Social protection in Africa: A review of social protection issues in research
Policy and programming trends and key governance issues in social protection.

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Policy and programming trends and key governance issues in social protection

Rebecca Holmes and Charles Lwanga-Ntale

A PASGR Scoping Study
October 2012

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# Acronyms

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<thead>
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<th>Full Form</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AusAID</td>
<td>Australian Agency for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBO</td>
<td>Community Based Organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCFU</td>
<td>Cross Cultural Foundation Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPRC</td>
<td>Chronic Poverty Research Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department For International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRT</td>
<td>Development and Research Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIZ</td>
<td>Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEAP</td>
<td>Livelihood Empowerment against Poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODI</td>
<td>Overseas Development Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OVC</td>
<td>Orphans and vulnerable children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASGR</td>
<td>Partnership for African Social and Governance Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSNP</td>
<td>Productive Safety Nets Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Executive summary

The last decade has seen social protection gaining centrality in the development agenda of many African countries. Several factors explain this heightened interest. Firstly, despite evidence of considerable economic growth across the continent, poverty and vulnerability continue to persist. In turn this has prompted resurgence in awareness and debate about the effectiveness of growth alone in delivering the continent’s ambitious development goals. Secondly, it is evident that the safety-net programmes which were introduced in the 1990s in many African countries as part of attempts to tackle the poverty that accompanied structural adjustment programmes have failed. This failure to respond appropriately and adequately is in part a reflection of the complexity of poverty, risk and vulnerability. However, an area which has hitherto received little or no attention is that of an African drive for a home-grown social protection agenda. Un-pack ing this conundrum is beset by several challenges, including perceptions that a common African voice is absent and that an African definition of social protection has not been articulated; that the multiplicity of donor interests and interventions may have stifled the emergence of a consistent and harmonised set of social protection objectives for Africa; that traditional African social protection mechanisms have been undermined by the imposition of conventional western social protection approaches; and that policies which are in place are not consistent with actions on the ground.

The aim of this paper is to provide the Partnership for African Social and Governance Research (PASGR) an overview of the current policy, practice and knowledge on social protection in Africa through a governance lens to inform the development of their research policy theme on social protection. In order to achieve this, the study combined three components:

1. Identifying what constitutes “social protection” as viewed by African research and policy actors and the extent to which there appears to be an ‘African consensus’ on defining components of social protection as explicitly as possible in terms of functional policy or programme activities;

2. Reviewing the “policy prevalence” across the defined components of social protection sufficient to identify trends and commonalities among the policy priorities of African governments. In other words, the study should identify which areas of social protection are occupying the most policy attention evidenced by legislative or programme action rather than statements of intent; and

3. Summarising the available research and policy literature in each of the component areas of social protection. An annotated bibliography is provided as an Annex.

Three key findings emerge from the study. Firstly, no clear definition of social protection exists that could be described as being authentically African. While in essence mechanisms to tackle risk and vulnerability have been in existence on the continent for as long as societies have lived there, a combination of social, political, economic, cultural and historical factors mitigate against a homogenous, continent-wide approach. The definitions that are in place are greatly influenced by both “African” governments and international actors. Moreover, it is important to note that it is not surprising that there is no typically “African” definition of social protection. The African continent has several diverse regions and countries which are underpinned by different political economies and are at different stages of development as well as engagement in the social protection policy process.

Secondly, through the articulation of a social policy framework, important steps have been made by the African Union to ensure that social protection is conceived within a wider and more inclusive social policy framework and one which views social policy and social
protection as key pillars in development (not as a “corrective” interventions to flawed economic policy). However, in practice, while we find increased commitment to social protection identified through budgetary allocations and scale of programmes, these are limited to few specific country examples, often concentrated within a narrow functional perspective dominated by a social assistance approach (e.g. food and cash transfers and to some extent labour-based social protection in sub-Saharan Africa).

Thirdly, in terms of research knowledge and gaps, a number of new issues have been raised by an examination of the social protection literature using a governance analytical framework. We found that there is wealth of literature examining institutional capacity and coordination at national levels, but much less so at the decentralised levels. Moreover, key areas of knowledge in the literature include political economy analyses of commitment to social protection and increasingly the role of social protection in contributing to stability and social cohesion, but emerging areas for future in-depth analysis include the role of transparent and accountable mechanisms, the role of non-state actors, how research on social protection could influence or has influenced policy, and the role of “traditional social protection mechanisms” in particular.
Introduction

Social protection – as an approach to reducing poverty and vulnerability (see Box 1) - has emerged as a critical area for increased policy attention in Africa over the last decade. During this time social protection programmes have proliferated, both in terms of types of programmes and coverage, in the majority of countries across the continent. Many national governments, donors, civil society and NGOs are now playing an increasingly important role in designing, delivering and advocating for social protection.

This expansion of social protection has not been uniform across the continent. The extent to which social protection has been taken up in countries, the focus on specific objectives of social protection as well as the types of social protection tools which are prioritised (e.g. cash transfers, inputs transfers, food aid, public works programmes) are strongly influenced by the different country-specific social, political and economic contexts across the continent. Indeed, the range of institutional capacities, different institutional roles, levels of fragility and conflict, the significance of aid dependency or large domestic revenues, as well as levels of inequality and poverty vary significantly in Africa, and play a critical role in shaping and defining a country’s approach to poverty reduction, and subsequently, social protection.

It is within this context that the Partnership for African Social and Governance Research (PASGR) chose social protection as a policy research theme in 2011. This was a result of two main factors: first, social protection emerged spontaneously and with regularity as a suggested research priority during PASGR’s multi-country consultation process, therefore demonstrating resonance across the region; and, second, it is an extremely broad policy area that provides considerable opportunity to define researchable governance issues.

As such, this paper was commissioned with the objective of consolidating existing knowledge in the region on areas of convergence and divergence in social protection policy and programming to help address two challenges that PASGR faced in developing the research policy theme:

1. Clarifying what is meant by “social protection” as the term is used to cover a spectrum of issues and activities. The core question is whether there is a reasonable degree of African consensus on what constitutes social protection in the region and the mix of policies/programmes within each constituent part;

2. Discerning, across this definitional spectrum, the extent to which particular issues are dominating African policy attention (i.e. are policy prevalent) and the degree to which existing research and policy literature leaves gaps or provides further opportunities for research focused on governance aspects of specific social protection issues.

In order to address these challenges, the scoping study was divided into three main tasks:

1. To identify what constitutes “social protection” as viewed by African research and policy actors and the extent to which there appears to be an ‘African consensus’ on defining components of social protection as explicitly as possible in terms of functional policy or programme activities;
2. To review the “policy prevalence” across the defined components of social protection sufficient to identify trends and commonalities among the policy priorities of African governments. In other words, the study should identify which areas of social protection are occupying the most policy attention evidenced by legislative or programme action rather than statements of intent; and

3. To summarise the available research and policy literature in each of the component areas of social protection. An annotated bibliography is provided as an Annex.

Following these three tasks, this paper is organised into the following sections. Section 2 begins with an assessment of existing definitions of social protection in and in relation to Africa. The focus is on the definitions, policies and instruments deployed by key African institutions (in particular the Africa Union), governments, as well as institutions that work in Africa, with a view to identifying whether a distinct “African definition” of or “African approach” to social protection exists. Section 3 examines the extent to which social protection definitions and policy have translated into social protection commitment, looking at specific social protection instruments, financing social protection and program scale (coverage). Section 4 examines the available literature on social protection from a governance lens, using PASGR’s governance framework to identify key areas of knowledge and gaps. Lastly, section 5 concludes.
Box 1: Types of social protection

Social Protection may be classified into four main types as follows:

**Social assistance**
Social protection programmes are described as ‘social assistance’ when resources, either cash or in-kind (e.g. food transfers) are transferred to vulnerable individuals or households. Social assistance mechanisms have been used for many years in industrialised countries, and are now employed effectively in developing country contexts. Such programmes take many forms. In Africa, these are predominantly cash transfers, social pensions, public works programmes, and in-kind transfers.

**Social insurance**
Social insurance schemes are contributory programmes in which beneficiaries make regular financial contributions in order to join a scheme that will reduce risk in the event of a shock. Because health costs can be very high, health insurance schemes are a popular way of mitigating risk from illness. However, some people argue that they are too expensive for the poor and should be complemented with social assistance. Other types of social insurance schemes include contributory pensions, unemployment insurance, funeral assistance and disaster insurance. In Africa, social insurance is strongly linked to the formalised labour market, meaning that coverage is determined by number of formal workers in a country and rarely reaches the poor and informal workers – often the majority of the population. The informal labour market therefore presents a strong challenge to the success of social insurance programmes.

**Labour market interventions**
Labour market interventions provide protection for poor people who are able to work. Interventions can be both active and passive: active programmes include training and skills development and employment counselling, whilst passive interventions include unemployment insurance, income support and changes to labour legislation, for example in establishing a minimum wage or safe working conditions. Labour market interventions can run alongside various social assistance and cash transfer programmes and can be integrated into longer-term development strategies.

**Community-based social protection**
Formal social protection systems do not offer complete coverage and inevitably exclude parts of a population. A variety of traditional or ‘informal’ ways of providing social protection within households, groups and networks fill some of the gaps left by formal social protection interventions and distribute risk within a community. Community-based mechanisms for providing social protection are becoming more popular as a research topic, with increasing calls for ‘traditional’ or informal social protection mechanisms to be carefully considered within programme design, and correspondingly supported.

There is also considerable interest in the potential for community-based mechanisms to be scaled up in order to undertake wider development activities, and in how to create links between social security schemes and community-based approaches with the aim of extending coverage to meet the challenge of providing adequate health services to the developing world.

2 Defining social protection: Analysis of key trends

2.1 Defining social protection in Africa

No single definition of social protection can be described as essentially African. As we review current definitions and thinking on social protection from a variety of African institutions, governments, and from other institutions whose work focuses on Africa, we observe that the definitions that are in place are greatly influenced by both “African” governments and international actors. Notwithstanding the absence of an African definition, the common denominator in existing definitions is the objective of responding to issues of risk, vulnerability and extreme poverty. In the following paragraphs we summarise some of the key categories of the definitions we have reviewed.

Pan-African Definitions
There is only one pan-African social protection definition— that of the African Union (AU). In a study commissioned by the African Union Commission and led by Prof. Viviene Taylor, Social Protection is defined as “a range of public (government funded) measures that gives support to all citizens and helps individuals, households, and communities to better manage risks and participate actively in all spheres of life” (ibid).

It should not be too surprising that there is no typically “African” definition of social protection, namely one that is applied with ease in any African country or region. First, the African continent has several diverse regions and countries that are underpinned by different political economies and are at different stages of development as well as engagement in the social protection policy process. The type of definition that a country adopts is most likely to be related to either or both of these features. In his paper on the politics of social protection in Africa Hickey (2005) refers to the key dimensions of political sociology that have a bearing on social protection, pointing out public attitudes; social fragmentation and inequality; and urban-rural differences. Different African countries are at different stages as far as any of these are concerned. On public attitudes, for example, he argues that the key issue is the extent of collective responsibility to provide for those unable to provide for themselves, and whether people link poverty to ‘lack of effort’ by the poor or ‘wider forces’. This in turn influences debates around the ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ poor. On the other hand, on social fragmentation and inequality, a key argument is that the wider the income gap or lack of social proximity the more unlikely that the “middle” category will support social protection. Such factors have an impact not only on acceptability but also on definitions.

Another document prepared for the African Union, Viviene Taylor (op cit) gives a more detailed definition of social protection as “a package of policies and programmes with the aim of reducing poverty and vulnerability of large segments of the population” (Taylor, 2008). She adds: “this is undertaken through a "mix" of policies/programmes that promote efficient labour markets, reduce people's exposure to risks, and contribute to enhancing their...”

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3 For a discussion of this see Hickey, S. (2005): Thinking about the politics of social protection in Africa: towards a conceptual and theoretical approach, IDPM, University of Manchester (This paper was originally presented at the Social Protection for Chronic Poverty Conference, Risk, Needs, and Rights. Protecting What? How?, Institute for Development Policy and Management/ Chronic Poverty Research Centre, University of Manchester, 23-24 February 2005.)
capacity to protect and cover themselves against lack of or loss of adequate income, and basic social services” (African Union documents, 2007). The key elements of this definition, for this analysis, are the focus on formal policies and programmes, and the range of functions (across social and economic spheres) that the definitions span.

Elsewhere Conway and Norton (2002) discuss the difference between the instrumentalist economic case for social protection and the normative political case which denotes “the traditional distinction between the two component functions (of social protection), namely, social insurance and social assistance”, a distinction which also has implications on definitions.

It is important to note that the AU definition does not take into account informal social protection systems, choosing to limit itself to “public (government funded) measures that give support to citizens and help individuals, households, and communities”. Informal social protection systems comprise community-based or “traditional approaches” to social protection, often based on kinship, friendship or community links, occurring within households, groups or other social networks, and they fill some of the gaps left by the absence of, or inadequacies in, formal social protection interventions. They do this by distributing risk within a community, family, or other social network. This shortcoming in the AU’s definition limits the extent to which informal social protection can be conceptualised within the wider body of the approach, and may indeed stifle possible innovation in this regard.

**Selected government definitions**

African Governments demonstrate variations in the way they define social protection, and hence in the policy objectives that they set. The definitions that the governments tend to adopt are usually closely related to those of the donor partners (discussed below) that are predominant in supporting social protection programmes in the respective countries and, hence, they could be seen as an amalgamation of government and donor perspectives on social protection. Not surprisingly, therefore, and while the picture is not uniform across the continent, a number of the definitions and policy statements are a mirror-image of the varied donor perspectives, or combinations thereof, reflecting both complementarities and differences in philosophical stance and levels of detail. Table 1 below gives some examples of selected country definitions.

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Table 1: **Summary of selected government definitions of social protection**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Summary definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape Verde</td>
<td>• Interventions that contribute to the protection and improvement of the living conditions of the poor and the excluded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chad</td>
<td>• Measures that lessen vulnerability, ease the poverty of vulnerable groups, help to contain excessive inequality and disparities between different social strata, and mitigate the negative impacts of social and economic policy decisions and choices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Côte d'Ivoire</td>
<td>• Interventions that alleviate the difficult situation of the poor and the vulnerable groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>• Interventions aimed at safeguarding the poor from becoming poorer and the non-poor from becoming poor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>• Policies and practices that protect and promote the livelihoods and welfare of people suffering from critical levels of poverty and deprivation and/or are vulnerable to risks and shocks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>• Public and private interventions that address vulnerabilities associated with being or becoming poor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>Traditional family and community support structures, and interventions by state and non-state actors that support individuals, households and communities to prevent, manage, and overcome the risks threatening their present and future security and well-being, and to embrace opportunities for their development and for social and economic progress in Tanzania.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above definitions confirm our earlier assertion that emphasis in definition varies from one country to another. As with most donor definitions, social protection definitions by African governments reflect a mix between those that are silent on informal social protection and those that tacitly recognise this form of social protection.

