# W03 / Decolonizing Public Policy: struggles, ideas and experiences from the Global South

**Topic :** Policy & Politics

**Chair :** Rosana Boullosa (University of Brasilia/Brazil and Enap/Brazil)

**Second Chair :** Ana Claudia Farranha (Universidade de Brasília)

**Third Chair :** Mireille Manga (International Relations Institute of Cameroon (IRIC), University of Yaoundé II)

**Fourth Chair :** Paloma Villagómez-Ornelas (University of Guadalajara)

## CALL FOR PAPERS

Welcome to our workshop on the intersection of decolonial and feminist perspectives in public policy studies. Our aim is to explore how these approaches can enhance analytical frameworks and provide deeper insights into public policy phenomena. We will focus on the unique assets and advantages of these perspectives, paying close attention to the underlying arguments and values that shape our understanding of struggles, ideas, and experiences.

Our discussions and activities will be organized around two themes: epistemological pluriversity and decolonizing knowledge. We will examine different papers to see how decolonial and feminist approaches can be applied to produce more powerful and insightful discussions, ultimately contributing towards a more democratic society.

We extend a warm invitation to authors of all genders, with a particular emphasis on those from the Global South, to participate in our workshop that focuses on critical policy studies, decolonial studies, and feminist studies. You are welcome to submit theoretical, methodological, or empirical papers for consideration. Theoretically, we welcome papers that explore how the traditions of decolonial and/or feminist studies can be used to understand policy processes. Methodologically, we are interested in papers that explore how policy analysis can be conducted from one or both of these perspectives. Empirically, we would value papers that investigate processes of collective action in support of problem definitions or policy.

Let's investigate and learn together!

## ABSTRACT

In this workshop, we will explore how decolonial and feminist perspectives can enhance analytical frameworks in the field of public policy studies. Our goal is to identify the unique assets and advantages of these approaches in understanding and explaining public policy phenomena while giving particular attention to the underlying arguments and values that drive struggles, ideas, and experiences.

Our discussions and activities will be structured around two main directions. The first direction focuses on epistemological pluriverses and the circumstances in which policy interactions occur. The second direction will explore the concept of decolonizing knowledge as a political concept that presents itself as a counter-hegemonic alternative, situated within a broader context of domination. Together, they can help us to denaturalize the processes of colonization of cognitive perspectives, subjectivities, and material and intersubjective experiences.

During the workshop, we will be able to examine different papers and explore how decolonial and/or feminist approaches can be applied to produce more powerful and meaningful discussions towards a democratic society. This proposal is open to both male and female authors, especially from the Global South. The workshop welcomes submissions of theoretical, methodological, or empirical papers. As a final product, we intend to propose a book with the papers selected and presented, contributing to the deepening of critical studies in public policy analysis.

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## Session 1

Wednesday, June 26th 10:15 to 12:00 (AULA 1)

**Introduction**

Rosana Boullosa (University of Brasilia/Brazil and Enap/Brazil)

Ana Claudia Farranha (Universidade de Brasília)

Mireille Manga (International Relations Institute of Cameroon (IRIC), University of Yaoundé II)

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Introduction

# W03 / Decolonizing Public Policy: struggles, ideas and experiences from the Global South

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## Session 2

Wednesday, June 26th 14:00 to 17:15 (AULA 1)

### Design, problem-framing, and contradictions in decolonial policy: insights from three Brazilian initiatives

Bruno Magalhães (Universidade de Brasília)

Leticia Birchal Domingues (Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais)

Flavia Brasil (Fundação João Pinheiro)

Carolina Andion (Universidade do Estado de Santa Catarina)

The emergence of the decoloniality critique has enabled the identification of colonial oppression in the very core of modern institutions, such as the State and its action established predominantly through policy interventions and regulations. Many different theories and practices have assumed the decolonial label since then, deliberately aiming to delink from Eurocentric epistemologies and power hierarchies. Critics have pointed out to the impossibility of emancipation by claims of complete reinvention of modernity. Others have seen the very notion of a decolonial policy intervention as an oxymoron. And yet the idea of decoloniality strongly affects social movements' motivations, from prefigurative actions to autonomist groups, as well as indigenous people and African descendants everywhere. Within this framework, the present research seeks to answer the following questions. Are there designs that specifically aim at decolonializing policy interventions? What are their propositions, if any, to solve the contradiction inherent in decolonizing the State through the State? How can we recognize them and make sense out of their efforts? What aspects contribute to their success or failure? To answer them we use a comparative case study methodology to learn from three policy initiatives that hold the potential to bring about some decolonization to the governmental ecosystem. These are the participatory budget and “Tarifa zero” [zero fare] (eliminating public transportation fares) initiatives in the 90s, and most recently the affirmative action initiative to give access to higher education in the 2000s. All of them were policy experiments carried out by leftists’ governments in Brazil. Designed mostly before the emergence of decoloniality as a conceptual approach, those policies did not necessarily formulate their goals using decolonial grammar. Nevertheless, these were inherently decolonial for they meant to reverse the established hierarchies by entitled the poor (who in Brazil are largely correlated to the black population) to effective political participation, to the city, and to education. More importantly, they did so because they believed that those rather simple instruments would ignite a greater and even revolutionary transformation. Speaking in terms of revolution within reform, they hoped that more access would lead to political organization and even class or, in the case of affirmative access to higher education, race consciousness. The cases are comparable because they established somewhat similar designs, aiming at similar goals, although turned out having very different outcomes. While the participatory budget was able to achieve an astonishing success becoming itself a landmark to participation worldwide, zero fare wasn't approved by São Paulo legislative house when first proposed, although it did inspire many social movements and future initiatives in its aftermath. Yet, in both cases, it is doubtful that the original emancipatory promise was effectively delivered. The affirmative action case, however, has been approved for ten years and it is still to be fully assessed in its consequences. Its vitality, on the one hand, and its challenges, on the other, may give opportunities to incorporate some learning from its similar initiatives from the past.

