

A RAPID POLITICAL ECONOMY ANALYSIS CONCERNING DOMESTIC COMMITMENT TO SOCIAL ASSISTANCE IN ZAMBIA

Presentation of study and key findings

Lusaka, Zambia

Friday 15th February 2019

WHY DOES IT MATTER?



SOCIAL PROTECTION

Non-contributory

Contributory

Social assistance

Social care

Social insurance

Active labour market policies

SOCIAL TRANSFERS

- Cash transfers
- Vouchers
- In-kind transfers (incl. school feeding)

PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAMMES

- Cash for work
- Food for work

FEE WAIVERS

- For basic health / education

SUBSIDIES

- Fuel
- Food

- Insurance for:
 - Unemployment
 - Maternity
 - Disability
 - Work accidents
- Old-age pension
- Crop / livestock insurance

- Work-sharing
- Training
- Job-search services

CONTRIBUTION

Report of Study on Drivers of Change for a National Social Protection Scheme in Zambia

A study undertaken for DFID Zambia

November 2005

Research Team
Dr. Armando Barrientos, IDS, University of Sussex
Dr. Sam Hickey, IDPM, University of Manchester
Dr. Neo Simutanyi, INESOR, University of Zambia
Denis Wood, D. Wood Consultants and Investment Limited



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

CENTRE FOR
SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

**Social policy reform in Zambia under
President Lungu, 2015-2017**

Hangala Siachiwena

CSSR Working Paper No. 403

Legislating and Implementing Welfare Policy Reforms

April 2017



Research jointly supported by the ESRC and DFID

esid Effective States and
Inclusive Development
identifying routes to social justice

ESID Working Paper No. 75

The politics of promoting social protection in Zambia

Kate Pruce¹ and Sam Hickey²

January, 2017

¹Global Development Institute, The University of Manchester
Email correspondence: kate.pruce@manchester.ac.uk

²Global Development Institute, The University of Manchester
Email correspondence: sam.hickey@manchester.ac.uk

ISBN: 978-1-908749-76-5

“Social protection is not well understood or widely accepted, even among key stakeholders, many of whom struggle with its terminology, its relationship to poverty reduction policy, its scope and instruments. Social protection does not have wide currency among policy makers”

Barrientos et al. (2005) “Drivers of Change” study

- *“...there is little sign that social protection has traction within the normative views of political elites in Zambia. Neither [social cash transfers] nor [social health insurance] were significant issues during the 2014 presidential by-election campaigns, and when questioned directly on their policy agenda around social protection during a pre-election radio debate, presidential candidates revealed either a lack of awareness or outright hostility (ZO2).”*

Pruce and Hickey (2017)

APPROACH / METHOD

1. *How strong is domestic ownership of/ buy-in to, the recent expansion of social assistance and the SCTP in particular?*
2. *What has been driving it?*
3. *What is required to entrench it further?*

