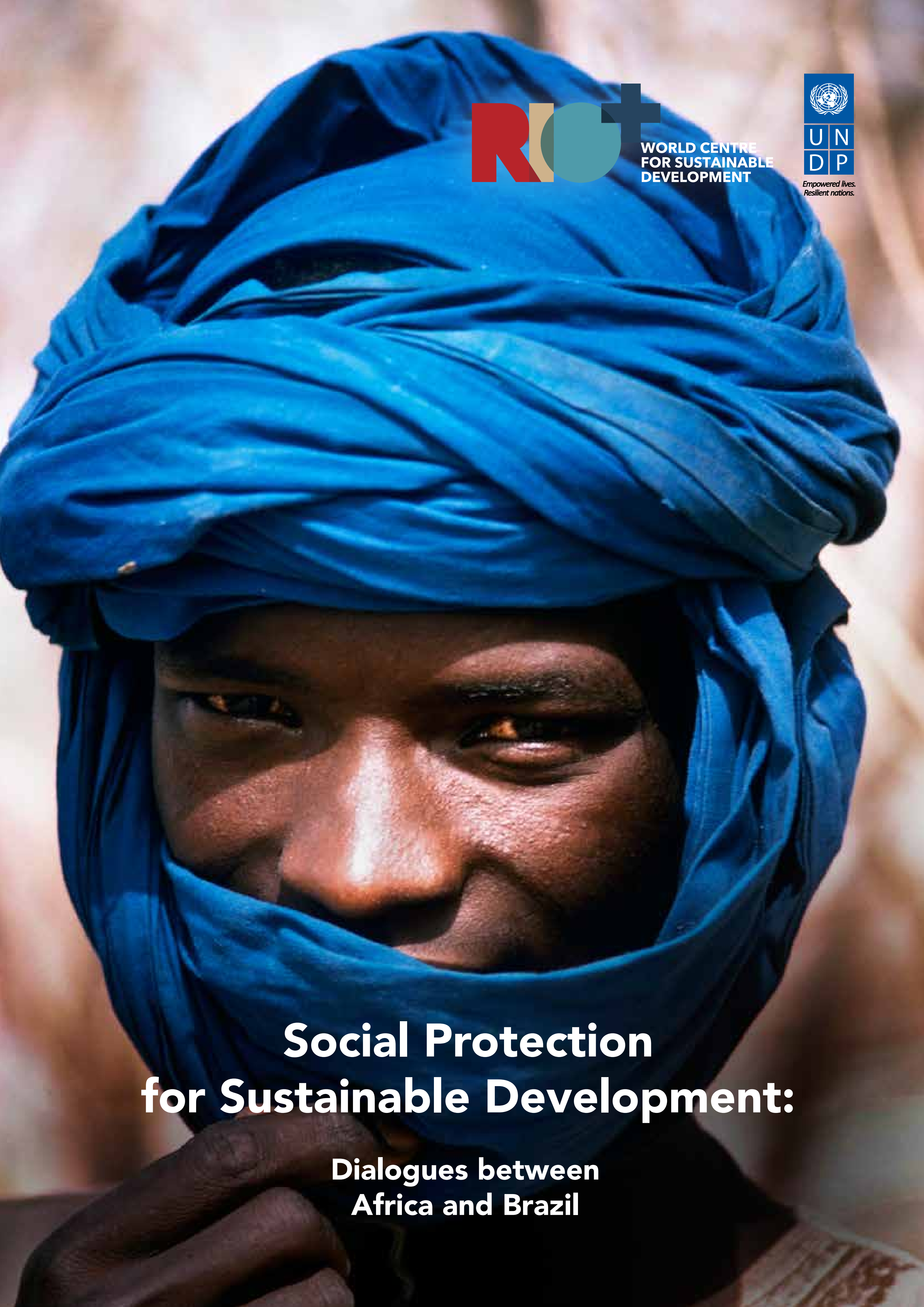

RIO+ WORLD CENTRE FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

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Social Protection for Sustainable Development:

Dialogues between Africa and Brazil

Social Protection for Sustainable Development:

Dialogues between Africa and Brazil

The UNDP World Centre for Sustainable Development (RIO+ Centre) is a hub for dialogue and action on equitable and sustainable development that emerged as a legacy of the Rio+20 Conference. The RIO+ Centre works with partners to produce analysis, convene broad-based dialogue and promote policies and practices that lead to greater social, environmental and economic justice. As a UNDP Global Policy Centre, the RIO+ Centre aims to bolster South-South Cooperation and facilitate the participation of the Global South in international efforts on sustainable development.

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The following report presents the main inputs on policy and practice from the International Seminar on Social Protection held in Dakar, Senegal in April 2015. A hundred and eight representatives from twelve African countries, including thirty senior officials and directors of social protection and ministers from Congo, Ethiopia and Senegal participated in the seminar. The recommendations adopted in Dakar were further endorsed by the 70 ministers present at the First Session of the Specialized Technical Committee on Social Development, Labour and Employment of the African Union and taken forward to the 25th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the African Union.

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Romulo Paes-Sousa,
Director of the UNDP World Centre for Sustainable Development (RIO+ Centre)

Lebogang Motlana,
Director of the UNDP Regional Service Centre for Africa

PREFACE

Over the last few decades, Latin American countries have experienced a boom in social protection policies. This increase has been fuelled by the expansion of fiscal space as the result of steady economic growth. While many of these countries had already had some type of social security system in place, most still lacked effective policies to reduce poverty and few had public programmes offering social assistance.

Cash transfer programmes rapidly emerged in countries all over the continent, followed by other social assistance programmes focusing on vulnerable individuals and families. This set of programmes progressively moved from a programme-oriented approach to a systems approach to providing services to the most vulnerable populations. This included the poor and extremely poor, people with disabilities, the homeless, individuals with drug use disorders, immigrants, ethnic minorities, children and women who are victims of domestic violence, sexual assault and other forms of violence, among others. Evidence shows that social policy contributed to poverty reduction and, in some cases, to the reduction of socio-economic inequalities in countries in the region. Likewise, such policies had a decisive role in the improvement of living conditions, as well as education levels and mother and child health.

Evidently, the design of policies or systems varies according to the context and capacity of each country. Even within a country, there is great heterogeneity in the quality of services offered. This process has rapidly shown interested countries that even when the implementation of public policies is strongly inspired by a model existing in another country, their experience will always be unique. No two countries will share the same specific conditions – namely in terms of context and capacities, which have an impact on success. Experience has demonstrated that variations in the quality of social protection services is often better explained by the capacity levels of each administrative unit, village and city, rather than the design of the policies and programmes themselves.

In this context, exchanges among countries and the support of international agencies for the systematization and dissemination of experiences has been of key importance. The transfer of technology on public policies, carried out intensively in the region on the basis of solidarity, has been the main source of knowledge for the development of new social protection policies and systems.

In the second decade of the 21st Century, we have witnessed the emergence of new policies and systems of social protection in Africa. Economic growth has proportioned an expansion in fiscal space that allows for greater investment in social policies. Such investments are demanded by the population, which aims to participate in this economic development as not only spectators, but also participants in the thriving continent that continues to grow and has the potential to be the new frontier of the world's economic development.

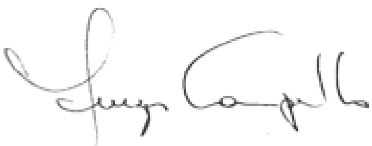
The experience of other continents that have already been through periods of accelerated growth shows that generating wealth in not necessarily inclusive. Consistent processes of inequality reduction depend on both successful economic policies and robust social policies.

Several innovative experiences are taking place in Africa, as can be seen in Senegal, Ghana and Ethiopia, among other countries. The African Union has promoted efforts to share experiences among the countries of the continent and engaged political leaders in debates on the agenda for development in the region.

Africans are interested in learning more about the successful experiences of countries, such as that of Brazil, which serve as a reference and guide for developing their own pathways to social protection solutions.

The partnership between the Government of Brazil and the Government of Senegal, the African Union Commission, UNDP World Centre for Sustainable Development (RIO+ Centre), UNDP Regional Service Centre for Africa and the Lula Institute provided the opportunity for a high-level debate at the International Seminar on Social Protection in Dakar. In addition to Brazil and Senegal, there were representatives from Cape Verde, Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Zambia and Zimbabwe at the event.

The recommendations adopted in Dakar were endorsed by the 70 ministers present at the First Session of the Specialized Technical Committee on Social Development, Labour and Employment of the African Union. Finally, in June 2015, the recommendations were also welcomed at the 25th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the African Union. The convergence in the technical debate and the repercussion of the discussions in Dakar on high-level political forums within the African Union show that there are exceptional opportunities for cooperation between Brazil and African countries and, more importantly, within Africa. This publication registers the inputs and results of the International Seminar in Dakar. It reveals a theoretical alignment regarding the social agenda that is necessary to both African countries and Brazil, especially in regards to social protection. We hope that this will spark an increase in partnerships among participant countries, and that this space of cooperation may continue to welcome those interested in developing social protection schemes on both sides of the Atlantic.



Tereza Campello,
Former Minister of Social Development and Fight Against Hunger (2011-2016)

Mustapha Sidiki Kaloko,
AU Commissioner for Social Affairs

FOREWORD

A transformative new global development agenda was adopted by UN Member States at the General Assembly in September 2015 in New York. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are a shared global framework - universally applicable to both rich and poor countries alike - that seeks to reconcile the social, economic and environmental dimensions of development in the interest of human dignity. As such, Agenda 2030 sets out to tackle persistent challenges of ending extreme poverty and hunger, reducing inequality, achieving gender equality, educating all children and improving global health, while simultaneously addressing deep-rooted environmental issues, such as water scarcity, biodiversity loss, deforestation, rapid urbanization and a changing climate.

A defining feature of this new agenda is its determination to leave no one behind - an ethos adopted due to widespread concern over growing inequalities which, in their multiple dimensions, have often left people excluded from development gains. Poor and marginalized groups are particularly vulnerable to various shocks throughout life cycles, whether they stem from social, environmental and/or economic factors. These fluctuations subject millions of people each year to greater risk of sinking below the poverty line or remaining trapped in cycles of poverty for generations. Strengthening social policies and social policy frameworks, including those anchored in social protection, can offer powerful tools for the fight against poverty and inequality, and play a fundamental role in creating more inclusive and sustainable pathways. However, it is critical that these tools adequately integrate the multiple vulnerabilities of citizens – including those posed by environmental degradation – since many of the world's poor continue to depend on natural resources for their livelihoods. Despite the realization that social protection plays a fundamental role in increasing citizen resilience and unleashing positive spin-offs in health, decent work, food and income security, among other areas, an estimated 80 percent of the global population has little or no access to comprehensive social protection. It is against this backdrop that Agenda 2030 has integrated social protection into Goal 1 on poverty, while calling for the implementation of nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all by 2030.

The following flagship report focusing on Social Protection for Sustainable Development (SP4SD) serves as a companion policy analysis for national and global advocacy on inclusive, equitable and sustainable development. It looks at the role that social protection can play in this effort, which can be instrumental, coordinating, enabling and resilience-building. The report highlights the impressive gains in human development and poverty eradication achieved through the world-renowned Brazilian social protection scheme and explores the conceptual and practical mechanics of its functioning to provide insights for the design and adoption of social protection schemes in Africa and beyond. Compiling the excellent contributions that informed the April 2015 Dakar Seminar hosted by the UNDP World Centre for Sustainable Development (RIO+ Centre), in collaboration with the UNDP Regional Service Centre for Africa, the African Union Commission, the Government of Senegal, the Government of Brazil and the Lula Institute, the report positions social protection in the context of delivering with and for the poor, while building new foundations for sustainable human development. The report counts mainly on voices from the South and explores prospects for furthering development-driven South-South cooperation, with a focus on Brazil and Africa.

Now more than ever, the challenges faced by governments and development partners are complex and interlinked. Climate change, rapid urbanization and the degradation of the natural environment are putting more people at risk of poverty, disease outbreaks and natural disasters. While the vital policy links between poverty reduction and natural resource management have often been overlooked, there is growing recognition that integrated social protection systems can effectively contribute to all dimensions of sustainable development. Some countries have introduced measures that combine elements of conditional cash transfers and payment for ecosystem services schemes to advance objectives of poverty reduction and sustainable natural resource management concurrently, thereby reducing vulnerabilities in both the immediate and long term. In Africa, countries such as Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho and Mauritius have adopted social protection policies and programmes, including targeted school feeding and cash transfers, to improve the lives of their most vulnerable citizens. Yet, so far, only 20 percent of the continent's poorest people have access to resources that help them cope when shocks hit or provide opportunities to climb out of poverty. UNDP has been an active proponent of comprehensive social protection systems, with a US$100 million portfolio of social protection projects underway in over 50 countries in 2014.

The role of social protection as an effective tool for sustainable development is reaffirmed in Agenda 2030 and explicitly cited as a target under Goals 1 and 10 (poverty and inequality respectively), with inevitable linkages across the goals on health, employment, labour laws and unpaid care work, among others.

The present report "Strengthening Social Protection for Sustainable Development: Dialogues between Africa and Brazil" is a primer for action. It promotes the adoption of integrated and comprehensive social protection policies and programmes that are not only designed as technical solutions to address the shortcomings of current development models. These models produce multiple vulnerabilities for a range of citizens who either do not benefit equally from their country's progress or who, throughout their life cycle, face moments of risk and need for protection. Instead, the programmes promoted here are driven by conviction and a non-partisan political vision owned by the state, based on the recognition of human rights and accepted as a cornerstone of citizen-state relations, otherwise known as the social contract.

Magdy Martínez-Solimán,
Assistant Administrator and Director
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Abdoulaye Mar Dieye,
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Social protection programmes are among the most successful development experiences the world has seen in recent years. They have proven to be key in developing countries' efforts to fight poverty and hunger, as demonstrated by the substantial progress countries such as Brazil, Ethiopia and Senegal have made in poverty reduction through the adoption and expansion of social protection schemes. These and other examples clearly show that social protection has the potential to contribute significantly to long-term sustainable development, especially when built under a broader, more integrated framework.

The Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development, which was recently adopted by Member States at the UN General Assembly in New York (2015), is one of the most complex and daring set of commitments countries have ever made. This has triggered much discussion on how to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and what methods can be used to seize opportunities to strengthen and expand upon successful development practices. While social protection is not the only strategy to be pursued in a sustainable development model, it is linked to other policy areas and thus can contribute to several SDGs simultaneously. In so doing, it can generate catalytic spillover effects that help developing countries tackle the vulnerabilities their people face on a daily basis.

The International Seminar on Social Protection in Africa held in April 2015 in Dakar, Senegal created an important space for sharing such experiences and for promoting a social protection agenda as a key building block for human development. Participants engaged in productive debates on how to expand the scope of practices in this area in order to target the multiple causes of poverty and inequality. Building on the results and inputs for this seminar, this report presents an overview of the institutional background and governance structures of existing social protection schemes, the key actors involved, the main challenges faced and the most important results obtained to date. It aims to provide policymakers with much needed information on programmes being developed in Brazil and in Africa and their related design and implementation processes. The report calls for the expansion of the traditional social protection agenda to embrace a larger scope of action - one that promotes long-term and sustainable change, is multidimensional and delivers positive results across all three pillars of sustainable development.

Moreover, the SP4SD Report offers important recommendations for building social protection as an effective tool for achieving sustainable development. These recommendations include and build on the recommendations adopted in the Dakar Seminar (Annex I), which were subsequently endorsed by African Ministers at the First Session of the Specialised Technical Committee on Social Development, Labour and Employment of the African Union and welcomed at the Twenty-Fifth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the African Union. The SP4SD Report emphasizes the importance of:

• **Establishing comprehensive social protection systems**: The report calls for the expansion of social protection schemes so that they can serve as a solid and comprehensive framework for coordinating among the wide range of actions required to target the structural causes of poverty and inequality. For this broader framework to operate effectively, a strong, coherent governance structure is key.

• **Guaranteeing social protection as a human right**: Social protection policies generally aim to guarantee the basic conditions for development and provide a minimum level of protection to all vulnerable people. By reinforcing a human rights approach and the importance of an overall systems approach, countries and key beneficiaries will be better able to navigate and thrive during fluctuations in the economy and other moments of crisis. Such a proactive approach to risk and rights is fundamental for both the long and short-term results of social policy schemes.

• **Adapting social protection to the local context:** There is no silver bullet or one-size-fits-all solution. Social protection programmes need to be grounded in national and local reality. Institutional and governance frameworks, the coordination and participation of government authorities, communities and civil society actors at all levels and financial constraints affecting programme management are all important factors to take into consideration in the design and assessment phase to ensure local appropriation, accountability and the effectiveness of social protection programmes and policies.

- **Strengthening South-South cooperation**: South-South cooperation mechanisms afford countries from the South valuable opportunities to exchange experiences and debate on successful practices from a developing country perspective and to potentially leapfrog past common teething problems in the early stages of policy reform and programme expansion. The report highlights a number of ways in which countries can engage successfully in South-South cooperation on programmes and policies fostered in developing countries.

- **Integrating multiple vulnerabilities and increasing resilience**: Measures to meet challenges such as natural disasters, economic crises, increases in food prices and food insecurity, political instability and environmental and climate shocks must be integrated into social protection programmes. This is no longer optional for developing countries that are facing cyclical and multiple crises. The outbreak of crises delays or even undermines potential advances in improving the living conditions of the poor and vulnerable and divert resources at critical junctures of the development process. Social protection programmes must help communities cope with shocks in the short term and promote long-term resilience by tackling the root causes of these vulnerabilities.

- **Reinforcing the role of social protection in addressing environmental concerns**: While the social and economic aspects of sustainable development are more evident in existing social protection programmes, environmental components are equally as important and inherently linked. People living in situations of vulnerability are often dependent on subsistence agriculture and extractive activities, which are greatly affected by natural disasters and, in the case of the latter, can also create other hazards. The sustainable management of such resources should be given greater priority to ensure that people - particularly the most vulnerable - have a stable source of livelihood. As such, this report makes the case for linking climate change adaptation measures with social protection schemes to reduce the risk of climate events undermining development efforts.

- **Securing necessary financing for social protection**: Different social protection models require different funding strategies. Nonetheless, governments need to ensure long-term funding for social protection by securing budgets and establishing social protection as a priority, even when facing economic crises. The report also highlights how social protection can foster long-term, sustained economic growth.

- **Enhancing social participation**: Social protection schemes need to be built from the bottom up to guarantee beneficiaries' involvement in programmes from their initial stage on. This participation has to be effective throughout the implementation process. This requires, then, creating mechanisms to ensure social participation from the design stage up to and including the evaluation of programmes by beneficiaries.

Making the shift towards sustainable development will require substantial changes to be made to development practices. To do so, countries need to mainstream and upscale successful policies and shape new initiatives, which can be carried out much more effectively through continuous dialogue and cooperation. While action needs to be taken simultaneously in different areas, social protection is a key tactic in the broader strategy for sustainable development. Social protection is uniquely placed to serve as a tool for connecting different goals, promoting positive spillover effects and building synergies among efforts to move the 2030 Agenda forward in a more effective way. It also gives critical economic voice and representation to many who are not traditionally included in the growth and/or development process.

Finally, the SP4SD Report not only offers solid background information to policymakers seeking to implement social protection programmes, but also emphasizes the need to go beyond the current model of social protection to ensure cross-coordination with other policies that have sustainable development as a focus. To expand the scope of social protection, a more complex institutional framework will be required, as will a strong governance model that facilitates coordination among the range of elements comprised in the 2030 Agenda.

CHAPTER SUMMARIES

1 INTRODUCING SOCIAL PROTECTION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Since the turn of the century, low- and middle-income countries have introduced or expanded a variety of programmes and policies to address poverty and vulnerability. In middle-income countries, their growth has been astounding. In low-income countries, in general, progress has been slower, as a consequence of persistent capacity and resource constraints. Improved economic growth in sub-Saharan Africa generates optimism for the future, particularly in the context of the fiscal space it could open up for the expansion and the deepening of protective mechanisms for the most vulnerable. This chapter traces the main achievements, issues, and challenges associated with the rapid expansion of social protection, and especially social assistance, in low- and middle-income countries. It argues that, from a global perspective, the expansion of social protection in developing countries signals the emergence of new welfare institutions committed to achieving significant and sustained improvements in human development among disadvantaged groups, which is a key component of sustainable development.

2 SOCIAL PROTECTION IN THE CONTEXT OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

This paper aims to define the importance of social protection policies as contributors to the three dimensions of sustainable development. It outlines some of the diverse approaches and innovations being employed to provide safety nets, create employment, build resilience and generate public environmental, economic and social goods. It also reviews the main challenges in promoting social protection in the context of a triple-win approach to development, and concludes by providing some general recommendations to better position social protection as a key tool for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals.

3 SOCIAL PROTECTION IN AFRICA: PRESENT AND MULTIPLE FUTURES

Countries and international development agencies agree that this is the time to advance the social protection agenda in Africa. This paper reviews social protection programmes in Africa and identifies the gaps in institutional capacity and challenges for management, which includes issues related to design, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and sustainable financing. The paper concludes with several policy recommendations to advance the social protection agenda in Africa. It promotes a more systemic and holistic approach to social protection and targeting to reach out to people who are systematically marginalized and excluded. Grounding social protection in human rights requires providing it to all people whose basic human rights are not being fulfilled. Social protection systems work better under the life cycle approach, which accompanies individuals throughout their lives.

4 ON THE PATH TO ECONOMIC EMERGENCE: SOCIAL PROTECTION IN SENEGAL

Over the past decade, Senegal has made social protection one of its national development priorities by adopting its first National Strategy for Social Protection for the 2005-2015 period. The strategy was elaborated through a participatory process that involved all stakeholders. In the *Plan Sénégal Emergent* (PSE, Emerging Senegal Plan), Senegal treats social protection as an investment on a par with financial investments in economic infrastructure, and no longer as a sector that is merely to benefit from economic growth. This chapter presents an overview of social protection policies and programmes adopted in Senegal in the last ten years. It identifies the results obtained to date, describes the challenges the country continues to face and presents the plans the Government of Senegal will implement in order to strengthen the national social protection system.

5 SOCIAL PROTECTION AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: THE RECENT EXPERIENCE IN BRAZIL

This chapter gives an overview of the current configuration of Brazil's social protection system, which is guided by the principles of universal access, the primacy of the state in the provision of benefits and services, decentralization and democratization. It presents the main policies and structures designed to ensure the delivery of cash transfer benefits and services, while focusing on innovations in the provision of protection to the most vulnerable sectors of society. Linked mainly to social assistance policy, these programmes and measures are interconnected with other social policies that aim to guarantee rights.

6 THE BRAZIL WITHOUT EXTREME POVERTY PLAN: USING POLICY INTEGRATION AND ADAPTATION TO REACH AMBITIOUS GOALS

In recent years, Brazil has demonstrated its ability to promote economic growth and social inclusion simultaneously by investing significantly in the development of a social protection model founded on a multidimensional rights-based approach. Building on the social protection programmes and activities adopted by previous administrations, the Brazilian government launched the *Plano Brasil Sem Miséria* (PBSM, or the Brazil Without Extreme Poverty Plan in English) in June 2011 with the goal of eradicating extreme poverty by 2014. The Plan subscribes to the international trend of associating social assistance with employment and income-generation policies. This paper systematically describes the PBSM implementation process and its initial results.

7 SOCIAL RIGHTS, INCOME DISTRIBUTION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH: THE BRAZILIAN SOCIAL POLICY EXPERIENCE

This article examines the relation between social policy and the economy, mainly in regards to income distribution and economic growth in Brazil in recent years. It first seeks to define and outline the concrete dimensions of social policy in Brazil and show its current scope in terms of the benefits it provides, expenditure and the forms of funding used. It then demonstrates how these policies contribute significantly to economic growth and the redistribution of income in the country.

8 BRAZIL-AFRICA COOPERATION ON FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY: PLANTING SEEDS IN UNFAMILIAR SOIL

The current context of development cooperation is characterized by the transition from emergency food aid to efforts to develop national programmes on access to food, redefine the strategies of international organizations and strengthen ties between agriculture, nutrition and social protection. Some of these efforts are focused on building national programmes capable of linking access to food with production. Due to external factors (food crisis and climate change) and internal factors in Brazil, growing attention has been given to Brazilian food and nutrition security programmes (PAA and PNAE) in global policy spaces and similar programmes are being adopted in African countries. Due to the institutional specificities of Brazilian South-South cooperation, trilateral arrangements have been made with international organizations on the implementation of these programmes. To analyse the potentials and challenges of "policy transfer" in this sector and possible paths for strengthening South-South cooperation, this article will explore the lessons learned thus far in the implementation of these programmes.

9 PEOPLE, NATURE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: TOWARDS THE NEXT GENERATION OF SOCIAL PROTECTION SYSTEMS

Social protection is evolving and its coverage is expanding to respond to the multiple vulnerabilities of disadvantaged groups. This broader scope is reflected in the recent social protection strategies and policy statements of major international and multilateral organizations and their efforts to explore potential synergies between social protection and other sectors, such as agriculture, food security and nutrition; environment; climate adaptation; and gender. This chapter develops a framework for understanding social protection as a platform for coordinating different types of interventions focused on reducing multiple vulnerabilities. It also provides recommendations for the design and implementation of a new generation of more coherent and integrated social protection initiatives that aim to achieve sustainable development goals, increase resilience, alleviate poverty and improve well-being.

CHAPTER 1

Countries are increasingly perceiving social protection as an essential component of effective national development strategies that combine inclusive economic growth and basic social service and assistance provision.

Woman In coffee harvesting. ©UN Photo/John Isaac

Introducing Social Protection and Sustainable Development[1]

INTRODUCTION

Since the turn of the century, social protection has emerged as a key area of development policy and practice. There has been unprecedented growth in social assistance programmes, particularly in low- and middle-income countries over the past twenty years (Barrientos, 2013; Cecchini and Madariaga, 2011; Garcia and Moore, 2012; Weber, 2010). Large-scale programmes in middle-income countries (MICs) providing direct income transfers to households in poverty are contributing significantly to the reduction of global poverty and vulnerability. Examples include Mexico's *Progresa/Oportunidades* programme, Brazil's *Bolsa Escola/Família* programme, South Africa's Child Support Grant, Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme, India's National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme and China's DiBao, to name a few. More recently, social assistance programmes have begun to emerge in low-income countries (LICs) as well. It was estimated that by 2010, around one billion people in low- and middle-income countries would be living in households with at least one transfer recipient (Barrientos, 2013). The expansion of social protection in the South has been, for the most part, the result of domestic policy responses to poverty and vulnerability.

The factors explaining the concerted growth of social assistance in LICs and MICs suggest that this is not a short-term development fad. It is well documented that the multiple crises and structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s and 1990s led to structural deficits in social policy in developing countries (Cornia, Stewart and Jolly, 1987). In Latin America, these deficits are widely referred to as 'social debt': a structural gap in the capacity of governments to address social problems. Supporters of the Washington Consensus expected the labour market and trade liberalization policies of the 1980s and 1990s to ensure that developing countries were able to take advantage of globalization. However, although globalization has created opportunities, it has also intensified economic vulnerabilities, especially in trade and employment. The democratization process in the Global South in the last two decades has made it imperative for governments to begin to address the structural deficits in social policy (Maldonado Valera, 2015). Up until the effects of the 2008 global financial crisis began to be felt in low- and middle-income countries, favourable fiscal conditions and economic growth allowed governments to tackle poverty without affecting pre-existing commitments on public expenditure. The growth of social assistance in these countries, then, constituted a response to the impacts of globalization and accumulated social debt in the context of expanding fiscal space and a sustained decline in indebtedness.

In high-income countries (HICs), it has long been understood that social protection, in its broader sense, is a 'productive factor' (Fouarge, 2003; Hemerijck, 2013). It contributes to economic, political and social stability. It supports the development of capacities and human capital, and therefore, productivity growth. Furthermore, it enables smaller and open economies to adapt to changes in the international economy (Agell, 1999; Atkinson, 1999). A productivist orientation supporting economic inclusion applies to social assistance (Marx and Nelson, 2012). As chapters 4 and 6 of this report explain, developing countries are increasingly perceiving social protection (including social assistance) as an essential component of effective national development strategies that combine inclusive economic growth and basic social service and assistance provision. What is more, as demonstrated in chapter 7, social policy can drive economic growth and income redistribution. This is perhaps the most important factor explaining the rapid growth of social assistance in developing countries. Social protection is understood less as a policy instrument for merely compensating or mitigating poverty, and more as part of a strategy to achieve broad-ranging social, economic and political inclusion and development (Alderman and Yemstov, 2013; Barrientos, 2012). As achieving sustainable development requires the construction of productive, fair and democratic societies, social protection has a primary role to play in this process.

Although the Millennium Development Goals failed to give explicit attention to social protection, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted in 2015 to replace them do so. The SDGs commit to implementing "nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 [achieving] substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable" (Goal 1, Target 3). They also aim to "recognize and value unpaid and domestic care through the provision of public services,

[1]*Armando Barrientos, Global Development Institute, The University of Manchester*

infrastructure and social protection policies" (Goal 5, Target 4). Furthermore, they encourage countries to "adopt policies, especially fiscal, wage and social protection policies, and progressively achieve greater equality" (Goal 10, Target 4).[2] The SDGs, therefore, acknowledge and reinforce the efforts to expand social protection discussed in this report.

In the other chapters of this report, key arguments are advanced to make the case for the link between social protection and sustainable development, including the powerful role social protection can play in inclusive development. To build up to this, this chapter tracks the growth of social protection in LICs and MICs and reviews the main factors fuelling this trend; introduces the basic terminology and a framework for comparative analyses among regions; and highlights the main challenges ahead, especially in low-income countries. We begin by situating social assistance within social protection and, more broadly, social policy and examining their respective roles. This is followed by the comparison of two competing approaches to social assistance: a 'development' approach and a 'social policy/public finance ' approach. We then provide an overview of social protection in LICs and MICs. We conclude with a discussion on the main challenges to the growth and sustainability of social programmes in lower income countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

SOCIAL POLICY, SOCIAL PROTECTION AND SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

Reviewing the respective roles of and connections between social policy, social protection and social assistance is essential to understanding the significance of the programmes emerging in low- and middle-income countries. In international development policy, it is commonplace for governments and multilateral and bilateral organizations to search for 'silver bullets' - that is, self-contained interventions capable of bringing about large-scale change. Anti-poverty cash transfer programmes are currently being considered in this light. This is likely to be counterproductive for development research and practice, as studying the expansion of such programmes in isolation from other social policies limits our understanding of their evolution and development. Moreover, as chapter 8 points out, coordination among public agencies and stakeholders and the integration of programmes have been central to the effective implementation and future sustainability of social protection programmes in Brazil.

Taking the conventional institutional approach to social policy as a point of departure, table 1 provides an overview of the relevant programmes. A distinction is made between the provision of basic services, on the one hand, and the provision of income transfers, on the other. They represent tools for redistribution in-kind and in cash, respectively, and constitute the bulk of state expenditures and interventions in the area of social policy. The extent and quality of basic services provided to the population - such as health care, education, water and sanitation, housing and others - is largely what distinguishes high-income countries from the rest. They are essential for supporting transformative outcomes in society and the economy.

Social protection has three main components: social insurance, social assistance and employment protection and promotion. Social insurance consists of contributory schemes providing protection against a range of contingencies related to the life cycle and employment. It is normally organized around a fund that collects contributions from employees and employers and pays benefits when the specified contingencies insured against materialize. Typically, social insurance funds include old age, service and disability pensions; survivor benefits; maternity leave; unemployment insurance and sickness benefits.

> Although the Millennium Development Goals failed to give explicit attention to social protection, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted in 2015 to replace them do so.

[2]*The links between these and other SDGs are explored in chapters 2 and 3 of this report.*

TABLE 1
SOCIAL POLICY: BASIC SERVICE PROVISION AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

SOCIAL POLICY			
BASIC SERVICE PROVISION	**SOCIAL PROTECTION**		
Education, health, housing, etc.	Social insurance: contributory programmes designed to address shocks associated with the life cycle and employment	Social assistance: tax financed programmes addressing poverty and vulnerability	Labour market policies: 'active' and 'passive'

Source: Prepared by the author

The institutional arrangements of social insurance programmes vary from one country to the next. In some places, social insurance funds are employer or occupation-based, while in others, a single social insurance fund covers all workers, or even residents, and their households. In general, pensions constitute the main component of social protection systems in high-income countries. While social protection systems are common in high-income countries, in low- and some middle-income countries, they tend to be very limited in scope. As country representatives at the International Seminar on Social Protection in Africa observed (annex), due to the prevalence of the informal sector, social insurance programmes reach a small fraction of workers employed in the formal sector, leaving the large majority without protection. Roughly, the share of informal employment is often indicative of the population left unprotected.

Social assistance consists of programmes and policies designed to address the needs of groups facing poverty, vulnerability and exclusion and ensure them minimum standards of living. Social assistance is funded by taxes, as opposed to contributions, and is based on the principle of citizenship. In most HICs, social assistance is built around guaranteed income systems that provide means-tested benefits to bring individuals up to the poverty line. In LICs and MICs, as will be discussed in more detail below, there is a wide variety of social assistance programmes in place, but transfer amounts are often fixed in level and focused on households, rather than individuals. Moreover, in LICs, social assistance reaches only a fraction of the population living in poverty and is often supported by international aid.

Finally, labour market interventions fall into two categories: 'passive' interventions, which set minimum standards for employment and protect workers' rights; and 'active' interventions, which aim to enhance employability through training, job search and intermediation services, remedial education and employment subsidies. In LICs and MICs, the impacts of labour market interventions are limited by fluid and informal labour markets. It is precisely in these countries that such interventions are most urgent. There, unemployment among youth is already high and it is likely that it will continue to increase due to the "youth bulge" - that is, the phenomenon by which countries have succeeded in reducing infant mortality while the fertility rates continue to be high. The timely adoption of appropriate and effective labour market interventions on youth unemployment will determine whether the youth bulge will become a "demographic dividend" or a "demographic bomb" in these countries.[3]

This framework is useful for identifying the policy options available to low- and middle-income countries. A comprehensive social protection system must contain all three components. That said, the system's specific configuration will evolve over time and vary according to each country's specific context. In relation to institutional architecture, there are lessons to be learned from several contexts. The European route to building social protection in the post-WWII period gave primacy to the development of broad-based social insurance systems. The crises and structural adjustment policies of the 1980s, however, shifted the focus of welfare state development to employment and active participation in the labour market (OECD, 2003). In-work tax credits, as opposed to transfers, grew in importance. In Latin America, where social insurance programmes took hold in the 20th Century (Mesa-Lago, 2007), import substitution industrialization policies fostered the rapid inclusion of workers in the formal sector. Liberalization and structural adjustment policies in the 1980s and 1990s, though, led to the stagnation of or outright decline in social insurance coverage. As for Africa and Asia, social insurance systems have never managed to expand beyond civil servants and other formal sector workers, apart from provident funds in a handful of countries (ILO, 2014).
The emergence of anti-poverty transfer programmes in LICs and MICs - especially social pensions, conditional income transfers and employment guarantees - are part of an effort to build a more inclusive social protection architecture that extends coverage to workers in the informal sector and impoverished sections of the population. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 offer insightful discussions on the origins

of the new social protection architecture established in Brazil in little over a decade. Their analyses permit us to identify two more important developments in recent years. First, there is growing recognition that the integration of income transfers and basic social services is essential in the fight against poverty and securing human development. Second, they point to a growing trend in social protection management that coordinates labour market and employment policies with social assistance programmes. This is a feature of the productivist approach being adopted in low- and middle-income countries. The rapid expansion of employment guarantee programmes in South Asia and the growth of complementary labour market components in conditional income transfer programmes in Latin America confirm this (ECLAC/ILO, 2014; Khera, 2011). The focus of recent growth in social protection has been on social assistance (Barrientos, 2007; Camargo, 2004; Seekings, 2008), which is the result of governments' active efforts to reduce and eventually eradicate extreme poverty and poverty (ILO, 2014; World Bank, 2015).

APPROACHES TO SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

International organizations have contributed to the shaping of a 'development' approach to social protection and social assistance. This approach contrasts with the one evolving around long-established social policy and public finance frameworks that have been tried and tested in developed and middle income countries (herein referred to as the 'social policy/public finance' approach). Table 2 provides a summary of the main features of these approaches.

The first approach to building social protection is based on traditional development policies and concerns. While there are many variants of this approach, not to mention areas of disagreement, at its core, it emphasizes human development, governance, environmental sustainability and empowerment. It advocates integrated development strategies that advance on all these fronts simultaneously - an idea captured by the concept of sustainable development. It does not differentiate social protection substantively from other areas of policy. Social assistance is but one instrument for development, which can be used to not only reduce extreme poverty, but also make progress in terms of empowerment and equality. According to Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux (2007), the development approach will consistently push social protection and assistance towards a broader, more encompassing policy framework. Due to the absence of agreed boundaries between social assistance and development, there is the risk of anti-poverty programmes being transformed into a 'silver bullet', which is assumed to be capable of solving all development deficits.

International organizations, such as the Bretton Woods Institutions, have tended to define the main role of social protection as that of lifting the constraints to human and economic development imposed by social risk. In the late 1990s, the World Bank developed the social risk management approach to social protection, which focuses on policies that seek 'to assist individuals, households and communities in better managing income risks' (Holzmann and Jorgensen, 1999, 4). Safety nets in this context include social assistance and humanitarian or emergency assistance. Focusing on only the short-term nature of risk blurs the analytical difference between addressing the structural factors that perpetuate poverty and the consequences of hazards and natural disasters and the connections therein, including the poverty-inducing effects of multiple sources of risk. As table 2 indicates, the development approach sees social assistance as part of other development work - that is, as short-term interventions that are often funded by international aid and focused on specific outcomes.

TABLE 2
APPROACHES TO SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

DEVELOPMENT APPROACH	SOCIAL POLICY/PUBLIC FINANCE APPROACH
Interventions/short-term	Institution building/long-term
Risk management/market failure Foreign aid (+ domestic revenues) Consequentialist Political sustainability is less important	Structural factors/redistribution Financed by the state budget Rights and entitlements Political sustainability is crucial
Sectoral	Cross-sectoral

Source: Prepared by the author

[3]For more information on the youth bulge, see Lin, Justin Yifu, ' Youth Bulge: A Demographic Dividend or a Demographic Bomb in Developing Countries?', Let's Talk Development. A blog hosted by the World Bank's Chief Economist, World Bank, May 2012. Available from http://blogs.worldbank.org/developmenttalk/youth-bulge-a-demographic-dividend-or-a-demographic-bomb-in-developing-countries

As only outcomes matter, there is limited regard for process, institution building and the rights and entitlements that characterize the social policy/public finance approach. Limited attention is paid to medium- and long-term political sustainability in the design and implementation of anti-poverty transfer programmes.

In contrast to the development approach, a social policy/public finance approach emphasizes institution building and long-term policies and programmes aimed at addressing the structural causes of poverty. It favours programmes that combine income redistribution with the need to address social risks and are funded by government resources, as opposed to foreign aid. It also pays attention to rights and social contracts and, as a result, it builds on political support to ensure the sustainability of social protection institutions and programmes in the long run. This approach is by necessity cross-sectoral.

The binary distinctions in table 2 are presented in stark contrast to each other in order to emphasize the differences between the two approaches. In practice, researchers and policymakers shape their approach to social assistance by drawing on options somewhere within the range between the two. However, many sources of controversy over the role and scope of social assistance in developing countries, and especially uncertainty on its boundaries, can be traced back to the differences between these approaches. The prevalence of pilot programmes in sub-Saharan Africa, for example, is a reflection of the predominance of the development approach in the region. In practice, however, it is more helpful to value the contribution of both approaches to the institutions and programmes emerging in low- and middle-income countries.

The development approach also has much to contribute to enhancing social protection programmes in developing countries. In particular, programmes to fight poverty need to be designed and implemented in ways that synergize social and economic development. When applied to social assistance, however, the multifaceted nature of the development approach can result in a crippling loss of focus. Adding objectives and instruments to social assistance and social protection strategies can disperse efforts, thereby leading to a decline in the quality and quantity of results obtained.

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ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMMES IN LOW AND MIDDLE-INCOME COUNTRIES

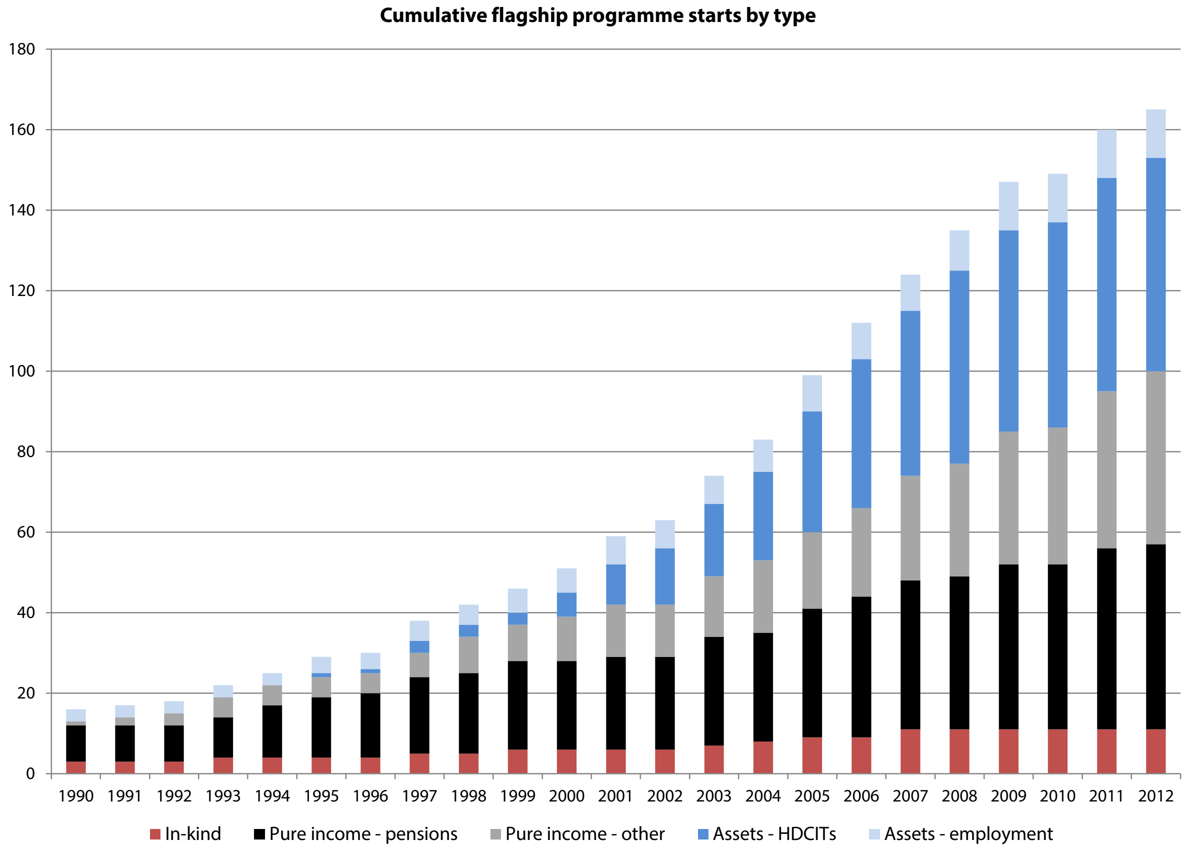
The vast majority of social assistance programmes in the world are designed around direct transfers of cash or in kind to households or individuals. For analytical purposes, these programmes can be divided up into three main categories: pure income (i.e. "income only") transfers; income transfers combined with asset accumulation; and integrated poverty reduction programmes. The assessment of the causes of poverty and the potential solutions that underlie these programmes serve as the conceptual basis for this classification. Pure income transfers are based on the understanding that poverty has largely to do with deficits in income or consumption. Transfers are expected to make up for these deficits and thus, reduce poverty. Income transfers combined with asset accumulation programmes are based on a broader understanding of poverty. They aim to address deficits in not only income or consumption, but also productive assets. While the programmes in this group implicitly adopt a multidimensional view on poverty, they focus on only a few dimensions. As for integrated poverty reduction programmes, they too are based on a multidimensional conception of poverty, but cover a wider range of dimensions. Two other distinguishing features of these programmes are their strong focus on social exclusion as the main cause of poverty and the marginal role attributed to direct income transfers in the overall support provided to households.
Pure income transfers are cash transfers to households or individuals living in poverty. Some target all households that meet the selection criteria, whereas others target categories of particularly vulnerable individuals. Examples of the latter are family allowances or old-age pensions.

Income transfers connected to asset accumulation provide cash or in-kind transfers, which are combined with measures to facilitate the accumulation of productive assets. The term 'asset' is used here in the broadest sense to include human, physical and financial assets. The goal of linking direct transfers with asset accumulation is to increase the productive capacity of households in poverty. Two kinds of programmes in this category are now common in developing countries. The first brings together direct transfers with interventions to support household investment in human development, especially education and health. Brazil's *Bolsa Família* (Family Allowance Programme) - examined in detail in chapter 5 of this report - and Mexico's *Progresa/ Oportunidades* are well-known examples of this type. The second kind involves a combination of direct transfers with measures to support the protection and accumulation of community and/or household assets. India's National Employment Guarantee Scheme, for example, combines income transfers with the development of infrastructure or community assets (Khera, 2011). Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) - discussed in chapter 3 - uses a similar system. Introduced in 2005 with the aim of preventing asset depletion among food insecure households, improving infrastructure and putting an end to the country's dependency on short-term emergency relief, the programme was designed with two components: (i) a labour intensive public works scheme for food insecure households with members who are able to work, which offers in-kind transfers and agricultural extension activities; and (ii) direct support for labour deficient households for three to five years. Recent food price volatility has made in-kind transfers more attractive to beneficiaries. The PSNP is financed by a consortium of donors who have supported emergency programmes in the past (Gilligan, Hoddinott and Seyoum Taffesse, 2009).

Integrated poverty reduction programmes are an important innovation in the area of social assistance and are distinguished by the broad range of interventions focused on the poorest and addressing social exclusion. BRAC's Challenging the Frontiers of Poverty Reduction – Targeting the Ultra Poor uses an integrated set of interventions to strengthen the nutrition and health status of the poorest households and to provide training to prepare beneficiaries for the transfer of productive assets. Another example is the *Plano Brasil Sem Miséria* (Brazil Without Extreme Poverty Plan). As is clearly illustrated in chapter 6 of this report, PBSM has quickly become one of the most comprehensive social protection plans in the world and part of its success is due to the integration of guaranteed income and productive inclusion measures with expanded access to basic social services in both rural and urban areas.

It is useful to examine trends in the adoption of anti-poverty transfer programmes in the recent period. Chart 1 below shows the cumulative number of flagship programmes in low- and middle-income countries, while distinguishing among the three categories introduced above. Pure income transfer programmes are subdivided into "in-kind", "social pensions" and "other cash transfers". Programmes providing transfers combined with assets are subdivided into "human development conditional income transfer" (HDCIT) programmes and "employment guarantees". Integrated anti-poverty transfer programmes are very few in number and were left out. Data came from the Social Assistance in Developing Countries dataset cited below, which collected information from 163 programmes in 48 countries in 2010. Because most developing countries have a large number of programmes, the chart focuses on flagship programmes, which are understood as programmes providing leadership in domestic anti-poverty policy. The chart shows trends in the number of programmes adopted, but does not pay attention to their size. It shows that there has been sustained growth in programme adoption. The main growth is in social pensions and other pure income transfer programmes, which can be described as unconditional, and in human development conditional income transfer programmes.

CHART 1
CUMULATIVE FLAGSHIP PROGRAMME STARTS BY TYPE



Source: Barrientos and Villa, 2015.

While a comprehensive discussion of programme design features is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is worth including a brief overview of the debate on beneficiary selection tools and conditions (Barrientos, 2013; Fiszbein and Schady, 2009; Grosh and others, 2008). New forms of social assistance in developing countries more consistently target the poor and poorest households and, in most cases, use a mix of selection techniques. *Progresa/Oportunidades* used targeting based on geographical locations to identify communities in rural Mexico with the highest levels of marginalization, then a proxy means test to rank households according to several indicators; finally, the results obtained went through a community validation process (Skoufias, 2005). In Brazil, the *Beneficio de Prestação Continuada* (Continuous Cash Benefit Programme) selects participants through a comparison of per capita household income with the minimum wage. *Familias en Acción* (Families in Action in Colombia relies on a proxy means test to allocate a welfare score to each household and those under the welfare threshold are entitled to participate in the programme. India's National Rural Employment Guarantee relies on self-selection by participants with earnings below the market rate or who are unemployed. Assessments of selection techniques in anti-poverty programmes in LICs suggest they are broadly effective in reaching some of the poor, but their coverage of all of the poor is insufficient (Coady, Grosh and Hoddinott, 2004). In some middle-income countries, programmes cover a share of the population that is larger than the population living in poverty to address labour market volatility (Soares, 2010). While the various selection techniques have known strengths and weaknesses, the main findings of the literature on this issue show that the use of a combination of methods is the most effective (Coady, Grosh and Hoddinott, 2004) .

Some social assistance programmes attach conditions to the ongoing provision of transfer payments with different goals in mind. Certain Latin American programmes aim to reduce the intergenerational transmission of poverty through improvements to beneficiaries' health and education by imposing conditions related to these areas. Mexico's *Progresa/ Oportunidades*, for instance, requires school-age children to be enrolled in school and to attend at least 85 percent of the time. Also, to continue receiving benefits, all household members must visit primary health care centres and mothers must attend training sessions on nutrition. Failure to comply with these conditions can result in the suspension of benefits. Similar conditions have been adopted by the *Bolsa Família* programme.

Issues related to these conditions have been discussed extensively in the literature (Cecchini and Madariaga, 2011). First, there is a concern that the households that are least in a position to comply with the conditions may be penalized. In Latin America, this has led some programmes to use failure to comply with conditions as a mechanism for identifying situations where families need other kinds of support in order to meet programme requirements, as in the case of Brazil's *Bolsa Família* programme (see chapter 5). The second concern is that the effectiveness of conditions has not been fully established and they may in fact be unnecessary and counterproductive. Even where conditions have been shown to be effective, it would be necessary to ascertain whether the gains outweigh the additional administrative and implementation costs. Furthermore, the burden of complying with conditions falls primarily on mothers, with no form of compensation available to them, and often reinforces gender stereotypes that can limit their uptake of productive opportunities, as pointed out in chapter 2 of this report. Finally, and in view of the experience of developed countries with welfare reform, conditions may be less important for programme effectiveness and more important for securing political support from middle-class taxpayers opposed to the idea of welfare-based publicly funded interventions.

Although the effectiveness of conditions has not been fully proved, mounting evidence shows that programmes with conditions are better able to achieve their objectives (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009). Data provided in chapter 5, for example, illustrate the improvements in school performance of the children of *Bolsa Família* beneficiaries, which the authors attribute to the programme's conditionalities. The *Bono de Desarrollo Humano* (Human Development Bonus) cash transfer programme in Ecuador is another interesting case. The public announcements on the programme informed the beneficiary households and the general public that conditions on schooling and health care would have to be met. In practice,

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however, the government was not in a position to implement the conditions. A study comparing the responses from families that reported having knowledge of the conditions and those that did not found that the belief that conditions were part of the programme had a positive influence on their schooling decisions (Schady and Araujo, 2008). Even though it is difficult to make generalizations based on these highly specific settings, this and similar studies suggest conditions may matter. In some cases, though, their effects can be limited. In Mexico, enrolment rates in elementary schools were already above 90 percent before the *Progresa/Oportunidades* programme was introduced. As such, the conditions would only affect, at best, the 10 percent of children not enrolled in school.

A point often missed in policy discussions is that it is the effects of conditions at the margins that indicate their effectiveness. For example, conditions on school enrolment apply to the families with children not at school. Families with children already at school are unaffected by conditions. The effectiveness of conditions in raising school enrolment is measured therefore by additional enrolments. Studies have found that conditions influence political support among non-beneficiaries, if anything because they underline the social investment nature of conditional income transfers (Zucco, 2014). Conditions involving more than one sector - health and education, for example - also require a certain degree of coordination between programme managers and ministries. In some cases, this could increase effectiveness during implementation (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011). In others, however, building effective intergovernmental coordination is a significant challenge, and when this is not achieved, it can put the effectiveness and continuity of programmes at risk (see chapter 8).

CHALLENGES IN LOWER INCOME COUNTRIES

The challenges for establishing and developing social protection systems are all the greater in lower income countries. The demand for formal social protection and assistance is weaker in economies that are predominantly rural and rely on informal support mechanisms and social norms. LICs generally have weaker, and often fragmented, political systems and labour organizations, the implications of which are social contracts and solidarity that are very limited in scope. In most cases, lower income countries have acute deficiencies in state capacity to collect taxes and to design appropriate programmes and policies. While this list could easily go on, these factors – underdevelopment, weak political institutions and limited fiscal space and administrative capacity – are among the main constraints to building solid social protection systems in these countries.

At the same time, it would be wrong to see the elimination of these constraints as a singular precondition for the successful implementation of social protection programmes. Experience in developed economies has shown that investments in social protection have fostered development, nurtured strong values of solidarity in society and strengthened the state's financial and administrative capacity. These outcomes can also be observed in the developing countries that pioneered social protection, though at a different pace and in different contexts. The bigger question facing policy and practice is how such synergies can be fostered, thus ensuring significant multiplier effects. Urgent attention must be paid to the challenges of expanding social assistance in sub-Saharan Africa in particular, as current trends and predictions suggest that the majority of people in extreme poverty in the world will be located in the region. Chapters by the Government of Senegal and the UNDP Regional Service Centre for Africa in this report highlight a number of opportunities and challenges in this regard.

Since the 2000s, sustained economic growth, debt relief and revenues from natural resources have expanded fiscal space in many countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Changing donor priorities have involved a shift from providing emergency aid to supporting the introduction of regular and reliable anti-poverty transfers (DFID, 2005) and strengthening social protection policy-making (see chapter 8). A handful of countries in the region are now experimenting with anti-poverty cash transfer programmes, which vary in design and levels of implementation. They are small in scale, with limited time windows, but are based on growing government commitment to developing a national policy or strategy on social protection.

Many of the new social assistance programmes in the region belong to the pure income transfer category (Garcia and Moore, 2012). In Southern and Eastern Africa, Zambia, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Kenya have introduced income transfers to families in extreme poverty and lacking the capacity to work. The majority of these programmes are pilots. Zambia provides a good example of this. Over the past twelve years, five pilot projects have been introduced there, starting with the Kalomo District Social Cash Transfer Scheme in 2004. These pilots programmes have very precarious institutional and financial arrangements and reflect the interests of donors more than those of the government, which has been reluctant to endorse them (Barrientos and Hulme, 2008a; Hickey, 2010). While similar situations are found in other countries in the region, efforts are being made to scale up the pilot programmes and extend their coverage to the national level.

Social pensions are common in Southern Africa, but less so in other regions. Social pensions are in place in South Africa, Namibia, Lesotho and Swaziland. Income transfer programmes linked to asset accumulation are less common in the region (Garcia and Moore, 2012). One interesting example is Kenya's Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (CT-OVC) programme, which provides bi-monthly transfers to households with orphaned or vulnerable children with the objective of improving their schooling, nutrition, health and registration. Finally, short-term public works programmes are common in sub-Saharan Africa. Ethiopia's PSNP is the only one, however, that has adopted an employment guarantee approach.

In spite of the diversity in programme design, the social assistance programmes emerging in lower income countries in sub-Saharan Africa share a few basic characteristics: a focus on extreme poverty and food insecurity; involvement of community organizations in programme management and implementation; a limited degree of institutionalization and financing, and, in most cases, a low level of political commitment, which is reflected in their status of 'pilot' programmes (Niño-Zarazúa and others, 2012). The scaling up and institutionalization of existing pilot programmes is likely to be slowed down by the constraints identified above. However, policy debates are moving beyond the issue of whether social assistance programmes are appropriate for the region, towards concerns with scalability and domestic political support. South-South policy development and collaboration are important in this context. Chapter 8 and the report on the main conclusions from the International Seminar on Social Protection in Africa in the annex explore research and policy collaboration between Brazil and Africa and highlight the benefits and challenges of such collaboration. The Africa-Brazil alliance was born in 2005 with the explicit objective of promoting knowledge sharing and technical cooperation (Burges, 2014; Leite, Pomeroy and Suyama, 2015). In 2007, the Government of Brazil provided the Government of Ghana with technical assistance for the design of the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty programme (LEAP). Mozambique has also benefited from technical assistance for the evaluation of its food security programme. Nigeria, which is at the design stage of an income transfer programme, has established links with Brazil on technical assistance.

It is important to also highlight the fundamental challenges that rapid environmental change is generating for the construction and expansion of social protection systems throughout the world. Data presented by the UNDP Regional Service Centre for Africa (chapter 3) show that Africa is being hit particularly hard by climate change and natural disasters. Furthermore, the eradication of poverty poses additional environmental challenges. This is because at the macro-level, it often involves rapid and significant consumption of natural resources and that with higher incomes, increased and possibly unsustainable consumption can follow. Addressing energy poverty as a significant factor contributing to poverty is a good example in this regard, particularly when the resource gap is narrowed through greater access to, demand for and consumption of fossil fuels (Macours, Premand and Vakis, 2012). The environmental impacts of growing energy demand and consumption have not been fully incorporated into current policy debates (Gertler and Fuchs, 2013). Furthermore, obvious gains are to be made from connecting social assistance and environmental policies in lower income countries. To a large extent, in many lower income countries, the resources needed to support the development of social protection will come from consumption taxes and natural resource revenues. This is particularly important for countries in sub-Saharan Africa, where natural resource revenues have risen as a share of government revenue (Ebeke and Ehrhart, 2011; Hujo, 2012). Hence the twofold challenge in limiting the adverse effects of a 'resource curse'[4] (Thomas and Trevino, 2013) and ensuring that natural resource revenues are channelled towards supporting legitimate and sustainable social protection policies and institutions. In the concluding chapter of this report, Luis Rodriguez identifies a number of critical considerations for a new generation of social protection initiatives and interventions that truly combine the social, environmental and economic pillars of development.

There is growing recognition that the integration of income transfers and basic social services is essential in the fight against poverty and securing human development.

[4]The term 'resource curse' refers to the adverse effects on resource-rich economies such as the appreciation of their currency, which facilitates imports, or the dominant role of the extractive sectors.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has traced the main achievements, issues and challenges associated with the rapid expansion of social protection, and especially social assistance, in low- and middle-income countries, including shifts in approaches and focus. Since the turn of the century, the vast majority of developing countries have introduced or expanded a variety of programmes and policies addressing poverty and vulnerability. In middle-income countries, progress has been astounding, while low-income countries, generally, show slower progress, which is no doubt a consequence of persistent capacity and resource constraints. Improved economic growth in sub-Saharan Africa generates optimism for the future, particularly in the context of the fiscal space it could open up for the expansion and the deepening of protective mechanisms for the most vulnerable. The single most important achievement is the fact that governments in developing countries, supported by civil society organizations, now clearly acknowledge their responsibility in addressing and eradicating poverty and vulnerability.

In the Global South, the expansion of social protection reflects the emergence of new welfare institutions in countries committed to significant and sustained improvements in countries committed to significant and sustained improvements in human development among disadvantaged groups. Among these programmes, publicly financed social pensions and conditional income transfer programmes have had the highest growth rates. Correctly perceived as components of a sustainable development strategy that combines the delivery of basic services, economic growth and social protection, they seem likely to also blend well with specific sustainable development components, which are beginning to emerge in social protection practices.

This SP4SD flagship report makes an important and timely contribution to our understanding of the evolution of social protection and its links to sustainable development, at a time when the connection is desirable and being promoted, but the practice is less common and consistent as it perhaps should be. By exploring critical nexus issues, opportunities and challenges, it provides an insightful and critical examination of the recent transformations in Brazil, a leading country in the area of social policy and social protection. It also provides a valuable overview of the sub-Saharan African experience, where much is expected of the changes emerging in the policy arena. The role of South-South policy collaboration on social protection, supported by research and experimentation, and the challenges to the development of social protection posed by environmental vulnerability round off the report. As a whole, the report offers a critical and stimulating assessment of the important contribution of social protection to achieving productive, fair, sustainable and democratic societies.

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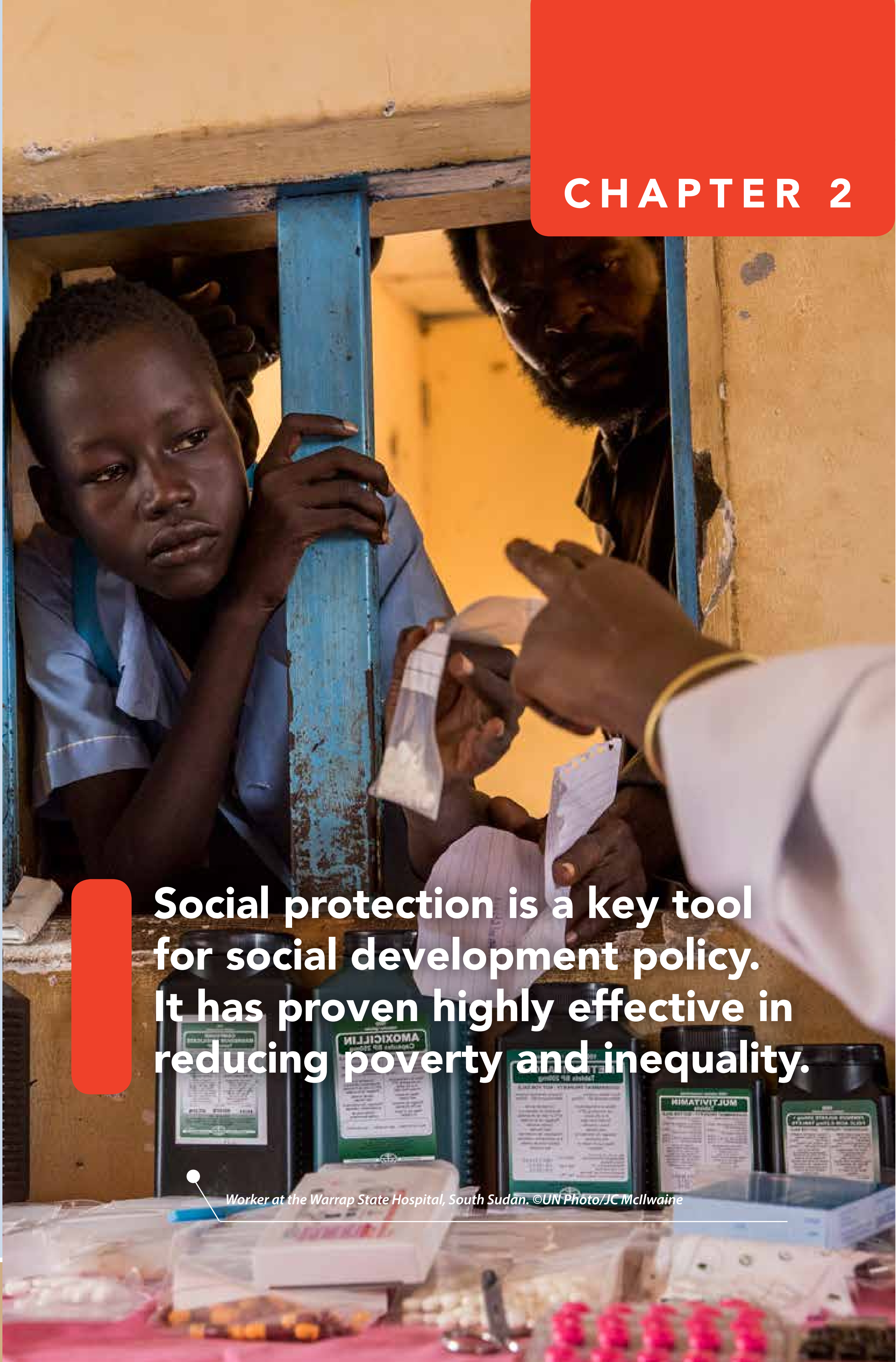
CHAPTER 2



Social protection is a key tool for social development policy. It has proven highly effective in reducing poverty and inequality.

Worker at the Warrap State Hospital, South Sudan. ©UN Photo/JC McIlwaine

Social Protection in the Context of Sustainable Development: Challenges and opportunities[1]

INTRODUCTION

The world is set to embark upon a new development agenda that recognizes the need to pursue development in a balanced way in order to achieve economic and social progress while acting in harmony with the world's ecosystems. This transformational and universal agenda aims to end poverty and fight inequality; ensure healthy lives; build prosperous, inclusive and resilient economies; and protect both the quality and quantity of natural resources for present and future generations. Social protection is increasingly being recognized as an essential tool for delivering on this very ambitious agenda, which entails the management/mitigation of trade-offs between some of the goals. In the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted in September 2015, social protection is identified under the goals on poverty reduction (Goal 1), universal health coverage (Goal 3), gender equality (Goal 5) and reducing inequality (Goal 10).

