

Investigating the politics of global policy transfer:
the case of social protection in Zambia

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities

2019

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Table of Contents

List of Tables	6
List of Figures	6
List of Diagrams	6
List of Acronyms	7
Abstract	9
Declaration.....	10
Copyright	10
Acknowledgements	11
1. Introduction	12
1.1. The ‘new wave’ of social protection in sub-Saharan Africa	12
1.2. Perspectives on social protection	14
1.2.1. Social protection and theories of welfare state development.....	14
1.2.2. Global policy transfer.....	15
1.2.3. The politics of social protection	17
1.3. Research aims and questions.....	18
1.4. Towards a conceptual framework for analysing the interaction of global policy ideas with the politics of domestic policy processes.....	19
1.5. The case of Zambia	20
1.6. Key findings	22
1.7. Thesis structure.....	22
2. Formulating, promoting and implementing global policy ideas: the politics of policy transfer	25
2.1. Introduction.....	25
2.2. Cycles or streams? Policy processes at global and national levels	26
2.2.1. National policy.....	26
2.2.2. Policy-making in the ‘global agora’	31
2.2.3. The emergence of global social policy	32
2.3. Towards translation: the formulation and movement of global policy ideas	35
2.3.1. Global policy development	35
2.3.2. Global policy transfer.....	36
2.3.3. Implementation of global policies	38
2.4. Comparing rationalist and constructivist approaches to policy transfer	39
2.4.1. Rational-actor approaches and bounded rationality	40
2.4.2. Constructivism and critical policy studies	41
2.4.3. Ideas and interests.....	42
2.5. Transnationalising and localising the multiple streams approach	45
2.5.1. Strategies of persuasion: the role of transnational actors in policy processes.....	45
2.5.2. Theorising the political stream	48
2.6. The rise of social protection as a global social policy	51

2.6.1.	<i>Welfare-state building and social protection in the global South</i>	52
2.6.2.	<i>From CCTs to ‘no-strings-attached’: design and transfer of global policy models</i>	55
2.6.3.	<i>Adoption and implementation of cash transfer model</i>	59
2.7.	Conclusion	60
3.	A conceptual framework for analysing the interaction of global policy ideas with the politics of domestic policy processes	62
3.1.	An actor-oriented approach: power and agency	63
3.1.1.	<i>The ‘expert’</i>	63
3.1.2.	<i>Governmentality within development</i>	66
3.1.3.	<i>Interests and ideas of domestic actors</i>	67
3.2.	How global policy ideas are formed and how they travel	69
3.2.1.	<i>Global policy formulation in the ‘global agora’</i>	69
3.2.2.	<i>How do global policy ideas travel?</i>	70
3.3.	Multiple streams and the ‘policy transfer window’	71
3.3.1.	<i>Alignment with the political stream: elite ideas and interests</i>	72
3.3.2.	<i>Policy transfer window</i>	73
3.3.3.	<i>Alignment with local ideas and interests</i>	74
3.4.	Conceptual framework	74
3.5.	Research design and methodology	77
3.5.1.	<i>Perspective and approach</i>	77
3.5.2.	<i>Methods and selection decisions</i>	77
3.5.3.	<i>Data collection and analysis</i>	80
3.5.4.	<i>Reflections and ethical considerations</i>	84
3.6.	Conclusion	85
4.	Politics, ideas and development in Zambia	86
4.1.	Introduction	86
4.2.	Colonial rule and the independence movement (1890-1964)	87
4.2.1.	<i>The nature of colonialism in Northern Rhodesia</i>	88
4.2.2.	<i>The independence movement and post-colonial state</i>	90
4.3.	The First and Second Republics (1964-1991)	92
4.3.1.	<i>‘One Zambia, One Nation’: attempting national unity in a fragmented context</i>	92
4.3.2.	<i>The one-party state: losing legitimacy</i>	95
4.3.3.	<i>Economic crisis and the onset of structural adjustment</i>	96
4.4.	The Third Republic and beyond	98
4.4.1.	<i>The coalition against UNIP</i>	99
4.4.2.	<i>The rise of neoliberalism under MMD</i>	100
4.4.3.	<i>Zambia’s poverty crisis</i>	104
4.4.4.	<i>The populist response</i>	110
4.5.	Conclusion	113
5.	Social policy ideas in Zambia: putting the social protection agenda in context	115
5.1.	Introduction	115
5.2.	Social policy and welfare: actors, influences and ideas	116
5.2.1.	<i>Under the colonial protectorate</i>	117