Problem-Driven Political Economy Analysis

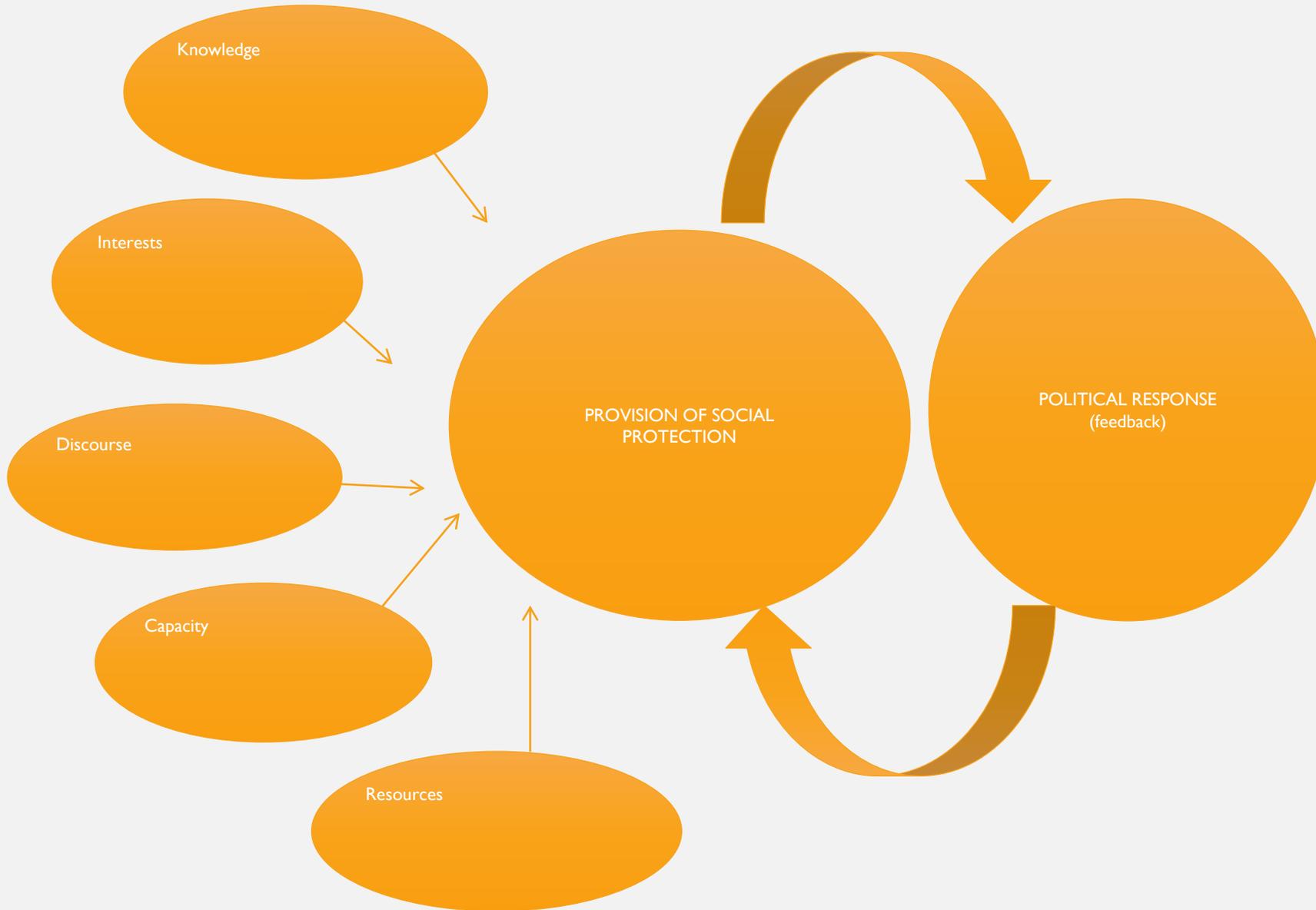
Mixed methods:

- 1) *Review of secondary literature*
- 2) *New primary data*

Table 1: MPs surveyed by political affiliation

Party	Total	PF	Opposition
	50	18	32
Patriotic Front (PF)	36%	100%	0%
United Party for National Development	38%	0%	59%
Movement for Multiparty Democracy	6%	0%	9%
Independent	20%	0%	31%

Source: IPSOS Zambia.



Levels of the PEA:

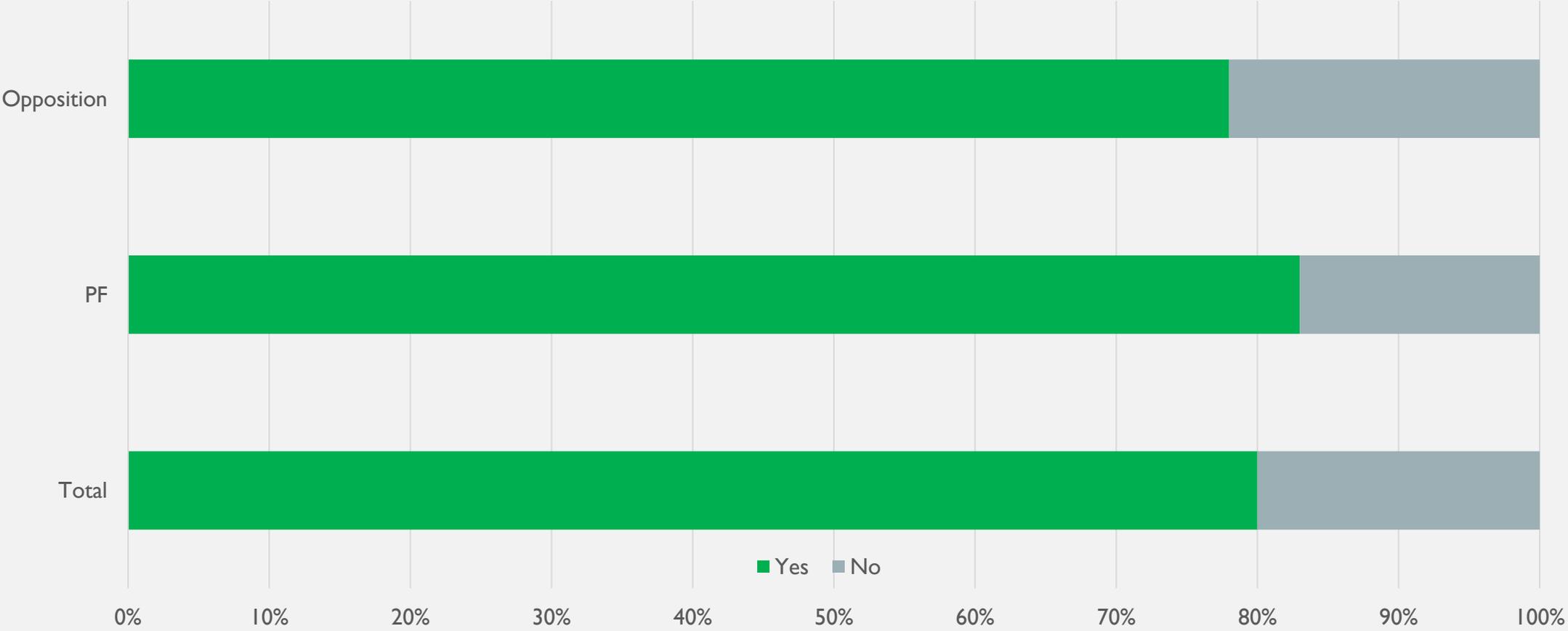
- Structural/
Foundational
- Institutional/ “rules
of the game”
- Actors and agents