Traditional models of social protection have sought to reduce poverty and to create safety nets to protect individuals and families in times of need and crisis. Other models, such as the more universalized programmes, have also aimed to redistribute wealth within the economy and have successfully reduced poverty and narrowed gaps in areas including education, health, food and nutrition. While social protection programmes in general have contributed enormously to achieving several Millennium Development Goals, they have remained largely separate from environmental programmes. In many countries, opportunities have been missed, as social protection programmes have been somewhat limited in scope and scale and siloed as mostly the purview of social ministries. Programme design often fails to address wider or more long-term concerns about equity or social inclusion, or growing risks and vulnerabilities emerging from a changing environment. Even when they do contribute to sector outcomes in health and education, they are managed separately, which leads to inefficiencies. They often also fail to generate sustainable paths to ensure that beneficiaries stay above poverty and continue to improve their well-being. Only recently have some important shifts to broaden the application of social protection to other development considerations, including environmental risks, been more marked.

This paper suggests that social protection programmes can play a central role in contributing to all three dimensions of the sustainable development agenda. It also provides recommendations for building more sustainable, inclusive, integrated and effective social protection systems.[2]

Only recently have some important shifts to broaden the application of social protection to other development considerations, including environmental risks, been more marked.

[1] This paper was written by Almudena Fernandez, UNDP Bureau for Policy and Programme Support, and Romulo Paes-Sousa, Laura Hildebrandt, Layla Saad and Leisa Perch, UNDP World Centre for Sustainable Development (RIO+ Centre).
[2] Social protection systems are the combination of social protection programmes and interventions that take a multi-prong, intersectoral and coordinated approach to addressing the multiple and compounding deprivations and vulnerabilities faced by individuals.

SOCIAL PROTECTION: SUPPORTING ALL THREE DIMENSIONS OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Social protection is a key tool for social development policy. It has proven highly effective in reducing poverty and inequality,[3] and in providing safety nets to help low-income and vulnerable households cope with risks and shocks. By guaranteeing access to essential goods and services such as health, education and nutrition, social protection plays a key role in generating opportunities for low-income households and socially excluded groups. Evidence from Latin American countries (Lustig, López Calva and Ortiz-Juarez, 2011; Azevedo and others, 2013) and South Africa strongly suggests that larger and better-targeted conditional cash transfer programmes were an important contributing factor to declines in inequality in these countries.

Social protection also contributes significantly to economic growth in two main ways. First, by improving access to health care, education and income, social protection helps to unlock the full productive potential of a country, increase labour market participation and entrepreneurial activity, and support the structural transformation of an economy by redistributing economic activity across sectors (Samson, 2009). Secondly, social protection acts as a stabilizer at times of economic upheaval: it prevents aggregate demand from dropping sharply, maintains a minimum level of purchasing power and stops unemployment from eroding human or productive capital accumulation. Income transfers, for example, help smooth household consumption and maintain aggregate demand, while building resilience through asset accumulation and preventing negative coping mechanisms from being adopted. By doing so, they enable people to avert or to better overcome the risk of poverty and social exclusion during crises. Social protection also reduces vulnerabilities connected to risk behaviours – for example those related to HIV, teen pregnancy, crime, among others – thereby ensuring that human capital accumulation continues.

More recently, some innovative programmes have been providing evidence of the potential of social protection measures to support environmental sustainability by strengthening resilience against natural disasters, promoting adaptation and mitigation measures that protect ecosystems from further degradation and facilitating quick recovery. The latter is often a less explicit objective of social protection. Not only does a degraded environment threaten livelihoods and progress in poverty reduction, it also exacerbates inequalities, which affects the poorest, vulnerable and excluded disproportionately. It also hinders economic growth and future prosperity. At the same time, linking across these areas can create opportunities for positive multiplier effects for households, communities and for nature. Examples of this multiplier effect from South Africa and Brazil are presented below (see table 1).

[3] *López-Calva and Lustig, 2010; Lustig, López-Calva and Ortiz-Juarez, 2013; and United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 2011.*

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TABLE 1
SELECT SOCIAL PROTECTION PROGRAMMES WITH CLIMATE CHANGE CO-BENEFITS

PROGRAMME SUMMARY	GROWTH CO-BENEFITS	GENDER CO-BENEFITS	POVERTY CO-BENEFITS	ENVIRONMENTAL CO-BENEFITS	UNIQUE STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS
1. Brazil's *Programa Nacional de Produção e Uso de Biodiesel* (PNPB, or Biodiesel Production and Use Programme) adopted an explicit policy to incorporate family farmers into the biodiesel value chain. Government incentives included distribution of seeds, technical assistance, credit and formal contracts for small-scale family farmers. Special economic incentives target the less developed Northeast region.[a]	Structures the biodiesel supply chain in Brazil and expands the sources of production. Linked to regulations establishing minimum requirements for blending biodiesel into gasoline (of at least 5 percent).	Gender has not been identified as an issue in the PNPB's policy design. However, several women are small-scale farmers and take part in the programme.	Directly integrates small farmers into new markets and provides a guaranteed additional source of income for them and their families.	Expands low-carbon path of development.	The *Selo Social* (Social Label) certification programme for purchases gives partial tax exemptions to refineries that purchase the minimum required amount from smallholder farmers, and full tax exemption to those that purchase from farmers in the Northeast region.
2. Originally called "Working for Water in South Africa" (WfW), this programme was later transformed into eleven programmes. It initially targeted water losses caused by invasive weeds and their secondary effects on downstream ecosystems.[b]	Facilitates greater participation by women and the poor in productive areas and reduces productivity losses caused by invasive plant species.	A clear gender-directed policy on environmental issues.	Contains underlying poverty reduction strategy and has benefited 119,000 persons.	Reduces the harm of invasive plant species on ecosystems and access to water.	Through the funding mechanism, the government can act as an intermediary, buyer or as a market regulator to avoid unanticipated consequences.

Source: Perch, Stahlberg and Potiara, 2010.
[a] Zapata and others, 2010.
[b] Lieuw-Kie-Song, 2009.

Both programmes mentioned in table 1 have direct and indirect impacts on the three main domains of sustainable development: they improve household level outcomes, have a positive effect on growth and generate positive environmental impacts. In the South African case, gender inequalities are tackled directly, whereas in the Brazilian programme, the focus on structural inequalities, such as gender inequalities, is much less explicit. Changes to the PNPB's activities to focus more on social inclusion quadrupled smallholder involvement (2008-2010) and increased the amount of feedstock purchased five-fold. Other programmes in the same vein in South Africa such as the Expanded Public Works Programme entail the creation of 200,000 jobs, and skills training and formal accreditation to better prepare participants for the long-term. It is also estimated that 200,000 hectares and 700 km of coastal land have been cleaned up, 40 wetlands rehabilitated, 32 waste management programmes created and 150 historical and community tourism projects launched (Antonopoulos, 2008).

The path to merging social, economic and environmental goals is not always clear and sometimes conflicts arise between environmental and social goals (Saad and Perch, 2014). Even so, these examples provide important lessons for expanding the role of social protection in the pursuit of sustainable development, particularly as a tool for achieving environmental objectives and bridging these with social and economic concerns.

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Despite its widespread adoption and expansion in recent years, there are many definitions of social protection. Development agencies, government and academics all have their own take on what social protection does and does not include. The scope and areas of concern of social protection have evolved as the international development agenda shifted from a focus on poverty reduction to increasingly complex development challenges. Initially defined as safety nets to tackle extreme poverty and risks, it is now widely agreed that the role and potential impact of social protection goes far beyond reducing poverty in the short-term. Its set of objectives has steadily widened with evidence showing that the functions of social protection range from levelling consumption and economic stabilization to improving health outcomes and protection from environmental risks (both sudden-onset extremes and slow-onset challenges).

As we embark on the post-2015 agenda, UNDP advocates for a broad approach to social protection, framed by the pillars of sustainable development and human rights. In this context, social protection is conceptualized as a set of initiatives that provide social assistance to the extreme poor; ensure access to basic social services for all, especially groups that are traditionally vulnerable or excluded; stimulate productive inclusion through the development of capabilities, skills, rights and opportunities for the poor and excluded; and build resilience and protect people against the risks of shocks throughout their life cycle.

UNRISD makes the point that if our purpose is to go beyond poverty reduction, then our approach must change. "For countries that have been successful in increasing the well-being of the majority of their population, long-term processes of structural transformation, not poverty reduction per se, were central to public policy objectives". Therefore, the challenge for social protection is whether and how it can play a transformative role and what adaptations may be necessary for it to do so. This includes anticipating conflicts and trade-offs, which could arise when development objectives that may not always be compatible are pursued simultaneously.

With this broader approach, social protection is well positioned to serve as a fundamental instrument for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals. However, there are some important challenges that need to be addressed in order to meet these expectations.

Conceptualizing social protection from a human rights and SDGs approach

For social protection to contribute towards equity and sustainability, it needs to be grounded in the principles of human rights and based on the idea that all human beings are born free and equal in status and rights. The notion of social protection systems as an obligation is very well established under human rights law. It flows directly from the right to social security and a decent standard of living, which is recognized by articles 22 and 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and article 9 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.[4]

At the United Nations Millennium Summit in September 2010, Heads of State and Government reaffirmed social protection as a human right in their commitment to implement social protection floors (SPF). SPFs are defined as nationally set social protection systems and measures to guarantee essential health care and income security for all.[5] More recently, on 14 June 2012, the International Labour Conference adopted Recommendation No. 202 concerning national floors for social protection, defined as nationally determined sets of basic social security guarantees aimed at preventing or alleviating poverty, vulnerability and social exclusion (International Labour Organization, 2012).

Furthermore, the right to social protection is emphasized in the new development agenda that was agreed upon in September 2015. In the Sustainable Development Goals, social protection and social protection floors are mentioned in four instances: (i) as a target within Goal 1 to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; (ii) as a target of universal health coverage in Goal 3; (iii) in the equality goal (Goal 10) as a policy area that needs to be pushed to address inequality and finally, (iv) in support of the gender goal (Goal 5), as part of the care economy, which can be monetarized through social protection transfers.

Even with these commitments, there are still important challenges to incorporating a rights-based perspective into social protection programmes. Some governments are resistant to explicitly define rights to social protection, as they argue their low administrative capacity makes it unfeasible to do so. Others deem it unaffordable given the fiscal constraints often faced by developing countries,

[4]The right to social security is also enshrined in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, article 11; Convention on the Rights of the Child, article 26; the Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, article 27; and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, article 28.
[5]United Nations General Assembly, Resolution 65/1, paragraph 51.

namely least developed countries and fragile states. Finally, governments might be wary about institutionalizing a rights-based approach to social protection, as it could make them vulnerable to legal claims if they are unable to fund and deliver social protection to all.

Leaving no one behind: making social protection systems inclusive

Despite the global expansion of social protection, examples from all over the world show that programmes often, albeit unintentionally, overlook population groups such as women, the extreme poor, indigenous groups, ethnic minorities, people with disabilities, those dependent on natural resources, the displaced, migrants and informal sector workers, to name a few. Furthermore, they are often inflexible and unable to rapidly incorporate those who experience deprivation due to shocks or crises. Guaranteeing basic social protection remains a major development challenge in many countries, with 73 percent of the world's population living without access to comprehensive social protection.[6,7]

Social protection can curb social exclusion if designed to overcome the barriers individuals face due to specific characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, HIV status, geographic location and disability status. Programmes that do not directly address inclusion can actually reinforce existing inequalities and contribute to exclusion by leaving the marginalized behind. For instance, education grants and school-based meal programmes may not increase girls' access to schooling and might actually leave them in a more disadvantaged position in relation to their peers if informal social norms continue to restrict female education. Similarly, targeting by social category can exacerbate social divisions by including some groups and excluding others, and poverty targeting can result in the stigmatization of beneficiaries. Critically, relying on the mother for the transmission of grants can have both positive and negative implications for gender equality: while it may guarantee a more effective use of grants, it can also confine women to the traditional unpaid care role and further entrench the idea that this is a role that women must play.

That said, much can be done to the design and implementation of social protection to ensure that it supports social inclusion. By acknowledging the fact that women and men face different constraints and by addressing the barriers that often limit opportunities for women and girls, including obstacles to women's economic advancement, social protection can promote gender equality. Similarly, evidence shows that HIV-sensitive social protection can reduce vulnerability to HIV, improve and extend the lives of people living with HIV, and support individuals and households. Emerging evidence confirms that social protection contributes to HIV prevention and treatment uptake and adherence (Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, 2010; UNDP, 2014a).

Examples from a range of programmes highlight the significant opportunities for social protection programmes to advance inclusive and sustainable development. The challenge seems to be in moving these from flagship innovations to part of the mainstream approach to both transformation and resilience building. In the four programmes highlighted below, significant attention has been given to gender equality as a structural factor, though success in reaching targets has been diverse. These represent an important foundation to build on when expanding social protection beyond its current, somewhat narrow confines and crafting elements to target multiple development objectives.

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[6]*Comprehensive social protection is defined as social protection in the various areas that matter to well-being and throughout an individual's life cycle. In its most basic sense, comprehensive social protection will include coverage in health, education, food security and income for children, young adults, working age individuals, mothers and older persons.*
[7]*International Labour Organization, 2014.*

TABLE 2
SCALE AND ATTRIBUTES OF SELECTED PUBLIC WORK PROGRAMMES[8]

COUNTRY, PROGRAMME	STATUS	OBJECTIVE	NUMBER OF BENEFICIARIES	TIMING	PAYMENT MODALITY	FEMALE PARTICIPATION (%)
Brazil, *Bolsa Verde* (Green Grant Programme)	active since 2011	anti-poverty	36,384 families (as of February 2013)[a]	year-round	cash	98[b]
Ethiopia, Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP)	active since 2005	anti-poverty	7.6 million people (2009)	year-round	cash and food	41[c]
India, Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA)	active since 2006	guarantee employment	54.9 million households (2011)	year-round	cash	49
South Africa, Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP)	active since 2004	anti-poverty, unemployment reduction	467,785 households (2004/05-2008/09)	year-round	cash	60 (target) 52 (WfW)[d]

Source: Subbarao and others, 2012.

a. According to the Brazilian Ministry of the Environment.
b. Average for beneficiaries of the *Bolsa Familia* programme.
c. This average was derived on data from five regions, which was taken from Berhane and others, 2011.
d. Working for Water programme. Data from the Department of Water Affairs of South Africa.

Some of the challenges in delivering inclusive social protection also relate to affordability and institutional capacity. It is often more expensive to reach those traditionally left behind, as they may be cut off from information. It also requires having local capacities in remote and isolated areas. Furthermore, the socially excluded often lack the voice or agency to contribute meaningfully to the shaping of decision-making processes that affect their lives. This lack of agency and political participation further entrenches social exclusion and thus limits the transformative effects of social protection interventions. Efforts are needed to make social protection 'everyone's business' and promote it as a tool for many sectors.

Moving from social protection programmes to a system approach

Now more than ever, the development challenges faced by governments and development partners are complex and interrelated and do not come packaged according to the traditional mandates of ministries, sectors or agencies within the UN System.

Social protection programmes are often fragmented and developed as a response to specific problems without building on or offering complementarities to other programmes in operation. In many countries, non-governmental or grassroots organizations introduce projects and programmes without coordinating among themselves. Although significant advancements have been made by tackling development objectives separately and great expertise and problem-solving ability have been developed at the international and country levels, integrating social protection into systems and programmes that deal with issues simultaneously has proven to be difficult.

Fragmentation occurs at various levels: (i) between sectors (e.g. health, education and social security); (ii) in coverage for formal and informal workers; and (iii) at different stages in the life cycle, when transitions from one stage to another are left uncovered.

The danger of fragmented programmes is that even if they alleviate the immediate consequences of poverty at certain points in the beneficiaries' lives, they fail

[8]Burkolter and Perch, 2014.

to address the underlying causes of deprivation and exclusion and to ensure that individuals do not fall back when transitioning from one stage in life to another. For example, education programmes that do not support the school-to-work transition process or establish links to labour markets often do not succeed in enabling beneficiaries to increase their productivity and accumulate the assets they need to escape poverty and deprivation in the long-term.

There seems to be a general understanding of the crucial need for comprehensive social protection, and that reducing fragmentation across programmes, actors and levels of government can decrease inefficiencies, enhance coverage and improve responsiveness to risks. However, the challenges to systemic social protection are substantial. For one, a social protection programme that is set up quickly as an emergency response to a crisis must be developed within the system already in place in the country. This is complicated, of course, since there may be inherent trade-offs between quick implementation and coordination with other programmes.

Coordinating actions among and within different ministries, actors, sectors and regions is also challenging and countries are still striving to improve both operational and policy coordination. Experiences with conditional cash transfers that tackle various dimensions of well-being at the same time, for example, show that effective cooperation between social assistance, health services and education providers is very hard to achieve. Countries that have been successful have often resorted to creating independent councils or boards with the objective of strategically organizing, planning and coordinating policies among the different ministries involved. As ambitions to expand social protection to cover additional dimensions such as ecosystems services or climate resilience grow, so do the requirements and challenges for coordination across ministries. Existing programmes, namely those that have linked environmental and social aspects, provide critical lessons for moving beyond these limitations and building a new comprehensive framework for social protection.

The implementation of the SDGs can be used as a window of opportunity for establishing a systemic approach to social protection that contributes to many goals simultaneously. In the SDGs, social protection is linked mainly to the social agenda – i.e. poverty reduction, gender equality and reducing inequality. Expanding into a broader approach would better guarantee more comprehensive risk management, social promotion and social development, rather than just providing "aid" and "rescue". Moreover, by linking environmental and social concerns, a number of silos and barriers to policy convergence and coherence can potentially be broken down and ultimately eliminated. This is critical in the current context where a significant amount of financing for development is driven by environmental concerns.

> Expanding social protection into a broader approach would better guarantee more comprehensive risk management, social promotion and social development, rather than just providing "aid" and "rescue".

Including environmental concerns and vulnerability arising from a changing environment within the scope of social protection

It is well established that the destruction of the natural resource base as a result of environmental degradation aggravates deprivation. Deprivation and environmental degradation reinforce each other, as the poor are often forced to resort to natural resource-based livelihoods, such as overfishing, slash-and-burn agriculture, and other means for survival, which can further harm and deplete the natural resources they depend on for a living. Moreover, the poor are more vulnerable to the early onset realities of environmental change. The erosion of watersheds coupled with torrential rains attributed to climate change lead to flooding and landslides, which, in turn, increase the vulnerability of poor households. When comparing the impact of hurricanes on the shared island of Hispaniola, devastation and loss of life tends to be much more severe in Haiti than in the neighbouring Dominican Republic due, in part, to the much lower percentage of remaining forest cover in Haiti following decades of deforestation. Other differences in levels of education, political stability and infrastructure also have a compounding effect (Webersik and Klose, 2010).

There is a growing convergence between climate change adaptation (CCA) and disaster risk reduction (DRR) actions and programming, which are typically associated with social protection policies. Emergency employment schemes, cash-for-work programmes, education and training, insurance schemes and cash transfers are all activities used for social protection purposes as well.

Unfortunately, the vital policy links between poverty and inequality reduction and the environment are still more overlooked than integrated into the mainstream in both industrialized and developing countries. According to a study by the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), DRR and social protection "may be identical in terms of their activities and outcomes, differing principally in their motivations and institutional homes" (Davies and others, 2008). Building on the successes of Brazil, Ethiopia and South Africa, to name a few, and linking with efforts to use economic/market instruments to generate environmental and social benefits could also help to better understand the economic, social and political infrastructure that is needed in order to make these links part and parcel of a 'new business as usual'. The fact that the funding streams for DRR, CCA and social protection are very different creates further challenges for collaboration between work being done on environmental and social issues. Even so, the increasing convergence of these agendas in people's lives, the market economy and public policy clearly creates an opening for the adoption of a new approach.

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Securing reliable long-term funding for social protection

Despite growing levels of political support and demand for social protection, funding remains a very important challenge for many countries. This is particularly the case in least developed countries, fragile states or highly indebted countries, where some argue that resources are too limited to be able to invest in social protection programs. This view is driven by the belief that social protection is a policy option or "handout" rather than a human right and an investment in productivity and economic growth.

In spite of the rapidly growing evidence of the affordability of basic social protection packages that expand income security and scale-up essential health services even in the poorest countries (ILO, 2011), they are still often viewed as fiscally unsustainable and believed to create dependency among recipients. It is equally true, however, that this view is also contested by research and other evidence. An assessment prepared for a group of 100 developing countries suggests that the cost of providing a basic universal pension equivalent to US$1 per day to all people over the age of 60 would amount to less than one percent of gross domestic product (GDP) per annum in 66 out of 100 developing countries (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2007). It would have a positive impact on other household members as well. Additionally, ILO costing studies on a basic package of social protection that includes old-age and disability pensions and family allowances, but not health care, for a select set of low- and low-middle-income countries in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia show that the cost of the cash benefit package would be between 2.2 percent and 5.7 percent of GDP (ILO, 2008). The annual cost of Ethiopia's PSNP programme is equivalent to 1.2 percent of GDP. Safety net coverage in Kenya is equivalent to 0.80 percent of GDP. Even if fiscal space can be created to fund programmes in the short term, sustaining expenditure in the long-term to meet the recurrent commitment social protection requires can be extremely difficult.

Many countries have shown significant commitment to social protection and have assigned a percentage of the national budget to social protection programming. Brazil is well known for its commitment over the last 12 years to the *Programa Bolsa Familia* (PBF, Family Allowance Programme). Similarly, the Government of Bangladesh has shown clear commitment to social protection: in its 2014-2015 budget, it allocated 5.6 percent of the total, up by over 23 percent from the previous year (Bangladesh Awami League, 2014).

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RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SOCIAL PROTECTION

Country conditions vary and the appropriate and politically feasible response to development challenges will most likely differ across countries. However, as outlined earlier in this chapter, social protection is not only a right, but also a fundamental tool for achieving sustainable development.

The post-2015 development agenda provides a historical opportunity to shift from development in silos to a more integrated approach that takes economic, social and environmental concerns into consideration. This view was reinforced by the Rio+20 Outcome, the MDG Summit Outcome, and the Secretary-General's synthesis reports. Highly visible in the Sustainable Development Goals, social protection is positioned to provide a framework for this integrated approach. An opportunity also exists to rethink the social equity and environmental sustainability intersections that lie at the core of sustainable development, while paying special attention to effectiveness of the new models and their efficiencies. Not only does green policy require a stronger social lens, but social policy itself also needs to be more proactive in green policy efforts. This also calls for a re-examination of the economic dimensions and the interlinked goals – i.e. looking beyond aggregates and poverty lines.

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To meet these expectations, this paper sets forth the following recommendations:

Tailor social protection interventions to country contexts

- **There is no "one size fits all" social protection infrastructure and road map for all countries.** Some of the most successful social protection programmes are those led by the countries themselves, which they have designed and tailored to their specific context, while drawing on global experiences. The extent to which groups trust government institutions and relate to local and national actors, and their view on the scope of the government's responsibilities will determine the success or failure of social protection. Similarly, a country's fiscal capacity, the strength of its institutions and the capacity of its civil servants will influence the feasibility of programmes.

Adopt a rights-based approach to social protection with a focus on social inclusion

- **Incorporate the right to social protection into domestic legal frameworks**: This means that governments recognize that at least the very minimum levels of social protection are not a policy option, but a legal obligation under international human rights law. In that context, the right to social security should be incorporated into domestic laws and, where possible, enshrined in national constitutions. They should also be reinforced by an appropriate and adequately funded, long-term institutional framework. A rights-based focus will also include legislation to ensure equity and access to services without discrimination of any kind, and pro-active actions to ensure access to those who suffer from structural discrimination, such as women, persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples, minorities and the elderly;

- **Support vulnerable groups throughout their life cycle:** Implementing agencies must acknowledge that the impacts of social protection programmes are not neutral for certain groups, such as women, ethnic minorities, people living with HIV, people living with disabilities, youth and the elderly. Thus, the design and implementation of social protection strategies must address the specific needs of vulnerable groups throughout their life cycle (childhood, adolescence, adulthood and old age);

- **Collect disaggregated data for monitoring purposes**: One important step towards building social protection that promotes inclusion is to develop and collect disaggregated data in relation to gender, age, ethnicity and disability to monitor and evaluate social protection programmes.

Move towards social protection systems and build linkages to other economic and social sectors

- **Institutionalize integration and coordination across sectors**: An integrated and coordinated social protection strategy that reduces fragmentation and ensures coordination across all multi-sectoral stakeholders (including non-governmental actors) can increase the effectiveness of social protection, reduce duplication and ensure that no one is left behind;

- **Build social protection systems**: A systemic approach to social protection focuses on fostering linkages and coordination among social protection programmes and across sectors, while addressing power imbalances that drive and entrench poverty, vulnerabilities and inequality. It is also concerned with sequencing and timing interventions to ensure that capacities are built at the appropriate time;

- **Introduce social protection floors**: The introduction of social protection floors (SDG Target 1.3) is a good first step towards ensuring comprehensive social protection for all. It provides a coherent and coordinated policy framework that addresses multidimensional vulnerabilities in an integrated and interconnected way. National social protection floors can combine basic income security guarantees with effective access to essential social services. This would enhance linkages and potential synergies across the economic, social and environmental dimensions of sustainable development.

Include environmental concerns in the design and implementation of social protection

- **Strengthen linkages between social protection and natural resource management**: In a global context of recurrent droughts, floods and soil erosion, social protection needs to ensure that those dependent on natural resources for their livelihoods are protected and become more resilient. At the same time, it must encourage better management of natural resources to reduce their depletion and the likelihood of adverse events. Sound environmental management goes hand in hand with poverty and inequality reduction, and policies in these areas should be designed to reinforce one another. Risk-informed social protection holds significant promise for protecting poor and excluded people from natural events and tackling increasing levels of risk and vulnerability;

- **Harmonize the implementation of social protection programmes with climate/ disaster response**: Linking social protection to work on DDR and CCA has the potential to build on synergies, avoid duplications, develop economies of scale and achieve overall better results. If DRR actions are delivered and coordinated by using social protection mechanisms already in place, important efficiency gains can save lives and minimize impacts of natural disasters. Furthermore, coordination between these areas of work would prevent any offsets that programmes might have on each other. Greater interaction could produce social protection policies that help vulnerable households escape poverty and become more resilient to the increasing number of climate-related shocks. Interdisciplinary and joint planning, implementation and learning are key mechanisms for breaking out of the silos in which social protection, DRR and CCA currently operate.

Make the case for social protection funding

- **Strengthen the value for money proposition**: To ensure long-term and sustainable financing for social protection, it is important to make the case for investment in social protection by promoting its cost-effectiveness, sustainability and value for money. Social protection has proven to be a source of resilience during shocks, as it supports growth, poverty reduction, social inclusion and increases in productivity. It also fosters the accumulation of productive assets and can stabilize aggregate demand at the macro-economic level;

- **Social protection is affordable (and highly visible for the price)**: While there are many challenges to creating fiscal space for social protection programmes, several recent studies demonstrate that basic social protection packages are affordable, even in the poorest countries;

- **Demonstrate the multiplier effect of investments in social protection**: Evidence shows that every dollar invested in social protection can generate much larger payoffs when increases in productivity and school attendance and the prevention of illnesses are taken in to account. For example, one study found that in very poor countries, each dollar spent on nutrition-related interventions for children has at least a 30-dollar payoff. In the United States it is estimated that every dollar invested in early childhood interventions saves taxpayers 13 dollars in the future. Analysis of the impact of cash transfers on HIV outcomes provides evidence that the value of averted HIV infections far outweighs the cost of the programmes;

- **Mobilize domestic resources**: There are a number of ways in which funding for social protection can be secured. They include mobilizing additional domestic resources through tax reforms or enforcement; reallocating resources from underperforming programmes that provide distorting general subsidies; reallocate debt payment towards social protection using debt relief initiatives such as the Heavily Indebted Poor Country Initiative (HIPC) and the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI), or increased borrowing. Indonesia, for example, recently eliminated fuel subsidies and used the resources to finance newly introduced universal health coverage. The Philippines introduced taxes on tobacco and alcohol to expand the scope of its universal health coverage and reduce health expenditures brought on by mortality and morbidity associated with tobacco and alcohol consumption. Thailand issued government use licenses to access generic versions of medicines, which led to substantial price reductions that enabled the government to provide treatment to over 84,000 people;

- **Explore innovative and emerging funding sources**: Some innovative ways to raise funding to finance the SDGs and social protection include international solidarity levy on air tickets; debt conversions (e.g. Debt2Health, debt-for-environment and debt-for-education swaps); voluntary solidarity contributions (e.g. Product (RED), MASSIVEGOOD and the Digital Solidarity Levy); weather and commodity related insurance; diaspora bonds; counter-cyclical lending; climate adaptation funding; emissions trading and curtailing illicit outflows of capital, among many others;

- **Start small to make the case and scale-up**: Some countries have been quite successful in scaling up social protection programmes. The Government of Zambia, for example, has been able to scale up its Social Cash Transfer Programme: the number of households receiving benefits rose from 60,000 households in 2013 to about 150,000 by mid-2014, and the number of districts covered from 19 to 50. Following a strong commitment from the government to end poverty and vulnerability, the budget allocation for the programme received an unprecedented 800 percent increase. This means it went from US$4 million in 2013, to nearly US$30 million in 2014.

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CHAPTER 3

Social protection encompasses a wide range of measures aimed at reducing people's vulnerability to shocks throughout their lifetimes.

Kutum: South African contingent based in UNAMID Kutum camp site since May 2010.
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Social Protection in Africa: Present and multiple futures[1]

INTRODUCTION

Social protection encompasses a wide range of measures aimed at reducing people's vulnerability to shocks throughout their lifetimes. They vary from simple cash transfer schemes to full-fledged social protection systems. They are designed to achieve different – albeit not mutually exclusive – objectives, including: building human capital; helping the most vulnerable meet their basic needs; responding to crises by providing people the means to manage unforeseen risks such as illnesses or natural disasters; and dealing with vulnerabilities that are inherent to some stages of human life, including birth, youth, childbearing, old age, disability, etc.

The continuing rise of and demand for humanitarian aid reinforces the role of crises in shaping the human experience. Even as displacement shifts the humanitarian crisis from one with an "African face" to one that is more Middle Eastern, it is notable that four of the five countries whose population as a whole was affected the most in 2015 were from sub-Saharan Africa: Sierra Leone (100 percent), Liberia (79 percent), South Sudan (69 percent), and the Central African Republic (63 percent) (Development Initiatives, 2015). Sudan and South Sudan, on the other hand, were amongst the top five main destinations for aid in 2013.

Depending on a country's particular needs, social protection covers different areas of human well-being, such as nutrition, health, education, income, work, employment, pensions, housing, water and sanitation (Cecchini, Filgueira and Robles, 2014). Furthermore, the design of social protection measures varies according to the objective being pursued. For example, measures that aim to only help the poorest of the poor to cope with shocks differ from those designed to build human capital or to prevent people from falling back into poverty. Critically, measures must respond to challenges that are as public as they are individual. According to the Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2015, "countries at high risk of crisis are home to most of the world's poorest people. Some 93 percent of people living in extreme poverty are in countries that are either politically fragile, environmentally vulnerable or both" (Development Initiatives, 2015a). This is an important shift in the context in which social protection demand is created and the appropriateness of response mechanisms – from groups defined by singular or mostly social and economic deprivation to more structural and commonly-shared vulnerabilities, or a combination of the two. This brings issues of justice more into the centre of the debate on the role of social protection systems.

More recently, social protection has been seen as not only a tool for risk management, but also a transformative agent that can help tackle entrenched inequalities, make societies more inclusive and contribute to social justice. In Africa, it is viewed as a critical strategy for social and economic transformation. Omilola and Kaniki (2014) classify social protection measures in Africa in four categories: (1) welfare programmes, primarily in the form of conditional and unconditional cash transfer programmes, school feeding programmes and direct food aid;[2] (2) productivity-enhancing programmes, such as public works; (3) market interventions in the form of price controls; and (4) policy changes, such as labour market regulations or anti-discrimination laws. Emerging and growing demands in other sectors suggest that this typology may need to be expanded, particularly to include general risk mitigation, which disrupts the progress being achieved by existing programmes. The World Food Programme (WFP) has recently made an appeal for assistance to address the needs of 2.8 million people in Malawi who are without access to sufficient food due to the impact of successive droughts and floods on the food production system.[3] The current speed of

[1]*This paper was commissioned by UNDP Regional Service Centre for Africa in Addis Ababa and written by Iván Guillermo González de Alba, with substantive contributions from Alessandra Casazza and Renata Nowak-Garmer, UNDP Regional Service Centre for Africa and Leisa Perch, UNDP World Centre for Sustainable Development (RIO+ Centre).*
[2]*For further reading, see chapter 8 of this report.*
[3]*ONUBR, 2015.*

environmental change also demands greater coherence and convergence between the existing four categories of response in Africa.

Over the last few years, "social protection has become an emerging unifying policy among development stakeholders on how to address chronic poverty and promote progress on the MDGs in Africa" (African Union Commission and others, 2011, 105). The position of social protection has been further consolidated by some more recent regional instruments and initiatives, including the African Union's Social Policy Framework (2008), Strategy for Africa, the African Civil Society Platform for Social Protection, the African Union Vision 2063 and the Common African Position on the Post-2015 Development Agenda (CAP) (African Union, 2014).

Social protection is also an important component of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which contains the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Countries are called on, for example, to "implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 [to] achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable" (Goal 1) and to "adopt policies, especially fiscal, wage and social protection policies, and progressively achieve greater equality" (Goal 10).[4] The global and national consultations on this agenda – supported by the UN system in several countries in Africa, including Ethiopia, Ghana, Malawi, Niger, Mozambique, and in other regions – called for protecting and promoting the right to social protection. The SDG framework also recognizes the capacity to resile as key to stable and peaceful societies, but fails to make an explicit link between an increasing need for social protection and environmental change.

This chapter reviews experiences and good practices regarding social protection in Africa, as well as challenges and gaps in state capacity to effectively manage social protection programmes. These include issues related to institutional capacity to design, implement, monitor and ensure sustainable financing for these programmes. The chapter makes a case for a more systemic approach to social protection in Africa, which not only protects vulnerable households from sudden shocks (such as loss of livelihood from natural disasters or long-term environmental change), but also promotes and expands people's capabilities throughout their lifecycle in economically, socially, and environmentally sustainable ways. This means making social protection adaptive to both slow- and sudden-onset crises and to the possibility of these crises evolving from periodic to long-term/recurrent realities. Strikingly, 66 percent of humanitarian aid is spent in places that have needed it for eight years or more, including several countries in Africa (Development Initiatives, 2015b).

> The primary challenges African countries face in the sustainable management of social protection programmes are related to financial sustainability, institutional capacity, targeting and the adaptability of these programmes to a more diverse set of issues, which go beyond income poverty.

[4] *See also chapter 2 of this report: https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/topics*

There is no unique definition of social protection. The European Commission, for example, defines social protection as a specific set of actions that address the vulnerability of people's lives through social insurance, social assistance and inclusion efforts (Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, 2010). Similarly, for the World Bank (WB), social protection includes contributory and non-contributory programmes and social legislation; safety nets are a subset of non-contributory social protection programmes, such as conditional and unconditional cash transfers (Monchuk, 2014).

The report 'Assessing Progress in Africa toward the MDGs' (African Union Commission and others, 2011) places a particular focus on safety nets, which aim to protect people from unexpected risks and shocks, such as natural disasters or health emergencies. The report also affirms that social protection is to address the structural causes of poverty by empowering marginalized or vulnerable groups to benefit from and productively participate in the economic growth process. It includes programmes and instruments that directly affect human development, are protective and preventive, and promote social justice.

While definitions vary, there is a certain consensus among actors that social protection is a set of programmes and policies - usually targeted to the poor, vulnerable and excluded[5] - put in place to help them cope with shocks and achieve minimum living standards and levels of well-being. Such policies and programmes include contributory and non-contributory schemes as well as policies and norms promoting equality and addressing exclusion. However, it is also clear that the nature of these shocks are changing – to being both environmental and social – and the price tag is increasing. Natural disasters affect, on average, more than 200 million people per year; estimates suggest that to date, disaster aid for South Sudan is about US$332 per capita per year (Centre for Global Development, 2015; Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters, 2015).

The concept of social protection appeared in the literature for the first time in the late 1990s in order to address, through policies and programmes, those left behind by social security and welfare state-style policies. Social security is usually understood as compulsory social insurance schemes financed by contributions that cover civil servants and formal workers, but leave informal workers (including agricultural workers and the self-employed) out of their scope (Coheur and others, 2007). In the African context, social security is of limited relevance, as it covers only between 5 to 20 percent of the population who are formally employed (Devereux, 2010, 4).

One of the main distinctions between social security and social protection consists in defining who the carrier of the rights is. Most social security policies are rooted in the workers' rights approach – for example, the entitlements of formal workers, such as contributory pension, life and disability insurance, health care or maternity leave. On the other hand, social protection programmes are grounded in the human rights approach and not restricted to the formally employed. According to the latter, what needs to be universal is the achievement of economic and social rights and not the means to achieve them. Therefore, social protection programmes should target precisely people whose economic and social rights are not fulfilled; in other words, focus resources on universalizing economic and social rights for all (Cecchini and Martínez 2011).

Using the European Commission's definition, social protection instruments can be regrouped as follows:

1) **social insurance** aimed at helping people address vulnerabilities linked to old age, such as loss of income due to retirement, and cope with adverse shocks. It is mostly comprised of contributory programmes such as pension schemes and different types of insurance policies for workers to cover health, unemployment, injury, disability or death;

2) **social assistance,** which refers mostly to non-contributory programmes, such as child support grants, school feeding, public works programmes (cash-for-work or food-for-work), cash transfers, emergency relief and non-contributory pensions for the elderly. It mainly targets the poor and most vulnerable groups; and

3) **inclusion** efforts refer mainly to regulatory frameworks on, for example, working hours, minimum wage, safety in the work place, anti-discrimination laws and affirmative action policies. There are also hybrid programmes that involve a mix of social assistance and social security actions.

[5]Targeting in the context of social policies is a mechanism to direct a programme to a specific population. For example, programmes that aim to benefit the poor have a selection process to exclude those who are not poor. Universal programmes, on the contrary, are intended for everyone. An example of universal coverage could be the National Health Service (NHS) in the United Kingdom, which does not discriminate between formal or informal workers; all legal residents are entitled to health care. The NHS is a good example of the welfare state-style policies that are common in some European countries.

Although informal social protection schemes have been around as long as the vulnerabilities of families and communities have, they have been typically absent from discourse on social protection, which is seen as a domain of the state. Yet, there are numerous examples of community-based informal safety nets,[6] such as remittances from relatives abroad, adult children providing for their elderly parents, borrowing among family/community members, work reciprocity and gift exchanges. Other non-government sponsored schemes - typically offered by religious institutions, private or civil society actors in localities such as orphanages, soup kitchens and other food assistance - provide social assistance type services to the poor, but remain outside the public sector. Given the longstanding tradition of community-based social protection initiatives and, most importantly, their effectiveness in addressing people's vulnerabilities and building human capacity, governments in Africa may consider including them in the design of social protection strategies and policies to build synergies between formal and informal social protection programmes.

Cash transfer programmes are amongst the most successful social protection mechanisms in the world. One of the first social protection programmes developed to address the gaps left by social security covering only formal workers was a conditional cash transfer scheme developed in Brazil called *Bolsa Escola* (School Grant), which was later expanded and is now known as *Programa Bolsa Família* (PBF, Family Allowance Programme).[7] In Africa, a cash transfer programme in Namibia reduced the incidence of poverty 22 percent and the severity of poverty, 45 percent (Levine, van der Berg and Yu, 2009). In South Africa, a social transfer programme reduced inequality (measured by the Gini coefficient) by seven percentage points.[8] The Kalomo Social Protection Programme, a pilot project funded by GTZ and implemented by the Government of Zambia's Public Welfare Assistance Scheme (PWAS), targets vulnerable populations, namely food insecure and destitute households (Maunder and Wiggins, 2006).

Social protection programmes are gradually adopting a life cycle approach, which challenges the traditional linear model of events - that is, birth, education, work, marriage, family, retirement, old age and death. The life cycle approach is aligned on a person's life cycle, and systematically addresses vulnerabilities associated with specific stages or exceptional events of people's lives: e.g. birth, childbearing, youth, old age, illness (including HIV/AIDS) and disability (O'Rand and Krecker, 1990). A report by the International Labour Organization (ILO) argues that "men and women have been naturally gravitating to a more cyclic approach to life where the various stages and activities are revisited throughout a lifetime" (Bonilla, García and Gruat, 2003, 3). Thus, social protection should consider all life stages holistically by taking into account the linkages and risks inherent to certain stages in life.

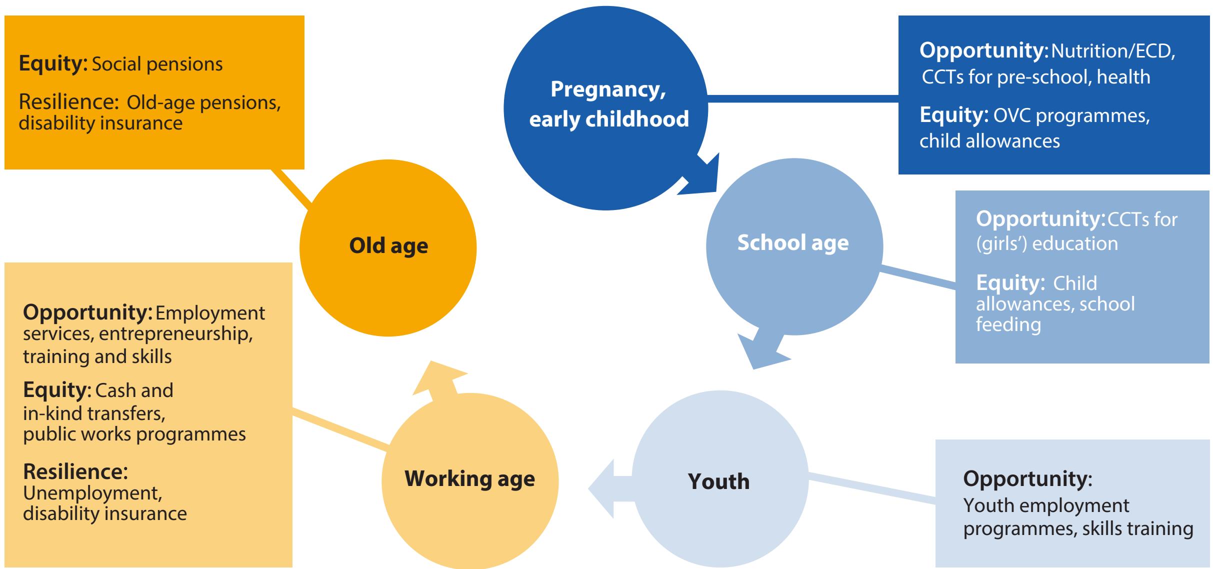
Fulfilling the aspiration of delivering social protection to all in the African context requires placing specific emphasis on two groups: women and youth. Poverty, vulnerability and exclusion affect men and women differently and might require different policy measures to tackle them. For example, women who stay home with children or take care of ageing parents form weaker links to the labour market. In addition to being overrepresented in the informal sector, this not only puts them at a disadvantage during their working years, but also makes them more vulnerable to poverty in old age. Women tend to outlive men, but contribute less to pension schemes for the above-mentioned reasons. Although considerable progress has been made in advancing gender quality in education in Africa, girls still lag behind in secondary and tertiary education, which are key contributors to employability. Social protection can alleviate these inherent disadvantages by ensuring equal access to quality education for girls, providing care for children and the elderly, and greater access to productive processes (e.g., through the provision of child care, programmes aimed at skills enhancement, micro-enterprises development, access to credit, etc.). Moreover, many studies find that cash transfers in the hands of women, such as in case of South Africa described in this paper, are more effective in improving health, nutritional and educational outcomes for children. They have also been found to have a positive effect on women's social status within the community, self-esteem and ability to save. However, in such cases, caution needs to be exercized so that the transfers do not reinforce gender roles and stereotypes, whereby women are solely responsible for the well-being of the household and are not considered in need of paid employment.

Given the demographics of the continent, social protection must also facilitate the economic integration of youth. Over the next year, 11 million youth will enter the labour market every year in search of employment opportunities that match the impressive economic growth of many countries in the region. As many move from villages to cities in search of jobs, the lack of viable employment alternatives, coupled with weak access

[6]Deveraux (1999) describes informal safety net relationships as irregular, small-scale, in kind rather than cash-barter, or gifts of unprepared food or cooked meals, second-hand clothes and unpaid exchange of productive and reproductive labour. Dercon (2002) also studies household strategies for coping with risk, including informal insurance arrangements, which involve a system of mutual assistance between networks or communities.
[7]For more information on the Bolsa Família programme, see chapters 5, 6 and 7 of this report.
[8]Statistics South Africa, 2008.

to social protection, are forcing many young men and women to work for wages that keep them well below the poverty line, engage in subsistence farming or work for no pay in family business in order to survive. Currently, as many as two-thirds of youth in developing economies, including in Africa, are either without work, not studying or are engaged in irregular informal employment (International Labour Organization, 2013). Interventions aimed at creating better employment and entrepreneurship opportunities through skills enhancement, access to credit, job matching or job placements would facilitate the socioeconomic inclusion of youth, while increasing social cohesion and decreasing the possibility of youth engaging in radicalization processes and other negative social phenomena.

FIGURE 1
SOCIAL PROTECTION PROGRAMMES OVER THE LIFE CYCLE



Source: World Bank, 2012a, 5.

In the pursuit of sustainable development, where economic, social and environmental dimensions of development are achieved in synchrony, social protection has an important role. Social protection programmes increase people's resilience when facing a natural disaster or unforeseen emergency and can help level out the playing field for the disadvantaged. Social protection can also greatly affect the environmental agenda. For example, conditional cash transfer programmes can increase awareness regarding waste management and the use of natural resources. Furthermore, public work programmes allow people to shift from activities that deplete natural resources to ones that protect natural resources - for example, becoming forest rangers. In Ethiopia, one of the main objectives of the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP), which had reached more than 7 million people by 2009 (Subbarao and others, 2012), is to rehabilitate and improve the natural environment, with both cash and food. Indeed, analysis also shows that the PSNP helped to reduce the need for emergency welfare provisions during drought, relieve stress and insecurity, build assets and decrease reliance on environmentally-damaging coping strategies in time of stress (Perch, 2010). In Mali, the food-for-work and food-for-skills programmes, financed by the WFP, offer food payments to mitigate soil degradation and to develop agriculture lands in food-insecure areas (Monchuk, 2014). The WB also acknowledges that African countries increasingly recognize safety nets as important responses to climate change, as seen in Ethiopia's and Kenya's response to the droughts in 2011 and, more recently, in Mali and Niger. Public works are improving water management and reducing soil erosion in Ethiopia and Rwanda (World Bank, 2012b).[9] In South Africa, they are cleaning up and rehabilitating land and coastlines, while tackling invasive species and improving waste management. Both the Working for Water programme (Lieuw-Kie-Song, 2009) and the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP)

[9] *Another example of how social policy can help to protect the environment is Mauritius's subsidy for private households to purchase solar water heaters. Savings on energy bills have been estimated at US$1.3 million. See L'express mu, 2015.*

(South Africa, 2010) have contributed in different ways to a number of public goods while providing access to jobs and rebuilding natural systems that are crucial for resilience to climate change. Governments have also been successful in linking such efforts to expanding opportunities, particularly for women. The legacy of these efforts suggest a need and a capacity for social protection to do more than "protect", especially at a time when climate change and other forms of environmental degradation make protection all the more necessary.

This 'protective' role is indeed expanding and intensifying. Between 1991 and 2010, Mozambique experienced 50 climate-related events; Madagascar, 41; Namibia and Zimbabwe, 28 each; Malawi, 26; and South Africa stands out with 307. All of these countries averaged at least two events per year (Perch, forthcoming). Moreover, given the acute exposure and sensitivity of the agricultural sector and food production to changes in weather, it is worth noting the evolution of increasingly sophisticated social protection approaches for this sector since the 2000s. These efforts afford the opportunity of providing a bridge between humanitarian and more long-term development efforts. Food riots in Mozambique and the recent food security challenges of Malawi underscore the need for an expanded and more nuanced role for social protection in the context of sustainable development.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CURRENT STATE OF SOCIAL PROTECTION IN SELECTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Despite accelerated economic growth in many African countries in the last two decades, poverty levels are still high and disparities between Africa and industrialized countries in terms of human development remain significant. Economic growth, however, means that countries have more resources to fund social protection, which has proven effective in combating poverty. This has led to a consensus among African countries and international development agencies that now is the time to strengthen social protection in Africa (African Union Commission and others, 2011; Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, 2010).

The number of cash transfer programmes in Africa has risen from only a few in middle-income countries before 2000 to an estimated 120 in 2012. But not only has the number of programmes increased, so has their quality. Monchuk (2014) reports that social safety nets are evolving from fragmented, stand-alone programmes into integrated safety net systems, and from emergency food aid to regular and predictable cash transfer and cash-for-work programmes. Countries, such as Ghana and Kenya, are reforming their pension and health systems to reach those in the informal sector (World Bank, 2012b).

The African continent is home to 54 countries. This chapter focuses on 15 of these, the majority of which participated in the International Seminar on Social Protection in Africa (Dakar, Senegal, 8 and 9 April 2015). This group represents a diverse set of countries with different social and economic contexts, geography and cultures, and different stages of development and structural transformation.

These differences affect the kind of social protection policies and programmes that can be designed and implemented to address country-specific challenges. Disparities related to a multitude of factors persist within countries, including: the rural-urban divide; ethnicity lines; minority-majority status; geographical location; and gender. Captured by the gender inequality index, inequality in achievements between men and women in relation to reproductive health and political and economic empowerment, for example, remains high at 0.6 for Africa, compared to a global average of 0.4.[11] Furthermore, women tend to account for a disproportionate share of the poor in Africa. For example, in South Africa, there is a 48 percent probability of female-headed households being poor, which drops to 28 percent for households headed by men (Omilola and Kaniki, 2014).

Economic growth, however, means that countries have more resources to fund social protection, which has proven effective in combating poverty.

[10] *UNDP, 2014b.*

TABLE 1
BASIC ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INDICATORS IN SELECTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND BRAZIL

COUNTRIES	POPULATION*	GDP PER CAPITA*	HDI**		GINI*[b]	MPI**[c]	POPULATION BELOW INCOME POVERTY LINE (%)**		WB COUNTRY CLASSIFICATION[d]
	2013	2013	2013		2006-2012	2006-2012	2012[i]	2002-2012[i]	January 2015
	(thousands)	current US$	rank	HD level	value	%	PPP US$1.25 a day	national poverty line	Income group
Cape Verde	499	3,767.1	123	medium	43.8	-	-	-	lower middle-income
Cameroon	22,254	1,328.6	152	low	40.7	48.2	9.6	39.9	lower middle-income
Congo	4,448	3,167.0	140	medium	40.2	43.0	54.1	46.5	lower middle-income
Ethiopia	94,101	505.0	173	low	33.6	88.2	30.7	29.6	low income
Ghana	25,905	1,858.2	138	medium	42.8	30.5	28.6	28.5	lower middle-income
Libya	6,202	11,964.7	55	high	-	-	-	-	upper middle-income
Malawi	16,363	226.5	174	low	46.2	66.7	61.6	50.7	low income
Mali	15,302	715.1	176	low	33.0	85.6	50.4	43.6	low income
Mauritania	3,890	1,069.0	161	low	40.5	66.0	23.4	42.0	lower middle-income
Mozambique	25,834	605.0	178	low	45.7	70.2	59.6	54.7	low income
Niger	17,831	415.4	187	low	31.2	89.8	43.6	59.5	low income
Senegal	14,133	1,046.6	163	low	40.3	69.4	29.6	46.7	lower middle-income
Sudan	37,964a	1,753.4	166	low	35.3	-	-	-	lower middle-income
Zambia	14,539	1,844.8	141	medium	57.5	62.8	74.5	60.5	lower middle-income
Zimbabwe	14,150	953.4	156	low	-	41.0	-	72.3	low income
Brazil	200,362	11,208.1	79	high	52.7	3.1	6.1	21.4	upper middle-income

*Sources: *World Bank Indicators; ** Human Development Index (UNDP, 2014a).*
Notes:
a. Does not include South Sudan;
b. WB estimates. A Gini index of 0 represents perfect equality, while an index of 100 implies perfect inequality;
c. UNDP's Global Multidimensional Poverty Index;
d. Income groups are defined according to 2013 gross national income (GNI) per capita:
low income, US$1,045 or less;
lower middle-income, US$1,046-US$4,125;
upper middle-income, US$4,126-12,745;
high income, US$12,746 or more.

A country's capacity to implement social protection programmes is influenced by several factors, including the size of its population and economy, its level of human development and developmental stage. For example, Cape Verde, with a population of half a million people, may require a different approach to targeting the poor than Ethiopia, which has a population of 94.1 million people. Likewise, the financing capacity of Malawi, which has a GDP per capita of US$226, may differ from that of Libya, whose GDP per capita is US$11,964.70. A country with a high level of human development and institutional capacity, such as Libya or Brazil, can deploy conditional cash transfer programmes to ensure that there are linkages between poverty reduction efforts targeting the most vulnerable and continued improvements in the quality of services and development outcomes in areas such as health and education.

Income inequality needs to be looked at together with other socio-economic indicators to understand its implications. For example, Niger is the most equal of the group of countries in table 1 (its Gini coefficient is the lowest of all), yet it is at the bottom of the human development ranking list. Its per capita GDP is amongst the lowest – below US$500 – and almost half of its population lives in extreme poverty (i.e., a purchasing power parity of less than US$1.25 per day). To address widespread poverty, which spans different dimensions of people's lives, Niger might initially need to focus its social protection mechanisms on helping people address their basic needs, such as access to food and income, while long-term development strategies take root.

The African experience is abundant in examples of good practices related to social protection (see table 2 and Annex I at the end of this chapter). For example, one of the most acclaimed programmes in Africa is Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) - a hybrid programme combining cash transfers and public works. The PSNP has reduced poverty and increased food security in the short run while enabling asset growth in the long run. It reaches more than seven million people, or about 10 percent of the population, and oversees the implementation of about 34,000 small works projects per year. It also has an innovative 'graduation' scheme: a household from the PSNP cash transfer programme graduates when, without the transfer, it can meet its food needs for 12 months even while experiencing minor shocks. It is a good example of coordination across government institutions and between the government and donor agencies. After 30 years of emergency food programmes with little or no connection between them, the PSNP consolidated funds from donors in 2005, which the government then used to manage and implement the programme. All donors are represented on the government-chaired Joint Coordination Committee, which meets biweekly to discuss priority issues. The Food Security Coordination Directorate and the Natural Resources Management Directorate at the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development jointly implement the PSNP. The Ministry of Finance and Economic Development oversees financial management of the programme and disburses cash resources. These federal implementation arrangements are replicated in regions and subregions (*woredas*). Within the regions, the highest regional-level decision-making body for the PSNP is the regional council (Monchuk, 2014). In terms of operation, the PSNP has a single payment system for both components – cash transfers and public works – which increases efficiency and complementarity (Lieuw-Kie-Song, 2011). Efforts are also made to make the PSNP 'gender sensitive' by providing childcare at PSNP work sites, whereby one worker, paid the same as other participants, is appointed to care for the children (Omilola and Kaniki, 2014).

Social pensions are often directed at investing in education or improving food consumption at home, thereby contributing towards reducing the inter-generational transmission of poverty. This is particularly relevant for skipped generation households. In South Africa, women over 60 who are receiving social pensions report an improvement in their health status (Cain, 2009). This, of course, is primarily a desirable outcome in itself, as it can afford elderly women a better quality of life and greater opportunities to engage in social, community and even productive activities. Additionally, this can also help them fulfill their care-giving role within households. Cain (2009) highlights improved health outcomes for girls living with older women in South Africa. Girls in these households were approximately 3-4 cm taller than girls in households with older women who did not receive a pension.

Mauritius has established a non-contributory universal pension system funded by the state. It demonstrates that basic pensions for all are not only morally desirable, but also affordable and politically feasible in developing countries (Willmore, 2003). The programme is contributing significantly to a fast demographic transition, reducing income inequality and building social cohesion (David and Petri, 2013). The success of the Mauritius pension programme is embedded in a progressive economic, social and political policy agenda that includes: investments in free health care and education for all; widespread government ownership; reduced military spending; strong commitment to democratic institutions; and cooperation among workers, government and employers (Stiglitz, 2011).[12]

The Vision 2020 Umurenge Programme in Rwanda is a prime example of a social protection programme with a solid institutional background and good implementation. It has three core initiatives for delivering social protection to vulnerable populations: 1) public works utilizing the Ubudehe approach (traditional practices and cultural activities in which collective action is used to solve community problems); 2) a credit scheme; and 3) direct support. The programme is fully rooted in the national development strategy with strong central government support, a highly decentralized administrative structure and an innovative targeting system.[13] Such a programme also led donors to align themselves with the government's position, recognizing their role while avoiding fragmentation.

In Kenya, the Home Grown School Feeding Programme generates predictable demand for food from local markets. It also creates opportunities for communities to interact with school activities, raises the income of a significant number of small-scale farmers and increases employment in various communities. The government has delegated implementation to local school management committees, which are comprised of parents, teachers and other community members who are in charge of purchasing food from local farmers, cooperatives and traders (Langinger, 2011).

The Old Age Pensions programme in Lesotho shows that even low-income countries can provide regular non-contributory cash transfers to specific groups of the population through a harmonised and integrated pension system. Entirely home grown and financed, its estimated cost is less than two percent of GDP, which suggests that it is sustainable (Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, 2010).

In Ghana, the National Health Insurance Scheme reduces families' out-of-pocket spending by up to 50 percent. Service efficiency has also improved: the number of days that a regular patient spends in the hospital has been significantly reduced.

The Social Cash Transfer scheme in Malawi is exclusively community-based and among the most progressive targeted transfer programmes in the world. The Farm Input Subsidy Programme increased the number of food-secure households from 67 percent in 2005 to 99 percent in 2009 (African Union Commission and others, 2011).

In Niger, the Accountable Payment System for Safety Net Programmes has adopted a field-based verification payment system that uses smart cards to stream information directly to a database. International experience has shown that this system minimizes the time of the transaction process and maximizes the transparency and security of payments to beneficiaries (Monchuk, 2014).

Mali and Ghana are developing a pluralistic approach to building a social protection floor based on the synergy between the traditional mechanisms of social security and microinsurance and social transfers.[14] These mechanisms often already exist in a fragmented and sometimes competing fashion, but rarely provide a comprehensive framework for social protection. Combining traditional schemes with other public programmes fosters complementarities, instead of competition and fragmentation (Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, 2010).

Though conceived with the best intentions, some social protection programmes have yet to meet their mark. There are cases where regressive and ineffective subsidies benefited those least in need or failed to alleviate the vulnerability of poor people. In Cameroon, for example, 80 percent of the fuel subsidy benefits the richest 20 percent of the population. In Ghana, only two percent of the fuel subsidy reaches the poor and subsidized food is not usually consumed by the poor: only 8 percent of the rice subsidy is for the poor, while the non-poor make the most of tax cuts on imported food (Monchuk, 2014).

[12] For more on Mauritius's economic success, see Subramanian, 2013.
[13] The Vision 2020 Umurenge Programme (VUP) is led by the Ministry of Local Government, Good Governance, Community Development and Social Affairs (MINALOC) and supported by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINECOFIN). It uses the existing decentralization system and technical and financial assistance to accelerate the rate of poverty reduction.
[14] This corresponds to the ILO-UN Social Protection Floor (SPF) Initiative based on the principles of universality, progressiveness and pluralism. Vertically, SPFs strengthen guarantees for those in the formal economy; horizontally, they promote the right of all people to a minimum level of social protection.

TABLE 2
EXAMPLES OF GOOD SOCIAL PROTECTION PRACTICES IN AFRICA

COUNTRY	PROGRAMME	COMPONENTS
Algeria	Social Safety Net Programme	• Unconditional cash transfers • Public works (conditional transfers)
Cameroon	School Feeding Programme	• Conditional school feeding • Take-home rations for schoolgirls
Ethiopia	Productive Safety Net Programme	• Public works: conditional cash transfers and/or in kind food transfers (80 percent) • Unconditional direct transfers to those unable to work, such as children, the elderly, people living with HIV (20 percent) • Flexible delivery of food transfers: crisis response and monthly deliveries • Complementary packages of agricultural support (credit, investments and technical support)
Ghana	National Health Insurance Scheme	• Conditional and unconditional social insurance on access to health care[a]
	Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty	• Unconditional cash transfers
Kenya	Home Grown School Feeding Programme	• Conditional school feeding • Support for local farmers
Lesotho	Old age pensions	• Unconditional cash transfers
Malawi	Social Cash Transfer Schemes	• Unconditional cash transfers to ultra-poor and labour-constrained households • Community-based targeting mechanism
	Farm Input Subsidy Programme	• Agricultural conditional support: maize, tobacco or cotton packs
Mauritius	Universal Basic Pension Scheme	• Non-contributory, cash transfers and health services • Old age pension (increasing with age) • Disability pension • 'Survivor pension' (widows and orphans)
Namibia	Nutritional Support to Orphans & Vulnerable Children	• Conditional cash transfers
	Old age pension	• Unconditional cash transfers
Nigeria	In Care of the People (COPE)	• Conditional cash transfers
Rwanda	Vision 2020 Umurenge Programme	• Public works (conditional transfers) • Unconditional cash transfers (for those unable to work) • Conditional financial services (microcredit and training)
South Africa	Social pensions	• Unconditional cash transfers
	Child Support Grant	• Unconditional cash transfers
	Expanded Public Works Programme	• Public works linked to access to employment and delivering certain public goods (several are environmental)
Zambia	School Feeding Programme	• Unconditional provision of food to orphans and vulnerable children through community schools • HIV/AIDS education in schools • School-based agriculture pilot project (gardens)

Source: Prepared by the author.

[a]The Republic of Ghana's National Health Insurance Scheme is the only programme listed that involves social insurance financed by contributions from formal (and, to lesser extent, informal) sector workers and by government resources for those unable to contribute.

CHALLENGES AND POLICY OPTIONS FOR THE DESIGN, IMPLEMENTATION AND FINANCING OF SOCIAL PROTECTION

Countries in Africa face complex and interconnected challenges to improving their social protection framework: natural disasters, economic crises, high food prices combined with food insecurity, political instability and conflicts, climate-related shocks and epidemics. By March 2015, the WHO had identified more than 11,000 deaths from the Ebola virus alone in Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia (DuBois and Wake, 2015). Other statistics show that between 1980 and 2013, countries in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) experienced 731 disasters; eight of these seventeen countries experienced more than 50 events in 33 years (South Africa, 2014). Individually and collectively, these add to the already precarious conditions battering African societies. Often, environmental effects can serve as a multiplier of social and demographic disadvantages and unequal access to resources (such as land, etc.) can increase social needs.

The Ebola outbreak in West Africa affords a recent example of such complexities. It further exacerbated the already precarious situation in the region. In addition to the loss of lives and the suffering of Ebola victims and survivors, the economic and social costs of the epidemic were extended to those who have not been directly affected by the virus. Economic growth in these countries has slowed, businesses are closing, livelihoods are endangered, governments are redirecting their budgets towards recovery, and trust and social cohesion have been undermined.[15] Moreover, it has been suggested that the Ebola virus outbreak in 2014 can be linked to a combination of ecological and socioeconomic factors (Bausch and Schwarz, 2014).[16]

Social protection programmes, however, can help survivors and the community at large manage the shock in the short term, while longer-term structural interventions are established to address the root causes of the crisis and the institutional weaknesses that delay and affect response. For example, in the Ebola outbreak, cash transfers were used for livelihood creation and supplementary payments to health workers.

The primary challenges African countries face in the sustainable management of social protection programmes are related to financial sustainability, institutional capacity, targeting and the adaptability of these programmes to a more diverse set of issues, which go beyond income poverty. Regarding institutional capacity, there are four potentially problematic areas: 1) inadequate planning; 2) weak community participation; 3) lack of coordination; and 4) implementation.

TABLE 3
SOCIAL PROTECTION POLICY/STRATEGY IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES

IN PLACE	IN PROCESS/PLANNED	NOT REPORTED
Algeria, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Comoros, Congo, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa and Uganda	Angola, Benin, Cameroon, Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Lesotho, Nigeria, South Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo and Zambia	Central African Republic, Egypt, Eritrea, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Mauritius, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia and Zimbabwe

Source: World Bank, 2014, Annex 4.