**Donor and international agencies’ definitions**

Donor differences in defining social protection further complicate the terrain especially given that in a number of African countries the influence that various donors can have on, even, a single country can be considerable. In 2009, for example, Kenya had over 14 major in-kind, cash or workfare programmes each of which was funded by different donors. The programmes included Food Distribution Emergency Operations; Kazi Kwa Vijana (youth employment scheme); Regular and Expanded School Feeding; Supplementary Feeding and Mother and Child Health Programme; OVC Cash Transfer Programme; National Accelerated Agricultural Inputs Access Programme; HIV/AIDS Nutrition Feeding; Home Grown School Feeding; Njaa Marufuku Kenya; Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP); Older People’s Programme; and Most Vulnerable People Programme also had different types

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conceptualisation⁶. Table 2 gives a summary of selected donor definitions identified by the study.

### Table 2: Summary of selected donor definitions of social protection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution/Donor</th>
<th>Summary of definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World Bank</td>
<td>Assistance to reduce vulnerability through better risk management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>Interventions to reduce poverty and vulnerability and to improve human welfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>Expenditures on services and transfers to (a) individual people and households; (b) collective basis (e.g. for formulation and administration of government policy); enforcement of legislation and standards for providing social protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Provision of security to unlock human potential and thereby encourage poor people to take advantage of opportunities, which in turn promotes more sustainable pro-poor growth strategies; investments in people of all ages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Union</td>
<td>Public actions to address the vulnerability of people’s life via social insurance, social assistance, and social inclusion efforts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Public actions carried out by the state or privately that address risk, vulnerability and chronic poverty (focusing on social insurance, social assistance, and minimum standards to protect citizens in the workplace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIZ</td>
<td>Support systems embedded within an institutional framework that helps people to cope with life's risks and cushion their consequences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>Public measures to protect society against economic and social distress that would be caused by the absence or a substantial reduction of income from work as a result of various contingencies⁷.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>Transfers and services that help individuals and households confront risk and adversity and ensure a minimum standard of dignity and well-being throughout the lifecycle⁸.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Definitions by African academics, researchers and institutions**
African academics and researchers have tended to take a more critical stance when it comes to defining social protection. First, a review of literature suggests that social

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⁶ See Kenya Social Protection Review – Concept Note, January 2011
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Social protection is not new to Africa (Mchomvu, A.S.T. et al., 2002⁸; DRT/CPRC/CCFU, 2009¹⁰). In the traditional African setting, this concept was defined by solidarity and mutual support among societies, and it had the primary aim of helping individuals to maintain a certain minimum standard of living especially when faced with social as well as economic and general livelihood contingencies (Mchomvu et al., Op Cit). At its most basic characterisation, it was described as the tradition of ensuring that the members of any given community or society supported each other in times of distress (ibid). This differs in essence from the way it is conceived in conventional social protection systems. In the latter case, as later described by Adesina, the focus of social protection narrowly tends towards income security, addressing risk and vulnerability, and responding to particular life cycle needs. Even where social protection is defined more broadly, it tends to veer off to needs-based emergency responses; mechanisms for supporting households to manage risks; or to an approach aimed at redistributing income. The African researchers whose works have been reviewed in this study view this as narrow, and seem to concur that the resultant frameworks only conveniently fall into forms of social protection which provide households with a minimum level of well-being, and a shield against risks including: contributory (social insurance), non-contributory (social assistance), and labour market interventions with additional variations of these including micro and area-based schemes and life-cycle – based schemes. Thus such definitions are perceived to miss the more comprehensive frameworks which bind both social and economic policy together or the number of non-conventional (or traditional) social protection approaches which are more rooted in the socio-cultural milieu of African societies. In so doing the social protection programmes which are developed based on such narrow definitions are believed to lack an African peculiarity.

Two examples illustrate what else exists in social protection and on whose basis frameworks could be developed. First, in Swaziland, Tanzania, Rwanda and Uganda, burials, “ambulance”, and “friend-in-need” groups perform functions of a social protection nature¹¹. While increasingly these groups are gaining recognition under a category frequently referred to in conventional literature as “informal social protection”, such groups are far from becoming accommodated in the conceptualisation, design or implementation of mainstream social protection policies and programmes. This is in spite of the fact that it is these mechanisms that provide realistic social-protection-type support to the largest number of people especially in rural Africa. Another example comes from the Republic of Sudan where Zakat is recognised as a social protection mechanism which is embedded in Islamic religious teaching as one of the five major pillars of Islam and whose aim is to “combat poverty and its effects by collecting and expending the Zakat funds; promoting the spirit of charity and benevolence; and directly addressing poverty and its causes”¹². However, while this mechanism is recognised by government, it neither features in the frameworks proposed by donors nor is it recognised by other scholars as an integral part of the Sudanese social protection response.

Jimi Adesina (2011) specifically critiques the narrow approach to the ‘social protection paradigm’ as the ‘social’ side of neo-liberalism – a narrow agenda dominated by conditional and unconditional cash transfers, that originated in safety net responses to structural adjustment programmes in the 1980s. Most social protection interventions, he avers, target the poor or ‘ultra-poor’, their success is demonstrated through ‘randomised control trial’ impact evaluations, and they are disconnected from broader social policy. In Africa, he

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¹⁰ An example of such schemes is described in the Uganda Participatory Poverty Report (UPPAP¹), Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, Kampala, January 2000.
¹¹ The Republic of Sudan, for example, recognises in its social protection policy the Zakat Diwan, one of the five major pillars of Islam, and this is strengthened various Zakat legislations. The stated aim of these is “combat poverty and its effects by collecting and expending the Zakat funds; promoting the spirit of charity and benevolence; and directly addressing poverty and its causes”. For a detailed discussion see UNESCO Regional Bureau for Education in the Arab States (2011): Social Protection Policy and Research in the Arab States: from Shared Challenges to Coordinated Efforts, UNESCO Regional Bureau for Education in the Arab States – Beirut.
observes, five sets of actors are driving the ‘social protection agenda, namely: international financial institutions (e.g. the World Bank), bilateral donors, NGOs (often single-issue advocates), consultants, and lower-level bureaucracies in developing countries (higher levels of government are not interested). Adesina’s concern is that the conventional social protection paradigm is itself beset with a set of problematic assumptions, norms, and policy practices which, he seems to suggest, partly explain the perceived ‘resistance’ among several African governments to the scaling up of the existing donor-driven ‘pilot schemes’. Further, he points out that in the formulation and implementation of present-day social protection programmes there seems to exist a disconnect between social and economic policy, which disregards the fact that fiscal policies can be used as levers of social policy (state social spending involves budgetary allocation, a fiscal instrument) and that, similarly, social policies serve as levers for economic policy outcomes: labour productivity, economic growth, etc. In addition, Adesina further argues, rather than conventional social protection taking into account the solidarity norms of the African communities in which current social protection programmes are being implemented, most international NGOs and agencies are instead “wedded to a language of social justice and re-distribution that violates both the normative underpinnings of progressive social-policy thinking in Europe and the essence of community-driven social protection (in Africa)”13. Finally, he contests the unchallenged neo-liberal economic paradigm arguing that it may well explain much of the vulnerability which in the first place conventional social protection seeks to mitigate.

Adesina thus argues for a ‘transformative social policy’ that will reflect a wider vision of society and will fulfil multiple roles, including production, redistribution, protection, reproduction, social cohesion and nation-building, all underpinned by principles of equality and social solidarity (see also Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004) Transformative Social Protection Framework discussed below).

The position taken by Adesina partly supports the argument presented by Mchovu et al (Op Cit) and is itself supported by observations made by Thandika Mkandawire in a contribution he made in an article in the International Poverty Centre’s Poverty in Focus journal: “Targeting and Universalism in Poverty Reduction”.14 In the latter article Mkandawire posits that since the 1980s, the balance in both developed and developing countries has tilted from universalistic policies towards targeting, which in the developed countries led to the shift from welfare to workfare states with many social welfare policies being redesigned to narrow the scope of recipients by targeting benefits e.g. through means tests, income tests, status characteristics and behavioural conditionality (ibid). In developing countries, Mkandawire further asserts, the choice has been limited by the context of macroeconomic and aid policies. Interestingly, too, a similar position has been adopted by the African Union’s social policy framework.

Definitions by non-African academics and researchers focusing on Africa

Definitions offered by other researchers and the academic community are perhaps as varied as those in the domain of donors and governments. Indeed, it is plausible that the paths that different donors and governments have taken in defining social protection bear a large influence on them from the research and academic community, most of who simultaneously work as consultants to these same governments and donors. As has already been demonstrated in Ethiopia, Zambia and Uganda, for example, these definitions have been developed with the respective countries’ social protection processes and experiences in mind. In a paper prepared for DFID, Andrew Shepherd et al (2004) describe social protection both as an approach and as a set of policies, observing that “as an approach it focuses on reducing risk and vulnerabilities, and includes ‘all interventions from public, private and voluntary organizations and informal networks to support communities,

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households and individuals in their efforts to prevent, manage and overcome risks and vulnerabilities." It is also “a set of policies which governments can pursue in order to ensure protection both to the ‘economically active poor’, enabling them to participate more productively in economic activity, and to the less active poor, with considerable benefits for society as a whole.”15

Barrientos et al (2005) on the other hand distinguish between two possible definitions of social protection. The first is a narrower vision that sees the approach as a means of providing short-term assistance to individuals and households to cope with shocks while they are temporarily finding new economic opportunities that will rapidly allow them to improve their situation. The other is a broader vision that views social protection as having both short-term and long-term roles in poverty reduction: helping people to conserve and accumulate assets and to transform their socio-economic relationships so that they are not constrained from seizing opportunities by bonding or clientelism. In cases where people are dependent on others, because of age, infirmity or disability, then this broader vision envisages long-term forms of social assistance such as grants and non-contributory pensions. The narrow vision sees a clear distinction between social protection and livelihood promotion, while the broad vision sees them as being closely related. Conway et al (2000) in (Barrientos et al, 2005: 4) define social protection as “public actions taken in response to levels of vulnerability, risk, and deprivation which are deemed socially unacceptable within a given polity or society.”16 In the same publication, a key point is made about the difference in defining social protection from a developed countries’ point of view as opposed to a developing country point of view. Whereas, it is argued, in developed countries the emphasis of social protection is on income maintenance and on protecting living standards for all (but especially workers), in developing countries, the main emphasis of social protection is on addressing the causes of poverty (not simply its symptoms). Thus focus of social protection in the latter case is not just about compensating those in poverty for their income shortfall, but an aspiration to have a broader developmental role. The rationale for this is that the persistent poverty faced by the poor is the main reason for their failure to take advantage of economic opportunity, which in turn can be explained, to a large extent, by their vulnerability to the impacts of economic, social and natural hazards. This perspective further notes that in the absence of social protection, hazards impact directly on living standards and they promote risk-averse behaviour among those in poverty, which is detrimental to their long-term welfare. For example, a number of parents respond to financial crises by taking children out of school or by spending less on primary health care. This is perhaps the single most important reason for a growing number of African countries taking a broader view of the objectives and opportunities of social protection. Barrientos (ibid) concludes his purview on this by asserting that the broader developmental role of social protection in developing countries involves three main functions, namely:

- helping to protect basic levels of consumption among those in poverty or in danger of falling into poverty;
- facilitating investment in human and other productive assets which alone can provide escape routes from persistent and intergenerational poverty; and,
- strengthening the agency of those in poverty so that they can overcome their predicament17.

15 Shepherd, A., Marcus, R. and Barrientos, A. (2004): Policy Paper on Social Protection, Overseas Development Institute, 111 Westminster Bridge Road, SE1 7JD (This paper was produced for DFID, but does not represent DFID policy or the opinions of DFID): http://www.odi.org.uk/Africa_Portal/pdf/Social_Protection_1309.pdf
17 Social Protection and Poverty, Social Policy and Development Programme Paper Number 42, January 2010, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland (The responsibility for opinions expressed in this report rests solely with the author(s), and publication of the report does not constitute endorsement by UNRISD).
On the other hand, Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004) refer to social protection as “all public and private initiatives that provide income or consumption transfers to the poor, protect the vulnerable against livelihood risks, and enhance the social status and rights of the marginalized; with the overall objective of reducing the economic and social vulnerability of poor, vulnerable and marginalized groups”\(^\text{18}\). This transformative approach to social protection aims to address concerns of social equity and exclusion that often underpin people’s experiences of chronic poverty and vulnerability. This view extends social protection to arenas such as equity, empowerment and economic, social and cultural rights, rather than confining its scope to economic risks (which translates to narrow responses based on targeted income and consumption transfers). The critical features of this conceptual framework include a recognition that economic and social risks are intertwined and often mutually reinforcing, and of the need to address the structural causes of poverty, including power relations, in order to provide a sustainable exit strategy from poverty.

**What stands out from the different definitions?**

No clear or consistent pattern emerges from the different categories of definitions outlined in the foregoing discussion\(^\text{19}\). As such, it is difficult to draw conclusions on any of these categories of definitions. That said, it is still possible to make some general inferences by examining key points of departure that the different categories of definitions present. For example, both multi-lateral and bilateral donor organisations tend to describe social protection in very specific terms, mostly as “public actions”. However bilateral donors (e.g. DFID, GIZ, etc.) are either silent or actually include informal social protection in their definitions.

Definitions which are offered by governments appear to reflect opinions or perspectives that are either similar to those of the donor agencies that will have supported discussions and formulation of social protection policies in the respective countries or are a mix of such processes and national aspirations and/or definitions.

On the other hand, definitions from academics and researchers are more inclusive, tending to bring together both formal and informal; public and private; long-term and short-term interventions; and describing social protection as preventive, protective, promotive, and transformative. Not unexpectedly, also, definitions offered by specialist agencies such as UNICEF (children) and ILO (labour), focus attention on the *raison d’être* for such organisations which while clarifying the role that social protection can (and needs to) play in particular sectors also poses a challenge of fragmentation of the definition.

**Towards an African definition?**

The foregoing discussion suggests that there are substantial differences among African scholars, institutions and governments (and the different institutions and people that support them) in terms of how they approach social protection. Similarly, there exist substantial differences among institutions, agencies, academics and even societies themselves in terms of how it is defined\(^\text{20}\). The reasons for these differences, it may be conjectured, include differing traditions, cultures and organisational philosophies as well as structures\(^\text{21}\). Perhaps the most significant difference which is relevant for this study is that between African academics, researchers and some institutions that view social protection in terms of a wider social and economic policy framework which is sensitive to the pervasive levels of poverty.

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\(^{19}\) A similar conclusion was reached by Abena Oduro (2010) in her paper “Formal and Informal Social Protection in Sub-Saharan Africa” which was prepared for the Workshop “Promoting Resilience through Social Protection in Sub-Saharan Africa” organised by the European Report on Development in Dakar, 28-30 June 2010. See Abena Oduro (2010), Department of Economics, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana.

\(^{20}\) A similar pattern of differences can be observed elsewhere. See, for example, Social protection for development: A review of definitions by Paolo Brunori, Università di Bari, Italy and Marie O’Reilly, Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs, New York, USA.