## Policy-making in the pluriverse: Exploring the ontological multiplicity of the Santiago River and its policy options

Carlos Sanchez Pimienta (University of Toronto)

In this paper, I explore onto-epistemological questions that are relevant to decolonizing public policy on the Santiago River (one of the most polluted in Mexico). Theoretically, I draw from political ontology–an emerging framework advanced by Latin American anthropologists–that addresses how multiple enactments of “the real” may collaborate or conflict (Blaser, 2013; Escobar, 2020). Building on decolonial scholarship, political ontology is critical of how the modern Western ontology is portrayed as “universal” by dismissing or destroying alternative ontologies and deeming science the best way to know reality (Mignolo, 2000). Similarly, building on feminist theory, political ontology accounts for how scientific production is underpinned by "cultural" stories and how scientific stories play a role in enacting reality (Haraway, 1989). Notably, “ontological multiplicity” indicates that professional and community practices may enact the same material presence in divergent ways (Blaser, 2021; Mol, 2002). For example, Quechua communities may enact Ausangate as an Apu (roughly translated as a “spirit”), and scientific communities may enact it as a mountain (de la Cadena, 2015), with significant implications for policy-making (e.g., you may make a mine on a mountain, whereas an Apu may defend itself from mining). For my doctoral dissertation project, I collaborate with people in El Salto and Juanacatlán who have organized for 15+ years to improve healthcare access, stop industrial pollution, and restore the ecological plenty of the Santiago River watershed. The guiding research question for this paper is, “What possibilities for policy-making are enabled by considering the ontological multiplicity of the Santiago River in Mexico?” Against the modern assumption that there is only one reality (and only one Santiago River), I have identified three divergent versions of this waterway through documental research, ethnographic methods, and storytelling. (Version 1) Official policy documents enact the Santiago River as a water container and transporter that needs to be managed through policy-making and scientific rationality to enable capitalistic economic activities. (Version 2) Younger people in El Salto and Juanacatlán enact the Santiago River as a river a source of pollution, disease, and death, with no hope of becoming clean. (Version 3) Older people in El Salto and Juanacatlán enact the Santiago River as a lost paradise, food source, and playground that may be restored if polluters are held accountable and the river's flow is reestablished. The three versions of the Santiago River are partly connected, sometimes in conflict, sometimes transforming or collaborating with each other. Overall, challenging the self-assigned universality of modern/capitalist enactments of the Santiago River can enable divergent versions of the same waterway as plausible options to play a role in policy-making. The policy alternatives pursued by my community partners may be more conducive to restoring the ecological plenty and health justice in the region than the government's version, which has proved to become more toxic and deadly as time progresses. For the field of critical public policy studies, this project can bring attention to the value of engaging with ontological multiplicity in contexts where scientific contributions prevent community stories and practices from equitably participating in policy-making.

## Decolonization of Public Policies as Circulation of Ideas ? A Sociohistorical Approach of the Decolonization of Policy Knowledge in Africa

Stéphane Dufoix (Université Paris Nanterre (Paris X))

Mireille Manga (International Relations Institute of Cameroon (IRIC), University of Yaoundé II)

The circulation of ideas and discourses is an ancient phenomenon, fundamental to the process of "worlding". Today, it is an essential element of the decolonial process. The latter, understood here as a multifaceted agent of critique, questioning and transformation of public policies relating to knowledge, can be observed in the political struggles that coalesce or divide political actors. Consisting of governments and their publics, the processes of problematization and redefinition of situations are relevant sites on which the researcher can draw to account for the decolonial political process in Africa, particularly in the field of knowledge. This paper will examine the cognitive struggles waged by African social scientists to change public policy. Using an in-depth socio-historical approach, it will focus on the work of researchers whose scientific discourse is situated at the interface between social and political space. Seizing the decolonial in the African social and political space would therefore consist in questioning the action of researchers-experts whose field of knowledge relates to the social sciences and confronts the solutions or public policies disseminated in the African public space in a globalized context. We propose to examine the scientific discourse of researchers on cultural, linguistic and even feminist policies. This invites us to discuss the uses and mobilization of local knowledge aimed at contesting, opposing, redefining or recomposing techniques, methods and program content in order to solve problems arising within African states.
In particular, this reflection prompts us to rethink the development of sub-Saharan African thought in a more historicized way, taking into account its sources, references and differentiated evolutions. While the texts of