KEY FINDING #1

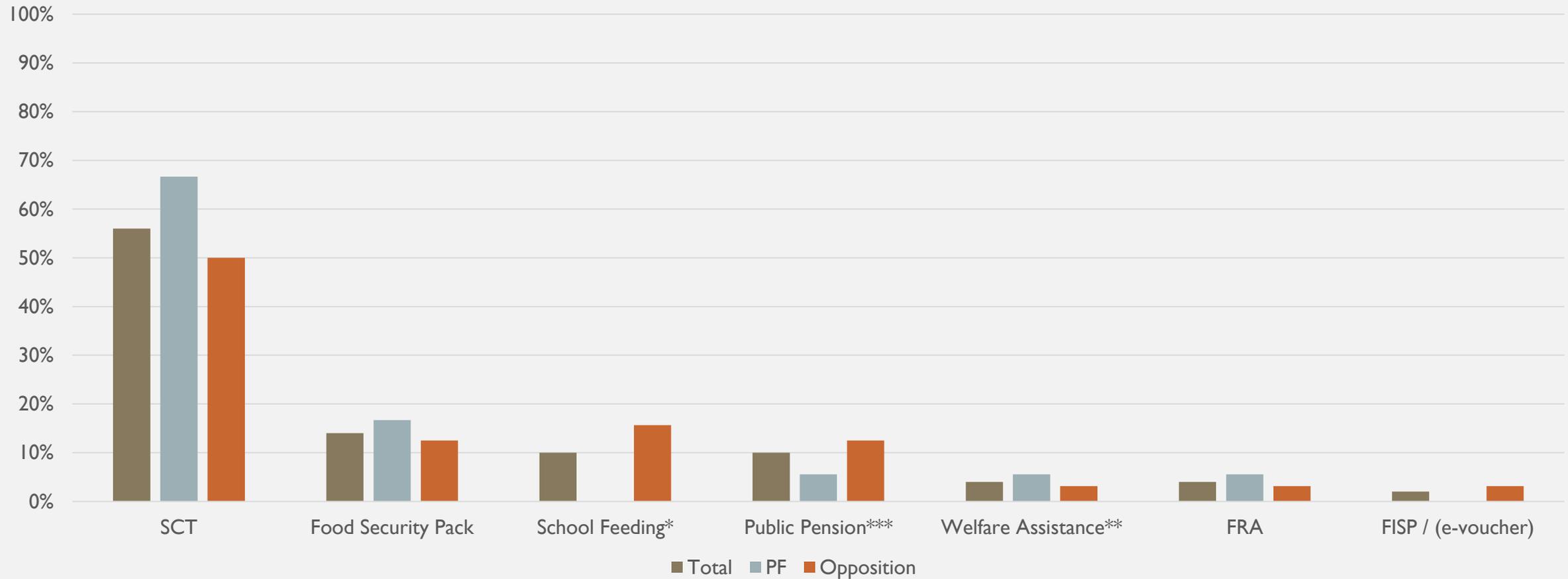
Despite divisions in views and preferences across party lines, there is evidence of support for increasing government spending on social protection in broad terms and strong support for expanding funding for the SCTP in particular among both government and opposition Zambian MPs.

This is matched by evidence of strong public backing for social cash transfers targeting vulnerable households.

Q8. Do you think the Government should prioritise spending more on social protection?



Q7. If funding were available to expand these programmes, which three programmes in order of preference would you like to see get more funding? (First preference shown)



IN SPITE OF...

Q6a. If we asked you to say which of the programmes we discussed is the **MOST** effective at reducing poverty, which ones would you select?

		Party affiliation	
		PF	Opposition
Total	50	18	32
Social Cash Transfer	38%	56%	28%
Home Grown School Feeding Programme	2%	0%	3%
Public Welfare Assistance Scheme	2%	0%	3%
Food Security Pack	4%	0%	6%
Public Service Pension Fund	2%	0%	3%
FRA	2%	6%	0%
FISP / (e-voucher)	46%	28%	56%
Other	4%	11%	0%

AND...