\(^{21}\) These issues are also raised in Gross, R. (2007), “Definitions of key social protection terms from other donors”, USAID Knowledge Services Center, December 2007.
across Africa and also includes community-based approaches as opposed to a narrower definition focusing on risk and vulnerability. Despite this wide array of definitions, there is a certain kind of convergence which seems to be emerging in more recent times. For example, Barrientos and Hulme (2008) observe that the initially dominant conceptualisation of social protection as social risk management “has been extended by approaches grounded in basic human needs and capabilities” and that “social protection practice has changed from a focus on short term social safety nets and social funds to a much broader armoury of policies and programmes that combine interventions protecting basic levels of consumption among poor and poorest households; facilitating investment in human capital and other productive assets which provide escape routes from persistent and intergenerational poverty; and strengthening the agency of those in poverty so their capability to overcome their predicaments are increased (Barrientos and Hulme, 2008)22. Thus social protection has more recently been conceptualized as an ‘overarching framework’ that goes beyond mere transfers and towards comprehensive policies, and where safety nets and welfare mechanisms are considered to be components of a broader social protection framework. These conceptualisations are strongly influenced by ideological underpinnings, which we turn to in the sub-section below.

2.2 Ideological underpinnings to social protection approaches

The definitions and conceptualizations of social protection, as discussed above, do not emerge in a political vacuum and most are underpinned and influenced by political, institutional, social and economic ideologies in place in the respective regions and countries23. Here we take a brief look at some of these dominant ideologies and how they have shaped African concepts and definitions of social protection.

Neo-liberalism, the IMF and World Bank and social protection: The 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s were characterized by a resurgence of neo-liberalism in a number of African countries24 which, following the end of the Cold War, led to a new push in these countries for small government structures, privatization of state owned enterprises, a significant reduction in social spending, the liberalization of markets, and the opening of space and opportunities for foreign investments. While these “reforms” opened up new “economic” opportunities especially for those with knowledge of private sector operations, political connections, and skills, they also led to large scale marginalization and slippage into poverty for those who were employed in the public sector and for poor farmers who in spite of increased revenues from crops at the farm gate, also saw a spiralling of input costs, erosion of “resource pooling options” (such as cooperatives), and the disappearance of agricultural services. This situation was made worse by the withdrawal of the state from one of its most important functions of regulation. Large numbers of the urban poor in the meantime became trapped in a cycle of debt as food prices skyrocketed, access to clean water and sanitation became more difficult and the cost of education and health out-of-reach for most households.

The feeling of powerlessness, deprivation and insecurity that accompanied the neo-liberal approach is well documented in the various poverty and vulnerability studies carried out in different countries on the continent25, and the resulting poverty, vulnerability and increased risk soon became of interest to the focus of attention. Thus the World Bank’s introduction then of safety nets programmes was an acknowledgement that something was just not right. However, even with this recognition, the two institutions (IMF and World Bank) continued to hold a “residualist” view of poverty and vulnerability, which assumed (and to a large extent

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24 During this period IMF and World Bank-inspired structural adjustment programmes dominated economic policy in Africa.

25 See for example the Participatory Poverty Assessments carried out in Uganda (1999); Tanzania (2002/3); Ethiopia (2004/5).
continues to assume) that growth leads to un-problematically poverty reduction; that apart
from known risks the main problem for the poorest groups was that they were still failing to
become “economically active”; and that safety nets were mainly needed for some kind of
“mopping-up” mechanism which took care of those who fell through the net. Yet, as Adesina
(2011) and Mkandawire (2006) clearly outline, not much attention was being put on
challenging the role of the neo-liberal development paradigm itself as a source of increased
risk and vulnerability.

**Rights-based approaches:** An important characteristic of rights-based approaches to social
protection is that the framework assigns rights and obligations to individuals, groups and
states – “the idea that states are obliged to provide appropriate regulation of labour and
financial markets and an acceptable basic standard of health care and education, all of
which will improve the ability of households to manage risk within livelihood strategies that
are focused on improving standards of living’ (Conway and Norton, 2002: 535)\(^{26}\). The point
of departure for these approaches is that most of the existing social protection instruments
(e.g. insurance schemes, public works, food aid, targeted cash transfers or social funds) do
not necessarily address issues of social justice and the equal rights and entitlements of
those that need to be supported. Thus in a rights-based approach social protection is
considered to be a right and entitlement, and not just a matter of charity and that focus is put
on the ability of citizens to claim these rights and entitlements; the framework places clear
obligations on states to guarantee social protection; a range of international human rights
standards can be used to justify social protection, beginning with those related to social
security and broadening out to all other human rights; the core obligations and minimum
standards that can be expected and the specific requirements of vulnerable groups are
highlighted; citizenship and the importance of understanding social and political contexts are
placed at the centre of the justification and delivery of social protection; focus is placed on
accountability mechanisms, and institutional capacity, to guarantee the appropriate design
and delivery of social protection; and the framework deliberately links demand-side with
supply-side considerations\(^{27}\).

The **International Labour Organisation (ILO)** is a good example of an institution which
has, for example, embraced the right to social security, and it has developed an approach to
social protection centred on this. The ideological interests of the ILO are easy to see. First,
social security is mostly based around formal employment – the main mandate of the ILO. It
includes both social insurance (contributory schemes) and social assistance (resource
transfers, often tax-financed) measures. A ‘right to social security’ has been recognised by
the international community and has been codified in international instruments as principally
relating to events beyond the control of an individual or linked to specific stages in life which
require particular protection, for example in cases of: unemployment, sickness, disability,
widowhood, old age, motherhood or childhood. As already indicated (section 1.2. above)
the ILO defines social protection as “the set of public measures that a society provides for its
members to protect them against economic and social distress that would be caused by the
absence or a substantial reduction of income from work as a result of various contingencies
(sickness, maternity, employment injury, unemployment invalidity, old age, and death of
breadwinner); the provision of healthcare; and, the provision of benefits for families with
children. All these speak directly to the organisation’s mandate and philosophy and hence,
where the ILO has significant influence in shaping social protection policy-making, this is
bound to influence the focus which a given country would take regarding social protection.

**UNICEF, rights and social protection:** Similar to the rights-based ideological positioning
taken by the ILO, UNICEF is yet another international agency with a slant towards rights-
based approaches to social protection. The organisation’s emphasis of this approach
follows the debt crisis of the 1980s which led to a severe recession in almost all African (and

\(^{26}\) Quoted in “Rights-Based Approaches to Social Protection”, [http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/](http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/)

\(^{27}\) For a detailed discussion see “Rights-Based Approaches to Social Protection”, [http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/](http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/)
other developing) countries, and the IMF and World Bank-inspired structural adjustment programmes which required countries to cut back on their expenditures. At the time the IMF and World bank were pushing for introduction of user charges for health and education, and reduction or abolition of the minimum wage (ostensibly to attract investors). The roll-back of the state which accompanied these measures led to the collapse of the public sector in the affected countries and to high unemployment. Poverty rose and income distribution worsened. In what came to be known as the ‘lost decade’, UNICEF responded with a powerful report, Adjustment with a Human Face, which argued that children must and could be protected during economic crisis and explained how this could be done – through more expansionary macro-programmes, redirection of meso-policies to protect crucial social and economic sectors serving the poor, and the introduction of social protection programmes. The report critiqued the pervasive negative impacts that Structural Adjustment Programs had on, especially, health and education in the developing world, particularly African countries, and it signalled a shift in thinking at UNICEF and throughout much of the development world towards the need to positively respond to the squeeze faced by most poor countries in the 1980s, and how policies needed to change.

3 Does social protection policy translate into practice?

In order to answer this question, it is important to understand the state of play regarding policy, the scale of implementation and coverage of different types of social protection instruments. A particular challenge that many African countries still face today is that of ensuring coherence between national policies, strategies, programmes and activities in the promotion of social protection. Yet the need to have in place such policies and corresponding strategies cannot be over-emphasised, particularly for the value they bring in guiding resource allocation and enabling the establishment of cross-sectoral linkages that are necessary for the effective and efficient functioning of social protection interventions. Presently, there are a number of policies and strategies that address social protection, directly or indirectly (see Box 2 for instance). In addition to National Development Plans, several African countries still use Poverty Reduction Strategies, as well as a series of other policies, such as those on food security, HIV/AIDS, disaster management, disability, old age, etc. However these policies and strategies are highly “sectorised” and the activities that are derived from the sectors are themselves highly “projectised”. For example, Uganda has policies for orphans and vulnerable children; elimination of child labour; disability; equal opportunities; gender; assistance and free access to anti-retroviral treatment; the Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF), etc.29 Similarly, Tanzania has a multiplicity of social protection elements that are not linked to each other, comprising of the National Social Security Fund (NSSF) under the National Social Security Fund Act No.28/1997; the Public Service Pension Fund (PSSP) under the Public Service Retirement Benefits Act No. 2 of 1999; the Parastatal Pension Fund (PPF); the Local Authorities Provident Fund (LAPF) under the Local Authorities Provident Fund Act No.9/2006; the National Health Insurance Fund (NHIF) under the National Health Insurance Fund Act No. 8 of 1999; and the Political Retirement Benefits Act No. 3/1999. Yet the debates continue as to whether to have one programme or several30, or to use categorical or poverty targeting.

30 Shepherd observes that tailor made social transfer or insurance schemes would protect against the major risks, but that there are many risks, and the approach might not be cost effective where financial and administrative capacities are limited. He further points out that for the moment, one well run and wide coverage programme addressing many risks might be better than several patchy and less well run programmes addressing different sources of risk (see Andrew Shepherd (2011): “Addressing chronic poverty and vulnerability through social transfers in Tanzania: assessing the options”, Policy Brief 27, Chronic Poverty Research Centre 2011).
Box 2: Examples of social protection policy statements

**Kenya:** To reduce vulnerability across gender lines, and to reduce levels of poverty across the board, prohibit retrogressive cultural practices and social ills as well as improve access to essential services. In addition, the government will ensure that the country upholds the basic rights of children in line with internationally recognised standards. The government will also ensure that the country produces a globally competitive labour force inclusive of young people at all levels, through youth empowerment programmes and policies.

**Angola:** To achieve improved, expanded and sustainable utilization of basic social and economic services and to support a governance system where local government and communities can gradually become mutually accountable - Republic of Angola/The World Bank (2010): Third Social Action Fund (FAS III), March 2010;

**Chad:** Aim of social protection is to lessen vulnerability, to reduce excessive inequality and disparities between social strata and to mitigate possible negative impact of social and economic policy decisions and choices or of social unrest. Vulnerable groups at greater risk than others have insufficient capacity to cope with life’s hazards, income shocks or a sharp decline in living standards.

**Cameroon:** Social protection strategy aims to create an institutional, legal and regulatory framework guaranteeing rights and social protection to vulnerable groups to mitigate inequalities and exclusion.

Likewise, in Rwanda, in addition to the country’s constitution, the Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS) and the Social Protection policy itself, there are also in place national policies for family promotion (MIJEPROF, 2004); risk and disaster management (MINALOC); orphans and other vulnerable children (MINALOC 2002); disabled (MINALOC, 2002); old people (MINALOC, 2002); and for development of mutual health insurance schemes (MINASANTE, 2004). This is in addition to a strategic plan for the Promotion of youth employment (2008-2012); an Action plan for education for all (MINEDUC 2004); Law on the National Fund for Assistance to the most destitute victims of the genocide and 1994 massacre in Rwanda; and the Ministerial directive on education funds in districts and cities.

A common reason for the multiplicity of policies, strategies and interventions is that each government sector pushes its own projects and programmes. This is often aggravated by donor driven projects which are implemented either in partnership with government ministries or by international NGOs working in each country. Another common characteristic is problems with implementation or delivery. Poor country governments typically lack the technical, fiscal, management and logistical capacity to manage complex programmes effectively, hence the need for external support.

Hence the answer to the above question varies. It is arguable that overall a lot more is contained in policy statements than is actually being implemented on the ground (discussed more in the sub-sections below). That said, over the last 10 – 15 years there has also been a considerable growth in the number of social protection programmes in Africa. These are being implemented with varying degrees of coverage, scope, and conviction. Examples of countries which have demonstrated relatively high commitment to the social protection process include Mauritius, South Africa, Botswana and Lesotho and Ethiopia. Rwanda has

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also been at the forefront of developing and implementing home-grown social protection programmes that are based on the country’s experiences as well as values32.

In most of the other countries, however, the picture is very mixed. Kenya, for example, has a balanced mix between government-inspired-and-led social protection programmes on one hand and donor-influenced programmes on the other hand. Similarly social protection programmes in Zambia reveal a certain mix in leadership of the social protection process. There is another category of countries where social protection is not yet fully on the radar. Eritrea, Burundi, DRC Congo and South Sudan could be classified in this category. The reasons for low prioritisation in such countries are probably to do with the state of social and economic development, the limited capacity to engage with this debate, and the near-absence of interested lead donor partners.

In the following sub-sections we look at the actual implementation of social protection programming in terms of types of social protection instruments, fiscal commitment and programme scale (coverage).

### 3.1 Social protection instruments

The main social protection instruments implemented in African countries tend to align with the needs of particular vulnerable groups. On the one hand, social assistance and welfare forms of social protection for people who are labour-constrained (such as people with disabilities, orphans without support, victims of civil conflict and/or natural disasters, and those who are not eligible for insurance schemes) tend to be unconditional income or food transfers. Examples of these are well documented for South Africa (see Republic of South Africa, 2006; Feranilet al, 2010). On the other hand, labour-market programmes which target wage or non-wage employees in the formal and informal sectors, as well as those who are under-employed or unemployed are also increasingly prevalent. The Kenya Government is, for example, implementing the “Kazi kwa Vijana”, a cash-for-work programme which targets unemployed youth (see Republic of Kenya, 2009 and Prime Minister’s Office, Nairobi) whilst its programmes to tackle vulnerability amongst the elderly and orphans and vulnerable children provide transfers without works requirements. Besides the above, a number of African countries still rely on such instruments as: food aid (used mostly in emergency situations, such as Sudan; Somalia; Eritrea; DRC Congo, and others); social insurance mechanisms, especially health insurance and mutual health schemes – mostly prevalent in west Africa; social assistance (grants) which are more prevalent in Southern Africa; and public works – these are more prevalent in post-conflict countries such as Rwanda, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Mozambique. They are also used in Ethiopia as a move away from humanitarian aid.

In the wake of HIV and AIDS, also, such instruments as community targeting, food assistance and free access to anti-retroviral treatment also target affected people, including those who are infected as well as orphans and vulnerable children. These programmes take on group and individual targeting approaches (see for example the design and implementation of the Community HIV/AIDS Initiative implemented in Uganda (Kirya, S. (2006)). In addition, there are a whole range of approaches combining cash transfers, food assistance, cash-for-work programmes, food for work, input schemes, pilot school feeding programmes, and a limited number of disability grants and health insurance schemes.

Other examples include Lesotho’s Old Age Pension, a universal non-contributory scheme including all registered citizens over 70-years old not receiving any other form of pension benefit; Rwanda’s Vision 2020 Umurenge Programme that has initiatives to redirect social protection programmes to vulnerable populations through the instruments of public works, the Ubudehe credit scheme, and direct support through an unconditional cash transfer;

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Ethiopia’s Productivity Safety Net Programme, a conditional transfer in cash and/or in kind programme based on public works and including a small component of unconditional direct transfers to those unable to work; and Kenya’s School Feeding Programme, a conditional cash transfer to schools for local purchase of food, involving more than half a million children of primary school age.