figures such as Achille Mbembe, Souleymane Bachir Diagne, Aimé Césaire, Léopold Sédar Senghor, Joseph Ki-Zerbo and Cheikh Anta Diop are the best known, others such as Akinsola Akiwowo, Paulin Hountondji, Archie Mafeje and Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni are at the heart of our study. Their role is fundamental to understanding how the claim to Africanness has evolved over recent decades. Their insularity is particularly interesting to consider. The various attempts made by African humanities and social science researchers from the 1970s to the 2000s - Akinsola Akiwowo's "indigenous sociology", Paulin Hountdonji's critique of ethnophilosophy, Valentin Mudimbe's study of the "invention of Africa" and Archie Mafeje's anthropology - hardly take into account other reflections from the South - particularly Latin America. It wasn't until the 2000s that a more inter-disciplinary social science emerged, more open to epistemological texts from postcolonial authors, from either an endogenist or "Afropolitan" perspective, while the "decolonial" period of emancipatory thought in African epistemology didn't seem to emerge until the 2010s, notably around the Zimbabwean sociologist Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni.

## Muted to Silence? Understanding the (Non) Inclusive Political Role of Baka Communities in the Global Forest Policy Process of Congo Basin

Mireille Manga (International Relations Institute of Cameroon (IRIC), University of Yaoundé II)

Christophe MVOGO (Université Yaoundé 1 Cameroun )

Romane Herqué (Centre de coopération internationale en recherche agronomique pour le développement (CIRAD))

Symphorien ONGOLO

Democracy has been advocated as one of the vital global pillars for inclusivity and participation of political communities in local and global policy processes. In the meantime, it has remained a political challenge for many cultural and economic communities for various reasons that critical policy scholars seek to address. Critical policy studies point out explanations to the challenges faced by local and cultural communities in the local policymaking process. In particular, they study policy expertise to raise cultural and democratic challenges of the cultural knowledge, as well as its effects on the policymaking process in Western and non Western democracies. In addition, there is a wide range of policy literature on "public distrust", denials of environmental public policies, and the crisis of experts' knowledge. However, this literature does not fully offer answers to the (non) participatory role of indigeneous local communities in the global policymaking process of forests policies' governance. Unlike Asean and Latin American contexts which put forward decolonial policy activities, struggles and discourses of various kinds on the need to decolonialize imported and exported global policy methods in various domains of public life, technologies and the science, the global policy African context of the promotion of sustainable development policies, and biodiversity added to democratic participation, transparency, equality, and well-being of local communities and populations through global policy governance of Congo Basin forests has remained unaddressed, especially from a public policy research process perspective. This paper would like to cover this gap.

The Congo Basin region is an economic region that involves a plurality of global actors among which transnational environmental NGOs, local civil societies, global donors, African diplomatic partners of various kinds, including the European Union through its global forest policy instruments, the Chinese companies through their economic investments, and minor types of multinational corporations (MNCs). These global actors co-act with local political authorities in the policymaking and implementation's process of forests policies of the Congo Basin Forest Region. This observation is not however new in the Congo Basin forests' governance literature. Many studies, from different social sciences' perspectives have attempted to describe and explain foreign powers' economic actions and participation in the governance of Congo Basin forests. In the meantime, very few of these studies point to the global forests' governance policies using a deliberative approach to policy studies. In this paper, we turn to the (non) participatory political roles of indigeneous communities, including local associations and civil society members living around the Congo Basin Forests in Cameroon in order to cover this gap. We use a set of qualitative methods that includes participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and content analyses of empirical studies and reports published by think tanks and research centers. Results presented in this paper show that decolonized policy process theories might need to much deeply emphasize the political relations between global historical-political and economic systems and global policy discourses on democracy to fully understand and explain the democratic limitations of democratisation as a public policy focus. Empirically, results of this research paper insert indigeneous local communities, civil associations and civil society members as conscious individual political-economic actors of the policymaking, implementation and evaluation processes of global forests' policymaking, who contingently use their knowledge to transform the global-local forest policies situation.

Keywords: Global policy discourses on Democracy; Participation; Global Forest governance; indigeneous communities; policy knowledge.

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## Session 3

Thursday, June 27th 09:00 to 12:15 (AULA 1)

### Established and Outsiders in Tax Policy: Affect and Resistance against Tax Policy Transfers

Manuel Normann (Europa-Universität Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder))

The workshop calls for papers that explore how decolonial and feminist perspectives can be used to improve understanding of policy processes. In my study, I use queer-feminist theories of a?ect and a?ective methodologies to understand the causes of elite resistance against tax policy transfers.

