

A photograph of a man and a woman sitting at a table. The man, on the left, is wearing a red polo shirt with green and white trim and a colorful beaded necklace. He is looking down at the table. The woman, on the right, is wearing a traditional beaded garment with red, green, and blue beads. She is also looking down at the table. On the table, there are several stacks of cash, including banknotes and coins. The background is slightly blurred, showing some indoor setting.

Political Sustainability of Cash Transfers

Findings from CSSR social protection project

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Outline

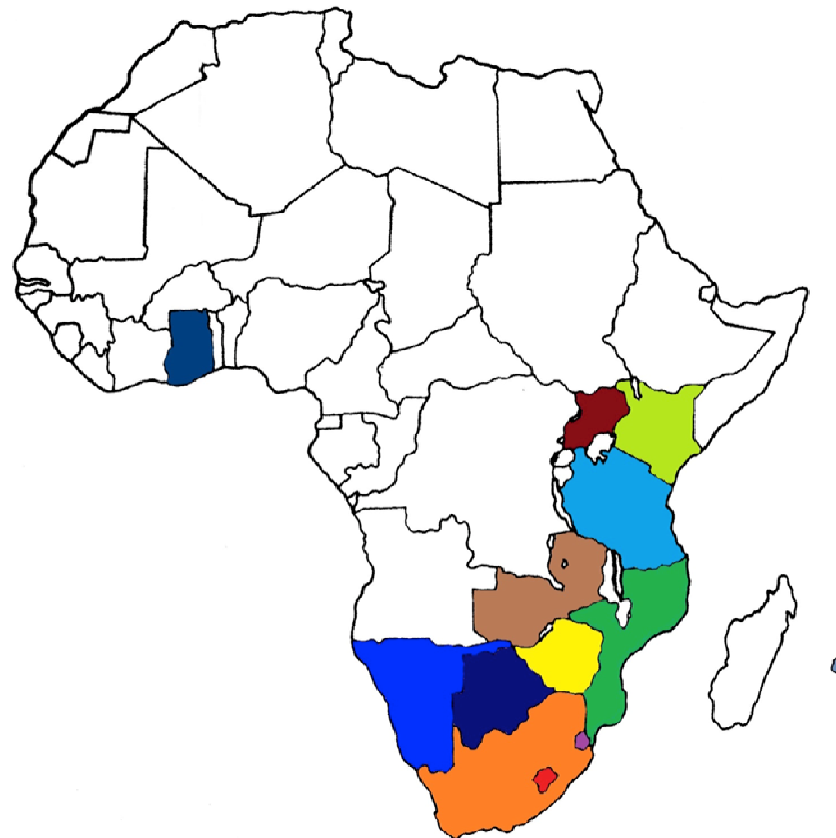
- CSSR Project
- Policy diffusion
- Variations in SP across Southern Africa
- Case studies Lesotho and Kenya
- Conclusions

CSSR Project: Legislating and Implementing Welfare Policy Reforms (LIWPR)

- Prof. Jeremy Seekings (UCT)
- Funding:



Research jointly supported by the ESRC and DFID



LIWPR

- Formulation and implementation of social protection policy
- What works politically in Africa – and why?
- Roles of international organisations, political parties, electoral competition, civil society
- Scope of the project: primarily social assistance
- *How* and *why* have social assistance programmes been enacted and implemented in some settings – and why not in others?

“Getting the politics right may be as important, or even more important than getting the initial technical design of programmes right.”

Niño-Zarazúa M., Barrientos, A., Hulme, D. & S. Hickey. 2012. Social Protection in Sub-Saharan Africa: Getting the Politics Right. *World Development*, 40(1): 163-176.

The path of 'policy diffusion'

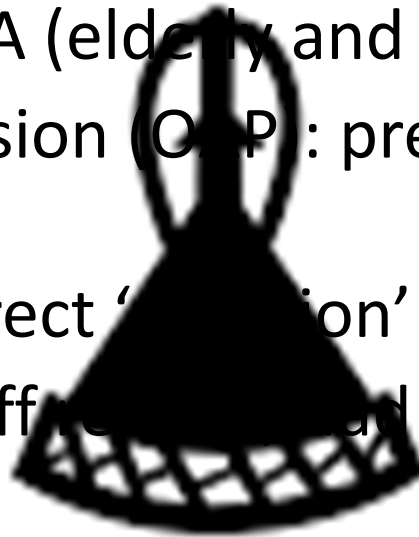
- Replication/adaptation from one country to another
- British colonies: interest in social assistance
- Diffusion: also shaped by flow of *ideas*
- ➔ models not always *imposed*, but embraced/adapted
- ➔ significance of underlying normative worldview of local elites
- Southern African middle-income countries: *South African model*
- 'Middle' African, low-income countries: *donor-driven*