A number of trends may also be observed when looking at the types of social protection programmes that are implemented in practice (see Box 3). These social protection trends may be analysed through the lenses of the primary objectives of the social protection interventions themselves. The objectives may include addressing poverty; reducing risk; promoting human capital development; maintaining minimum consumption levels; helping to respond to life-cycle vulnerabilities; ensuring social justice; or building systems for design and delivery.

Box 3: Trends in social protection across African contexts

| Trends in conflict and post-conflict contexts: | The risks against which people in conflict and post-conflict situations require social protection differ from those in non-conflict countries. As such trends in the former also differ. Besides loss of income or regular earnings, conflict and post-conflict countries are often characterised by the breakdown of family and other social networks. For example, Angola, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone and Uganda where violent conflict affected and dislodged large numbers of people over a number of years, social protection efforts ought to be conceived in the context of not only addressing livelihood and economic deprivation but also the re-establishment of systems that ensure human security. Yet our evidence so far seems to suggest that efforts in those countries have so far focused attention on demobilisation of soldiers, re-establishment of means of earning livelihoods, and re-integration in society. The trend in these and other post-conflict countries is to institute measures that are designed to ensure people’s access to basic needs. While this objective needs to be pursued, the approach and emphasis appears to ignore the almost irreplaceable but vital informal networks and links (as an objective itself) which communities previously relied on in times of distress. Further, the implementation of “other” government programmes and/or interventions (for example in agriculture, education and health) also tends to be done with the assumption that impacts in these societies would be affected in much the same way as in non-conflict societies. This is particularly problematic since it ignores the differences that are prevalent in context (for example the absence of a vibrant private sector; the lack of capacity among governance institutions; etc.). |

| Geographical trends: | Geographical trends in social protection are evident on four dimensions. The first and second dimensions are respectively captured by those African countries with Anglophone and Francophone leanings or colonial geographies. The differences in the two approaches are noticeable. While for example in Anglophone countries the preferred social protection instrument for disabled people is a non-conditional disability grant (income) following medical certification, people with disabilities in francophone countries, following the French tradition, are integrated into jobs or work in special institutions which are then supported with a subsidy1. In this case integration into jobs is regarded as a citizen’s right for the disabled. Similarly, employers are legally obliged to hire a certain quota of disabled people and “social assistance” programmes are a deliberate channel through which publicly-funded activities are systematically implemented to help beneficiaries take jobs or enter training programmes (ibid). A similar trend appears to have been incorporated in the social protection approaches of French-speaking African |
countries, such as Senegal\textsuperscript{1}. The countries of North Africa reveal another dimension. In Sudan and other Arabic speaking countries (where Islam is also a predominant religion), the use of Zakat is prevalent in both informal and formal social protection approaches. While literature on these countries is difficult to come by, some trends may be inferred from observations made in the neighbouring Arab-speaking countries (Jordan, Syria, and Yemen). Here Zakat Funds, based on donations by Muslims in these countries and in other wealthier countries, help to fund many social assistance programmes. For example, in Yemen, the institutionalised zakat system currently contributes approximately 0.5% of GDP to social spending. Approximately 30% of the funds raised are used to help finance the social fund for development, 20% goes to governors’ budgets and 50% is distributed to needy people. Among Shi’a communities in parts of the region, contributions known as \textit{khums} (a one-off payment of one-fifth of one’s income) play an important role in financing faith-based organisations’ provision (Jawad and Yakut-Cakar, 2010). In Jordan, the Zakat Fund accounts for 11% of cash transfers in the country. However, the Zakat Fund has inadequate targeting mechanisms, which results in significant leakage among the non-poor. A total of 29% of Zakat beneficiaries are from the poorest quintile but the majority are not poor. In fact, a large share of Zakat transfers goes to households in the wealthiest quintile (25%) (Blank, 2010)\textsuperscript{1}. In North Africa, also, where proximity to Europe was a dominant factor, other schemes that are akin to those found in Europe also evolved in Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia. These provided pensions based on social insurance principles.

Thus the pattern of social protection provision in Africa reflects colonial preferences and considerations, and they are clearly interlinked with the geography and colonial history of the continent. These systems emerged to support economic development activities, with the colonial powers initially extending their own system to their expatriates and rolling it out later to African workers especially those in white collar and blue-collar jobs or who worked in urban areas. Not surprisingly, the majority of the population remained beyond the scope of such provisions, a trend that has been sustained to this day.

Another trend relates to the impacts of HIV and AIDS in Eastern and Southern Africa. The tragic impact of HIV/AIDS in this geographical territory of the continent not only represents a humanitarian disaster but has also led to the reprioritisation of particularly affected categories of the population as social protection targets. The provision of free anti-retroviral therapy, for example, is one such instrument. Similarly, income transfers to support orphans and vulnerable children are top on the list of targets. In such countries as Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe, more than a third of the population is affected, with women being more at risk than men. In some of these countries the situation of people living with HIV/AIDS is made worse by the multiple forms of exclusion from which these populations suffer – social, familial, economic, medical and other. In some of these countries, such as in Botswana, the development of community-based social protection schemes represents an opportunity for reaching out to those populations, especially in rural areas. In Lesotho, in particular, the implementation of a universal non-contributory pension scheme has enabled older people to take on responsibilities of grand children who are orphaned by HIV/AIDS.

### 3.2 Social protection fiscal commitment

Analysing social protection expenditure in a given country is one mechanism by which to examine the actual commitment to social protection policies and programmes in practice.

Data on social protection spending, especially non-contributory social assistance, however, is difficult to obtain. As the World Social Security Report 2010-11 states “there are practically no systematically collected data which would indicate not only expenditure on such schemes, but also numbers of beneficiaries and effective coverage in terms of percentages of target groups reached” (ILO, 2010: 74).

Despite this dearth of information, Hagen-Zanker and McCord (2011) analyse the fiscal commitment to social protection in four countries, using the African Union’s Social Policy Framework for Africa (2008) recommendation that 4.5% of an African country’s GDP is spent on social protection as a guideline indicator\textsuperscript{33}. They find that on average, only seven percent of social protection target expenditure is reached and that government expenditure on social protection across many countries remains low as a proportion of GDP:

\textsuperscript{33} See full paper for discussion on methodology and social protection category definitions.
Social protection in Africa: A review of social protection issues in research

- Mozambique and Uganda: 0.1% GDP
- Kenya: 0.3%
- Malawi: 0.4%
- Ethiopia: 0.7%

Taking Kenya as an example, while the relative fiscal commitment to social protection is low, the country’s investment in social protection in the last few years has increased34. Here, between 2005 and 2010, the country’s social protection expenditure rose from Kenya Shillings 33.4 billion to 57.1 billion, equivalent to 2.28 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) in 2010. This growth in social protection spending was attributed to increases in spending on the contributory programmes, the civil service pension, and safety nets, with spending on contributory programmes rising by approximately 53 percent between 2005 and 2010. Similarly the National Health Insurance Fund spending rose due to the higher value of benefits paid. It is notable also that in Kenya, government is the largest source of financing to social protection, contributing approximately 55 percent to this budget line, followed by development partners at 22 percent and members of contributory schemes at 22 percent. Despite this impressive performance, even here expenditure is still concentrated in only a few sectors, with 88 percent of total government spending on social protection going to the civil service pension, and the remaining government financing being allocated to safety nets, mostly to social cash transfers.

Due to data limitations it is difficult to assess per country exactly what type of social protection is budgeted for within this category of expenditure. As Figure 1 shows, only a few countries invest in social pensions for the elderly. Notable exceptions to this are Lesotho, Mauritius, Namibia and South Africa where pension coverage is high as a result of providing universal pensions or social assistance pensions in addition to contributory schemes. Mauritius and South Africa spend more than 5 per cent of their GDP on pension and other social security benefits, while (as noted above) the majority of the sub-Saharan African countries allocate not more than 1 per cent of GDP, and even this is used mostly to pay for civil service pensions (ILO, 2010).

34 Until recently the country did not even have a social protection policy.
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Figure 1: Africa: Old-age pensioners (all ages) as a proportion of the elderly population, latest available year (percentages)

![Graph showing the proportion of old-age pensioners in various African countries.]

Source: ILO, 2010

In terms of other types of social protection expenditure the picture is further obscured. Social health insurance contributions finance 12 per cent in Northern Africa and only 3 per cent in sub-Saharan Africa (ILO, 2010).

Affordability is ultimately a question of political preference. It is thus not surprising that the countries described above as having demonstrated a very high level of commitment to their entire social protection programming also come tops in demonstrating fiscal commitment. Four countries with different economic abilities, namely Ethiopia, South Africa, Kenya and Lesotho, best illustrate this. In these countries, if it has not already happened, a key effort is to mainstream social protection programmes in the normal budget process and to institutionalise systems that guarantee assistance for the very poor and protect the vulnerable from livelihood risks and social discrimination.

However, in those countries where most of the funding still comes from donors (such as Malawi and Zambia), much of the impetus remains with these same development actors. This challenge notwithstanding, a few countries are increasingly allocating resources from their own budgets initially as co-financing but with the ultimate objective of taking over from

donors when external resources are finally phased out. Ghana, Malawi, Tanzania, Rwanda and Uganda are some of the countries in this category.

3.3 Scale of social protection programmes

The number and scale of social protection programmes in Africa has grown considerably in the last few years. Perhaps no other country better illustrates this growth than Kenya, where from a small UNICEF pilot for OVC in 2004 the number of interventions has grown to include a Hunger and Safety Nets Programme for Arid and Semi-Arid land; a poverty-targeted pension for older people; a youth employment scheme (the Kazi Kwa Vijana scheme); a programme targeting the urban poor; and more recently a disability grant. While the OVC programme plans to scale up to cover 300,000 households by 2011, the HSNP is also targeting a growth from the present 60,000 households reached to 300,000 in 2018 (Kidd, 2010). This trend is not peculiar to Kenya alone. In Senegal, a Rapid Response Child-Focused Social Cash Transfer and Nutrition Security Programme is targeting a coverage of 710,000 children under the age of 5 by the end of 2011; Burkina Faso is currently reaching 886,276 people in Ouagadougou and 326,657 in Bobo Dioulasso with an Emergency Food Security programme; and Burundi is providing cash allowances to 12,000 beneficiaries under the National Children in Distressing Situations Scheme (ibid). By far, however, the largest single social protection intervention on the continent is Ethiopia’s Productive Safety Net Programme which reaches out to approximately 8 million beneficiaries (Lwanga-Ntale et al, 2010). These interventions illustrate the growth in both scale and scope of social protection coverage across the continent. However, despite the potential for scaling up, there is still cautious commitment to social protection when looking at proportions of the poor who are covered by such programmes. McCord (2009) highlights this, demonstrating that in 2009 cash transfers reached less than 1% of all poor households in Zambia, 2% in Malawi, and 4% in Kenya (McCord, 2009).

However, of all the above programmes, it is perhaps Ethiopia’s PSNP which has managed to not only reach a very large number of people, but also to have the programme fully entrenched into the government’s own institutions, structures and budgets – a feat which, it may be argued, was made possible by a strategic collaboration between the Ethiopian government and donors, the result of a long discussion and interactive process of dialogue (Box 4)\textsuperscript{36}.

\textsuperscript{36} For a detailed discussion of this see DFID/IDL Group (nd): Building consensus for social protection: Insights from Ethiopia’s Productive Safety Net Programme, Addis Ababa.
Box 4: Ethiopia: An example of a large-scale social protection intervention

The Productive Safety Nets Programme (PSNP) is one of the largest social protection programmes in Africa. It was launched in 2005 and was part of a collaborative effort by government and donors alike to transition Ethiopia out of a reliance on unpredictable emergency food aid appeals and into a more predictable and stable safety net system. In the first two years the programme had 5.1 million beneficiaries with beneficiary numbers averaging between 7 and 8 million in subsequent years. The programme delivers benefits in two ways: about 80% of beneficiaries complete public works in order to receive food, cash or a combination of food and cash equivalent to half a daily cereal ration, whilst the remaining households (those without labour) receive their allocation without the requirement to work.

The programme is part of the wider Food Security Programme and beneficiaries are simultaneously targeted to receive agricultural inputs under the Household Asset Building Programme in order to help them build livelihoods assets at household level. The PSNP is the subject of a strong collaboration between government and donors and is established as a government-led and donor-supported intervention, with firm ownership resting in the hands of the Ethiopian government.

3.4 Summary

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the uptake of social protection across Africa has been increasing in the last few years, and that significant progress has been made in developing policies and programmes that respond to this need. It is also notable that there is much to learn from across the continent. In particular, issues of knowledge and capacity will remain crucial to how movement happens. However, with the exception of a few countries, notably Ethiopia, much of the progress which has been witnessed is easily attributable to the drive from donors rather than from either citizens or their governments. This raises questions about ownership and sustainability as well as effectiveness and efficiency. The donor-led narrative for social protection may have contributed significantly to the prioritisation of poverty, risk, and vulnerability in the different African countries and consequently to addressing the impacts of these perennial challenges. This has not been much helped by the near absence of voice and alternative propositions on social protection from African researchers. The future success of the social protection agenda in Africa will not only depend on the support which is provided by donor partners but, perhaps more importantly, on the level and type of participation of citizens (pushing for a locally-grown social protection agenda) with support coming in from African researchers and academia, and taking on board and integrating the African context and narratives into the discussion. Governments and other stakeholders will need to recognise this and to create space and opportunities for engagement on the matter.

38 The articulations made by Thandika Mkandawire and Jimi Adesina are exceptions to this.
Existing research on social protection in Africa: Knowledge and gaps from a governance perspective

This section of the paper provides an overview of recent literature on social protection in Africa using PASGR’s governance framework for guidance (below). We assess the degree of existing knowledge and gaps on governance aspects of specific social protection issues.

PASGR developed the following framework for analysing governance related issues for potential research domains, including social protection (see Appendix 1). This focused on three priority governance dimensions: i) specific issues (service delivery, equity, inclusion, gender); ii) institutional arrangements and structures (such as decentralisation, transparency and accountability); and iii) political, economic and social factors (such as stakeholder interests/coalitions, political cohesion/fragility). In our inception phase for this social protection scoping work, we identified specific areas of this framework that we deemed were particularly relevant from a social protection perspective based on a broad overview current social protection literature. These are:

Three cross-cutting issues:

- **Equity** (e.g. distribution of resources)
- **Inclusion** (or exclusion, e.g. of particular groups based on ethnicity, gender, location, age)
- **Gender** (e.g. gender equality of programme targeting, resources and impacts)

Institutional arrangements and structures

- Institutional capacity in the social protection sector – at national and decentralised levels
- Institutional coordination between social protection and other relevant sectors at national and decentralised levels
- Legal and regulatory frameworks
- Transparency and accountability mechanisms in the social protection sector

Political, social and economic factors

- Stakeholder interests/coalitions
- The role of patron-client relationships in implementing social protection
- Political cohesion/fragility and its impact on social protection policy
- The role of religious and traditional value systems in supporting traditional and/or community safety nets

In the following sub-sections we present the emerging discussions and the key debates in each of the thematic areas above, drawing from a broad review of literature on social protection in Africa from the region, and internationally. We also identify the key dimensions of the cross-cutting areas where this information is available.