[15]The fiscal cost of closing businesses is estimated at 4.7 percent of GDP for Liberia and 1.8 percent for Sierra Leone and Guinea. For 2014, the World Bank estimated a decline in GDP of 2.1 percentage points for Guinea, 3.3 percentage points for Sierra Leone and 3.4 percentage points for Liberia. UN Mission for Ebola Emergency Response, 2015.
[16]For more information on links between ecological and social factors and infectious diseases, see McMichael and Confalonieri, 2012.

Inadequate planning: More and more countries in Africa recognize that inadequate planning and the lack of a long-term vision on social protection limit their ability to set and achieve their goals. According to a World Bank report (2014), 24 of 49 surveyed African countries had social protection policies or strategies, 13 were in the process of adopting one and 12 did not report any (see table 3). What is more, planning rarely considers gender-differentiated impacts of poverty, deprivations and vulnerability. Placing more emphasis on girls and women in the planning process could make a significant difference for gender equity and have positive spin-off effects at the household, community and national levels.

Another common problem is the flawed monitoring and evaluation systems of existing programmes, and their regressive nature. Improved monitoring and evaluation mechanisms strengthen accountability and governance systems and provide feedback to help policymakers reinforce their social protection programmes. Malawi has adopted a community-based assessment mechanism, which is responsible for monitoring and assessing whether Malawi's Social Action Fund Project 3 is actually reaching the poor (World Bank, 2012a, 22).

Weak community participation: This is ultimately due to design failure. Although more and more social protection programmes are building support from the ground up, many still follow a top-down approach. Effective community participation, though, involves more than just listening to communities' opinions regarding a project or programme. The core of social protection consists of empowering communities to develop on their own. Weak community participation can lead to a mismatch between social demands and policy supply because the affected communities lack ownership in social protection programmes. According to Devereux, "comprehensive social protection is absent from most African countries not because of resource constraints, but because of a lack of political commitment – not only by governments but also by civil society, which, to date, has failed to prioritise social protection" (Devereux, 2010, 3). Community involvement in monitoring the implementation of social protection programmes, particularly at the local level, help to ensure that:

- resources are effectively and efficiently managed;
- elites do not siphon off resources;
- programmes reach the intended beneficiaries; and
- such programmes do not 'play favourites', which ends up polarizing communities.

Lack of coordination: Social protection programmes are complex, as they involve institutions and agencies at different levels of government – national, regional/provincial and local – and, in some cases, outside government. They require four types of coordination:

1 **Horizontal coordination across different government ministries.** For example, a conditional cash transfer programme that requires children to attend school and periodically visit a health clinic would demand coordination among the ministries of social development, education and health;

2 **Vertical coordination among national, provincial, municipal or district governments.** Lack of coordination between the non-contributory pension schemes offered by federal and local governments could create redundant targeting of beneficiaries. To avoid this, one of the most useful coordination tools is a social registry, which helps to identify beneficiaries, eligibility, enrolment, benefit payments and other delivery processes by using information compiled in one system. Cape Verde and Mauritius have institutionalized social registry systems, while Ghana, Kenya, Senegal and Lesotho are in the process of developing their own (World Bank, 2014);

3 **External coordination between governments and development partners.** This is particularly important in Africa where donor initiatives are commonly uncoordinated, sometimes working redundantly and in isolation from one another. Furthermore, they usually have no committed long-term funding and rarely have the effectiveness required. The European Commission recommends shifting away from donorship to partnership schemes in which development agencies work with governments that are implementing social protection programmes; and

4 **Coordination between private and public sectors.** In Mauritius, private-public sector coordination has been successful due to well-functioning institutions, broad political consensus, the constant search for new ideas, adaptability to new sectors of growth and protection of property rights (UNECA and African Union Commission, 2015).

Implementation: The design of social protection systems must be adapted to existing capacity (World Bank, 2012b). In post-conflict countries with nascent institutions that have very little capacity to deliver services, it may not be realistic to introduce complex social protection programmes that require decentralized government systems with extensive institutional capacity at all levels of implementation. To reach out to the poorest of the poor, for example, local authorities or governments must be able to identify target beneficiaries and provide them with adequate social protection services. Lacking the capacity to do so, governments are forced to outsource implementation to non-state institutions, including NGOs and private sector organizations.

Strengthening the implementation capacity of government institutions calls for interventions in institutional arrangements (e.g. systems, processes, procedures), knowledge (e.g. knowledge management, access to good practices in social protection), leadership (e.g. placing social protection programmes under the leadership of influential ministries and/or departments) and accountability (e.g. establishing regular evaluations, people-based accountability mechanisms, etc.) (UNDP, 2009).

Innovation frequently finds its niche in the implementation process, as it can help increase the efficiency of delivery. For example, Nigeria's conditional cash transfer for girls' education is testing payment via mobile phones. In Kenya, biometric systems are being introduced to improve both the registration of beneficiaries and the security of their payments. In Rwanda, safety net transfers are paid to beneficiaries' bank accounts in order to link poor households to financial services (World Bank, 2012b). Another potential innovation is the institution of a staggered payment calendar to avoid paying all beneficiaries at the same time and prevent them from falling prey to swindlers.

Chronic underfinancing and overdependence on donor resources in the social protection sector also need to be addressed. Resource-rich countries are increasingly able to finance social protection programs, whereas others, such as LDCs, LLDCs and some SIDSs, are still contending with financial sustainability. In the first case, Taylor (2008) argues that the problem is political and relates to issues of inadequate budget allocation to finance social protection – in other words, it is not an issue of lack of resources. In the latter case, countries depend on donors' resources (grants and concessional loans) to finance social protection. A report by the African Union (2010) acknowledges that ministries of social development often suffer from small remittances and budgets and, therefore, depend on donor resources, which weakens the financial sustainability of social protection programmes in such countries.

Additionally, overall expenditure on social protection programmes in Africa is not commensurate with the size of the problem. One study shows that Middle Eastern and North African countries' spending on safety nets as a percentage of GDP lags behind the world average (1.6 percent of GDP), while countries in other parts of Africa have considerably higher levels of spending (World Bank, 2014). Lesotho has the highest spending on safety nets, but is also the country that is most dependent on external sources of financing. Liberia, Sierra Leone and Burkina Faso also have high external dependency. Table 4 presents government spending on safety nets in 28 African countries.[17]

> The number of cash transfer programmes in Africa has risen from only a few in middle-income countries before 2000 to an estimated 120 in 2012. But not only has the number of programmes increased, so has their quality.

[17]Countries with no available data in the study are Algeria, Angola, Burundi, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Libya, Malawi, Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

TABLE 4
SPENDING ON SAFETY NETS AS A PERCENTAGE OF GDP

COUNTRY	SOCIAL SAFETY NET AS % OF GDP	LATEST YEAR	COUNTRY	SOCIAL SAFETY NET AS % OF GDP	LATEST YEAR
Benin	0.1	2009	**Mauritius**	4.4	2008
Botswana	3.2	2008	**Morocco**	0.9	2010
Burkina Faso	0.9	2009	**Mozambique**	1.7	2010
Cameroon	0.2	2009	**Namibia**	2.8	2011
Egypt	0.2	2010	**Niger**	0.4	2009
Eritrea	2.5	2008	**Rwanda**	1.1	2010
Gambia	1.0	2010	**Seychelles**	3.4	2012
Ghana	0.2	2012	**Sierra Leone**	3.5	2011
Kenya	0.8	2010	**South Africa**	3.4	2012
Lesotho	4.6	2010	**Swaziland**	2.2	2010
Liberia	1.5	2011	**Tanzania**	0.3	2011
Madagascar	1.1	2010	**Togo**	0.5	2009
Mali	0.5	2009	**Tunisia**	0.7	2011
Mauritania	1.3	average 2008–2013	**Zambia**	0.2	2011

Source: World Bank, 2014.

The successful implementation of the African social protection agenda will largely depend on the sustainability of its financing and the effectiveness of existing programmes. Overseas development aid will remain critical for countries in Africa to support this agenda, particularly in LDCs and in resource-poor countries, and at the early stages of structural transformation and institutional strengthening. However, to ensure its long-term financial sustainability, the social protection agenda needs to be firmly anchored in domestic resource mobilization through effective tax policies, savings mobilization and the use of other financing mechanisms.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the analysis of gaps and the strategies above, this section provides policy recommendations for countries to develop their social protection systems further. The primary factor informing development policies is context: no single policy is universally applicable. Each country's social protection system must be designed to suit its context, prioritize what requires urgent attention and sequence policy interventions to achieve the best results. To ensure a proper understanding of people's real needs, one must take note of the prevailing economic and social indicators, the political dynamics and political economy, internal and external alliances, social context and – most importantly – the local context. For example, conditional cash transfer programmes would not be suitable in post-conflict contexts where government institutions have been weakened by the conflicts and where needs are too great to demand action in exchange for support.

African countries can build on the current momentum in the region and around the world by adopting a more systemic and holistic approach grounded in human rights. This requires providing social protection to all people whose basic human rights are not being fulfilled. Carefully designed targeting methods enable governments to identify and reach the poorest and most vulnerable, especially those who are systematically marginalized and excluded. To target people who fluctuate around the poverty line, employing the life cycle approach is the most effective. It is essential to keep in mind that children are the most dependent on others and the elderly are frequently unprotected and prone to illnesses. Other social groups that are regularly exposed to adversities the most are women, indigenous groups and peasants. The relatively high share of Africa's population that lives in rural areas should receive special attention.

Non-contributory pensions offer some certainty for retirement for informal and agricultural workers who rarely have access to contributory social insurance (Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, 2010). In Africa, where 60 percent of the total workforce is engaged in agriculture (African Development Bank, 2014), social protection programmes need to be linked to the agriculture sector. While doing so, the framework developed by Dorward and others (2007) on types of social protection instruments should be considered:
(i) those providing relief, (ii) those averting deprivation and (iii) those that support resilience-building. Public employment programmes, for example, can employ farmers and peasants during the lean season and, at the same time, improve public infrastructure such as roads and dams - in other words, they provide relief and foster resilience-building. In a continent prone to natural disasters, such as the recent floods in Mozambique and Malawi, cash transfer programmes can strengthen people's resilience to shocks from natural disasters or economic crises.

More and more countries in Africa recognize the need to improve planning and develop a long-term vision on social protection. This vision should be embedded in a country's broader development planning and aligned with legislative frameworks (World Bank, 2012b, 54). Planning for social protection systems also needs to consider the connections among poverty, vulnerability, resilience to shocks and environmental protection. Moreover, systems need to build in some level of adaptability and flexibility to respond to the underlying causes and not the symptoms of deprivation.

Coordination across ministries (horizontal), between central and local governments (vertical) and between public and non-state actors (NGOs and the private sector) must be increased to avoid redundancy and overlap and to contribute to the more efficient use of resources and the creation of complementarities. Measures should be adopted to ensure government agencies timely access to up-to-date information about beneficiaries and share this information across different level of governments.

Robust democratic institutions, accountability and transparency are critical for making full use of social protection systems. Monitoring and evaluation are an essential part of any social protection system; community and civil society play a key role in this. In some countries, multidimensional poverty measures help to align social programmes to focus on specific targets or groups. Independent evaluations of social programmes allow actors to identify ways to improve, adapt and expand programmes and create synergies and complementarities.

Strengthening community participation is increasingly recognized as a strategy for ensuring that social protection programmes are designed to respond to people's development needs, are implemented effectively and reach the neediest. Community participation also promotes programme ownership and social cohesion in general. Beneficiaries of social protection programmes play an important role by providing feedback.

Developing institutional capacity for the implementation of social protection programmes requires improving policymakers' ability to make informed decisions. Investments must be made in knowledge, leadership, institutional arrangements and accountability at different levels of governments, particularly at the local level.

In terms of financial sustainability, experience shows that social protection programmes are affordable in developing countries. In Africa, the size of the challenge remains considerable. Efforts should be redoubled to increase financial sustainability by reducing dependency on donors and by strengthening countries' capacity to mobilize domestic resources, including through progressive taxation systems. Generalized consumption subsidies should be avoided or revamped, as they tend to benefit the rich more than the poor.

Social protection in Africa also calls for a shift from 'donorship' to partnership schemes of financial cooperation. This is particularly important in Africa, where many donors often operate without sufficient coordination and their actions rarely produce the desired outcomes. When donors, beneficiaries and governments work together on common goals, social protection programmes can generate ample gains for society. This shift will also help pool more resources for common goals and for the delivery of a package of services that respond to people's needs throughout their life cycle. Anchoring the proposed shift in approach, the substance and instruments in the new 2030 Agenda of 17 Sustainable Development Goals provide 21st Century social protection programmes with a better framework for development and progress and, ultimately, for transformation.

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COUNTRY	PROGRAMME	COMPONENTS
Algeria	Social Safety Net Programme (since 2009)	• Unconditional cash transfers • Public works (conditional transfers)
Cameroon	School Feeding Programme (since 1992)	• Conditional school feeding • Take-home rations for schoolgirls
Ethiopia	Productive Safety Net Programme (since 2005)	• Public works: conditional cash transfers and/or in-kind food transfers (80 percent) • Unconditional direct transfers to those unable to work, such as children, the elderly, people living with HIV (20 percent) • Flexible delivery of food transfers: crisis response and monthly deliveries • Complementary packages of agricultural support (credit, investments and technical support)
Ghana	National Health Insurance Scheme (since 2004)	• Conditional and unconditional social insurance on access to health care
	Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (since 2008)	• Unconditional cash transfers

GOOD PRACTICE	COST AND SOURCE OF FUNDING	COVERAGE, TARGET GROUPS, SIZE AND TARGETING MECHANISM	IMPLEMENTING AGENCY OR AGENCIES	MONITORING & EVALUATION SYSTEM IN PLACE
Unemployment was reduced from 30% in 2000 to 15.3 percent in 2005, and to 10.2 percent in 2009.[a]		The Flat Support Allowance provides aid to heads of household or people living alone with no income, with disabilities, or over 60; no age restriction for female heads of household with no income. 622,000 beneficiaries in 2009, of which 288,000 are people with disabilities and 272,000 are elderly persons. Activities of general interest: 270,000 beneficiaries		Yes[k]
Between the 1997-1998 and the 2000-2001 academic years, in the Extreme North, girls' enrolment jumped 313 percent, and in the North, 85 percent.[b] There was a remarkable 17% increase in the rate of primary completion, from 55.5 percent in 2007 to 72.7 percent in 2008.[a]		Primary school children in four northern provinces. School girls and other disadvantaged children in four northern provinces: 5.3 percent of all primary school children in the four northernmost (and poorest) regions[d]	WFP	Yes[l]
About 55 percent of beneficiaries confirmed that the programme had enhanced their real income, while around 50 percent declared that it helped them to avoid having to sell their assets during shocks. More children remained in school. The programme led to a reduction in the poverty level of more than 30 percent between 1998 and 2008.[a]	Approximately US$500 million. The government covers more than eight percent of the PSNP budget (about 1.2 percent of GDP), while nine donor agencies provide the rest. The European Commission makes the second largest contribution: a total of €160 million since 2006.[c]	In terms of coverage, PSNP is the only targeted safety net programme in Africa with broad coverage of food-insecure households on a national level. In total, in 8 of the country's 10 regions, 7.6 million people in 290 chronically food-insecure sub-regions receive support either via public works or in the form of direct support. Cash transfer benefits are equivalent to US$20 per person per year, or 10 percent of the basket used as the national poverty line for 2007-2008.[d]	Government, ECHO, UNICEF, WFP, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs	Yes[m]
It has enhanced access to health services and improved infant and maternal health.[a] Indigent people are exempt from the registration process. Coverage was created for very poor households to increase their access to health care.[d]		Universal access: As at June, 2009, about 67% of the population had registered with the programme.[f]	Government[b]	Yes[n]
This programme contributed to Ghana's success in meeting its poverty reduction target by 2015.[a]	US$20 million[e]	Monthly transfers from US$6.90 for one dependent up to a maximum of US$12.90 for four dependants. With the goal of reaching one-sixth of the extreme poor within five years, it provides cash transfers to households with orphaned and vulnerable children (OVC) and highly vulnerable elderly and disabled. It provided benefits to 26,200 households in May 2009.[a]	Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection[e]	Yes[e]

COUNTRY	PROGRAMME	COMPONENTS
Kenya	Home Grown School Feeding Programme (since 2008)	• Conditional school feeding • Support for local farmers
Lesotho	Old age pensions (since 2005)	• Unconditional cash transfers
Malawi	Social Cash Transfer Schemes	• Unconditional cash transfers to ultra-poor and labour-constrained households • Community-based targeting mechanism
	Farm Input Subsidy Programme	• Condicional support for agriculturet: maize, tobacco or cotton packs
Mauritius	Universal Basic Pension Scheme (since 1958)	• Non-contributory, cash transfers and health services • Old age pension (increasing with age) • Disability pension • 'Survivor pension' (widows and orphans)
Namibia	Nutritional support to orphans & vulnerable children	• Conditional cash transfers
	Old age pension	•Unconditional cash transfers

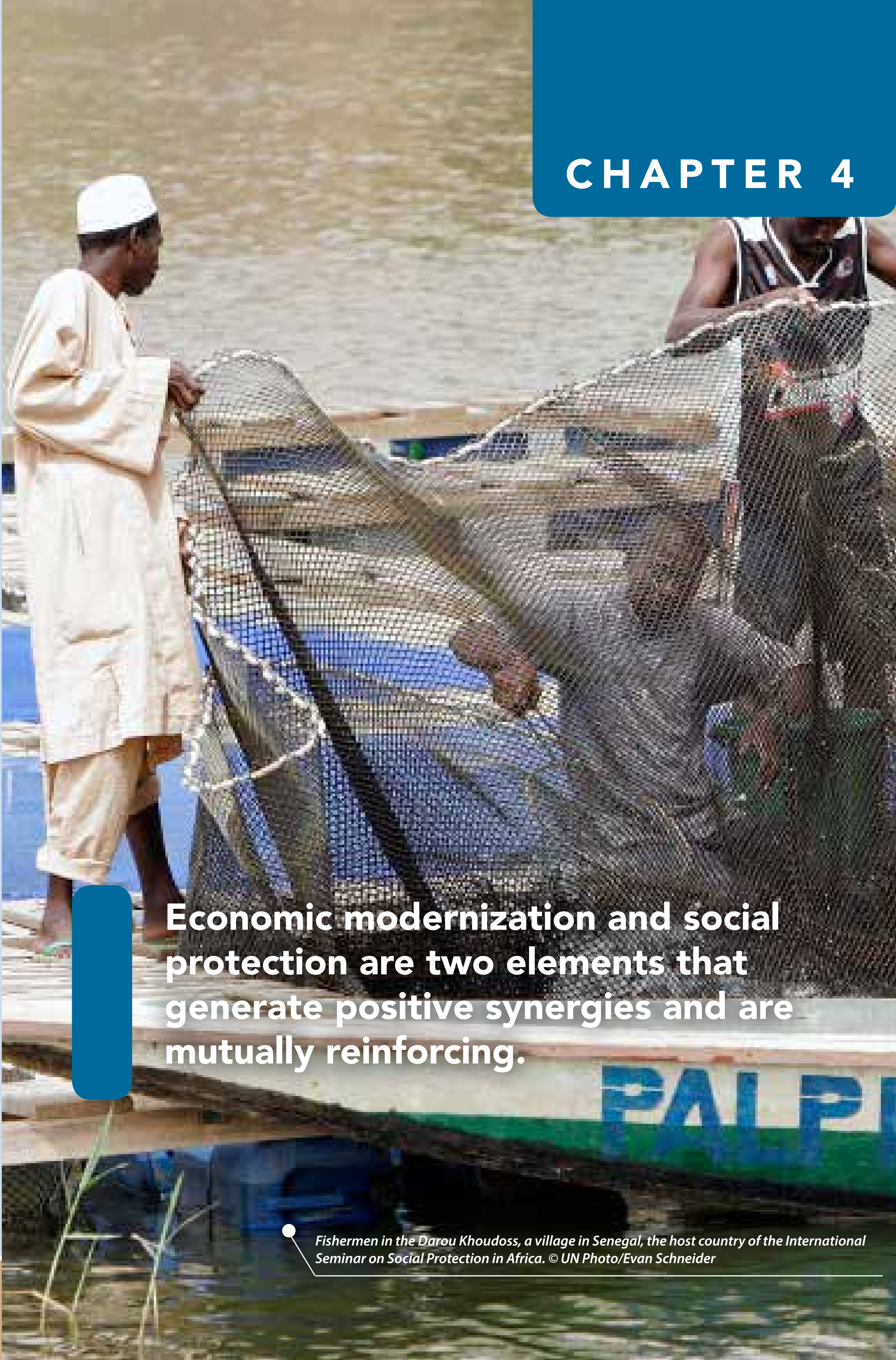
GOOD PRACTICE	COST AND SOURCE OF FUNDING	COVERAGE, TARGET GROUPS, SIZE AND TARGETING MECHANISM	IMPLEMENTING AGENCY OR AGENCIES	MONITORING & EVALUATION SYSTEM IN PLACE
The programme boosted local food production and increased children's dietary intake, learning capacities and school attendance.[a]	US$5 million[c]	500,000 students in 29 arid and semi-arid districts and two Nairobi slum areas[a]	Ministry of Education, in cooperation with WFP[c]	
Entirely home-grown and financed, the programme shows that even low-income countries can provide regular cash transfers to specific categories of people through a harmonized and integrated pension system. The only least developed sub-Saharan African country that provides universal, non-contributory pensions.[c]	Cost estimated at less than 2% of GDP[c]	Universal old age pension	Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, which has a special unit responsible solely for this programme[c]	
Targeting is community-based, even if the programme is run by government or other actors. Proven to be among the most progressively targeted transfer programmes in the world.		62 percent of the ultra-poor and the labour constrained[d]		
Substantially increased the number of food-secure households from 67 percent in 2005 to 99 percent in 2009, and per capita cereal consumption from 170 kg to 285 kg in the same period.[a]		Support smallholder farmers by providing access to two bags of 50 kg of fertilizer per year. Approximately 1.7 million smallholder farmers receive aid from programme[a]		Yes[o]
Together with Lesotho, one of the few examples of universal old age pension programmes in the developing world.[f]	1.98% of GDP in 2001[f]	Every resident over the age of 60; 113,051 pensions in 2001.[f] The monthly value of the pension increases with age: 60-89 years, US$86.60; 90-99 years, US$257.50; 100 years or older, US$292.3[g] Disability pension: for beneficiaries aged 15 to 59, with disabilities assessed at least 60 % and expected to last for a minimum of 12 months Survivors pension: for widows under 60, and an allowance for the first three children, full pension for orphans under 15 (20 years or under, if full-time student)	Government	Yes[s]
Reduced infant mortality rate and increased primary school enrolment and completion rates. It also reduced child mortality.[a]		160,000 orphans and vulnerable children in rural areas[a]		
Cash transfers increased household income and substantially contributed to poverty reduction and gender empowerment while improving health status (MDG 6) and school enrolment.[a]	In 2009, it represented 4.05 percent of total government expenditures and 1.36 percent of GDP.[a]	60 years and older. Beneficiaries of OAP and disability grants rose from 109,894 in 2003 to 130,455 in 2008, representing a coverage of about 82 percent of people aged 60 and older.		Yes[p]

COUNTRY	PROGRAMME	COMPONENTS
Nigeria	In Care of the People (COPE) (since 2007)	• Conditional cash transfers
Rwanda	Vision 2020 Umurenge Programme (since 2008)[c]	• Public works (conditional transfers) • Unconditional cash transfers (for those unable to work) • Conditional financial services (microcredit and training)
South Africa	State Old Age Pension (since 1993)[i]	• Unconditional cash transfers
	Child Support Grant (since 1998)[i]	• Unconditional cash transfers
Zambia	School Feeding Programme (since 2011)	• Unconditional provision of food to orphans and vulnerable children through community schools • HIV/AIDS education in schools • School-based agriculture pilot project (gardens)

[a] *African Union Commission and others, 2011.*
[b] *WFP, 2001a.*
[c] *Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, 2010.*
[d] *Monchuk, 2014.*
[e] *Handa and others, 2013.*
[f] *Willmore, 2003.*
[g] *Social Security Administration and International Social Security Association, 2013.*
[h] *Akinola, 2014.*
[i] *Woolard, Harttgen and Klasen, 2010.*
[j] *Elmi, 2014.*
[k] *Kpodar, 2007.*
[l] *WFP, 2001b.*
[m] *Arnold, Conway and Greenslade, 2011.*
[n] *Owusua and Gajate-Garrido, 2013.*
[o] *Chirwa, 2010.*
[p] *Levine, van der Berg and Yu, 2009.*
[q] *Economic Policy Research Institute, 2004.*
[r] *Delany and others, 2008.*
[s] *David and Petri, 2013.*
[t] *Dalinjong and Laar, 2012.*

GOOD PRACTICE	COST AND SOURCE OF FUNDING	COVERAGE, TARGET GROUPS, SIZE AND TARGETING MECHANISM	IMPLEMENTING AGENCY OR AGENCIES	MONITORING & EVALUATION SYSTEM IN PLACE
Increased women's consumption levels, thereby reducing their poverty level. The scheme, which targets women, was also found to have a positive impact on enrolment, school attendance and use of hospital facilities.[a]		As at 2009, Phase 1 of the programme had covered 8,850 households (44,250 individuals) with benefits ranging from US$10 per month for households with one child up to US$33.33 for households with four or more children.[h]	Government	
National strategy with three core initiatives to redirect social protection programmes to vulnerable populations: public works, the *Ubudehe* (traditional practice and culture of collective action to solve community problems); credit scheme and direct support.[c]		A three-in-one programme involving about 36,000 households. By January 2009, the transfer component had reached 6,800 households in 30 pilot districts.[a]	Ministry of Local Government, Good Governance, Community Development and Social Affairs[c]	
Reduced poverty headcount by 2.5 percent and the poverty gap by 5.1 percent.[a]		Monthly stipend of approximately US$166.00 for South Africans 60 years and above. As at 2009, it covered 2.4 million beneficiaries, representing 5.3 percent of the total population and 80 percent of the elderly.[a]		Yes[q]
Child support facilitated improved food baskets and nutritional status of recipients and their households, thus reducing stunted growth. This used to be a common phenomenon among the black population during apartheid.[a]		Poor children up to 18 years of age. Reached 8,765,354 children as at 2009. Each beneficiary was given a monthly stipend of R250 (about US$40). The programme represented 28.85 percent of all social grants in 2008. In 2011, it covered 20 percent of the total population and 70 percent of children.[a]		Yes[r]
Combines separate donor-driven school feeding programmes into government-owned and operated programmes.[d]		In 2014, 860,000 children in over 2,000 schools received meals at school on a daily basis.[j]	WFP, UN Capital Development Fund, UNESCO and Programme Against Malnutrition (PAM) in collaboration with government	

CHAPTER 4



Economic modernization and social protection are two elements that generate positive synergies and are mutually reinforcing.

Fishermen in the Darou Khoudoss, a village in Senegal, the host country of the International Seminar on Social Protection in Africa. © UN Photo/Evan Schneider

On the Path to Economic Emergence: Social protection in Senegal[1]

INTRODUCTION

To address current and future challenges and improve the standards of living of its citizens sustainably, Senegal has adopted an agenda for economic and social change as part of a long-term process geared towards achieving economic emergence by 2035.[2] To this end, the state has developed a vision of Senegalese society whereby its competitive economy is sustained by strong growth and a more even distribution of wealth throughout the country and an educated and skilled population is actively involved locally and nationally in a context marked by stability, democracy and good governance, as well as the dynamic and balanced planning of its territories.

The government is committed to implementing its vision of strong and inclusive growth through its economic and social development policy: the *Plan Sénégal Emergent* (PSE, Emerging Senegal Plan). The PSE aims to have a set of structural projects with strong employment, income and value-added components in place by 2023. The strategy for the intermediate stage, in 2018, concentrates on three strategic areas: (i) structural economic change and growth; (ii) human capital, social protection and sustainable development; and (iii) governance, institutions, peace and security. A number of reforms are required in order to execute the strategy and accelerate the structural change process - one that is capable of guaranteeing economic growth and ensuring that the country will reap its demographic dividend.

Senegal has opted for an innovative approach to development that emphasizes the interplay and positive influences between growth, social protection and governance. This paradigm shift breaks with the vision of economic emergence that turns growth into an end in itself and considers social protection merely as a sector that consumes the benefits of growth. The growth targeted by the PSE is "inclusive, strong and sustainable." Social protection is thus seen as an investment on a par with those in the economic infrastructure (see figure 1).

To achieve the desired increase in productivity, a skilled workforce is necessary. Therefore, while reaping the demographic dividend, the strategy focuses on promoting human capital by investing substantially in health care and education to improve service provision, on one hand, and in social protection, on the other, to address the issue of effective social demand and sustainability.

This increase in productivity must also be sustained by the modernization of the economy, which requires constant efforts to transition from the informal to the formal economy. Economic modernization and social protection are two elements that generate positive synergies and are mutually reinforcing. They are the building blocks of poverty reduction and the economic empowerment of the population, given that the elasticity of poverty reduction in relation to economic growth is still weak.

Senegal plans to adopt the Social Protection Floor Initiative, which aims to guarantee the poorest and most vulnerable better access to essential services and social transfers.

[1] *This briefing paper was prepared by Safiétou Ba Diop, Délégation Générale à la Protection Sociale et à la Solidarité Nationale au Sénégal (DGPSN, General Delegation for Social Protection and National Solidarity in Senegal), with technical inputs from Consultant Ibrahima Dia; Mariana Stirbu, UNICEF Senegal; Awa Wade Sow, PRODES/UNDP of the Ministère de la Femme, de la Famille et de l'Enfance (Ministry of Women, the Family and Childhood); and members of the Comité Technique du Comité Interministériel de Pilotage de la Stratégie Nationale de la Protection Sociale au Sénégal (Technical Committee of the Interministerial Steering Committee for the National Strategy on Social Protection in Senegal).*
[2] *Senegal, "Plan Sénégal Emergent 2014-2017", February 2014. Available from http://www.gouv.sn/IMG/pdf/PSE.pdf.*

FIGURE 1
PSE VISION ON SOCIAL PROTECTION IN SENEGAL

Source: Prepared by authors.

To consolidate social protection, the PSE focuses on strengthening social security for active and retired workers, improving the socio-economic conditions of vulnerable groups and extending social protection to the informal sector and to vulnerable groups through flagship projects. Such projects include the family security grants programme, universal health care, free health care, care for persons with disabilities and care for the elderly, among others.

This policy is being implemented in a context marked by a population growth rate estimated at 2.5 percent (MEFP/ANSD, 2013). Nearly two out of three Senegalese citizens are under 25 years of age and life expectancy at birth is 59 years. At this rate, the population nearly doubles every quarter of a century. Furthermore, the age pyramid shows that 84 percent of the population is either under 15 or over 65 years of age. This makes for a very high dependency ratio and a significant burden for the remaining 16 percent of the population, of which a significant proportion is unemployed (MEFP/ANSD, 2013).

This rapid population increase is, therefore, a major challenge for Senegal in terms of increasing human capital, productivity, income and living standards, and funding the provision of public services and the expansion of social protection coverage. Even so, the demographic window of opportunity now open for Senegal should lead to a "demographic dividend" whose effects will continue to be felt over the three to four decades to come.

Senegal plans to adopt the Social Protection Floor Initiative, which aims to guarantee the poorest and most vulnerable better access to essential services and social transfers. This strategy is being implemented via the *Initiative Nationale de Protection Sociale* (INPS, National Initiative for Social Protection)[3] for inclusive economic growth.

[3]The INPS is linked to the PRODES/UNDP (Programme de Renforcement des Dynamiques de Développement Economique et Social, or Programme to Strengthen the Dynamics of Economic and Social Development).

THE STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES BEING PURSUED IN THIS AREA ARE:

1 **to strengthen social security for active and retired workers** by reforming the institutional and legal framework for social security, restoring the income levels of certain categories of formal workers, improving social services and fighting social evasion;

2 **to improve the socio-economic conditions of vulnerable groups** by facilitating access to resources and factors of production; strengthening measures for the social reintegration of vulnerable groups; improving the access of people with disabilities to assistive devices; providing care for war orphans, people with disabilities and wounded soldiers; and consolidating and expanding social transfer mechanisms (family security grants, food vouchers, etc.); and

3 **to extend social protection to the informal sector and to vulnerable groups** by setting up basic *Couverture Maladie Universelle* (CMU, Universal Health Coverage) through mutual health organizations; improving targeting mechanisms (through the creation of a national unified registry, the *Registre National Unique* (RNU, National Unified Registry); establishing an information and monitoring and evaluation system; implementing the social orientation law for the protection of persons with disabilities; and extending free health care to vulnerable groups. The goal is to increase health care coverage from 20 to 75 percent by 2017.

Finally, although the prevention and management of risks and disasters involves a much broader range of sectors, social protection does cover a significant part of the problems. In fact, the support it provides at the individual and household levels via mechanisms related to finance, employment and insurance helps to prevent or mitigate the effects of natural disasters.

SENEGAL INTENDS TO PURSUE THE FOLLOWING STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES:

1 Prevent and reduce the risk of disaster by developing contingency plans at the national and regional level, promoting a culture of prevention and management of disaster risks, controlling major industrial accidents, putting an early warning system for natural hazards into place and making the transportation of hazardous materials safer;

2 Improve natural disaster management through the establishment of an assistance and insurance mechanism, the creation of an emergency response fund and by strengthening the capacity of those involved in civil protection.

Social protection systems currently face a series of common challenges, which indicates the need to adapt to the changing world of work, new family structures, as well as the demographic upheaval that is to take place in the coming decades. To these challenges, one must add the political governance reforms introduced by Act 3 of Decentralisation, which strengthens local governments' autonomy, supervisory bodies and accountability in the management of public funds.

To face these challenges, a process of reflection has been undertaken to update the National Strategy for Social Protection, which is based on this vision of an emerging Senegal. One of the elements of this process is the establishment of a framework for building synergies among the actions of different sectors in the area of social protection.

ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND CONCEPTUAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL PROTECTION

The expansion of social protection in Senegal is taking place in a highly complex economic and social environment. Senegal is still a lower-middle income country, with strong aspirations to achieve economic emergence by 2035. Its moderate real GDP growth rate from 2008 to 2013 was estimated at an average 3.3 percent (MEFP and UNICEF, 2015). The country's population is estimated at 13.5 million, with an average annual intercensal growth rate of 2.5 percent for the 2002-2013 period (MEFP/ANSD, 2013).

The country still faces a high poverty rate, estimated at 46.7 percent in 2011 (ANSD, 2013). Due to weak economic growth, continual population growth and the population's lack of capacity to cope with shocks, the absolute number of poor people continues to grow. In this context, social protection measures are essential, especially when one considers that current social protection coverage in Senegal is estimated at only 20 percent of the population (World Bank, 2013).

The Government of Senegal raised social protection to the status of a national development priority several years ago by elaborating and adopting the first National Strategy for Social Protection (2005-2015). Social protection is currently part of Pillar 2 of the Emerging Senegal Plan, which focuses on human capital, social protection and sustainable development.

In keeping with the national agenda for the reduction of poverty, inequality and social exclusion, the government is currently accelerating the construction of the national social protection system. In 2012, it established the *Délégation Générale à la Protection Sociale et à la Solidarité Nationale au Sénégal* (DGPSN) to coordinate the sector. Other measures include the launch of the *Programme National de Bourses de Sécurité Familiales* (PNBSF, National Family Security Grants Programme), the introduction of the CMU and the launch of free health care for children under five years of age in 2013. This structure is directly linked to the Presidency of the Republic, thus showing its political will to give priority to this issue.

The DGPSN has been building the National Unified Registry since 2013. This information and management system will be used as a tool for targeting low-income beneficiaries and vulnerable groups. It was elaborated on the basis of a unified questionnaire that reflects the concerns of all sectors on issues of poverty, vulnerability and socio-economic deprivation.

KEY RESULTS THE SOCIAL PROTECTION SECTOR HAD ALREADY OBTAINED FROM FLAGSHIP PROGRAMMES BY 2014 INCLUDE:

- the identification and registration of 150,000 households in the National Unified Registry;
- 98,881 vulnerable families benefitted from family security grants;
- about 50 percent of households receiving the family security grants were also beneficiaries of the mutual health schemes (DGPSN, 2015a).

CURRENT POLICY PRIORITIES FOR THE SOCIAL PROTECTION SECTOR IN SENEGAL ARE TO:

- update the National Strategy for Social Protection and adopt the social protection act;
- reduce poverty and inequality by scaling up flagship programmes: PNBSF, CMU, equal opportunity cards for people with disabilities and free health care;
- appropriate and use the National Unified Registry to target beneficiaries of social protection programmes and measures that are implemented by the sectors;
- enhance the educational, productive and technical capacities of vulnerable households; improve the socioeconomic conditions of women and youth; and promote empowerment;
- combat the feminization of poverty and reduce the impact of shocks on the most vulnerable groups;
- reinforce and expand social security in the formal sector and extend it to workers in the informal economy and rural workers;

[...continued on following page]

(cont'd)

- strengthen and streamline existing policies on the free provision of public services and implement regulatory frameworks and measures to improve their governance;
- promote the socio-economic inclusion and integration of people with disabilities through the implementation of the equal opportunities card;
- coordinate the interventions of different actors from the social protection sector to improve efficiency and impact.

FUNDING AND FISCAL SPACE FOR SOCIAL PROTECTION

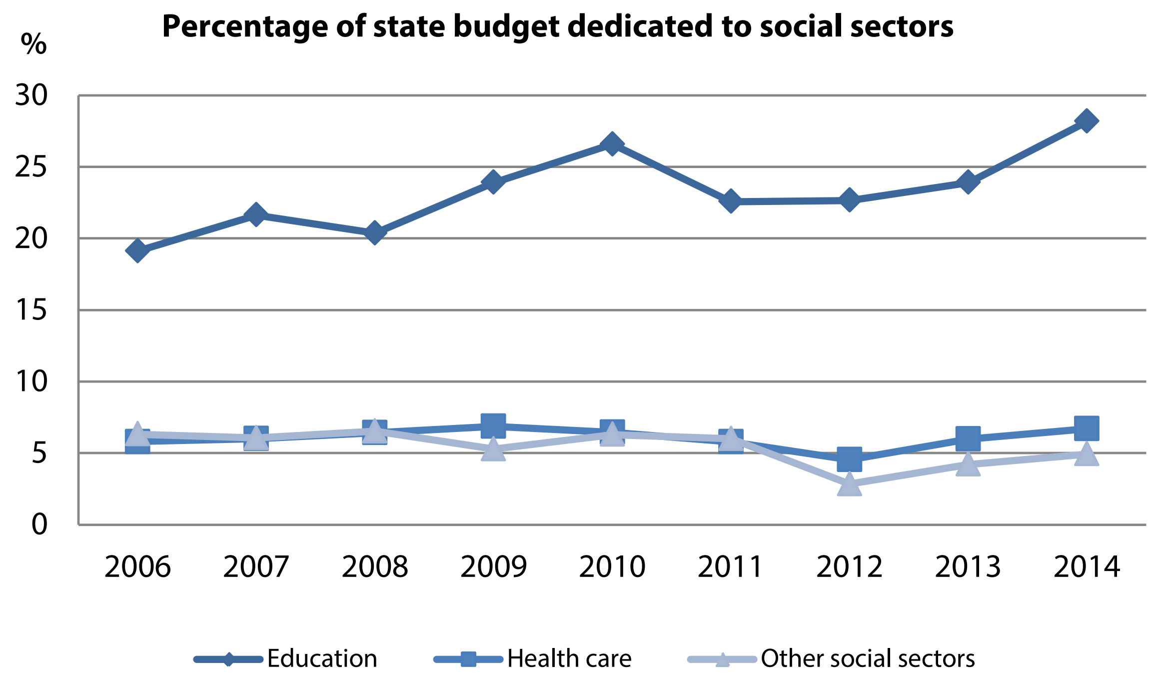
Funding social protection in Senegal is still a major challenge despite the government's ongoing efforts to increase funding for it. This is especially true in relation to its efforts to finance social assistance programmes and measures with public revenues. The 2014 Funding Act allocated 1.1 percent of total government expenditures to the social protection sector, namely the family security grants and free health care programmes.[4] Even though the government increased spending 41 percent from 2014 to 2015 through the 2015 Funding Act,[5] the level of funding for social protection remains very low. Hence the need for a progressive and sustainable funding strategy.

To put this level of funding for social protection into context, a recent analysis of social spending for the 2006-2014 period shows that public expenditure on social sectors (education, health care and other social sectors) rose from 416 to 877 billion CFA francs between 2006 and 2014. This amount accounts for 35 percent of the state budget on average.[6] However, the relative share of spending on social sectors other than education and health care – which includes social protection – in the overall state budget is still minimal: it amounted to a mere five percent in 2014. This social spending represents less than 7,000 CFA francs per capita per year - a figure that clearly falls short of meeting the needs of the poor and the vulnerable, so they may cope with economic and social shocks, and ensuring adequate investment in their human capital.

To consolidate social protection, the PSE focuses on strengthening social security for active and retired workers, improving the socio-economic conditions of vulnerable groups and extending social protection to the informal sector and to vulnerable groups through flagship projects.

[4] *These calculations are based on the proposed 2014 Funding Act. See: http://www.dpee.sn/IMG/pdf/loi_de_finances_2014.pdf*
[5] *These calculations are based on the proposed 2015 Funding Act. See: http://www.dpee.sn/IMG/pdf/loi_de_finances_2015.pdf*
[6] *These calculations are based on data from the MEFP/DPPE database (available from http://www.dpee.sn/-Depenses-sociales-.html?lang=fr), and MEFP and UNICEF, 2015.*

CHART 1
SOCIAL SECTORS' SHARE OF THE STATE BUDGET (2006-2014)



Source: Calculations are based on data from the MEFP/DPEE, 2015, and MEFP/UNICEF, 2015.

Senegal's Plan triennal d'investissments publics (PTIP, Three-Year Public Investment Plan) for the 2015-2017 period places a special focus on investments in social protection projects based on the strategic pillars of the Emerging Senegal Plan. It also demonstrates the consistency between the investments planned, on one hand, and the sector-based goals and lines of action and development objectives, on the other. The three-year plan foresees a significant increase in public investment in actions to set up and operationalize the PNBSF between 2014 and 2016.

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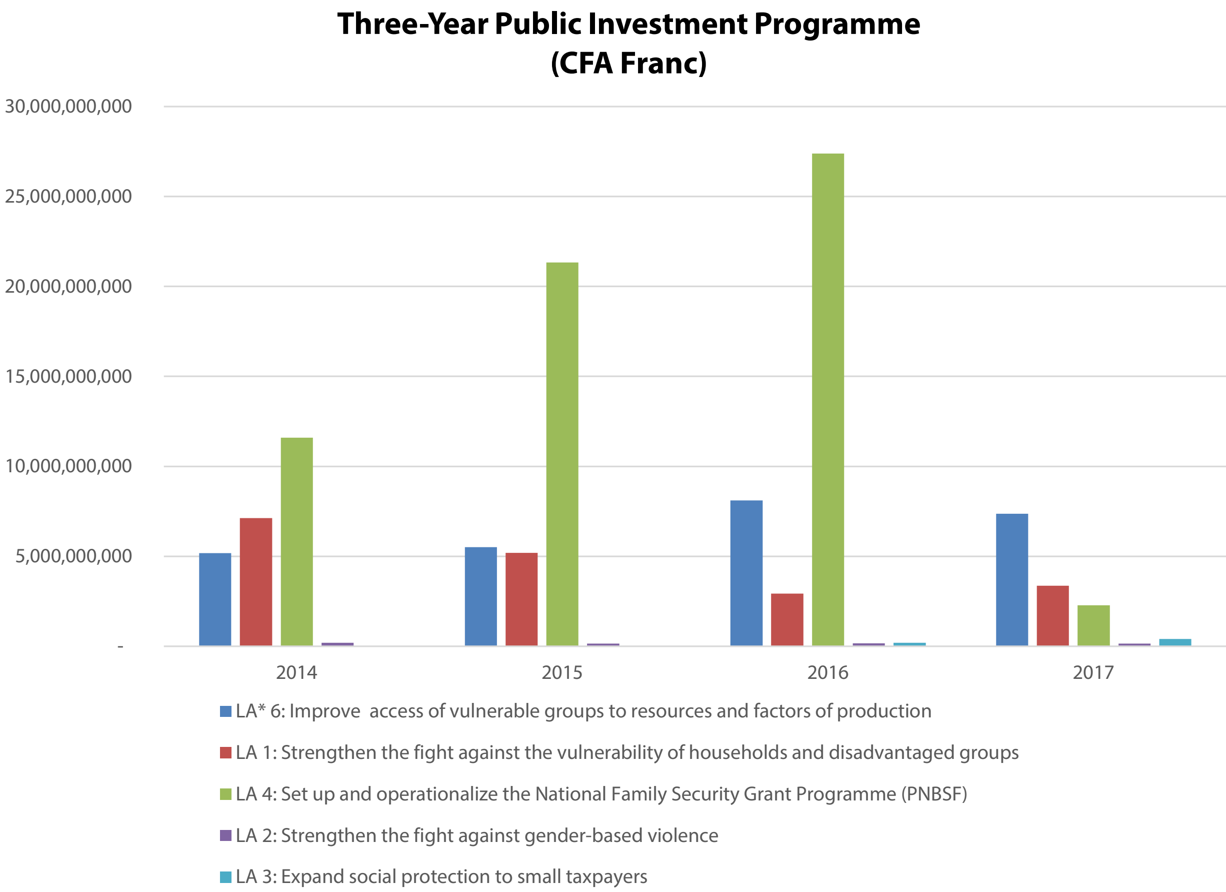
CHART 2
PUBLIC INVESTMENT IN SOCIAL PROTECTION



Source: Calculations based on data from the MEFP/DGPPE/UCSPE, PTIP.
*Note: *Line of action*

The Government of Senegal plans to expand the fiscal space for funding social protection, especially for flagship initiatives such as the PNBSF, CMU and retirement pensions. It is worth recalling that fiscal space refers to the leeway (or "freedom" to manoeuvre) the government has to increase the absolute or relative volume of resources dedicated to a particular use, such as social services and transfers. This extra fiscal space can be created by increasing tax revenues, internal or external borrowing, and external grants; or by rearranging spending priorities to put the most urgent needs first.

In early 2014, the DGPSN launched a complex consultation process on the need for a sustainable funding strategy for social protection. The DGPSN also initiated technical work to identify options for expanding fiscal space to finance flagship social protection measures, such as increasing public revenues, reallocating spending, developing innovative funding solutions, etc. Furthermore, funding for social protection will be ensured by the *Caisse Autonome de Protection Sociale Universelle* (Autonomous Fund for Universal Social Protection).

SOCIAL PROTECTION POLICIES: CONCEPTUAL AND OPERATIONAL ASPECTS

Social protection policies are managed by the DGPSN, which was established in 2012 to guarantee better coordination, steering and leadership of the sector based on the vision that aims to build a social protection floor in Senegal. The DGPSN is also to provide social protection sectors and programmes support on conceptual frameworks, targeting mechanisms and tools, monitoring and evaluation systems and tools, and other operational elements. Finally, it is to contribute to the strengthening of different sectors' capacities to design and implement social protection programmes and measures.

The DGPSN has established a National Unified Registry to serve as a reference for targeting poor families. Its purpose is to reduce duplications and inefficiency and thus ensure a gradual improvement in social protection coverage. The low level of social protection coverage is a challenge that can be overcome through coordinated action and greater consistency among targeting tools.

Currently, some of the existing state-run social protection programmes are limited in terms of their coverage, management, the effectiveness of their targeting and their ability to respond to shocks. Only 16.6 percent of people over 65 years of age receive a retirement pension and approximately 5.5 percent of workers are covered by insurance for work-related accidents and diseases. Family benefits are provided for only 13.3 percent of children under 15 years of age. The limited coverage of social protection programmes at the national level is accompanied by weak management, despite the need for a cross-cutting approach to social protection. As a result, most experiences are still limited and have no real national scope, and the country has no sustainable mechanisms to tackle the poverty and vulnerability that affects a large part of the population.

Since 2013, Senegal has been implementing the PNBSF, which seeks to improve the living conditions of 400,000 poor households by 2017. Even in its pilot phase, the PNBSF was launched at the national level and already provided coverage to 50,000 beneficiary households. The PNBSF combines three targeting approaches. First, it uses a geographical approach to gather data from the poverty monitoring survey in Senegal in order to determine the quota of beneficiaries for each geographic unit. It then adopts a community-based approach, in which the quotes are validated by targeting committees. Finally, it employs the category-based approach to assign a score (using 18 variables) to data from the unified survey, which supplies information to the National Unified Registry's database on poor families.

GOVERNANCE OF THE SOCIAL PROTECTION SECTOR

The Interministerial Steering Committee for the National Strategy for Social Protection is co-chaired by the DGPSN and the *Ministère de l'Economie, des Finances et du Plan* (Ministry of Economy, Finance and Planning). It coordinates and makes decisions on the social protection sector's priorities in relation to the establishment of a social protection floor in Senegal. The committee holds two statutory meetings a year to discuss progress in and challenges to the sector's development together with all sectors, civil society and technical and financial partners.

ITS MISSION IS:

- **to ensure better coordination of social protection interventions through collaboration with technical and financial partners and all other actors;**
- **to propose a consolidated system of social safety nets with efficient and effective institutional tools;**
- **to capitalize on experiences currently underway in the country;**
- **to launch common approaches to targeting, defining priorities, and monitoring and evaluation;**
- **to identify responses to shocks and sources of funding;**
- **to prepare concrete proposals for decision-makers;**
- **to make recommendations for the strengthening of the social protection system to the government;**
- **to help promote social dialogue;**
- **to define a policy to improve social protection for workers in the informal economy and the agricultural sector; and**
- **to coordinate the updating and implementation of the National Strategy for Social Protection.**

Established as a priority of the Emerging Senegal Plan, the social protection sector undergoes strict joint annual reviews. During the reviews, the sector's achievements and challenges are presented using frameworks to measure results linked to the development goals affirmed in the country's national economic policy. Based on the Senegalese experience, a number of recommendations emerge that could also be relevant for other lower middle-income countries in Africa and in the South (see box on next page).

RECOMMENDATIONS

• Build the social protection floor gradually and in line with the country's economic development and social demand;

• Ensure adequate coverage of social protection and basic social services to children and youth in order to take advantage of the country's demographic dividend in the medium and long term by investing in a healthy, educated and trained workforce capable of being integrated into economic production;

• Guarantee an adequate level of sustainable funding for social protection in line with demand and official targets;

• Identify innovative sources of funding in order to gradually increase funding for the social protection sector;

• Recognize social protection as an essential economic investment by strengthening human capital for inclusive and high quality growth;

• Ensure that the law on social protection gets elaborated and adopted;

• Ensure that sectors appropriate and use the National Unified Registry as a targeting tool for social protection programmes and measures designed for the poorest and most vulnerable population;

• Equip implementing agencies with the human, technical and financial resources needed to conduct the programmes;

• Provide the social protection sector with monitoring and evaluation mechanisms and tools to improve planning, budgeting and the evaluation of performance and results in terms of reducing poverty and inequity; and

• Ensure that local governments have a sound understanding of social protection, appropriate it and are involved in the implementation of social protection programmes.

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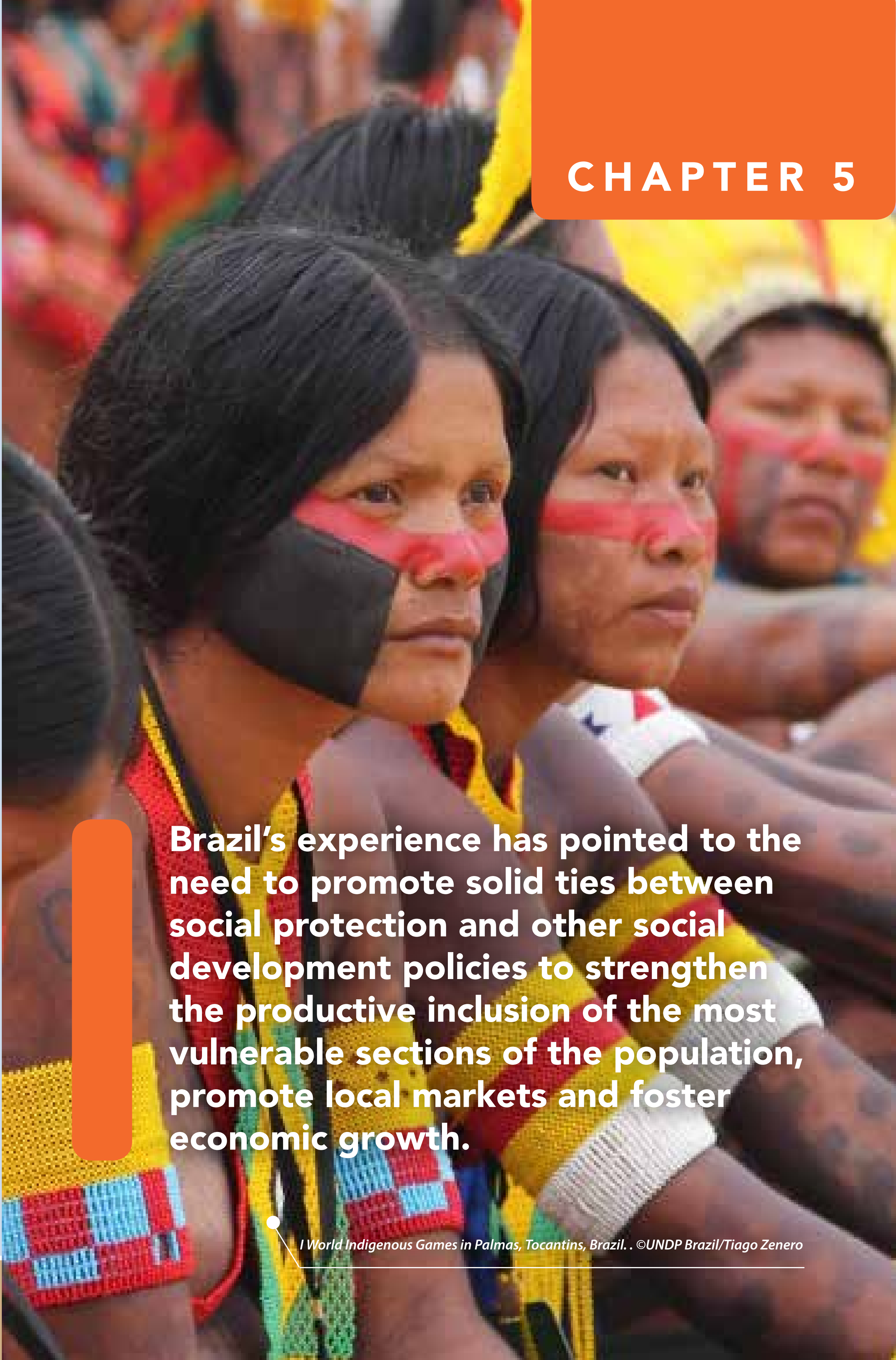

CHAPTER 5

Brazil's experience has pointed to the need to promote solid ties between social protection and other social development policies to strengthen the productive inclusion of the most vulnerable sections of the population, promote local markets and foster economic growth.

I World Indigenous Games in Palmas, Tocantins, Brazil. . ©UNDP Brazil/Tiago Zenero

Social Protection and Social Development: The recent experience in Brazil[1]

INTRODUCTION

The concept and the organization of social protection in Brazil underwent profound change in the late 1980s. Up until then, access had been restricted to specific sectors of the population that held permanent ties to employment in the formal sector. With the democratic Constitution of 1988, social protection came to be recognized as a public responsibility, and social rights were extended to all Brazilians. In the past twelve years, advances continued to be made, namely with the increase in the Brazilian state's responsibility in the fight against hunger and poverty. Brazil constructed a complex social protection system anchored in the development and articulation of different social policies. Policies were developed in the areas of guaranteed income and the provision of health care and social assistance services (and education) to ensure access to decent living conditions and opportunities, and to combat poverty and social vulnerability.

This chapter provides a brief overview of the organization of social protection in Brazil and presents the processes and initiatives developed in the past decade to extend the right to protection to sectors of society marked by greater social vulnerability. Known for the poverty they face, these groups lacked protection from the state and had difficulties in accessing fundamental social rights - a situation that demanded new forms of action from public authorities. In this chapter, we will discuss the main provisions, the underlying assumptions and the principles of the social protection system, as well as its recent evolution and the challenges it has faced.

SOCIAL PROTECTION AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: DEFINING CONCEPTS

Social protection can be defined as a set of public or state-regulated initiatives for the provision of social services and benefits that aim to address situations of risk and social deprivation, and offer basic levels of well-being and opportunities. From the 19th Century on, social protection systems were progressively built through the establishment of public health care and social assistance services, as well as cash benefits in the form of social security, pensions and cash transfers. The linking of these services and benefits to a system of legal obligations established legal guarantees for their provision and even gave rise to new rights in the public sphere: social rights. When connected to social development actions and programmes through the integration of social policies and productive inclusion measures, social protection promotes not only a collective approach to tackling risks and vulnerability, but also the strengthening of local markets and the incorporation of more vulnerable segments of the population into better opportunities and the dynamic sectors of the economy.

When social protection is understood as a public responsibility, it alters the terms of the debate and favours the construction of alternative ways of living in society and alternative forms of public action. Three points can be highlighted here. First, the idea of protective guarantees weakens the debate on individual responsibility, as such guarantees ensure minimum levels of basic goods for survival and the basic care needed to overcome vulnerabilities related to health, food, life cycle, coexistence and social contingencies. Secondly, it redefines the terms of debate on economic growth. It questions the capacity of the economy - even when it is growing - to generate wealth that spreads throughout society, fosters development and guarantees security and well-being. Thirdly, while raising these questions, it also offers mechanisms of support, prevention and social promotion. It is worth recalling that as a public responsibility, social protection involves the recognition of standards of equality that go against hierarchies, discretionary decisions and inequalities, and that promote social cohesion and development.

Therefore, demands for security and well-being pose a major challenge for society and the state in political, social and economical terms. Social protection is the result of public efforts to create a field of solidarity that offers guarantees in terms of income and services in order to respond to basic needs and support the development of capacities and opportunities. Moreover, it represents the conviction that poverty and development are incompatible and that this incompatibility must be overcome in order to guarantee each citizen the opportunity to participate fully in society.

[1] This paper was written by Luciana Jaccoud, Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada (IPEA) and Maria Luiza Amaral Rizzotti, Universidade Estadual de Londrina

Nonetheless, it is worth recalling that in many countries in the southern hemisphere - including Brazil - it took time to mobilize public debate on the issues of poverty, basic needs and human development and to organize actions on social protection (Draibe and Riesco, 2011). Poverty was largely understood as a sign of backwardness and a remnant of the past (Telles, 2001). For decades, many countries in the South convinced themselves that poverty would gradually be reduced as progress and economic growth advanced. Viewing poverty as an inheritance and building the economy as the main project to be undertaken led to the development of approaches that were resistant to grounding the discussion in social issues in ethical standards, principles of justice or notions on rights or dignity. Poverty continued on as a persistent liability, the consequence of bad weather or calamities, or with the promise that modernization would eliminate it in the future.

Since the late 1990s, however, poverty has assumed an unprecedented place in the public policy agenda in developing countries. This gave rise to a new generation of programmes, which have increased the scope of social protection and obtained significant results. Yet, even here, the social debate has become quite complex. As discussed in a wide range of publications, social policy is not meant to only fight poverty, nor can it be understood as the only instrument for fighting poverty. Both of these arguments are worth exploring in more detail.

In regards to the first, it should be recalled that social policy generally has a broader scope and within that scope, eliminating extreme poverty, promoting social security to address vulnerability, and broadening opportunities for human development and inclusion in production are only some of the key policy objectives in this area. Achieving these objectives requires coordination among specific policies or measures that aim to generate equal opportunities for all, reduce inequality and promote mobility and social cohesion. The second argument highlights that policies to fight poverty and inequality are part of a broader development plan, which is based on equality. This plan involves adopting complex strategies to tackle, for example, unfair land ownership relations, precarious working conditions or situations where rights are guaranteed for some citizens but not others. The lack of rights for the poorest can reveal (or even establish or reinforce) standards of modernity that constantly recreate inequality, including unequal access to public benefits and services.

Based on this perspective, the possibility of strengthening the dialogue between society and the state should be explored in order to make the objectives of fostering social and human development, tackling poverty and situations of need, reducing inequalities and promoting better opportunities and living conditions concrete. Similarly, stronger linkages should be built between social protection provisions and measures to improve income opportunities, labour productivity and the economic inclusion of workers engaged in precarious and low-income activities.

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MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL PROTECTION SYSTEMS

The organization of a public social protection system is characterized by features and objectives that distinguish public action from other initiatives developed by private and/or philanthropic entities. In a public social protection system, services and benefits are offered by the state on a permanent basis with the goal of obtaining results that have been previously defined and agreed upon. That said, temporary public initiatives marked by volunteerism - and even improvisation or clientelism - have been part of the experience of many countries. The establishment of social policies anchored in formal guarantees and rights requires replacing temporary and discretionary actions with standards of intervention and supply based on clear objectives and strategies and implemented on a continual basis in order to attain planned public goals. Even though temporary actions can be important and generate considerable results in certain contexts and situations, they cannot be a substitute for stable, long-term public action.

In the approach adopted here, social protection systems involve the primacy of public responsibility in the regulation, coordination or provision of benefits and services. The reference to rights is particularly important when social action is directed towards populations with high levels of vulnerability: in the absence of a rights-based framework, there is a risk that social assistance will exacerbate, or even be organized according to, arbitrary moral or behavioural judgements that are contrary to the principles of impartiality and social justice. In fact, when social protection is not grounded in citizenship, the risk of "naturalizing" inequality - or even blaming users for their situation - is greater.

Examples of "permanent" (as opposed to temporary) social protection policies include social security programmes, pensions for the elderly, public health care and social assistance services, non-contributory cash transfer programmes and food and nutrition security interventions. Despite their recent appearance in Latin American countries, conditional cash transfer programmes have made considerable progress. They have managed to integrate social sectors that, until then, had been excluded from income-related social protection programmes and had limited access to health and education services.

The conditional cash transfer programmes helped intensify the debate on social protection. Their positive impacts on the living conditions of the poorest indicated that certain targeted actions can effectively strengthen universal policies implemented by the state (Ximenes, 2014; Ximenes and others, 2014). Contrary to when the debate began, few people today appear to accept the idea that targeted policies are an adequate substitute for universal policies in terms of satisfying aspirations of well-being. The current debate concentrates on how targeted policies can better contribute to strengthening the capacity to promote equality and universality (Jaccoud, 2013).

To guarantee the implementation of these services and overcome the challenges they raise, management processes and models must be built and institutional capacity for planning, evaluating and implementing continual, long-term, basic social policies must be developed. The establishment of universal unified systems with decentralized operations encourages actors to improve the management of social policies, as it stimulates them to search for ways to expand, integrate, guarantee and assume responsibility for service provision throughout the country.

Successful management of social policies also depends on managers' ability to perceive the real needs of the population and to monitor the implementation process and its results. Modern, agile information systems should identify both aspects that are common among beneficiaries and those related to specific realities. Furthermore, planning plays an increasingly essential role in bringing improvement to social policies and helps to raise the technical and professional profile of those in management.

Social protection also requires adequate public financing to meet the different demands. Special funds have to be set up, which allow for: (i) the identification of the amount of resources allocated to social protection; (ii) the use of these resources by different social policies with autonomy, but always in accordance with planning; (iii) the maintenance of a professional technical team; and (iv) the adoption of transparent accounting tools and controls on social spending.

Another premise of social management is the democratization of public management. It is necessary to adopt mechanisms to broaden social dialogue by incorporating representative civil society organizations into participatory and decision-making bodies such as councils and management commissions. In light of management's political dimension, the free flow of information is also required, as is the possibility of modifying public structures in order to make them more open to social control and capable of recognizing the beneficiaries of social protection policies as collective and political subjects with rights. The adoption of a participatory model can strengthen management capacity, especially when a range of actors - namely beneficiaries and management commissions - are involved.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL PROTECTION IN BRAZIL

Over the last 25 years, Brazil has been forging a new path for social protection. Attempts are being made to improve upon the characteristics of public action in the past, which was configured according to a segmented model. In this model, on one hand one found social security ensuring the rights of workers in the formal economy to decent income and health services. On the other, there was a proliferation of short-term actions targeting the poorest classes: the provision of milk and basic food baskets, job search support services, occasional cash benefits and other benefits in kind such as clothing, blankets, building materials and others.