The background to my study is that resistance against policy transfers has been identified as a frontier of knowledge in public policy research (Pal and Porto de Oliveira 2018). It is now widely accepted that resistance is a universal feature of transfer processes. However, resistance remains undertheorized in policy transfer research when looking at it from a social perspective. For example, some authors have conceptualized resistance as a bargaining process by subordinate actors to limit the impact of coercive transfers (Bache & Taylor 2003). In contrast, other authors see resistance as a response to the threat of established policy paradigms (Pal 2019). Still, others point to the role of cultural factors such as norms and values. The common denominator seems to be that resistance is always a response to change. However, the link between change and resistance remains a black-box in current theorizing on resistance against policy transfers. This gap is particularly relevant when considering the resistance of elite actors, such as experts, judges, or lawyers, who have a considerable influence on the success of transfer processes, especially in expert-dependent policy areas such as tax policy.

In my paper I conceptualize resistance as an a?ective phenomenon, drawing on queer-feminist theories of a?ect and related methodologies (Ahmed 2014). I merge this perspective with a constructivist understanding of politics as traveling political objects (Romano 2021). In particular, I consider domestic political contexts as a?ective economies that assign emotional value to objects that point to happiness, while preventing the adoption of foreign policies if they are perceived as a threat to shared ideals (Ahmed 2010). To demonstrate these dynamics, I look at the political discourse surrounding the transfer of mandatory disclosure rules for tax arrangements in Germany between 2006 and 2019. The transfer of the instrument was strongly opposed by a large coalition of business interest groups, tax experts, and legal scholars. While the resistance by interest groups is less surprising the ?erce resistance by scholars and other experts requires explanation. To make sense of the discourse I draw on the framework of queer phenomenology (Ahmed 2006). Based on my study, I conclude that resistance to the implementation of the policy instrument takes the form of an established-outsider dynamic (Elias and Scotson 1965). Thus, resistance is likely to occur when a policy instrument negatively a?ects the self-image of domestic elite actors.

My study shows that the integration of queer-feminist perspectives can signi?cantly improve the understanding of the micro-dynamics of policy transfer. I also show how the inclusion of a?ective methodologies can be used to make sense of a?ective dynamics in policy documents.

### (Virtual) Public policies for women: contributions from the Escrevivências of black women to evaluate policies to protect women in situations of violence in Salvador-Ba

Maria Oliveira

Elizabeth Ribeiro (Universidade Federal da Bahia)

Killing, raping and mistreating women and girls has become natural in the most

different societies. The problems faced by Brazilian women are diverse in a country like Brazil, a country marked by profound social, gender and racial inequalities. Women have been in movement in defense of public policies for a long time, but they have gained more space in government agenda only recently, after the promulgation of the Federal Constitution of 1988 that guaranteed basic social rights. In this sense, it is worth highlighting that only from of the national redemocratization process and also of the international agreements signed with the General Assembly of the United Nations, in 1979, and with the Convention of Belém do Pará, in 1995. As a reflection of these changes, from 2003 onwards, the conception and implementation of of protection policies for women with the aim of guaranteeing security, combating, prevent, assist and guarantee rights. Despite these advances, empirical data reveal that demands of this population, especially those directed at poor black women, do not have been met, effectively and qualitatively. Considering this context, this research privileged to evaluate the perception of black women about advances in protection policies to Black Women in Situations of Violence in Salvador-Ba. Our research question was: What are the contributions of the theoretical-methodological resources of Escrevivência to evaluate Public Policies to Combat and Protect Women in Situations of Violence with an emphasis on the memory of black women?

It was used as a reference theoretical-methodological the interpretative approach to Escrevivência – a term coined by Maria Conceição Evaristo – which focuses on recovering the memory of women who experienced, many sometimes in silence, situations of violence. The selected narratives respected both the records/testimonies of the researcher as they incorporated interviews with three black managers who participated/participate in the movement in defense of the aforementioned policies. As a result of this academic effort it was possible, firstly, to give voice and visibility to the suffering experienced by the selected writers, poor black women. In second place, based on the recovered narratives, it was possible to reconstruct the conception, institutionalization and execution of women's protection policies in Brazil, in order to observe their advances, limits and perspectives. And, thirdly, it was possible to innovate in analysis methods and evaluation of public policies, from the perspective of the beneficiaries, direct and indirect, of these public actions, which allows us to infer that this study brought relevant contributions to the field of study of Public Administration and Society, especially when it comes to challenges imposed to guarantee protection for racialized and impoverished women.