In Appendix 2, an annotated bibliography of the literature review is provided. It is structured around each of the governance themes discussed below.

We find that the recent literature on social protection in Africa is dominated by two-three social protection instrument types. Social transfers, largely referring to unconditional cash
transfers and pensions; labour market policies such as public works programmes; and health-related social protection (insurance and removal of user fees). Social transfers and labour market policies are repeatedly discussed in the context of sub-Saharan Africa (e.g. African Union, 2008; Barrett, 2008; Devereux and Cipryk, 2009; Devereux and White, 2010; Ellis, 2008; Handa et al, eds. 2011; HelpAge International, 2011; Hickey, 2007; McCord, 2010; McCord and Slater, 2009; Nino-Zarazua et al, 2010; Nino-Zarazua et al, 2011; Olivier and Mpethi, 2003; Pelham, 2007; RHVP, 2009; Vincent and Freeland, 2008), while labour market policies and social protection health mechanisms are discussed in the Francophone literature with reference to West Africa (e.g. Beaujeu et al, 2011; Chaabane, 2002; Dror et al, 2003; Fonteneau, 2004; Gbossa and Gauthé, 2003; ILO, 2000; ILO, 2001; ILO, 2002; ISSA, 2001; Labie et al, 2007; Letourmy, 2003; Letourmy, 2008; Meessen et al, 2009; Musango et al, 2009; Olivier, 2005; Reynaud, 2003; Ridde, 2003; Ridde and Haddad, 2009; Ridde and Morestin, 2009; Ridde et al, 2011).

4.1 Institutional arrangements and structures influencing social protection design, implementation and impacts

We identified three key areas of importance in the current social protection literature relating to the governance framework in terms of institutional arrangement and structures: institutional capacity and institutional coordination at national and decentralised levels; transparency and accountability mechanisms in the social protection sector; and legal and regulatory frameworks.

Institutional capacity and institutional coordination at national and decentralised levels

A key issue discussed in the literature is the weakness of institutional capacity to design and deliver (especially at scale) social protection programmes (e.g. Gentilini and Omamo, 2011; Hodges, 2008; Pauw et al, 2007; Temin, 2008). This is seen as particularly problematic in conflict and fragile affected contexts (see e.g. Haider, 2001; Harvey et al, 2007; Hodges, 2008), and as Devereux explains, this is the Catch 22 of social protection – the more it is needed, the less capable the government is to provide it (Devereux, 2000). As discussed below in stakeholder interests, another key issue identified here is the role of non-state actors and donors supporting the delivery of social protection where capacity is weak. While this is seen as necessary, especially in the short term, concern is pointed out in the literature with regard to the creation of parallel systems and the need for donors to have an exit strategy to hand social protection over to the government in the long-run (Devereux and White, 2010; Hickey, 2007; Temin, 2008). Indeed, as Devereux and White (2010: 21) state, donor led initiatives and projects ‘bypass existing government systems of social provision, such as Department of Social Welfare programs that deliver assistance to designated “vulnerable groups.” The two justifications made for this neglect are both questionable:

The first is that African social welfare ministries are so weak and under-resourced in terms of funding and personnel that they lack the capacity to deliver predictable social transfers at national scale to large numbers of eligible citizens... but if capacity constraints are the binding constraint, why don’t donors invest in building government capacity instead of implementing small-scale projects outside of government structures? Second, if government institutions and structures are inadequate, why do donors insist that a primary purpose of piloting social transfers is to scale
them up and hand them over to become permanent, institutionalized programs—implemented by national governments?"

Indeed, much of the literature echoes Devereux and White’s concerns, and focuses on the problems of weak institutional capacity particularly in relation to: i) the feasibility of targeting: costs, exclusion/inclusion errors, administration capacity (e.g. Haider, 2011; Hodges, 2008; Holmes and Barrientos, 2009); ii) the lack of capacity/the marginality of social sector ministries (Hickey, 2007; Holmes and Braunholtz-Speight, 2009; Temin, 2008); and iii) the current capacity challenges associated with scaling up existing small-scale projects or pilots (Hodges, 2008; Pelham, 2007).

Much of the literature also provides recommendations on how donors and governments can overcome the institutional capacity challenges, for example, building government capacity through training, providing technical expertise and technical support in ministries, building on existing mechanisms, combining a mix of delivery mechanisms and actors to implement programmes (e.g. AU, 2008; Devereux et al, 2010; Holmes and Braunholtz-Speight, 2009).

In terms of institutional coordination, the focus in the literature tends to examine the need for an 'integrated approach' especially given the importance of linkages between social protection and other sectors, including basic services such as health and education (Jones and Holmes, 2010; Pauw et al, 2007), but also opportunities for graduation (e.g. linkages to the agricultural sector) (e.g. Slater, 2011) as well as to other important sectors, such as HIV, child protection and gender mainstreaming (Barrientos and Nino-Zarazua, 2011; Holmes and Jones; 2010; Jones and Holmes, 2010; Meintjes et al, 2003; Temin, 2010). Authors recommend the need to foster linkages between programmes/different ministries/social protection programmes, wider government programming, and between donors (AU, 2008; Jones, 2009; RHVP, 2011; McCord and Slater, 2009; Slater et al, 2007). As the AU (2008) suggests “integrating social protection programmes into national development strategies and incorporating the multiplicity of often uncoordinated, short-term donor driven projects, under a simple nationwide programme that can be sustained over prolonged periods is needed”.

Transparency and accountability mechanisms in the social protection sector

The issue of transparency and accountability is discussed in the literature with reference to three “levels”: at the national administrative level; at the level of delivery; and at the beneficiary level. In most cases these issues were not often not explored in detail. Only a few articles focused on transparency and accountability mechanisms as their main point (e.g. Barrett, 2008), a few referred to the importance of ensuring accountable and transparent mechanisms national (and local) institutions (e.g. Devereux and Pelham, 2005; Pelham, 2007; European Report, 2010; Holmes and Barrientos, 2009; Holmes and Jackson, 2008), others in relation to delivery systems (e.g. Pelham, 2007) and with reference to the importance of options for grievance mechanisms (e.g. Barrett, 2008). Participation in these types of governance structures are rarely implemented, and only highlighted in the literature. Amuzu et al (2010), Jones et al (2010) and Pelham (2007) call for greater attention to the gendered dynamics of these potential governance structures.

Legal and regulatory frameworks

Legal and regulatory frameworks relating to social protection are not a key focus of the literature. While the African Union states the need for legislation and regulations that guide the programme design and implementation and monitoring of social protection to be consistent with the rights and commitments agreed to by governments (AU, 2008), African governments have been reluctant to commit to legal and constitutional entrenchment of rights to social protection (as discussed above in the policy section). As discussed in Devereux and White (2010) the AU Social Policy Framework where social development ministers committed to move towards a “minimum social package” covering essential
healthcare and benefits for children, informal workers, the unemployed, older persons, and persons with disabilities has not been realised. South Africa is the only exception, where social protection is underpinned by a commitment made in the post-apartheid Constitution (combining constitutional provision, a Bill of Rights, legislation, plus an appeals process) (Pelham, 2007). Despite the recognition of the importance of an enabling regulatory and legislative environment, especially for supporting equity objectives (in particular child protection and gender equality goals – e.g. see Holmes and Jones, 2010; Jones and Holmes, 2010) there has been little discussion in the literature about how countries may move towards this in practice.

4.2 Political, social and economic factors influencing social protection design, implementation and impacts

There are four key areas of importance in the current social protection literature that relates to:

- stakeholder interests/coalitions;
- the role of patron-client relationships;
- political cohesion/fragility; and,
- the role of religious and traditional value systems.

Stakeholder interests/coalitions

Much of the recent literature on social protection in Africa discusses the confusion, controversy and tensions around different stakeholders’ interests in social protection, and of the political economy dynamics that affect commitment to social protection in practice. This area of research, which mostly takes a political economy analysis approach in the literature, is becoming relatively well researched in comparison to the other thematic areas. A number of themes emerge from the literature.

First, Barrientos (2010) highlights the confusion and controversy over the role and scope of social protection, and especially reflects the uncertainty about “what constitutes social protection”. This is not just a problem specific to Africa, but it is particularly pertinent in the African context. As Barrientos (2010) warns, the argument to push for social protection at a country level has widened the objectives of social protection so broad that it “cripples” the focus of social protection: “The multifaceted nature of development, when applied to social protection, can result in a crippling loss of focus. Adding objectives and instruments to social-protection strategies could quickly encounter diminishing returns”. Barrientos therefore emphasises the need to ensure that social protection is seen as part of the broader development agenda (not to encompass the agenda itself), and that the boundaries of social protection objectives should remain clear.

Second, there is an increasing focus from various actors about building the evidence base about “what works” (see section in Annotated Bibliography below on impacts). In Anglophone Africa, this has largely focused on building the evidence base about social transfer impacts, cost-effectiveness, implementation modalities, and delivery systems (Devereux and White 2010). In Francophone Africa, this has focused more on social insurance (including health insurance and weather insurance) as well as indirect social transfers (user fee exemptions) (see for instance, Chetaille et al, 2011; Lebois et al, 2011; Meessen et al, 2009; Ridde, 2003; Ridde and Haddad, 2009; Ridde and Morestin, 2009; Ridde et al, 2011; Somda et al, 2010). Reflecting the policy trends identified above, Francophone Africa has focused more on social protection and health, whereas Anglophone Africa has focused more on addressing general income and consumption risks.
Third, increasingly authors have taken a political economy approach to understand the drivers that influence the take-up of social protection at the country level. This literature has largely focused on analysing the often conflicting agendas of donors and governments (e.g. Adesina, 2010; Devereux et al, 2010; McCord, 2010), and the impact that this has had on the types of social protection policy objectives at a national and regional level, the types of social protection programmes/instruments adopted, the scale at which it is adopted and the target groups who are prioritised (of which inclusion and exclusion of particular groups is a key concern) (Ibid; Devereux, 2010; Devereux and White, 2010).

Despite the recent focus of the literature in terms of advocating for the importance of a government–led and context specific process, sections 1 and 2 above, highlight that in practice, across many countries, this has still yet to find resonance in donors approaches to social protection in practice. However, there is a strong emerging argument in the literature that initiatives that evolve out of (or are adapted to) domestic political agendas and respond to local conceptualizations and prioritizations of need are more likely to succeed—in terms of their coverage, fiscal sustainability, political institutionalization, and impacts—than those that are based on imported “projectized” models (e.g. Nino-Zarazua et al, 2010).

Fourth, the literature also discusses, to a large extent, the issue of financing and affordability of countries to take up social protection (Devereux and Cipryk, 2009; DFID, 2005, 2011; Gentilini and Omamo, 2011; Handler, 2009; Kaniki, 2008; McCord and Slater, 2009; McCord 2010; Nino-Zarazua et al, 2010; Thurlow, 2002). The literature is influenced by institutions own agendas to advocate for social protection. The literature has recently been dominated by the argument that large scale schemes (for example ILO’s Social Protection Floor initiative) are affordable but that governments mainly lack political will (e.g. Devereux et al, 2010). More recently, however, nuanced fiscal analyses of country budgets and expenditures have been carried out, which, while recognising that politics highly influence the budget, also note caution on the realistic fiscal availability to allocate domestic resources to social protection (especially in relation to other social and economic sector commitments (see McCord and Hagen-Zanker, 2011; Handler, 2009).

Fifth, the literature touches upon the problem of the simplification of social protection instruments and the fact that the development of social protection often only addresses a narrow range of risks that the poor face. Despite, on the one hand recognising this, and often advocating for the need to take a broader approach to vulnerability, including, for instance, gender, the impacts of conflict etc. the literature reverts back to the problem of institutional capacity and coordination constraints (see section above). Despite this, attempts have been made, particularly by donors (e.g. OECD, DFID, AusAID) to fund research to provide guidance to overcome these challenges (see e.g. OECD Best Practice Papers and ODI Gender and Social Protection Toolkit – Holmes and Jones (2010)).

Sixth, there is some discussion in the literature that the political system matters. Stable party systems (Ghana) and sometimes elected authoritarian or one-party systems (Ethiopia) are reported to be more progressive in social protection (European Report, 2010) – however this is an area that has not been discussed fully in the literature.

Finally, Nino-Zarazua et al (2010) identify the importance of South-South cooperation, and reports that there is growing evidence across the region that South–South transfers of policy learning are proving more successful than the standard donor directed models of policy formulation. This South–South cooperation appears to be taking off particularly between Brazil and some African countries (for example Ghana and LEAP cash transfer programme). As the authors state, the influence of external actors works best when external knowledge is framed as learning, rather than policy transfer (Nino-Zarazua et al, 2010).
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The role of patron-client relationships

The role of patron-client relationships is given relatively little prominence in the literature on social protection in Africa, despite its importance. However, there are three key strands of discussion in the literature. One is the concern that patron-client relationships divert funds away from the poor. As Devereux and White (2010) and Hickey (2007) argue, social transfer projects with limited coverage and discretionary targeting systems are susceptible to patronage. This is also reflected in the European Report which refers to two examples where social protection programmes can be influenced by informal patron-client politics, for example favouring certain patrons (e.g. the Social Action Fund in northern Uganda) or to secure support for the regime in power (selective food aid in Kenya) (European Report, 2010).

In response to this problem, the literature argues that implementation arrangements need to be put in place to avoid this, such as the establishment of parallel delivery agencies, autonomous project offices within ministries, and a reliance on incentives to ensure that funds reach their intended goal. However, it is also argued that such an approach arguably undermines the development of more accountable structures of governance (Hickey, 2007). This is echoed by Devereux and White (2010) who highlight the concerns about diversion of funds into patronage networks which create pressure for parallel channels of delivery, such as semi-autonomous social funds, NGOs, and private sector agencies, which attempt to bypass the problem but risk undermining moves towards local ownership and accountable governance (Devereux and White, 2010). Indeed, they argue that there is little to be gained from attempts to either bypass or work with entrenched patronage systems, but hope lies in the fact that political contexts are not immutable, and social protection can be an agent of change.

At the same time, Hickey also emphasises that the progressive role that informal political institutions do and can play should not be dismissed in the context of the importance of patron-client relationships in providing some of the poorest people with a critical safety net (Hickey, 2007).

As such, only a few authors touch on this issue, and a more focused analysis is not evident in the current literature.

Political cohesion/fragility

There appears to be increasing references to the role that social protection can play in promoting stability and cohesion and strengthening state-citizen relations in the literature. This is discussed with regard to social protection in general in relation to the redistributive nature of social protection especially in (but not limited to) countries affected by conflict (e.g. pockets of Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Kenya) and the stabilising effect of social protection especially when targeted at particular groups; as well as the role of cash transfers in particular. Here the literature has started to examine the role of cash transfers contributing to a state-citizen contract, such as pensions in Swaziland, South Africa and other forms of cash transfers, e.g. to pastoralists in northern Kenya, to the poorest households in Sierra Leone (Hickey 2007; Devereux, 2010; Pelham, 2007; HelpAge International, 2011; DFID, 2011; Gillies, 2010; Moss, 2011; Sala-i-Martin and Subramanian, 2003).