Anchored in the 1988 Federal Constitution, social protection in Brazil was reorganized into three main policies based on a social rights approach: social security (contributory urban pensions and semi-contributory rural pensions), health (universal provision of health care services) and social assistance (services and income benefits for those in need). Operating with a significant volume of financial, human and institutional resources, these policies offer the various services that form the basis of Brazil's social protection system: guaranteed income provisions, universal services and policies targeting specific sectors of the population.

This political and institutional arrangement has had positive impacts on a series of social indicators and contributed to the strengthening of sustained economic growth over the last 10 years. It also played a key role in maintaining income levels and basic living conditions in the context of economic crises (Fonseca and Fagnani, 2013). Moreover, it was capable of overcoming a pattern where social programmes were marked by fragmentation, volunteerism, temporariness and, at times, improvisation and clientelism. Replacing provisional measures distributed unevenly throughout the country and with irregular frequency with the stable, long-term provision of professionalized services and benefits that are the same in all regions and linked to quality standards and results has been both the objective and the challenge of Brazil's recent efforts in the area of social protection.

The institutional organization of social protection

The establishment of consolidated social protection systems is the fruit of a long journey - one that is not without difficulties. Even so, progress in Brazil can be attributed to certain characteristics, namely:
(i) the widespread provision of benefits and services, with commitment to universalizing the access of the target population; (ii) shared responsibilities and the coordination of intergovernmental action; and (iii) being anchored in social rights.

The organization of social protection reflects the country's federal structure.[2] The federal government is responsible for the guaranteed income policies implemented via contributory and non-contributory programmes, which seek to respond to the dual challenge of substituting and supplementing income. Health and social assistance services, on the other hand, are organized as nation-wide systems in which the efforts of national, state and municipal governments are articulated via pacts and federative coordination mechanisms.[3] The latter establish management arrangements and ensure that services are provided in a continuous manner and according to certain minimum standards. Also, the initiatives that aim to increase equality and target specific sectors of the population have been developed by all three levels of government, but under the leadership and coordination of the federal government. The federal government has been coordinating efforts to address situations of inequality that have been recognized and identified as a national priority.

Social protection in Brazil is organized, then, into three main lines of action: the provision of cash benefits directly to families; universal services offered on a continual and regular basis; and actions to reduce inequalities affecting specific social groups (Jaccoud, 2013). All three are grounded in social rights and respond to state responsibilities established in the Constitution and to provisions laid down in legal norms in effect at the national level. The proposal and

[2] Brazil is a federal republic and is divided politically and administratively into 26 member states, a federal district and 5,570 municipalities. It has a population of 204 million inhabitants.
[3] The organization of the education policy is also based on pacts and collaboration among the different levels of government. The government is preparing to create a national educational system, as determined by Constitutional Amendment 59/2009.

implementation of social policies and government programmes are bound by the size of the state apparatus and the financial resources available. They also depend on the establishment of management structures, including regulations, objectives, monitoring systems, instruments of control and public resources that are clearly set aside for these purposes. Moreover, they rely on social dialogue, which allows society to both discuss and have access to the objectives and results of these policies.

Provisions of the Brazilian social protection system

The 1988 Federal Constitution was a landmark in the development of social protection in Brazil. It expanded the right to coverage, which led to the gradual inclusion of new sectors of society in the system, and enhanced the system's distributive nature. It created the category of the "specially insured party" to promote the inclusion of rural workers.[4] The country adopted its first non-contributory cash transfer scheme: the *Benefício de Prestação Continuada* (BPC, or Continuous Cash Benefit Programme). The BPC provides a monthly income to all elderly people and people with disabilities who are living in poverty and unable to work. These were important milestones in increasing social protection standards in Brazil in the area of guaranteed income, which had been traditionally associated with social security.

In 2003, the Brazilian social protection system began to offer a new cash transfer benefit to families living in poverty: the *Programa Bolsa Familia* (PBF, or Family Allowance Programme). The guaranteed income system has been consolidated and is now organized as a set of contributory and non-contributory benefits that have major impacts on family incomes and the Brazilian economy in general. The contributory benefits are under the responsibility of the *Ministério da Previdência Social* (MPS, or Ministry of Social Security), which provides 26.9 million grants a month, of which 17.8 million are for beneficiaries in urban areas and 9.1 million, for those in rural areas (MPS, 2014). The *Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome* (MDS, Ministry of Social Development and the Fight against Hunger) is responsible for the non-contributory, social assistance benefits. Of the total 18 million grants in this category, 4.1 million are BPC benefits paid to the elderly and people with disabilities, and 14 million are paid through the PBF (MDS/Senarc, 2014).

In the area of services, the *Sistema Único de Saúde* (SUS, or Unified Health System) has augmented access to health services, particularly to primary health care and medicines. Today, the SUS alone is responsible for providing health care to more than 75 percent of the Brazilian population. The *Equipes de Saúde da Família* (ESF, or Family Health Teams) of the *Programa Saúde da Família* (PSF, or Family Health Programme) merit special attention. They give priority to monitoring families, providing direct assistance, whenever possible, and making referrals to health care and social assistance networks. There are more than 34,000 ESFs in the country and over 258,000 community health workers working with these teams (Ximenes and others, 2014). As for social assistance, the newest of the social protection policies, a broad network offering services to the most vulnerable population is already operational.

TABLE 1
SOCIAL SECURITY AND SOCIAL ASSISTANCE BENEFITS (DECEMBER 2014)

NON-CONTRIBUTORY BENEFITS		CONTRIBUTORY BENEFITS	TOTAL
PBF	BPC	*Regime Geral da Previdência Social* (RGPS, General Social Security Regime)	
14 million	4.13 million	26.96 million	**45.09 million**

Source: Data from the Matriz de informação social database of the MDS, and MPS, 2014.

[4]The Constitution created a "special insured party " category in the social security system to protect the family incomes of rural workers from classic social risks. It uses a flexible contribution rule. To be eligible for benefits, rural workers must have previous employment ties, but access is not conditioned on the number of contributions they have made. The contributions are set at a special rate of 2.3 percent of the value of the production sold.

Guidelines for the management of Brazil's social protection system

The 1988 Constitution not only defined the responsibilities of the social protection system, but also outlined the main guidelines for its management. These guidelines served as the basis for drafting laws and regulations and developing other policy documents further. In the area of income, both contributory and non-contributory programmes operate at the national level and are based on principles, norms and specific procedures that apply to the whole country. In the case of services, a new institutional framework was created to structure the 'unified systems' that manage social protection policies designed to guarantee rights. The common institutional characteristics of the unified systems are described below.

• **Primacy of the public sector**: The funding, regulation and provision of social protection benefits and services are the primary duty of the state. Social protection is recognized as a social right and is the result of a broad social pact based on new standards of civilization. However, establishing its primacy does not mean that the responsibility is solely or exclusively of the state. Private entities and organized civil society are integrated as partners, and they can supplement both the financing and provision of services. The provision of services by private entities must be organized as a complementary network, which shares responsibility for the results in terms of meeting the demands of the population. However, the regulation and coordination of the private network is still an important challenge.

• **Universalization of access**: In Brazil, efforts to universalize services were concretized through the creation of a 'unified system' management structure. This system was adopted in key social policy areas, including: health (SUS), social assistance (*Sistema Único de Assistência Social*, SUAS, or Unified Social Assistance System), food security (*Sistema Nacional de Segurança Nutricional e Alimentar*, SISAN, or National Food and Nutrition Security System), among others. It allows coverage to be extended to all municipalities and gradually the entire population, while bearing in mind the specificities and the diversity of sectors and groups in the different regions of the country. In addition to universality, advancing in the improvement of the quality of the services offered appears as an important goal.

• **Federative coordination**: Brazil's social protection system - primarily service provision, but also the mechanisms for identifying, registering and monitoring BPC and PBF beneficiaries - is organized mainly at the municipal level. In the case of more complex services or programmes, state-level entities are also involved. Decentralized service provision operates according to a complex institutional arrangement that aims to foster cooperation and integrated action. The unified systems created 'management committees' or 'inter-management commissions' that bring together the three levels of government on a monthly basis to establish agreements on and make adjustments to the management and provision of services. The heterogeneity among municipalities in terms of population size, the strength of the local economy, the management capacity of public authorities, among other factors, poses a great challenge to this process. However, the permanent structure for cooperation and coordination has played a strategic role, and even provides financial and institutional incentives for improving and making progress with public service provision.

• **Democratization of management**: Participation in and the democratization of management requires establishing channels and mechanisms of dialogue and social control that include civil society. Every policy of the social protection system has stipulated, in its regulatory framework, the creation of councils in the form of public spaces in which representatives of civil society and of government meet on equal footing. They are organized on the local, regional and national levels. Difficulties - such as the lack of infrastructure for their proper functioning, the insufficient training of councillors or the government spheres' resistance to sharing information - are being addressed by measures to strengthen the councils. Today, these institutions are present in all municipalities[5] and have been recognized as one of the most important channels for the democratization of public space in Brazil.

• **Funding**: With the exception of the contributory social security system, social protection in Brazil is financed with public resources raised for the social policies through tax collection. There is not, however, a single social protection fund. Instead, national sectoral funds operate with specific state-level and municipal funds set aside to finance services in their territory.[6] This budgetary structure guarantees transparency in relation to costs and expenditure, and facilitates the regular and automatic transfer of funds from the different government bodies. Financial management is under the control of the participatory councils. In recent years, there has been a notable increase in resources allocated to social protection services and benefits: federal social expenditure went from 11 percent of GDP in 1996 to 15.5 percent in 2010 (Castro and others, 2012).

[5] *Local health and social assistance councils are operational in 100 percent of the 5,570 municipalities in Brazil.*

• **Continuous improvement of management**: This services structure required a new format for national regulations in which an emphasis is placed on the so-called "typifications" or "list of services". These are regulations published and publicized throughout the entire country that define the nomenclature, functions and objectives of the services offered by both the state and private network partners. Due to the vastness of the country's territory and the high number of municipalities,[7] it has been a challenge to develop IT systems that can collect data from the entire country and make it available to the managers of all spheres of government.[8] This information provides support for detecting cases of vulnerabilities and lack of protection, even among specific population groups.[9]

It should be noted that the implementation of social protection policies does not depend on the prior existence of a complex legal and institutional framework; on the contrary, it is the motor behind its creation. The establishment of the MDS in 2004 represented a significant step forward in this sense. Together with the Ministries of Health, Education and Social Welfare, the MDS manages an important share of the federal government's budget for social policy. It is responsible for the non-contributory policies targeting the most vulnerable sectors of society, the PBF, the BPC, the national social assistance policy and the national food and nutrition security policy, not to mention the national coordination of the SUAS and the SISAN.

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[6] *For example, there is the Fundo Nacional de Saúde (FNS, National Health Fund), Fundo Nacional de Assistência Social (FNAS or National Social Assistance Fund), Fundo Nacional de Educação Básica (FUNDEB, or National Basic Education Fund), among others.*
[7] *Of the 5,570 municipalities, while the majority are small (up to 20,000 inhabitants), there are also a few metropolises with more than 11 million inhabitants each.*
[8] *The Censo SUAS (MDS, 2014a) is a successful example of the new IT systems being generated. It is an information-gathering system that collects data annually on the systemic components of the SUAS from all Brazilian municipalities. The MDS publishes its results annually.*
[9] *The Cadastro Único para Políticas Sociais (CADÚNICO, or Unified Registry for Social Policies) provides a good example. In its latest edition, it began to collect information on traditional and specific populations (such as indigenous people, people engaged in extractive activities or populations in rural communities with specific historical origins) by locality and specific identity.*

GUARANTEED INCOME PROGRAMMES

The social assistance benefits represent an important innovation within the normative and institutional framework of Brazil's social protection system. Their positive impacts on the living conditions of the Brazilian population are already well-known.

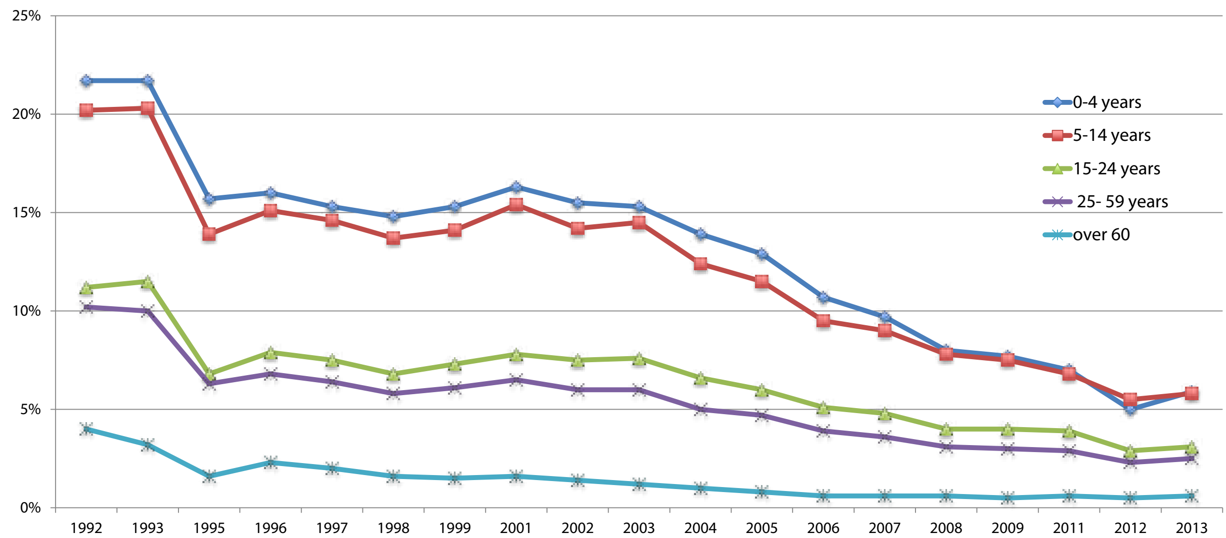
The BPC and the *Bolsa Familia* programme

The BPC was the first non-conditional cash transfer programme in Brazil. Though foreseen in 1988 by the Constitution, it only began to be implemented in 1996. By 2014, it was already providing benefits to more than 4 million people who were unable to meet their needs through employment.[10] Although the BPC is a social assistance benefit and falls under the responsibility of the MDS, its operations are overseen by the MPS.[11]

The PBF complements the BPC by providing protection to a broader range of people. In fact, up until the beginning of the 21st Century, Brazil's social protection system left poor, working-age people and children without protection. In the late 1990s, poverty in families with children was significantly higher than in the other sectors of the population, particularly in families where adult members had precarious relations to the labour market. Therefore, the PBF represented an important innovation: it guaranteed a minimum income to all individuals and families living in poverty, regardless of whether they were economically active or inactive. It also complements other programmes that guarantee income as a replacement for employment income (Jaccoud, 2013).

The PBF's contribution to increasing access to income and goods to satisfy basic needs – particularly adequate food – has been widely confirmed (Campello and Neri, 2013). The progressive universalization of the PBF's coverage allowed more than 14 million poor families to have a stable income.[12] It also had a significant impact on reducing income inequality and overcoming extreme poverty, particularly among children and adolescents, as can be seen in chart 1.

CHART 1
DECLINE IN EXTREME POVERTY IN BRAZIL BY AGE GROUP (1992-2013)



Source: PNAD/IBGE, 1992-2013. Prepared by SAGI-MDS.

[10] *The BPC assists poor people over 65 in situations of vulnerability and those with disabilities affecting their ability to work. Beneficiaries' monthly per capita family income must not exceed one quarter of the minimum wage. The monthly amount of the benefit is set at one minimum wage (BRL 788.00 as of 1 January 2015).*
[11] *One of the advantages of this integration is that the social security system has a vast network of experts and doctors trained to assess the situation of people who apply for the BPC.*
[12] *For more on the PBF and the BPC's impacts on income inequality in Brazil, and the evolution of these benefits and their expansion, see Campello and Neri, 2013, and Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, 2012.*

While the BPC was able to rely on robust national social security structure for its implementation, the challenge raised by the PBF was of a different nature. In its quest to extend and universalize coverage to a significantly larger portion of the population, which was incipiently identified in administrative records, the PBF found itself up against a major test. To respond to it, major efforts were undertaken to expand and consolidate an important instrument: the *Cadastro Único para Políticas Sociais* (CadÚnico, or Unified Registry for Social Policies). This launched a significant process of institutional building structured around three main lines of action: (i) decentralized management shared across government levels; (ii) strategies to encourage intergovernmental cooperation; and (iii) tools for management, coordination and reaching agreements on priorities and strategies. This structure succeeded in identifying and registering a large number of families, expanding the target population's access to coverage, managing benefits and monitoring compliance with eligibility conditions related to education and health care (Campello and Neri, 2013).

To universalize coverage and achieve its objectives, the PBF anchored itself in a solid arrangement involving the different levels of government, which uses instruments such as agreements with municipalities on their adherence to the programme, fund transfers to local governments to support their administrative structures and pacts signed with the SUAS. Various difficulties emerged along the way - from the lack of a clear definition and understanding of the responsibilities and tasks assigned to each level of government to the disparities among local governments in terms of their management and financial capacities or the availability and training of human resources. Building tools for management, coordination and reaching agreements among the different levels of government was therefore fundamental.

The adherence of the states and municipalities to the CadÚnico and the ongoing efforts to improve this tool has played a strategic role in this process. CadÚnico is much larger than the PBF: in 2013, it contained records of more than 23 million low-income families (MDS, 2014b), of which 14 million were PBF beneficiaries.[13] The effort to construct an administrative registry of this size can be gauged by the number of editions and scope: the Registry is now in its seventh edition and already covers 100 percent of Brazil's municipalities.

Progress in Brazil can be attributed to certain characteristics, namely: (i) the widespread provision of benefits and services, with commitment to universalizing the access of the target population; (ii) shared responsibilities and the coordination of intergovernmental action; and (iii) being anchored in social rights.

[13]The Unified Registry records information on families with a per capita family income of up to half of one minimum wage (BRL 394.00). It includes the beneficiaries of the PBF, which targets families with a per capita income of up to BRL 154.00. In 2011, BPC beneficiaries and their families also began to be included in the CadÚnico database.

SUAS (UNIFIED SOCIAL ASSISTANCE SYSTEM)

Foreseen in the law since 1993, the SUAS began to be built in 2004. Its task is to overcome the historical gap left by the virtual absence of state action for families living in extreme poverty and individuals facing vulnerabilities linked to the life cycle (childhood, old age, disability or dependency), the risk of violence or abandonment, or the need to rebuild a community network and social life. It was a situation where social assistance freed the state from all responsibility in relation to services and care - that is, when it was not treating extreme poverty and inequality as the natural state of affairs.

Recognizing that in addition to cash transfer programmes, there was a need for a network of facilities that offers other public services to those in need, the SUAS constructed a series of support systems: public facilities, human resources, stable and regular financing, an integrated network of services, and IT and monitoring systems (Jaccoud and others, 2010).

Service provision in the SUAS

There are two types of centres in the SUAS: the *Centros de Referência de Assistência Social* (CRAS or Social Assistance Referral Centres) and the *Centros de Referência Especializados de Assistência Social* (CREAS, or Specialized Social Assistance Referral Centres). More than 7,800 CRAS have already been set up in all municipalities throughout Brazil (MDS, 2014a). They assist families with varying levels of material needs, social or family-related vulnerabilities, or difficulties in accessing other social policies. CRAS teams seek to identify vulnerabilities and make the necessary referrals and registrations (for example, for the PBF or the BPC). Different professionals, including social workers and psychologists, assist families at the centres or in their homes. CRAS teams monitor, for example, families who have failed to meet the PBF's conditions or families with children, elderly persons or people with disabilities who are at risk of isolation or negligence.

As for the CREAS, these centres assist families at risk, such as children or adolescents in situations of violence or sexual exploitation; the elderly, women or people with disabilities whose rights are being violated, and the homeless. These units, whose number already exceeds 2,300 in the whole country (MDS, 2014a), also carry out the actions of other national programmes, such as the *Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil* (PETI, or the Programme for the Eradication of Child Labour).[14]

Finally, the SUAS network also includes a group of not-for-profit public and private institutions offering specialized services. This is the case of those that help guarantee basic needs - that is, provide protection for the right to food, housing and care to people who, for various reasons, have been separated from their families and do not have the capacity to satisfy their needs on their own.[15]

The integration of benefits and services

The BPC and the PBF's positive impacts in terms of reducing poverty and income inequality, increasing the consumption of the poorest and boosting local economies have been studied extensively. What is not so well-known - and particularly promising - are the benefits the programmes generate in relation to the inclusion and permanence of the children of beneficiary families in schools, as well as their school performance.

Managing compliance with PBF conditionalities in the area of health and education[16] raised the challenge of inter-sectoral coordination. These measures create obligations not only for families in relation to school attendance, but primarily for public authorities who must build and guarantee the provision of these services, including in areas that are accessible to the most vulnerable families. This requires capacitating the state to identify zones where services were sparse or insufficient and make them the priority of plans to expand services. The PBF also requires public officials in charge of social assistance policies to be capable of identifying the reasons behind failure to comply with conditionalities[17] and developing actions together with the families so that they can overcome the difficulties in ensuring their children's presence at school or the health clinics.

The school performance indicators for children from PBF beneficiary families have progressed significantly

[14] This programme has reduced child labour continuously, which can be observed both in the five to nine years age group (fell from 1.8 percent in 2001 to 0.4 percent in 2012) and the 10 to 13 age group (from 9.8 percent to 3.2 percent in the same period) (MP, 2013). Recently, the PETI introduced strategic actions targeting municipalities with a higher incidence of this problem.

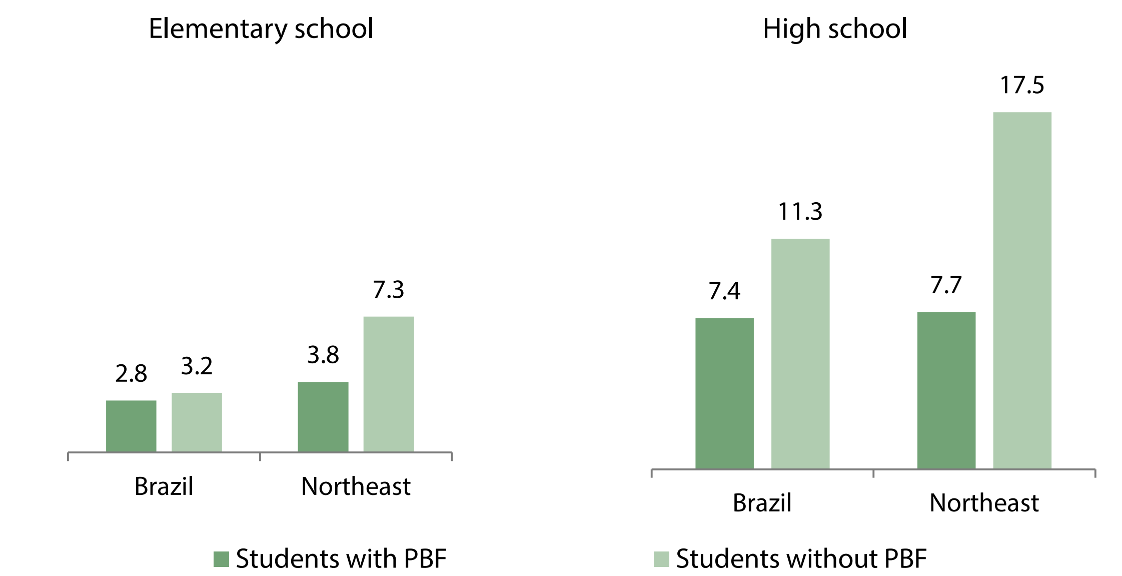
[15] According to the Censo SUAS 2013 (MDS, 2014a), there are 4,400 units in the country offering shelter to people in a variety of situations. Of this total, 2,860 are run by charitable organizations.

[16] Beneficiary families must meet the following conditions: minimum school attendance of 85 percent for children of six to 15 years of age and 75 percent for youth between 16 and 17 years of age; in the area of health, the growth and development of children under seven must be monitored, pregnant women must attend pre-natal classes and nursing women are monitored.

[17] The programmes monitor 15.4 million students and individual information on their school attendance is gathered every two months. In regards to health care, 8.7 million families are monitored; their information is gathered twice a year. Of this total, only around 3 percent are not complying with the conditions in the area of education, and less than 2 percent in relation to vaccination programmes. There is up-to-date nutritional data on 86 percent of the children (MDS/Senarc, 2014).

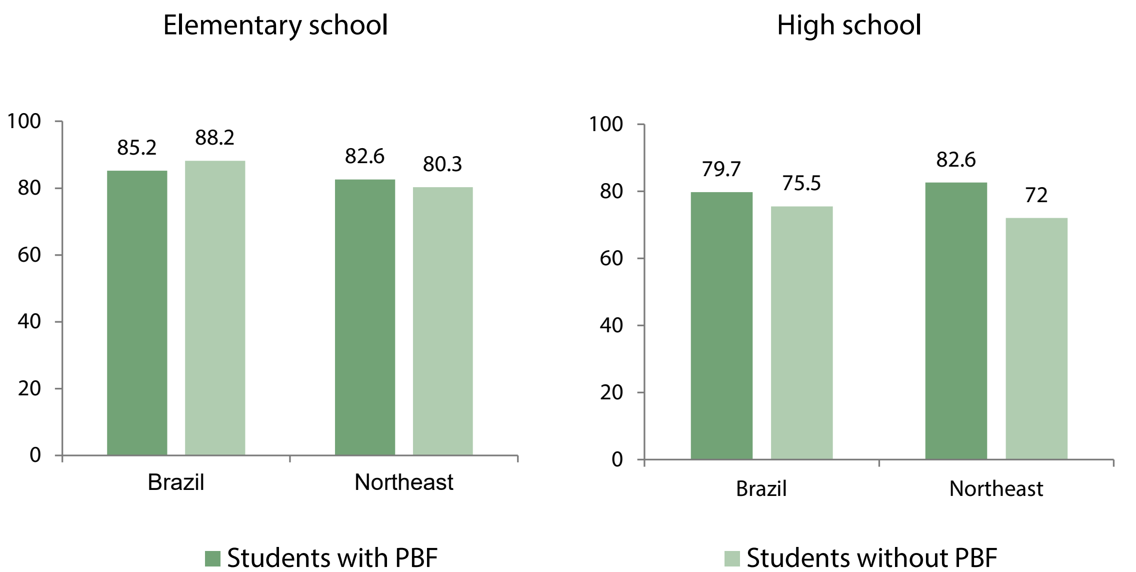
as a result of the programme's conditionalities. The dropout rate among these children declined (Ximenes, 2014) and what is more, it is lower than the average rate of students in the public school network, as can be seen in chart 2. This progress can be seen in elementary school (grades one to nine) and even more so in high school (grades 10 to 12) in Brazil in general and in the Northeast region of Brazil (the poorest in the country). The pass rate of children from PBF beneficiary families also increased, but remained below the average of other students at public elementary schools. They outperformed, however, those in high school in Brazil and in the Northeast region, as can be seen in chart 3.

CHART 2
DROPOUT RATES (%) OF CHILDREN FROM PBF BENEFICIARY FAMILIES AND NON-PBF BENEFICIARIES (2012)



Source: MDS/MEC. Elaborated by Ximenes and others, 2014, page 54.

CHART 3
PASS RATES (%) OF CHILDREN FROM PBF BENEFICIARY FAMILIES AND NON-PBF BENEFICIARIES (2012)

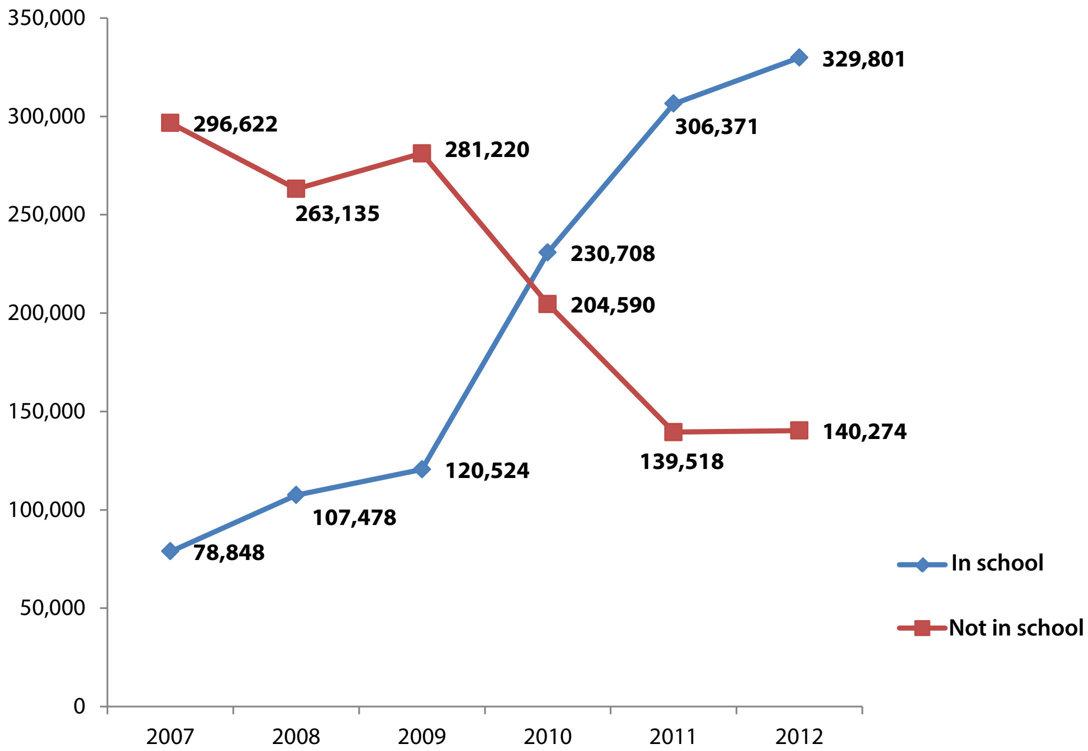


Source: Ximenes and others, 2014, page 54.

The PBF is playing an important role in improving beneficiary families' access to and regular use of basic health and education services[18] and social assistance. The programme has allowed important determining factors of poverty to be addressed and made it possible for those living in the most remote areas and the most vulnerable to receive ongoing support from social policies. The difficulties involved in attaining these objectives are undoubtedly significant. Tackling such a challenge has required, and will continue to require, expanding the scope and improving the quality of public services, as well as commitment to effectively achieving universality and equality.

The second social assistance programme providing guaranteed income shares the same principles. Created in 2007 to attend to the needs of children and adolescents with disabilities supported by the BPC, the *Programa BPC na Escola* (BPC School Programme) implements measures to include beneficiaries of up to 18 years of age in schools and ensure their ongoing attendance. By visiting homes and schools nearby and seeking to identify and overcome barriers to school attendance, social assistance teams managed to reverse the situation of exclusion and isolation, and enabled children to overcome many of the difficulties and their resistance to going back to school. Whereas in 2007, only 78,800 of these children were in school, in 2012, this number rose to 329,800 (see chart 4), representing an increase from 21 to 70 percent. Efforts to enforce the right to access and inclusive education continue. More recently, in 2012, the *Programa BPC Trabalho* (BPC Work Programme) was created, which aims to identify interest in and promote access to the workplace for beneficiaries from 16 to 45 years of age.

CHART 4
SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF BPC CHILD BENEFICIARIES (2007-2012)



Source: Data from Cadastro Administrativo do BPC/MDS and Censo Escolar/MEC. Prepared by: DBA/SNAS/MDS.

In fact, greater efforts are being made in both guaranteed income programmes to effectively coordinate them with other public policies, as they seek to ensure their beneficiaries access to and regular ongoing use of social services. They aim, then, to provide protection for those in poverty and produce impacts on quality of life and opportunities by broadening service provision and support to the most vulnerable families who are unable to access these programmes and policies. Advancing in this area demands greater cooperation among sectors, investing in quality and commitment to addressing inequalities.

[18] *Analyses on how PBF conditionalities were implemented and their impacts on the health of children and infant mortality can be found in Campello and Neri, 2013, and Ximenes and others, 2014.*

COMBATING POVERTY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL PROTECTION IN BRAZIL

Moves to universalize the provision of services and benefits are also part of the fight against poverty in Brazil, as mentioned earlier. They are complemented by the commitment to tackling exclusion and extreme poverty, which is the result of institutional choices and political decisions. This was the case with the implementation of the PBF and the SUAS, as well as the food and nutritional security agenda, which was a priority of the first Lula administration. In 2003, the launch of *Fome Zero* (Zero Hunger) confirmed the government's commitment to a new generation of public policies to combat poverty. The *Política de Segurança Alimentar* (Food and Nutrition Security Policy), the *Programa de Aquisição de Alimentos* (PAA, or Food Acquisition Programme), the *Programa Água para Todos* (Water for All Programme) and, more recently, in 2011, the *Plano Brasil Sem Miséria* (PBSM, Brazil Without Extreme Poverty Plan) have served to advance social policy for the poorest. These programmes and policies treat poverty not as a question of scarcity or deprivation, but as the result of the lack of social protection and opportunities, and in terms of basic rights.

The strengthening of public food and nutrition security policies sought to combine support for family farming with greater access to food (CONSEA, 2009). A good example is the inclusion in the legislation that no less than 30 percent of food provided to students in state schools must be purchased locally from family farmers. In addition to substantially improving the quality and diversity of fresh food and respecting local food customs, this initiative expanded the market for family farmers.

Even so, at the end of the 2000s, it was clear that the sectors who had benefitted from the PBF were benefitting very little from the economic growth that had marked the decade. The capacity of these groups to take advantage of the new opportunities was limited. Once again, this proved that economic growth alone is not the driving force of equality and does not distribute benefits equally across all sectors of the population.

To give continuity to the strategy of guaranteeing access to rights and opportunities, a new initiative was launched. The PBSM aims to extend public support to the most vulnerable groups and integrate social policies with labour policies in order to improve the opportunities for the productive inclusion for these families. The PBSM is organized along three lines of action: guaranteed income, access to public services and productive inclusion.

Born from innovations in Brazil's social policies during the previous decade, the PBSM was based on the recognition that implementing a policy to combat poverty in the context of growing social cohesion and development is not "politics for the poor", nor an attempt to substitute or bypass the state's long-term policies. On the contrary, the objective is to include all those who, up until then, have been excluded from public policy, while highlighting any particularly important challenges, including adaptations to be made to the provision of services and benefits, if necessary. Moreover, the PBSM acknowledges that there are various dimensions to poverty and different realities covered by this blanket term. As a result, the PBSM had to be divided into different strategies to adapt to the needs of the various target groups.

Among its accomplishments (Campello and others, 2014), it is worth highlighting the efforts of the *Busca Ativa* (Active Search) mechanism to universalize PBF and BPC coverage, and the creation of a new benefit in the framework of the PBF. This new cash transfer marked a new phase in Brazil's guaranteed income policies. The *Benefício para Superação da Extrema Pobreza* (BSP, or Benefit to Overcome Extreme Poverty) supports PBF beneficiary families that, even with the PBF cash transfer, are unable to rise above the extreme poverty threshold (BRL 77.00).[19] Up until now, over 14 million families have received benefits and more than 22 million people were able to cross the extreme poverty line (MDS, 2015). A poverty line below which no Brazilian should be was thus established.[20]

[19] This benefit aims to supplement family income so that it exceeds the threshold of BRL 77.00 per person. Its value varies from one family to the next and aims to close the gap between per capita income (which includes other PBF benefits) and the extreme poverty line.

[20] The Retorno Garantido (Guaranteed Returned) measure is also worth mentioning. This measure ensures that all adult PBF beneficiaries who take up paid work that allows their family to cross the extreme poverty line - which means renouncing PBF benefits - will be automatically re-admitted to the PBF if they lose their job.

Furthermore, the PBSM aimed to identify where the state was absent in the regions (institutional gaps/gaps in social assistance that contribute to reproducing poverty) and to act strategically to increase the supply of infrastructure services (electricity and water)[21] and health, education and social assistance services.[22] Yet, it was in the area of productive inclusion that the PBSM initiatives innovated the most. Based on previous experiences, as well as reflections on the work profile of the poorest, the PBSM opted for developing different initiatives for rural and urban areas. In rural areas, it aimed to extend to the extremely poor population a series of programmes and projects that had previously been available only to small farmers.[23] However, several adaptations had to be made in relation to credit (creation of a way to transfer non-repayable resources for support), technical assistance, marketing assistance or incentives to protect ecosystems. The demands on the public sector also brought new challenges ranging from those linked to food purchases and distribution to ones connected to hiring trained technicians to offer technical assistance in far-off areas or to specific groups, such as those living in rainforest reserves or Quilombola communities (Campello and others, 2014).

These initiatives have shown great potential for promoting the productive inclusion of impoverished sectors of family farming, which earned greater visibility and increased their productive capacity, income and well-being. Even so, for these farmers, access to the PBF and other social protection programmes continues to be strategic, as it provides them with access to a stable source of income and to essential services and helps prevent shortages of essential goods. It therefore integrates social protection and livelihood promotion policies, while strengthening social and economic dynamics that are favourable to an inclusive development process.

In urban areas, the main interventions to improve integration into the labour market were in the area of professional training. The creation of the *Programa Nacional de Acesso ao Ensino Técnico e Emprego* (PRONATEC, or National Programme on Access to Technical Education and Employment) and its line of action for PBF beneficiaries offered a new perspective in an area that had been traditionally marked by sporadic action and a lack of effectiveness. With new and greater resources, a growing number of services and partnerships developed to guarantee the quality of the proposed courses, PRONATEC represents a new phase in the integration of social policies and the creation of opportunities. Here, the challenges are also significant: adapting the courses to the profile of the local job market, expanding credit and technical training for urban entrepreneurship, and offering labour mediation services to a target population with lower levels of education and professional training. However, progressively increasing the state's capacity to overcome such challenges is what allows the policy of promoting opportunities[24] to be consolidated as a part of a strategy to reduce social inequalities and promote economically and socially sustainable human development.

The 1988 Federal Constitution was a landmark in the development of social protection in Brazil. It expanded the right to coverage, which led to the gradual inclusion of new sectors of society in the system, and enhanced the system's distributive nature.

[21] The goal of Água para Todos (Water for All) is to provide universal access to drinking water and increase access to water for production. The programme has promoted the construction of more than 750,000 cisterns, which were delivered between 2011 and 2014 (Campello and others, 2014).
[22] In relation to the right to health, for example, priority was given to increasing access to the PSF, the Unidades Básicas de Saúde (UBS, or Primary Health Care Units), and the Programa Mais Médicos (More Doctors Programme). In education, incentives to expand full-time school programmes in areas with high poverty rates are worth highlighting due to their impacts on the provision of full-time schooling. As for social assistance, in addition to the new benefits and the expansion of the basic social assistance network, the Serviços Especializados para Pessoas em Situação de Rua (Specialized Services for the Homeless) were also prioritised, along with mobile teams offering support in hard-to-reach areas.
[23] The PAA, the Programa Nacional de Fortalecimento da Agricultura Familiar (PRONAF, or National Programme for Strengthening of Family Farming) and the national technical assistance and rural extension policies and programmes (PNATER and PRONATER) should be highlighted. See Campolina and others, 2013; Grossi, Kroeff and Rickli, 2013.
[24] More than 2 million young people have benefitted from the programme. For more information on PRONATEC, see Falcão and others, 2014, and Montagner and Muller, 2015.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

By way of conclusion, we will highlight aspects of Brazil's recent experience that can contribute to the international debate on social protection models. The content presented above aimed to fuel reflection on Brazilian social protection by highlighting advances in coordinating among different fields of intervention and bringing together actions to eradicate extreme poverty, reduce inequality and expand social rights. Furthermore, we drew attention to the new organizational design that is rooted in the primacy of the state, but also connected to a network of non-governmental service providers and social control.

Brazil sought to confront the considerable challenge of designing and implementing nation-wide policies in a federative context and a territory marked not only by its size but also economic, social and cultural differences. The country outlined a national arrangement based on the Constitution, regulatory developments and policy and programme protocols that all levels of government could feasibly adopt. The institutional structures for coordinating among national and sub-national spheres have played a key role and contributed to advances in not only the provision, but also the standardization and universalization of social services and benefits.

This regulatory framework has played a strategic role in and guaranteed the necessary legal support for the recognition of the right to social protection and for demanding that this right be fulfilled. Nevertheless, Brazil's system is far from simple, as it operates with contributory and non-contributory cash benefits, while offering services with universalizing guidelines and scope and running programmes aimed at promoting equality. In addition to combating poverty, Brazil's social protection project seeks to reduce inequality by offering universal public education and health services with ever-increasing standards of quality to the entire population. With the aim of improving living conditions and opportunities, social policies have also been expanding actions to promote the productive inclusion of rural and urban populations who face greater economic vulnerability.

The progressive consolidation of social protection in the public sphere is also a step forward, thanks to the adoption of republican parameters for management, financing and relations with private actors and other partners involved in the delivery of social services. These parameters are expressed through the use of clear, reliable and nationally-based indicators to negotiate the prioritization of objectives, management strategies and the sharing of resources among different levels of government. Similarly, one can observe incentives being adopted to strengthen local public officials' capacity, by increasing their level of professionalization and training, and their roles. The principle of transparency also permeates the process of identifying the target population of each programme, the establishment of goals related to the public provision of social protection and the implementation of systems to monitor public action.

The principle of state primacy in the organization and management of social protection required modernizing the state apparatus and the adoption of a model that incorporates the new guidelines of universality, decentralization and participation. Social management highlights the state's responsibility in the provision of social security, but also recognizes the complementary role that the network of non-governmental service providers play. Partnerships and the collaboration of private entities must be reorganized based on the principle of public management and put under state command. Democratization and social participation are also a requisite of this institution-building process, as they are essential for improving policies and effectively achieving policy objectives.

Advances have been made in the area of democratic and participatory management thanks to the adoption of several mechanisms for both the bureaucratic administrative structure and relations with civil society. The establishment of participatory procedures for the different institutional structures and the recognition of civil society's contribution to social control have contributed greatly to the effectiveness of social policies. Recognizing the beneficiaries of social protection policies as protagonists and agents who have the legitimacy to contribute to the improvement of their own situation is a key part of this process. This requires, however, the consolidation of effective channels of information sharing and spaces for discussion.

The advances identified here lead us to reflect on some challenges that must still be faced, namely: (i) expanding access to the network of services and improving service provision; (ii) increasing integration between different social policies to cover of the population that are still without access to the goods and services offered; (iii) deepening the federative pact by integrating the actions and responsibilities of the different federative bodies even further; (iv) strengthening the regulation of private sector activities in the area; and (v) broadening the space for participation, with the strong presence of organizations and movements that represent the beneficiaries of social protection policies.

Finally, Brazil's experience has pointed to the need to promote solid ties between social protection and other social development policies to strengthen the productive inclusion of the most vulnerable sections of the population, promote local markets and foster economic growth. These aspects can be compared to the experiences of other countries to help expand and enforce the right to social protection.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1 NO POVERTY
In 2015, more than ONE BILLION people worldwide still live in extreme poverty, especially in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia


2 ZERO HUNGER
Maximizing human capital and potential to meet the challenges and opportunities in the next 15 years cannot happen in a food insecure world

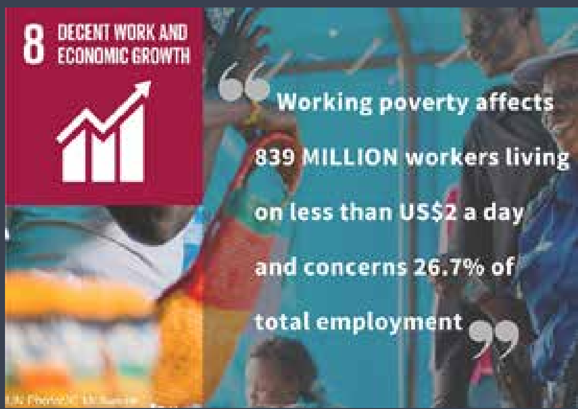

3 GOOD HEALTH AND WELL-BEING
In 2012, 6.6 MILLION children died before reaching their fifth birthday, though the interventions needed to save these children are high-impact and low-cost


4 QUALITY EDUCATION
Primary education enrolment in developing regions reached 91% in 2015, up from 83% in 2000. Yet, some 57 MILLION children of primary school age are still out of school in 2015


5 GENDER EQUALITY
Globally, women's earnings are 24% less than men's, earning half as much income as men over their lifetimes and across most professional grades


6 CLEAN WATER AND SANITATION
Today over 1.7 BILLION people live in river basins where water use exceeds recharge. The crisis in water and sanitation overwhelmingly affects the poor


7 AFFORDABLE AND CLEAN ENERGY
Renewables such as wind, solar, biomass, geothermal, hydro and marine power contributed to an estimated 9.1% of the world´s energy generation in 2014


8 DECENT WORK AND ECONOMIC GROWTH
Working poverty affects 839 MILLION workers living on less than US$2 a day and concerns 26.7% of total employment


9 INDUSTRY, INNOVATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE
New market opportunities, as well as improvements in reducing trade barriers on technologies, have spurred rapid growth in many economic sectors


10 REDUCED INEQUALITIES
Unequal societies tend to be less stable and less prone to social mobility, which can make people become trapped in a cycle of poverty across generations

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SDGs cards designed by Chelsea Love.

CHAPTER 6

Programmes like Bolsa Familia helped reduce poverty in Latin America. © UNDP Brazil

It is no longer about contrasting social protection and labour, but rather about initially creating a hybrid situation in which public policy beneficiaries receive a mix of protective benefits and income earned from labour, while participating in programmes geared towards intensive human capital development.

The Brazil Without Extreme Poverty Plan: Using policy integration and adaptation to reach ambitious goals[1]

INTRODUCTION

It is notoriously difficult to promote economic growth and social inclusion simultaneously. Evidence from independent studies indicates, however, that social protection policies can do just that. In recent years, Brazil has demonstrated its ability to reduce poverty and socio-economic inequalities through its social protection programmes. The *Programa Bolsa Família* (PBF, Family Allowance Programme) and the *Benefício de Prestação Continuada* (BPC, Continuous Cash Benefit Programme) programmes have consistently lowered the rates of poverty and inequality, especially among children, adolescents, pregnant and breastfeeding women, the elderly and people with disabilities. Furthermore, they have increased school attendance among children and adolescents, vaccination among children under five and pregnant women's access to prenatal care. In parallel, the country implemented the *Sistema Único de Assistência Social* (SUAS, Unified Social Assistance System). The SUAS is a network of social services that provides basic and specialized social protection (of medium and high complexity) and integrates social assistance policies into a rational, equitable, decentralized and participatory model. As of 2011, this network consisted of approximately 9,400 facilities and a workforce of more than 232,000 workers with various levels of training.

One distinctive feature of the Brazilian social protection model is that it closely ties social assistance policies with food and nutritional security policies. Brazil is one of the first countries to consider access to quality food a constitutional right – an approach spearheaded by the *Programa Fome Zero* (Zero Hunger Programme). The *Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome* (MDS, Ministry of Social Development and the Fight against Hunger) is responsible for coordinating, financing and implementing the provision of goods and services in the areas of social assistance and food security to over 60 million Brazilians. Its estimated budget for 2013 was BRL 62.45 billion (approximately US$31.38 billion).[2]

On 2 June 2011, president-elect Rousseff took social protection policy a step further by launching the ambitious *Plano Brasil Sem Miséria* (PBSM, Brazil Without Extreme Poverty Plan) to eradicate extreme poverty by 2014. The PBSM expanded on the social protection policies implemented by the previous administration. With the promotion of rights as a core concept of its political narrative and an estimated target audience of 15 million extremely poor people, this programme coordinates more than 120 activities across 22 ministries. It is coordinated by the MDS, with support from the *Ministério da Fazenda* (Ministry of Finance), *Ministério do Planejamento, Orçamento e Gestão* (MP, Ministry of Planning, Budget and Management), and the *Casa Civil da Presidência da República* (Presidential Chief of Staff's Office).

The PBSM takes advantage of the fact that the PBF has nearly achieved full coverage in the country. Experience shows that once a network of social protection and social promotion services accessible to the extreme poor are in place and have broad coverage, strategic interventions can be adopted to strengthen the fight against extreme poverty further. The PBSM advocates a multidimensional and focused approach, funded primarily by the federal government. Furthermore, it subscribes to the international trend of associating social protection with employment and income-generation policies, thus combining social protection and social promotion.[3]

The convergence of conditional and unconditional cash transfers with the provision of social services distinguishes Brazil from other emerging nations. It can serve as an example for both more economically advanced countries and developing countries, as crucial public policy solutions for social protection may be lacking in countries in both categories of development. In developing countries, these gaps arise due to the regular wear and tear of protection systems and when budget deficits increase during crises. In more developed countries, they occurs when there is a need

[1]This paper was written by Rômulo Paes-Sousa, Director of the UNDP World Centre for Sustainable Development (RIO+ Centre). This chapter was concluded during the author's residency at the Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Center.
[2]Based on the exchange rate from December 2014 of US$1 = BRL 1.99.
[3]In the literature on social protection, authors refer to the "3P framework": prevention, protection and promotion. Promotional or "social promotion" measures are those that aim to enhance real incomes and capabilities. For more, see chapter 7 of this report; World Bank, 2012; Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2004; and Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, 2010.

to increase human development to meet domestic political pressures and to better equip their economies to participate in an increasingly competitive market.

Several national governments and multilateral[4] and research institutions see adopting and adapting the PBSM model as a way to reduce extreme poverty in their own or other countries, particularly due to the following aspects:
• the PBSM's success in effectively reducing extreme poverty to residual levels;
• the integration of public policies, which has increased policy effectiveness in relation to the target population;
• the adoption of mechanisms to review and adapt the plan's design in order to achieve new goals;
• the implementation of an active search mechanism as an effective tool for increasing the access of the target population to the programmes; and
• the development and implementation of methodology for monitoring and evaluation and for overcoming administrative hurdles during implementation.

[4]In its 'Social Protection and Labour Strategy 2012–2022,' the World Bank (2012) mentions the PBSM as a very promising programme in the fight against poverty.

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The debate about the links between social protection and promotion, particularly in terms of labour, will increasingly become the order of the day in future social protection policymaking (World Bank, 2012; IPEA, 2012; Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2004). It is no longer about contrasting social protection and labour, but rather about initially creating a hybrid situation in which public policy beneficiaries receive a mix of protective benefits and income earned from labour, while participating in programmes geared towards intensive human capital development. This strategy responds to deficits in human capital training among extremely poor people and to the increasingly demanding requirements of the labour market. Consequently, the approach used in the inclusion of extremely poor people should guarantee income and enhance entry into – or enable upward mobility in – the labour market through the development of human capital.

Social assistance also plays a strategic role in the PBSM, as the plan's potential beneficiaries suffer from various vulnerabilities. Social assistance must identify beneficiaries, refer them to services, monitor the connections between individuals/households and such services, mobilize and monitor their (re-)entry into the labour market and respond to the typical social assistance demands of individuals and households.

The PBSM's fundamental goals are to:

• promote equity to fight the discrimination to which large portions of the population are subject. Potential outcomes of the plan include the empowerment of women and the reduction of income gaps based on race and gender and between indigenous and traditional peoples and the majority;

• generate opportunities through the development of human capital, while taking life cycle, gender, place of residence (urban or rural) and cultural aspects into consideration;

• add quality to the current model by improving the services offered to the target population through:

- integration: organizing the services and benefits to make them more effective by increasing coordination horizontally (across federal programmes), vertically (at sub-national levels) and between sectors (the public and private sectors). The private sector is responsible for hiring and, in many cases, training beneficiaries;

- changes to the legal framework: recent changes allow funds from federal transfers to be used to hire human resources for the SUAS's social assistance centres (CREAS and CRAS).[5] This helps to increase the sustainability of the expansion of the network of social assistance services responsible for coordinating the plan;

- social perception: the PBSM's comprehensiveness tends to make it complicated for the plan's users and taxpayers to understand it properly. The former may find it difficult to differentiate the PBSM from the PBF, whereas the latter tend to see it in opposition to the PBF. Clarifying the differences will allow all actors to acquire a more sophisticated understanding of social protection.

• increase sustainability: Brazil is experiencing a significant increase in social expenditure. Factors endogenous to the plan's sustainability include the ability to estimate the number of beneficiaries and assess programme effectiveness, which can lead to the adoption of appropriate changes in design and procedures. Exogenous factors are political support for the plan and the resilience of the economic model and its countercyclical actions vis-à-vis the international crisis, which will affect public investment capacities. A long-term benefit of the plan is that it provides more predictable and regular funding for social protection goods and services.[6]

[5]The SUAS has two kinds of referral centres: the Centros de Referência de Assistência Social (CRAS, Social Assistance Referral Centres), which offer basic services and orientation to the population; and Centros de Referência Especializados de Assistência Social (CREAS, Specialized Social Assistance Referral Centres).
[6]In the MDS's initial budget allocation for 2011 (approved in 2010), the amounts for the PBF and the BPC accounted for 90.52 percent of the total allocated budget.

GAUGING DEMAND FOR THE PBSM

According to the 2010 Population Census, the total number of extremely poor individuals was 16,267,197 – or 8.52 percent of the total population. The rural population accounted for 46.7 percent of all people living in extreme poverty.

Prior to the adoption of the PBSM, PBF coverage was used to measure the demand for policies to fight extreme poverty. This approach was limited, however, by the fact that the PBF had not yet reached full coverage. The challenge was to identify the potential beneficiaries that could be classified as hard-to-reach eligible population, such as indigenous and other minority groups.

It thus became necessary to redefine criteria for inclusion. While on one hand, the estimation method needed to be as accurate as possible, on the other, taking operational elements into consideration was of great importance. Like all social assistance programmes, the PBSM was to be implemented at the municipal level and its performance would need to be assessed yearly. Limited resources and capacity for carrying out assessments in many municipalities rendered the use of multidimensional indicators, such as those referring to daily nutritional requirements and access to goods and services, unfeasible.

Poverty line

The federal government originally used the per capita income level of BRL 70 as the criterion for classifying extreme poverty, which was the same one the MDS used for the PBF. This one-dimensional poverty line is consistent with the PBF's approach and what UNDP and other multilateral agencies use for the Millennium Development Goal indicators (Fonseca, 2011). To generate the first estimate of demand (i.e., stock calculation), preliminary data from the 2010 Population Census was used.

The decision to use the PBF poverty line, which is consistent with the approaches of international agencies, and data from the 2010 Population Census generated the following benefits for the plan:

• international comparisons could now be made;

• the use of the PBF's eligibility criteria made it possible to draw on MDS's accumulated knowledge;

• preliminary data from the 2010 Census allowed for more accurate calculations at the municipal level than the household surveys done by the *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* (IBGE) – Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics.

Obviously, updating census data every year at the municipal level poses significant challenges. In Brazil, one must rely on the IBGE's household surveys: the *Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domícilios* (PNAD, National Household Sample Survey); the *Pesquisa de Orçamentos Familiares* (POF, Consumer Expenditure Survey); *Economia Informal Urbana* (ECINF, Urban Informal Economy) and the *Pesquisa Mensal de Emprego* (PME, Monthly Employment Survey). These surveys are about to be integrated into a multidimensional survey with a longitudinal design. This will result in a profound methodological change that will afford the plan the advantage of providing for its monitoring needs at the national and state levels, but not at the municipal level. This will make extrapolating data with a higher degree of spatial aggregation to municipal levels all the more complex.

Residual poverty

The PBSM sought to answer the question: can extreme poverty be eradicated entirely? What are the limitations to this? Even social protection systems in countries with high levels of socio-economic development sometimes have difficulty in identifying certain beneficiaries for targeted programmes, such as the homeless, people subject to alcoholism and other drug addictions, ethnic minorities suffering from discrimination and illegal immigrants. Often, the systems are unable to accommodate the unique cultural contexts to which these people belong. Furthermore, economic crises tend to worsen these conditions, as they increase the size of the extremely poor population at a time when governments are reducing investment in social protection.

Despite the intrinsic limitations of using a one-dimensional model, experience with the PBSM shows that extreme financial poverty can be eradicated. Even so, one should consider that:

• the feasibility of achieving this objective is determined by the eligibility and assessment parameters that have been adopted, as they end up defining what extreme financial poverty is. The PBSM's multidimensional scope tends to favour the expansion of social protection and promotion services;

• there may be a temporal residual of extreme poverty, which can occur when there is a delay in the response of social protection programmes to new demands arising from individuals who have recently fallen into extreme poverty. Examples of people in this situation are youth who have just entered the labour market and started new families; households whose main breadwinner has fallen sick or passed away (shock); and migrant families (internal and international) whose ties with their social support networks (neighbours, relatives, families, etc.) have been lost;

• all of these situations have a threshold level of success. For example, when observing employment and labour indicators, an economy is at 'full' employment when the unemployment rate is below five percent. Similarly, the level of success in eradicating extreme financial poverty can be empirically verified. Obviously, success in achieving the eradication target will depend on what is socially acceptable.

PBSM PROGRAMMES AND ACTIVITIES AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL

The PBSM's complexity and scope make it a microcosm of Brazilian social policy (supply side) that is targeted towards a certain sector of the population (extremely poor people). The plan has three main areas of activity:

- guaranteed income for social protection;
- access to public social protection and promotion services; and
- productive inclusion.

Table 1 regroups the programmes associated with the PBSM according to their area of activity.

TABLE 1
AXES OF THE PBSM AND DESCRIPTIONS OF ITS PROGRAMMES

GUARANTEED INCOME
• Improvements to the PBF, including the creation of new grants to cover the extreme poverty gap for all beneficiaries, plus increasing the poverty threshold (from BRL 70 to BRL 77) by ten percent.
PRODUCTIVE INCLUSION
• **Rural** - Public purchases of products from family farmers (*Programa de Aquisição de Alimentos*, PAA, or Food Acquisition Programme) - Technical assistance and production-oriented cash transfer programmes - Micro-financing for rural areas (*Programa de microcrédito rural*) - Support for building cisterns to collect water for human consumption in rural areas (*Programa Água para Todos*/Water for All Programme) - Support for building cisterns to collect water for agriculture (water for production) - Subsidies for forest conservation (*Programa Bolsa Verde*/Green Grant Programme) - Provision of energy to all households (*Programa Luz para Todos*/Light for All Programme) • **Urban** - Free professional training courses - Capacity-building for micro-entrepreneurship (Programa Microempreendedor Individual, Individual Micro Entrepreneur Programme) - Production-oriented microcredit programmes
ACCESS TO SERVICES
• Social protection for children and adolescents up to 15 years of age: - day care - full-time education - expansion of the *Programa Saúde na Escola* (Health at School Programme) - free provision of nutritional supplements for children - free provision of asthma drugs • Expansion of basic health care for the low-income population • Strengthening the social assistance network - Referral centres offering basic social assistance (*Centros de Referência de Assistência Social*/ Social Assistance Referral Centres) - Referral centres offering specialized social assistance (*Centros de Referência Especializados de Assistência Social*/Specialized Social Assistance Referral Centres) - Referral centres for the homeless - Housing for the homeless

Source: MDS, 2014

Registration, active search and targeting

The federal government created the *Cadastro Único*[7] (CadÚnico, Unified Registry for Social Policies) as the main tool for recording the characteristics of poor households and individuals. Registering with it is the first formal step to obtaining access to most PBSM programmes. For registration purposes, individuals who earn a monthly per capita income of up to half the minimum wage or belong to a family whose monthly household income is up to three minimum wages are considered poor. In July 2014, there were approximately 24.1 million families (around 74.6 million people) registered with the CadÚnico.

CadÚnico's format is similar to the questionnaires used in the IBGE household surveys. The module on household and family information contains data related to demographics; belonging to traditional peoples and/or specific population groups;[8] the address and characteristics of one's household; access to public water and sanitation services and electricity; monthly expenses; and family members enrolled in social programmes. The individual information module collects data on demographics, civil documentation, education, working status and income.

Many actors are involved in the registration process, namely: federal government agencies; government agencies at the state and municipal levels; higher education institutions; state and municipal councils; concessionaires operating at the state-level; civil society organizations; community leaders; religious organizations and the media.

The PBSM's *Busca Ativa* (Active Search) programme focuses on expanding registration in CadÚnico. The programme aims primarily to identify people who either have not been included or are only partially included in the components of the social protection system that are available where they live. 'Hidden' or 'hard to reach' groups, which MDS documents refer to as 'invisible' populations, can be found in any country (Brackertz, 2007; Atkinson and Flint, 2001). In Brazil, the size of this population, the wide range of groups in this condition and the multiple sociocultural contexts to which they belong are the main challenges to identifying 'invisible' groups.

The strategies used to find these people rely on identifying potential beneficiaries who:

• are listed in the CadÚnico as beneficiaries of *Bolsa Família* or other programmes that use the registry as a reference;

• are registered in other public registries and possess attributes that are suggestive of extreme poverty, such as low income, adult illiteracy or living in deprived areas;

• live in households that do not appear in the federal registries, but are known to exist. Data from the 2010 Population Census can be used to estimate their size. Families in this group tend to lack official identity documents, migrate constantly or reside in areas that are difficult to access or in urban areas plagued by violence.

As in most countries that implement conditional cash transfer programmes, the PBSM's targeting method consists of several steps:

• selection on a geographical basis: municipal estimates of households with per capita incomes of up to BRL 77, based on data from the 2010 Population Census, are used to define the number of individuals who are potentially eligible for PBSM programmes in a given municipality;

• non-verified income test: these tests are used to determine a household's income level based on the reference person's own reporting;

• socio-demographic classification of the household: identification of the socio-demographic profile of the family and its members (age, gender, pregnancy status, place of residence and type of productive activities). This information is used to determine the benefits and services to be received.

A common criticism of the use of the non-verified income test is the possibility of self-reporting biases in the informant's interest, which would tend to generate errors. Measures to combat this are: recommending that the interviews be held in the home of the person interviewed; re-certifying eligibility every two years; conducting a sample audit of the registry; listing beneficiary names online; and establishing a hotline for reporting abuse.

[7] CadÚnico was created by the federal government in 2001. In 2003, its use was broadened due to the implementation of the PBF.
[8] This includes: indigenous peoples, members of quilombola (descendants of slaves) communities, people rescued from working conditions analogous to slavery, Romani, workers from extractive industries, fisherfolk, Candomblé communities, riverside communities, family farmers, agrarian reform settlements, beneficiaries of the Programa Nacional de Crédito Fundiário (National Land Credit Programme), people affected by infrastructure projects, collectors of recyclable materials, the homeless and prison inmates.

PBSM's structural pillars

- **Guaranteed income**

This pillar is a key component of the plan and the gateway to the other pillars. Only *Bolsa Família* beneficiaries can benefit from other PBSM programmes. This is, therefore, *Bolsa Família's* greatest contribution to the PBSM.

Table 2 lists eligibility criteria, coverage and the nominal value of monthly benefit payments in 2004 and 2015. The amounts used to update the poverty and extreme poverty lines were below the rate of inflation. However, during that period, Brazil's currency underwent strong appreciation against the US dollar. Poverty lines set at US$20 and US$40 in July 2004 rose to US$35 and US$70 in 2015.

Table 2 also shows that in nominal terms, the amounts invested monthly in cash transfers in January 2015 are 3.3 times higher than those invested in the transfers of all five programmes that existed in July 2004, including the PBF. Between July 2004 and January 2015, the average amount transferred to households rose from BRL 69.74 to BRL 167.56, representing a 2.4-fold increase.

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TABLE 2
PBF ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA, COVERAGE AND GRANTS IN NOMINAL TERMS, JULY 2004 AND JANUARY 2015

	JULY 2004	JANUARY 2015
Classification of families according to thresholds - Poor - Extremely poor	- BRL60.01–BRL120.00 - Less than BRL60.01	- BRL77.01–BRL154.00 - Less than BRL77.01
Number of PBF beneficiary households	4,279,542	13,980,524
Number of beneficiaries of the transitional programmes[9] - *Auxílio Gas* (Gas Subsidy) - *Bolsa Alimentação* (Food Grant) - *Bolsa Escola* (School Grant) - *Cartão Alimentação* (Food Card)	- 1,366,664 families - 292,861 individuals - 3,549,892 individuals - 346,290 families	Programmes no longer exist
Funds transferred to beneficiaries per month	BRL298,459,485 (Transitional programmes – BRL202,049,955)	BRL2,342,594,866.00 (approximately US$976 million)
Average amount transferred to PBF beneficiaries per month	BRL69.74	BRL167.56 (approximately US$63.47)
Basic monthly allowance (regardless of a household's demographic composition)	BRL58	BRL77
Variable monthly allowance	Up to three benefits of BRL18 for poor or extremely poor households with family members with the following attributes: - Children aged 15 or younger	Up to five benefits of BRL35 for poor or extremely poor households with family members with the following attributes: - Children aged 15 or younger - Pregnant women - Breastfeeding women (6 months)
Variable benefit for adolescents	Non-existent	Up to two benefits of BRL42 for poor or extremely poor households with family members with the following attributes: - Adolescents aged 16 or 17

Source: Prepared by the author.