5.2.2.	<i>Social policy and service provision in post-independence Zambia</i>	119
5.2.3.	<i>The rise and fall of transnational actors and ideas</i>	123
5.2.4.	<i>Attitudes to poverty and the policy responses in Zambia</i>	127
5.3.	<i>Introducing the global social protection agenda in Zambia</i>	129
5.3.1.	<i>Epistemic communities shaping the problem and policy streams in Zambia</i>	130
5.3.2.	<i>Donor strategies – from conditionality to persuasion</i>	132
5.3.3.	<i>Uneven commitment to social protection at national level</i>	133
5.4.	<i>The case of social health insurance</i>	138
5.4.1.	<i>Global health policy and SHI in Zambia</i>	138
5.4.2.	<i>The limits of policy coalitions and policy entrepreneurs</i>	141
5.4.3.	<i>A health insurance scheme for all?</i>	144
5.5.	<i>Conclusion</i>	147
6.	<i>Promotion and adoption of social cash transfers in Zambia</i>	149
6.1.	<i>Introduction</i>	149
6.2.	<i>Three phases of development of social cash transfers from 2003-2016</i>	150
6.2.1.	<i>Promoting social cash transfers (2003-2009)</i>	151
6.2.2.	<i>Strengthening and scaling up (2009-2013)</i>	152
6.2.3.	<i>Government budget increase and expansion of social cash transfers (2013-2016)</i>	153
6.3.	<i>Strategies of persuasion: transnational influence on social cash transfers in Zambia</i>	155
6.3.1.	<i>Rendering technical: cash transfers as a poverty reduction tool</i>	156
6.3.2.	<i>Working politically: the politics of influencing</i>	161
6.3.3.	<i>Framing as a strategy of persuasion</i>	165
6.4.	<i>The ‘policy transfer window’: aligning cash transfers with the political stream</i>	169
6.4.1.	<i>From ‘handouts’ to ‘money in people’s pockets’: a shift of ideas</i>	170
6.4.2.	<i>‘Progressive decisions’: response to crisis</i>	173
6.5.	<i>Conclusion</i>	176
7.	<i>Re-shaping policy from below: implementation of social cash transfers in Zambia</i>	178
7.1.	<i>Introduction</i>	178
7.2.	<i>Design, implementation and reactions to the social cash transfer models in Zambia 2003-2017</i>	181
7.2.1.	<i>Global policy models: Zambia’s pilot programmes 2003-2013</i>	183
7.2.2.	<i>The search for a national model: design and roll out of the harmonised model</i>	185
7.2.3.	<i>The search continues: changes to the cash transfer design</i>	188
7.3.	<i>Political acceptability: the political stream shapes policy design</i>	191
7.3.1.	<i>Transnational influence on policy design</i>	192
7.3.2.	<i>From policy coalition to “government in the driving seat”</i>	195
7.3.3.	<i>‘You don’t know politics’: political intervention in SCT targeting</i>	199
7.4.	<i>Social acceptability: ideas of deservingness</i>	201
7.4.1.	<i>‘We are all poor here’: the politics of design and targeting</i>	201
7.4.2.	<i>Understandings of deservingness</i>	205
7.4.3.	<i>Re-shaping policy from below</i>	210
7.5.	<i>Conclusion</i>	212

8. Policy-making in a transnationalised context: how global policy, domestic politics and ideas of deservingness shape social protection in Zambia	214
8.1. Introduction	214
8.2. Empirical findings	216
8.2.1. <i>Transnational strategies within negotiated domestic processes</i>	<i>216</i>
8.2.2. <i>The determining effects of politics on reception to global policy ideas at national and local levels</i>	<i>217</i>
8.2.3. <i>Re-shaping policy from below: policy translation continues.....</i>	<i>218</i>
8.3. Theoretical implications.....	219
8.3.1. <i>Implications for the multiple streams approach</i>	<i>219</i>
8.3.2. <i>Implications for policy translation at national and local levels.....</i>	<i>221</i>
8.3.3. <i>Social and political acceptability: contested notions of social justice.....</i>	<i>222</i>
8.4. Policy implications.....	224
8.4.1. <i>Promotion of global policy ideas.....</i>	<i>224</i>
8.4.2. <i>Deservingness and acceptability.....</i>	<i>225</i>
8.4.3. <i>Implications for the social protection agenda in sub-Saharan Africa</i>	<i>226</i>
8.5. Further research	227
References	228
Appendix 1 – Interview Key	254
Appendix 2 – Interview Schedule	259

Word count: 82,497

List of Tables

Table 1: Competing theories of social justice and their implications for social protection.....	58
Table 2: Zambian debt to GNI ratio (%), 1970-2014	108
Table 3: Overview of SCT pilot models in Zambia 2003-2013	183
Table 4: The search for a national SCT model, 2014-2017	188

List of Figures

Figure 1: The generic policy cycle	27
Figure 2: Changes in poverty rates, 1991-2015, Zambia	105
Figure 3: Extreme poverty in rural and urban areas, 1991-2015, Zambia	106
Figure 4: Extreme poverty in male- and female-headed households, 1991-2015, Zambia.	107
Figure 5: Social protection national budget allocation 2011-2016 in ZMW million, Zambia	135
Figure 6: Map of social cash transfer programme expansion in Zambia, 2003-2016	155
Figure 7: Minister of Community Development launches SCT programme in Kawambwa District, Luapula Province, 6 January 2015.....	187
Figure 8: Institutional set-up from SCT guidelines	196
Figure 9: Election campaign billboard by Patriotic Front Campaign Team, Zambia 2016...	199

List of Diagrams

Diagram 1: A framework for analysing the interaction of global policy ideas with the politics of domestic policy processes	74
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List of Acronyms

ACC	Area Coordinating Committee
AIR	American Institutes for Research
AU	African Union
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CBT	Community Based Targeting
CP	Cooperating Partner
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CSPR	Civil Society for Poverty Reduction
CWAC	Community Welfare Assistance Committees
DFID	Department for International Development
DSW	Department for Social Welfare
DSWO	District Social Welfare Office
DWAC	District Welfare Assistance Committee
EPRI	Economic Policy Research Institute
EU	European Union
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FISP	Farmer Input Support Programme
FNDP	Fifth National Development Plan
FRA	Food Reserve Agency
FSP	Food Security Pack
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEWEL	Girls' Education and Women's Empowerment and Livelihoods
GNI	Gross National Income
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Agency for Technical Cooperation)
HCF	Health Care Financing
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Country
HQ	Headquarters
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
IFI	International Financing Institution
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
I-PRSP	Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
JCTR	Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection
JFA	Joint Financing Agreement
LCMS	Living Conditions Monitoring Survey
MCDMCH	Ministry of Community Development and Mother and Child Health
MCDSS	Ministry of Community Development and Social Services
MCDSW	Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MMD	Movement for Multi-party Democracy
MoF	Ministry of Finance
MoFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
MoH	Ministry of Health