The literature also discusses the key factors which can influence increased stability and a strengthened state-citizen relationship in relation to social protection. These factors include the importance of the role of the government rather than donors and non-state in driving and implementing social protection which could weaken cohesion (especially in those countries which arguably need it most (conflict and post-conflict)), the implications of universal versus targeted approaches to social protection (especially in relation to inclusion and exclusion of particular groups), the importance of historical legacies e.g. in South Africa, and the
importance of mobilising local civil society etc. (e.g. Javad, 2011; Devereux and Cipryk, 2009; DFID, 2005; Haider, 2011). However, the empirical evidence on the impacts of social protection on political cohesion and the state-citizen contract remain weak (DFID, 2011).

The role of non-governmental, religious and traditional organisations and value systems

The main focus of the literature under this theme discusses the current existing community and traditional forms of safety nets and solidarity. It is particularly important to note that the literature here mostly comes from African researchers (in contrast to the other thematic areas discussed).

The literature looks at existing informal social assistance and social insurance-type forms of support (e.g. burial societies, remittances, mutual health organisations), discussing whether traditional forms of informal social protection are ‘disappearing’ and why, looking at the possible crowding out of informal safety nets through formal social protection, and looking at the potential to support and / or scale up informal protection (AU, 2008; Oduro, 2010; Dercon et al, 2004; Mpedi, 2008; Wietler, 2010; Walsh, 2009; RHVP, 2010; Olivier and Mpedi, 2003; Du Toit and Neves, 2009). There is passing discussion in the literature that informal mechanisms of social protection may not be all inclusive and concern that some of these safety nets may exclude the poor (Oduro, 2010).

A significant amount of literature also examines the role that is played by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Community Based Organisations (CBOs) in service delivery (e.g. Economic Commission for Africa, 2004; Lange et al, 2000; Khamba, 2006; Werker and Ahmed, 2007). A key issue in this literature is the emergence of NGOs in social service delivery particularly during the 1980s and 1990s when the reach and effectiveness of several African governments weakened considerably thus leaving the NGOs to take up greater responsibilities in, especially, addressing issues of vulnerability as well as the provision of health and education services.

4.3 Research gaps

The review of international and Africa research on social protection from a governance perspective highlights a number of research and knowledge gaps. A number of these have been identified in the literature by authors themselves, other areas are identified by us as we searched the literature according to the governance themes. These knowledge gaps include:

- Methodological challenges associated with assessing the costs and benefits of social protection programmes. More empirical research is required (McCord and Slater, 2009).

- There is little discussion in the literature on decentralised institutional capacity/coordination.

- In countries where ministries responsible for social welfare are functioning well, there is minimal documentation about the underlying success factors.

- Limited discussion on the potential roles of non-state actors.

- Little discussion on transparent and accountable mechanisms particularly at the national and local level (with relatively more discussion on delivery mechanisms).
For instance, the potential building capacity of “beneficiaries” to play a greater role in strengthening accountability and transparency mechanisms.

- There is need for a more systematic analysis of the ‘politics of social protection’ (Hickey, 2007; Nino-Zarazua et al, 2011; Devereux and White, 2010).

- There is little examination of the interests and agendas of different stakeholders within a country (and not just the ‘donor-government interests’ debate).

- Few articles discuss in detail the variety of political arrangements/regimes and their relationship to social protection.

- Little evidence on the role of socio-economic factors, e.g. levels of inequality and fragmentation, the political sociology of ‘democratic’ politics.

- Analysis of participation and voice in terms of programme ‘beneficiaries’ in programme design and implementation is scarce.

- Most political economy analysis is concerned with the notion of ‘lack of political will’ from the part of the governments, but more detailed analysis of how research on social protection could influence or has influenced policy is missing.

- There is limited analysis related to the role of “traditional social protection mechanisms” and ‘religion’ in particular. For example: what is the role of different religious non-state actors in contributing to social protection? In what ways could existing traditional and informal systems contribute to people-centred social protection?
5. Conclusion

The objective of this paper was to provide information that would enable the Partnership for African Social and Governance Research (PASGR) identify future research/policy areas on social protection and governance. The paper has sought to consolidate existing knowledge on social protection in Africa across three distinct areas: first, discussing what is meant by “social protection” in different countries and by different actors; second, discerning across this vast definitional spectrum to what extent social protection definitions and policy translate into social protection in practice; and third, through a review of secondary literature identify the key knowledge areas and gaps on social protection from a governance perspective.

Three key findings emerge from the study. Firstly, no clear definition of social protection exists that could be described as being authentically African. While in essence mechanisms to tackle risk and vulnerability have been in existence on the continent for as long as societies have lived there, a combination of social, political, economic, cultural and historical factors mitigate against a homogenous, continent-wide approach. The definitions that are in place are greatly influenced by both “African” governments and international actors. Moreover, it is important to note that it is not surprising that there is no typically “African” definition of social protection. The African continent has several diverse regions and countries that are underpinned by different political economies and are at different stages of development as well as engagement in the social protection policy process.

Secondly, through the articulation of a social policy framework, important steps have been made by the African Union to ensure that social protection is conceived within a wider and more inclusive social policy framework and one which views social policy and social protection as key pillars in development (not as a “corrective” interventions to flawed economic policy). However, in practice, while we find increased commitment to social protection identified through budgetary allocations and scale of programmes, these are limited to few specific country examples, often concentrated within a narrow functional perspective dominated by a social assistance approach (e.g. food and cash transfers and to some extent labour-based social protection in sub-Saharan Africa, and labour-based and health focused social protection in Francophone Africa).

Thirdly, in terms of research knowledge and gaps, a number of new issues have been raised by an examination of the social protection literature using a governance analytical framework. We found that there is wealth of literature examining institutional capacity and coordination at national levels, but much less so at the decentralised levels. Moreover, key areas of knowledge in the literature include political economy analyses of commitment to social protection and increasingly the role of social protection in contributing to stability and social cohesion, but emerging areas for future in-depth analysis include the role of transparent and accountable mechanisms, the role of non-state actors, how research on social protection could influence or has influenced policy, and the role of “traditional social protection mechanisms” and ‘religion’ in particular.
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Social protection in Africa: A review of social protection issues in research


Regional Hunger and Vulnerability Programme, 2010, Social Protection in Africa: where are we, and how did we get here?


# Appendix 1: Framework for the proposed PASGR research domain

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Appendix 2: Annotated bibliography

1. Institutional arrangements and structures
1.1 Institutional co-ordination and capacity


The study aims to inform stakeholders about the opportunities for and constraints on building the social work workforce within the child welfare sector in Africa.

Based on the demonstrated linkage between a well-performing child welfare sector and a competent social work profession, the assessment considers both the sector itself, professional education institutions and associations, and the practice environment.

Funded by: USAID


This article uses examples from southern Africa to highlight the opportunities and risks involved in using technology to deliver social protection, with particular focus on two schemes in Malawi. It also draws out broader implications for the expanded role of ICT in ‘development’ intervention

Funded by: Regional Hunger and Vulnerability Programme (funded the participation of the researchers at the panel at the Development Studies Association conference, on which this article is based).


The paper examines the evolution and definitions of social protection, and unbundles critical policy, institutional and implementation quandaries. Taken together, these considerations shape a set of context-specific models of social protection. The paper’s five core conclusions may help chart future directions for social protection research and practice.

Other themes: Stakeholder interests/coalitions, monitoring and evaluation, financing


This paper discusses a series of challenges (both constraints and opportunities) for building stronger social protection systems in West and Central Africa

It discusses five sets of structural factors that need to be taken into account in efforts to strengthen social protection in West and Central Africa (WCA). These factors concern the extent of poverty, the nature of inequity, supply-side weaknesses in basic social services, fiscal space and governance/administrative constraints. The paper ends with a discussion of the concept of ‘child sensitive social protection.


The study forms a part of a series of reports produced by a regional study on social protection and children in Central and West Africa.

This report seeks to provide an overview of existing social protection policy and programming initiatives in the West and Central Africa region and to assess the extent to which these address the particular manifestations of childhood poverty and vulnerability that characterise different countries in the region.

It highlights challenges in the design and implementation of child-sensitive social protection and offers a number of policy recommendations based on the analysis and lessons learned.

Funded by: Commissioned by UNICEF

Intended audience: Policymakers, programmes practitioners and researchers, both in West and Central Africa and internationally. Provides preliminary recommendations to inform UNICEF’s strategy in the region.


The paper looks at the fiscal and service delivery constraints to further expansion of the social security system in South Africa, with a specific focus on conditional grants attached to education and health services.

It argues that conditional grants linked to school attendance and visits to health clinics will only put further pressure on health and education services, as well as the agency responsible for disbursing and monitoring welfare payments in the country.

The paper argues, therefore, that budgetary and service delivery constraints, at the present moment, present a strong argument against any expansion of the social welfare system in the immediate future.
Social protection in Africa: A review of social protection issues in research

Funded by: UNDP Regional Bureau for Africa. The research is part of a much larger research programme on cash transfers in both Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa, supported by the Department of International Development, GTZ and UNDP


This paper aims to explore two specific issues:

What efforts are underway to strengthen institutions to deliver child sensitive social protection and what are the practical lessons from prior and ongoing efforts?

What is the best way to build institutions to expand comprehensive social protection that benefits children, including social transfers and services?

The paper offers evidence from Malawi, South Africa, Uganda, Zambia and Ghana

Funded by: The Better Care Network is a joint initiative of CARE, UNICEF, USAID Displaced Children’s and Orphans Fund, and Save the Children UK

Regional Hunger and Vulnerability Programme (2008) REBA Thematic Brief Number 4: Coordination and Coverage.  
http://www.wahenga.net/sites/default/files/briefs/REBA_Thematic_Brief_4.pdf

This briefing paper draws together the experience of coordination and coverage across the Southern Africa region as revealed by a range of (20) case studies. It identifies patterns of coordination at intermediate and project levels that emerge from the case studies and links these to the coordination discussion.

Funded by: DFID, AusAID

Intended audience: REBA findings are feeding into a range of policy, advocacy and research outputs and processes, including policy briefs, best practice guidelines, national and regional learning events for policymakers, practitioners and civil society, a film series and research publications.


The study aims to assess the degree to which beneficiaries access Government/donor programs and services in conjunction with the PSNP.

The main aim is to assess whether there are the necessary linkages across programmes required for graduation of the chronically food-insecure and to formulate a set of recommendations on ways in which these linkages might be strengthened.

Funded by: DFID


This paper looks at the various mechanisms for delivering cash transfers in order to highlight the potential for cost-effective and efficient delivery of national social protection programmes in southern African countries. Examples from Swaziland and Mozambique.

Funded by: Development Research and Training, The Chronic Poverty Research Centre, Brookes World Poverty Institute, The Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, DFID (Uganda), Economic Policy Research Centre, Swiss Development Cooperation and UNICEF (all of these provided financial assistance towards meeting the costs of both the conference and the production of this compendium)

1.2 Transparency and accountability mechanisms


-The paper analyses transparency and accountability mechanisms of cash transfer programmes providing examples from Kenya, Zambia and Ethiopia.

-The paper proposes that accountability deficit and governance standards associated with many cash transfer programmes not only risk undermining their effectiveness but also the longer-term political sustainability scaled-up direct social protection.

Funded by: Development Research and Training, The Chronic Poverty Research Centre, Brookes World Poverty Institute, The Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, DFID (Uganda), Economic Policy Research Centre, Swiss Development Cooperation and UNICEF (all of these provided financial assistance towards meeting the costs of both the conference and the production of this compendium)

The paper proposes that countries seeking to manage new resource wealth should consider distributing income directly to citizens as cash transfers.

The paper argues that beyond serving as a powerful and proven policy intervention, cash transfers may also mitigate the corrosive effect natural resource revenue often has on governance.

Funded by: the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Australian Agency for International Development

Other themes: Political cohesion/fragility

1.3 Legal and regulatory frameworks


The report provides a framework which is designed to enable policymakers in Africa to make informed choices on the issues, needs and social development priorities affecting people and limiting the growth and development of the region.

Includes details and analysis of the central declarations and legal frameworks.

Provides an overview of the existing social protection programmes in 55 African countries.

Other themes: Role of religious and traditional value systems, targeting, stakeholder interests/coalitions

Prepared for: the African Union


This Background Note synthesises learning from a programme of work on child-sensitive social protection in West and Central Africa undertaken by ODI and UNICEF between 2007 and 2010. It draws on six diverse country case study examples: Equatorial Guinea, Ghana, Mali, Niger, Republic of Congo (Congo) and Senegal.

Other themes: Institutional coordination, role of non-state actors, institutional capacity-national, institutional coordination

Funded by: Commissioned by UNICEF

Intended audience: Policymakers, programmes practitioners and researchers, both in West and Central Africa and internationally. Provides preliminary recommendations to inform UNICEF’s strategy in the region.

2. Political, social and economic factors

2.1 Stakeholder interests/coalitions


The article critically assesses the 'Social Protection Paradigm (SPP), the shift from social policy to narrow social protection concerns, with cash transfer (conditional and non-conditional) as the policy instrument of choice.

Focuses on the discourse, advocacy, and implementation modalities associated with the paradigm.

Offers an alternative vision of social policy encapsulated in the idea of 'Transformative Social Policy'.

Other themes: targeting, influencing policy

Funded by: European University Institute, European Commission


The main aim of this short discussion article is to shed light on two main approaches to social protection the 'social policy/public finance approach' and the 'development approach' and try to find some common ground.

Other themes: Stakeholder interests/coalitions

Funded by: International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth: a joint project between the UNDP and the Government of Brazil

This paper highlights the thus far largely-neglected relationship between CCTPs and financial development. The hypothesis that the article puts forward is that CCTPs benefit from being implemented in countries concerned about financial development, while financial sector deepening occurs in countries that have opted for CCTPs. Albeit intuitive, these links are still largely unexplored. The objective of this policy paper is to demonstrate the extent of this neglect, articulate the main mechanisms and channels, and distil lessons for future policy and research.

Funded by: European University Institute and European Commission


The paper aims to describe and analyse the social protection system in South Africa, identify any remaining gaps in the system, compare South Africa’s system with projects and programmes in neighbouring countries, and propose the steps that are required to build comprehensive social protection systems in southern Africa.

Donor and government interests, participation, stakeholder interests/coalitions

Funded by: European University Institute, European Commission

http://www.gsdrc.org/go/display&type=Document&id=3829

This paper explores how the commitments made in national social protection policies and strategies are being translated into programmes and projects by African governments, with support from their ‘development partners’ – bilateral and multilateral donors, international and local NGOs.

Other themes: Stakeholder interests/coalitions

Funded by: the Ford Foundation


The paper challenges current practices within the research and donor community and proposes various principles for future engagement by development partners with social protection policy processes in Africa.