As of December 2014, the programme had reached almost 14 million beneficiary households, with a cumulative amount of US$12.24 billion transferred over the course of the year.

[9] *The Bolsa Familia Programme was the result of the merger of four federal cash transfer programmes: Bolsa Escola (School Grant), Bolsa Alimentação (Food Grant), Auxílio Gás (Gas Subsidy) and Cartão Alimentação (Food Card).*

- **Access to services**

The PBSM's services pillars coordinates 13 programmes and three public facilities (CRAS, CREAS and primary healthcare units, or "UBS" for their acronym in Portuguese). The strategy used for joint programme coordination is incremental and divides these programmes and facilities into three groups. The first one consists of those with the highest rates of adherence among the PBF's target population. With the implementation of the PBSM, the monitoring of their service targets was strengthened. As for the second group, their eligibility criterion was altered to give priority to PBSM beneficiaries. In September 2012, a third group of programmes sought mechanisms to increase their connectivity with the PBSM.

The first group is comprised of the CRAS and CREAS, the *Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil* (PETI, Eradication of Child Labour Programme) and the *Brasil Alfabetizado* literacy programme. Social assistance mechanisms are noteworthy in this group and they are expected to play a central role in the coordination of the plan. The centres, for example, are responsible for executing three strategic tasks: using Active Search to identify potential beneficiaries, providing social assistance services and making referrals to other services linked to the plan. A fourth task remained unimplemented: the monitoring of the employment trajectory of beneficiaries who completed the training programme provided by the PBSM. Investment in human resource training at the centres enabled the teams to engage immediately in the Active Search activities and increased their service capacity.

The second group of programmes is composed of the *Programa Mais Educação* (More Education Programme) and other activities aimed at improving access to childcare and providing equipment for primary healthcare units. In 2012, the criterion used to determine if a school was eligible for participating in the More Education Programme was the percentage of children at the school who belonged to PBF beneficiary families. In 2012, out of the 32,422 schools that joined or renewed their enrolment in the More Education Programme, 17,575 (54 percent) were schools where the majority of students were from poor and extremely poor families.

As for the third group, also in 2012, the Ministry of Health decided to build new primary healthcare units or expand the services of existing ones, based on the density of the extremely poor population. The information provided by the PBSM was used as a criterion for prioritizing allocations. In September, after adjustments, the target was to expand 5,458 UBS, build 19 mobile river units and hire 1,518 community health workers.

- **Productive inclusion**

The PBSM has developed two lines of action for its productive inclusion measures: one for rural areas and one for urban ones. Activities in the rural areas (table 3) focus on family farming and concern food production and the protection and development of human capital. While the rural line of action is better defined and organized than the urban one, difficulties in providing goods and services in rural areas demand greater resources and new structures for providing technical assistance and distribution.

The activities designed for urban areas (table 4) focus on individuals and are related to training and access to credit. The main challenges here are related to the *Sistema Nacional de Emprego* (SINE, or National Employment System), which is a national public system that aims to facilitate access to formal employment. It is comprised of two main activities: employment services and training. One problem is that even though the SINE's job search networks have been consolidated for decades, they have low coverage rates and there is little coordination between them and other social promotion and protection activities. Furthermore, they focus on urban areas where workers unions are more prevalent and resistant to alterations to the system. This tends to make it somewhat impermeable to change, especially when directed at a population that is not usually covered by the system - namely informal sector workers.


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TABLE 3
SELECTED PBSM PROGRAMMES IN RURAL AREAS (2012)

PROGRAMME	OBJECTIVE	TARGET POPULATION
Água para Todos (Water for All)	Universalize access to water for human consumption and for agricultural and food production in rural areas	Families in situations of social vulnerability in the dry lands
Bolsa Verde (Green Grant)	Encourage the conservation of ecosystems and raise the income of extremely poor individuals who conserve natural resources	Families living in extreme poverty who carry out environmental conservation activities in specific areas
Rural Productivity Development Programme	Stimulate the creation of sustainable jobs and income; promote food and nutritional security; encourage participation in social empowerment, educational, technical and professional activities; and support cooperative membership organizations and their beneficiaries	Families living in extreme poverty registered in the Single Registry (*CadÚnico)*
Assistência técnica e extensão rural (Ater, Technical Assistance and Rural Extension)	Support sustainable rural development initiatives involving agricultural and non-agricultural activities, fishing, extractive and other activities, with a focus on strengthening family farming, improving quality of life and adopting agroecology principles as guidance for activities and initiative	Land reform settlers, indigenous peoples, *quilombola* communities and other traditional peoples and communities, family farmers, foresters, fish farmers, workers from extractive sectors, fishermen, beneficiaries of settlement and irrigation programmes.
Programa de Aquisição de Alimentos (PAA, Food Acquisition Programme)	Increase access to food among food-insecure populations; promote social and economic inclusion in rural areas by strengthening family farming; contribute to the formation of strategic stocks and government purchases of foodstuffs for government programmes); and promote food acquisition from family farmers at prices that are compatible with regional market prices	Family farmers, land reform settlers, indigenous communities and other traditional peoples and communities or rural family enterprises registered with the Pronaf
Cultivares Crioulas ('native plants') - seed distribution initiative of the family farming insurance programme (*Seguro da Agricultura Familiar*, SEAF)	Create adequate conditions for identifying seeds and improving their productivity levels, adaptability, resistance and quality.	Farmers in semi-arid regions whose land is located in target areas of the *Territórios da Cidadania* (Territories of Citizenship) programme and who have enrolled in the harvest insurance programme

Source: Prepared by the author.

	STRATEGY	COORDINATION
	- increase the use of technology, infrastructure and equipment to capture and store rainwater; - support the installation of infrastructure and equipment to capture, preserve, treat and distribute water from bodies of water, wells or springs; - coordinate the actions of federal agencies and institutions that have mandates related to: a) food and nutrition security; b) water infrastructure for public water supply; c) water use regulation; and d) health and environment.	*Ministério da Integração Nacional* (MI, Ministry for National Integration)
	Direct quarterly cash transfers of BRL 300 per household for a period of up to two years. This period may be renewed.	*Ministério do Meio Ambiente* (MMA, Environment Ministry)
	Non-reimbursable cash transfers and provision of technical assistance to farmers and other groups identified as priorities by the executive branch. Heads of household receive a direct transfer of up to BRL 2400 per household in at least three instalments and for a maximum of two years.	MDS
	To participate, states whose councils have signed up for PRONATER (National Programme for Rural Technical Assistance) must become accredited with executing entities. Once accredited, they may formulate suggestions on PRONATER activities and cooperate in the monitoring, control, supervision and evaluation of the results. Companies or public entities duly accredited via a public bidding processes offer technical support to beneficiaries.	*Ministério de Desenvolvimento Agrário* (MDA, Ministry of Agrarian Development)
	Implemented through direct purchases from family farmers; support for stock formation; incentives for milk production and consumption; and purchases of food to be donated to charity organizations through partnerships with the *Companhia Nacional de Abastecimento* (Conab, National Supply Company) and state and local governments. To participate, a farmer must meet the criteria to qualify as a family farmer and registered in the *Programa Nacional de Fortalecimento da Agricultura Famíliar* (Pronaf, National Programme for Strengthening Family Farming).	MDS
	With its partners, the MDA Secretariat for Family Farming manages the preparations for seed production and distribution, consolidates seed production by the *Empresa Brasileira de Pesquisa Agropecuária* (Embrapa, Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation) and makes these products available to farmers participating in the harvest insurance programme. Municipal and state governments also provide support for the actions.	MDA

TABLE 4
SELECTED PBSM PROGRAMMES OR ACTIVITIES IN URBAN AREAS (2012)

PROGRAMME	OBJECTIVE	TARGET POPULATION	STRATEGY	COORDINATION
Programa Crescer (Microcredit earmarked for productive activities)	Facilitate access to credit for expanding small businesses to encourage employers to formalize employment ties and promote income generation	PBSM beneficiaries	Offer lower interest rates, make more funds available and reduce bureaucracy of credit applications. The maximum amount for each credit transaction (for working capital or investment purposes) is BRL 15,000 and it must be linked to productive activities, not consumption. The public financial institutions that participate are *Banco do Brasil, Caixa Econômica Federal, Banco do Nordeste do Brasil (BNB) and Banco da Amazônia (Basa).*	*Ministério da Fazenda* (MF, Ministry of Finance)
Programa Mulheres Mil (Thousand Women Programme)	Provide professional and technical training; raise the educational levels of socially vulnerable women	Socially vulnerable women	Increase coordination among professional and technical training institutions; develop partnerships with educational institutions to offer courses with a 160-hour minimum workload, in compliance with national curriculum guidelines	Ministério da Educação (MEC, Ministry of Education)
Programa Nacional de Acesso ao Ensino Técnico e Emprego (*Pronatec*, National Programme on Access to Technical Training and Employment)	Expand professional and technical training through programmes, projects and activities related to technical and financial assistance	Public high school students or students from private institutions under a full scholarship; workers; beneficiaries of federal cash transfer programmes	Increase enrolment and expand the federal and state networks of vocational and technological training, including distance education programmes offered at the high school level; offer scholarships to beneficiaries and increase funding for vocational education and technological training; raise the number of spots for people with disabilities; coordinate actions with the *Sistema Nacional de Emprego* (SINE, National Employment System)	MEC

Source: Prepared by the author.

Integration of the PBSM and state programmes

The process of decentralizing public policies to the municipal level has diminished the role of the state government in many areas.[10] One of the PBSM's distinctive features is its ability to provide the state level with a role in the plan's implementation. In its relation with state governments, the federal government aims to:

• convert states from a competitor for social protection policy solutions into a partner for the drafting of these policies;

• direct the states' creativity towards producing innovation within the social protection model;

• increase the plan's legitimacy through shared responsibilities and political gains; and

• integrate states into the logic of co-funding the plan's activities.

As the plan's goals and targets can accommodate the interests and policy priorities of a broad range of political actors, it is able to mobilize support from all state governments.

In 2011, the federal government established regional pacts with all 27 state governors to confirm their commitment to the PBSM. During this process, interventions were made by the presidents of municipal associations in each state.[11] By November 2012, 19 state governments and the Federal District had passed policies that were coherent with those of the federal government.

GOVERNANCE OF THE PBSM

The PBSM does not seek to carry out radical state reform; instead, it is an extraordinary state effort to increase coordination among ministries on the implementation of public policies. This entails making timely changes to the administrative model to allow public institutions to speed up the implementation process. In the case of the PBSM, two administrative measures were adopted to establish the plan's institutional framework: the MDS adjusted its management structure to establish an administrative core for the plan, and the presidential decree that established the plan created specific entities for its management.

Reconfiguration of the MDS

The MDS redefined its administrative structure by creating the *Secretaria Extraordinária para Superação da Extrema Pobreza* (Sesep, Extraordinary Secretariat for Overcoming Extreme Poverty). The new secretariat emerged with two unique attributes. First, the word 'extraordinary' implies transience, suggesting that a more permanent structure would be built in the future. Second, it was linked directly to the ministerial cabinet, which means that it is not subordinate to the vice-minister's office. This arrangement allowed the Sesep to work as an executive secretary for matters related to the PBSM, thereby enhancing its ability to dialogue with partner institutions.

The Sesep has three mandates:

1. cooperate with government partners and civil society on the implementation of programmes and/or activities to overcome extreme poverty;
2. participate in the production of knowledge to inform public policies on eradicating extreme poverty; and
3. promote and foster social participation in productive inclusion policies designed for the target groups of the MDS's programmes.

Human resources from other areas are also part of this structure. A total of 24 civil servants from other areas of the MDS's operations and from the *Caixa Econômica Federal* public bank have been assigned to the Sesep.

PBSM management levels

Three bodies – the *Comitê Gestor Nacional* (National Steering Committee), the *Grupo Executivo* (Executive Group) and the *Grupo Interministerial de Acompanhamento* (Interministerial Monitoring Group) – manage the PBSM. The MDS has primary responsibility for the overall coordination of the plan.

[10] For more information, see chapter 7 of this report.
[11] An example of this convergence between federal and state policies is the State of Rio de Janeiro's Plano Rio Sem Miséria (Rio Without Extreme Poverty Plan) established in November 2011. The plan is comprised of three programmes: 1) Programa Renda Melhor (Improved Income Programme), which aims to raise the per capita income of extremely poor households above the state poverty line, established at BRL 100; 2) Programa Renda Melhor Jovem (Improved Income for Youth Programme), whose goal is to provide financial incentives to youth to remain and excel in high school; and 3) Programa de Gestão de Oportunidades Econômicas e Sociais (GOES, Programme for Managing Social and Economic Opportunities) to coordinate inclusion opportunities for extremely poor people.

The National Steering Committee is the main forum for deliberations on the plan. It sets targets and guides the formulation, implementation, monitoring and assessment of the plan.

The MDS, together with the President's Chief of Staff Office, the MF and the MP coordinate the Committee. The Sesep coordinates the Executive Secretariat of the National Steering Committee.

This model strengthens programme coordination in two ways. First, it involves key political actors at the ministerial level, namely those responsible for the government's overall political, financial and programme coordination. Second, coordination is strengthened thanks to the symbolism of a sectoral ministry (MDS) working with ministries that wield greater political power. This indicates that the presidency has given a central role to the plan, hence the creation of a flexible mechanism for coordinating with those who have the power to implement public policies across the different ministries.

The Executive Group ensures that the decisions made by the National Steering Committee are executed. It is comprised of representatives from the MDS and the Executive Secretaries of 21 other ministries that make up the National Steering Committee. The Executive Group thus has the same format as the National Steering Committee.

Although the jurisdiction of the Interministerial PBSM Monitoring Group is limited to monitoring and evaluating policies, programmes and activities developed in the framework of the plan, it also functions as a space for negotiation for those involved in the implementation of the PBSM, as the primary government stakeholders at the federal level are present in this group.

Coordinated by a representative of the MDS, the Interministerial Monitoring Group is comprised of representatives appointed by the following entities:

- Presidential Chief of Staff's Office
- General Secretariat of the Presidency
- Ministry of Finance
- Ministry of Planning, Budget and Management
- Ministry of Cities
- Ministry of Labour and Employment
- Ministry of Agrarian Development
- Ministry of Health
- Ministry of Education
- Ministry of National Integration.

Representatives from public and private entities, agencies and experts may be called on to provide the Interministerial Monitoring Group with information on topics relevant to the plan. Eleven other ministries also occasionally participate in the PBSM's management bodies.

The decree that created the PBSM provides for the establishment of thematic working groups under the Interministerial Monitoring Group, which are to study and elaborate proposals to support the National Steering Committee. These activities have often been carried out in what is known as 'situation rooms' in Brazil. It is common practice in Brazil for high-level government ministries to use them to coordinate government activities and set cross-cutting policies. In the case of the PBSM, they play an important role in the plan's management model.

Situation rooms

Situation rooms are tools used to monitor and manage the PBSM, under the coordination of the MDS. When the PBSM was first set up, temporary and permanent situation rooms were defined. They mainly address urban and rural programmes and actions to combat social vulnerability. They routinely observe bottlenecks in these programmes, identify strategies for overcoming them and assign tasks to the appropriate actors. The upper levels of the plan and the government are called into play when all other options fail at this technical level.

There are always representatives from the Chief of Staff's Office, the MP, the MF and the MDS (represented by the Sesep) in the PBSM situation rooms. Other members are called on based on their thematic affinities. Public enterprises, such as Embrapa and Conab, as well as the *Agência Nacional de Águas* (ANA, National Water Agency) and the *Fundação Nacional de Saúde* (Funasa, National Health Foundation) also participate in situation rooms that address activities related to their respective fields.

Monitoring by the presidential office

The Presidency monitors the plan's finances and overall implementation. Staff from the Office of the President carry out monthly monitoring activities based on a special report from the Federal Budget Secretariat of the Ministry of Planning. Monitoring of the Plan's overall implementation is carried out by the Presidency of the Republic itself, which dispatches a high-level MDS official to perform this task. There is no pre-established frequency for monitoring activities. In the first half of 2012, they were executed once every four to six weeks. In some cases, monitoring led to meetings held with other government offices to discuss and resolve the problems identified by the Presidency.

The direct involvement of the highest authority of the executive branch in the implementation of the plan allows for: the validation of the choices being made; interventions to remove obstacles or mediate conflicts; and the renewal of the mandates of the plan's forums and coordination together with relevant political stakeholders.

CONTRIBUTION OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ACTORS TO THE PBSM

The business sector

Relations between the business sector and the PBSM are in the form of partnerships. Partnerships in the area of productive inclusion seek to change the rationale behind purchasing products and hiring labour in the private sector. In November 2012, three major organizations responded to the PBSM's demands: the *Associação Brasileira de Supermercados* (Abras, Brazilian Association of Supermarkets), the *Câmara Brasileira da Indústria da Construção* (CBIC, Brazilian Chamber of the Construction Industry) and the *Serviço Brasileiro de Apoio às Micro e Pequenas Empresas* (Sebrae, Brazilian Micro and Small Business Support Service).

The partnership with Abras involves the MDS, MDA, Conab and Embrapa (all are bodies of the federal government) and aims to increase the supermarket sector's participation in the acquisition and sale of food produced by family farmers and traditional communities and the development of human resources. It also creates opportunities for integrating these farmers into the retail sector. In the late 2012, supermarkets in north-eastern Brazil began to acquire products from family farms authorized to export their produce, meaning that they had high-quality goods. This was a small-scale activity in which state-level supermarket associations acted as intermediaries. The electronic platform launched by the MDA, called *Rede Brasil Rural* (Brazil Rural Network), was to generate significant gains in scale in terms of product supply. The network enables farmers to sell products to the retail and public sectors, purchase supplies and items to improve production, and hire transportation services for their products directly on the Internet.

Partnering with the CBIC creates opportunities for the social and economic inclusion of families enrolled in the CadÚnico as PBSM and PBF beneficiaries by offering training and employability measures. The CBIC's main objective is to encourage companies from the construction industry to hire local labour from the pool of *Bolsa Família* beneficiaries. The main mobilization strategy used in this partnership was to hold large job fairs. From July 2011 to April 2012, four fairs were held, offering 8,900 jobs and attracting 35,000 interested individuals.

Civil society

The MDS and the *Secretaria Geral da Presidência da República* (SGPR, Secretary-General of the Presidency), which has been responsible for the dialogue with civil society since the Lula administration, held several consultations with civil society prior to the launch of the PBSM.

The activities addressed the federal government's need to identify civil society demands and to broaden political support for the plan through dialogue. At the consultations, the voices of organizations and researchers interested in social protection policies, and combating poverty in particular, were held. Held from January to May 2011, they mobilized 452 people linked to 80 civil society organizations nationwide and 13 relevant government institutions (Beghin, 2011). Women accounted for 40 percent of participants.

A second round of consultations took place on 8 August 2012, with 112 representatives from civil society and 84 representatives from the federal government (MDS/SGPR, 2012). On 7 March 2013, the third round of dialogue assessed the PBSM's achievements. 50 civil society representatives and 60 representatives from the federal government attended.

The PBSM's social participation methodology was consolidated in 2012. Its structure is presented in table 5 below.

TABLE 5
SOCIAL PARTICIPATION IN THE PBSM

TYPE OF ACTIVITY	DESCRIPTION
Dialogues held between the government and civil society	Meetings between the federal government and various civil society sectors to: • do an assessment of the PBSM; • present results stemming from proposals made in the previous year's dialogues; • hold thematic meetings on each of the PBSM lines of action; • assess and create proposals for improving the PBSM.
Dialogues held during councils and conferences	Discussions on the PBSM held in existing social participation forums related to the issue, such as national conferences and councils on public policies.
Regional dialogues	Agenda Brasil meetings headed by the Secretary-General of the Presidency to disseminate knowledge and broaden the debate on the PBSM.
Other types of dialogues	Discussions on the PBSM in activities on the federal government's agenda, such as the Rio+20 Conference where the PBSM was highlighted during the debates at the Socio-Environmental Arena (16–22 June 2012).

Source: MDS/SGPR, 2012b.

THE PBSM'S INITIAL RESULTS

The initial results of the PBSM confirm that maintaining high levels of investment in benefits, services and household infrastructure (such as cisterns and electricity), and the introduction of innovative income generation programmes are justified:

- By January 2015, 1.38 million households had been included in the PBF via the Active Search programme. At the end of 2014, the plan was providing benefits to more than 14 million families;
- 1.37 million children in households with more than three children (September 2012), and 166,000 pregnant and 206,000 breastfeeding women (December 2012) have benefited from changes to the procedure for distributing variable benefits. The amounts transferred to overcome the poverty gap benefitted 3.45 million children aged 0 to 6 years (as of December 2012). The speed and magnitude of these results reaffirm the importance of the PBF in the plan;
- 7,505 CRAS and 2,314 CREAS have been set up;
- Over 780,000 cisterns for drinking water have been built;
- By January 2015, Pronatec had offered training to 1.5 million *Bolsa Família* beneficiaries registered in the *CadÚnico*. *Bolsa Verde* benefits had been granted to over 29,000 families. Over 358,000 families engaged in family farming had received technical assistance.

In addition to achieving these targets, the PBSM has implemented a more consistent social protection and promotion structure by involving state governments based on principles of synergy, complementarity and effectiveness.

THE CHALLENGES FACING THE PBSM

The agenda of the PBSM programmes needs to be expanded, especially in regards to access to services. Greater consistency in defining which services and transferred assets to include in the plan is also required.

The PBSM's main budgetary challenge is to strike a better balance between the services offered and the benefits transferred. In general, the social protection model upon which the PBSM is based repeats the same type of asymmetric focus on benefits as the models that preceded it. Conditional cash transfers account for more than 73 percent of the PBSM's total budget.

While the relationship with state programmes has been the greatest breakthrough in terms of the plan's institutional architecture, legal instruments are required to improve the effectiveness of partnerships forged with the states.

The management model behind the PBSM is agile, flexible and efficient. It seems appropriate for the initial stage of implementation, when rapid decision-making is necessary. However, this model is under increasing pressure due to the growing number of partners and the constant demands for its bodies to accommodate new partners, such as state governments, state enterprises, etc.

Cooperation with the business sector depends on the demand the federal government is able to generate in the market. The focus on construction and retail is linked to growing demands for labour in these sectors. However, the coordination of joint activities needs to be improved.

Finally, the PBSM's consolidation could generate greater demand for Brazilian engagement in and funding of international cooperation activities. Of the ministries more directly involved in the PBSM, the Ministry of Health is the only one with the minimum structure required to partake in external cooperation activities. Even so, its structure alone is not sufficient to respond to the growing demands for Brazil to engage in international cooperation in the field of social policy. The country has still not developed the institutional structure and financial capacity needed to take on the role of a major international donor.

The initial results of the PBSM confirm that maintaining high levels of investment in benefits, services and household infrastructure (such as cisterns and electricity), and the introduction of innovative income generation programmes are justified.

CONCLUSIONS

Funded primarily by the federal government and subscribing to a growing international trend of associating social protection with employment and income generation policies, Brazil's PBSM combines social protection and social promotion policies to reduce poverty. It has significantly expanded on the policies of the previous administration in this regard. Its novelty lies in its focus on the extreme poor and its more effective management model. More specifically, the PBSM aims to increase social protection for children under seventeen years of age, stimulate changes in the labour market and bolster the working capabilities of extremely poor workers in rural and urban areas. In so doing, the PSBM is a living example of a broader approach to social protection, poverty and inequality reduction, capacity-building and life cycle development with nimble management and extensive partnership frameworks. Thus, the PSBM can serve as a proto-SDG model and lay a solid foundation for development policy in the post-2015 era. By addressing multiple issues across the economic, social and even the environmental spheres (even though to a lesser extent that the other two), the PBSM encapsulates a 21st Century vision for integrated planning and development.

By taking advantage of the fact that Brazil is close to achieving full PBF coverage and expanding coverage even further, a leapfrogging moment has also been achieved, delivering not only on the quantity but also the quality of services. The PSBM has, for example, made headway in maximizing the positive impacts of the PBF on extremely poor populations by increasing the benefits that aim to fill the gap between average income per capita and the poverty threshold.

In its entirety, the plan demonstrates that once a programme has reached almost-full coverage and put into place a network offering social protection and promotion services and services that are accessible to extremely poor people in a meaningful way, well-calibrated strategic interventions can be adopted to rapidly expand measures to combat extreme poverty. The PBSM's efforts to address various dimensions of well-being by gradually constructing a sustainable foundation based on social rights for all Brazilians acts as converging force for other elements of social and development programming. It also serves as a signpost of the possibilities for second- and third-generation social protection programmes. By seeking to go beyond its original goal of eradicating poverty to create, in the near future, a situation where extreme poverty is a thing of the past, the PBSM also provides a new point of convergence and coherence between risk management and development planning. As such, it offers a new space for mutual learning with other countries in the Global South including Africa.

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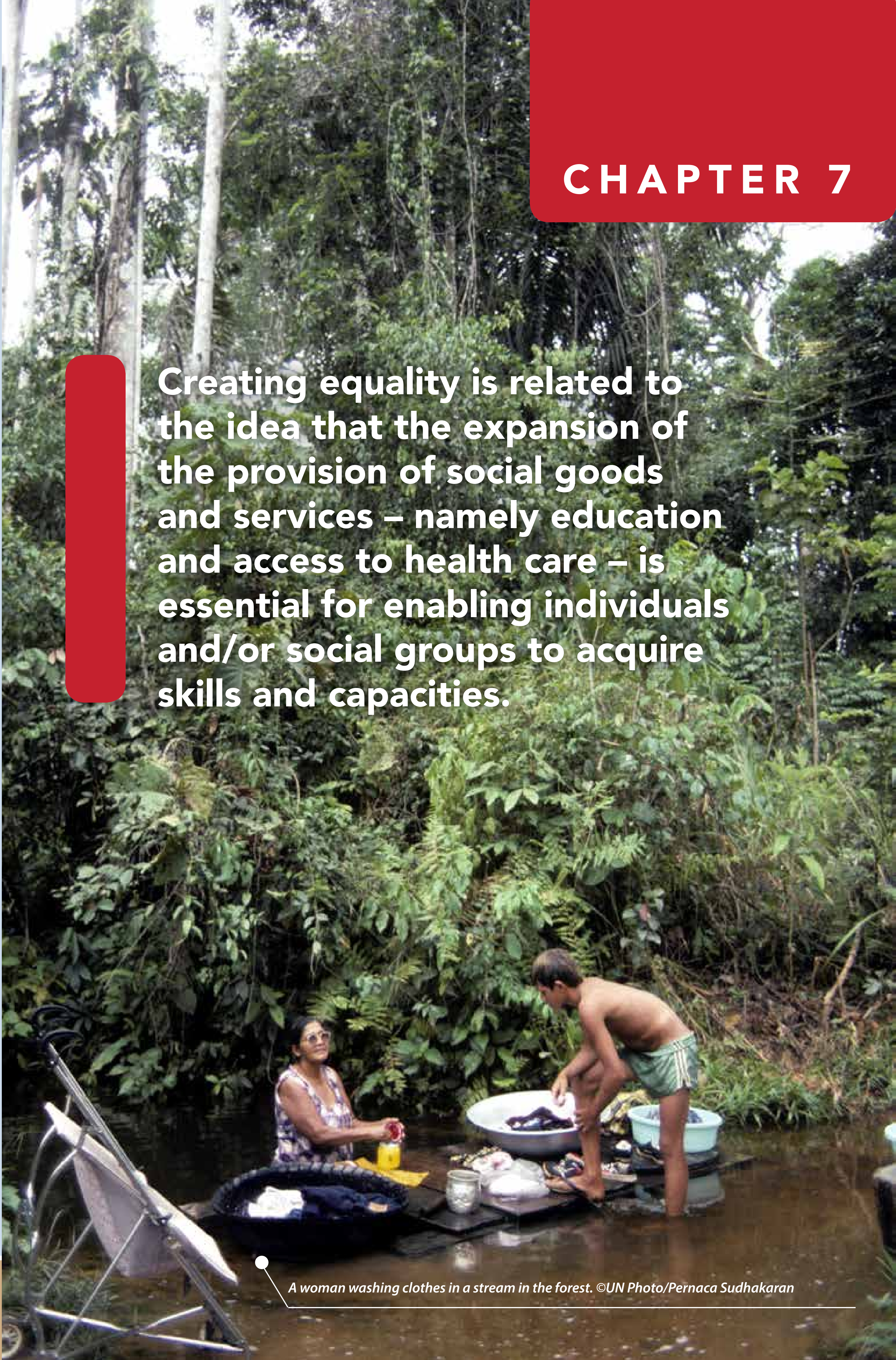
CHAPTER 7



Creating equality is related to the idea that the expansion of the provision of social goods and services – namely education and access to health care – is essential for enabling individuals and/or social groups to acquire skills and capacities.

A woman washing clothes in a stream in the forest. ©UN Photo/Pernaca Sudhakaran

Social Rights, Income Distribution and Economic Growth: The Brazilian social policy experience[1]

INTRODUCTION

Social policies are institutional mechanisms that societies construct over the course of their country's history. They are largely the result of the efforts of social movements and political struggles, and their objective is to protect and/or promote the well-being of the population. Implemented by the state, these policies are constantly at the centre of political debate, as they account for a considerable portion of public expenditure, among other reasons. This makes them the target of heated disputes over the allocation of budgetary resources.

The extent of coverage and the way the benefits of social policies are distributed can strongly link these policies to a country's economy, especially when government spending takes on a key role in driving economic expansion and improvements in income distribution. It is thus important to determine and calculate the extent to which such policies are capable of affecting both aggregate demand and economic growth.

In societies as heterogeneous as Brazil's, the greater the income managed and distributed to the lower social classes, the greater the capacity to alter consumption patterns will be, as it opens up the possibility of increasing aggregate demand and, consequently, stimulating the internal consumer market. However, guaranteeing the supply of goods and social services is also important for the growth of the economy, as the provision and expansion of such goods and services requires governments to increase spending on hiring personnel, equipment maintenance, purchasing supplies, etc.

Based on this perspective, the article seeks to demonstrate the relation between social policy and the economy, especially in regards to income distribution and economic growth in Brazil in recent years. It first seeks to define and outline the concrete dimensions of social policy in Brazil to show the current scope of the benefits it provides, state expenditure and the modes of financing used. It then aims to illustrate the connections between these policies and income distribution and economic growth.

SOCIAL POLICY IN BRAZIL

The task of defining "social policy" is more complicated than it looks due to the complexity of the network of government institutions involved, their respective spheres of activity and the legal framework governing public policies. Here, social policy will be understood as a set of state programmes and actions that provide goods and services, income transfers and regulation. Their goal is to address the needs and social rights[2] related to various components of the basic living conditions of the population, including those linked to poverty and inequality.

In the case of Brazil, the political agreements that paved the way for the elaboration of a broad set of state social policies are very recent. The Federal Constitution of 1988 is the most important institutional framework in this area, which allowed for the increase in both access to and the types of social benefits. The Constitution combined measures that guarantee a series of social rights, expand the population's access to certain public goods and services and ensure regular benefits. It established the right to "education, health, work, leisure, security, social security, maternity and childhood protection and support for those in need". It also established a minimum wage and the principle that ties the definition of the minimum amounts of long-term social security and social assistance benefits to minimum wage. In relation to funding, it recognized the importance of education by increasing the allocation of federal resources to this area and created a budget specifically for the social security system.

The Brazilian state is currently developing a diversified set of public policies, which are

[1]Jorge Abrahão de Castro, Secretaria de Planejamento e Investimentos Estratégicos do Ministério do Planejamento, Orçamento e Gestão (Ministry of Planning, Budget and Management, Brazil).

[2]According to Esping-Andersen (1991), "The introduction of modern social rights, in turn, weakens the status of individuals as mere merchandise". For Marshall (1967), social rights correspond to the right to a minimum standard of economic well-being, to full participation in social heritage and to live in a civilized manner in accordance with the standards established in society.

summarized in figure 1 below. Social policies linked to social security that aim to reduce and mitigate the risks and vulnerability to which all individuals living in a market society are exposed - such as being unable to sustain oneself through one's own efforts due to old age, death of the primary income earner, disease or unemployment - are regrouped under the objective of providing social protection. This category includes a variety of social security programmes and measures (retirement and old-age pensions, maternity-leave, sick-leave and other types of financial aid) for the general public and civil servants, as well as health care, social assistance and unemployment insurance.

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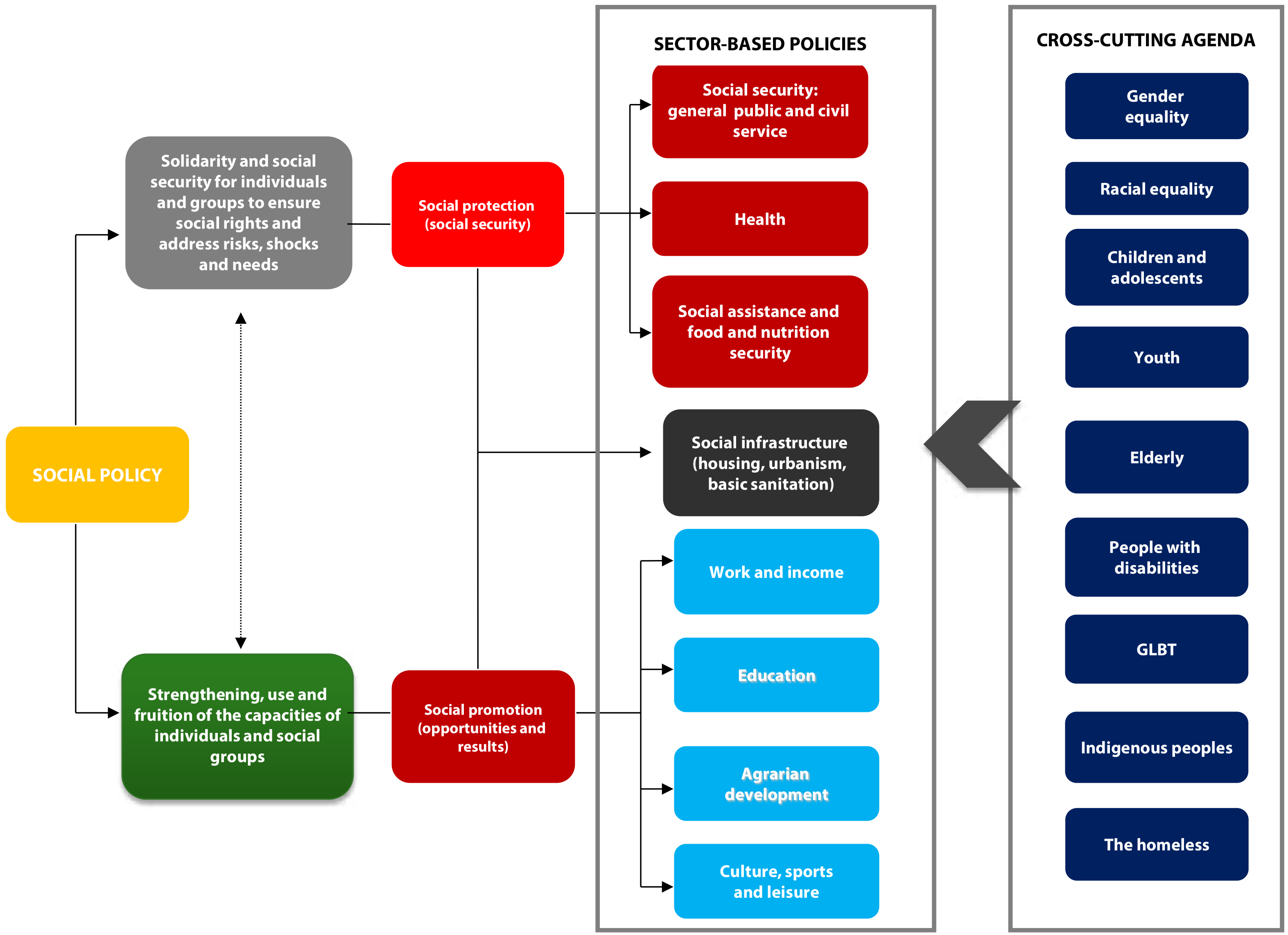
FIGURE 1
SECTOR-BASED AND CROSS-CUTTING SOCIAL POLICIES IN BRAZIL (2012)



As for the **social promotion** objective, it regroups policies that aim to guarantee citizens broader and more equal opportunities to access the resources and benefits won by society over the course of history. They include a vast range of measures from the formation and development of citizens (education, access to culture, and labour policies that seek to provide professional training and regulate the labour market) to the democratization of access to assets. The latter include policies to promote family farming (access to credit, technical support and agrarian reform), solidarity economy, housing and urban mobility.

Creating equality is related to the idea that the expansion of the provision of social goods and services - namely education and access to health care – is essential for enabling individuals and/or social groups to acquire skills and capacities. This alone, however, is not enough to guarantee equality. One must also ensure that they are able to use these skills by adopting policies to promote their integration into production in both rural and urban areas. These are fundamental elements of social promotion, as they make expanding opportunities and obtaining better personal and collective results possible. This goal will only be fulfilled if there is a process to universalize the scope of these policies to reach the poorest classes.

Furthermore, the Brazilian state is also currently developing a series of more cross-cutting policies that can be classified as social protection or social promotion. They include actions to promote gender and racial equality, as well as measures specifically designed for the different stages of the life cycle (for children, adolescents, youth and the elderly) and for people with disabilities, GLBTs and the homeless.

THE MANAGEMENT, ORGANIZATION AND INSTITUTIONAL APPARATUSES FOR SOCIAL POLICY

To concretize the policies above, a technical/bureaucratic apparatus had to be created to provide the social benefits necessary for responding to society's demands. The major challenge here was the technical/political capacity each social policy sector was required to have in order to set up public systems to provide goods and social services. It is important to highlight that in the policy areas that advanced the most, the institutions were structured into nationally organized systems in the form of either unified or federative systems. Furthermore, it should be noted that institutional arrangements in Brazil allow for-profit or not-for-profit private entities to provide social goods and services.

In the area of social protection, the social security system is the longest-standing policy in the country, with over eighty years of existence. The system has a considerable amount of resources that are stable over time, as well as explicit access criteria and a legal and institutional framework that guarantees the viability of its operations. While the management of the Brazilian pension scheme - *Regime Geral de Previdência Social* (RGPS, General Social Security Regime) - is centralized in the hands of the federal government, the public bodies involved in its management are distributed throughout the different regions. Another policy worth mentioning here is the *Regimes Próprios de Previdência Social* (RPPS, Special Social Security Regimes), which provide benefits specifically to civil servants.

As for health care, which is part of social security, the creation of the *Sistema Único de Saúde* (SUS, Unified Health System) led to the unification of public services in this area and the universalization of access to them. Furthermore, it decentralized service provision by establishing formal pacts among the different levels of government (federal, state and municipal). After starting off in the 1990s with a strong focus on the municipal level, the decentralization process eventually began to put greater emphasis on organizing the service networks at a regional level in an effort to improve access to the services and their integration. Provisions exist to ensure the comprehensiveness of the SUS's actions, as well as social participation in its management. User representatives are directly involved in the planning, monitoring and evaluation of its services.

Social assistance is responsible for guaranteeing some rights and the access of the population in need to a series of services and cash transfers such as the *Programa de Bolsa Família* (PBF, Family Allowance Programme) and the *Benefício de Prestação Continuada* (BPC, Continuous Cash Benefit Programme). Coordinated by the federal government, all three levels of government participate in the management of the PBF via a shared management model. Several states and municipalities have their own cash transfer and anti-poverty programmes. In these cases, a process for establishing agreements among actors is necessary to ensure the integration of local and federal programmes.

As for the provision of social services to the population, the *Sistema Único de Assistência Social* (SUAS, Unified Social Assistance System) is in the process of being consolidated. Created in 2004, the SUAS is an attempt to overcome chronic under-funding and the need for more state regulation and production in order to expand coverage. While the municipalities are responsible for social assistance services, a considerable portion of these services are provided in parallel by private entities from a wide range of origins, natures and sizes. The strong presence of private philanthropic institutions in the sector clearly constitutes a challenge to increasing coordination and synergies in the provision of social assistance services.

In the area of social promotion, for many years, Brazil's labour and wage policies were limited to the provision of social security insurance to workers employed in the formal sector and civil servants - both contributors to the system. It was only in the 1980s that the state began to broaden the scope of its actions in this area by creating the *Sistema Nacional de Emprego* (SINE, National Employment System), whose mandate is to offer professional intermediation services and training. It also instituted unemployment insurance for workers formally employed by private companies. In the 1990s, the Brazilian state adopted "active labour market policies" designed to generate new employment and income opportunities.

Public education is organized as a federative system made up of three subsystems, each with different responsibilities. In theory, they are supposed to cooperate with one another. The municipal school network dominates early childhood education and leads in the provision of elementary education as well, although state-level schools are responsible for a sizeable portion of the spots in elementary schools. That said, the state-level networks are becoming increasingly focused on secondary education. Higher education lies basically in the hands of the federal government, but also some states. Even though the federal government is not responsible for offering elementary and secondary education directly, its leadership is crucial for the configuration of a more cooperative form of federalism. This is fundamental for a policy as decentralized as that of education, which, in Brazil, leaves much to be desired.

The institutional apparatus of other social promotion policies are also being strengthened. For example, the area of housing and sanitation now has a recently created ministry, the *Ministério das Cidades* (MCidades, Ministry of Cities), an agency to funds its activities (the *Caixa Econômica Federal* bank) and a programme considered top priority: *Minha Casa, Minha Vida* (PMCMV, My Home, My Life). Though relatively new (created in 2009), the programme has already provided housing for close to 2 million people. As for the area of agrarian development, a new scheme called the *Territórios da Cidadania* (Territories of Citizenship) is being developed - although not as a unified system - to manage and organize policy for the target population of MDA programmes and policies in rural areas. It is still in the experimental phase.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN THE PROVISION OF GOODS AND SOCIAL SERVICES

In Brazil, market forces have always been allowed to participate in the provision of public goods and services. Such a configuration demands that the state regulate the sector to protect service-users, guarantee the stability and continuity of services, and prevent the coexistence of public, philanthropic and corporate sectors from becoming chaotic. These objectives, however, have not been adequately met in recent years. Clearly, social service providers from the private sector have taken on a much greater and far more complex role than could possibly have been imagined when the 1988 Constitution maintained the social area open to private for-profit and non-for-profit entities.

With regards to social protection, the most typical example of an area with substantial private sector participation is that of health. Health care in Brazil has reached a point where it is impossible to design a national policy without taking the private sector into account. As paradoxical as it might seem, due to the explicit and firm recognition of public health as a universal social right in the Constitution, the private health care sector receives - directly or indirectly - large amounts of public resources, which strengthen this market even further.

In the case of social security, the importance of private pension funds should be highlighted for both the volume of assets and resources they possess and the protagonist role they play in the stock market and the management of Brazil's largest companies. In the area of social assistance, one can note that the state provision of services is still limited, whereas the participation of the private sector - namely charity institutions - in service provision is quite substantial. The relationship between the two is tense, which constitutes one of the greatest challenges to the consolidation of the SUAS.

As for social promotion, the private sector is highly active in the area of education, namely higher education. The majority of post-secondary education programmes are offered by the for-profit private sector. In this case, one of the greatest successes in recent times is the *Universidade para Todos* (Prouni, University for All programme). Created by the Ministry of Education in 2004, the programme awards full or partial (50 percent) tuition scholarships to Brazilian students who do not have a graduate degree and are enrolled in undergraduate programmes or specific training courses at private higher education institutions. Prouni emerged as a result of alterations to the state regulatory and fiscal framework for private higher education institutions.

In the field of labour and income, one should highlight tax revenues transferred to the extensive and consolidated private sector network offering professional training and technical support known as the *Sistema S* (the "S" System). This system is composed of institutions that represent the various professional categories in the productive sector: industry (SENAI), services (SESC), commerce (SENAC), agriculture (SENAR), transportation (SENAT) and micro and small businesses (Sebrae). It aims to contribute to and promote the well-being and income opportunities of the professionals of their respective areas.

THE SCOPE OF BRAZILIAN SOCIAL POLICY

Currently, the scope of Brazilian social policy is notable for the wide range of benefits it offers daily to millions of citizens through the programmes and actions of various social policies. These policies are executed by state bodies through three basic types of actions and programmes: (i) guaranteed income; (ii) guaranteed supply of social goods and services; and (iii) regulation. The first two rely mainly on state funding, while the last one involves less expenditures and more non-financial resources (institutional, political, technical and administrative) in order to regulate the operations of economic agents. These types of intervention are explained in detail in table 1 below.

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TABLE 1
BASIC TYPES OF SOCIAL POLICY INTERVENTIONS IN BRAZIL (2010)

BASIC TYPES	TRANSFERS, GOODS AND SERVICES	2002(1)	2014(1)
GUARANTEED INCOME	**SOCIAL ASSISTANCE**		
	PBF beneficiaries (families)[2]	3.6 million (2003)	14.0 million
	BPC and RMV beneficiaries[3]	2.3 million	4.3 million
	SOCIAL SECURITY		
	Beneficiaries of the RGPS[4]	18.9 million	27.8 million
	Beneficiaries of the RPPS	-	4.3 million
	WORK AND INCOME		
	Unemployment insurance beneficiaries	4.8 million	8.9 million (2013)
	Abono Salarial (Salary Bonus) beneficiaries	6.5 million	21.3 million (2013)
GUARANTEED SUPPLY OF GOODS AND SERVICES	**HEALTH**		
	Outpatient procedures	1,883.5 million	3,794.2 million (2013)
	Primary health care services	868.0 million	1,200.8 million (2013)
	Specialized health care services	146.4 million	447.0 million (2013)
	Hospitalization for elective procedures	1.5 million	2.2 million
	Hospitalization for emergency procedures[5]	10.6 million	8.5 million
	EDUCATION[6]		
	Early childhood education enrolments	4.4 million	5.5 million
	Regular elementary school enrolments[7]	33.3 million	24 million
	Full-time elementary school enrolments[8]	1.3 million (2010)	4.4 million
	Regular high school enrolments	7.6 million	7.2 million
	School meals – student beneficiaries	36.9 million	42.2 million
	School books purchased	96.0 million (2005)	135.5 million
	School buses purchased (*Caminho da Escola* programme)	2,391 (2008)	4,078
	Enrolments in vocational training programmes in high schools[9]	279,143	1.7 million
	Higher education enrolments	1.1 million	2.4 million (2013)
	Fies – contracts signed	65,921	732,348
	Prouni – scholarships provided	95,612 (2005)	223,493
	URBAN DEVELOPMENT		
	Housing units from PMCMV[10]	-	2.0 million
	AGRARIAN DEVELOPMENT		
	Pronaf contracts	0.9 million	1.5 million (2014/2015)

Source: MEC, MS, MDS, MPS, MCidades, MDA, MTE.[3]
Notes:
1. When data was unavailable for 2002 or 2014, data from the year in parentheses was used.
2. In 2002, other cash transfer programmes existed (Bolsa Escola/School Grant, Bolsa Alimentação/Food Grant, Auxílio Gas/Gas Subsidy). The PBF was created in 2003.
3. Renda Mensal Vitalícia (RMV, Life-long Monthly Income).
4. Benefits issued every year in December by the RGPS.
5. The decline in the number of hospitalizations for emergency procedures is due to a change in the SUS's model, which puts greater emphasis on outpatient health care, especially primary health care, thereby increasing its capacity to resolve health problems.
6. Enrolment figures refer to public schools only. The programmes referred to are: Programa Nacional de Alimentação Escolar (PNAE, National School Meals Programme); Programa Nacional do Livro Didático (PNLD, National School Book Programme); Programa Nacional de Apoio ao Transporte do Escolar (PNATE, National Support Programme for School Transportation); Fundo de Financiamento Estudantil (Fies, Student Financing Fund); and the Programa Universidade para Todos (Prouni, University for All Programme).
7. The decrease in enrolment figures is due to improvements in the flow of children from one grade to the next and a decline in the number of children and adolescents in the period analyzed (due to changes at the basis of the Brazilian age pyramid).
8. These enrolments are a sub-group of enrolments in regular elementary schools.
9. Taking into account the three modes: integrated, simultaneous and subsequent.[4]
10. The PMCMV was created in 2009.

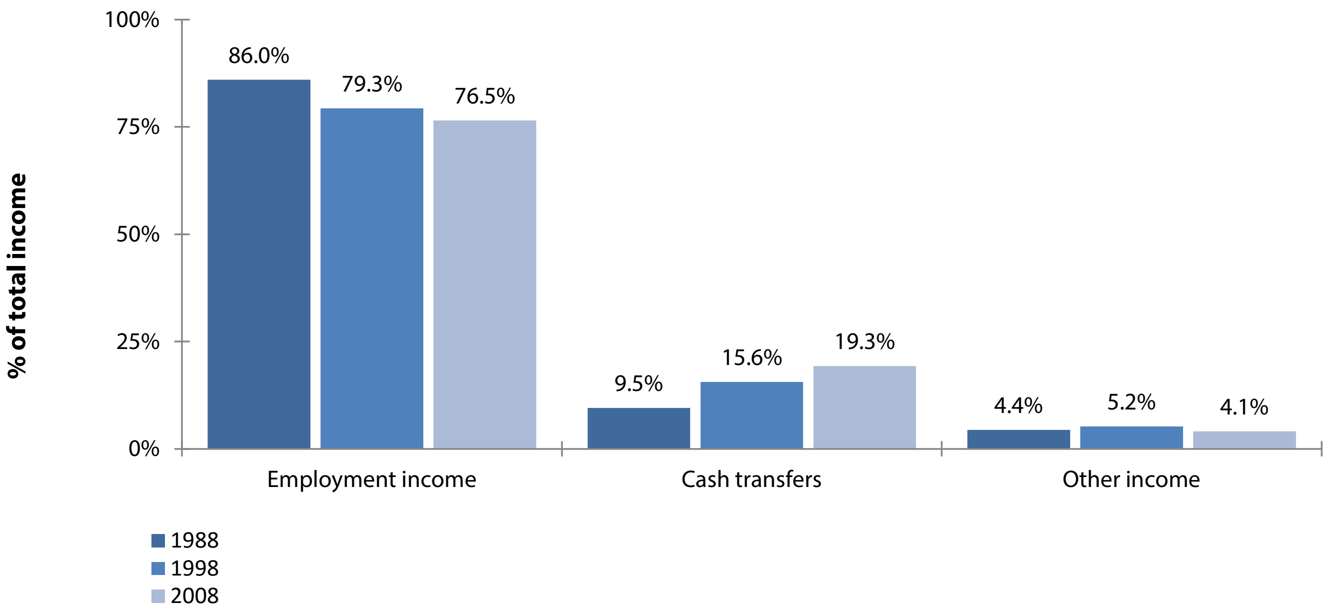
[3]The acronyms listed are for the following Brazilian ministries: Education (MEC); Health (MS); Social Development (MDS); Social Security (MPS); Cities (MCidades); Agrarian Development (MDA); Labour and Employment (MTE).
[4]In the integrated mode, there is only one registration system and the students attend courses whose programme combines elements from the high school curriculum with professional training activities. In the simultaneous mode, the technical course is complementary to high school and students are registered in two places. In the subsequent mode, students enroll in the technical course after they graduate from high school.

The number of beneficiaries of the guaranteed income policies is quite significant, as can be seen in table 1. For example, the RGPS and the RPPS alone distribute approximately 31.7 million benefits on a monthly basis, a large proportion of which are higher than one minimum wage. They absorb 11.5 percent of GDP. Also, the BPC provides benefits to 4.3 million people, of which 2.3 million are people with disabilities and 2 million are elderly. As for the *Bolsa Família* programme, its importance resides primarily in the size of its beneficiary population (over 14 million families), and it provides resources on an ongoing basis. It is estimated that this programme reaches close to 50 million people.

These policies have significantly increased the relative weight of cash transfers in the composition of family income. IPEA data (2010f) presented in chart 1 below show that the transfers from guaranteed income policies went from 9.5 percent of family income in 1988 to 19.1 percent in 2010. This was due to the new constitutional provisions coming into effect and to the major impact of the policy to gradually raise minimum wage, which will be discussed shortly.[5] The significant expansion of the coverage of targeted cash transfer programmes, such as the PBF and similar programmes implemented by lower levels of government, was also a major contributing factor.

While employment income continues to be the main source of revenue for Brazilian families, the expansion of the Brazilian social security and guaranteed income system helped compensate the losses of the 1980s and 1990s and restore family incomes. The increase of cash transfers as a portion of family income has also been accompanied by a considerable augmentation of the percentage of families that benefit from these social policies.

CHART 1
COMPOSITION OF FAMILY INCOME IN BRAZIL (1988, 1998 AND 2008)



Source: IPEA, 2010f.

[5] *The minimum monthly amount of social security, BPC and certain unemployment insurance benefits are tied to minimum wage.*

In relation to guaranteeing the provision of goods and social services, it is worth highlighting the educational policy designed to include increasingly large population groups in schools and universities in conditions that - though still far from ideal - have improved in recent years. In the case of health policies, with the introduction of the *Saúde da Família* (Family Health Programme), health care coverage expanded significantly, especially in municipalities and districts that are far from large urban centres. In terms of benefits, the SUS carries out, on average, 3.7 billion outpatient procedures per year; 1.2 billion primary health care consultations and 10.7 million hospitalizations. The SUS has also contributed, with varying degrees of success, to increasing access to medicines and treatment.

Finally, there is regulation. Here, it is worth highlighting Brazil's minimum wage (MW) policy, which not only influences the labour market, but is also used to determine the amount of social security (old age and retirement pensions), social assistance and unemployment benefits. There have been important changes in this area over the past decade. Negotiations held in 2007 led to the adoption of a policy to gradually increase minimum wage, which came into effect in 2011. MW is adjusted annually based on a formula that uses the inflation rate from the previous year and the GDP growth rate from the two previous years.

Table 2 below shows the influence of minimum wage on the Brazilian population. In relation to state action, when we look at the monthly benefits and wages tied to minimum wage and paid directly by the state to beneficiaries and public servants, results from 2013 indicate that MW had a direct influence on 25.8 million people. When one considers that each beneficiary or worker is responsible for a certain number of people who belong to his or her family, this figure increases to 79.5 million people - or 39 percent of the entire Brazilian population. Furthermore, when added all together, total expenditure on social policy cash transfers represents 4.5 percent of Brazil's GDP.

TABLE 2
POPULATION AFFECTED BY THE MINIMUM WAGE POLICY (1995/2013)

DESCRIPTION		BENEFITS	YEAR	INDIVIDUALS (MILLIONS)	FAMILY SIZE (NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS)	POPULATION (MILLIONS)	PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION
State action[1]	Social policy	Social security and social assistance[2]	1995	9.3	3.2	29.8	20%
			2013	17.7	2.8	49.6	25%
		Unemployment Insurance[3]	1995	4.7	4.4	20.7	14%
			2013	7.4	3.7	27.4	14%
	Public sector employment[4]		1995	0.3	0.3	4.4	1.3
			2013	0.7	3.7	2.6	1%
	Total		1995	14.3		51.8	34%
			2013	25.8		79.5	39%
Labour market	Direct regulation[5]		1995	6,8	6.8	4.4	29.9
			2013	8.9	3.7	32.9	16%
Total			1995	21.1		81.7	54%
			2013	34.7		112.5	56%

Source: Data from PNAD/ IBGE, MTE and MPS.[6] Prepared by the author.
Notes:
[1] Monthly benefits or wages whose value is fixed to the minimum wage and paid directly by the state.
[2] Number of beneficiaries (RGPS and RPPS) receiving benefits set at one minimum wage.
[3] Formally employed workers: total workers receiving unemployment insurance benefits whose monthly amount varies from one to three times the minimum wage.
[4] Civil servants and military employees who earn minimum wage.
[5] Employees, domestic workers, self-employed or employers who earn minimum wage.

[6]National Household Sample Survey (PNAD)/ Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE); Ministério do Trabalho e Emprego/ Secretaria de políticas públicas de emprego (Ministry of Labour and Employment/Secretariat of Public Policies on Employment); and 'AEPS: infologo. Base de dados históricos da previdência social', Ministério da Previdência Social (Ministry of Social Security).

Data in table 2 show the growing influence of minimum wage regulation on the labour market. It had a direct impact on the jobs of 8.9 million people in 2013, which represents close to 10 percent of the employed economically active population. Also, when one considers that each beneficiary is responsible for a group of people, this level of influence rises to 17 percent of the population.

Altogether, the regulation of minimum wage had an impact on more people: the number of people affected directly went from 21.1 million in 1995 to 34.7 million in 2013. Even so, its importance in relative terms remained constant during the period, at around 55 percent of the population of Brazil. It is important to point out that the broadening of its influence was largely due to state action, which went from affecting 14.3 million people in 1995 to 25.8 million in 2013.

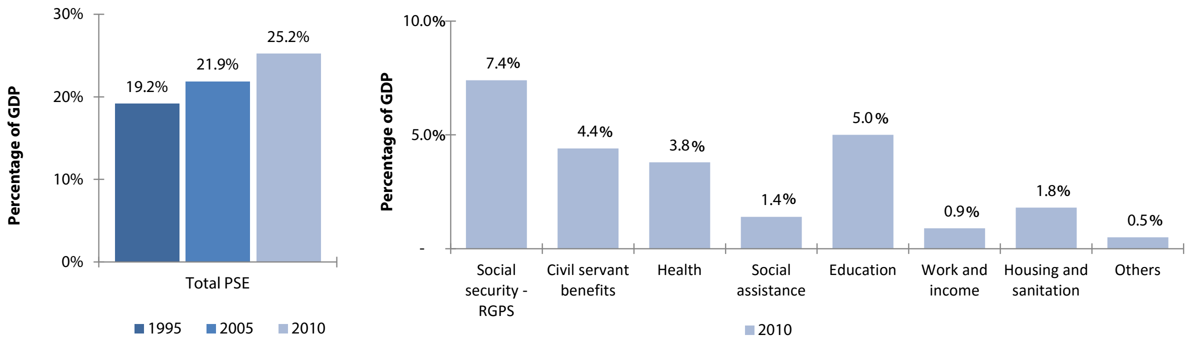
GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE AND FUNDING FOR SOCIAL POLICY

Expanding and maintaining the social benefits described above required mobilizing adequate financial resources to cover the cost of providing them. This has led to a steady rise in social spending in the last thirty years, especially since the policies foreseen in the 1988 Constitution began to be implemented. Data in chart 2 reflects the tendency for Public Social Expenditure (PSE)[7] to grow: it increased 6.0 percentage points of GDP, from 19.2 percent in 1995 to 25.2 percent in 2010.

As can be observed in chart 2, in 2010, social security benefits for the general population and for civil servants, health care, social assistance, education, and housing and sanitation formed the core of social policy. Together, these areas absorbed approximately 95 percent of social spending in the 1995-2010 period.

In chart 3, government expenditure is analyzed according to the type of social policy interventions (cash transfers, goods and services) and an estimate of spending on the administration and management of the system (taking federal government expenditure as a basis). The results of this analysis show that income guarantee systems (cash transfers) absorb a significant portion of financial resources: 51.9 percent of social spending (13.1 percent of GDP) in 2008. The provision of goods and services took up 43.4 percent (10.9 percent of GDP), whereas the administration and management of the system represented 4.7 percent of expenditures (1.2 percent of GDP).

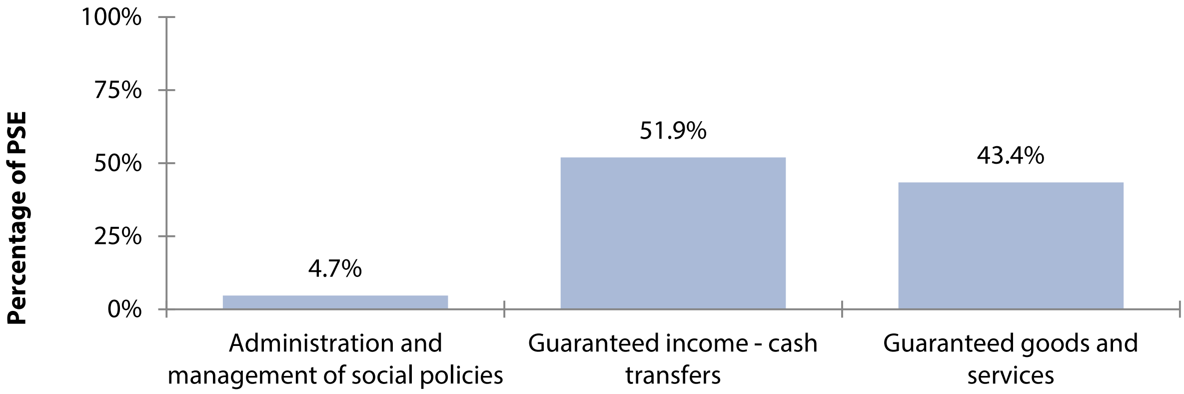
CHART 2
PUBLIC SOCIAL EXPENDITURE AND AREAS OF INTERVENTION AS PERCENTAGES OF GDP



Source: Castro, 2008 and SIDOR/MPOG.

[7] *Public Social Expenditure (Gasto Público Social, GPS) is made up of the gross financial resources used by the public sector to respond to social demands. It corresponds to the costs of goods and services – including capital goods – and cash transfers, without deducing the amounts that correspond to the recovery, depreciation or amortization of investments in stocks or the recovery of the principal of earlier loans.*

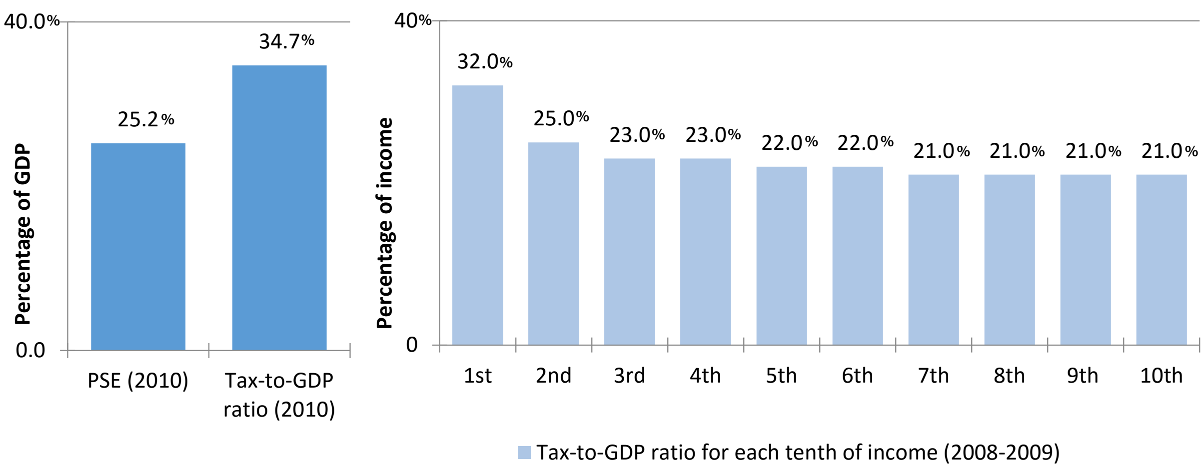
CHART 3
GOVERNMENT SPENDING ON BASIC SOCIAL POLICIES AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF THESE POLICIES AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL SOCIAL SPENDING (2008)



Source: Castro, 2008 and SIDOR/MPOG.

With regards to the funding structure for social policies in Brazil, it is important to mention the changes introduced by the 1988 Constitution to increase resources from a more diversified tax base. These changes, combined with obligations to spend certain funds on specific social programmes, were meant to improve the material conditions for ensuring the effective enjoyment of the rights related to social security and universalization. There is now a certain level of diversity in the funding sources for social spending, and a predominance of social contributions in the final composition of the budget for social programmes, especially that of the federal government. Furthermore, there are important differences in the way each specific area is funded. For example, social security, labour and housing are largely financed by contributions, whereas education and health are more dependent on tax revenues. Chart 4 gives a quick overview of the volume of PSE in 2010, which corresponded to close to 73 percent of the tax-to-GDP ratio that year.

CHART 4
PUBLIC SOCIAL EXPENDITURE AND THE TAX-TO-GDP RATIO (2010)



Source: Castro, 2012; Silveira and others, 2011.

Two aspects of the current funding system constitute serious challenges for advancing Brazil's social policy. One is the anachronistic nature of the current federative pact and the other is the regressiveness of the tax burden in Brazil, which is visible in chart 4.