## "Invisible Inequalities: Reflections from Feminism on Educational Policies for Gifted Girls."

Ana Lucia Pesci Eguia (Universidad Autónoma de San Luis Potosí)

Giftedness in childhood has been studied extensively all over the world, including in Latin America. In Mexico, several educational policies have been put in place to support such children since the 1980s. (SEP 2018) However, it is important to reflect on the hegemonic epistemologies that guide the design and discourse of these policies, rather than just discussing their implementation problems. (Fraser, 1991)

It has been observed that the skills and abilities of gifted boys and girls are not influenced by gender roles (Butler, 2006). However, educational policies related to giftedness in Mexico tend to emphasize certain aspects of this phenomenon from a masculine-patriarchal perspective. This perspective tends to prioritize aspects such as academic achievements or the development of potential (Silverman y Miller 2009) The feminist approach to the development of gifted boys' and girls' emotions seems to have been neglected. As a result, girls with this characteristic may be less visible. The strategies for caring for gifted children are based on predominantly masculine and hegemonic theoretical frameworks, (Segato, 2018) which can affect girls negatively.

Both gifted boys and girls are indeed vulnerable due to their differences. However, girls are more vulnerable because of their status as women and the social constructions around gender. They face a multiplicity of exclusion factors, (Hill, 2012) such as ethnicity, and social class, as well as insufficient reference models. It is crucial to highlight gifted girls because they often face several obstacles in identifying their talents due to societal norms and stereotypes. This disparity affects their overall growth and development, and it is essential to address this inequality.

The following questions have arisen concerning educational policies for giftedness in Mexico, which were designed during the 1980s. How do these policies, which are based on hegemonic theories, impact the visibility of gifted girls? As a result, what is the experience of intellectually gifted girls in basic education?

To conduct this research, we analyzed the Mexican educational policies of the Ministry of Public Education for the attention of giftedness in basic education, as well as the programs derived from these policies from the 1980s to 2023. We supported our analysis with specialized academic works on the subject, as well as

empirical evidence collected from semi-structured interviews with gifted girls and women.

**Keywords:** giftedness, educational policies for giftedness in Mexico, gifted girls, intersectionality, feminism, hegemonic epistemologies

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## Queering Public Policy Research

Claire Dunlop (University of Exeter)

Diego Galego (Rutgers University)

LGBTQ+ policy issues are hot research topics. This makes sense, of course. The past two decades have seen unprecedented policy developments for queer people across the world – both progressive and regressive. Curiously, for policy scholars, much of the research has been conducted in political science subfields beyond policy studies – notably, public administration, gender studies, comparative politics, judicial politics, social movements and voting studies. But policy scholars are now waking up to the importance and potential of LGBTQ+ policy research.

This paper suggests ways in which policy researchers can rise to the considerable challenges of analysing LGBTQ+ policy issues and queer lives in innovative and imaginative ways, across a range of very different contexts. We structure discussion around three foundational questions. (1) How do we conceive of LGBTQ+ policy questions, and (how) do we need to adapt our existing analytical toolkit in policy studies to work for these issues? (2) To what extent should LGBTQ+ policy research be ‘normative’ or ‘positive’? (3) Who are we analysing for? We address these challenges by engaging with the wide range of LGBTQ+ policy research, not only from the political sciences but also from the arts and social sciences. Specifically, our analysis foregrounds some core themes of queer theory to demonstrate the analytical leverage and normative necessity of including LGBTQ+ specific concepts in public policy analysis.

The spirit here is one of open-mindedness and experimentation. Policy theories are not approached as entirely in deficit. Nor are queer approaches treated as wholly sufficient. Rather, by placing policy and queer theories in conversation, what we seek is a sense of the areas which can be usefully expanded without conceptual stretching and conversely where red lines and incompatibilities lie.

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## Session 4

Thursday, June 27th 14:00 to 17:15 (AULA 1)

### (Virtual) The political uses of administrative tolerance: the case of audiovisual in Cameroon

Estelle Etoh Ekwoneng (Cercle de Recherches sur l'Afrique et les Enjeux Contemporains)

An area of study long monopolized by law, administrative tolerance seems to be an unidentified political object. Despite the protest and regular denonciations, administrative tolerance tend to take precedence over the principle of law. The present study is about the political uses of administrative tolerance. How to understand the persistence of such a phenomenon? What are its uses? By these questions, we want to operate a shift of questioning on administrative tolerance towards its challenges and uses, by freeing it from the problems that have long dominated it. Fed at the empirical chair of audiovisual in Cameroon, the study aims to grasp the political drivers of administrative tolerance. Through the instruments approach, administrative tolerance is no longer understood as refusal or abstention to apply the law, but as a public policy issue, serving as an instrument in the hands of governments. Thus, administrative tolerance must be understand in a much broader sense: it is not merely a conscious passivity of the administrative tolerance in the face of the violation of a rule of law, but the result of a choice made between sanction and absence of sanction.

Key words: administrative tolerance, political uses, audiovisual, instruments.