Other themes: Role of religious and traditional value systems, participation, institutional capacity

Co-produced by: the Centre for Social Protection (CSP) at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), the Social Protection Programme at the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), the School of International Development at the University of East Anglia (UEA-DEV), and the Regional Hunger & Vulnerability Programme (RHVP).

Intended audience: development partners, engaging in national social protection policy processes in Africa.


The paper focuses on the politics of social protection, in particular the different, often overlapping agendas which shape the social protection initiatives in Africa. Based on a selective review of social transfer programs and policy processes in several African countries, the article argues that initiatives that emerge out of domestic political agendas and respond to local conceptualizations and prioritizations of need are more likely to succeed than those based on imported “projectised” models.

Other themes: Legal and regulatory frameworks, role of patron-client relationships, government and donor interests, role of non-state actors.


The report seeks to provide an overview of the current stage of social protection initiatives in sub-Saharan Africa and to define the European Union priorities with regards to expanding social protection in the region.

Legal and Regulatory frameworks, Transparency and accountability mechanisms, Stakeholder interests/coalitions

Funded by: European University Institute, European Commission


This paper discusses the political feasibility and political implications of cash transfers in the specific context of resource-rich states. The paper provides insights into the political calculations of natural resource rents by highlighting some potential obstacles, as well as some promising possibilities, for implementing a direct distribution scheme.

Funded by: Australian Agency for International Development and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Social protection in Africa: A review of social protection issues in research


The study forms a part of a series of reports produced by a regional study on social protection and children in Central and West Africa.

The study intends to provide a situation analysis of the current situation of social protection systems and programmes in West and Central Africa and their impact on children and an assessment of the priority needs for strengthening social protection systems to reduce poverty and vulnerability among children in the region.

Funded by: Commissioned by UNICEF

Intended audience: Policymakers, programmes practitioners and researchers, both in West and Central Africa and internationally. Provides preliminary recommendations to inform UNICEF's strategy in the region.


The paper identifies a lack of a systematic analysis of the linkages between politics and social protection. To address this issue it develops a conceptual framework that is derived from synthesising an analysis of politics in Africa with a review of past social protection policies.

It is argued that the notion of a ‘political contract’ can explain the ways in which these dimensions combine to shape the politics of social protection in Africa, and that this notion can offer a normative and theoretical framework for thinking about and promoting social protection.

Other themes: Stakeholder interests/coalitions, institutional capacity, targeting, role of patron-client relationships

Funded by: DFID Social Protection Team


Funded by: Friedrich Ebert Foundation

Intended audience: The Department for Global Policy and Development at the Friedrich Ebert Foundation promotes the dialogue between North and South and communicates the debates over international issues to the German and European public and policy-makers.


This paper reviews recent experiences and draws on a set of commissioned studies exploring cash transfer programming in Low Income Countries (LICs), to explore possible reasons for differing government and donor perspectives on the desirability of cash transfer programming, attempting to abstract some broad policy insights.

The paper highlights issues of national fiscal sustainability, government preferences, and ownership as key determinants of large scale government cash transfer implementation.

Funded by: The research programmes which the article reviews were financed by the Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation (SDC) and DFID.


The article focuses on two main ‘models’ for social protection in the region: Southern Africa and Middle Africa models, and examines the major challenges these models face in terms of financing, institutional capacity and political support.

Main argument: for an effective institutional framework for social protection to evolve in sub-Saharan African countries, the present focus on the technical designs of social protection programmes needs to be accompanied by analyses that contribute to ‘getting the politics right’ too.

Other themes: Legal and regulatory frameworks, role of religious and traditional value systems

Funded by: The University of Manchester


This paper is concerned with three of the southern African states that operate an old age pension. It explores the politics behind the pensions – the factors which shaped the conceptualisation, design, policy-making and the implementation process.

Other themes: Targeting, stakeholder interests/coalitions

Funded by: the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Social protection in Africa: A review of social protection issues in research

Regional Hunger and Vulnerability Programme, 2010, Social Protection in Africa: where are we, and how did we get here? http://www.wahenga.net/sites/default/files/briefs/7.%20FoSP%20Brief%207-%20SP%20in%20Africa%20-%20where%20are%20we%20and%20how%20did%20we%20get%20here_web.pdf

The article focuses on three areas: informal insurance, safety nets, poverty targeting and categorical provision.

Other themes: targeting, Stakeholder interests/coalitions, role of religious and traditional value systems

Funded by: DFID, AusAID

Intended audience: policy makers and practitioners concerned with hunger, vulnerability and social protection in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries.


This paper assesses the economy-wide impact of implementing and financing a universal or basic income grant (BIG) in South Africa. The various financing scenarios suggested by the proponents of the grant are presented, and these are compared using an applied general equilibrium model for the South African economy.

Funded by: a joint project between IFPRI and Trade and Industrial Policy Strategies (Johannesburg, South Africa). The IFPRI component of this paper was written under the project ‘Macroeconomic Reforms and Regional Integration in Southern Africa (MERRISA)’, which is funded by DANIDA (Denmark) and GTZ (Germany).

2.2 Political cohesion and fragility


The paper analyses the adoption of cash transfers in a fragile and conflict-affected settings. It lists some of the key challenges and outcomes and identifies lessons learned. Examples from Mozambique and Somalia are included.


This report examines the role of cash transfers in strengthening state-citizen relations in the context of long-term development in fragile states and situations. Examples from Sudan, Sierra Leone and Northern Kenya.

Funded by: German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development


This article examines the role of social protection in supporting education in conflict-affected contexts. It examines the role that social protection can play in supporting better education outcomes in conflict-affected countries.

It discusses the design and implementation issues in delivering social protection, identifying good practices and key challenges.

Funded by: UNESCO


The paper addresses the notion of resource curse and proposes a solution which involves directly distributing the oil revenues to the public.

The paper debates the issues in the context of Nigeria

Funded by: IMF

2.3 Role of religious and traditional value systems


The study focuses on an examination of culture and ‘traditional’, culturally-rooted social protection mechanisms for the very poor in Uganda, not only those surviving below the official poverty line but including those who experience chronic poverty.

It examines the prevalence of such traditional social protection mechanisms, how they operate, the reasons for their survival (or withering), their beneficiaries, and opportunities for strengthening or revitalising them.

Funders: Chronic Poverty Research Centre

Social protection in Africa: A review of social protection issues in research

This paper looks at how local communities in Tanzania and Ethiopia use indigenous voluntary assurance schemes to cope with the urgent and large financial shocks represented by funerals. It further explores the possibilities for widening these schemes into other sectors.

Funded by: OECD

Intended audience: This series of working papers is intended to disseminate the Development Centre’s research findings rapidly among specialists in the field concerned.


The study examines community perceptions and experiences about community based targeting approach and how it affects social relations and collective actions in the community. It analyses the Agricultural Input Subsidy programme in Malawi to explore whether the community based targeting approach lives up to its expectations of enhancing social capital.

Funded by: Regional Vulnerability Hunger Programme (a fieldwork grant).


This article reflects critically on the role played by religious networks – in particular the African Independent Churches or African Initiated Churches (AICs) – in enhancing social protection by means of informal coping mechanisms in the South African context. It also examines various factors that contribute towards informal social security dependency in AICs.

Funded by: European University Institute, European Commission


The paper reflects on the complementary role played by informal and formal social security in enhancing family solidarity in the African, and particularly the southern African context. It explores possibilities for interaction between public or governmental interventions, on the one hand, and family or household support, on the other hand, viewed from the perspective of an integrated formal and informal social security approach.

Funded by: European University Institute, European Commission


Discusses Mutual Health Organisations (MHOs) with regards to the challenges they face and best practices. Focus especially on low subscription rates, organisational and managerial problems and non-coverage of high cost treatments. Case studies from Tanzania and Cameroon.

Funded by: GIZ.

3. Influencing policy


The short comment article appeals for more resources to be devoted to promoting policy uptake and argues that the critical need in the “war against poverty” is not more research but more attention to the adoption of existing research findings by policymakers. The article uses the example of the social protection agenda in southern Africa to investigate the role of parliamentarians as a force for policy change.

Funded by: International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth: a joint project between the UNDP and the Government of Brazil.
4. Targeting


This paper examines the circumstances of small economic difference giving rise to the sentiment captured by ‘we are all poor here’, utilising income distribution data from three sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) countries to illustrate important cautionary features that arise for the workable scaling up of cash transfers in these countries. The paper focuses on differences in per capita consumption in the long tail representing up to 60 per cent of the population that typifies national income distributions in the poorest countries. Both proxy indicators and the deployment of a 10 per cent cut-off point to determine the scale of cash transfers are discussed. Case studies: Malawi, Zambia and Ethiopia

Funded by: Development Research and Training, The Chronic Poverty Research Centre, Brookes World Poverty Institute, The Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, DFID (Uganda), Economic Policy Research Centre, Swiss Development Cooperation and UNICEF (all of these provided financial assistance towards meeting the costs of both the conference and the production of this compendium)


This paper examines three cash transfer programs in Kenya, Malawi and Mozambique to help better understand some of the different targeting approaches in the region and their effectiveness.

The study combines descriptive analysis of the targeting process with quantitative analysis comparing the characteristics of beneficiary households taken from programme baseline evaluation surveys with characteristics of poor households based on national household surveys.

Funded by: UNICEF’s Eastern & Southern Africa Regional Office (ESARO), Nairobi, Kenya and Save the Children UK


The brief explores aspects of poverty targeting, especially the focus on targeting the ‘ultra-poor’. The brief utilises data from large-scale household surveys in Ghana and Malawi

Funded by: DFID, AusAID

Intended audience: policy makers and practitioners concerned with hunger, vulnerability and social protection in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries.

5. Social Protection Instruments
5.1 Cash transfers


The report focuses on social assistance, and follows a new typology that distinguishes between programmes that provide pure income transfers; programmes that provide income transfers plus policy interventions aimed at enhancing human, financial and physical assets; and integrated poverty reduction programmes.

The report pays special attention to the extent to which emerging social assistance programmes in the South address chronic poverty, as the latter subject remains a major challenge for antipoverty policy interventions

Funded by: The document is an output from the Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC), which is funded by DFID

Intended audience: policy makers in presidents’ and prime ministers’ offices, ministries of finance and planning, as well as the ministries and agencies charged with developing or refining social transfer programmes. It will also be of interest to donor agencies supporting such policies and programmes


The purpose of this paper is to set out the emerging evidence on the implementation and impact of social transfers in developing countries as well as some of the challenges that need to be addressed if implementation in countries with low institutional capacity is to be successful.

It offers insights to the financing aspect of social protection, referring to case studies from Africa and argues for the cost-effectiveness of cash transfers in African context. The paper also comments on the challenges of implementing social transfers in the context of fragile state.

Other themes: Political cohesion/fragility

Funded by: DFID
This paper provides a synthesis of current global evidence on the impact of cash transfers in developing countries and of what works in different contexts, or for different development objectives and challenges. It takes into account inevitable trade-offs, for example, between targeting and keeping administration costs low.
The paper concludes with priorities for further evidence generation and recommendations for DFID policy and programmes.
Other themes: Political cohesion/fragility, targeting
Funded by: DFID

This paper provides an economic rationale for private sector involvement in the provision of cash transfers. In addition to payment mechanisms, the paper examines other avenues through which the private sector can contribute to cash transfer programmes, including business taxes and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR).
Funded by: Economic Policy Research Institute

Kedebe, E. (2006) 'Moving from Emergency Food Aid to Predictable Cash Transfers: Recent Experience in Ethiopia'.
This article compares findings from the new Productive Safety-Net Programme (PSNP) in two districts where Save the Children-UK is a PSNP implementing partner or has its own cash-based livelihood-development programme. Evidence from the first year suggests that shifting from food to cash transfer programmes has implications for targeting and for the availability and price of food in local markets, especially in remote, deficit areas, and therefore requires a range of complementary measures, if the programmes are to be successful.
This briefing paper examines two concepts that permeate contemporary policy debates about social protection – ‘dependency’ and ‘graduation’. Both issues are commonly raised by governments and donors that are sceptical about making firm, long-term commitments to social transfer programmes. The paper offers examples and case studies from the following countries: Ethiopia, Rwanda, South Africa and Namibia.
Funded by: DFID, AusAID

This article argues that the important contextual differences between Africa and Latin America, in quality and quantity of service provision, capacity to implement conditionality, sociocultural, ethnic and political contexts, and, potentially, the benefit: cost ratio of conditionality, may well make the introduction of CCTs in Africa inappropriate. It sets out a number of questions and points to a new case in Chipata, Zambia, which will be rigorously monitored from the outset.
This article evaluates the use of different types of cash transfers in different regional contexts as a tool for reducing poverty and inequality in developing countries. Particular attention is paid to knowledge about the appropriateness and cost-effectiveness of targeted versus universal cash transfers and about conditional versus unconditional transfers.
Other themes: influencing policy

5.2 Inputs
A final evaluation report of the AISP programme in Malawi. Comments also on the gender dimensions of the programme design and implementation and gender related programme impacts.
Funded by: DFID, USAID and Future Agricultures Consortium

5.3 Insurance
The paper reviews emerging experiences with weather-indexed insurance in low income countries of sub-Saharan Africa, focusing on Ethiopia, Malawi, Kenya, and Madagascar. Funded by: World Bank

5.4 Public works programmes


This brief is a synthesis of three linked reports on Ethiopia’s Productive Safety Nets Programme (PSNP), each of which examines various aspects of the programme, from targeting procedures and economic impacts, to policy and institutional linkages.

Funded by: DFID AusAID

6. Social Protection cross-cutting themes and sectors

6.1 Gender and age

Amuzu, C., Jones, N. and Pereznieto, P. (2010) Gendered risks, poverty and vulnerability in Ghana: To what extent is the LEAP cash transfer programme making a difference? ODI.

The purpose of this report is therefore to analyse the extent to which gender-specific economic and social risks inform Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) programme design and implementation, with the aim of informing ongoing initiatives to strengthen the programme’s effectiveness.

Other themes: participation.

Funded by: DFID and AusAID.


This paper reviews the history of the non-contributory social pension in South Africa, as well as recent work on the distributional and poverty-alleviating effects of this program. The pension has a strong gender dimension, reaching three times as many women as men, and has an unambiguous impact on reducing household poverty, particularly among Black South African households.


This report reviews the extent to which unconditional cash transfers have been used in the east and southern Africa region, and draws out the lessons learnt from schemes in operation, with a particular focus on their ability to respond to the social protection needs of the most vulnerable children (MVC).

The report unconditional cash transfers in 15 countries of east and southern Africa, examines four programmes in more depth (in Ethiopia, Lesotho, Mozambique and Zambia), and draws lessons for policy from this comparative review.

Other themes: Political cohesion/fragility

Funded by: UNICEF


The paper aims to fill a gap in the literature by examining good practice in the design of MISs for social protection. It discusses the type of information required by social protection MISs, and the challenges in capturing, transferring and processing this information. The paper also assesses the potential for introducing new technologies into social protection and the appropriateness of the national Single Registry as a model for developing countries. Funded by: German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development


The study forms a part of a series of reports produced by a regional study on social protection and children in Central and West Africa.