The regressive tax system has harmful effects on income distribution. Data in chart 4 reveals that the tax burden is much greater for those in the lowest income brackets (32 percent for the first tenth of income) and smaller for those in the highest income brackets (21 percent for the last tenth of income). This is due to the enormous imbalance between the volume collected through direct taxation (income and property), which tends to be progressive, and that from indirect taxation (consumption and the circulation of goods), which tends to be regressive. Even if the onus of direct taxes increases as income levels go up, in the end, this is not enough to counteract the strong impact that indirect taxation has on the incomes of the poorest families.

Therefore, the current configuration of the Brazilian tax system seriously limits the capacity of social policies to alter the social reality in the country. After all, even if the social policies do protect the most vulnerable citizens, their redistributive effects are partly compromised because the beneficiaries of social policies are, to a certain extent, also the main funders of these policies. From this perspective, the dichotomy between "taxpayers and non taxpayers" becomes devoid of meaning, as everyone is a taxpayer and even the poorest sustain the tax system due to indirect taxation.

SOCIAL POLICY AND THE ECONOMY: CONNECTIONS

Social policy directly influences the economy: both supply and demand. Depending on the extent of its coverage and the quality of the goods and services provided, it can become an important element to consider in relation to the rate of expansion of activity (economic growth) and the quality of that expansion (increased productivity).[8]

Aggregate demand (consumption, government expenditure, investments and net exports) plays a prominent role in the growth process. Government actions are an important element in defining demand: the greater the government's commitment to social areas is, the greater the importance attributed to social expenditure will be. In other words, aggregate demand is directly affected when expenditure on cash transfers and providing goods and social services is able to maintain/alter the personal and functional distribution of income,[9] which has implications for the consumption patterns of individuals, families and groups. In heterogeneous societies, the greater the revenues being managed and destined to the poorest classes, the greater their capacity to alter these patterns will be, thereby creating the possibility of increasing aggregate demand and expanding the domestic consumer market.[10] It is also important for the economy to guarantee the supply of goods and social services, since their implementation creates the need to increase spending on personnel; construction; the maintenance of equipment in schools, hospitals and health clinics; and purchasing school books, medicines and other strategic materials.

According to Kalecki's (1954) model, certain restrictions must be taken into account. Improvements in income distribution and the increase in workers' demands for goods will raise aggregate demand to a higher level. However, this will only bring sustainable development if the capacity to provide these goods exists. In other words, this mechanism only works if there is idle capacity to respond to the demand. If, however, the economy is in full employment, such a growth in demand will create inflationary pressures and economic growth will not occur. As a result, the advances of the income distribution process will be annulled, as inflation will erode workers' real wages. One solution would be greater demand for the

[8]This kind of approach is based on Kalecki (1954), Kalecki (1974), Thirlwall (2005) and Tavares (1998a). More recently, the work of the IPEA (2010e), Amitrano (2011) and Bruno and others (2009) is interesting, particularly their efforts to develop a specific approach to the study of medium and long-term economic growth that takes into account elements of supply, demand and institutional factors, as well as the interactions among them.
[9]According to ECLAC (2000), "Public social spending is the main instrument that the State uses to influence the distribution of income. […] Its distributive effects will depend on the scale of social spending, its distribution and financing, and the efficiency with which the resources concerned are used".
[10] The hypothesis that what is received as basic income is turned into spending on popular consumer goods is the equivalent of saying "workers spend every penny they earn". A slightly different version would be "the poor spend every penny they earn". Provided we accept the principle of effective demand (that is, the determination of income and product by macroeconomic spending variables), this hypothesis will lead us to attribute causality to social expenditure. Causality here is related to short term variations in social spending, which co-determine [sic] the income of poor families and sustain the production and popular consumption of goods-salaries." (Delgado and Theodoro, 2005)

foreign products needed to respond to demand, which would undoubtedly lead to an increase in imports in developing countries whose foreign reserves tend to be scarce. This pressure could deepen imbalances in the balance of payments, which would have negative repercussions on the country and its growth process.

On the aggregate supply side, one can argue that social policy - especially in relation to the goal of broadening the population's skills, capacity and integration into production - is also key for achieving technical progress and increasing labour productivity. These factors are decisive for economic growth, raising wages and reducing poverty. Furthermore, they can bring improvements in income distribution and declines in inequality levels, provided that they raise employment income.[11]

This analysis of the process on the theoretical level must be linked to the real world, while taking into account each country's stage of development. The use of the model will produce different results according to the situation in each country. In the following section, we will examine the case of Brazil.

BRAZILIAN SOCIAL POLICY: INCOME DISTRIBUTION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

Government action in the form of expenditure on social policies and market regulation are important elements for the distribution of income (personal and functional) and key components of aggregate demand. They are thus central to the promotion of economic growth.

Moreover, the expectation that the economic cycle will bring growth is due to the fact that the majority of social spending goes to cash transfers to the lower social classes, the purchases of goods and services, and the remuneration of civil servants who spend on the market to support themselves and their families. This process fuels a cycle that multiplies income, as people from these social classes tend to consume less imported goods and save less. Their likelihood to consume more and mainly national products leads to increases in sales, production and job creation in the country. Thus, government spending on social policy can be considered strictly economic in nature in two ways: as a multiplier of growth of GDP and in terms of family income.

Impacts on income distribution

It is important to emphasize that the literature on this issue – which concentrates more on the debate on personal (and not functional) distribution – shows that both cash transfers and the provision of goods and services affect the lowest income segments of the population the most. Silveira and others (2011), for example, addressed the effects of state social expenditure on income by analyzing five stages of income. The first stage, called "original income", consists of income of a private nature and the last, called "final income", reflects the impacts of all cash transfers, goods and social services provided by social policies, as well as direct and indirect taxation of income. Simulations by these researchers (in table 3) clearly confirm that social policy spending plays an important role in distribution. It mainly alters the income of the lowest income group (the first quintile), which initially appropriates only one percent of all income. With social spending, however, this proportion grows to 4.2 percent, which is still a far cry from an equal distribution. The second and third quintiles also experience gains, but to a lesser extent. In spite of the importance of government social spending today and the decrease in inequality, column (a) of chart 5 shows how unequal income distribution in Brazil still is: 63.5 percent of total income continues to be held by the 20 percent of the population with the highest income.

> The current configuration of the Brazilian tax system seriously limits the capacity of social policies to alter the social reality in the country. Their redistributive effects are partly compromised because the beneficiaries of social policies are, to a certain extent, also the main funders of these policies.

[11] *In the early 1990s, ECLAC was already expressing concern with this issue: "In order to improve productivity in underdeveloped sectors, and as a complement to aggregated policies, it seems essential that certain specific actions be undertaken, including credit, commercialization and technical assistance programmes, as well as massive investment in capacity-building and training, among others. The effort to achieve technological modernization is crucial, not only due to the demands of international competitiveness, but also because of the need to improve the quality of jobs and wage levels" (ECLAC, 1992).*

TABLE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF PER CAPITA HOUSEHOLD MONETARY INCOME FOR DIFFERENT STAGES OF INCOME, BY INCOME QUINTILES (2008-2009)

STATISTICS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL INCOME APPROPRIATED BY EACH QUINTILE				
	ORIGINAL INCOME[1]	INITIAL INCOME[2]	AVAILABLE INCOME[3]	INCOME AFTER TAXES[4]	FINAL INCOME[5]
Quintiles					
1st	1.0	2.4	2.6	2.2	4.2
2nd	4.6	5.9	6.2	5.7	7.2
3rd	9.4	10.4	10.9	10.3	10.4
4th	18.1	18.3	18.8	18.3	14.7
5th	67.0	63.0	61.6	63.5	63.5
Gini coefficient (%)	64.3	59.1	57.6	59.8	50.0
Average (BRL Jan. 2009)	**596.49**	**733.04**	**662.38**	**561.56**	**663.50**

Source: Silveira and others, 2011.
Notes:
[1] 'original income' is income obtained from employment, sales, interest, rent, etc. (prior to state intervention);
[2] 'initial income' is original income plus retirement or other pensions, allowances, grants, unemployment insurance or others;
[3] 'available income' is the initial income minus direct taxes;
[4] 'income after taxes' is available income minus indirect taxes;
[5] 'final income' is income after taxes plus state spending on health and education.[12]

Another important aspect is that these results could be far better if indirect taxes were less regressive. Note that in part (b) of chart 5, income after taxes decreases for the population in the first four quintiles, but increases for the those in the quintile with the highest income.

[12] *See footnote number 13 for an explanation of the methodology used to incorporate state spending on health and education.*

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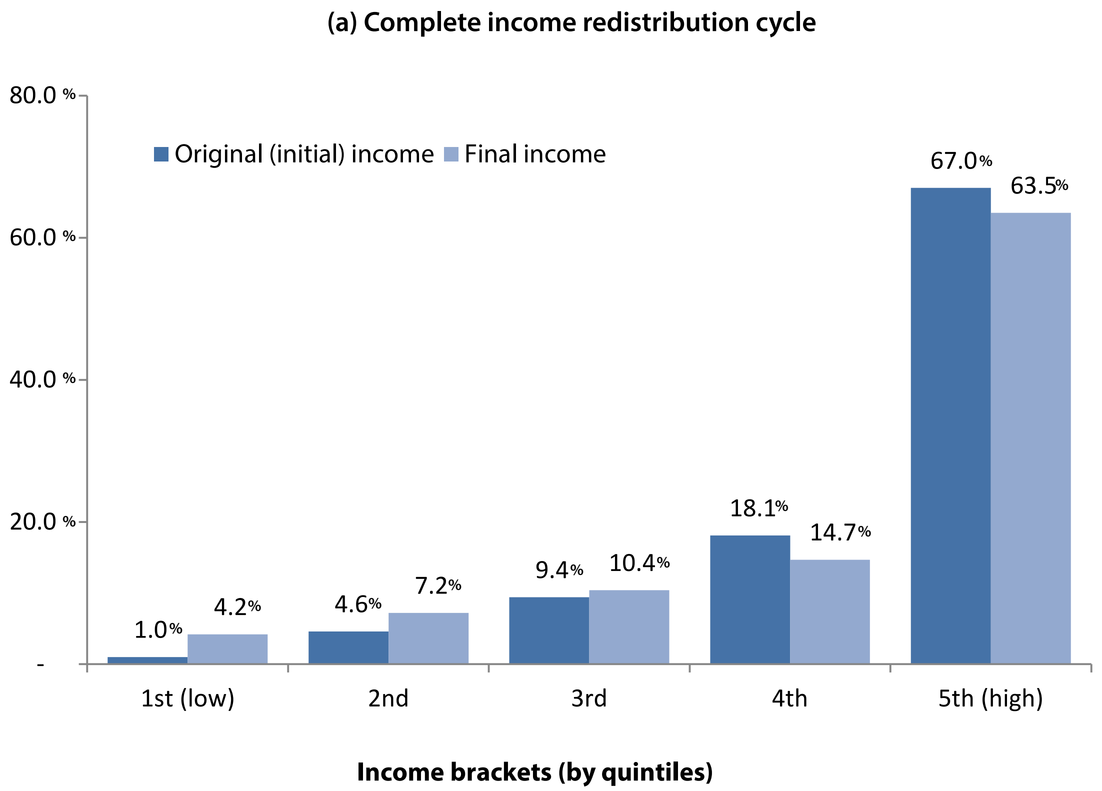
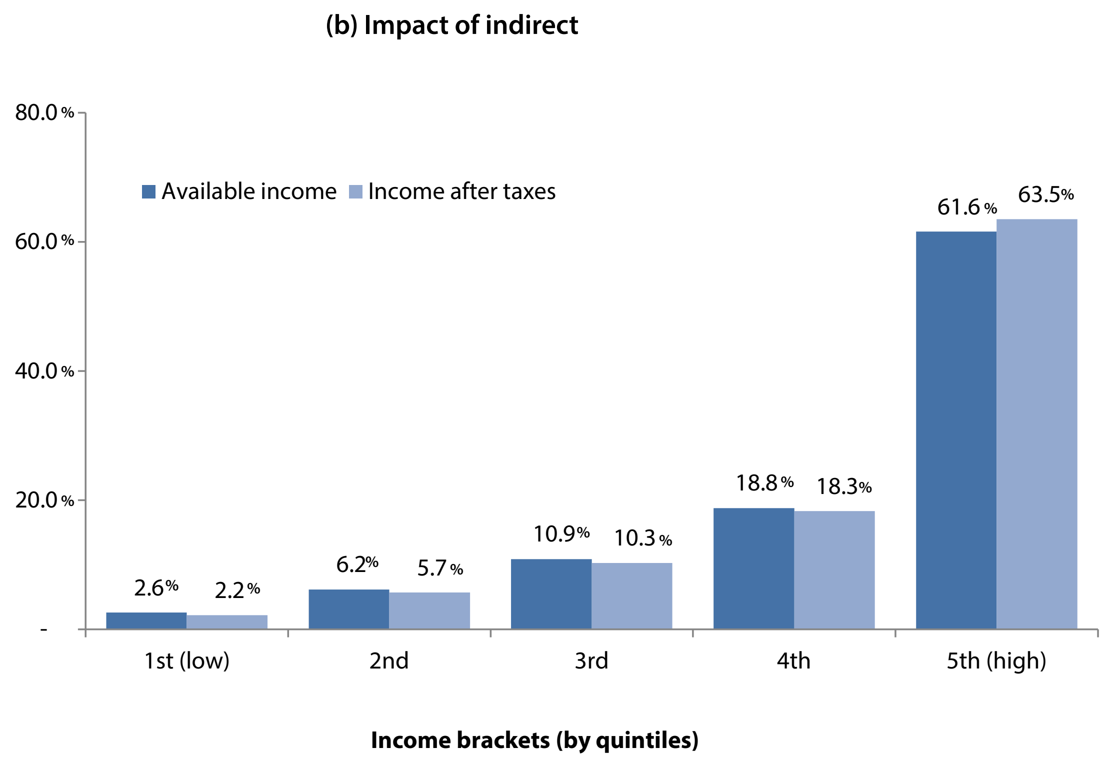
CHART 5
DISTRIBUTION OF PER CAPITA HOUSEHOLD MONETARY INCOME FOR DIFFERENT STAGES OF INCOME, BY INCOME QUINTILES (2008-2009)





Source: Silveira and others, 2011.

The results obtained show how regressive the Brazilian tax structure is and how this leads to serious losses in income and well-being for the low-income population, which partially cancels the positive effects of social spending on distribution. The Gini coefficient varies considerably from one income quintile to another, falling when spending on cash transfers and direct taxation come on the scene, but rising again with indirect taxation, which restores inequality to previous levels. In the end, spending on goods and services is highly distributive and brings the Gini index down considerably.

Another study carried out to identify the effects of social spending on income distribution was that of the IPEA (2010d). It obtained the income multiplier for each group of families analyzed by combining the head of household's place of residence and education level. With this data, researchers were able to determine the variation in income distribution associated with each type of expenditure on social policy.

The results of their simulation (table 4) indicate that in the case of health and education, once the consumption of these services is incorporated into family income,[13] they are both highly progressive: an increase of one percent of GDP in spending on health care leads to a 1.5 percent reduction in the Gini index. In the case of spending on education, the decline is slightly less: 1.09 percent. This is due to the greater presence of higher income families at higher education levels. As for cash transfers, increased spending on the BPC and the PBF clearly contribute the most to the drop in inequality: 2.33 percent and 2.15 percent, respectively. Social security (RGPS) also has beneficial effects on inequality, as it reduced the index by 1.2 percent.

TABLE 4
INCOME INEQUALITY AMONG GROUPS OF FAMILIES BASED ON TYPES OF EXPENDITURE (2006)

TYPE OF EXPENDITURE	INITIAL INCOME GINI (G0)	GINI AMONG GROUPS (G1)	GINI VARIATION IN RELATION TO INITIAL INCOME = (G1 - G0) / G0
Total initial income	0.3805	0.3805	-
Continuous cash benefit (BPC)		0.3716	-2.33%
Bolsa Família (PBF)		0.3723	-2.15%
Health		0.3749	-1.47%
RGPS		0.3759	-1.22%
Education		0.3764	-1.09%
Investiment in construction		0.3806	0.04%
Commodity exports		0.3807	0.05%
Interest payments on public debt		0.3809	0.11%

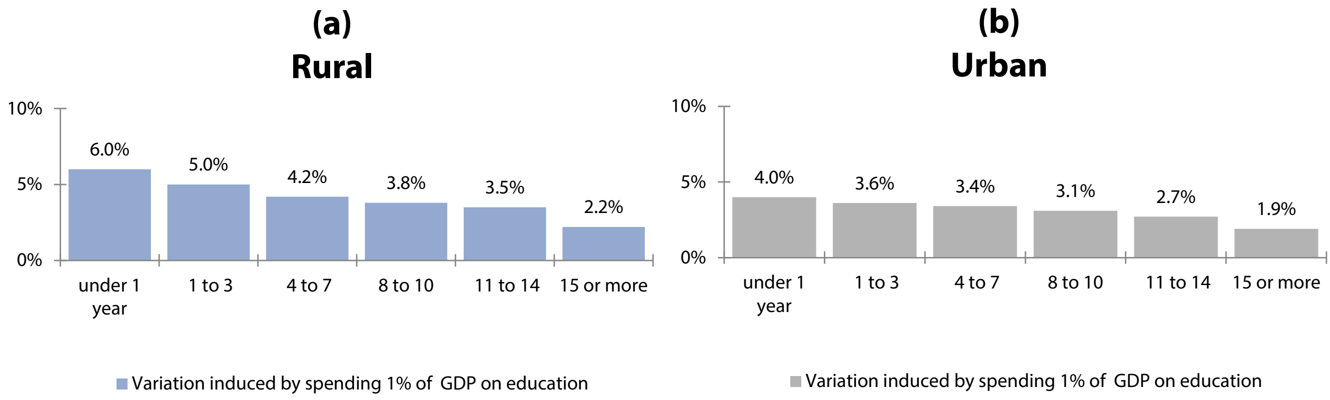
Source: IPEA, 2010d. Prepared by the author.

As for spending on areas other than social policy, such as investments in construction and the production of commodities for export, their effects are practically neutral. Although they generate growth, they reinforce the high levels of income inequality in Brazil. Spending on interest payments on debt is regressive.

The positive results of social expenditure in terms of income distribution can be more clearly understood when one examines, for example, the distribution effects of spending on education once it is incorporated into family income, as shown in chart 6. According to these results, the families that benefit the most from increased spending on public education are those in rural areas, especially the poorest ones. Families with less than one year of formal schooling tend to be affected three times more by increased government spending on education than ones with higher levels of education and income. Part of this result can be explained by the fact that children from middle and upper class families in Brazil usually do not attend public schools.

[13]To incorporate these services into the incomes of beneficiary families, one must factor in government spending on these services because it behaves like a transfer to the families that consume public education and health. In the end, government consumption is not truly its own, but rather that of the families that benefit from the public services it provides. Failure to incorporate government spending will affect the comparison of the impacts of the aggregates studied on distribution and lead the effects of direct income transfers to be overestimated and the impact of access to goods and social services to be underestimated.

CHART 6
DISTRIBUTION EFFECTS OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION (2006)



Source: IPEA, 2010d. Prepared by the author.

Therefore, this study demonstrates that each social policy contributes significantly to the decline in inequality. For sake of comparison, from 2003 to 2008 in Brazil, income inequality (measured by the Gini index) improved at an average rate of -1.3 percent a year. In other words, some of the more progressive social spending - if expanded - can contribute substantially to reducing the concentration of income in Brazil.

The impacts of economic growth (on GDP and family income)

In another recent study by the IPEA (2010), in order to examine the impacts of social spending on economic growth (GDP) and family income, researchers simulated expenditure shocks for certain types of social spending and reconstructed the economic cycle using a Social Accounting Matrix (SAM) for Brazil for 2006. This methodology was used to determine the multiplier effects of social spending on the economic cycle.

Figure 2 presents a simplified representation of the results. A hypothetical increase of one percent of GDP in social spending was found to generate a multiplier of GDP of approximately 1.37 percent. This means that every Brazilian Real (BRL 1) the government spends on social policy can generate BRL 1.37 in growth of the GDP by the time the economic cycle has been completed.[14]

[14]According to the IPEA (2010d): "Using the economic aggregates of the IBGE's National Accounts System for 2006, the average multiplier of autonomous spending in general (investments, exports and government expenditure) was 1.57. In other words, for every BRL 1 invested - in response to external demand and spent by government - an additional BRL 1.57 of GDP would be generated. Said differently, every expenditure equal to one percent of GDP will provoke on average a 1.57 percent growth in GDP, only through the income multiplying process mentioned above, if all other conditions remain constant. In regards to family income, which is a more suitable unit for analyzing the well-being of Brazil-ians, the average multiplier associated to autonomous expenditure is 1.17 percent. This means that when one percent of GDP is generated by an increase in investment, exports or government spending, families incomes will increase by an average of 1.17 percent.

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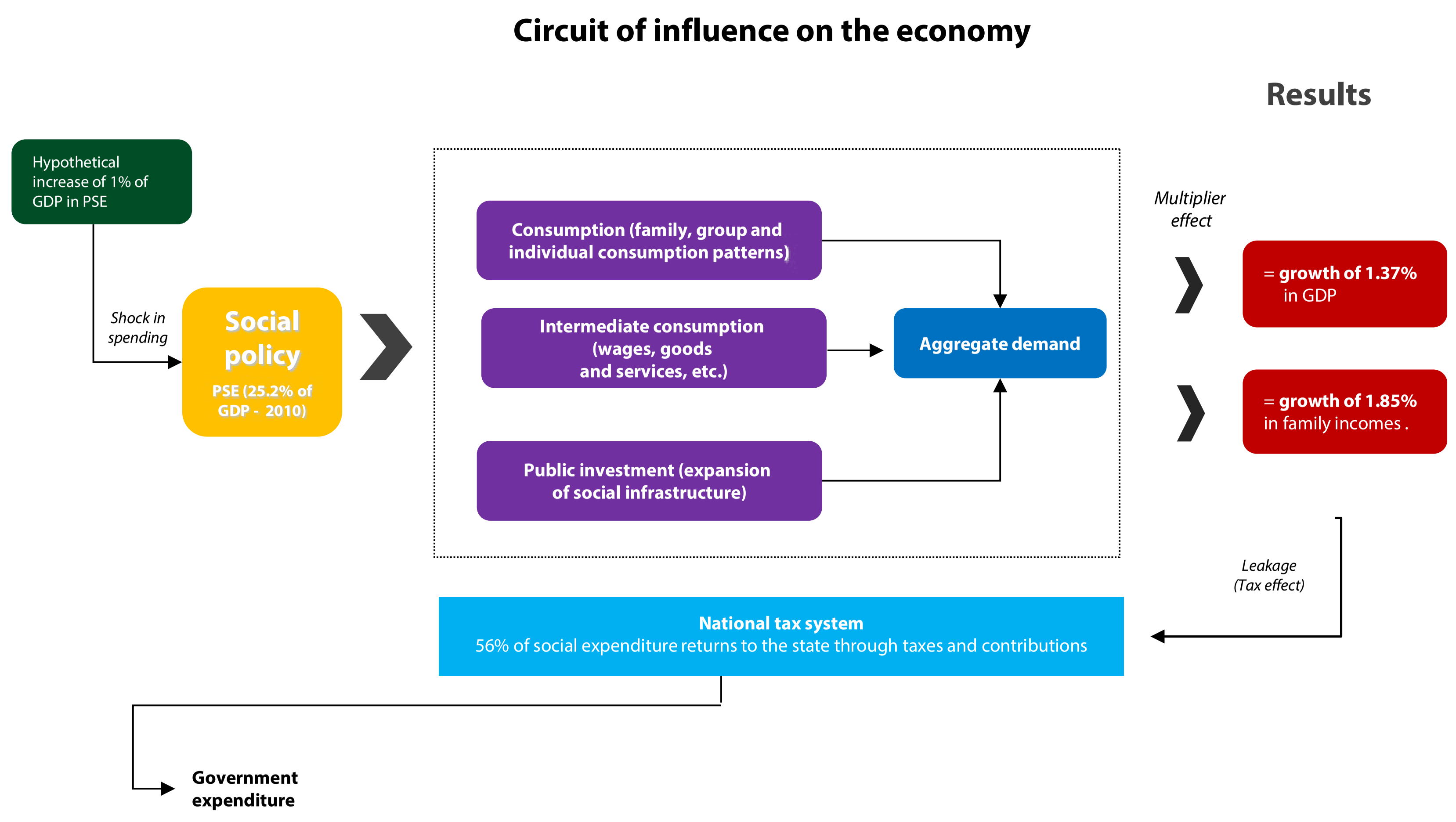
FIGURE 2
THE MULTIPLIER EFFECT OF SOCIAL SPENDING ON INCOME AND THE ECONOMY



Another important finding was on what happens with taxes and the social contributions to the country's tax system. The social accounting matrix showed that 56 percent of the amount spent on social policies returns to government coffers in the form of taxes and social contributions after going through the entire income multiplication process that social spending itself engenders.[15] This demonstrates that the multiplier effect on GDP allows government revenues to increase and part of social spending to pay for itself in the future.

The results obtained from analyzing the economic cycle for each social area separately are displayed in chart 7. They illustrate that some areas have a far greater multiplier effect on GDP than others. The areas of health and education, for example, have the greatest multiplier effects, and spending on RPPS, the lowest. Thus, expenditure on some social areas is better for economic growth than others.

When the results from simulations on spending in social areas are compared to those for other sectors (civil construction, commodities for export and interest on debt), one finds that spending on education and health continues to have the greatest multiplier effect. In this sense, the PBF and the BPC are much closer to commodity exports. On the other hand, the results also reveal that paying interest on debt is bad for growth, as its multiplier effect is the lowest.

These results confirm, then, that the main areas of social expenditure are important for the dynamics of the national economy, primarily due to their effects on the domestic market.

CHART 7
MULTIPLIER EFFECT OF SPENDING ON SOCIAL POLICY AND OTHER SELECTED AREAS ON GDP (2006)

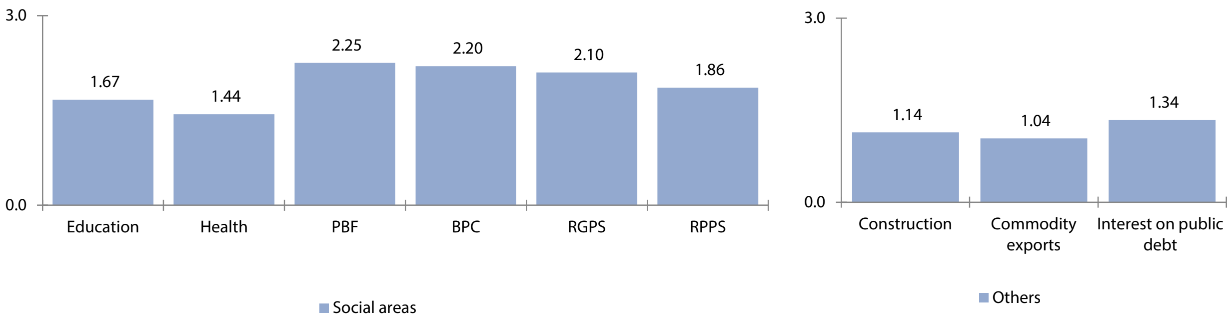
Source: IPEA, 2010d. Prepared by the author.

In a recent study, Neri and others (2013) found more favourable results for the PBF, which now takes the lead as the cash transfer with the largest multiplier effect: the simulation showed that a marginal shock of BRL 1 spent on the PBF would increase GDP by BRL 1.78. In other words, if supply were perfectly elastic and the other conditions were met, spending an additional one percent of GDP on the PBF would generate a 1.78 percent increase in economic activity. The BPC, unemployment insurance and salary bonuses are next in line and all have multipliers higher than one. Social security transfers - both the RGPS or RPPS - come in last place, with multiplier effects of less than one. Using more recent and disaggregated data produces different results, which are even more positive for the PBF.

With regards to family income, the simulations demonstrated that increasing spending on the social programmes and policies listed below by one percent of GDP raises family income 1.85 percent on average. It is worth recalling that family income constituted close to 81 percent of GDP in 2006. The results for family income for each of the social areas in chart 8 produced very different numbers from the previous ones. In this case, cash transfers are considerably higher than the others, and spending on the PBF and BPC is much more important than other social expenditures to family income.

[15]Assuming the elasticity of GDP of tax revenues is equal to one (1). This elasticity was greater than one in recent years, which would increase the percentage of return to public coffers even more.

CHART 8
THE MULTIPLIER EFFECT OF EXPENDITURE ON SOCIAL AREAS AND OTHER SELECTED AREAS ON FAMILY INCOME (2006)



Source: IPEA, 2010d. Prepared by the author.

When one compares the results of the simulations for spending on social policy areas with other sectors (such as construction, the production of commodities for export and interest payments on debt), one finds that spending on other sectors has less impact on family income than that on social policy does. Therefore, the findings demonstrate that spending on the main areas of social policy is highly important to family income.

Even so, as the IPEA (2010d) points out, it is essential to highlight that:

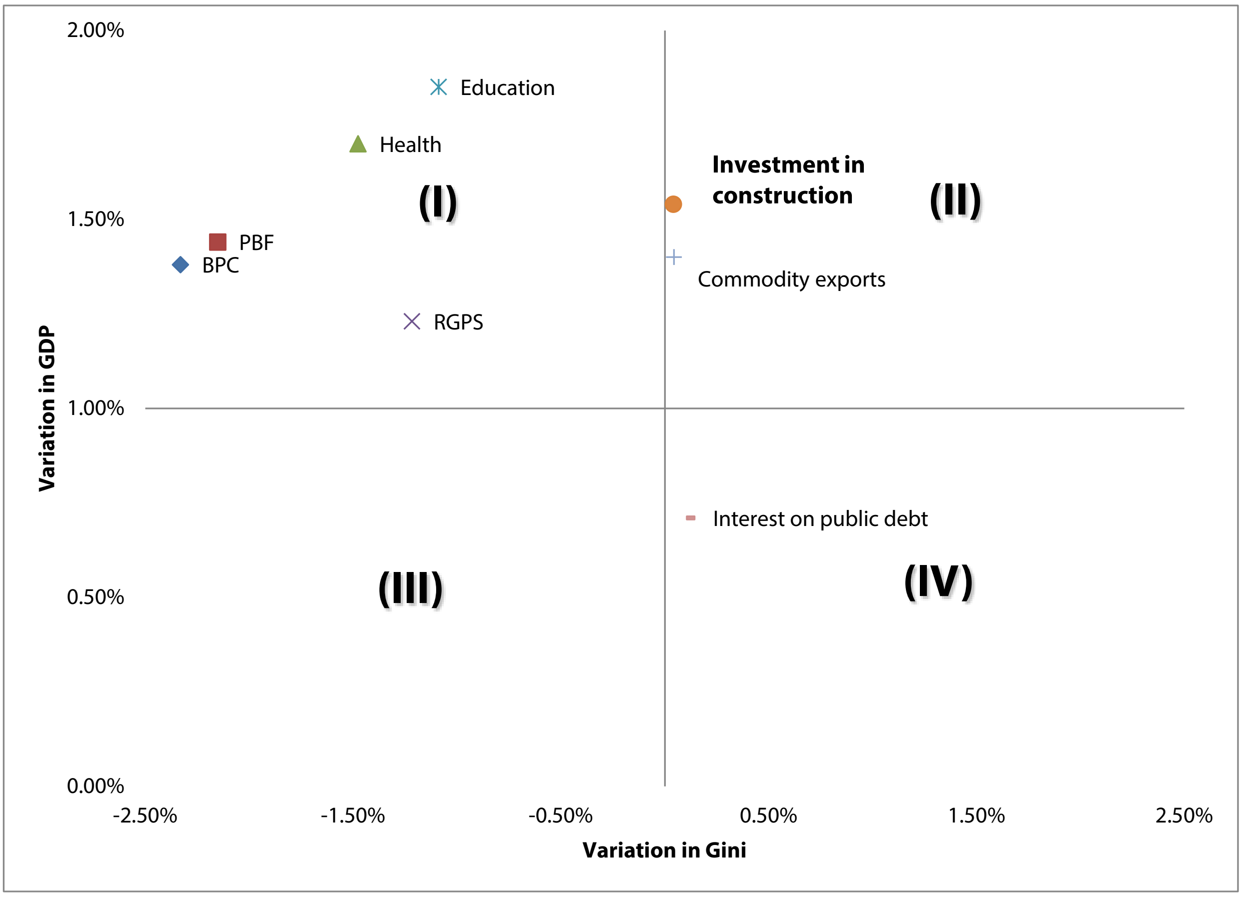
> "It is not a question of setting social expenditure against other expenditures, since each one plays a specific role in the social and economic dynamics of the country. In the end, one of the outcomes of investment is precisely the renovation of idle capacity, which is a dynamic effect that has not been incorporated into our model, or only as an assumption. Also, in the case of exports, access to international currencies and the gradual accumulation of foreign reserves have shown themselves to be of utmost importance for the stabilization of economic cycles in Brazil and, thus, for the stabilization of social expenditure itself. The issue here is to show that the idea that social spending is useless to the economy is simply not true."

Combined effects: distribution and growth

When only government spending on Brazilian social policy was considered, the IPEA's findings (2010d) were positive in relation to the impacts of expenditure on educational goods and services, health care and especially cash transfers to the poorest classes on distribution and growth. Chart 9 displays the results of cross-referencing the data: the vertical axis represents the percentage of variation in GDP brought about by an increase of one percent in spending on various social and other areas. The horizontal axis shows the percentage of variation in the adjusted Gini index resulting from the same shock.

Families with less than one year of formal schooling tend to be affected three times more by increased government spending on education than ones with higher levels of education and income.

CHART 9
COMBINED EFFECTS OF SPENDING ON SOCIAL AND OTHER AREAS ON ECONOMIC GROWTH AND INCOME DISTRIBUTION (2006)



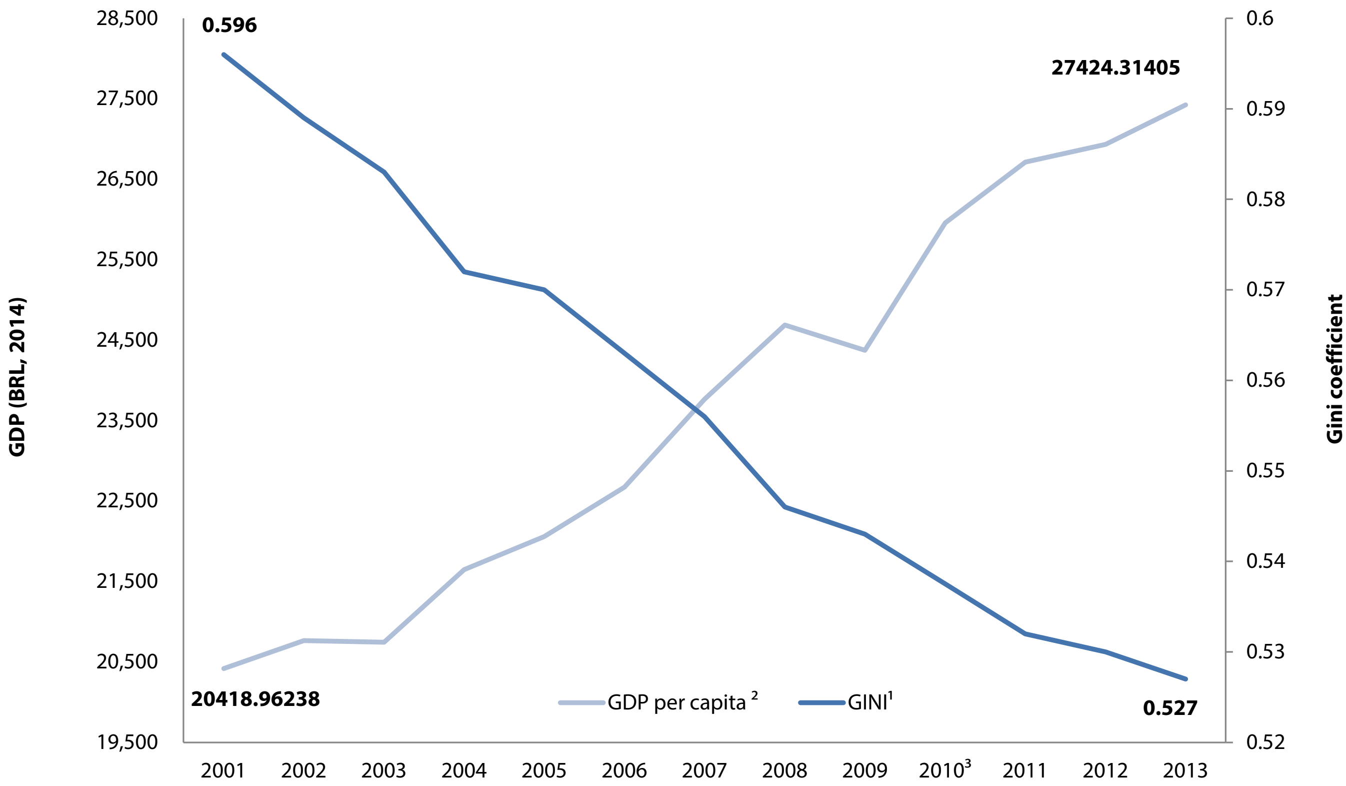
Source: IPEA, 2010d. Prepared by the author

If we assume that one of the goals of national development is to combine greater economic growth with less income inequality, all of the expenditures in the top left quadrant (I) contribute to this ideal. There is absolutely no trade off between growth and equality. On the contrary, increased expenditure on public health services and education generates positive outcomes in terms of both growth and income distribution. Spending more on the PBF and the BPC, for example, produces a large increase in GDP and a major decline in inequality simultaneously. The RGPS falls a bit behind in both aspects, but also plays a positive role in this sense.

Quadrant (II) shows that increased investments in the construction and agricultural commodity export sectors promote growth in GDP, but they also raise the level of inequality. An increase in interest payments, as seen in quadrant (IV), contribute little to growth and increase income concentration, thus appearing as the worst kind of expenditure that a government can make.

These results are important for demonstrating that by fulfilling its central purpose of providing social protection and promotion, social spending is also a key element in the dynamics of the national economy, especially for activities geared towards the domestic market, and in reducing inequality. The result of this process at the macro level can be seen in chart 10, which illustrates its evolution from 2001 to 2013. During this period, there was continuous growth in GDP per capita and a decrease in income inequality, as reflected in the decline in the Gini index, which reached one of its lowest levels in recent years.

CHART 10
EVOLUTION OF REAL GDP PER CAPITA AND THE GINI INDEX (2001-2013)



Source: PNAD/IBGE and Contas Nacionais/IBGE. Prepared by SPI-MP.
Notes:
[1] Household income per capita among individuals;
[2] Real GDP per capita (prices in BRL, as of 2014);
[3] The National Household Sample Survey (PNAD) was not conducted in 2010, as the national population census was conducted that year.

The increase in income, the reduction in inequality and the decline in poverty were the result of: a combination of several improvements in the labour market (stemming from the adoption of a growth model that included job creation and growth in income); increases in minimum wage; the expansion of social security and cash transfer policies, and investments in social infrastructure. They were also due to the effects of all the other social policies that increased the growth of family income with greater intensity in the poorest regions of the country and among the most disadvantaged sectors of the population.

FINAL REMARKS

The degree of complexity of social policy as it is currently structured in Brazil has been clearly illustrated by the data and information presented in this paper. There is a considerable range of physical, financial, human and institutional resources for these policies, which are fundamental for the establishment of a broad and diversified set of social protection and promotion mechanisms. These mechanisms are essential for achieving social justice through substantial improvements in the basic living conditions of the population. In spite of the progress achieved, the current system is still a long way from providing a high standard of well-being to the Brazilian population.

Social rights and benefits have been expanded in recent years, especially through the implementation of the social policies foreseen in the 1988 Federal Constitution. This expansion required mobilizing an increasing amount of monetary resources to cover the costs of providing them. The data shows that over the last three decades, government social spending has nearly doubled in value, reaching close to one quarter of GDP. This effort to expand them was concentrated more on cash transfers for families than the production or provision of public goods and services.

In becoming so large and diversified, social expenditure has come to be an important vector of aggregate demand. It has the capacity to create a broad internal consumer market, boost production, stimulate employment, multiply income and reduce inequality. It is one of the leverages of economic growth. Cash transfers to families, especially to low-income families, have increased the income of this sector of the population and expanded their consumption of goods and services. At the same time, the production/provision of universal public goods and services lead to an increase in employment in social areas and to the acquisition of goods and services in the domestic market. This process strengthens the cycle of income multiplication, since the consumption of the poorer classes - which save less than the average population and consume more goods and services produced in the country - reinforce the multiplier effect of social expenditure, generating more sales, production and employment in the country.

The dynamic impulses generated by social expenditure, however, can come up against important restrictions, as raising aggregate demand to a higher level and sustaining it there requires elevating and restructuring the country's capacity to meet this demand. Unless the capacity to produce durable and non durable consumer goods and services is broadened and restructured, and improvements to infrastructure are made, the increase in demand may encounter inflationary pressures, which will annul part of the income redistribution achieved. On the other hand, without an appropriate response from domestic production, the expansion of consumption may generate greater demand for foreign products and possibly lead to imbalance in the balance of payments. In either case, social expenditure should not be put in opposition to investment in expanding capacity and infrastructure. On the contrary, the key to sustainable growth lies in the search for synergies between both components of demand.

Finally, the results presented here allow us to affirm that social policy plays a strategic role as a driving force for national development due to its contributions to expanding social justice, distributing income and fostering economic growth. It has proven to be indispensable and strategic for not only confronting adverse situations, but also establishing the foundations of a more socially and economically robust and democratic nation. In light of all the aspects mentioned, it is understood that in addition to its well-known role in increasing social justice, social expenditure also has a relevant role to play in sustainable economic growth, provided the restrictions described earlier are taken into account, namely those related to the role of investment in the dynamics of the economy.

The social accounting matrix showed that 56 percent of the amount spent on social policies returns to government coffers in the form of taxes and social contributions after going through the entire income multiplication process that social spending itself engenders. This demonstrates that the multiplier effect on GDP allows government revenues to increase and part of social spending to pay for itself in the future.

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CHAPTER 8

Analyzing the lessons learned from the implementation process is crucial for understanding better how South-South and trilateral cooperation schemes can contribute to food and nutrition security in Africa.

Women qorking the land at the Forika camp for Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) in Gereida (South Darfur) during the rainy season. © UN Photo/Albert González Farran

Brazil-Africa Cooperation on Food and Nutrition Security: Planting seeds in unfamiliar soil[1]

INTRODUCTION

Brazilian cooperation in food and nutrition security (FNS) went through a period of rapid expansion between 2003 and 2010. This trend is related to the international diffusion[2] of the *Fome Zero* (Zero Hunger) strategy and the shift in foreign policy towards South-South relations. During this period, there was a notable increase in the number of FNS projects signed between Brazil and other countries in the South, even though some of these projects only began to be implemented from 2010 on. This happened in parallel to, and was partially driven by, the renewed centrality of food security and social protection in development debates resulting from the 2007 food crisis. In a context marked by the transition of cooperation efforts from emergency food aid to measures to structure national policies and programmes, the redefining international organizations' roles and strategies and greater focus on the linkages between agriculture, nutrition and social protection, international attention turned to Brazil's experience in tackling FNS. This experience involved an integrated set of policies and programmes implemented in the framework of the Zero Hunger Strategy, the adoption of the 2006 FNS law and the creation of the country's national FNS system (*Sistema Nacional de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional*, SISAN).

These external factors, on top of the other internal drivers that have boosted Brazilian South-South cooperation, are contributing to the dissemination of various policies and programmes in global policy forums and the adaptation of similar programmes in African countries. However, there is still a lot to be learned in terms of policy adaptation. This chapter aims to analyse the potential and challenges of FNS policy transfer and possible ways of strengthening South-South cooperation. We will begin with a brief description of the rise of South-South cooperation, followed by an overview of Brazilian cooperation efforts and their evolution in the area of FNS. We then focus on lessons learned from the implementation of two programmes: the Food Acquisition Programme (PAA) and the National School Feeding Program (PNAE) in Mozambique.[3] These programmes were chosen as examples due to their weight in the Brazilian technical cooperation portfolio and their potential to contribute to development in Africa, as they associate access to food with the various dimensions of food production. Finally, the last section discusses key issues to be considered in the process of policy dissemination, learning, transfer and adaptation.

THE RISE OF SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION

South-South cooperation encompasses a diverse range of cooperation initiatives among different actors in the developing world, such as: the adoption of joint positions in multilateral policy spaces; the promotion of South-South trade; the establishment of political coalitions, networks and regional integration initiatives; financing; the strengthening of human and institutional capacities (technical, scientific or technological); and responses to crisis situations. It also includes relationships between governments, civil society organizations, social movements and universities. This chapter will focus on what is commonly called South-South development cooperation (SSDC), which is understood as the area where international development cooperation and South–South cooperation come together. It involves flows of technical cooperation, financial or in-kind donations and concessional loans between developing countries aimed at tackling primary development problems.[4]

[1]*This paper was written by Mariana Santarelli, Reference Centre on Food and Nutrition Security (CERESAN) and Bianca Suyama, South-South Cooperation Research and Policy Centre (Articulação SUL).*

[2]*Studies on policy transfer and policy diffusion explore international factors and interdependencies that influence policy change, or the adoption of certain practices and programmes. Whereas policy diffusion is generally concerned with patterns of adoption and the conditions for dissemination, policy transfer often focuses on understanding the process by which policies and practices are carried from one context to the other and the results of such a transfer.*

[3]*PAA is the Portuguese acronym for the Programa de Aquisição de Alimentos, and PNAE, the Programa Nacional de Alimentação Escolar.*

[4]*Defining South-South development cooperation as efforts "aimed at tackling primary development problems" can be interpreted in different ways, as the decision regarding what constitutes a primary development problem is political and varies. To complicate matters further, separating the idea of South-South development cooperation from the web of relationships of which it is comprised may give us a very incomplete understanding of the interests involved, mutual gains and the impact of the initiatives. It is important to stress, however, that there is no consensus among actors engaged in South-South cooperation on its conceptual and operational definitions.*

South-South cooperation re-emerged in the 2000s[5] with force in international relations, just as South-South development cooperation was gaining renewed prominence in the global agenda. At the time, traditional donors were beginning to prioritize support for South-South development cooperation as part of their efforts to rebuild their legitimacy, which had been affected by the questioning of international aid's effectiveness and the "revolution" brought about by the emergence of new actors, especially China, in development cooperation (Woods, 2008; Severino and Ray, 2009).

Like other actors engaged in South-South cooperation, the Brazilian government's narrative emphasizes the principles of horizontality, non-conditionality and being demand-driven. The discourse on solidarity, which gained centrality during the Lula government with the concept of non-indifference,[6] also permeates and is used to justify the government's relationships with other countries of the South. However, economic and political interests are also apparent in the government's discourse on the mutual benefits of cooperation. Brazil's development cooperation is thus seen as both altruistic and self-beneficial, without these two elements being perceived as contradictory.

Brazilian technical cooperation is marked by institutional fragmentation, which is partially due to the inexistence of a legal framework that clearly defines its objectives, scope, mechanisms, competences and processes (Leite and others, 2014). As a branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the *Agência Brasileira de Cooperação* (ABC, or Brazilian Cooperation Agency in English) is responsible for coordinating technical cooperation according to the directives established by the presidency. Other actors involved in Brazil's cooperation efforts include Brazilian ministries, the private sector through public-private partnerships[7] and bilateral and multilateral international organizations. The importance of line ministries here should not be understated: they finance projects, assign their public servants to missions and engage in transnational networks and policy forums. Another key actor in this area is the *Coordenação Geral de Ações Internacionais de Combate à Fome* (CGFOME, or General Coordination of International Action against Hunger). CGFOME was created as the "international interface of the [national] Zero Hunger Programme" with the mandate to coordinate "Brazilian foreign policy in food and nutrition security, rural development and international humanitarian cooperation" (MRE, n/d).

This highly fragmented structure often leads to a lack of coordination and coherence in Brazil's engagement with the Global South. That said, the involvement of several institutions should also be seen as one of the main strengths of Brazilian SSDC. The initiatives are led by institutions and people with direct experience in the development and implementation of the national programmes and policies being shared (and not by an "aid bureaucracy"). This allows for more horizontal exchanges and a rich peer-to-peer dialogue based on personal experience. Brazilian cooperation clearly does not follow one single model, but rather several policies and multiple practices that are deeply influenced by the implementing agencies and partners involved.

The strategic character of South-South cooperation became more visible under the Lula administration. Closer relations with Africa were already announced during Lula's presidential campaign (Saraiva, 2002) and were promptly consolidated in his first year of government through the organization of the Brazil-Africa Forum. Whereas his predecessor visited only two African countries during his term, Lula visited 23. Lula also proactively raised social issues in international fora during his presidency. In 2003, in Davos, he defended an increase in aid to tackle hunger, and in 2004, he was one of the leaders behind the launch of the "Global Action against Hunger and Poverty".

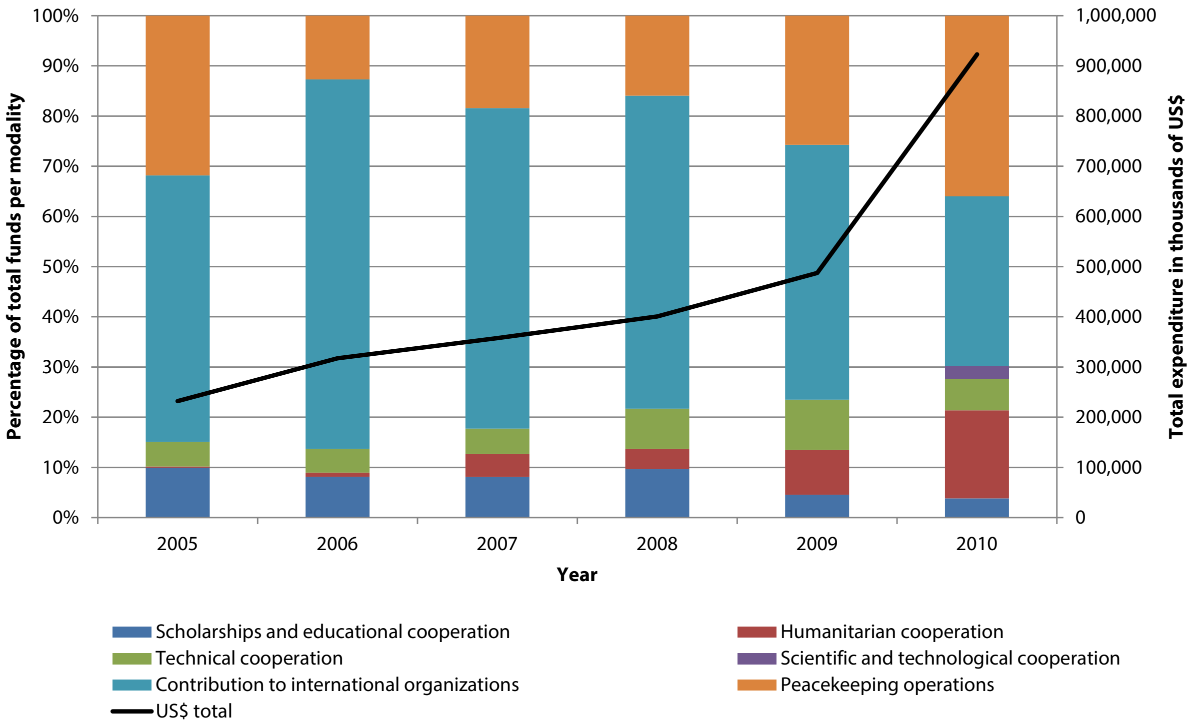
Brazilian contributions to development cooperation multiplied fivefold between 2005 and 2010 (see chart 1). The country became a reference for traditional donors (international organizations and donors from the North) due to its development trajectory in the 2000s, which combined economic growth and social inclusion. At the same time, Brazilian implementing agencies started to assume a proactive role in the promotion of their experience and in response to demands from partners (Iglesias Puente, 2010). There has also been unprecedented domestic mobilization on and dispute over the country's South-South development cooperation and foreign policy, and the role Brazil should play in the global economic and political architecture (Leite and others, 2014).

[5] *In the context of the Cold War and the wars of independence, countries of the Global South were treated and began to see themselves as part of a specific group. South-South cooperation first gained ground after the Bandung Conference (1955) as a means of promoting greater coordination among countries of the South and stimulating their own development. In the early 1960s, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was created. In the decade that followed, the Non-Aligned Movement supported initiatives aimed at ensuring a more equitable integration of developing countries into the world economy. In 1978, a conference was held in Argentina in which 138 countries signed the Buenos Aires Plan of Action to promote technical cooperation among developing countries. The debt crisis of the 1980s and 1990s ended up demobilizing South-South cooperation actors. For more information, see Morais, 2009 and Leite, 2012.*

[6] *The "non-indifference" concept was introduced as a more moderate interpretation of the idea of strict adherence to the principle of non-intervention. Celso Amorim, the foreign minister at the time, explained that non-indifference is not a principle per se, but rather a humanistic guideline of Brazilian foreign policy. It opens up the possibility of providing support and solidarity in crisis situations, thereby softening the principle of non-intervention.*

[7] *Public private partnerships or enterprises are a generic term for the relationships formed between the private sector and public bodies often with the aim of introducing private sector resources and/or expertise in order to help provide and deliver public sector assets and services.*

CHART 1
HISTORICAL PROGRESSION OF MODALITIES (2005–2010)



Source: Leite and others, 2014.

The expansion of Brazil's SSDC has not been accompanied by the adoption of adequate instruments that enable the government to respond to the exponential increase in demands. Limitations in terms of budget and personnel, as well as weak institutional coordination among the agencies engaged in initiatives abroad are important constraints to the further expansion of Brazilian technical cooperation.

There were also some significant changes in the transition from the Lula administration (2003-2006 and 2007-2010) to the Dilma administration (2010-2014 and 2015-present). First, the current president does not share her predecessor's enthusiasm for South-South cooperation, which has resulted in the adoption of a more pragmatic approach to South-South relations. Now, Brazilian cooperation is more closely aligned with the country's interests in the areas of trade and investment. According to an official communiqué published by the *Casa Civil* (Chief of Staff Office), debt relief[8] and the negotiation of new investment treaties and funding conditions are measures aimed at intensifying Brazil's relations with the African continent, which are based on reciprocal cooperation and mutual development (Rossi, 2013).

Government bodies engaged in development cooperation are currently reflecting upon the lessons they have accumulated over the last ten years. Learning processes and institutional changes are underway, for instance, in the Ministries of Health, Education, Agrarian Development and in partner organizations, such as the *Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial* (SENAI, or the National Industrial Training Service) and the *Empresa Brasileira de Pesquisa Agropecuária* (Embrapa, the Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation) Demands to improve the effectiveness of Brazilian cooperation have been accompanied by growing interest in the issue among academics and civil society organizations, which is generating a positive environment for influencing all public policy levels.

There has also been an increase in trilateral cooperation. Multilateral organizations are not only supporting implementation, but also mediating and building synergies around demands and actively participating in implementation processes. They have also been shaping Brazil's engagement and become essential players in SSDC by taking up roles that cannot be currently fulfilled by national structures. New centres within multilateral organizations, which have Brazil as a key partner, have been created to support policy diffusion, policy adaptation and capacity building to pilot and scale-up programmes and policies. These include, for example, from the oldest to the newest: the International Policy

[8]*In addition to strengthening relations and showing solidarity with African countries, Brazil provided debt relief in order to make way for new government loans for projects in which Brazilian companies were involved in Africa and to start implementing the International More Food Programme. The latter combines technical and financial cooperation and aims to support food production and access to Brazilian machinery and equipment.*

Centre for Inclusive Growth (IPC-IG), the World Food Programme's Centre for Excellence against Hunger and the UNDP World Centre for Sustainable Development (RIO+ Centre). The IPC-IG and the RIO+ Centre were established as partnerships between the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Government of Brazil, and the WFP Centre is a WFP-Government of Brazil partnership. These arrangements were the result of opportunities that emerged from the interaction between domestic constraints, international coalitions and agendas and changes in the development cooperation scene that led traditional donors to turn to South-South cooperation (Leite, Suyama and Pomeroy, 2013).

An interesting aspect of this trend is the increased focus on ensuring not only knowledge-sharing, but also policy adaptation. Ensuring that policy change is made at the recipient country level is not seen as the role of the Brazilian government. This is partially due to the principles of South-South cooperation – such as being demand-driven and respect for national sovereignty – and the motivations for being involved in it, such as solidarity and the generation of mutual benefits. Instead, the focus is on policy sharing and learning and building the capacity of recipient countries' institutions to implement policy tools.

The involvement of international organizations, bilateral donors and these new policy centres changes these dynamics. Traditional donors have a stronger focus on results and, in engaging with SSDC, they need to demonstrate their value-added and that positive change has taken place. These new centres, on the other hand, are trying to establish their legitimacy in a more complex and competitive environment for development cooperation governance. In such a context, ensuring policy adaptation and take-up becomes crucial in order to demonstrate results and the contribution they are making to development efforts.

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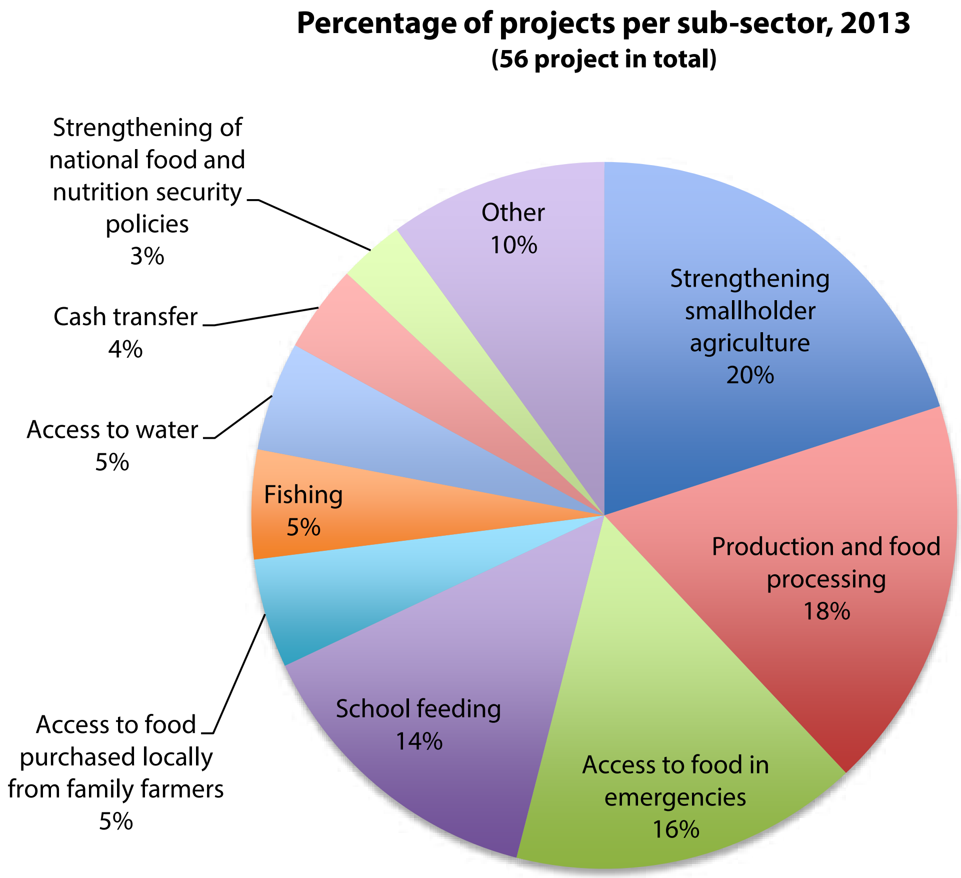
Brazilian cooperation on Food and Nutrition Security (FNS) went through a period of rapid expansion between 2003 and 2010, especially since the eruption of the food crisis in 2007. As the crisis put food security and social safety-nets back in the spotlight of the international development arena, the number of cooperation agreements multiplied. Given the limited amount of information available, it is difficult to accurately describe the evolution of FNS cooperation in terms of number of projects and spending. However, the findings of several studies based on a survey conducted by the *Câmara Interministerial de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional* (CAISAN, or the Interministerial Chamber of Food and Nutrition Security) show that there has been a significant increase in the number of projects, especially in Africa (CAISAN, 2013). This trend is associated with the international diffusion of the Fome Zero strategy and Brazil's foreign policy shift towards South-South relations (Maluf and others, 2014; Beghin, 2014). Chart 2 shows the main sub-sectors of Brazilian cooperation on FNS.

In 2003, the Lula government adopted the *Fome Zero* strategy, which gave rise to the *Política Nacional de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional* (PNSAN, or the National Food and Nutrition Security Policy). It quickly became a recurring theme in presidential speeches and Brazilian diplomatic discourse and eventually evolved into a key issue in bilateral and multilateral policy spaces (Lazzarini Cunha, 2010). The international prominence of the *Fome Zero* strategy, which boosted cooperation during this period, was due to Brazil being widely viewed as a success story in the fight against hunger. Brazil was seen as a country capable of combining measures to strengthen family farming, the creation of social safety nets and improvements to nutrition into a single intersectoral and participatory national policy that could be replicated in countries facing similar challenges.

The legitimacy of Brazil's FNS and anti-poverty programmes as a solution to problems in other developing countries can be credited to the Lula government's endeavours to promote these

CHART 2
BRAZILIAN SSDC PROJECTS BY SUB-SECTOR (2013)



Source: CAISAN apud Beghin, 2014.

programmes and the efforts of international development agencies to "certify" them as "best practices" (Silva, 2008; Milhorance, 2013; Santarelli, 2015). It is important to recognize, however, that these policies and programmes earned international recognition for their effectiveness in meeting the global targets established by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the World Food Summit, such as reducing the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by half. In 2014, Brazil's classification on the FAO's Hunger Map was altered as it joined other countries in the "very low" hunger category after having reduced the number of undernourished people by 82 percent between 2002 and 2013 (WFP, 2014). According to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), this achievement was due to a set of FNS policies that incorporate important elements such as: commitment to social protection, income redistribution and school feeding policies; fostering agricultural production through government food purchasing programmes; and an intersectoral and participatory approach to FNS governance (FAO, 2014).

One of the FNS policies that has gained the greatest international visibility was the *Programa Nacional de Alimentação Escolar* (PNAE, or National School Feeding Programme). This was due not only to its link to *Fome Zero*, but also to it being mentioned regularly at key international meetings on nutrition, namely the Global Child Nutrition Forum. Brazil's PNAE is the second largest universal school feeding programme in the world in terms of the absolute number of beneficiaries. It is also one of the longest standing policies within the PNSAN. The programme provides school meals to all students from public elementary and high schools, as well as charity-run and community schools registered with the government. Its decentralized system transfers funds directly to the state and municipal authorities responsible for education. Since 2009, state and municipal governments have been required by law to allocate 30 percent of the funds transferred from the *Fundo Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação* (FNDE, National Educational Development Fund) to purchasing food directly from family farmers. In 2014, when the FNDE had a budget of BRL 3.5 billion, this represented the equivalent of a guaranteed institutional market value of BRL 1.05 billion for local acquisitions (Portal FNDE, 2015).

The PNAE came to be known as an efficient approach to combating malnutrition in school-age children that can be adapted to the context of other low-income countries. What differentiated the Brazilian experience at the international meetings was the programme's success in terms of direct purchases from family farming, its intersectoral and participatory approach, and government efforts to tackle child malnutrition through interventions in the public sector, as opposed to exclusively private sector-based strategies, such as food fortification. FNDE is now part of a well-established global network on school feeding practitioners. In 2005, the FNDE and the WFP signed the first agreements and terms of cooperation, which were initially intended to provide support to Portuguese-speaking African countries. The overall objectives of these agreements were to offer technical assistance to help structure institutions, design programmes and legal frameworks and train local staff.

As mentioned earlier, the international recognition of Brazil's policies also led to the creation of two important centres for South-South dialogue in Brazil through partnerships between the Brazilian government and international organizations. In 2002, the International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth (IPC-IG) was created in partnership with UNDP. Specializing in issues such as poverty, inequality, social protection and income distribution, this think tank gained prominence mainly for its studies on the *Programa Bolsa Família* (PBF, or Family Allowance Programme) - another Brazilian success story in the area of poverty reduction. In 2011, in response to growing demand for Brazilian South-South cooperation on FNS, the WFP and the government partnered in the creation of the Centre of Excellence against Hunger, whose aim is to share expertise, knowledge and successful experiences in school feeding and FNS.