MoNDP	Ministry of National Development Planning
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MP	Member of Parliament
MTEF	Medium Term Expenditure Framework
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPM	Oxford Policy Management
PEPFAR	US President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
PF	Patriotic Front
PMT	Proxy Means Test
PPM	Pay Point Manager
PRGF	Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSWO	Provincial Social Welfare Office
PWAS	Public Welfare Assistance Scheme
RCT	Randomised Control Trial
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SCT	Social Cash Transfer
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SHI	Social Health Insurance
SPEP	Social Protection Expansion Programme
SP- SAG	Sector Advisory Group on Social Protection
SRM	Social Risk Management
TWG	Technical Working Group
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIP	United National Independence Party
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organisation
WFP	World Food Programme
WISP	Wider Impacts of Social Protection
ZAMSIF	Zambia Social Investment Fund
ZCCM	Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines
ZCTU	Zambian Congress of Trade Unions
ZFE	Zambia Federation of Employers
ZNFU	Zambia National Farmers Union

Abstract

Kate Pruce, June 2019

The University of Manchester, PhD: Development Policy and Management

Within the increasingly global 'agora' of social policy-making, social protection has been constructed as a global policy idea by a broad epistemic community of transnational agencies, including the World Bank, ILO and DFID. Competing framings of social protection have influenced the models that have been introduced by these transnational agencies at country level. Cash transfers have gained particular attention, and been actively promoted to governments across sub-Saharan Africa. From its origins as a nation created by colonial borders to the interventions of international financing institutions through structural adjustment and subsequent debt relief, Zambia has long been shaped by external influences and forms of policy transfer. As with many countries in the region, the cash transfer model was introduced in Zambia by donors in the early 2000s, but initially resisted by the political stream. However, in 2013 the Zambian government increased their investment in cash transfers by 700% then rapidly scaled up the programme, and began searching for a targeting design with 'national character'.

Against this background, I trace the global policy idea of social protection in Zambia, first through social health insurance (SHI) and then social cash transfers (SCTs). This multi-level study examines the introduction and promotion of these models through the efforts of transnational agencies; their uneven adoption, with slow progress on SHI while SCTs have been adopted and implemented; and the rejection of a centrally designed cash transfer model in communities during implementation, leading directly to changes in design. I develop a framework that integrates policy transfer with multiple streams to analyse the politics of policy-making across global, national and local levels. The framework guides an in-depth qualitative investigation involving key informant interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis at multiple levels. The investigation goes beyond the phase of policy *adoption* to examine the interaction between global and local ideas during policy *implementation*, providing a holistic assessment of global policy transfer across these levels.

Focusing on domestic receptivity to global policy ideas at different levels, I analyse the mechanisms through which domestic politics influences the global policy transfer process. I find that alignment between problem, policy and political streams continues to matter beyond agenda setting and policy adoption. It is also vital during implementation, which is a site of continued contestation and policy translation. In the case of cash transfers in Zambia, contested notions of social justice have emerged as being a key factor determining the alignment between global policy ideas and local ideas on the ground, centred on understandings of deservingness. The thesis concludes that the social cash transfer policy in Zambia has been shaped by the efforts of a transnationalised policy coalition to promote this global policy idea, interacting with national political dynamics and local ideas of deservingness. This case demonstrates that social and political receptivity to a global policy idea is determined by the level of alignment with domestic political interests – specifically survival strategies, as well as elite and popular paradigmatic ideas – shaping which global policy ideas travel and in what form.

Declaration

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Acknowledgements

First, I would like to express my deepest thanks to my excellent supervisory team – Professor Sam Hickey, Professor Armando Barrientos and Dr. Tom Lavers – for guiding me through this challenging and rewarding journey. I appreciate your dedication, patience and meticulous attention to detail in providing me with feedback, encouragement and new perspectives.

In addition I highly appreciate the comments and suggestions received from many others along the way, including my internal independent reviewer Prof. Maia Green, Prof. David Hulme, Prof. Jeremy Seekings, Pablo Yanguas and Miguel Niño-Zarazúa.

Many thanks to SAIPAR for hosting and supporting me during my fieldwork in Zambia, and especially Marja Hinfelaar for your invaluable advice throughout the process. I would like to thank everyone who participated in my research project during my memorable time in Zambia, particularly the staff from the Department of Social Welfare and the Provincial and District Social Welfare Offices who went out of their way to assist me during my data collection. Thanks also to my research assistant Daniel Mwashu for being an engaging companion and reliable translator during our adventures in Luapula and Eastern Provinces.

I am extremely grateful to the Effective States and Inclusive Development (ESID) team and the Global Development Institute (GDI) for the support and opportunities during my PhD. I feel very lucky to have been part of the GDI (and formerly BWPI/IDPM) family, with all the wonderful staff and students who have provided such a caring and inspiring environment.

I would like to gratefully acknowledge the assistance I have received with proofreading my thesis from Sally Cawood, Johannes Lotze, Sam Jones, Nick Pruce, Jean Brown, Beth Pruce, Meg Pruce and Aarti Krishnan, and with the visual images from Sam Jones and Jonny Reid.

Thank you to my flatmates Jo, Jonny and Becca for getting me through tough times, to Irene, Sarah and Emma for many cups of tea and chats when they were most needed, and to Nikki for our Friday writing sessions which have kept me going.