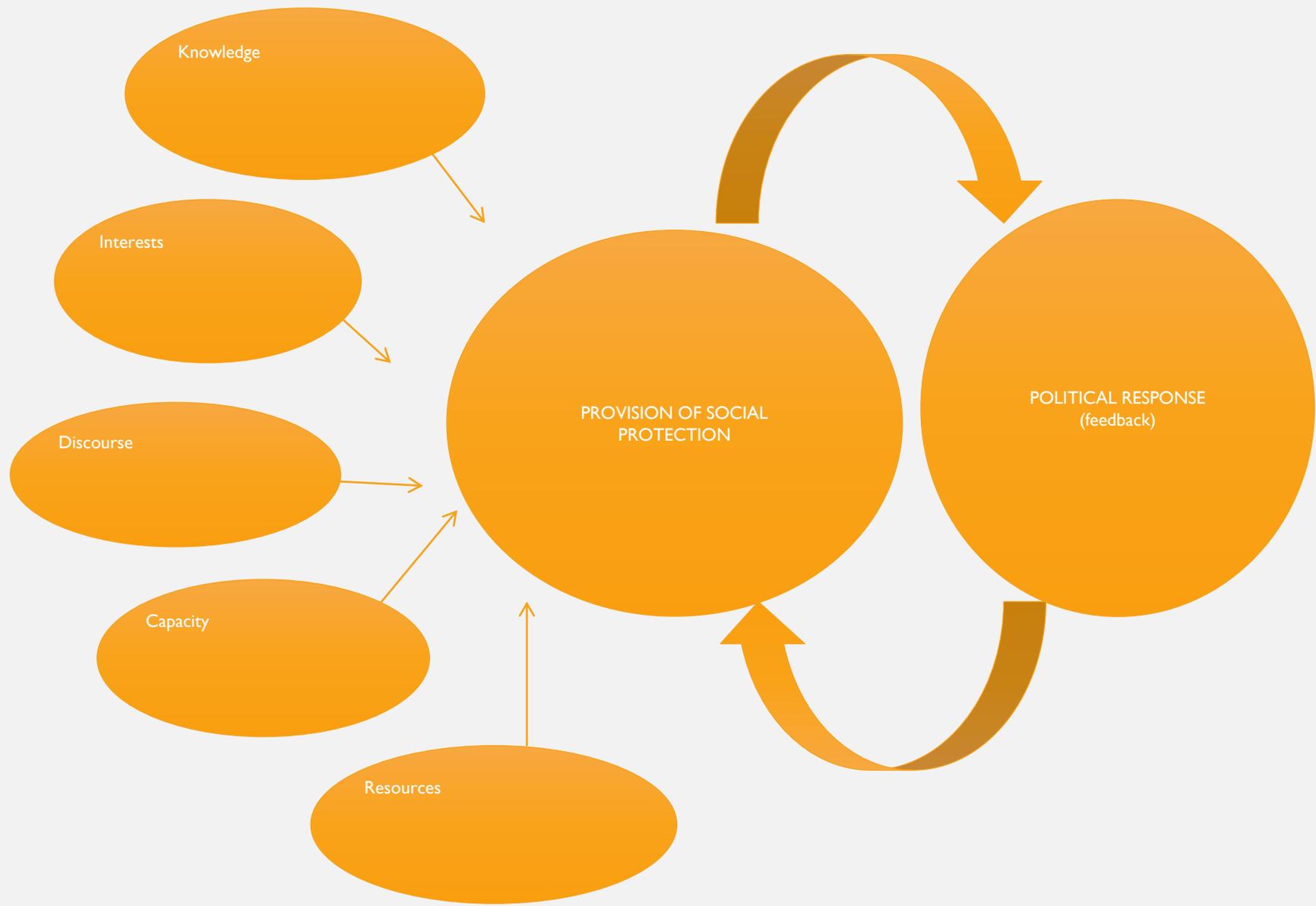
Q6b. If we asked you to say which of the programmes we discussed is the **LEAST** effective at reducing poverty, which ones would you select?

	Total	Party affiliation	
		PF	Opposition
Total	50	18	32
Social Cash Transfer	26%	17%	31%
Home Grown School Feeding Programme	10%	6%	13%
Public Welfare Assistance Scheme	4%	11%	0%
Food Security Pack	6%	11%	3%
Public Service Pension Fund	10%	6%	13%
FRA	22%	22%	22%
FISP / (e-voucher)	16%	22%	13%
Other	2%	0%	3%
Dont Know	4%	6%	3%

KEY FINDING #2

Finding #1 and the recent expansion of the SCTP financing & coverage indicates evidence of growing domestic ownership and buy-in to social assistance & SCTP.

These developments and findings raise the possibility of a “positive politicisation” of the SCTP whereby competition between political parties may arise that would help consolidate, strengthen and more firmly domesticate the programme.