Another important milestone in Brazil's cooperation with Africa was the 2010 Brazil-Africa Dialogue on Food Security, Fighting Hunger and Rural Development conference held in Brasília, in which ministerial representatives from 45 African countries participated. With the goal of showcasing Brazil's policies, the event highlighted the potential for technology transfer in the area of tropical agriculture (by Embrapa), using experiences from the Brazilian savannah as a reference for the African savannah, and policies to strengthen family farming, particularly the PAA and the *Programa Mais Alimentos* (More Food Programme). Objectively speaking, few new technical cooperation initiatives emerged from this event. After the event, however, the Purchase from Africans for Africa Programme (PAA Africa) was discussed and developed in partnership with FAO and WFP. Five of the ten PAA pilot projects that had been promised are now being implemented in Ethiopia, Malawi, Mozambique, Niger and Senegal. The UK Department for International Development (DFID) joined the initiative later to support the programme's learning agenda.

The PAA was originally established in Brazil in 2003 as part of *Fome Zero*. Through the programme, the produce of family farmers is purchased for distribution to social assistance networks and people experiencing food insecurity and for the establishment of public stocks. The programme supports food production by smallholder farmers by creating institutional agricultural markets for those who tend to have limited market access for their products. Purchasing produce without a tendering process allows smallholder farmers to participate in public procurement. The programme works as a social safety net for both the vulnerable groups who benefit from food assistance and smallholder farmers, since it generates a relatively stable demand for their products. Moreover, studies on the PNAE and PAA show that this type of initiative reduces the distance between production and consumption, thereby shortening distribution chains and generating positive effects on the environment, local FNS (thanks to lower food prices and the greater value given to local food cultures) and local economies (Menezes and others, 2015).

Brazil's contribution to PAA Africa may be considered an important achievement for the country's South-South development cooperation efforts. It involves sharing experiences and information on one of the key lessons learned from the National Food and Nutrition Security Policy: precisely, the importance of combining production with access to food. This accomplishment is even more important when it is analyzed as part of the CGFOME's effort to renew Brazilian humanitarian cooperation by combining emergency and structural actions into a new model denominated "sustainable humanitarian cooperation". This hybrid of technical and humanitarian cooperation is taking shape in projects that differ from other humanitarian initiatives due to the local purchasing incentives they include. The *Lèt Agogo* project, which promotes the local production and purchasing of milk in Haiti, and PAA Africa are the main examples of this innovative approach.

Therefore, in addition to the focus on FNS in presidential speeches and the increase in exchanges between countries from the Global South, a number of agreements have been signed and several new institutions have been established. The type of FNS projects on the Brazil-Africa cooperation agenda have been the source of controversy. On the one hand, Brazil has engaged in a joint effort with international organizations to promote policies such as the *Bolsa Família*, PAA and PNAE, which target the most vulnerable segments of the population and aim to ensure access to food. On the other, it intensified other initiatives such as ProSavana, which focuses on technology transfer for agribusiness in Africa. As such, Brazilian cooperation may be exporting the contradictions and disputes that characterize its national food system and policies, and that recipient countries may be ill-equipped to resolve. Despite the importance of this controversial issue in the food security debate, it will not be explored here. It is important to note, however, that given the dramatic reductions in the South-South cooperation budget, choices must be made, priorities set and future directions defined to ensure that cooperation efforts benefit those who are most in need.

OTHER BRAZILIAN INITIATIVES ON AGRICULTURE IN AFRICA

Cotton-4: Brazil's Cotton-4 Programme provides support for the development of the cotton industry in the countries known as the "Cotton-4": Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad and Mali. More specifically, it involves the testing and adaptation of productive cotton varieties as part of efforts to organize a viable regional supply chain. The pilot project started in 2009 and concluded in 2013. Since then, the programme has expanded to other countries in Africa and there are plans to expand it to other parts of Latin America.

More Food Africa: Created in 2010 by the Brazilian *Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrário* (MDA, Ministry of Agrarian Development), this project aims to stimulate food production and productivity in the family farming sector in Africa, as well as facilitate access to agricultural machinery and equipment. It combines technical and financial cooperation with an inter-sectoral (agricultural and industrial) approach to increase family farming productivity in a sustainable way and to support national food security strategies.

ProSavana: Established in Mozambique's Nacala corridor, ProSavana is a trilateral programme between Mozambique, Brazil and Japan. It focuses on the agricultural development of Mozambique's tropical savannah. Technical cooperation was initially meant to attract private investment in order to promote the development of agribusiness and food production in the Nacala region.

Community native seed banks in family farming areas: A knowledge-sharing initiative delivered by social movements working in coalition with one NGO and two different government agencies, the project's overall objective is to contribute to the economic and organizational strengthening of family farming in South Africa and Mozambique. Guided by the concept of food sovereignty and agroecological practices, the project promotes the exchange of experiences between family farmers, technicians and rural leaders to recover, use and multiply native seeds, and establish community native seed banks.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION TRENDS: CLOSING THE GAP BETWEEN FAMILY FARMING, NUTRITION AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

The field of international development cooperation has been dependent on a 'market for solutions' that has always been dominated by multilateral organizations and northern donors (King and McGrath, 2004). Brazilian South-South cooperation on FNS is embedded in this dynamic, which can be exemplified by the creation of the centres and the trilateral agreements mentioned earlier. In the case of international organizations, the new trend to promote South-South cooperation has definitely been instrumental to reinventing their work and adapting to an international context where their legitimacy has been brought into question by doubts on their effectiveness and impacts. This context is also marked by the lingering financial crisis that has reduced financial resources and the emergence of new actors on the scene. Even so, Brazil benefits from these partnerships, namely in terms of gaining global visibility and increased effectiveness of implementation processes, as international organizations have been working in Africa for decades and tend to be more familiar with the local context and challenges. Our intention here is not to question these partnerships, but rather to acknowledge the role that international development networks play in the dissemination of public policy ideas and principles on FNS.

Brazilian FNS policies and the possibility of transferring them through South-South cooperation are closely aligned with both the demands of African governments and emerging trends in international development cooperation. The rise of the food and nutrition security agenda is also the result of agriculture being once again treated as a priority for African development, which is exemplified by the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) (Milhorance, 2013). It is also related to growing dissatisfaction with the dominance of cash transfers programmes in cooperation efforts. Despite the evidence of their positive impacts, cash transfers are perceived as costly and as part of a donor-driven agenda, and to demand a complex structure for their delivery (Devereux and White, 2008).

There has indeed been a shift in how the international community thinks about and defines its role in the fight against hunger and malnutrition in Africa. Studies conducted in Angola, Cape Verde and Mozambique by the *Centro de Referência em Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional* (CERESAN, or Reference Centre on Food and Nutrition Security) at the Rural Federal University of Rio de Janeiro suggest that there has been a progressive decline in emergency food aid in many African countries, especially those that returned to political stability in the last decades. This decline has been accompanied by a significant paradigm shift in cooperation on FNS. The case study of Angola shows that international organizations have stopped providing humanitarian assistance and started to act from a "development perspective". According to the study's authors, there has also been a transition towards support for "democratic governance" and direct budget support (Marcelino and Morgado, 2015). The study on Cape Verde observed a transition in humanitarian assistance towards "development" and "good governance" projects (Martins, 2015). As for Mozambique, the study revealed a transition from a "humanitarian and emergency" approach based essentially on the physical availability of food to a "structural" approach to food security (Vunjanhe and Adriano, 2015).

Therefore, despite differences between countries, there is a common trend whereby the perspectives on FNS and strategies to overcome hunger in Africa of both national governments and bilateral and multilateral organizations are shifting from emergency food aid to initiatives aimed at helping countries to develop more structured national policies and programmes. Their approaches are thus becoming similar to that of Brazil, which is currently being disseminated through its South-South cooperation, often with the support of FAO and WFP (Maluf and Santarelli, 2015). For instance, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is increasingly involved in supporting African countries' efforts in this area. Recently, a delegation of 20 representatives from the African Union (AU), including state ministers, visited Brazil. Hosted by the Centre of Excellence against Hunger, the visit was to be a step towards meeting the AU's objective to "take ownership of the issue and to adopt a continental initiative on school feeding" (WFP, 2015).

Already present in Brazilian humanitarian cooperation, this perspective is also being adopted by international organizations. One of the WFP's long-term objectives, for example, is to "phase out its assistance, leaving behind sustainable, cost-effective national school feeding programmes that are embedded within broader national policies and frameworks", as several low-income countries make the transition from reliance on external support for their programmes to funding and managing them nationally (Bundy and others, 2009). Fostering the "transition to sustainability" is an important aspect of the WFP's new policy committed to moving away from a project-based approach to a more long-term, sustainable approach to school feeding. The approach also emphasizes government ownership, efficiency, local procurement and the establishment of links between smallholder farming and better and more nutritious food baskets.

Trends emerging in international forums also support the focus on approaches that combine direct purchases from family farmers with inter-sectoral strategies to overcome hunger and malnutrition. There is growing debate on a new conceptual framework called "nutrition-sensitive agriculture". Developed by the UN in response to the 2007 food crisis, this multi-sector framework moves beyond the approach focused exclusively on increasing production, which has dominated the food security agenda so far, to incorporate nutrition or the 'quality' dimension into food production. While it is still not clear what this means in terms of policies, some specialists point to what appears to be a strategy led by the private sector based on the fortification of food and seeds. There are also, however, incentives for developing cross-ministerial policies and programmes on FNS and designing strategies that increase farmers' access to markets. PAA and PNAE are prime examples of how programmes to strengthen agriculture can contribute to improvements in nutrition by promoting dietary diversity.

There is also a growing tendency in international development to explore the linkages between social protection measures and food and nutrition security. For instance, a report by the High Level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition (HLPE) of the UN Committee on World Food Security argues that "each source of 'food entitlement failure' can be counteracted with a social protection response" (HLPE, 2012: 33), as illustrated in table 1. Studies by Slater, Holmes and Mathers (2014) explore how these linkages are made in practice. Their findings suggest that a range of social protection programmes - both those focused on productivity and those centred on protection - increased the quantity and quality of food consumed. Some programmes also played an important role in mitigating the effects of shocks or seasonal stresses on household food security. While most of the evidence came from Latin American experiences with conditional cash transfers, it suggests that programmes that integrate access to food and nutrition, such as school feeding, can also function as tools for food security and social protection (Slater, Holmes and Mathers, 2014).

TABLE 1
SOURCES OF FOOD ENTITLEMENT FAILURES, SOCIAL PROTECTION RESPONSES AND FOOD SECURITY OBJECTIVES

ENTITLEMENT CATEGORY	SOCIAL PROTECTION INSTRUMENTS	FOOD SECURITY OBJECTIVES
Production	• Subsidies for inputs • Crop and livestock insurance	• Increase food production • Protect farmers from the impacts of crop failure or death of livestock
Labour	• Public works programmes providing temporary employment	• Create useful infrastructure • Promote agricultural production
Trade	• Measures to stabilize food prices • Food subsidies • Grain reserves	• Maintain market access to food • Keep food affordable for the poor • Ensure an adequate supply of food for the market
Transfers	• School feeding • Supplementary feeding • Conditional cash transfers • Unconditional cash transfers	• Reduce hunger and poverty • Promote access to education and health care (for the general public and for children in particular) • Promote local food production • Increase food consumption

Source: HLPE, 2012, 31.

Brazilian South-South cooperation on FNS appears to already be aligned with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and their related targets. Launched during the Rio+20 Summit, the UN Secretary General's Zero Hunger Challenge was inspired by Brazil's *Fome Zero* strategy and later influenced the drafting of SDG 2: end hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture. Even though the intersectoral approach of Brazilian FNS policies and efforts to close the gap between family farming, nutrition and social protection are clearly more directly related to SDG 2, they can contribute to achieving other SDGs. They can help achieve SDG 12 (responsible consumption) by promoting a systemic approach and cooperation among all actors involved in the supply chain (from producers to final consumers) through sustainable public procurement. They also help reduce poverty (SDG 1) and inequalities (SDG 10) and promote good health and well-being (SDG 3) through public policies that specifically target the poor. In this regard, we emphasise the importance of SSDC not only as a field of 'action' (i.e. where projects are implemented), but also as a dynamic political space for discussion on what is legitimate and possible with the hopes that cooperation between countries from the South can contribute to developing new approaches and paradigms.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PAA AND PNAE AS BEST PRACTICES: WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED SO FAR?

Analyzing the lessons learned from the implementation process is crucial for understanding better how South-South and trilateral cooperation schemes can contribute to food and nutrition security in Africa. This section focuses mainly on Mozambique, as that is where cooperation projects based on the Brazilian PAA and PNAE programmes are being implemented via an integrated and multi-actor strategy. This focus is also due to the greater availability of information on what is happening on the ground. Most of the analysis presented here is from a study conducted for ActionAid on Brazilian cooperation efforts in the area of school feeding in Mozambique (Santarelli, 2015).[9]

The integrated implementation of the PAA Africa and PNAE turned Mozambique into one of the main "laboratories" for observing Brazilian cooperation on FNS and the process of transferring what is considered a "best practice" for guaranteeing the human right to adequate food. A promising initiative underway in the Tete Province brings together three pilot projects that aim to universalize school feeding in the Changara and Cahora-Bassa districts by decentralizing governance and purchasing locally under the recently created Programa Nacional de Alimentação Escolar (PRONAE, National School Feeding Programme in Mozambique). They are: i) the trilateral cooperation project entitled "Support for the Development of Mozambique's National School Feeding Programme" undertaken by Brazil (FNDE), Mozambique (Ministry of Education) and WFP. Launched in 2012, this project aims to transfer knowledge and provide technical support for implementation in 12 secondary schools; ii) the "Transition Project" - a partnership between WFP and the Mozambican government. Launched in 2012, the project aims to guarantee universal school meals in both districts, monitor and evaluate project management and impact, and ensure the gradual transition towards local purchasing; and iii) PAA Africa, an initiative involving CGFOME, FAO, WFP, Brazilian consultants and DFID.

In relation to the first project, Brazilian cooperation promoted by FNDE in Mozambique is carried out on two fronts: one is centred on the design of the national policy and management plan, while the other consists of elaborating menus and defining the per capita cost of the school feeding programme. Knowledge transfer is being conducted by two Brazilian consultants specialized in management and nutrition who work with technicians from the Ministry of Education in Maputo. WFP is responsible for transferring funds to the Mozambique government for food purchases, which is the first time this procedure is being used by this international organization specialized in food procurement and distribution logistics (Santarelli, 2015). In May 2013, as a result of cooperation efforts, the Council of Ministers approved the National School Feeding Programme. Inspired by the Brazilian experience, the programme aims to diversify school meals, promote community participation and the local purchasing of food products to boost the country's economy. The project plans to provide daily school meals for students throughout the school year.

> Policies that aroused the most interest among Southern countries are: the centrality of family farming in rural development, a rights-based approach to food, an intersectoral approach to food and nutrition, social accountability and the capacity to combine market creation for small farmers with the distribution of food to the most vulnerable segments of the population through local food procurement.

[9] *The study was carried out in January 2015 and involved 15 semi-structured interviews with people directly involved in the implementation of the trilateral cooperation agreement between Brazil, Mozambique and the WFP, which was formally launched in 2012. The initiative's goal is to transfer knowledge to and build the capacity of the Government of Mozambique to support the formulation and implementation of a national school-feeding programme based on the Brazilian experience.*

The institutionalization of the programme and definition of its principles and guidelines represent an important achievement. Even so, the implementation of the PRONAE pilot projects currently underway in 12 schools faces a number of challenges. The pilot project aims to assess decentralized models of governance and transfer the procurement and distribution of food products, currently undertaken by WFP, to the local government. With the integration of PAA Africa into to the National School Feeding Programme, its role consists of securing the supply of 60 tonnes of maize purchased directly from small farmer associations for the production of fortified flour distributed to the schools in Changara and Cahora-Bassa. A total of 600 farmers from three districts benefitted from the direct purchases, distribution of agricultural inputs and training courses on production systems and post-harvest handling (Santarelli, 2015).

The role of Brazilian institutions is to provide technical support and share expertise drawn from the experience with the PAA in Brazil. CGFOME is responsible for the coordination of the network of partners and the formulation of policy guidelines in consultation with partners. FAO contributes technical expertise on issues related to nutrition and production; provides seeds, fertilizer and agriculture tools and inputs; fosters knowledge exchange, partnerships and inter-institutional dialogue among project stakeholders. Finally, WFP organizes food purchases and delivery, while other actors (such as DFID) support and take part in learning and knowledge-sharing activities. Local availability of and access to agricultural inputs, along with the limited presence of traders selling agricultural supplies were important challenges. The capacity constraints of the decentralised extension services were also obstacles to implementation (PAA, 2014).

Various studies show that despite its potential, Brazilian cooperation on FNS is marked by weaknesses in its institutional frameworks and limited budgets, which put enormous pressure on staff and the implementing agencies. With regards to the school feeding programmes conducted by the FNDE and the ABC, the necessary conditions for and the institutional capacity to coordinate and implement trilateral cooperation agreements were not created, thereby limiting the effectiveness of initiatives to transfer and share the lessons learned from the PNAE in Brazil. Interviews with individuals directly involved in the implementation of the Brazilian cooperation efforts on the school feeding programme revealed shortcomings in the preparation, coordination and follow-up of activities due to the size of the challenge faced. As a result of the lack of protocols, methodologies, political coordination and follow-up and monitoring mechanisms, the adaptation phase of technical cooperation - which is the most challenging one given its embedment in the local context - now faces the risk of personalization and discontinuity. This is because it is very much based on the personal expertise of the consultants working abroad and on projects that are limited in time (Santarelli, 2015).

It is important to recognize the role of the Centre of Excellence against Hunger in sharing the Brazilian experience and assisting governments in the South to scale up their FNS policies. Even so, such support does not diminish the need for improvements in the structures of national public implementing agencies - such as the ABC and line ministries with direct experience in the development and implementation of national programmes - in order to respond to demands, particularly if the goal is to support the adaptation process on the ground. As stated earlier, the expansion of Brazil's South-South development cooperation has not always been accompanied by an adequate legal framework, budget, personnel and institutional coordination. There is a need to overcome these challenges to ensure a coherent, sustainable and intersectoral Brazilian South-South cooperation policy at the national level. Transferring responsibilities to international organizations does not solve these problems.

There are also concerns on the sustainability of projects, particularly if international funding were to cease. Although the National School Feeding Programme was institutionally created, the Council of Ministers has not yet committed to sustaining the programme with public funds. As for PAA Africa, it aims to consolidate dialogue on policies on local food purchases and has established a technical group based in Maputo to work with a provincial technical group on building a national strategy for institutional markets. However, there is still a long way to go to ensure national ownership of the programmes.

The pilot projects in Tete show that the main challenges are, on one hand, to create the necessary conditions and strengthen capacity at the local level to enable the government to assume the management of the programme and, on the other, to improve the capacity of small farmers to supply the programmes. Although it is still too early to evaluate food procurement in Mozambique, some observations can already be made. From a management perspective, procurement has yet to be regulated and the lack of an official policy to define the price of food products, for example, leaves room for the possible diversion of funds and overbilling. Another point is that the large majority of small farmers are still not prepared to supply the schools and their associations have yet to be duly formalized or included in the banking system. The lack of a policy to strengthen family farming clearly that compromises the efficiency and effectiveness of project initiatives.

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DECONSTRUCTING AND REASSEMBLING BRAZILIAN SEEDS: EMERGING ISSUES FOR SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION

"It is more interesting to share ideas and values than templates or closed policies. That way, we can truly learn together", Nathalie Beghin (PAA, 2015).

National and international interest in Brazilian development cooperation has grown in recent years. Many hoped that Brazil and other providers of South-South cooperation would contribute to finding new paths for international cooperation. Due to its progress in achieving certain MDGs, Brazil has increasingly been seen as a "bank of experiences" that can share the policies and practices that have underpinned its path of economic growth with social inclusion. The intensification of Brazilian cooperation efforts in other countries in the South led it to expand and redesign its partnerships. Despite the lack of a single approach to cooperation and possible contradictions that these multifaceted commitments bring, we believe that Brazilian cooperation can contribute to the procedural and structural changes necessary for emancipatory post-2015 partnerships (Suyama and Pomeroy, 2014). Furthermore, as we explored above, Brazil's experience can contribute to Sustainable Development Goal 2 in particular, which aims to "end hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture".

Despite the slowdown in presidential diplomacy, budgetary cuts and a much more challenging national and international context, Brazilian agencies implementing South-South development cooperation have developed a series of practices to guarantee financing and more effective ways of carrying out initiatives within the limitations of their legal and institutional frameworks, which are constantly evolving. An interesting aspect of this is the increased focus on ensuring not only knowledge sharing, but also policy adoption. However, in the current context, it is necessary to make choices, set priorities and define the direction Brazilian cooperation will take in the future if it is to play a bigger and more effective role in achieving food security and improving nutrition in Africa.

Brazilian South-South cooperation on FNS has been relatively effective in sharing ideas, values and inspiration. This is due to the proactive role played by various actors: former president Lula, representatives of several ministries, the *Conselho Nacional de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional* (CONSEA, or National Council for Food and Nutrition Security), bilateral and multilateral organizations and new institutions, such as the Centre of Excellence against Hunger. This is also thanks to the alignment of cooperation efforts with mainstream international debates. Mossberg argues that policy labels or ideas travel more easily than whole programmes because they possess "inherent symbolism" (apud Dussauge-Laguna, 2013, 120). In many ways, this describes what happened with the internationalization of the Zero Hunger strategy and the adoption of Brazilian FNS policies as a reference for overcoming hunger in Africa in a context where both national governments and bilateral and multilateral organizations are moving from emergency food aid to initiatives aimed at structuring national policies and programmes.

In terms of policy transfer, the analysis of the Brazilian FNS cooperation experience in Mozambique tells us that we must first acknowledge the role the PNAE and PAA played as a frame of reference and "source of inspiration". All recent SSDC initiatives in this area are the result of a type of "validation" or "certification" of Brazil's national policies as "best practices", followed by several initiatives to disseminate information on the programmes. These initiatives led to numerous visits of foreign delegations to several ministries, often facilitated by the Centre of Excellence against Hunger. Aspects of national policies that aroused the most interest among Southern countries are: the centrality of family farming in rural development, a rights-based approach to food, an intersectoral approach to food and nutrition, social accountability and the capacity to combine market creation for small farmers with the distribution of food to the most vulnerable segments of the population through local food procurement. Indeed, these are the main contributions of the Brazilian experience to new international cooperation strategies for ensuring the human right to adequate food.

Despite the major effort to promote Brazil's FNS policies and programmes in recent years, obstacles to adapting and scaling up initiatives at the country level remain. One major challenge has been the adaptation of principles, practices and approaches to local realities, especially since the success of programmes such as the PAA and PNAE can be attributed to factors that are very specific to the Brazilian context. Moreover, in Brazil, they are part of an interconnected web of policies, programmes and institutional frameworks. Thus, in order to provide more horizontal and efficient support to enable partner countries to adapt FNS policy models to local realities, more analysis and reflection is needed.

According to the literature on policy transfer, the aspects that affect policy adaptation include: policymakers' attempt to adapt to the local context, institutional and cultural factors, technical and learning challenges and bureaucratic politics (Rose, 1991; Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000; Dussauge-Laguna, 2013).

South-South cooperation must ensure that there are processes in place to promote continuous learning and reflection. It must also recognize that policy transfer should end at some point so that the countries fully assume policymaking on their own. Mossberger and Wolman (2003) argue that the countries considering adapting polices developed and implemented in other contexts should acquire information on and assess these policies first. For information to be available, there is a need to systematize and disseminate knowledge. Such information needs to not only be adequate and accurate, but also reflect the experience of other countries that have attempted policy transfer. For instance, more information could be made available on the social and political struggles that have contributed to and pushed for the current Brazilian FNS system. Moreover, case studies need to be developed to document the experience of other African countries in implementing programmes such as the PAA and PNAE, and how they have adapted them to their political, social and economic context.

It is worth reflecting on the applicability of the two most important characteristics of Brazilian FNS policies to different socio-institutional contexts: its intersectoral approach and social participation. The lack of effective social participation can distort the essential components of the models being transferred and adapted, as in the case of PAA and PNAE (Maluf and Santarelli, 2015). The "non-interference" principle and the Brazilian approach of conducting "cooperation upon demand" restricts the inclusion of participatory democracy requirements that favour social participation in the projects. There is also the risk that projects will ignore the fact that the success of Brazilian policies is due to the combination of a set of programmes. South-South cooperation must take into account the complexity of promoting the various elements of the Brazilian strategy and its systemic, participatory and intersectoral approach (Maluf and Santarelli, 2015). To find endogenous solutions, a highly participatory process should be carefully undertaken to analyze the differences in settings and raise questions such as: what similarities are there between countries in terms of the problems faced and the goals pursued? What other problems affecting a country could potentially limit a policy's effectiveness? Which legal, political and administrative structures are needed to support the policy? Do the proposed solutions run counter to cultural beliefs or public opinion? How will interest groups affect policy transfer? Are there resources (human and financial) available to support these policies?

From a more horizontal perspective, promoting exchanges between Brazilian and African public servants directly involved in programme implementation may also prove effective. Partners need to analyze their similarities, differences, problems and goals through a mutual learning process based on local experience in implementation. For instance, the case study on Mozambique shows that there are high expectations on building the capacities of government staff on issues such as procurement methodologies and procedures, and consolidating spaces for intersectoral and participatory management. In this sense, there is great potential for horizontal knowledge exchange, as the challenges in managing the implementation of PAA and PNAE in Brazil - especially those related to decentralization - are not very different from those found in other local contexts.

Establishing mechanisms for the exchange of experiences between Brazilian civil society and partner countries - especially when policies have been built around principles of participation - should also be considered a key component of cooperation projects. It would be interesting to examine how other actors who play an important role in the programme in Brazil could be incorporated into SSDC schemes - for example, the *Centro Colaborador em Alimentação e Nutrição do Escola* (CECANES, or Collaborating Centre for School Food and Nutrition), a partnership between the FNDE and Brazilian universities that is crucial to PNAE. The school feeding councils and FNS councils could also be incorporated via exchanges aimed at strengthening participation, as could the peasant cooperatives and national associations that have considerable experience in organizing local producers to ensure sustainable public procurement.

To truly promote endogenous solutions, a longer and deeper process is needed to reflect on the main building blocks – social, political and cultural dynamics, as well as technical tools – that contributed to the success of programmes such as PAA and PNEA. The discussions in this process must keep the local context in mind. Moreover, Brazilian cooperation agencies need to better understand the context in which they hope to inspire similar FNS policies and programmes. To do so, both Brazilian agencies involved in South-South cooperation and the international organizations supporting it need to reflect on how to establish dynamic and effective multi-stakeholder cooperation and ensure the technical and financial resources necessary for expanding knowledge-sharing and supporting policy adaptation. Coordination among Brazilian players and international organizations working with Brazil can definitely be strengthened. At some point, the external actors of the policy transfer process should take a step back and let national actors be the drivers of change. This would entail gradual adjustments and modifications that could lead to different outcomes from those initially expected, while ensuring local ownership and contributing to a sustainable future. Furthermore, the transfer and adaptation process may also provide relevant solutions for Brazil and other South-South cooperation actors' efforts to guarantee the human right to food.

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CHAPTER 9

Social protection programmes contribute to both short- and long-term development goals. Short-term goals tend to focus on levelling consumption and mitigating the impacts of shocks and disasters. In the long term, social protection must address the deeper roots of vulnerability.

Ricefields in the district of Ambatondrazaka, Madasgascar. ©UN Photo/Lucien Rajaonina

People, Nature and Sustainable Development: Towards the next generation of social protection systems[1]

INTRODUCTION

Despite the many different definitions (Gennari and others, 2014; ILO, 2014; IADB, 2014), social protection is usually prescribed as a solution for preventing, managing and overcoming situations that adversely affect people's well-being. In general, social protection aims to reduce poverty and vulnerability through the implementation of social insurance and social assistance programmes, as well as labour market interventions.

Applied around the world, traditional approaches to social protection have, in fact, proven highly effective in reducing poverty and inequality (Fiszbein and others, 2014) and contributing to economic growth (Mathers and Slater, 2014; chapter 7 of this report). There is growing debate on the future of social protection, particularly on expanding its coverage and removing the distinction between interventions designed to tackle poverty and vulnerability and those geared towards achieving broader development goals through greater access to education and health, gender equality, productivity, capital accumulation and measures to meet environmental and climate adaptation objectives (Cook and Pincus, 2014; Carter and Janzen, 2015; Béné and others, 2014). There is also interest in social protection's potential contribution to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and executing a transformative and inclusive post-2015 agenda that leaves no one behind by offering a minimum of protection to all (ILO, 2015). Furthermore, social protection is shifting from being predominantly donor-driven towards the intensification of South-South cooperation via the sharing of knowledge, experience, skills, expertise and resources between countries such as Brazil, India, South Africa and Thailand and other developing nations. One example of this is the Brazil-Africa Cooperation Programme on Social Development discussed in chapter 8 of this report.

The UNDP World Centre for Sustainable Development (RIO+ Centre) Report on Social Protection for Sustainable Development has provided a solid overview of the different elements of this debate. The potential role of social protection in achieving sustainable development and the SDGs was examined in chapter 2 of the report. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 discussed Brazil's experience in designing and implementing social protection programmes based on an integrated and rights-based approach. Chapter 8 illustrated how South-South cooperation can contribute to the strengthening of social protection in other regions by using the example of the transfer and adaptation of the Brazilian experience to several African countries. A summary of experiences and good practices from African-based initiatives was presented in chapter 3 and the annex. Special attention was given to social protection in Senegal, the host of the International Seminar and a country that sees social protection as a fundamental tool for achieving sustainable development and economic emergence (chapter 4).

Building on the foundation set by the other chapters of this report, this chapter will take the debate one step further by focusing on trends that point to the direction social protection will likely take in the future in order to contribute to sustainable development. We seek to make the case for designing and implementing more coherent, integrated and coordinated social protection initiatives based on a broader development narrative - one that is responsive to the multiple challenges faced by vulnerable people. After presenting a wider framework in which social protection is understood as a platform for coordinating among the different types of interventions focused on reducing multiple vulnerabilities, we explore its contribution to short- and long-term sustainable development goals and the enabling factors for the implementation of a more comprehensive approach. We conclude with recommendations for a new generation of social protection interventions.

[1] *This paper was commissioned by UNDP World Centre for Sustainable Development (RIO+ Centre) and written by Luis Rodriguez, with contributions from Leisa Perch.*

MOVING TOWARDS A MORE INTEGRATED AND COORDINATED APPROACH TO SOCIAL PROTECTION

As seen throughout this report, there are several trends that already indicate a number of pathways for the future of social protection. The most important ones identify the need to tackle a broader range of economic, non-economic and non-material vulnerabilities (Devereux, Roelen and Ulrichs, 2015) and establish links among various sectors. They also involve different types of interventions aimed at not only alleviating poverty, but also strengthening resilience, making production more inclusive (Devereux and Roelen, 2014) and contributing to the Sustainable Development Goals (chapter 2 of this report).

This wider scope requires a more systemic approach and greater coherence and coordination among social protection and other economic and development policies (Tirivayi, Knowles and Davis, 2013). This is reflected in the recent social protection strategies and policy statements of major international and multilateral organizations, including the OECD (2009), the European Commission (2012), UNICEF (2012), the World Bank (2012a) and ILO (2015). It is important to emphasize, however, that while on one hand, harmonization and coordination might increase efficiency, inclusion and equality (Winder and Yablonski, 2012), on the other, the path towards improving coordination is not always clear. Sometimes, conflicts can arise between the goals of the different sectors involved in social protection (Saad and Perch, 2014). Therefore, further reflection on how to address these challenges is needed.

There are many interventions outside the traditional scope of social protection that can contribute to poverty reduction and improved well-being and resilience. As such, a broader and more comprehensive social protection framework that addresses multiple vulnerabilities would be valuable.

The key elements of this comprehensive understanding of social protection should be rooted in a definition of vulnerability that takes into account the numerous risks or shocks that can affect well-being. This means that social protection should address not only social and economic issues, but also environmental and climate-related vulnerabilities. It must also be recognized that multiple stress factors may be operating at the same time (Olsson and others, 2014).

To respond to these vulnerabilities, several initiatives are currently being proposed or implemented around the world, such as climate adaptation, food security, human capital and health, livelihood interventions, conservation and natural resource management. These initiatives cannot, however, be compartmentalized, as a number of them overlap. There are already several policy declarations and significant efforts devoted to exploring potential synergies between social protection, on one hand, and, on the other: agriculture, food security and nutrition (HLPE, 2012; FAO, 2015b; Gavrilovic and others, forthcoming); environmental conservation and natural resource management (Rodriguez and others, 2011); climate adaptation (Béné and others, 2014; Carter and Janzen, 2015); and gender (Tessier and others, 2013). They are all based on the rationale that social protection is unlikely to succeed in reducing poverty, improving well-being and promoting resilience if the short- and long-term sources of stress and vulnerabilities associated to the environment, climate, gender and agriculture are not taken into consideration. Moreover, broader social protection frameworks also require stronger coherence, coordination and harmonization among interventions and the policy narratives of the different actors involved.

Finally, , social protection could be seen as a platform for coordination among the different types of interventions and the more typical components of social protection systems, namely social assistance, social security and labour market initiatives. This group of interventions often contributes to tackling multiple vulnerabilities, thus playing a protective, preventative, promotive and transformative role (Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux, 2007).

The potential spillover effects of social protection on other sectors are both a matter of interest and an opportunity for decision makers, field practitioners and donors around the world. For instance, social protection interventions focused on building human capital can also generate significant positive impacts on the environment. Studies have found a correlation between education levels and deforestation: every additional year of schooling can result in a four to 21.5 percent reduction in the area of old growth forest cut down annually per household (Howe, 2009). Several studies also underline the important role of environmental protection measures in increasing household resilience (Mukul and others, 2015), generating income (Rabbi, Bauer and Idalinya, 2010) and promoting equality (Angelsen and Hogarth, 2014).

Although gains are clearly to be made by coordinating among social protection and environmental measures, since these programmes are relatively new, many challenges still need to be addressed. Several studies reveal, for example, that local communities gather a substantial amount of non-timber forest products (NTFPs) from national parks despite official restrictions (Mukul and others, 2015). Also, extractive activities in managed areas might be displaced to other areas (a phenomenon known as "leakage"), especially when organized value chains for natural resources are in place (Bode and others, 2015). Growing demand for natural resources could potentially lead to the intensification of corruption and conflicts, particularly when institutions are weak, policies and laws are not enforced, and there is unequal access to essential resources. Corruption is widespread in the sub-Saharan African forest industry, for example, for diverse reasons, including incentives to act illicitly (Hicks, 2013). Corruption has an impact on not only equality and income, but also the natural resource basis, making it 40 percent more expensive to implement natural resources initiatives with social objectives (Plummer and Cross, 2006).

There are several efforts to improve environmental governance and implement regulations for the sustainable use of natural resources considering the important role of the environment in alleviating poverty and supporting livelihoods (Ingram, 2014; Foundjem-Tita and others, 2013; Tieguhong and others, 2015). However, where regulations exist, they are rarely enforced, and win-win socio-environmental situations are still more the exception than the rule.

Contributing to short-term and long-term sustainable development goals

Social protection programmes contribute to both short- and long-term development goals. Short-term goals tend to focus on levelling consumption and mitigating the impacts of shocks and disasters (Gentilini, Honorati and Yemtsov, 2014). In the long term, social protection must address the deeper roots of vulnerability (Devereux and Roelen, 2014).

There is growing evidence on the strong connection among climate change, vulnerability and disasters and their short and long-term effects on poverty and deprivation. As seen earlier in this report, there is a need to connect risk management plans more directly to social protection policies - even within the UN and other development agencies - to better respond to emergencies. Yet, it is also true that at the time of the writing of this report, our comprehension of the multiple dimensions, scale and nature of the emergencies themselves is also changing and our responses should change accordingly. A clear example is the 2014-2015 Ebola outbreak, during which health issues put harvests at risk, caused food prices to increase and disrupted food trade in several West African countries. More recently, the spread of the Zika virus has serious implications for human health and is expected to have negative impacts on domestic consumption and tourism in Brazil, Jamaica, the US Virgin Islands and other destinations in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Given the potential impacts of crises on income, health and safety, etc., it stands to reason that traditional social measures would be chosen to be part of the initial response. There is mounting evidence that rapidly activating and/or expanding social protection measures already in place (topping up existing cash transfer programmes, for instance) during the sudden onset of emergencies can be very effective for limiting fall-out and speeding up recovery and the transition or return to longer-term development concerns. For example, coordinating food aid to alleviate hunger (while taking advantage of existing food distribution channels) with cash transfers and the provision of farm equipment, agricultural inputs and access to credit can contribute to a more rapid reconstruction of livelihoods and promote resilience. Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Program (PSNP) provides another example. It aims to foster long-term sustainable development through improvements to community infrastructure, environmental protection and food security measures (Andersson, Mekonnen and Stage, 2009) - measures that can be, and have been, triggered in emergency situations. Furthermore, being linked to Disaster Risk Management (DRM) systems such as risk assessment and hazard mapping and early warning systems has helped actors to provide a rapid response to disasters and reduce - and even avert - losses (Stokkel, 2015). Thus, the combination of regular or predictable entitlements to government transfers, protection from the impacts of natural hazards and significant improvements in the management of the natural environment has enabled programme beneficiaries to satisfy their consumption needs, mitigate risks and avoid selling productive assets during crisis situations, such as droughts. There is also evidence that livelihoods are stabilizing and food insecurity is being reduced among participant households (World Bank, 2013).

This broader approach is in keeping with UNDP's Livelihoods and Recovery strategy, which emphasizes bridging the humanitarian and development divide for more sustainable development and more resilient lives and livelihoods. It is possible that new experimentation with social protection will emerge, especially considering the potential impacts on non-economic sectors and the need to provide a coordinated response to cross-border emergencies.

In the case of the Ebola and Zika viruses and other diseases, healthy ecosystem management is essential for both long-term social and economic well-being and short-term crisis response. This is especially important considering the potential responses of disease vectors to climate change (Chadee and Martinez, 2016; Quintero and others, 2009). Healthy ecosystems reduce socio-economic vulnerability, as they provide essential goods and services to satisfy local consumption and subsistence needs, and play a key role in sustaining income generation, protecting human health and mitigating and preventing outbreaks. They also contribute to climate adaptation and disaster risk reduction by providing communities with safety nets in times of climate shocks and natural disasters (CBD, 2015). For example, forest ecosystems often serve as a safety net, as they are a source of additional cash and subsistence options for asset-poor households. In this sense, they may act as a 'natural' insurance policy in times of trouble (Wunder and others, 2014). They also serve as reserve areas for agricultural conversion in the case of floods, fires or when pests reduce areas for growing crops (Sunderlin, Angelsen and Wunder, 2003). As such, their quality and quantity also become important elements for the survival and resilience of the poor and vulnerable. In rural Uganda, for instance, households have relied more on forests to cover their subsistence and cash needs after suffering large losses from shocks (Debela and others, 2012). Studies in Malawi (Kamanga, 2009), the Democratic Republic of Congo (Nielsen and others, 2012) and Benin (Heubach and others, 2011) underline the importance of forest income in maintaining consumption levels. Additionally, evidence from around the globe indicates that household dependence on environmental resources is higher after a covariate shock hits an entire village or region than during idiosyncratic shocks, when social and economic networks (friends, neighbours or informal money lenders) might be the people's preferred choice (Wunder and others, 2014).

Interventions such as Payments for Ecosystem Services (PES) and REDD also have the potential to act as safety nets (Lee and Mahanty, 2009; Rodriguez and others, 2011; Robinson and others, 2013). As they provide a reliable and regular source of income, they help mitigate risk, smooth consumption and allow people to avoid adopting asset-based coping strategies. That said, traditional social protection initiatives such as cash transfers and public works programmes are still the best option for levelling consumption, building up and maintaining assets and developing human capital to better cope with natural hazards.

Adequate management of natural resources, ecosystem services and climate change can also contribute to long-term sustainable development goals, such as the promotion of economic growth (Vincent, 2012), increasing equality and facilitating conflict resolution. Over the last 60 years, at least 40 percent of all internal conflicts have been linked to climate and the exploitation of natural resources (Hsiang and Burke, 2014). In Africa, there is a strong connection between climate and conflict (Burke and others, 2009), as made evident by disputes between pastoralists and farmers in Ethiopia, inter-clan fighting in Somalia and increased conflict during drought periods in Kenya, northern Nigeria and Sudan (Adano and Daudi, 2012). Actions to improve the management of water resources, however, can help to sustain peace, as well as contribute to other long term development goals. Around the world, policy efforts to modify the 'authoritative allocation of values in society with respect to water' are creating the basis for considering water as a source of cooperation and development and, subsequently, for peace and stability, rather than conflict. Agreements between Lesotho and South Africa on water royalties represent 28 percent of Lesotho's GDP and an opportunity for joint economic advances with Southern Africa (Gakuo Mwangi, 2010).

Similar approaches based on ecosystem services have also contributed to the reconciliation of historically conflicting local and national interests related to land tenure, pastoralist livelihoods and conservation. Studies in Tanzania highlight the potential impact of PES on reducing pressure from agriculture, conserving habitats and supporting wildlife tourism, but also underline the importance of environmental cash transfers contributing to other sectors, such as child education (Nelson and others, 2010). However, evidence suggest that while certain forms of assistance can generate the much needed productive and social outcomes in one context, in another, they can lead to perverse and counterproductive outcomes and even increase human-wildlife conflicts (Gupta, 2013). This strongly suggests that there is no "one-size-fits-all" solution. Programmes must be carefully tailored to the local context while paying particular attention to the links among social, cultural, political, economic and environmental aspects.

Understanding the links between gender inequality, the environment and agriculture and taking measures to act on them are fundamental for producing sustainable development outcomes. Estimations indicate that women in developing countries can spend up to three hours a day collecting fuel and an additional six hours on collecting water for daily needs and preparing food (UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Rural Women, 2011). These laborious tasks reduces the time women have for income generation and education, which, in turn, limits the opportunities for the women and their daughters to reach their full potential (UN Women, 2014). On the other hand, such efforts also provide time for social networking and social capital formulation in the form of cooperative activities.

Programmes that take into account gender inequality, the environment and agriculture can make a difference in this respect. The Emergency Labour Intensive Investment Project (World Bank, 2012b) in Egypt combines environmental protection measures with targeted benefits for women participants, such as maternity and child health care initiatives. By working on the cleaning of canals and reducing weeds as part of efforts to protect the banks of the Nile River and being involved in clean-up and waste collection campaigns, women both contribute to and receive benefits from environmental conservation efforts (Gonzalez and Martin, 2007). Other examples show that interventions that strengthen women's property rights and increase their access to land and natural resources can help reduce the gender gap, improve women's livelihood options, raise them out of poverty and accelerate their productive inclusion in local and national markets. It also helps to reduce their reliance on other forms of social assistance, while enabling them to build their asset base. It has long been established that if women had the same access to productive resources as men, they could increase yields on their farms by 20 to 30 percent. These gains in agricultural production could lift some 100 to 150 million people out of hunger (FAO, 2011). Still, mainstreaming gender is not just a matter of disaggregating the impacts and beneficiaries by gender; it is a fundamental enabler for more inclusive protection and a key component for targeting and prioritization. Moreover, some SP initiatives are still largely gender blind, often tackling practical issues, while failing to address the more structural causes of gender inequality. As chapter 2 rightly points out, there is reasonable concern that relying on gender-based reproductive and productive roles in the household (that is, women as caretakers) can also reinforce stereotypical roles. While a household may benefit in general, such an approach could actually increase the burden on women.

Overall, this tells us that concerted efforts to reduce the growing gap in wealth distribution and opportunities are likely to be more effective in preventing conflict and crises than emergency response measures are. They also demonstrate how social protection systems can play an instrumental role in building a systemic approach. The evidence presented here indicates that social protection can and should effectively link short-term responses to long-term development strategies, but it also confirms that coordination among environmental, social and agricultural interventions should be increased, as opposed to prioritizing one over the other.

In many countries, social protection programmes have often been developed as a response to a specific problem, without, however, building on or ensuring that they are complementary to other programmes already in operation. This leads to fragmentation and is an obvious consequence of the lack of a national framework or strategy for social protection and coordination among national (and in some countries, international) stakeholders from both the private and public sector.

Fragmentation can reduce programme efficiency at the policy, programme and administrative levels and undermine the potential of social protection to contribute to resilience and human development. At the policy level, which is particularly relevant in financially-constrained fiscal contexts, a lack of coordination among programmes can result in overlap or even the establishment of parallel structures serving a similar purpose. For example, despite the implementation of a large number of social protection measures in Malawi, the levels of poverty and vulnerability in rural areas remain high and the costs of implementation is very expensive. These measures do not seem to be adding up to more than their individual parts due to the lack of coordination (Devereux and Macauslan, 2006).

A lack of coordination can be exacerbated by the fact that the broader the scope of social protection programmes or systems, the higher the level of coherence and coordination required for their success. As illustrated in chapter 6 of this report, an extensive governance structure has been adopted by the *Plano Brasília Sem Miséria* (Brazil Without Misery Plan) to ensure coordination across ministries and other government actors involved in the administration of the programmes.

In practical terms, coherence can be understood as the systematic promotion of complementary and consistent policies and programmes across sectors in order to create synergies (Gavrilovic, forthcoming; Slater and others, 2015a) and achieve common objectives (for example, promote food security, reduce poverty and conserve biodiversity). This helps to minimize potential conflicts between policies and programmes (Slater and others, 2015b). Promoting coherence can enhance both the performance of individual programmes and the overall provision of social protection, since the aggregate increase in social welfare that programmes can generate when working as a system is higher than what can be achieved by summing the contributions of each programme operating independently (Ribe, Robalino and Walker, 2012).

At the political level, coherence requires horizontal and vertical coordination. As both chapter 3 and chapter 6 explain, horizontal coordination refers to efforts to coordinate across the different institutions and ministries involved. In Peru, Espinoza and Wiggins (2015) observed that at the district level, coordination efforts between the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation (MINAGRI),

Strengthening existing climate adaptation, environmental and agricultural measures - which are all attracting significant regional and global policy attention and funding - can also serve to increase the developmental impact and the coherence of the social protection agenda.

the Ministry of Social Development and Inclusion (MIDIS) and the district government are facilitating the flow of information and joint contributions to local assessment, thereby proving that coordination among actors can generate positive returns. In Zambia, studies indicate that in addition to the expected outcomes in terms of poverty reduction and increasing school enrolment rates, cash transfers might lead to the doubling of expenditure on agricultural inputs, help farmers expand the area they cultivate and raise the value of harvest by 36 percent (Daidone and others, 2014). This type of impact makes a solid case for reinforcing coordination between the country's Ministry of Community Development, Mother and Child Health and the Ministry of Agriculture.

Vertical coordination entails coordinating among the different levels of government (federal, national, regional and municipal), as well as ensuring the effective delivery and decentralization of the distribution of benefits on the ground. The harmonization of payments for ecosystem services (PES) with conditional cash transfer programmes (CCT) can create an opportunity to harness efforts from donors, government ministries and local or field-based implementing agencies. Brazil's *Bolsa Família* programme offers a good example of vertical coordination. Operating on the basis of administrative decentralization, a number of mechanisms have been established to give a greater role to the states and municipalities and to coordinate programme implementation at all three levels (Cecchini and Martinez, 2012; J chapters 5, 6 and 7 of this report).

The lessons learned from the International Seminar on Social Protection in Africa in Dakar show that effective coordination across government units and sectors is paramount, but is still a missing dimension of the social protection architecture in many countries. Successful models show that a single coordinating body with strong political backing from the highest levels of government can be key to the success of social protection systems. Information-sharing mechanisms such as national registries (*Cadastro Único* in Brazil and similar initiatives in Peru and Cape Verde, among others) can help reduce costs, increase transparency and efficiency. In many countries, this is one area that still requires a considerable amount of investment and capacity-building.

Greater coordination among donors is also necessary. Fragmentation of donor support within the social protection sector can foster unhealthy competition among actors within government, which limits the prospects for adopting comprehensive and integrated approaches. Making access to support conditional on the adoption of comprehensive approaches by development partners can be a powerful incentive and provide resources for the necessary actions (European Commission, 2015). However, making aid conditional on the adoption of a particular donor's policy instrument of choice can generate difficulties for coordinating among donor agencies committed to similar or complementary policy lines (Adesina, 2010). Efforts to increase coordination among donors and governments include: joint donor-government coordination committees (Ellis, Devereux and White, 2009); common ground approaches (UNICEF-World Bank and ILO-World Bank); and inter-agency coordination boards, such as the Social Protection Inter-agency Cooperation Board (European Commission, 2015).

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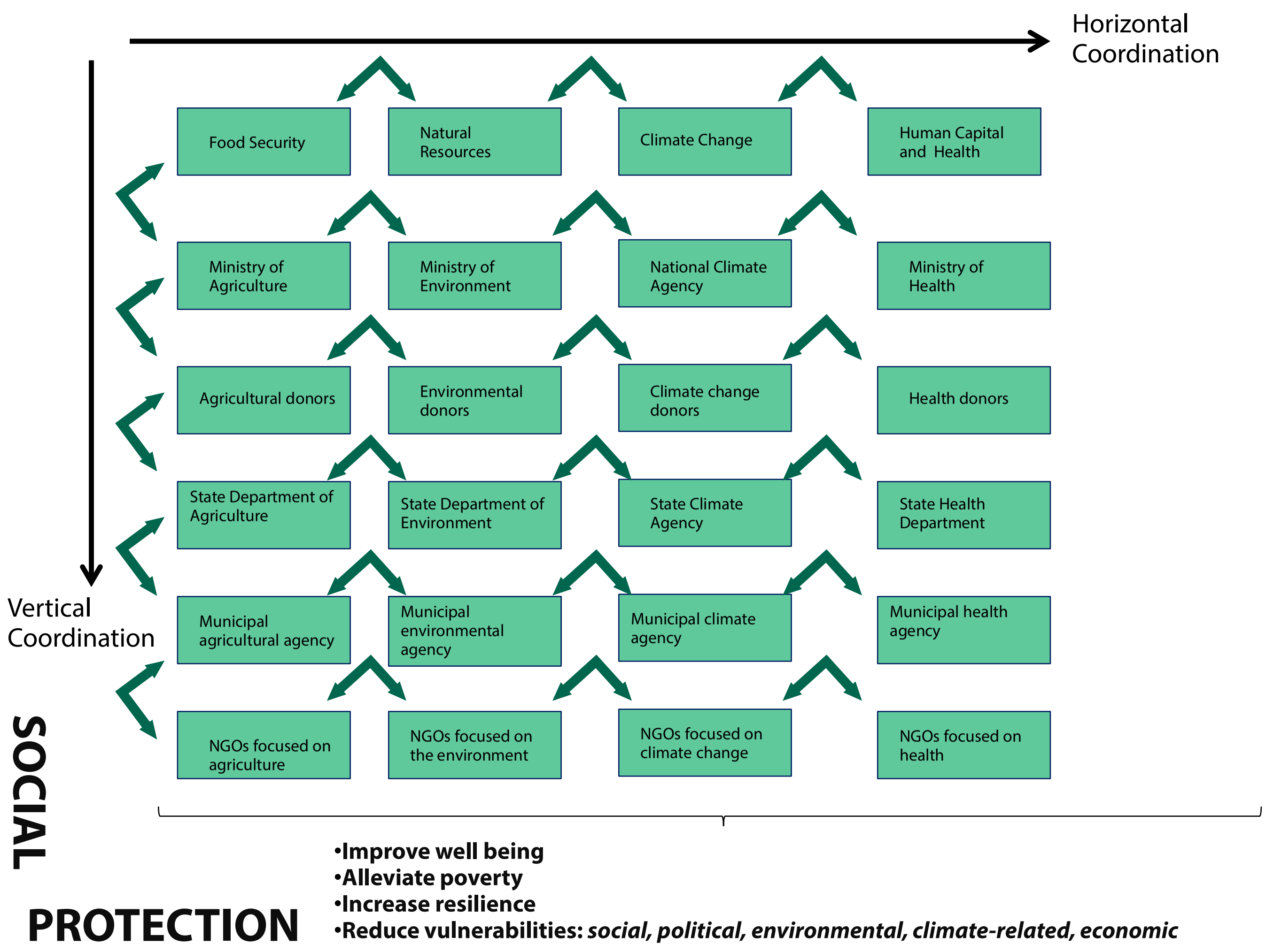
FIGURE 1
HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL COORDINATION OF SOCIAL PROTECTION PROGRAMMES



Source: Prepared by the author.

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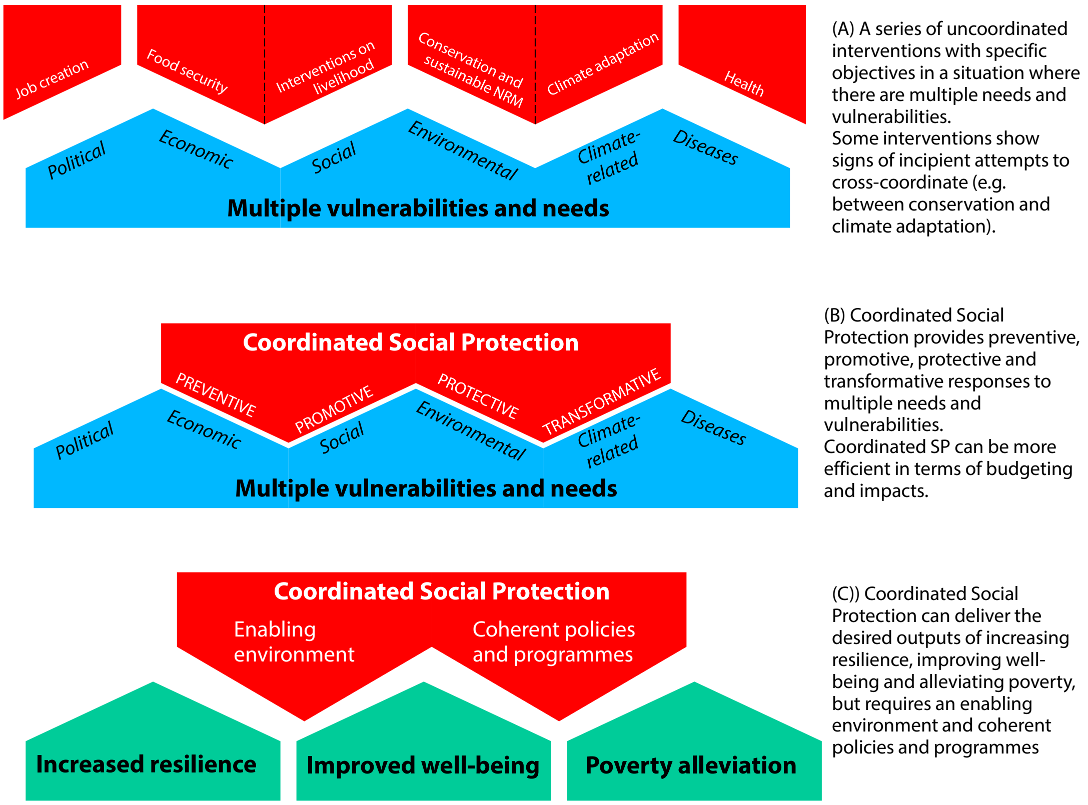
The challenges and opportunities of coordinated approaches to social protection

As summarized in Figure 2, social protection responds to multiple vulnerabilities and requires the use of different types of interventions (A). There must be coordination among these interventions in order for SP to play a preventive, promotive, protective and transformative role (B). However, to have a significant impact on increasing resilience, improving well-being and alleviating poverty, coordinated social protection requires both i) an enabling environment and ii) coherent policies and programs (C).

FIGURE 2



Source: Prepared by the author.

There is growing interest in exploring how social protection measures can contribute to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). An initial review of the 17 SDGs suggests that social protection should find its natural niche in:

- **Goal 1**: End poverty in all its forms everywhere;
- **Goal 2**: End hunger;
- **Goal 5**: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls; and
- **Goal 10**: Reduce inequality within and among countries.

A broader view of social protection, however, allows us to link it to other goals. For instance, conditional cash transfers with health conditionalities can contribute to Goal 3, which aims to "Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all the ages". Similarly, social protection can help countries achieve Goal 8 ("Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all") thanks to the multiplier effects of increased local consumption and improved labour market outcomes generated by social protection measures, as well as the potential role public works programmes can play. Furthermore, social protection offers a wide range of instruments that can be used to support households that are particularly vulnerable to both the ongoing and acute impacts of climate change, thereby contributing to SDG 13, which aims to take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts.

Table 1 summarizes how social protection can potentially contribute to each of the 17 SDGs and thus, serve as the foundation for further efforts to build a multidimensional social protection system that contributes to all aspects of sustainable development.

	SDG	SOCIAL PROTECTION (SP)	KEY REFERENCES
1	End poverty in all its forms everywhere	Well-designed and well-implemented SP programmes can make strong contributions to poverty reduction. For instance, income transfers can directly reduce vulnerability. When conditionalities related to health, nutrition and education have been established, SP can have long-term effects on productivity and earnings, thereby helping to break the intergenerational cycle of poverty.	Barrientos, 2013.
2	End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture	Cash transfer programmes are effective in reducing hunger and food insecurity and improving nutrition. Spending on and consumption of food is significantly higher among households receiving transfers. Cash transfers enable beneficiaries in rural areas to invest more in farm assets, including farm implements and livestock. Evidence shows that integrated programmes can improve access to food, nutrition outcomes, coping strategies and productivity and promote the diversification of crops and the adoption of new farming technologies.	Slater, Holmes and Mathers, 2014.
3	Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages	Conditional cash transfers (CCTs) can be valuable tools for addressing some of the obstacles populations in poorer countries face when accessing health care services, or modifying situations of risk, for example. However, CCTs need to be combined with supply-side interventions, such as building hospitals, to maximize their effects.	Ranganathan and Lagarde, 2012.
4	Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all	Fee waivers and school stipends or scholarships increase access to education directly by eliminating school fees for households. Cash transfers are an indirect way of supporting education, as they provide the means to cover the costs of attending school (books, uniforms, fees, transportation, etc.). While school feeding programmes aim to improve child nutrition and increase school attendance, studies on their impacts show mixed results.	Holmes, 2010.
5	Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls	Ensuring effective and equitable access to social protection is key to achieving gender equality. SP programmes can contribute to the economic empowerment of women and gender equality when they are designed, implemented and monitored in a gender-responsive way; when they are not, they can perpetuate unequal gender relations and in some cases, even exacerbate them. Integration of gender development outcomes has been particularly successful in public works programmes such as the Expanded Public Works Programme in South Africa, PSNP in Ethiopia and the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act in India.	Tessier and others, 2013.
6	Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all	SP programmes can contribute to sustainable water management and reduce poverty, as made evident by South Africa's Working for Water programme. This nationwide initiative covers 300 projects and provides 32,000 jobs, while ensuring the conservation and sustainable use of water resources and controlling invasive species.	Rodricks, 2010.
7	Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all	SP can meet the energy needs of those at the base of the social pyramid, where commercial opportunities are not expected to emerge in the near future. At the same time, they can boost business interests higher up the pyramid by nudging consumers towards green energy products. A 0.6 percent increase in primary energy consumption has been associated with a one percent increase in the world GDP. There are strong linkages between access to and use of efficient energy services and the human development index (HDI).	Brookings Blum Roundtable, 2013.
8	Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all	By increasing local consumption and creating income-generation and employment opportunities, social protection has multiplier effects on growth. Studies show that social protection has a limited, but positive impact on GDP, namely through programmes that aim to increase productivity and intervene in the labour market.	Mathers and Slater, 2014.
9	Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation	Public works programmes are one way to combine improvements to infrastructure with income transfers and poverty reduction. Improving infrastructure is, in many cases, critical for achieving other SDGs: poverty reduction, ensuring healthy lives, inclusive and equitable education, effective water management, access to energy, safer human settlements and climate change.	Del Ninno, Subbarao and Milazzo, 2009.
10	Reduce inequality within and among countries	Inequalities are multidimensional and perpetuate vulnerabilities. Social protection has proven effective in tackling income disparities and unequal access to health care and education, as well as empowering vulnerable populations. As several chapters in this report show, Brazil is a well-documented case study in this area.	UNESCAP, 2015.
11	Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable	Social protection has an important role in urban settings given the increasing number of urban poor and growing demand for services such as health and education. Programmes such as the Ethiopian Urban Productive Safety Net embodies a renewed commitment to addressing urban poverty, which involves adopting a more deliberate strategy consisting of a combination of cash transfers, public works programmes and activities to bolster self-entrepreneurship and employment in cities.	Ethiopia, Ministry of Urban Development Housing and Construction, 2015.
12	Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns	Social protection initiatives can stabilize household consumption, boost aggregate demand and stimulate local markets, particularly in remote areas and/or during times of slow recovery and low demand.	ILO, 2014.

	SDG	SOCIAL PROTECTION (SP)	KEY REFERENCES
13	Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts	Social protection offers a wide range of instruments that can be used to support households that are particularly vulnerable to both the ongoing and acute impacts of climate change.	Béné and others, 2014.
14	Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development	Marine protected areas contribute to poverty reduction by increasing the fish catches and income of artisanal fishermen, creating new jobs, improving health and empowering women. They also contribute to better nutrition and dietary diversity. As small scale fishermen are very vulnerable, social protection could provide them much needed support in the form of emergency food aid, compensation, cash transfers, opportunities to earn cash or food for work, technical support, the replacement of their fishing equipment and infrastructure, as well as long-term capacity development and empowerment activities.	Gurneya and others, 2014; Alva and others, 2016; Béné, Devereux and Roelen, 2015.
15	Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss	Payments for ecosystem services can potentially address poverty issues by providing conditional cash transfers that raise the income of and reduce poverty among poor landowners. Their potential socioeconomic impacts depend on the size of the operation, a household's dependence on the land and its access to income from non-forest activities. PES can be part of programmes that aim to expand social protection and protect the environment, such as the Brazilian *Bolsa Verde* (Green Grant) programme.	Robalino and others, 2014.
16	Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels	Social protection schemes such as scholarships, child grants, employment programmes and measures to reintegrate conflict-affected populations into socio-economic life help increase political stability and build peace, and reduce inequalities, social tensions and violent conflict. Social protection can thus contribute to greater social cohesion and participation.	ILO/World Bank, 2015.
17	Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development	Stronger South-South cooperation can contribute to social protection and sustainable development goals by mobilizing resources, promoting the creation and transfer of successful experiences and building capacity.	ILO, 2013.

Source: Prepared by the author

Concerted efforts to reduce the growing gap in wealth distribution and opportunities are likely to be more effective in preventing conflict and crises than emergency response measures are.

Enabling environment

With the impetus of the post-2015 agenda and the SDGs, the need for clear recommendations to the numerous dilemmas and knowledge gaps identified in this and other chapters of this report is an obvious demand from decision makers at all levels. Several enabling conditions to plan and implement coordinated social protection initiatives are outlined below:

- **Leadership and political commitment:**

  Promoting a coherent social protection agenda requires high-level political commitment and strong leadership, as well as recognizing that social protection should not operate in a vacuum. Historical factors, motivations, interests and values play a role in determining the level of support social protection will receive from decision makers.

- **Evidence of positive joint impacts and clearly defined roles for each sector:**

  To avoid the fragmentation of social protection initiatives, there needs to be a certain level of harmony and synergy among the priorities of ministries responsible for the different aspects of human, local and national development. Also, the role each sector is to play in joint initiatives must be clearly defined.

  Providing decision makers with evidence of the positive outcomes obtained through joint initiatives can help turn political commitment into actions.

- **Organizational arrangements:**

  Harmonized and coordinated policies and programmes require that appropriate coordination mechanisms, effective procedures and adequate human and financial resources are in place both within and across organizations.

  Ideally, the different sectors to be coordinated (social protection, agriculture, the environment and climate) should have shared information systems and instruments to facilitate joint planning.

- **Adequate funding:**

  Insufficient resources can constrain coordination even when there is willingness to collaborate. Different sectors usually have their own sources of funding - from donors or public resources - but they are not always consistent and sustained. Despite evidence suggesting that social protection is affordable even for low-income countries, the current low prices of commodities may have negative impacts on their national revenues at a time when social protection budgets need to be augmented. To respond to this requires implementing measures such as the reallocation of public expenditure; increasing tax revenues; the expansion of contributory schemes; and the use of fiscal and foreign exchange reserves. Coordination among donors could help promote joint assistance strategies, increase social protection budgets, scale up interventions and reduce the administrative burden on recipient agencies. Government/local leadership is key in this respect.

- **Qualified staff:**

  Capacity-building efforts - such as training workshops, technical assistance and official visits to successful projects - are required to ensure that the government staff involved in planning, implementing and coordinating social protection have the necessary skills and experience.