To Sam Jones for your unwavering support and patience over the past year, it means so much to me.

And last, but by no means least, to my family for always being there for me in so many ways, and for making it possible for me to reach this point.

1. Introduction

1.1. *The ‘new wave’ of social protection in sub-Saharan Africa*

Since the turn of the millennium, social protection has emerged as a key policy response for tackling poverty, enhancing human capital and promoting inclusive growth in the global south (Commission on Social Development, 2019). Social protection has rapidly ascended up the development policy agenda (Devereux et al., 2016), demonstrated by the International Labour Organisation’s call for the establishment of national social protection floors in the 2012 Recommendation No. 202, and the inclusion of social protection in the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.¹ International development agencies have been instrumental in developing social protection as a global policy idea, comprising a range of specific instruments and models such as cash transfers and social health insurance. These agencies aim to influence the domestic policy agendas of low- and middle-income countries through the introduction and promotion of these ideas. This forms part of the wider transnationalisation of policy-making that has been a key feature of globalisation over recent decades, characterised by policy discourse, debates and actors crossing nation-state boundaries and becoming increasingly interconnected (Peck and Theodore, 2015).

Described as “a wave of new thinking on development” (Hanlon et al., 2012: 1), cash transfers have gained particular attention as a form of social protection and begun to spread worldwide. Since the early 2000s, bilateral and multilateral agencies – particularly the UK Department for International Development (DFID), the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) and the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) – have pushed cash transfers in sub-Saharan Africa, as part of a shift from emergency food aid to more reliable and sustainable support systems (Niño-Zarazúa et al., 2012). By 2015, around 130 low- and middle-income countries had at least one unconditional cash transfer programme, 40 of which are in sub-Saharan Africa where the growth of programme adoption has been especially high (Bastagli et al., 2016; Honorati et al., 2015).

Access to essential health care services is included in Recommendation No. 202 and there is a Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) target on achieving universal health

¹ SDG 1, Target 1.3 is to “implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable”

coverage.² The World Health Organisation (WHO) and International Labour Organisation (ILO) have proposed social health insurance as a means of financing universal health coverage. By 2004, 27 countries had established social health insurance schemes, and several low- and middle-income countries were interested in doing the same (Carrin and James, 2005). Expanded from a pilot scheme in 1999, Rwanda's Community Based Health Insurance scheme covered three quarters of the population by 2014: the highest enrolment in health insurance in sub-Saharan Africa (Chemouni, 2018). However, more broadly there remains a global deficit in health coverage particularly in rural areas: in Africa more than 80% of the rural population is excluded from health protection compared to 60% of urban residents (ILO, 2017).

Devereux has observed that social protection is more likely to be successful if it "reflect[s] indigenous political agendas and priorities" (2011: 420), but that in most African countries social protection has been donor-driven. Transnational agencies have attempted to persuade governments to adopt social protection policies, usually with the aim of establishing national social protection systems (Devereux and White, 2010), akin to welfare states or regimes. This has been done through a range of strategies, including donor-funded pilot projects, evidence-based advocacy and coalition-building. Framing social protection as 'an African success story' has formed a key part of DFID's 'politics of influencing' approach (Davies et al., 2009). There is also a growing recognition that 'politics matters' for the adoption and expansion of social protection programmes (Barrientos and Pellissery, 2012; Hickey, 2008; Niño-Zarazúa et al., 2012). Lavers and Hickey (2016) propose that it is a combination of transnational efforts and domestic politics that explains the variation in progress made by low-income countries in adopting and implementing social protection.

This introductory chapter will proceed to situate social protection within wider debates on welfare state or regime development, global policy transfer and politics. It will then set out the research aims and questions for this thesis and provide the rationale for the approach adopted for investigating the questions, including a brief discussion of the relevance of the case for this study. Finally it will outline the structure of the remaining chapters of the thesis.

² SDG 3, Target 3.8 is to "achieve universal health coverage, including financial risk protection, access to quality essential health-care services and access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all"

1.2. Perspectives on social protection

This section broadly categorises existing literature on social policy development into three main perspectives, and identifies the aspects that will be useful for this thesis. Welfare state or regime accounts draw on theories developed in advanced industrialised countries and apply them in development contexts. Global policy transfer recognises the impacts of globalisation on social policy-making, with critical policy studies literature beginning to consider the political nature of policy transfer. Political explanations of social protection are now going beyond the democracy/autocracy dichotomy to investigate the domestic incentives and ideas that are shaping social policy-making.

1.2.1. Social protection and theories of welfare state development

There is extensive literature on the development of social policy in advanced industrialised countries, which Kpessa and Béland (2013) have usefully categorised into four main theories: economic development; political mobilisation; the structuring role of political institutions and policy legacies; ideas and cultural norms. Leading scholars have variously advanced: a 'three worlds' model of welfare state regimes as liberal, conservative corporatist or social democratic (Esping-Andersen, 2013); institutional and historical explanations of social policy development, such as path dependency (Pierson, 1994); and a power resources approach in which social policy is the outcome of distributional struggles between competing groups (Korpi, 1983, 1980).

There have also been numerous critiques of these theories and typologies, including from a feminist perspective. Authors such as Janet Lewis and Ann Orloff have drawn attention to the gendered nature of the relationships between paid work, unpaid work and welfare. The idea of a male breadwinner model, which draws a firm dividing line between private and public responsibility, cuts across the typologies of welfare regimes in Western Europe (Lewis, 1992). Analysis of division of labour has largely focused on state-market relations and class-based stratification, often ignoring the role of the family in providing welfare, mainly in the form of unpaid care work carried out by women (Orloff, 1993; Lewis, 1997). Where women do receive benefits, they tend to be 'second-class' social assistance in their role as dependents and mothers, whereas men receive 'first-class' insurance based on paid employment (Lewis, 1992; Nelson, 1990).