Variations in Social Protection

	“Conservative” (state should intervene very little, CT only for small group of ‘deserving’ poor, more focus on workfare)	“Social Democratic” (CT for a wider range of poor people, more generous benefits)
Minimalist (coverage of few poor people)	Zambia under MMD Lesotho, Kenya?	Zambia under PF
Comprehensive (coverage of most poor people)	Botswana under BDP	South Africa under ANC
<i>Basic Income Grant</i>		

Lesotho

- Candidate for narrative of 'policy diffusion'
 - ➔ focus similar to SA (elderly and children)
- 2004 Old Age Pension (OAP): presidential initiative, 'homegrown'
- No evidence of direct 'diffusion' effect
- OAP was a once-off initiative and had been on the table since 1993
- Part of an egalitarian, redistributive philosophy of the government
 - ➔ *pension as a 'right'*

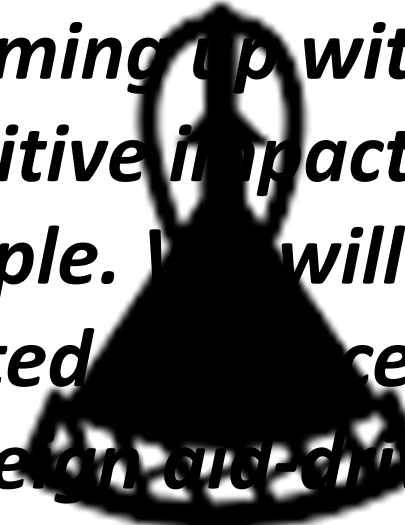




“...a pension is something that one qualifies for on the basis of age. Anybody can get a grant. Also, a pension is something one deserves. We are not doing it as a favour.”

Pakalitha Mosisili, Prime Minister Lesotho (Interview 2014)

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- Domestic response to socio-economic change (AIDS epidemic) & political competition
 - PM Mosisili: driver and *champion* of OAP
 - OAP still known as ‘a Mosisili’
 - Supportive & capable Minister of Finance, Thahane
 - OAP: election issue in 2007 → positive politicisation
 - Unwillingness to involve international donors
 - IMF: expressed caution



“We were very clear that this was an initiative that we were coming up with as government, to have a positive impact on the lives of vulnerable people. We will start this on our own, with limited resources. ... We will not make it a foreign aid-driven initiative.”

Pakalitha Mosisili, Prime Minister Lesotho (Interview 2014)

Lesotho Child Grant (2009)

- *Soft power* by donors → Lesotho more 'receptive' than Zambia?
- Started as pilot, funding by EU, support by UNICEF, now mostly government funded
- Child Grant NOT associated with Mosisili!
- Mosisili's personal vision may have shaped social policies, implementation of OAP and agreement to partner with EU & UNICEF
- Success of OAP may have paved the way for other cash transfers such as Child Grant



2004): first of its kind

- AIDS epidemic as ‘motivation’ for cash transfer for OVC
- UNICEF initiative, first funded by SIDA & DfID
- Today: GoK is the largest contributor
- Ministry of Finance convinced by evidence & study tours
- Political champion: Vice President Mwori
- Programme initially kept out of public & political spotlight
- Recent interference by MPs – DfID realises significance of political economy
- Kenyan MPs: supportive of cash transfers



increasing state involvement
actors

- Demonstration of willingness & ability to initiate a cash transfer programme
- 2012: OPCT covered only 2.5% of elderly
- Increased publicity, political interest
- Elderly considered important group of voters

Conclusions

- Similarities Lesotho & Kenya: focus on children & elderly, UNICEF involvement - yet different approaches
- Donors prefer poverty-targeting → but there may be political implications!
- Individuals can 'make' or 'break'
- Political incentives, electoral competition
- Values & ideas matter – persuasion by CS, power of research/study tours; reservations about assistance to 'undeserving'
- Political elites: ambivalence about 'too much to too many'
- Roots of different 'worldviews' in Africa?

Thank you