The study seeks to provide an assessment of the potential feasibility and affordability of implementing cash transfers with an objective to reduce childhood poverty in West and Central Africa region. It does this by examining the potential impact, costs and feasibility of transferring child benefits to poor households. It mainly focuses on assessing the potential for direct and unconditional cash transfers as child benefits, rather than cash-for-work or cash transfers conditional on human development.

Funded by: Commissioned by UNICEF

Intended audience: Policymakers, programmes practitioners and researchers, both in West and Central Africa and internationally. Provides preliminary recommendations to inform UNICEF’s strategy in the region.


The study forms a part of a series of reports produced by a regional study on social protection and children in Central and West Africa.
This report focuses on children's vulnerabilities and risks related to an absence of protection from violence, abuse and neglect, and the ways in which measures to address such vulnerabilities and risks can be more effectively integrated into social protection policy frameworks in the West and Central Africa region. The analysis is based on a desk review as well as the findings from five in-depth country cases: Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Ghana, Mali and Senegal.

Other themes: Institutional coordination, participation, monitoring and evaluation, role of non-state actors

Funded by: Commissioned by UNICEF

Intended audience: Policymakers, programmes practitioners and researchers, both in West and Central Africa and internationally. Provides preliminary recommendations to inform UNICEF’s strategy in the region.

The report is one of several produced as part of a regional study on social protection and children in West and Central Africa.

The Ghana report reviews the existing social protection programmes in the country, analysing the extent to which they are contributing to the reduction of poverty and vulnerability among children and their caregivers. It also analyses underlying capacity constraints and financing issues, and makes a series of policy recommendations to strengthen social protection and ensure that programmes benefit the poorest children and their families.

Other themes: Financing

Funded by: Commissioned by UNICEF

Intended audience: Policymakers, programmes practitioners and researchers, both in West and Central Africa and internationally. Provides preliminary recommendations to inform UNICEF’s strategy in the region.

The purpose of this report is therefore to analyse the extent to which gender-specific economic and social risks inform the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) public works scheme programme design and implementation, with the aim of informing ongoing initiatives to strengthen the programme’s effectiveness.

Other themes: institutional coordination, institutional capacity

Funded by: DFID and AusAID

The paper argues against the provision of grants for orphans as a category of children distinct from other children, drawing on a combination of primary research and demographic projections, and by costing a range of different social security scenarios.

The paper suggests that the most equitable, accessible and appropriate mechanism for supporting children in the context of the AIDS pandemic would be through the extension to all children of the Child Support Grant mechanism that is currently in place, and for the means test that restricts children’s access to be removed.

Funded by: HIV/AIDS directorate, National Department of Health; the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund

The paper analyses different means to create fiscal space for social protection initiatives. The particular context of the discussion is affordability of a cash transfer programme in Senegal. A cost effectiveness assessment of non-priority spending across sectors and assessment of the effectiveness of current social sector spending are identified as some of the possible means to create fiscal space for social protection initiatives.

Funded by: UNICEF

The purpose of this paper is to pull together the existing information on orphans and other vulnerable children in Africa.

The paper traces the sources and extent of vulnerability, examines the prevailing community responses, and argues the case for a concerted public policy response. In the context of such public interventions, it discusses alternative approaches to targeting. Finally, it reviews the ongoing interventions and delineates some examples of good practices.

Funded by: World Bank

The study forms a part of a series of reports produced by a regional study on social protection and children in Central and West Africa.

The report examines arguments and reviews evidence on the relative effectiveness of the different types of health financing mechanisms from the perspective of equity and the aim of achieving universal access to essential health services.
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Other themes: Role of religious and traditional value systems,
Funded by: Commissioned by UNICEF
Intended audience: Policymakers, programmes practitioners and researchers, both in West and Central Africa and internationally. Provides preliminary recommendations to inform UNICEF’s strategy in the region.

6.2 HIV / AIDS

This paper summarizes the evidence on the appropriateness of different social protection instruments for promoting Universal Access to HIV prevention, treatment, care and support.
It describes targeting considerations relevant to people and households affected by HIV, and proposes what can be achieved by linking social protection and HIV through further research.
Other themes: Monitoring and evaluation
Funded by: Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS)

6.3 Rural development

This paper provides a review of key issues relating to linkages between social protection, livelihoods, transformation and rural development, with particular reference to those currently excluded from the benefits of growth.
Other themes: financing, targeting
Intended audience: Prepared in response to the growing interest of both the Dutch government and NGOs in the social protection and development debate: a coalition of Dutch Ministries, NGOs and knowledge institutes.

7. Impact assessments

This paper presents one-year schooling impacts from a conditional cash transfer experiment among teenage girls and young women in Malawi

This paper examines the reach and impact of the South African Child Support Grant, using longitudinal data collected through the Africa Centre for Health and Population Studies.
Funded by: Wellcome Trust Grants to the Africa Centre for Health and Population Studies. Case acknowledges funding from the National Institutes of Health and the MacArthur Foundation. Hosegood acknowledges funding from The Wellcome Trust, UK through grants to the Africa Centre and V. Hosegood.

This report uses qualitative and quantitative methods to help understand the market impact of Concern Worldwide’s emergency cash transfer programme in northern Dowa District, Malawi known as the DECT programme.

This article examines the relative effectiveness of cash and in-kind food aid, using an economy-wide modelling framework and a social accounting matrix constructed for Ethiopia. It argues that cash aid has larger positive effects on household welfare, with multiplier effects on households other than direct recipients, and that food aid provides a disincentive to local food production.
However, where cash transfers cause food prices to rise, welfare losses may be suffered by those who are neither targeted nor beneficiaries.

This paper assesses the impact of Ethiopia’s Productive Safety Nets Programme (PSNP) using Propensity Score Matching techniques.

Funded by: DFID and World Bank


The paper presents findings from household research in rural South Africa. Qualitative and quantitative methods were used to assess the links between illness-related costs and impoverishment over time, the protection effects of free health services, cash transfers and social networks, and the factors influencing access to these three forms of social protection.

Funded by: The South African Costs and Coping Study (SACOCO) was funded by Wellcome Trust Grant, and the Joint Economic, Aids and Poverty Programme funded by the UK Department for International Development, USAID, AUSAID and UNDP.


The study analyses the impacts of the Swaziland Old Age Grant (OAG) on a household level and also discusses the mechanisms by which the OAG has been delivered since its inception.

Co-funded by: RHVP and HelpAge International


The study aims to trace any impact that the high-coverage social pension schemes in sub-Saharan Africa may have had on fertility.


The paper looks at the social inclusion aspects of the formal risk-sharing schemes for health care services in Ghana. The paper studies the demand for the two oldest schemes by the poor and explores design features that could enhance better coverage and improve financial protection for health care services.


The report assesses the impact of cash transfers on income poverty and school attendance in 15 sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries through exploring different budget scenarios and targeting strategies.

The data source is household surveys, and the study is limited to estimating short-term income effects on demand for primary education.

Funded by: DFID


This study explores the contribution of public works to social protection in South Africa, drawing evidence from two case studies, the Gundo Lashu programme in Limpopo and the Zimabele programme in KwaZulu Natal. It attempts to provide some initial responses to the question of the targeting of PWP’s and their microeconomic and labour market impacts in order to establish an evidence base for future policy development, and to identify some of the key policy lessons arising.

Funded by: The survey was jointly funded by DFID, the KwaZulu Natal Department of Transport, the Roads Agency Limpopo, and the Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) in the Centre for Social Science Research of the School of Economics at the University of Cape Town.

Intended audience: The Economics and Statistics Analysis Unit (ESAU) outputs seek to make research conclusions available to DFID, and to diffuse them in the wider development community


An ongoing and highly politicised debate concerns the relative efficacy of cash transfers versus food aid.

This paper aims to shed light on this debate, drawing on new empirical evidence from Ethiopia’s Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP).

The article argues that food transfers or ‘cash plus food’ packages are superior to cash transfers alone – they enable higher levels of income growth, livestock accumulation and self-reported food security.
The paper analyses how social protection and agricultural policies interact, creating either synergies or conflicts between them. It explores both current and potential synergies and conflicts between 'welfare-promoting' and 'growth-promoting' forms of social protection and agricultural development. (not included in the matrix)

Funded by: Development Research and Training, The Chronic Poverty Research Centre, Brookes World Poverty Institute, The Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, DFID (Uganda), Economic Policy Research Centre, Swiss Development Cooperation and UNICEF (all of these provided financial assistance towards meeting the costs of both the conference and the production of this compendium)


This paper uses two of Nigeria’s current social protection initiatives as implied in the Amnesty and Poverty Reduction policies to provide an analysis of current response of government towards social protection. It observes that these policies have not gone beyond pedestal levels of mere residual safety nets for government.


This study investigates the effects of household and individual characteristics on enrolment in MHOs (social inclusion), the impact of MHO membership on use of priority health care services, and the impact of MHO membership on out-of-pocket (OOP) health care expenditures (household income protection).

Funded by: USAID


This paper outlines empirical evidence for the impacts of cash transfers in southern Africa, based on an extensive literature review and primary evidence assessing 20 social transfer programmes in Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe, which was gathered between 2005-2008 under the Regional Evidence Building Agenda of the Regional Hunger and Vulnerability Programme


This paper uses exogenous variation in eligibility and grant take-up to evaluate the impacts of the Child Support Grant, an unconditional cash transfer program in South Africa, over the period 2002-2005

8. Francophone literature

8.1 Social security extension

The ILO and ISSA have been producing and commissioning a number of publications in French on the issue of social protection with often a focus on social insurance schemes (see for instance www.ilo.org/public/french/regional/africa/pubs/index.htm). The AFD (French Agency for Development – www.afd.fr) has not supported any specific work on social protection, but has been considered the issue of social protection extension as part of labour market policies – promoting a social protection floor and the extension of social security mechanisms to the informal sector.


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8.2 Health insurance schemes

Numerous researchers and policy analysts have been working on health insurance mechanisms, and particularly on micro health insurance and universal health insurance. Such studies have been conducted by several universities in Francophone countries (France, Belgium, Canada, etc.) and largely focused on the West African region and a few Central African countries (such as Rwanda). They have been supported by the ILO-STEP programme (Strategies and Techniques against social Exclusion and Poverty), the International Social Security Association, and the World Health Organisation, among others. The CIDR (International Development and Research Centre) will organise a training seminar late 2011 on “micro health insurance and universal health insurance in Africa” (see http://www.medsp.umontreal.ca/vesa-tc/indigents.htm).


8.3 User fee exemptions at health care facilities

Several researchers have been focusing their work on the access to health services in poorest communities. Some research-actions have been conducted in several Francophone African countries (including Burkina Faso, Niger, Mali and Mauritania) to look at health care financing issues and the feasibility to exempt the indigent from user fees. Late 2010, a workshop on mechanisms to exempt the indigent from user fees at health care facilities in Africa was held in Ouagadougou, Burkina (see http://www.medsp.umontreal.ca/vesa-tc/indigents.html). For instance, interesting research has been conducted in West and Central Africa by the CRCHUM (Research Centre of the University of Montreal Hospital Centre, Canada), the Institute of Tropical Medicine (Antwerp, Belgium) and the IRSS (Research Institute in Health Sciences, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso) with financial support from the IDRC (International Development Research Centre) and UNICEF.


8.4 Agricultural risks

A number of Francophone researchers have been studying weather insurance and warrantage (credit guaranteed by stored grain) for small farmers. These include researchers from the CIRED (International Research Centre on Environment and Development – www.centre-cired.fr) and the GRET (www.gret.org). The AFD and the FAO-EU cooperation programme have been funding some of these research projects.

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8.5 Food security

Late 2009, the AFD commissioned a series of studies to inform the design of an AFD support programme aimed at strengthening the national and regional mechanisms to prevent and manage food crises in West Africa. The pre-identification study proposed the AFD to support the definition of a common approach to food access for the poor and vulnerable populations through the establishment of social transfer programmes. A feasibility study specifically on social transfers followed.


In 2008, the IRD (French Research Institute for Development – http://en.ird.fr/) engaged in a series of evaluations of the impact of social transfers provided within social security/nutrition programmes in Burkina Faso and Senegal (see http://burkina-faso.ird.fr/les-activites/projets-de-recherche/umr-204-evaluation-de-l-impact-des-transferts-sociaux). These evaluations were commissioned by the World Food Programme. The IRD has expressed an interest in conducting further research on the impact of social transfers on nutrition in Sub-Saharan/West African Africa.


8.6 Social transfer targeting

A few authors have been researching targeting methods. DIAL researchers for instance reviewed targeting experiences in poverty reduction programmes in general. Ridde et al. have been conducting research-actions on targeting methods in user fee exemptions programmes in particular.


8.7 Regional social (protection) strategy

In 2009, the WAEMU adopted regulations for social mutual insurance within the Union. It also commissioned a review of social protection systems in WAEMU Member States. The document (yet to be adopted by the WAEMU) recommends the adoption by Member States of a Community Social Protection Policy, along with an Action Plan. The policy would promote the social protection floor initiative, and cover social insurance, social assistance and social welfare services. In 2010, the CIPRES (Social Provident Inter-African Conference – www.lacipres.org) conducted a study on health insurance in the CIPRES Member States (14 Western and Central African countries – see www.droit-afrique.com/images/textes/Afrique/pana%20-%20convention%20cipres.pdf). In 2010, the WAEMU and ECOWAS adopted the Regional Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. The subsequent roadmap is expected to include social protection instruments under the Strategy’s Pillar 4 which relates to human capital development. In 2009, the ECOWAS explicitly promoted the extension of social safety nets in the third implementation programme of the ECOWAP (ECOWAS Agricultural Policy). This programme focuses on “food vulnerability reduction and promotion of a sustainable access to food”. In 2009, the ECOWAS commissioned a study on the definition of food insecurity reduction instruments for the most vulnerable populations in the ECOWAP framework. It may be interesting to note that many regional African bodies have tended to approach social policies as a whole (as reflected in the AU Social Policy Framework) or have considered social protection instruments as part of food security policies (as reflected in NEPAD Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Programme and ECOWAS Agricultural Policy).


pasgr.org


Others

In 2001, a report to the French Prime Minister deplored that, at a time when social protection was gaining momentum in the development discourse, interventions of French institutions in this field (in the international arena) had been very limited and lacked a comprehensive vision. It recommended taking a more active role and setting a clear strategy on social policies for development. To date, this role seems to remain limited to specific areas (as described above). The GIP SPSI (Groupement d’intérêt Public Santé et Protection Sociale Internationale – www.gipspsi.org/GIP) is the public interest group for health and social protection in the international arena. Several Francophone universities intervene in the social protection field, often with a specific focus on social security law, health law, actuarial practice, labour policies, etc. These include: Paris School of Economics (www.parisschoolofeconomics.eu); Centre d’Economie de la Sorbonne, Université Paris 1 (http://centred'economiesorbonne.univ-paris1.fr/institutions/); Ecole des HEC, Université de Lausanne; CERDI, Université de Clermont-Ferrand ; Université de Montpellier 1 (www.univ-montp1.fr/universite/ufr_et_instituts/ufr_droit_et_science_politique); Université de Toulouse 1 Capitole; en3s (Ecole Nationale Supérieure de Sécurité Sociale – www.en3s.fr); etc.