In contrast to these well-developed debates, there has been a ‘thinness’ of literature on social policy in a development context (Mkandawire, 2001). A notable exception is Gough et al.'s (2004) attempt to adapt Esping-Andersen's (2013) typology of welfare regimes in advanced industrialised countries to the global south. This volume usefully expands the scope of social policy beyond the state, identifying a ‘welfare mix’ which more accurately reflects the combination of public and private/non-governmental sectors as well as the role of communities in the provision of services in many developing countries. They argue that the range of actors involved in social policy may be extended both downwards to local level and upwards to include transnational actors. Huber and Stephens (2012) also incorporate the influence of transnational structures and actors, particularly in international financing institutions, in their explanation of social policy development in Latin America. Their study stresses the importance of power relations, including power distribution in the international system. Reflecting on ‘global social policy’ in Africa, Bevan argues that donors base their interventions on Western assumptions of states, communities and households, without engaging with “modern African polities, economies, societies and cultures” (2004: 249).

This thesis will build on the interaction between transnational and domestic actors, and the importance of underlying power relations, identified in the literature outlined above. Going beyond the institutional or class-based focus of much of the welfare state literature, the thesis will also recognise the salience of gender and ethnicity in global social policy-making (Deacon, 2007), while focusing on the agency of the wide range of actors engaged in this multi-sited process.

1.2.2. Global policy transfer

Attempts to explain the rise of donor-driven social protection as a form of welfare state or regime development risk obscuring the global nature of this phenomenon. In comparative welfare state research, the nation state “was and still is the main spatial reference point of solidarity, redistribution and social regulation” (Obinger et al., 2013: 111). However this ‘methodological nationalism’ is being increasingly criticised, and the need to consider transnational social policy networks and processes of policy transfer is being realised (Obinger et al., 2013). The economic, political and ideological phenomenon of globalization (Mishra, 2009) has reconfigured the state and created a complex system of multi-level governance in which transnational organisations of all types have increased influence over national policy-making (Stone, 2008). This has led to the globalization of

social policy, as previously national policy processes take on a transnational character. (Deacon et al., 2009a).

Global policy-making is distinctive from national policy-making processes in two main ways. The first is that global policy actors are directly involved in policy formulation, and the second is that global policy-making processes entail the additional dimension of 'diffusing' global policy ideas to national settings. While these global and national policy spaces are considered to be analytically distinct within this study, it is important to recognise the permeability of the boundaries between these spaces, particularly in terms of the movement of actors and ideas.

Both of these features defining global policy-making are demonstrated by Orenstein (2008, 2005) through his study of pension privatisation, which foregrounds the role of global policy actors in developing and transferring this reform to more than 25 countries around the world. An alternative reading of the diffusion of these pension reforms in Latin America focuses on cross-border learning through neighbourhood effects (Weyland, 2009), underplaying the role of the transnational coalition identified by Orenstein. There are also examples of South-South and South-North policy learning, although for the most part these initiatives are not entirely independent from global actors. A case in point is the co-operation between Brazil and Ghana in the design of Ghana's Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty programme, facilitated and supported by DFID in terms of making contacts, organising study tours and conducting research, among other activities (Abdulai, 2019; Leite et al., 2013).

An implication of the first feature of global policy is that the influence of transnational epistemic communities – defined by Haas (1992) as networks of experts seeking to advance a new set of policy ideas – shapes the global social policy agenda (Deacon, 2005; Stone, 2004). A particularly heated debate within the epistemic community on social protection concerns the relative merits of universal and targeted social protection designs. Often framed as being 'technical' and focused on optimizing the use of limited resources, design decisions are inherently political and underpinned by differing notions of social justice determining who is deserving of assistance and on what basis, constructed around desert, needs and citizenship (Mkandawire, 2005).

With regards to the second distinctive feature of diffusion, much of the literature on this process has adopted a rationalist approach. This work frames policy transfer as lesson-drawing, indirect coercive transfer or direct coercive transfer (Evans, 2004); or otherwise

as bounded rationality, which recognises the cognitive limitations of decision-makers (for example Weyland, 2009). However in the field of critical policy studies, scholars have begun to recognise policy transfer as a political process of negotiation and contestation. Policy ideas, identified as social constructions, are *translated* as they interact with domestic processes rather than simply adopted (Peck and Theodore, 2015, 2010a). This approach is much more promising for a study of the politics of global policy transfer, although most literature in this vein fails to consider the implementation of global policies at local level, which is an integral part of this thesis.

1.2.3. *The politics of social protection*

Much like the welfare state approach, political accounts of social policy development have tended to draw on theories from advanced industrialised countries. These include: Polanyi's 'double movement', proposing that state intervention is required to counter-act the deleterious effects of capitalism and thereby maintain the conditions for the continued operation of the market (Putzel, 2002); power resource theory, which argues that working class mobilisation through union organisation and the strength of leftist parties can explain welfare state variation in advanced industrialised countries (Korpi, 1983, 1980); and variants of a 'democracy thesis', which suggest that welfare states are more likely to develop as democratic rights are extended (Esping-Andersen, 1989).