### Agency capacity and strategies of cooperativism in resilience and mitigation actions against climate change: Comparative reading from three cases in Brazil, Colombia and Mexico

Patricia Giraldo (Universidad Autónoma de Nayarit)

Extreme events have worsened in the last thirty years due to the increase in GHG emissions. Cooperatives in the agricultural and fishing sector, for their part, took on the challenge of contributing to environmental issues from production, distribution and consumption. Sometimes, stimulated from public policies or pressured to exercise sustainable practices, in others, from their agency capacity and strategies.

In this context, this presentation recognizes the actions of cooperativism in terms of mitigation and resilience based on the link between food, climate change and public policies in the articulation of three theoretical perspectives: the social and solidarity economy, the actor-oriented and a vision decolonial public policies. Likewise, it analyzes the policies under an ethnographic and comparative methodology from the cooperatives “Los Dorados de Villa”, municipality of Rosamorada (Mexico), “Cooapial”, municipality of Algeciras (Colombia) and “Coopersertão”, municipality of Pintadas (Brazil).

The results of the study are divided into three dimensions. A political dimension, this explains how strategies are diversified based on the agency capacity of cooperatives, the incidence of paternalism in the configuration of actors and resilience in the face of catastrophic climate events such as floods (Brazil) and hurricanes (Mexico). A dimension of public policy, which is explained by the environmental rationality that they assume and the practices of progressive governments; the role assigned to food as an expression of the expanded reproduction of life; and the level of recognition of highly complex public problems such as the relationship between cooperativism, climate change and food systems. The third dimension refers to the processes of construction of alternatives through the solidarity economy that tend toward more

self-managed and autonomous forms of/from policies.

It is concluded that, in terms of learning for both designers and researchers, the three contexts differ substantially in terms of threats and resilient responses to catastrophic climate events. Their responses articulate different policy programs or policies of a social, economic, environmental, food or age cycle, as is the case with young people. However, the impact will be differential depending on the policy focus (welfare, regulatory, capacity building); the historical trajectory of environmental policy and its level of importance in current governments; and the impact of multilateral organizations on the design and execution of policies. Finally, cooperatives can be a viable alternative to climate change because they have a strong community and local seal, with significant educational processes and with pilot experiences such as technologies with low carbon emissions, forest restitution through beekeeping or recovery of aquatic ecosystem

### The politics of Public Policy making in Africa and the British Colonial Legacy: A Case of Zambia and Malawi

Timalizge Zgambo (Rhodes University)

After about five decades of the post-colonial era, public policy in Africa is still largely influenced by the impact of colonialism. The internationalisation of public policy continues to set the tone for colonial domination in public policymaking in most African nations including Zambia and Malawi. Both countries which were once colonised under British rule as one country share a similar path and fall prey to continued colonial oppression in the public policy sphere. Evidently, as most African states broke free from their colonial shackles and gained political independence in the 1960s, they introduced nationalist ideologies that sought to break the colonial umbilical code but still inherited a very much colonial-minded historiography. Thus, through a multi-faced analysis of the existing literature and various documentation, this chapter aims to explore the path-dependent colonial public policymaking in Africa through the internationalisation agenda with a special focus on Zambia and Malawi. We perceive that the current policy interventions are colonially path-dependent. As a result, policies are based on false assumptions (as they do not fit into the local context) and divine intervention (the aggressive role of the religious sector in politics). Moreover, governments are subjected to implementing policies only to fulfil restrictive donor funding programmes not aligned to the local context (NGO-nisation and internationalisation). Amidst corruption and little political will, all this has not yielded fruitful outcomes towards progressive public policy in Africa.

The internationalisation of public policy has seen an influx of non-state actor inclusivity in public policy. For example, religious bodies and international organisations both at international and local levels make a case for non-state actors as agents of continued colonial dominance in public policy in Africa.This calls for future research to understand the dynamics and complexities of the internationalisation of many African nations in order to devise evidence-based policy interventions consistent with the local context whilst acknowledging that path-dependent systems may be hard to change.

### (Virtual) Can we reimagine policy-making in the field of culture from a care ethics perspective?

Deniz Ünsal (Royal Roads University)

Taiwo Afolabi (University of Regina)

Our ongoing research in Western Canada with self-employed independent artists from Indigenous, Black and racialised communities centres on their strategies to raise awareness against individual and systemic discrimination and to amplify social value for their communities. Specifically, we examine the connection between Canadian cultural policy and the experiences of Indigenous, Black and racialised artists and arts leaders who engage in community-based arts practices. Their work prioritizes reciprocity, decolonization, community building and care.