KEY FINDING #3

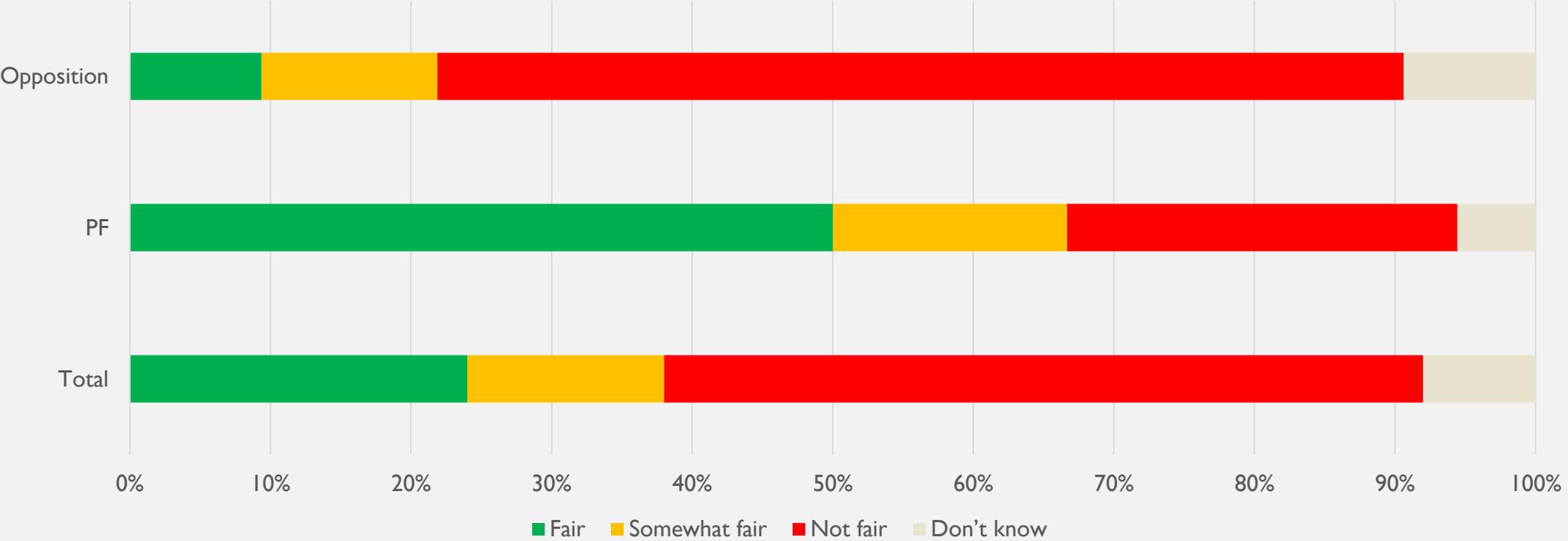
However, a number of issues currently put into question or threaten this scenario from emerging, including:

- (i) the gap between government budgetary allocations and disbursements to the SCTP;*
- (ii) perceptions of patronage associated with the SCTP and other social assistance programmes among opposition MPs; and*
- (iii) continued misconceptions and misplaced beliefs about certain aspects of social protection.*

Q4. Which of these programmes are active in your constituency?