Craig and Porter (2005) have questioned the relevance of Polanyi's work to the expansion of social protection in low-income countries. This is on the basis that 'inclusive' liberalism has sought to avoid social challenge, and the efforts of donors promoting social protection are failing to embed the necessary social contestation to create such a 'double movement'. Similarly power resources theory has not been widely applied to low or middle-income countries, although an important exception is Huber and Stephens' (2012) adapted power constellations approach, which they apply to Latin America. In low-income countries class is not necessarily the most salient organising feature, making it an incomplete account of welfare state development as it overlooks other important cleavages such as race, ethnicity and gender (Brady, 2009; Huber and Stephens, 2012, 2001; Orloff, 1993).

The 'democracy thesis' has been challenged by empirical contradictions such as the introduction of the first welfare state interventions prior to democracy in Bismarck's Germany, and slow welfare state development in advanced democracies such as the

United States. In sub-Saharan Africa, Seekings (2012) has argued that electoral competition was a factor in pushing pension reforms in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, but recognises that this has not been the case in other countries across the region. Indeed, there are examples where prospects for social protection are arguably more favourable in ‘dominant party’ settings, such as Rwanda and Ethiopia, than in democracies, such as Kenya or Zambia (Lavers and Hickey, 2016). Lavers and Hickey’s (2016) adapted political settlements framework provides useful insights into the ways in which social protection needs to be understood in terms of both the incentives and ideas of elites, within particular configurations of power.

In terms of incentives, ruling elites pursue a range of political survival strategies in order to stay in power (Kjær and Therkildsen, 2013; Whitfield and Therkildsen, 2011). These strategies include a combination of maintaining ruling coalitions and winning elections, depending on the political context. In both cases policy choices involving allocations of state resources and implementation arrangements are useful tools. The politics of survival also has effects on bureaucrats implementing policies “who face the calculus of social and political pressures and are motivated by national interest but also careerism” (Migdal, 2001: 84). In addition to political survival, existing elite and popular ideas also influence the prospects for redistributive policies such as social protection. Stone proposes that “the acceptance of [an] idea is more politically relevant than the idea itself” (2012: 489) for determining the uptake of a policy.

The thesis builds on this work on incentives and ideas to investigate the domestic political factors that shape social policy-making, combined with the incipient literature on the “intrinsic politics [of] the policy transfer process” (Peck and Theodore, 2010a: 169), which offers an entry point to exploring how ‘politics matters’ in transnationalised contexts.

1.3. Research aims and questions

The study seeks to make a contribution to our understanding of social protection as a global policy phenomenon, and particularly its reception in sub-Saharan Africa. Specifically, it will investigate the politics of global policy transfer, through the case of social protection in Zambia. While most policy transfer research has adopted a rationalist approach, this study draws on and extends the constructivist policy translation literature, which foregrounds the role of power, actors and their ideas in policymaking processes. However, where this literature focuses on the national level, this thesis goes further to

trace how global ideas travel all the way through to the local level during implementation through a multi-level study. In doing so it theorises the ways in which politics shapes the contestation and translation of global policy ideas at both national and local levels.

The main question guiding this research is as follows:

How are global policy ideas shaping the adoption and implementation of national social protection policies?

This overarching question will be addressed through a series of sub-questions:

1. Through what mechanisms are global policy ideas promoted by transnational actors in developing country contexts?
2. What political factors determine how these global policy ideas are received?
3. In what ways do global policy ideas and domestic agency interact to shape policy adoption and implementation?

I explore these questions through the case study of social protection in Zambia, with a focus on social cash transfer and social health insurance models, from their introduction by transnational actors through to their adoption and implementation where applicable.

1.4. Towards a conceptual framework for analysing the interaction of global policy ideas with the politics of domestic policy processes

Explanations of national policy-making processes have evolved beyond rational decision-making models based on stages or cycles (Brewer, 1974; Fischer, 1989; Lasswell, 1956), to consider the role of politics. Kingdon (1984) usefully identifies problem, policy and political streams, which need to align for a policy idea to be taken up. However, the national policy process literature remains methodologically nationalist, while theories of global policy-making tend to operate within the 'global agora' (Stone, 2008). Policy transfer studies have the potential to link these two spheres but have largely retained a rationalist approach, framing transfer as coercion, non-intentional diffusion or voluntary lesson-learning (Evans, 2004; Gilardi, 2014; Obinger et al., 2013). More promising for understanding the ways in which global policy ideas interact with domestic politics is an incipient literature on policy translation, which considers the complexity of the contexts into which global policies are transferred through a critical constructivist lens, emphasising

the potential for adaptation and transformation (Peck, 2011a; Peck and Theodore, 2010a; Stone, 2012). A limitation to this work, however, is that it remains focused on national level policy adoption and does not consider how ideas may be further translated at local level, as global policy implementation continues to be under-represented in policy research.

Based on a detailed review, critical analysis and synthesis of the key contributions outlined above, this thesis seeks to construct a conceptual framework for analysing the ways in which global policy ideas interact with domestic policy and political processes. This framework is then applied to a country case study of Zambia, through an in-depth qualitative analysis of social cash transfers and social health insurance, within a wider social protection agenda. Adopting a constructivist and actor-oriented approach to policy movement as translation, the study recognises that policy ideas do not just ‘float’ and flow on their own but are mobilised and received by a range of actors with specific interests and ideas. It emphasises the “complex agency of actors in development at every level” (Mosse, 2005: 6), the power relations between them, and how these affect policy transfer, adoption and implementation.