Cultural policy includes a set of government actions and initiatives aimed at recognizing and supporting artistic and cultural expressions, epistemes and practices. It informs the values and practices embraced by arts organizations in the country. Experiences of the artists we interviewed demonstrate how they navigate mainstream structures that fail or cannot fully respond to values and expectations of relational accountability, reciprocity and care that these artists work with. In this context, their strategies are fundamental in understanding the production of social good and the social value of the arts within the existing structures. We ask, **in what ways might the social value creation strategies of Indigenous, Black and racialised self-employed artists contribute to the making of an equitable Canadian cultural policy?**

The recognition of the value created through community-based art practices has drawn our attention to the

need for a paradigm shift within policy-making. Cultural policy in Canada is designed to support the expression of diverse cultural identities and traditions recognizing Canada's official multiculturalism policy established in 1971. Reconciliation, equity and inclusion have become key concepts to guide policies in the arts landscape. Yet they remain unattainable and often metaphorical. We argue that as long as these concepts are embedded within a traditional liberal perception of individual rights and justice, they will not initiate a change needed to disrupt colonial epistemologies and systems that perpetuate power imbalances. Care ethics as a feminist perspective on policy research and a conceptual framework for decolonizing policy-making in the field of culture places strong emphasis on interconnectedness of individuals within communities. We argue that it would support a policy that prioritizes the well-being of marginalized and colonized communities, privileging community-based arts practices and diversity of knowledges that can enhance policy-making. In the context of decolonization, this would involve reconciliation efforts that acknowledge the impact of colonization on relationships, and work towards building trust and understanding between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities.

This research is guided by **community-based participatory research framework**, a collaborative approach to research that is driven by an equitable partnership between community members and academic researchers. Our premise for creating knowledge is based on Participatory Action Research (PAR), whereas researchers we collaborate with participants to understand the situation and identify actions for change. Our presentation aligns with the conceptual framework of the workshop "Decolonizing Public Policy: struggles, ideas and experiences from the Global South". Although Canada is not part of the Global South, the artists whose experiences and strategies are central to our research share the impact of similar epistemological and colonial structures with the societies of the Global South.

# W03 / Decolonizing Public Policy: struggles, ideas and experiences from the Global South

**Chair :** Rosana Boullosa (University of Brasilia/Brazil and Enap/Brazil)

**Second Chair :** Ana Claudia Farranha (Universidade de Brasília)

**Third Chair :** Mireille Manga (International Relations Institute of Cameroon (IRIC), University of Yaoundé II)

**Fourth Chair :** Paloma Villagómez-Ornelas (University of Guadalajara)

## Session 5

Friday, June 28th 09:00 to 12:15 (AULA 1)

### There are no heroes in this story: Examining the policy narratives of famine in Somalia

Titilayo Soremi (University of Toronto Scarborough)

Extreme weather events are some of the expected environmental effects of climate change. While the lack of disaster preparedness and climate change adaptation practices are often identified as the primary causes of casualties in weather events, in Somalia, the story of famine is different. This study asks the question - how do narratives influence the policies for the eradication of famine in Somalia and whose narratives matter? The question is addressed by analysing academic literature and social media content on the occurrence of famine in Somalia from 1992 to 2022. The study also introduces and examines the ‘storied presence’ of different actors involved in addressing the challenge of famine in Somalia. It applies the Narrative Policy framework (NPF) to determine the presence or absence of narrators from relevant actor groups, and to examine the narrative content by assessing the narrative character, plot, and moral of the policy narratives. The paper argues that the multiplicity and dominance of foreign interference and the use of ravaging narratives obstruct the possibility for a conscientious and consistent narrative that will resonate with Somalians, and facilitate the adoption of credible mitigation and adaption practices to combat climate change in the country. It concludes that the reliance on shock value approach to communicate Somalia’s struggle has not yielded preferred results for the citizens, and therefore, there should be an emphasis on a rights-based approach for amplifying local voices and driving durable local action for addressing the occurrence of famine in Somalia.

### Frontline work in chains of intermediation: rethinking access beyond the 'gates' of public services

Roberto Pires (IDP / Institute for Applied Economic Research (IPEA))

Research on public service implementation often describes frontline workers as the gatekeepers who regulate access to public services. Such vision assumes that there is a clearly demarcated line separating street-level workers, on one side, and the people demanding public support, on the other side. This paper questions this assumption by focusing on how vulnerable social groups get access to public services. It draws from contemporary debates on the anthropology of brokerage, which calls attention to a multitude of intermediaries and puts into question the work they perform in connecting specific social groups to service provision, blurring the frontlines of public services. The research is based on fieldwork carried out in downtown Brasília (Brazil), for 7 months in 2022, focused on the trajectories of people in homelessness in getting access to the public services they needed. We observed 120 actual experiences of encounters between the homeless and different public services (documentation, health, social assistance, housing, policing, etc.) and we carried out 17 in-depth interviews with people in homelessness focusing on their experiences and narratives about these encounters (both past and present). The qualitative analysis of the material (based on thematic and axial coding and the exploration of cooccurrences) revealed that: a) contexts characterized by social diversity, extreme vulnerability, and institutional weaknesses in adapting intake procedures lead to a wide range of forms of intermediation and intermediaries (from professional services to voluntary groups/individuals, as well as the support of peers); b) these different modalities of intermediation matter in terms of fostering greater autonomy or deepening the dependence of people in homelessness on third parties; and c) finally, frontline work needs to be reconceptualized as taking part in these extended chains of intermediation work, rather than as discrete acts of gatekeeping, in understanding

whether and how the vulnerable gets access to public support.