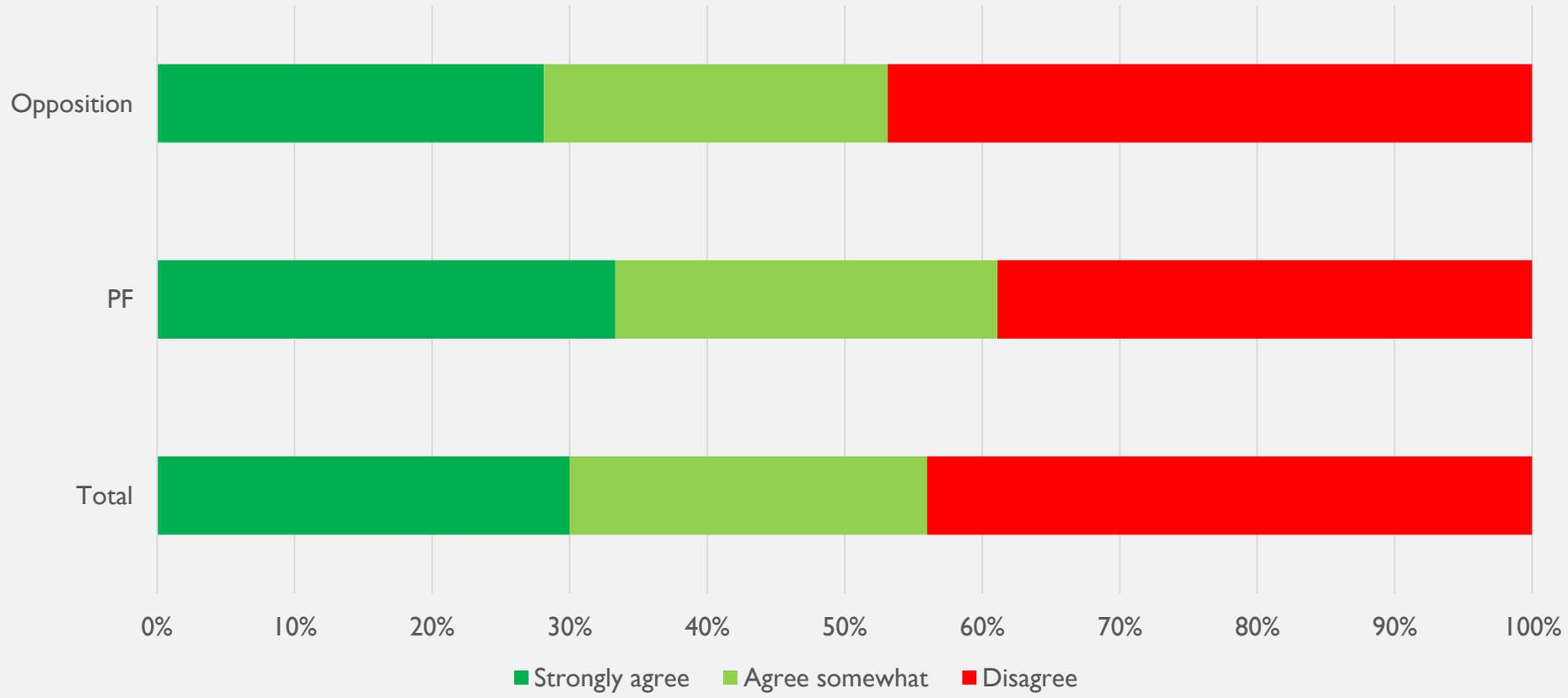


Q17. In your opinion do you think the process for identifying and selecting recipients in the SCT is fair?



Marginal perception that SCTs create dependency

Q21. Some people are uncomfortable with the idea of governments giving out money unconditionally as they believe it will lead to dependency or encourage laziness, do you agree with this view?



CONCLUSIONS

- Indications of growing national buy-in and ownership of social protection as whole and SCTP in particular.
- Driven initially by ruling (PF) party and desire to achieve pro-poor coverage and deal with crisis of of legitimacy arising from FISP spending, but increasingly with growth in coverage it looks set to become an electoral issue in itself with potential for feedback from public support and possibility of it being “positively politicised” and competed over at the ballot box.
- However, a number of potential threats or risks that need to be addressed:
 - (i) level of government commitment put into question by gap between budget and disbursement;
 - (ii) opposition perceptions over SCTP and other programmes being a vehicle for patronage;
 - (iii) continued misconceptions about role of social protection and generating dependency.
- Nevertheless, is cross-party support for increased spend on social protection as a whole and SCTP comes out on top for additional funding above FISP and FRA.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Invest in the capacity of national civil society (including research organisations and media) to:
 - (i) increase awareness among the wider public and political elite around the concept of social protection
 - (ii) tackle commonly held myths, misconceptions and sharing impact evidence
 - (iii) help ensure accountability and inclusiveness
2. Work with national civil society and media as well as legislature to support dialogue on legislative reform to work towards a legal right to social protection that is justiciable in Zambian law.
3. Research to understand the gap between budget allocated to social protection and budget that is disbursed and, to the extent this reflects lower prioritisation of social protection, identify options for addressing it.
4. Empirical research to investigate further the result from the survey of MPs that opposition MPs perceive coverage of social protection programmes to be less common in their constituencies.