The thesis uses process tracing (Bennett and Elman, 2006; George and Bennett, 2005) to explore the interaction between global policy ideas and the politics of domestic policy processes during global policy transfer. In doing so it examines how global policy ideas, developed and promoted by transnational actors, are introduced into national settings; the ways in which they interact with domestic ideas and interests to determine policy adoption; and the extent to which domestic politics shapes global policy transfer. Going beyond the scope of existing studies, it traces the transfer of global policy ideas all the way down to their reception at local level during policy implementation. Where most research on policy transfer focuses on adoption at national level, this multi-level study provides a holistic assessment of global policy transfer across global, national and local levels, while in addition considering the historical context of the case study.

1.5. *The case of Zambia*

The landlocked country of Zambia in Southern Africa is, “more than most African nation-states, an entity that was imagined and constructed from without” (Larmer et al., 2014: 895). As a result of the country’s colonially defined borders, its population of about 16.5 million people represents nearly 70 different ethnicities, speaking at least as many

languages and dialects. Zambia is also one of the most urbanised countries in sub-Saharan Africa with an urban population of 43.5% as of 2018.³ Since the discovery of copper in the 1920s – in the area north of Central province up to the border with the Democratic Republic of Congo that became known as the Copperbelt – the country's fortunes have been tied up with its mining industry and subject to the boom and bust of the global copper market (Fraser and Larmer, 2010). Zambia has also undertaken extensive policy reform as a result of stabilisation and structural adjustment, driven by the international financing institutions (IFIs). It therefore has a long history of being influenced by external actors and ideas.

As one of the countries included in Niño-Zarazúa et al.'s (2012) categorisation of the 'new wave' of social protection in Africa, Zambia is an example of the group of countries that have taken up social protection policies in the past few years under the influence of international development agencies. As donors searched for an alternative to the emergency food aid predominant in this region, these social protection initiatives largely took the form of cash transfers, although they are diverse in design and implementation.

While the Livingstone Process⁴ suggested a level of commitment among African governments to extend social protection in the region (Niño-Zarazúa et al., 2012), these so far mainly donor-driven pilot programmes have often failed to be scaled up nationally (Devereux, 2011; McCord, 2010). Zambia offers an interesting case for the study of social protection due to its key role in regional efforts to promote social protection. The country's social cash transfer (SCT) pilot scheme in Kalomo gained international attention and was included in a range of poverty reduction and social protection reports by international agencies (GTZ, 2005). The pilot was also the focus of various study tours, including visits from representatives from Malawi and Uganda (Hickey et al., 2009; Niño-Zarazúa et al., 2012). In addition Zambia co-hosted the regional conference on social protection with the African Union in 2006, which led to the Livingstone Call for Action. A comparison with social health insurance (SHI) shows that social protection has been adopted in an uneven way, with slow progress on SHI and a more significant adoption and implementation of SCTs. Both of these global policy ideas have been contested at different stages in Zambia, with citizens engaging directly with questions of redistribution during the

³ See CIA World Factbook: Zambia, available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/za.html>

⁴ A regional conference held in Livingstone, Zambia in 2006, co-hosted by the Zambian government and the African Union. This event was attended by ministers and senior representatives from 13 African countries who agreed to put together national social protection plans.

implementation of the social cash transfer and rejecting one of the policy designs due to a clash of ideas, to be examined in the thesis. Investigating these two examples – one that has been broadly successful and one that has not – enables the conceptual framework to be tested.

1.6. Key findings

Three main findings have emerged from the study. First, that the strategic efforts of a transnational policy coalition operating within the policy stream established cash transfers as an effective and credible policy idea, while a more disparate group of transnational actors failed to do so in the case of social health insurance. Second, that it was a shift towards pro-poor ideas and a crisis in an existing survival strategy of the ruling elite that led to the adoption of cash transfers, while social health insurance has not clearly aligned with political interests and is making slow progress. Third, that in the case of cash transfers, policy implementation has been shaped by competing ideas around social justice.

The thesis findings point towards the need to consider the alignment of problem, policy and political streams, as well as the potential for policy translation, throughout the policy process including during implementation. Informed by the extant literature on policy translation, the conceptual framework constructed in Chapter 3 and the case study findings, this thesis concludes that social protection in Zambia has been shaped by the interaction between global policy ideas promoted by transnational actors and national political dynamics. The relevant political factors are identified as survival strategies of the ruling elite, as well as paradigmatic elite and popular ideas. Importantly, actors at local as well as national level contribute to the reception of global policy ideas, and to a continued process of policy translation.

1.7. Thesis structure

The subsequent chapters of the thesis will be organised as follows:

Chapter 2 will initially evaluate the existing literature in these fields and identify the most appropriate approaches for this study. It first brings together theories of the national policy process with insights on the increasingly globalised nature of policy-making. After examining policy diffusion and policy transfer, which have been the prevalent rationalist

explanations for the ways in which policy ideas travel, the chapter then considers policy translation which recognises the potential for domestic politics and agency to shape global policy ideas, through a constructivist lens. The chapter finally traces the rise of social protection as a global social policy, with a focus on cash transfer and health insurance models.

Chapter 3 builds on this review of the literature to construct a conceptual framework for analysing the interaction of global ideas with policy processes at both national and local levels in line with the constructivist approach of the thesis. Having identified the key actors as well as their ideas and interests, the framework integrates policy translation and multiple streams to analyse the politics of policy-making across global, national and local levels. This chapter also details the methodological aspects of the study and documents the case and selection decisions in more detail.

Chapter 4 puts policy transfer into historical context in Zambia. It provides an overview of Zambia's political history since the colonial period, identifying inherited structures and policy legacies that have influenced the functioning of politics in Zambia, as well as domestic interests and ideas that have played an important role.