Gavrilovic and others (forthcoming) identify three options for building coherent and coordinated social protection interventions. It is useful to discuss them here, as we reflect on the prospects for social programmes in an uncertain and dynamic future. They are:

1. Design or adapt stand-alone interventions: Social protection interventions can be designed to be coherent with goals related to other sectors. Harman (2015) shows that public works in Malawi were organized to avoid disrupting farming activities by providing job alternatives during weeks where demand for labour in the farming sector was lower. Public works can also focus on soil and water conservation to generate positive environmental outcomes, as evidenced by Ethiopia's PSNP (Andersson, Mekonnen and Stage, 2009). Agricultural initiatives such as subsidies for farm supplies can target poor farmers to increase their income and reduce vulnerability. Environmental programmes can be also adapted to contribute to combating poverty, just as the Ecuadorian *Programa Socio Bosque* (Forest Partner Programme), with its dual objectives of conservation and poverty alleviation, has been (Ecuador, 2014). This type of win-win situations are being explored in relation to the implementation of REDD+ and other climate-related interventions in order to make them socially desirable and pro-poor.

2. Combine the interventions of several programmes into one: The motive for doing this is to reduce transactional and operational costs. Programmes can be delivered to the same beneficiary household simultaneously or sequenced over time. For example, the Brazilian *Bolsa Verde* programme provides additional monetary incentives to the beneficiaries of the *Bolsa Família* programme living in priority rural areas if they agree to develop environmental conservation activities.

3. Coordinate and align multiple programmes and policies as much as possible: Social protection objectives can be fulfilled by coordinating and aligning multiple programmes in contexts where policy goals and target groups are diverse and can exploit economies of scale. For instance, agricultural interventions can be delivered to smallholder farmers in order to take advantage of the increase in local consumer demand resulting from a social protection programme. The most common example is the linking of school feeding to public procurement programmes. Initiatives in Bolivia, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Peru support family farmers by providing them with a guaranteed market and simultaneously contributing to better education, health and nutrition outcomes in vulnerable children (FAO, 2015b). This type of programme can be quite complex to design and implement in administrative terms, as in order to be successful, it requires horizontal coordination among the social protection agency leading the program, the agriculture ministry in charge of farming incentives, the health ministry performing regular health and safety inspections on purchased food and the ministry of education responsible for educational outcomes.

Governments in the South, and in Africa in particular, can examine these approaches to identify which one suits their needs and their capacity to implement them the best. This can help them maximize synergies, reduce conflicts and anticipate the trade-offs between security, assistance, protection, promotion and transformative measures. Moreover, it will enable them to align goals and objectives across multiple sectors and scale-up promising programmes that could transition towards flagship approaches to development. By balancing the scales between the social policy/public finance and development approaches discussed in chapter 1 of this report, social protection efforts can advance to the next stage of innovation - that is, shifting from experimentation to consolidation and systemic integration.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Several recommendations can be extracted from the literature review carried out for this and the other chapters of this report, as well as the expert opinions of researchers, decision makers and practitioners who attended the International Seminar on Social Protection in Africa held in Dakar (see the annex of this report). These recommendations are based on robust findings and can be considered a starting point for improving the planning and implementation of coordinated social protection initiatives and the shaping of second and third-generation social protection practices that more consistently and effectively respond to the multiple vulnerabilities and deprivations the poor and disadvantaged face.

- Creating an environment that facilitates the design and implementation of coherent and coordinated social protection initiatives is not always easy, as a high level of political commitment is required. Thus, identifying leaders among policy makers committed to sustainable development and providing them with evidence to support important advocacy efforts around coordination, coherence, convergence and improved decision-making should be a priority;

- Greater coordination can increase efficiency, inclusion and equality, even though conflicts may arise among the goals of the different sectors. Thus, engaging and mobilizing stakeholders operating in different sectors is essential for facilitating dialogue and developing cross-sectoral strategies. Various institutional frameworks and structures can be developed or expanded to support such efforts and must also be backed by strong governance and meta-governance structures. Moreover, clarifying the institutional policy linkages within the realm of development practice will also be essential for ensuring a "whole of government"[2] and a "whole of society approach" to persistent problems such as poverty;

- Coordination mechanisms such as food security committees, rural development working groups, agriculture and environment roundtables usually exist, but they are often too weak to be effective. It is recommended that they be strengthened, and their mandate and capacity expanded by ensuring the constant presence of technical staff and decision makers representing the different sectors involved. High levels of staff turnover and changes in leadership within coordinating bodies should be avoided, as they can affect their capacity to coordinate and contribute to decision-making processes;

- Exploiting synergies between different initiatives is generally cost effective, but should be done within the context of a clear and convincing policy narrative. Strengthening existing climate adaptation, environmental and agricultural measures - which are all attracting significant regional and global policy attention and funding - can also serve to increase the developmental impact and the coherence of the social protection agenda. Furthermore, it can ensure that each initiative reflects a clear commitment to poverty reduction and gender equality;

- An appropriate level of funding and a fair distribution of available resources are essential for optimizing coordination and implementation. Designing mechanisms for pooled and commonly-managed funds linked to investment planning is strongly recommended. This could apply, for example, to the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) and green economy investment plans, where the possibilities to generate tangible and increasingly inclusive outcomes are high;

- Coordination requires not only systems, but staff with the expertise and experience needed to understand and deal with social protection as a platform for coordinating among different and overlapping interventions aimed at poverty alleviation, improving well-being and increasing resilience. This should be bolstered by the capacity to generate and exchange evidence and contribute to monitoring and evaluation efforts.

[2] Policies that aroused the most interest among Southern countries are: the centrality of family farming in rural development, a rights-based approach to food, an intersectoral approach to food and nutrition, social accountability and the capacity to combine market creation for small farmers with the distribution of food to the most vulnerable segments of the population through local food procurement.

CONCLUSIONS

The challenges before existing social protection initiatives – which are first generation in many African countries – are gargantuan, and the demands are many and diverse. In an age of increasing uncertainty, global interconnectedness, protracted crises and devastating poverty and inequality, social protection is called upon to tackle a broader spectrum of economic, non-economic and non-material vulnerabilities. To do so, linkages must be made among initiatives from social, environmental and economic sectors, and responses must be designed and implemented in coherent and coordinated ways (Devereux and others, 2015; chapter 2 of this report). For these and other reasons, social protection had found a natural niche in the Sustainable Development Goals.

Designing social protection programmes to tackle income poverty or smooth consumption is still necessary, but not sufficient on its own. Strengthening resilience, increasing inclusive production and contributing to the achievement of sustainable development goals are now part and parcel of a narrative that sees SP as more than, or primarily as, an instrument for dealing with social issues.

Evidence on the positive spill over effects between social protection measures and initiatives and other sectors (Howe, 2009) indicates the entry points to accelerating and building up second and third-generation programmes and also to promoting the type of collaboration and coordination that is essential for delivering on the promise of the SDGs. Delivering on this ideal requires not only an enabling environment and a coherent set of policies and programmes to be in place (Gavrilovic and others, forthcoming), but also:

i) the identification of feasible entry points in order to establish synergies;

ii) selecting the best instrument or combination of instruments to be used based on a country's context and the issues to be addressed;

iii) promoting and targeting efficiency and effectiveness;

iv) defining a transfer size or level of incentives commensurate with multiple desired objectives;

v) ensuring the timely and predictable delivery of incentives to contribute to safety nets and respond to the seasonality of programme components; and

vi) developing a strong monitoring and evaluation framework.

Governments from developing countries have already demonstrated their capacity and commitment to a broader and more developmental narrative. They have done so via innovative South-South cooperation, as well as through their own home-grown experimentation, knowledge and experience. In looking forward to the next 15 years of development practice, they are positioned to experience successes and failures, and lead the way to a new generation of initiatives that are developmental, progressive, adaptive and transformative all at the same time and to act as the frontrunners of a new type of inclusive and sustainable development for all.

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CHAPTER 10

A fisherman casting a net from a fishing boat off the coast of Joal, Senegal.
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Social protection is a strategic tool that can be used to achieve several SDGs simultaneously and generate spillover effects that go far beyond the initially stated goals.

Moving Forward on Social Protection in the 2030 Agenda[1]

Social protection schemes have provided an effective means of reducing extreme poverty and securing a floor of social rights for the poorest, while forging new paths to greater socio-economic inclusion. Even though social protection systems around the world vary significantly, their role in the construction of more inclusive and fair societies where vulnerabilities to social, environmental and economic shocks are minimized is fundamental. Recognized as a key part of the sustainable development agenda adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2015, social protection policy and practice must be conceived within a broader strategy that goes beyond strictly addressing income poverty and inequality.

This report provides important insight into the social protection experiences of Brazil and Africa. It sheds light on the main opportunities and challenges to be considered when conceptualizing and institutionalizing social protection into national policy and practice, particularly within the sustainable development framework. These experiences and the lessons they bring provide valuable input for the design and improvement of comprehensive social protection systems that address the multiple dimensions of human vulnerability, including those arising from climate change and environmental degradation. In developing countries, a significant portion of the population lives without any social safety net, which only exacerbates their exclusion. Under the newly adopted Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development, which advocates for excluding no one from human development and dignity, social protection provides an important tool for enabling citizens to exercise their rights to basic services related to health, social security and income, among others. Even in advanced economies, strong social protection programmes help growing economies reduce the proportion of people who are left behind.

Sustainable development requires taking action on the social, environmental, economic and political fronts and must be implemented through integrated and coherent policies that spur long-term change. Fragmented and piecemeal efforts have not proven effective in addressing vulnerabilities since they are multiple and inextricably linked. Therefore, policymakers need to look at how social protection can serve as an enabler and driver for the achievement of other sustainable development goals and targets and expand policy impact in the long term.

This chapter draws on the main insights raised in previous chapters to identify the various elements that need to be taken into consideration for the design, implementation and sustainability of social protection systems.

ECONOMIC SUSTAINABILITY: ENSURING THE VIABILITY OF SOCIAL PROTECTION

Social protection can have significant spin-off effects on economic development by contributing to both economic growth and income distribution. The development of social protection policy must be tailored to the economic conditions of each country. Issues such as tax systems, economic returns and funding are intrinsically interrelated and have to be given equal consideration to create the necessary conditions for integrating social protection into a broader economic strategy.

As discussed in chapters 2, 4 and 9 of this report, one of the main challenges for social protection is to establish a stable source of funding that sustains social protection programmes in the long term. Such programmes are still commonly seen as unaffordable or unsustainable, despite growing evidence of their affordability, even in low-income countries. The ability to guarantee funding is also closely related to issues of governance and legal structure, which will be addressed below.

Chapter 2 suggests that funding for social protection can be secured through tax reforms or enforcement; by reallocating resources away from underperforming programmes or inefficient

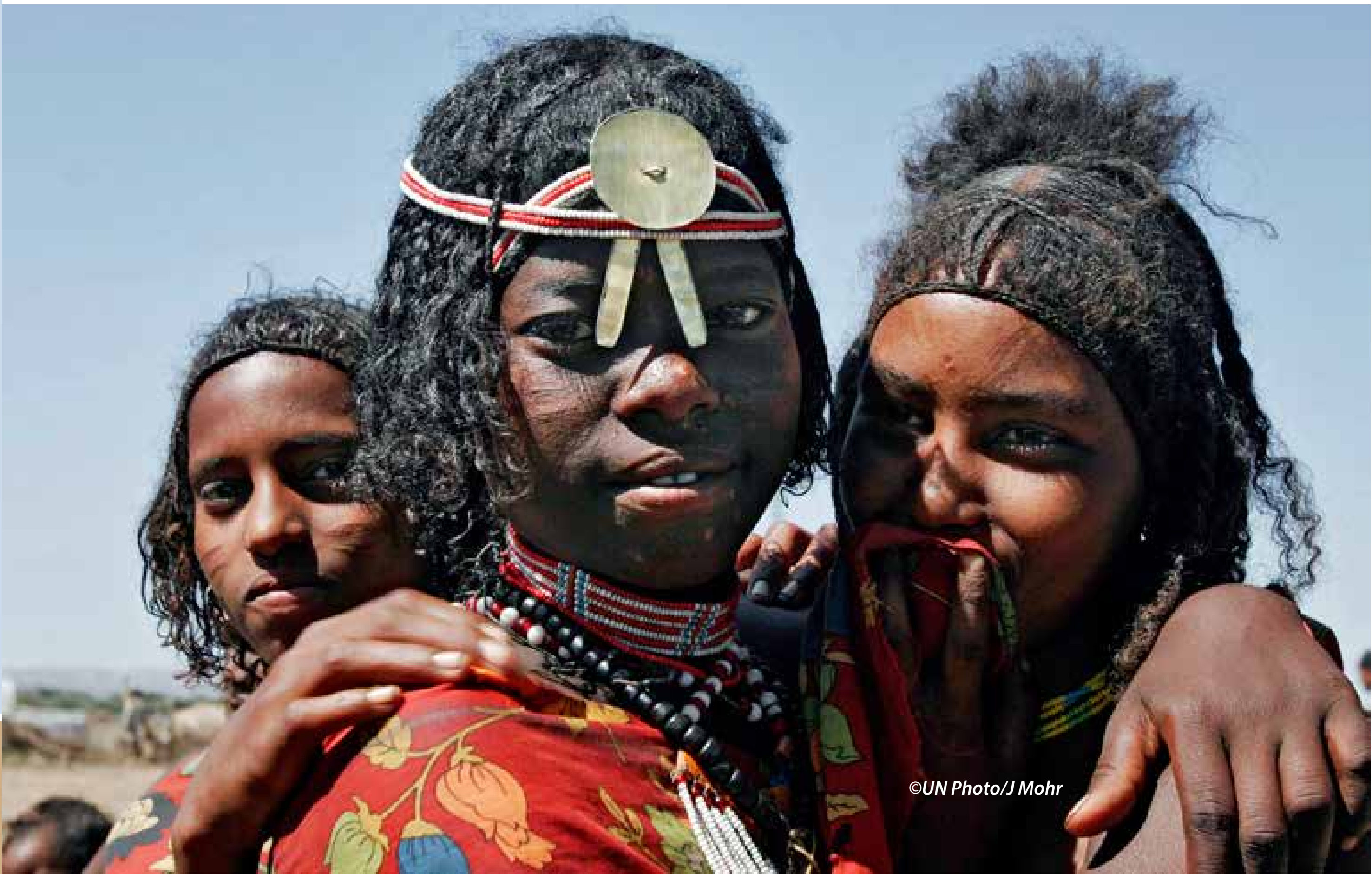
[1] *This paper was written by Laura Jungman, Layla Saad and Romulo Paes-Sousa, UNDP World Centre for Sustainable Development (RIO+ Centre).*

subsidies; or by channelling funds from debt payment towards social protection using debt relief initiatives, among others. Also, chapter 7 stresses the importance of sustaining funding over time. Governments may have to continue making investments over a considerable amount of time, since the gains from social protection can be reduced or even lost if funding is only made available on a short-term basis.

The report also makes the case for the affordability of social protection and the economic sustainability of social spending by highlighting the economic returns obtained from investments in this area. Data presented in chapter 7 demonstrate the multiplier effect of investment in social policy on GDP: 56 percent of the resources invested in social policies return to public coffers through taxes or social contributions. In addition to the economic gains it can generate, social protection may promote a much greater good to the economy as a whole by increasing the purchasing power of a part of the population that would not be as integrated into the economy had the programmes not existed. As shown in the Annex of the report, one of the recommendations of the Seminar on Social Protection in Africa is to recognize the multiplier effect of social protection, as it promotes inclusive economic growth, job creation, the development of local markets and economic inclusion.

Chapter 7 also identifies actions that governments should take to avoid annulling the positive effects of social protection. First, the economic activity generated by the increase in social expenditure has to be accompanied by the expansion of the country's production structure in order to meet the new demand it creates. The country has to scale up its production capacity for both durable and non-durable goods and services; otherwise, the increase in demand will produce inflationary pressures, which will partially undermine positive income distribution effects. Second, a regressive tax system, such as that of Brazil, creates a greater tax burden for the poorest population, which partially cancels out the positive effects of social spending on distribution and affects the sustainability of the model. Therefore, the discussion on funding and effectiveness of social protection is necessarily a discussion on the tax system in place. Countries with an inefficient tax system should implement reforms to avoid the pitfalls of regressive taxation. Adopting a progressive tax system is key for ensuring the coherence of both economic policies and social protection systems, as it is economically fairer and more sustainable in the long term.

Another necessary step in this area is to strengthen coordination on the use of existing funds. As shown in chapter 3, this was an important measure taken by the Ethiopian government in 2005: after 30 years of emergency food programmes with little or no coordination between them, the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) consolidated funds from donors, which were then used for the management and implementation of the programme.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ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY: MAINSTREAMING ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS INTO SOCIAL PROTECTION PRACTICES

At the present stage, the links between social protection and the social and economic aspects of development are now much clearer and stronger. Nonetheless, there are areas in which there is still considerable space and opportunities for creating synergies with environmental policies, which are essential to efforts to build a broader strategy for sustainable development.

For instance, according to the estimates presented in chapter 3, 60 percent of the labour force in Africa is concentrated in the agricultural sector, which means social protection must be adapted to the specific conditions of this field of activity. In many places, there is a need to put adequate institutional and distribution structures that are capable of reaching people in rural and more isolated areas into place. In general, economic shocks, volatility in food prices, natural hazards and climate impacts are other major challenges that have to be addressed by social protection in situations where environmental factors play a central role.

Moreover, as argued in chapter 9, the use of natural resources is central in alleviating poverty and supporting livelihoods. Therefore, in light of the unregulated use of resources, especially by extractive industries and in poorer countries, strengthening governance and regulations on resource use and management is fundamental.

Mainstreaming environmental concerns in social protection also requires taking into account the impact that potential shocks in agriculture can cause on social protection and how to mitigate such impacts. Climate change and natural disasters may have long-lasting effects on poverty, food security and vulnerability, which could undermine development efforts. As such, social protection schemes must consider the constraints imposed by these environmental components and integrate environmental aspects in its policies, whenever possible, to ensure the effectiveness of social protection policies in the long run.

The current debates and practices on disaster risk reduction and adaptation efforts aim to address the root causes of vulnerabilities and increase resilience in the long term. As such, there is clearly space for building synergies between these fields and social protection. As put forward in chapter 2, emergency employment schemes, cash-for-work programmes, education and training, insurance schemes and cash transfers are areas that offer prime opportunities for converging efforts towards common goals and agendas.

SUSTAINABLE GOVERNANCE: GUARANTEEING ADEQUATE INSTITUTIONAL CONDITIONS FOR SOCIAL PROTECTION

When designing and implementing social protection schemes, actors must consider the institutional and legal aspects of a governance structure to ensure it is stable and consistent with a country's context and needs. Social protection cannot be a temporary or ad hoc policy; it has to last as long as chronic deprivation and extreme poverty persist. As such, social protection must be guaranteed and protected by legislation and a governance structure capable of ensuring that it is maintained as a policy of the state, and not of one government.

One way to achieve this is to adopt a rights-based approach to social protection. As stated in chapter 2, legal recognition of the right to social protection would help strengthen equity and the access of the most vulnerable to services and programmes, who will be able to reclaim them as rights-holders. These safeguards would also help maintain social protection as a right guaranteed by the state, despite changes in groups or political parties in power. As mentioned in chapter 5, the Brazilian Constitution recognizes social protection as a public responsibility, which has ensured that social protection programmes continue to occupy an important place on the public agenda at the national level in recent decades.

Moreover, the broader the social protection policy is, the more complex the governance structure required to coordinate it is. The effectiveness of a programme depends highly on the capacity to deliver services and guarantee their quality, which requires the functions of the different government bodies to be well-established and well-coordinated. The Plano Brasil Sem Miséria (PBSM, Brazil Without Misery Plan) programme discussed in chapters 5 and 6, for example, is a federal government programme whose multilevel governance structure includes state and municipal governments. As the PBSM's budget and governance are shared across ministries and programmes, three governing bodies had to be created to coordinate the implementation of the plan. Comprehensive and multidimensional, PBSM coordinates more than 120 activities and connects social protection to employment and other income-generating policies.

Due to the complexity of social protection, greater coordination is called for among not only national and local governments, but also government actors and initiatives undertaken by NGOs, international organizations and even the private sector. This is fundamental for avoiding redundancy and ensuring complementarities among programmes and a more efficient use of resources.

As argued in chapters 1, 3 and 8, adaptation to the local context is also crucial for the successful implementation of social protection. While the overall institutional design is key to the effectiveness and delivery of a social protection programme, the particularities of the programme and its design may vary greatly according to the local context. Therefore, as the experience of Brazil and African countries analyzed in this report show, while similarities may exist and there are clearly lessons to be learned from the experience of other countries, each place and programme has its own unique conditions that must be taken into account during the design and implementation phases.

Still, regardless of the differences in context, some challenges are common throughout Africa. Described in more detail in chapter 3, these include shortcomings related to institutional capacity, financial sustainability, targeting and the challenge of adapting programmes to issues that go beyond poverty reduction.

Finally, effective participatory mechanisms must be created and incorporated into governance structures. The effectiveness of social protection depends greatly on its capacity to connect with local issues and engage with the beneficiaries of the given policy. Legitimacy can only be built from engaging with the affected population, which requires mechanisms of communication and participation that permit stakeholders to partake in the process. As pointed out in chapter 3, lack of participation is one of the main issues currently affecting social protection schemes in Africa, which must be urgently tackled. Chapter 6 also stresses that, in order to implement policies and communicate clearly with the population, countries must develop and convey a clear concept of what the social protection programmes involve.

SYSTEMIC SUSTAINABILITY: MAKING THE MOST OF THE INTEGRATION OF SOCIAL PROTECTION AND OTHER DEVELOPMENT NEEDS

If social protection is to provide the most vulnerable with minimum conditions for development, factors other than income that contribute to vulnerability must be taken into account. While designing a social protection model, policymakers need to be mindful of multiple vulnerabilities such as those linked to gender, age, ethnicity, race and HIV status, among others. The failure to do so could reinforce inequalities rather than reduce them. Chapter 3 explores the importance of integrating youth and women in social protection schemes in Africa due to the high unemployment and underemployment rates among young Africans and the weaker integration of women in the labour market. Limitations in terms of coverage, management and targeting can cause greater exclusion among vulnerable groups.

This report advocates for a broad and comprehensive social protection strategy. Social protection comprises - but is not restricted to - income transfers. Such programmes produce more effective outcomes when coordinated with other policies. Chapter 5 argues that the case of social protection in Brazil provides an example of how greater impacts can be made by strengthening ties between social protection and other social policies focusing on multiple vulnerabilities, such as social, labour and environmental policies. Along the same lines, chapter 8 discusses the growing trend to shift from emergency food aid to initiatives that help countries structure national policies and programmes on the underlying causes of hunger, malnutrition and food scarcity. The need to coordinate among policy areas to tackle the structural causes of poverty and inequality is a key lesson for countries to keep in mind while planning their efforts to achieve the 2030 Agenda's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Social protection can also create opportunities for bolder South-South cooperation initiatives. Some of the most successful cases of social protection schemes are being implemented in countries of the South. Exchanges between these countries on these experiences offer the added advantage of being rooted in a developing country perspective. Besides providing a new kind of cooperation, which is less attached to practices, conditions and even funding from developed countries, such initiatives also afford developing countries opportunities to leapfrog past common challenges through mutual, solidarity-based cooperation. Chapter 8 makes the case for expanding South-South cooperation activities on food security between Brazil and Africa. These activities have helped various African countries break new ground in public policy in this area thanks to constant dialogue and the sharing of Brazil's successful experiences in implementing food security policies over the past decade.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This report calls for the horizontal and vertical expansion of social protection as a key strategy for the implementation of the 2030 Agenda. Social protection is a strategic tool that can be used to attain several SDGs simultaneously and generate spillover effects that go far beyond the initially stated goals. Inherently linked to a range of sectors, it can help further the debate on responsible governance and to promote South-South cooperation. Therefore, it has great potential to strengthen developing countries' efforts around the 2030 Agenda.

The debates present in this report give policymakers a solid background on social protection. The lessons from Brazil and Africa make a strong case for the viability of social protection as a central policy for developing countries and help identify the main challenges and opportunities that come with it, thus providing us the tools to shape the way to a more sustainable future.

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ANNEX

A group of women wave at Deputy High Commissioner for Human Rights.
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Strengthening Bridges to Development between Brazil and Africa: The report of the International Seminar on Social Protection in Africa[1]

Dakar, Senegal
8 and 9 April 2015

This report summarizes the discussions that took place during the International Seminar on Social Protection in Africa held on 8 and 9 April 2015 in Dakar, Senegal. The main objective of the seminar was to deepen the technical discussion on social protection in Africa and to inform policy frameworks in this area through knowledge sharing between African countries and Brazil. The thematic areas covered during the event were: 1) conceptualizing social protection and policy implications; 2) strategies for sustainable financing for social protection in Africa; and 3) challenges in the implementation and governance of social protection. High-level representatives from governments and UN agencies participated in the panels and discussions groups.

INTRODUCTION

This report summarizes the discussions that took place during the International Seminar on Social Protection in Africa held on 8 and 9 April 2015 in Dakar, Senegal. The main objective of the seminar was to deepen the technical discussion on social protection in Africa and to inform policy frameworks in this area through knowledge sharing between African countries and Brazil. The thematic areas covered during the event were: 1) conceptualizing social protection and policy implications; 2) strategies for sustainable financing for social protection in Africa; and 3) challenges in the implementation and governance of social protection. High-level representatives from governments and UN agencies participated in the panels and discussions groups.

The seminar was organized by UNDP, including its UNDP World Centre for Sustainable Development (RIO+ Centre) and the African Union, in partnership with the Government of Brazil and the Lula Institute, and hosted by the Government of Senegal. Over 100 participants attended this seminar representing: 12 African countries (Cape Verde, Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Senegal, Zambia, and Zimbabwe); the Brazilian government; the Lula Institute; as well as a number of development partners (UNICEF, ILO, FAO, the World Food Programme, UNAIDS, the African Institute for Economic Development and Planning, the African Development Bank and the World Bank); as well as academics and practitioners in the field.

The seminar concluded with the adoption of a set of six recommendations on social protection policies in Africa (see Annex). The recommendations call for social protection to be grounded in human after rights and aligned and managed within the national legislature and development strategies. They affirm that social protection should be a comprehensive set of intersectoral policies that protect citizens - especially the poorest - from social, environmental and economic shocks that arise throughout their lifec ycle, build their resilience and improve their well-being. They also stipulate that "technical cooperation and capacity development support from development partners, such as the United Nations system, will continue playing a critical role in supporting governments to strengthen their social protection systems, including through South-South cooperation exchanges and partnerships." Less than two weeks after the seminar, the recommendations were brought to, endorsed by and adopted at the First Session of the African Union's Specialized Technical Committee on Social Development, Labour and Employment, held in Ethiopia from 20 to 24 April 2015.

[1] *This paper was written by Renata Nowak-Garmer, UNDP Regional Service Centre for Africa.*

CONCEPTUALIZING SOCIAL PROTECTION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

What countries understand as social protection and what programmes they implement depends on their socio-economic indicators (poverty line and desired health and educational outcomes), their ability to finance social protection and the specific vulnerabilities they face (for example, those associated with conflicts, environmental hazards and climate change). It therefore comes as no surprise that the countries participating in the seminar did not arrive at a unified position on the concept or definition of social protection for Africa. Nevertheless, they did outline the overall parameters for the objectives of social protection as well as the policy choices and institutional arrangements needed to reach them.

Until recently, the objective of social protection programmes in Africa has been mainly to shield affected populations from a multitude of crises – be they economic, environmental or related to food insecurity or other manmade causes. The plethora of social protection interventions on the continent includes conditional and unconditional cash transfers, pensions, food stamps, school meals and public work programmes, as well as numerous interventions at the policy level that affect labour markets. Given the prevalence of the informal sector, the amount of contributory social protection schemes attached to formal labour markets – such as pensions, unemployment benefits, severance pay or maternity leave – is negligible. Most of the programmes discussed are non-contributory and typically referred to as social assistance. Non-contributory programmes provide reliable and predictable injections of cash (conditional or unconditional) and effective access to essential services to poor or excluded households so they can meet their basic needs. They also invest in the development of human capital.

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TABLE 1
SELECTED COUNTRIES' EXPERIENCES IN IMPLEMENTING SOCIAL PROTECTION PROGRAMMES

Brazil	Brazil has built an extensive network of social protection programmes and services, which consists of contributory and non-contributory schemes, conditional and non-conditional cash transfers (CCTs), a unified social assistance network, and incentives for productive inclusion, among other measures. The *Programa Bolsa Família* (Family Allowance Programme, or PBF) and the more recent *Plano Brasil Sem Miséria* (PBSM, or Brazil Without Extreme Poverty Plan) play a key role. The president's leadership was key for the implementation of the country's vision on social protection, which brings together all relevant ministries and increases the participation of civil society. Civil society plays an essential role in demanding increases in social expenditure, pushing the social agenda forward and scrutinizing progress. Overall social spending amounts to 25 percent of GDP, of which 54 percent goes to cash transfers (pensions, CCTs, etc.). Social protection is financed entirely by the state.
Cape Verde	Both contributory (whereby workers bear 15-20 percent of the cost) and non-contributory schemes exist. Remittances also inject money into the economy and are *de facto* cash transfers that help families to cope. The government has partnered with the private sector, which is providing scholarships, supporting Vocational and Educational Training (VET) initiatives, or working on specific projects based on community needs. NGOs are active in the health sector (health cooperatives) and microfinance.
Ghana	A small number of formal workers are covered by social security (contributory); the rest of the programmes are non-contributory. The government is working on a strategy to move towards a systemic stage of social protection funded entirely by the state. Funding is currently included in the medium-term expenditure framework, a key instrument governments use for budget planning, but it is supplemented by ODA and credit (the World Bank). Social protection is coordinated by one ministry. Ghana is also a good example of a country where the initiatives implemented by NGOs are part of the national strategy framework. The private sector has been instrumental in the delivery of social transfers through electronic payments and has absorbed the set up costs.
Kenya	Kenya's programmes are united under a social protection secretariat, which helps coordinate between sectors and government units. In addition, the government is moving towards a single registry of beneficiaries of social protection transfers, which will increase their effectiveness and help avoid inclusion and exclusion errors.
Malawi	Cash transfer programmes exist in 18 out of 28 districts, including ones geared towards increasing girls' school attendance, providing services for older persons, school feeding and agricultural subsidies. The government does not have the resources it needs to fund these programmes on its own: its main partners are the EU, Germany, Irish Aid, GIZ and the World Bank.

Note: The descriptions in the table are based on the content of the discussions held at the International Seminar on Social Protection in Africa.

Mali	The state provides support for the elderly. The government aims to implement universal health coverage by 2018. The representatives of Mali expressed interest in a regional mechanism on social protection, particularly for countries providing joint support to refugees in post-conflict settings.
Mozambique	Cash transfer programmes are primarily funded by the state. They have been implemented since 2000 with technical support from the UN and bilateral and multilateral cooperation agencies. Public work programmes started 10 years ago also receive support from the World Bank.
Namibia	The government seeks to mobilize the private sector with specific strategies to involve business in social protection provision and funding at the local level.
Niger	Revenues from royalties from mining activities could be used to fund social protection, but local governments prioritize spending on other areas. Existing programmes lack coordination, which makes it difficult to estimate total spending on social protection. Participants from Niger voiced concerns regarding fragmentation and lack of coherence of social protection programming delivered by the government, donors, NGOs, etc. as well as the need to link social protection to the labour market. Niger will soon pass a national law on social protection.
Senegal	The state funds cash transfers and other programmes, including housing for the poorest and subsidies for agricultural microinsurance. In the long term, the government would like to replace the current non-contributory schemes with contributory ones. The World Bank finances around 15 percent of social protection in the country, and the state, 50 percent. Senegal is also implementing several initiatives directed at gender equality with support from UNDP, among others; 20 percent of these programmes are financed by the government. The sustainability of such programmes is a key issue. Overall, there needs to be more synergies and integration between the projects and within the government.
Zambia	Social protection funding has been put into a single basket.
Zimbabwe	Expanding fiscal space for social protection is a huge challenge in the country. Some programmes are provided in cooperation with the private sector under its corporate social responsibility mandate. For instance, mining companies have programmes that support education for orphans.

African governments share with Brazil the view that social protection is a key tool for not only protecting households from sudden loss or decrease in income, but also tackling the root causes of multidimensional poverty, inequalities and vulnerabilities. They also acknowledge the need to invest more in human capital. By promoting access to health services, education, and nutrition, social protection provides the poor with the resources they need to rise out of poverty. The social protection policies adopted in Brazil over the past 12 years are a case in point.

Furthermore, increasingly the discussion on the very concept of social protection sees it as a "right", where the states are "rights bearers" and citizens, "rights holders". This would provide the public an important tool for scrutinizing government on the fulfilment of their obligations. Noting the aspirations to adopt a "rights-approach", participants believed that countries would need specific guidance in order to implement it. For example, legislation would need to be changed and different strategies put in place. Due to these countries' weak financial and institutional capacity to deliver social protection and the related services, the issue of state liability is a major concern for countries that would otherwise fully endorse the human rights argument.

As far as policy implications are concerned, the greater recognition of the role of social protection in development represents a departure from the typical focus of African governments on "sound economic policy" that treats social protection and social policy as a secondary objective and not an integral part of national planning. Countries in Africa still lack integrated policies in which social protection is embedded. Changing this requires reconciling social and macro-economic policies and linking social protection to other sectors and to national development planning, particularly in the areas of employment and agriculture. This is especially true given that rural poverty is widespread in Africa and risks associated with climate change are on the rise. Urban poverty also needs addressing given the growing trend towards urbanization and the more acute forms of poverty found in urban settings.

In terms of institutional arrangements, a need for enhanced coordination across government units and sectors was identified as paramount, but still a missing dimension of the social protection architecture in many countries. Successful models show that a single coordination body with strong politically backing from the highest levels of government is a prerequisite for the successful implementation of social protection systems. In Brazil, for example, several high-level government ministries are involved in the coordination and monitoring of the PBSM programme, including the presidential office. Moreover, social protection measures need to be clearly linked to social policies in a broader sense, including those on employment and the education and health sectors.

For all this to happen, governments must clearly understand the value of social protection in order to overcome perceiving it as a fiscal burden, as opposed to an investment that will result in tangible improvements in socio-economic indicators. As demonstrated by Brazil's experience, the PBF and PBSM have led to clear advances in poverty reduction, strengthening local economies and promoting the inclusion of the poor into dynamic sectors of the economy. Elaborating a long-term social protection objective through consultation processes helps to consolidate efforts and bring various parts of society together to work toward a common goal.

Brazil's *Bolsa Família* provides one of the most powerful examples of the transformative potential of social protection. The seminar provided African policymakers the opportunity to discuss Brazil's model and how it can inform policymaking in their countries. In this respect, participating countries expressed interest in giving continuity to the dialogue with Brazil and the Lula Institute through mechanisms of South-South collaboration and technical assistance.

Participants called on the African Union to encourage all African states to adopt social protection policies. Since African countries are still struggling with the concept and definition of social protection, the African Union Commission suggested that a model law on social protection be developed for guidance. It would be a modular law comprised of a number of articles from which countries could select, as appropriate, to develop their own social protection policies.

FINANCING SOCIAL PROTECTION IN AFRICA

Social protection programmes generally require a significant amount of resources. Despite healthy growth rates across the continent, social policies remain underfinanced, even in countries with exponential growth. While in Brazil, programmes are funded by the state, building a broader taxation base for social spending remains a huge challenge in Africa. Measures need to be taken to increase African states' capacity to finance social protection policies and systems in the long-term and to explore sustainable financing strategies. Even though the need for and utility of more social protection in Africa has been widely accepted, the feasibility of allocating 5 percent of GDP to social protection in Africa, as recommended by ILO, was a subject of much debate. Spending is not always well targeted and monitored. According to the participants, there is a need to look for innovative solutions for raising fiscal space for social protection.

All participants confirmed that their social protection programming is to a varied degree dependent on funding from multilateral (World Bank, African Development Bank) and bilateral cooperation agencies operating in different sectors (education, health and agriculture) or targeting specific populations (the elderly, children and persons with disabilities). There are a number of issues with social protection programmes underwritten by international cooperation agencies that exacerbate challenges in terms of financial sustainability. For example, funding does not always come through as promised, making it difficult to deliver consistently on programmes. Further to that, such funding is often earmarked for a specific purpose that is in line with the entity's priorities or is limited to a pilot phase. This can generate fragmentation and possible misalignment with a government's own priorities. There was a general agreement that funding for SP can only be truly sustainable when it comes from the states themselves so that they have control of the resources and how they are spent.

In other cases, it is state capacity that stands in the way of expanding social protection-related programming, not the funding. Where funding is not easily available, post-conflict needs, such as reconstruction, security, etc., take priority over social spending.

In other instances, budgetary problems arise due to issues with bureaucracy related to releasing funds or competition with other policy needs. To remedy this, several participants called for firmer legal mechanisms to protect budgets for social protection, such as anchoring them in countries' medium term expenditure frameworks (MTEF).

Recommendations made to increase the fiscal space for and the sustainability of social protection programming included:

- Increase contributions from potential/future beneficiaries themselves. For example, pilot projects, such as the one in Senegal where programme participants make micro-payments/contributions via mobile phones, could be studied further;
- Expand fiscal space by levying taxes on telephones, tobacco, extractive industries, gambling, airfares or remittances from Diaspora communities;
- Anchor social protection in countries' medium term expenditure frameworks (MTEF);
- Introduce analytical tools that would allow policymakers to make informed decisions regarding social protection interventions (e.g. cost and benefit analysis, social impact analyses, etc.);
- Encourage the private sector to hire persons with disabilities or other vulnerable groups by imposing quotas or tax incentives. Governments could also promote corporate social responsibility as a way to fund social protection programmes;
- Reorient taxes and subsidies to ensure that they do not conflict with social protection objectives by favouring the rich. In several cases, subsidies for goods or services (e.g. for fuel or electricity) are counter-productive to reaching the poor and excluded. In general, tax regimes need to be scrutinized for their effects. Income and property taxes and taxes levied on goods and services have been found to entrench inequalities and impose a disproportionate burden on the poor;
- Use minimum wage policies as a social protection instrument. Brazil's experience shows these policies can generate benefits for not only formally employed workers, but also the elderly and persons with disabilities (when the amount of monthly cash transfers is tied to minimum wage, as is the case of BPC). Furthermore, protecting vulnerable populations through cash transfers and minimum wage policies can act in a countercyclical manner and help the economy to bounce back by increasing consumption;
- Centralize or better coordinate social protection within the country to improve the mobilization and management of resources;

• Conduct public expenditure reviews on social protection in order to provide policymakers with a complete overview of the funding available. This is sometimes a challenge because spending is spread out across many programmes, departments and agencies;

• Make the economic case for social protection by appealing to conservative factions and the business sector on the need to raise the purchasing power of the poor. To do so, illustrate the multiplier effect of cash transfers to the poor on local economies. Promote social protection as an investment in human capital and inclusive economic growth, and not as a burden on the government's budget;

• Set national goals and indicators for social protection. Brazil, for instance, adopted the objective of reducing extreme poverty to three percent. The PBF has been responsible for a very large (15 percent) decrease in the Gini coefficient in the last 13 years;

• Invest in the monitoring of social protection programmes and publish results. This will foster support and public demand for such programmes and thus, their sustainability. Additional monitoring and evaluation could take place at the regional level and be assumed by the African Union;

• Recognize the right to social protection and push for legal frameworks that guarantee that a portion of the national budget is allocated to social protection. Civil society is key for making this happen;

• Work toward increasing formal employment to expand public tax revenue and to provide workers with a social insurance scheme;

• Encourage multilateral and bilateral cooperation to support capacity development measures rather than direct funding; and

• Factor in informal sources of funding for social protection (such as religious donations and the provision of services or social assistance by churches or mosques), which are significant.

CHALLENGES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION AND GOVERNANCE OF SOCIAL PROTECTION

Though most countries in Africa have social protection programmes in place, structural weaknesses including low coverage, weak targeting, lack of coordination and funding and limited implementation capacity hamper their full potential. Fragmentation due to the large number of small projects operating in isolation and remaining at the pilot stage is also a critical challenge that needs to be addressed by taking a systemic approach. Failure to continue beyond the pilot phase is very harmful because participating populations that have adapted to the ongoing support can no longer count on it and their means of coping may have deteriorated due to their dependence on the cash transfers. This needs to be addressed as a priority of first order.

Certain social protection programmes (e.g. short-term public work and cash-for-work programmes, etc.) can play a critical role in reducing the vulnerability of the poor in the short term. For example, in areas prone to natural disasters or climate change hazards, public works, such as the ones deployed in case of floods in Malawi, can be key in efforts to protect the livelihoods of affected households. However, in the long term, social protection should clearly be linked to employment policies, such as those that enhance the employability of the vulnerable population.

Furthermore, successful programmes should be scaled up when conditions prove favourable. For example, UNICEF's experience shows that countries in East and Southern African are moving from small home-grown pilot programmes towards larger national level policy initiatives, with strong community participation. However, such experiences still lack robust coordination mechanisms.

Political will and leadership at the highest levels is a prerequisite of successful social protection, as is the involvement of civil society. Communities and civil society are the main stakeholders of social protection programming, not merely as beneficiaries, but as partners involved throughout the entire cycle - from advocacy and design of programmes to their implementation and monitoring. Civil society also plays an important role in social protection delivery, especially in rural areas. In some countries, community involvement is stipulated by laws that mandate civil society participation at all levels: from community councils or committees to national commissions. Mauritania, for instance, has adopted a legal framework that enables civil society to monitor the government's poverty reduction policies better. In rural areas, these structures can reduce the transaction costs of engaging in and taking on the task of monitoring social protection measures. Also by drawing on their in-depth knowledge of their local environment, communities can help define vulnerabilities that go beyond income. It is important to note that at the local community level, civil society is often represented by informal groups that are not typically considered "civil society" by policymakers. Therefore, there needs to be a better understanding of civil society participation in social protection that is not limited to NGOs.

The level of civil society participation in social protection varies significantly throughout the continent. While there is still little community involvement in government programmes in West Africa, in Southern Africa, communities are involved in the process of designing social protection policies with poverty targeting and validating targets. In some regions, governments rely on imperfect data to determine where to deliver programmes. This could be supplemented by local knowledge facilitated by civil society. However, too often communities become involved too late, when the programme is ready to be delivered, which is detrimental to local ownership during the implementation phase.

Monitoring and evaluation (M&E) systems are also fundamental. As experience with the PBF shows, robust M&E is critical for tracking implementation and making modifications to improve delivery. It is also essential for garnering high levels of public and political support and demand for social programing. By communicating progress and achievements in this area, it becomes easier to secure funding in the future, even beyond the current government administration. A good M&E system enhances trust between the government and the people and strengthens accountability.

As for development partners, their role is to help countries strengthen their capacities to deliver their social protection policies. For example, some development partners can help facilitate dialogue with ministries of finance and planning and make the case for allocating more budget resources to social protection to turn it into an integral part of the government's development agenda. They also can facilitate the exchange of knowledge in this area by bringing and encouraging the sharing of international experiences. Development partners present at the seminar stated they would like to see more accountability for their contribution as well as measurable results. To that end, development partners could provide states with capacity development support on M&E systems, coordination systems and fiscal space analysis to understand how to make social protection sustainable and whether pilot programmes can or should be scaled up. It is expected that the SDGs will further strengthen the opportunity for development partners to promote social protection within governments.

RECOMMENDATIONS INCLUDED:

- Adopt an integrated approach, which involves several aspects of social protection design and implementation, including governance, coordination and participation, with clearly defined roles and responsibilities for all actors. This must be linked to key development planning processes (national, sectoral and local);

- Improve the coordination of social protection programmes. Identified as a key priority, this involves the following aspects:

  - Enhance coordination at three levels: i) horizontally among ministries delivering social protection (e.g., health, education and agriculture); i) vertically between different levels of governments (national, sub-national and local); and iii) among initiatives implemented by partners such as international and bilateral agencies, donors, NGOs, etc.;

  - Overall, the recommendation is toward adopting a single, coordinated mechanism with incentives built-in for various units to work together. One proposal entailed putting the administration of social protection programmes directly under the president/prime minister's office to bring together ministers/departments in a more coordinated fashion;

  - Increase coordination within the UN system in this area in order to support governments more effectively and build synergies rather than overlaps; and

  - Develop joint programmes aligned with national priorities between development partners.

- Adopt single beneficiary registries. Programmes that are often administered through different ministries or government units function better if they share common administrative systems. Biometrics can be used for registrations. In Ghana, registration with the single registry is carried out within the community through mobile identification centres;

- Leverage political will, leadership and support for social protection at the highest levels and across the government. As was seen in the case of Brazil, when a government supportive of social protection comes to power, the cabinet should include ministers who commit to the social protection model and will oversee ministries responsible for delivering the programme;

- Strengthen community and civil society participation in social protection in all stages of programme development from design and advocacy to monitoring and implementation;

- Promote a more effective role for the private sector in assisting in service delivery or through corporate social responsibility. Well-designed programmes or policies - including tax incentives, quotas, public-private partnerships and other means - can encourage the private sector to support social protection objectives;

- Redefine the role of development partners so they focus on helping countries strengthen their capacities to deliver social protection policies in general and, more specifically, to develop M&E and coordination systems and evaluate fiscal space and programme results;

- Conduct further studies on the opportunities and impacts of the use of modern technologies on social protection. This is a field where social innovation and modern technology can make a real difference. For example, mobile technology has been used in social protection delivery, programme monitoring or taxation, among others. In Brazil, a simple mobile phone survey of beneficiaries is used to test the delivery of funds and detect any other problems. Participation in the survey can be encouraged by offering small incentives such as extra phone credit, which is a very inexpensive way to monitor the programme. Seminar participants noted, however, that more studies are needed in this area;

- Take measures to address the issue of the sustainability of programmes over time. More sustainable, domestically funded programmes should be favoured over donor-funded projects.

- Implement solid M&E systems;

- Strengthen the link between social protection and employment and livelihoods. The social protection agenda needs to be firmly anchored in the African structural transformation agenda;

- Adopt categorical targeting methods. Categorical methods for identifying beneficiaries (i.e. based on a specific category of people, such as the elderly, women, ethnically disadvantaged groups, etc.) can reduce the transaction costs associated with other forms of targeting and increase impact. This appears to be a good policy option for African countries, where many people are below the poverty line and investing extensively in targeting methods (means testing, geographical, self-identification) may not be advisable due to high overhead costs. Lack of data on household income, consumption patterns or assets that are usually used for poverty-based targeting is also a hurdle for a fair and transparent process;

- Integrate risk management plans more directly with social protection policies, including within the UN and other agencies, to respond to emergencies better. In the sudden onset of emergencies, rapidly activating social protection measures that are already in place (e.g. topping up existing cash transfer systems) can be very effective. In such contexts, communities play a critical role in the identification of beneficiaries, the delivery of benefits and early warning systems. Coordination and integration are paramount, including among agencies delivering post-crisis aid; the latest example of Ebola is a case in point. Overall programme design for social protection needs to identify all forms of vulnerability, including public health or environmental. This would help to move from cash in emergencies to more medium- and long-term support.

CONCLUSION

Over the two day event, the representatives of 12 African governments, the government of Brazil, the African Union Commission, the UN system, academia and civil society had the opportunity to exchange information on the state of social protection in their countries. The seminar helped gather important knowledge on the national needs and capacities across the continent as well as a sense of who does what among development partners, including UNICEF, FAO, WFP, ILO, NGOs, etc. The fact that the Dakar Recommendations, which the seminar have produced, have been endorsed at the African Union's interministerial level gives them additional legitimacy and national ownership.

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RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON SOCIAL PROTECTION IN AFRICA, HELD ON 8-9 APRIL 2015 IN DAKAR, SENEGAL

1 The adoption of social protection should be grounded in human rights, making it accessible to all. Social protection needs to be driven by conviction and a non-partisan political vision that is owned by the state and accepted as a cornerstone of citizen-state relations otherwise referred to as a social contract. Countries should design social protection systems with broader objectives of ensuring social, political and economic inclusion, especially among vulnerable groups. As such, social protection needs to be a comprehensive set of inter-sectoral policies that protect citizens - prioritising the poorest - from social, environmental and economic shocks that arise throughout their life-cycle and build their resilience, as well as improve their wellbeing. Countries can consider a broad range of policies that combine and coordinate social services and benefits, that include contributory and non-contributory social transfers, food security, in synergy with sectoral policies.

2 Chronic underfinancing of social protection in Africa calls for strong political will to put adequate resources and institutional frameworks behind the social protection agenda and to ensure financial sustainability. Financial sustainability hinges on anchoring the social pretection agenda firmly on domestic financing and reflecting it in countries' medium term expenditure frameworks (MTEF). Effective domestic resource mobilization, through tax reforms and innovative forms of financing, can provide the fiscal space for greater investments on social protection in Africa. The private sector can play a critical role for the financial sustainability of social protection in the region as a responsible contributor to governments' fiscal policies.

3 While domestic financing is the primary source of funding for social protection programmes, international coordination will continue playing a critical role for supporting countries in Africa. Technical cooperation and capacity development support from development partners, such as the United Nations system, will continue playing a critical role in supporting governments to strengthen their social protection systems, including through South-South cooperation exchanges and partnerships. Caution should be exercised not to create vertical funds but rather strengthens government efforts providing support that is integrated into government priorities, institutions, and systems.

4 Social protection should be managed through public systems based on national legal frameworks and alligned wtih development strategies. A clear definition of roles and responsibilities amongst institutions and coordination structures among local, regional and national levels are critical. In this regard, the African Union is requested to play a pivotal role in supporting Member States. It is important to foster information and monitoring systems to assure the effectivity of the services provided, the results, as well as the process of management towards the strengthening and improvement of policies. Social protection systems can be more efficient and expand their impact when promoted by well-planned offers of services, based on the analysis of needs and vulnerabilities, operated with transparent and accurate eligibility criteria. The social protection system shall be addressed to all citizens under the same conditions of vulnerability and guided by the principles of universality, uniformity (i.e. homogeneity in quality of service provision regardless of location) and equity.

5 Beneficiaries of social protection need to be recognized as rights holders and active citizens with the right to advocate for the fulfillment of their social and economic rights. It is therefore critical to ensure their participation in the social protection system through community based participatory processes.

6 Social protection systems are an investments with a multiplier effect that promote sustainable development, inclusive economic growth, job creation, promote local markets, improving occupational and economic inclusion. Social protection must be articulated with actions towards inclusive productivity focused on the most vulnerable.

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON SOCIAL PROTECTION IN AFRICA

AGENDA

8 APRIL	
9:00 - 9:30	Opening Ceremony • Mahammed Boun Abdallah Dionne, Prime Minister of Senegal • Bintou Djibo, United Nations Resident Coordinator, Senegal • Celso Marcondes, Africa Director, the Lula Institute • Maria Elisa Teofilo de Luna, Brazilian Ambassador to Senegal • Mustapha Sidiki Kaloko, Commissioner for Social Affairs, African Union
9:30 – 9:45	Key note speech: Ruby Sandhu-Rojon, Deputy Director, Regional Bureau for Africa, UNDP
9:45 – 10:00	Break
9:30 – 12:30	Roundtable 1: Conceptualizing Social Protection and Policy Implications Objective: The objectives of this session are: 1) to deepen the understanding of social protection systems as a means to achieve equitable and sustainable development; and 2) to foster a debate to reach a common understanding on social protection systems. Moderator: Rômulo Paes, Director, UNDP World Centre for Sustainable Development (RIO+ Centre) Panellists: • Luciana Jaccoud, Researcher, Institute for Applied Economic Research (IPEA), Brazil • Adebayo Olukoshi, Director, UN African Institute for Economic Development and Planning • Bukar Tijani, Assistant Director-General, Regional Representative for Africa, FAO Q & A (45 minutes)
12:30 - 14:00	Lunch

14:00-15:30	Working Group: Conceptualizing Social Protection and Policy Implications Objective: This working group will discuss specific social protection approaches, policies or instruments that have proven successful in reducing poverty, vulnerability and inequality and in increasing human capital, as well as factors that contribute to their effectiveness. The working group will provide suggestions for framing the concept of social protection in Africa and policies to support it. Discussion questions: 1. Different approaches have been used according to the level of advancement of social protection policies and fiscal space (responsive programmes addressing specific vulnerabilities and risks versus system/life cycle approach). How do you classify the kind of approach you have built in your country? 2. What are your country's goals in relation to steps to be taken in the future? 3. Government, private sector and NGO actors are very active in delivering SP programmes. How would you define the desirable contribution of each actor? 4. How can social protection interventions (e.g. cash transfers, public works) that have been designed to address a specific deprivation or population move toward a more systemic approach to maximise social protection's impact on multidimensional poverty, inequality and vulnerability? 5. How can social protection instruments be extended to people in the informal labour market and those working in agriculture? (share successful examples)
15:30 – 15:45	Break
15:45 – 17:30	Roundtable 2: Money for the Poor: Strategies for sustainable financing for social protection in Africa Objective: In general, social protection programmes are costly. Governments in Africa, and in the rest of the developing world, face the challenge of finding sustainable funding sources when designing and implementing social protection policies and systems. This session aims to discuss African countries' capacity to fund social protection policies and systems in the long term and to explore sustainable financing strategies. Moderator: Massamba Diene, Manager, Strategy and Policy Department, African Development Bank Panellists: • Tharcisse Nkanagu, Social Protection Consultant • Manuel Fontaine, Regional Director for West & Central Africa Region, UNICEF • Rômulo Paes, Director, UNDP World Centre for Sustainable Development (RIO+ Centre) Q&A (30 minutes)
18:00 – 19:00	Welcome Cocktail Reception Remarks by: Mustapha Sidiki Kaloko, Commissioner for Social Affairs, African Union

9 APRIL	
9:00-10:00	High-Level Panel on Social Protection and South-South Cooperation (Davos style) Moderator: Ruby Sandhu-Rojon, Deputy Director, Regional Bureau for Africa, UNDP Panellists: • Anta Saar, Delegate General for Social Protection and National Solidarity, Senegal • Emilienne Raoul, Minister of Social Affairs, Humanitarian Action and Solidarity, Congo • Fasil Nahom, Advisor to the Prime Minister, Ethiopia • Marcia Lopes, Advisor, Instituto Lula and former Minister of Social Development, Brazil • Mustapha Sidiki Kaloko, Commissioner for Social Affairs, African Union Discussion questions: • What are key lessons from Brazil's experience and how are they relevant to the African context? • What cooperation modalities can be used to share experiences from Brazil? • How can development cooperation support this exchange?
10:00 – 10:15	Break
10:15 – 12:00	Working Group 2: Sustainable Financing Objective: Despite relatively high levels of growth in many African countries, governments still face challenges in expanding their fiscal space to accommodate social policies. In this working group, participants will share information on the funding models for social protection programmes and systems in their respective countries and discuss their sustainability. This working group will also make recommendations on viable and sustainable funding strategies for social protection policies and systems in African countries. Moderators: Alessandra Casazza, UNDP; Amath Pathe Sen, UNDP World Centre for Sustainable Development (RIO+ Centre); Vito Cistulli, FAO Discussion questions: • Which funding models are used for social protection in your country? Are they sustainable? What is the composition of the funds (e.g. domestic resources versus foreign aid)? • What legal mechanisms exist and are used to ensure a budget for and the implementation of social protection policies? • How can the state increase fiscal space for social protection? • What innovative mechanisms for financing social protection policies and systems can be adopted and adapted by countries in Africa?
12:00 – 13:30	Lunch

13:30 – 15:30	Roundtable 3: Challenges in Governance and Management of Effective Social Protection Policies and Systems Objective: Social protection policies and systems rely on the capacity of national and local institutions, including local government units, to identify and effectively reach the most vulnerable segments of the population; ensure effective horizontal and vertical coordination across government agencies and institutions; and implement robust monitoring and evaluation (M&E) systems. The objective of this session is to discuss systems and processes countries can adopt to ensure that social protection programmes are effectively and efficiently delivered in a participatory manner, with a focus on peopled-centred M&E systems and processes. Moderator: Oumar Diop, Senior Policy Officer, Social Affairs Department, African Union Panellists: • Anta Saar, Delegate General for Social Protection and National Solidarity, Senegal • Tavengwa Nhongo, Executive Director, African Platform for Social Protection • Maria Luiza Rizzotti, Former National Secretary of the Brazilian Ministry of Social Development and Professor, University of Londrina, Brazil • Luis Henrique Paiva, Visiting Professor, Brooks World Poverty Institute, University of Manchester and former National Secretary of the Ministry of Social Development of Brazil. Q&A (30 minutes)
15:30 – 15:45	Break
15:45 – 17:30	Working Group 3: Implementation and Governance Objective: In this working group, participants will discuss people-centred design and M&E systems and processes for monitoring the implementation of social protection policies and systems in their countries and assess to what extent they follow the principles of transparency, accountability and participation. Participants will analyze factors that contribute to successful management of social protection policies and systems, and will make specific recommendations for addressing some of the most recurrent bottlenecks related to institutional capacity. Moderators: Nana Oumou Toure-Sy, UNDP; Marcia Lopes, the Lula Institute; Bukar Tijani, FAO Discussion questions: 1. How are communities (and civil society) involved in the design, implementation, monitoring or evaluation of social protection policies and programmes? 2. What are the institutional arrangements for delivering social protection interventions in your country? What are the most recurrent/most serious institutional capacity bottlenecks? What are the solutions? 3. What accountability mechanisms have been put in place in your country in regard to social protection programmes? How are social protection programme beneficiaries targeted in your country? Which are the pros and the cons of the targeting systems under review? 4. In case of a sudden natural or man-made disaster, how quickly do institutions in your country reach the affected population? Which systems are used? 5. Are social protection programmes in your countries subject to periodical or occasional evaluation?
17:30 – 18:00	Seminar Recap and Follow-Up Actions • Rômulo Paes, Director, UNDP World Centre for Sustainable Development (RIO+ Centre) • Johan Strijdom, Head of Division, Social Affairs Department, African Union • Milton Rondó, Coordinator-General of International Action against Hunger, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brazil • Celso Marcondes, Africa Director, the Lula Institute • Anta Saar, Delegate General for Social Protection and National Solidarity, Senegal • Emilienne Raoul, Minister of Social Affairs, Humanitarian Action and Solidarity, Congo

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON SOCIAL PROTECTION IN AFRICA
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

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Esther Bemerguy	*Brazil*
Luciana Jaccoud	*Brazil*
Marcia Lopes	*Brazil*
Marcos Lopes	*Brazil*
Maria Elisa Teofilo de Luna	*Brazil*
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Almoukoutar Haidara	*Mali*
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Nagi Ould Khatry	*Mauritania*
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Abdoulaye Toure	*Senegal*
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Awa Wade Sow	*Senegal*
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NAMES OF PARTICIPANTS	ORGANIZATIONS
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Governmental	
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Massamba Diene	*African Development Bank*
Genet Semegn	*African Union Commission*
Johan Strijdom	*African Union Commission*
Mustapha Sidiki Kaloko	*African Union Commission*
Oumar Diop	*African Union Commission*
Non-governmental organizations	
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Sall Ebrima	*Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA)*
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ACRONYMS

IN ENGLISH

CAADP: Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CCA: climate change adaptation
CCT: conditional cash transfer
DFID: UK Department for International Development
DRR: disaster risk reduction
ECD: early childhood development
ECLAC: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
EU: European Union
FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FNS: food and nutrition security
GDP: gross domestic product
HDI: Human Development Index
HLPE: High Level Panel of Experts
ILO: International Labour Organisation
IPC-IG: International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth
LDC: least developed countries
LIC: least industrialized countries
LLDC: landlocked developing countries
MDG: Millennium Development Goals
M&E: monitoring and evaluation
MW: minimum wage
NHS: National Health Service
OVC: Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PSE: public social expenditure
PSNP: Productive Safety Net Program
SDGs: Sustainable Development Goals
SIDS: small islands developing states
SPF: social protection floor
SSDC: South-South development cooperation
UN: United Nations
UNAIDS: Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNDP: United National Development Programme
UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund
UNRISD: United Nations Research Institute For Social Development
WB: World Bank
WFP: World Food Programme

IN PORTUGUESE

ABC: Agência Brasileira de Cooperação/Brazilian Cooperation Agency

ABRAS: Associação Brasileira de Supermercados/Brazilian Association of Supermarkets

BPC: Benefício de prestação continuada/Continuous Cash Benefit Programme

CadÚnico: Cadastro Único para Políticas Sociais/Unified Registry for Social Policies

CAISAN: Câmara Interministerial de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional/Interministerial Chamber of Food and Nutrition Security

CBIC: Câmara Brasileira da Indústria da Construção/Brazilian Chamber of the Construction Industry

CERESAN: Centro de Referência em Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional/Reference Centre on Food and Nutrition Security

CGFOME: Coordenação-Geral de Ações Internacionais de Combate à Fome/General Coordination of International Action Against Hunger

Conab: Companhia Nacional de Abastecimento/National Supply Company

CONSEA: Conselho Nacional de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional/National Council for Food and Nutrition Security

CRAS: Centros de Referência de Assistência Social/Social Assistance Referral Centres

CREAS: Centros de Referência Especializados de Assistência Social/Specialized Social Assistance Referral Centres

Embrapa: Empresa Brasileira de Pesquisa Agropecuária/Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation

ESF: Equipes de saúde da família/Family health teams

FNDE: Fundo Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação/National Educational Development Fund

IPEA: Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada/Institute of Applied Economic Research

MDA: Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrária/Ministry of Agrarian Development

MDS: Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome/Ministry of Social Development and the Fight against Hunger

MEC: Ministério da Educação/Ministry of Education

MF: Ministério da Fazenda/Ministry of Finance

MMA: Ministério do Meio Ambiente/Ministry of the Environment

MP: Ministério do Planejamento, Orçamento e Gestão/Ministry of Planning, Budget and Management

MPS: Ministério da Previdência Social/Ministry of Social Security

PAA: Programa de Aquisição de Alimentos/Food Acquisition Programme

PBF: Programa Bolsa Família/Family Allowance Programme

PBSM: Plano Brasil Sem Miséria/Brazil Without Extreme Poverty Plan

PETI: Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil/Programme for the Eradication of Child Labour

PMCMV: Programa Minha Casa, Minha Vida/My Home, My Life Programme

PNAD: Pesquisa nacional por amostra de domícilios/National Household Sample Survey

PNAE: Programa Nacional de Alimentação Escolar (Brasil)/National School Feeding Programme (Brazil)

PNPB: Programa Nacional de Produção e Uso de Biodiesel/National Biodiesel Production and Use Programme

PNSAN: Política Nacional de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional/National Food and Nutrition Security Policy

PRONAE:Programa Nacional de Alimentação Escolar (Moçambique)/National School Feeding Programme (Mozambique)

Pronaf: Programa Nacional de Fortalecimento da Agricultura Famíliar/National Programme for Strenghtening Family Farming

PRONATEC: Programa Nacional de Acesso ao Ensino Técnico e Emprego/National Programme on Access to Technical Education and Employment

Prouni: Programa Universidade para Todos/University for All Programme

PSF: Programa Saúde da Família/Family Health Programme

RGPS: Regime Geral de Previdência Social/General Social Welfare Regime

RPPS: Regimes Próprios de Previdência Social/Special Social Welfare Regimes

Sebrae: Serviço Brasileiro de Apoio às Micro e Pequenas Empresas/Brazilian Micro and Small Business Support Service

Senai: Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial/National Industrial Training Service

Sesep: Secretaria Extraordinária para Superação da Extrema Pobreza/Extraordinary Secretariat for Overcoming Extreme Poverty

SISAN: Sistema Nacional de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional/National Food and Nutrition Security System

SUAS: Sistema Único de Assistência Social/Unified Social Assistance System

SUS: Sistema Único de Saúde/Unified Health System

IN FRENCH

CMU: Couverture Maladie Universelle/Universal Health Coverage

DGPSN: Délégation Générale à la Protection Sociale et à la Solidarité Nationale au Sénégal/General Delegation for Social Protection and National Solidarity in Senegal

INPS: Initiative Nationale de Protection Sociale/National Initiative for Social Protection

PNBSF: Programme National de Bourses de Sécurité Familiales/National Family Security Grant Programme

PSE: Plan Sénégal Emergent/Emerging Senegal Plan

PTIP: Plan triennal d'investissments publics/Three-Year Public Investment Plan

“The following flagship report focusing on Social Protection for Sustainable Development (SP4SD) serves as a companion policy analysis for national and global advocacy on inclusive, equitable and sustainable development. It looks at the role that social protection can play in this effort, which can be instrumental, coordinating, enabling and resilience-building.”

Magdy Martínez-Solimán and Abdoulaye Mar Dieye

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