### Public Policy Implementation Process and Inequalities: a study of the instances of guaranteeing the Right of Access to information.

Ana Claudia Farranha (Universidade de Brasília)

Public Policy Implementation Process and Inequalities: a study of the instances of guaranteeing the Right of Access to information.

The Right of Access to Information is a fundamental right established by the Declaration of Human Rights (Article 19). This right has been implemented through legislation that guarantees it and by bodies responsible for developing mechanisms to make this right a reality.

Although this process is based on a general rule, it differs greatly from country to country. From the passing of laws on the subject to the construction of instruments to enforce the rules on the issue. Brazil, which passed its legislation in 2011, has excelled in this process.

For this text, I am interested in investigating how the discussion on inequality goes through this process, what instruments are used for this implementation and how they address the issue of inequality.

To answer this question, I will analyse the actions taken by organizations that guarantee access to information, in the COVID crisis, to ensure that vulnerable populations have access to this right. To do this, I analyze documents produced within the framework of the International Conference of Information Commissioners from 2020 to 2023. In this analysis, I try to identify practices to combat inequality in access to information for vulnerable audiences. I will then listen to authorities on the subject: whether civil society, public managers or people requesting access to information.

My aim is to understand how the recognition of vulnerable people impacts on the process of implementing public policies. What lessons can these actions provide for reflection on the theoretical aspects of policy implementation? How can the issue of the dissemination of public policies be thought of from this analysis? What evaluation tools have been developed to measure the impact of these actions and, finally, I analyze to what extent the recognition of inequalities in the implementation process contributes to thinking about theoretical aspects of this process.

The link with the workshop proposal is to identify how some ideas are very similar, but have different institutional contexts for development. In this way, is it possible to decolonize the implementation of the Right of Access to Information?

### Decolonization and Multifactorial Influence on the Environmental and Climate Change Agenda in Brazil

Anderson José Sant'Anna De Oliveira (University of Brasilia, Brazil)

Luiz Fernando Bessa (Universidade de Brasília)

Over the last few months, some relevant global media and political analysts have been reporting a presumed redirecting of public policies in Brazil, especially in comparison to recent historic periods of that country. According to their views, important and deep changes are taking place in the process of conceiving, elaborating and conforming public policies. In certain areas such as environment and climate change, policy actors and their networks have shown compromise towards a more independent and progressive political alignment, particularly revealed by the enhanced South-South cooperation efforts been established.

As most theorists on cooperation might indicate, the increase of partnerships amongst developing countries evidences a process of decolonization. In the case of the environmental and climate change agenda, the so called Kyoto Protocol signed by 192 States has paved the route for a wide variety of international alliances. In this regard, Brazil seems to be intensively trying to take advantage of that instrument. Furthermore, the said Latin American nation is one of the most expressive voices on the international arena to revendicate higher financial participation from developed n economies in funds to support sustainable projects and technological innovations against climate changes. In addition, it has also been noticed a national attempt to reach better social equality indicators, in which the participation of women, afro descendant, original peoples, persons with disabilities, among others, must be present in either the elaboration, execution and evaluation of the public policies on sustainability and environmental issues.

These examples of alleged ongoing shifts evidence how complex public policies can consist of. As a matter of fact, would the described phenomena be somehow related to each other? Are they results of a genuine decolonial political endurance? Is the Brazilian repositioning in environmental policies be affected by its own internal, historical, cultural and social attributes?

In order to better address these questions and to reach a more holistic comprehension of the mentioned

hypothesis that the lens proposed by this IPPA Working Group would be applied. In other words, it is the proposal of this case study to utilize the so called “Backwards Gaze” (i.e. “Mirada ao Revés”)

approach to sophistically fulfill the aim of exploring the intrinsic aspects and subjectivities taken place in a Latin American country, where struggling environmental problems call for broader, effective and more pluriversal public responses.

Based on a qualitative research method, this paper will then focus on the interpretation of the empirical data publicly available and on personal interviews with advocacy, academic, civil society and government representatives involved in charge of the recent repositioning environmental policy alleged changes.

As a consequence, it is expectable that the production of this proposed paper will collaborate with the general objectives and directions posed by this IPPA workshop organizing scholars, particularly in what it concerns the possibility to observe a concrete problematic scenario thru the prism of the academic literature suggested, whereof decolonizing, sociological, feminist, historical and multifactorial perspectives may strongly justify critical public policy reorientations.

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## Session 6

Friday, June 28th 14:00 to 16:00 (AULA 1)

**Conclusions and Prospective Projects**
Rosana Boullosa (University of Brasilia/Brazil and Enap/Brazil)
Ana Claudia Farranha (Universidade de Brasília)
Mireille Manga (International Relations Institute of Cameroon (IRIC), University of Yaoundé II)
Paloma Villagómez-Ornelas (University of Guadalajara)

Conclusions