developing countries with inappropriate tools (Norton, Conway and Foster, 2001). As it is, NPSS is yet to articulate its tools either as a

suite of generic models or compact framework (Hall and Berry, 2002). Three, so far, three models or approaches have influenced the development of the three successive draft social policies in the country-World Bank, ILO and UNICEF. As the exercise is being cascaded to the state level currently, the DFID is driving the process. Each international development partner has its tradition and model preferences. During the validation process, these three issues played out prominently - poor or weak knowledge of social protection and conflicts of perspective. Greater efforts will have to be committed to capacity building to deepen insights, raise skills and expertise and harmonize or adopt national/state conceptual perspective on social protection, as a priority.

#### **Active plural stakeholders, passive lead Institution**

Social protection involves multi-sectoral activities and several stakeholders – ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs). NSPP is crafted loosely to permit the easy entry of the stakeholders into the social protection framework. MDAs are highly suspicious of this arrangement, fearing that the policy measures of the policy are meant to supplant traditional institutional mandate or disposes the primacy of position and functions. Accordingly, the issues of coordination and leadership were treated with caution so as not to rock the boat. This informed the choice of a non-implementing ministry to lead and coordinate social protection agenda in Nigeria. The fact however, is that social protection policy is not a sectoral policy nor ever intended as a substitute for economic or education policies for example. Strong leadership with well understood and respected roles are required for successful social protection policy. Learning from the current experience with the implementation of the social investment programme coordinated by the Office of the Vice President without implementation structure, calls for a shift in the conceptualization of policy roles. A look at the actors listed as having responsibility for the implementation of the social investment mandate in the 2016 Federal Budget shows more than 14 MDS as ‘Lead’ actors (FMBNP, 2016b). This is chaotic. Creating authority structure for leadership and sustainability may further be enhanced by legislating on the social protection policy

#### **Raising National Priorities, Suppressing Local Peculiarities**

Throughout the policy development process, stakeholders persistently asked two questions – what constitutes the minimum package of social protection and how is it determined? The answers to the questions have direct bearings on the framing of policy measures and policy measures objectives. As the name implies, the draft NSPP is national in content even though it is expected to cascade to the state and the local governments in the country. A social protection policy in a federal system must be careful not to impose central preferences on the federating units while suppressing at the same time their peculiarities which have meaning and context to their risks end threats.

Elements of tension and resistance to the perceived imposition have clearly been demonstrated in the reluctance by both the federal and state governments to adopt or integrate some of the successful pilot social protection initiatives from each other. Although the development of NSPP using the bottom-up approach was to assuage this anxiety, the actual objective selection of policy measure for implementation requires application of appropriate tools, which are not readily and widely available nationwide. For example, the costing of the draft NSPP is yet to be done and the funding plan is not developed. Also, the analysis of risk, including efficiency, corruption, minimum service delivery standard, is yet to be undertaken.

#### **The primacy of an implementation framework**

A policy document presents in brief what action to take and the rationale or justification for the set of actions stipulated. Without a guide on how to execute such actions, they may flounder. A policy implementation framework performs this critical role. NSPP is a policy document only. The designers of the NSPP had made this explicitly known to the stakeholders and had indicated the imperative of producing an implementation guide. This framework will logically address the three issues raised above and enhance the evolution of social protection as a system in Nigeria.

## **II. CONCLUSION**

Social protection as an intervention agenda has a wide appeal but it still remains persistently vague as a concept and as a framework, it is considered an ‘emergent’ policy. The application of the anticipatory framework to social protection strengthens its capacity to effectively contain the risks and threats posed by the various societal crises. The anticipatory framework not only provides guide and insight in the design of ‘the prepared society’, but it offers understanding and clarity of actions in pursuit of the life of dignity and wellbeing. Some aspects of the draft National Social Protection Policy for Nigeria need some advanced clarifications in the planned course of actions for meaningful impact in the lives of the citizens. Called anticipatory measures here, four of such elements have been identified and the required new policy actions for success also highlighted. Being anticipatory afford great opportunity to gain strategic advantage.



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