Chapter 5 is the first of three chapters that draw on the original empirical research conducted for this thesis. This chapter first traces the influence of transnational actors in Zambia back to the country's colonial legacy, and then through the periods of structural adjustment and poverty reduction strategy papers, including the effects of aid, debt and conditionality, thereby putting the more recent promotion of the social protection agenda into historical and transnational perspective. The chapter goes on to elaborate the ways in which the recent global social protection agenda has been promoted in Zambia, paying attention to pre-existing social protection programmes and their origins. It then goes on to apply the conceptual framework developed in Chapter 3 to social health insurance – a long-standing but slow moving policy debate in Zambia – as a case study of policy transfer.

Chapters 6 then focuses on the country's social cash transfer programme. Based on empirical data gathered through primary research in Zambia, this chapter conducts an in-depth analysis of the promotion and adoption of this policy, particularly the interaction of this global social policy idea with existing ideas and interests in Zambia. The focus is on the shift to increased national ownership that occurred in 2013 when the government budget for the scheme was significantly increased.

Chapter 7 then goes on to investigate the implementation of the cash transfer policy from the time of the programme scale up in 2014 until early 2017. Also based on original primary research, this chapter tracks the next phase of the policy in terms of implementation, and conducts a similarly in-depth analysis of how cash transfers have been received in local sites in Zambia. Tracing the global policy idea of social cash transfers to the local level it examines how reactions from the local political, bureaucratic and public arenas begin to emerge and contribute to continued policy development.

Chapter 8 summarises the key empirical findings, and draws together the analysis of the ways in which global policy ideas interact with policy process and politics at national and local levels. It then presents the thesis conclusions, outlining the theoretical and policy implications as well as identifying areas for further research.

2. Formulating, promoting and implementing global policy ideas: the politics of policy transfer

2.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to situate the formulation, promotion and implementation of global policy ideas within the existing literature on policy processes and policy transfer. In doing so, this chapter will make three theoretical propositions, based on a review of the key contributions to each of these fields of study. Observing that there is limited overlap between work on national policy processes and on 'global policy', the chapter first extends the methodologically nationalist focus of the policy process literature to incorporate global policy ideas, in recognition of the increasingly transnationalised nature of policy-making. Second, where implementation tends to be treated separately from the rest of the policy process with a focus on whether policy objectives have been achieved, the chapter draws attention to the potential of implementation to influence policy development. Third, the chapter compares rational and constructivist approaches to policy transfer, and challenges the rational approach to decision-making that permeates much of the policy transfer literature. It goes on to demonstrate that critical constructivism, which highlights the importance of ideas and actors, is a more appropriate lens for studying the negotiated and contested nature of transnational policy processes in the context of globalisation.

The chapter proceeds as follows: Section 2.2 addresses the evolution of the literature on policy processes, first examining the politics of policy processes at the national level and then extending the focus to global policy. The formation of global policies requires the transfer of these policies into country contexts, which makes it distinctive from national policy-making. Section 2.3 goes on to explore the various approaches to policy transfer, which include diffusion, emulation and translation, in order to determine the most appropriate conceptualisation for this study. This includes an analysis of rationalist and constructivist approaches to policy transfer in section 2.4, which identifies the central role of ideas. Section 2.5 then proposes ways in which global, national and local processes may interact, considering transnational strategies for promoting global ideas in national contexts and identifying the domestic factors that are likely to affect the reception of these ideas. This section also identifies the importance of implementation, which has so far received little attention compared to the other stages of the process, in terms of how global policy ideas continue to be shaped by local level dynamics. Finally, section 2.6 sets out the case for cash transfers and social health insurance as examples of global policy

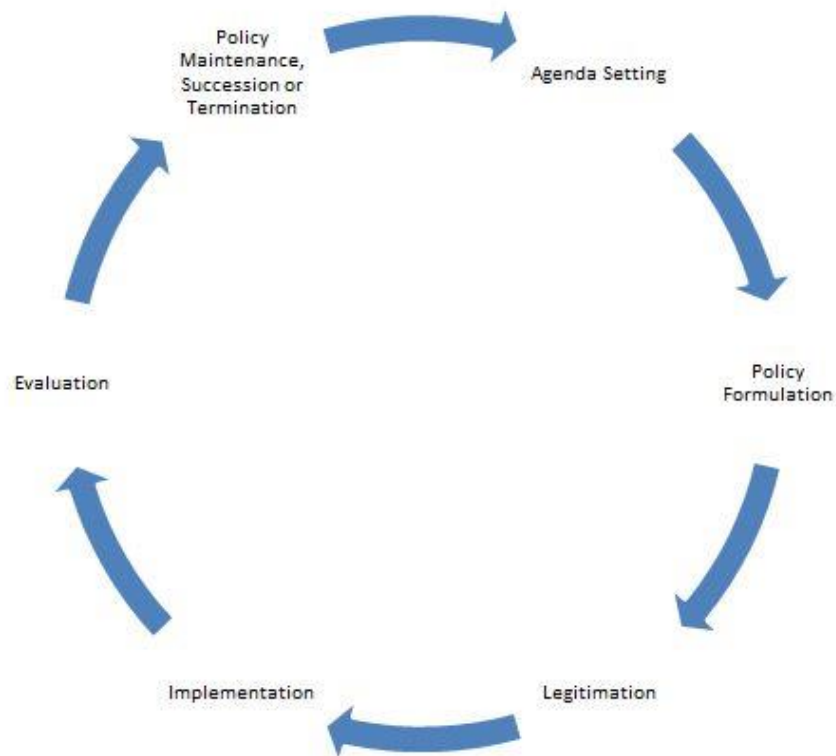
models, within a broader social protection agenda. The thesis goes on to trace these policy ideas in Zambia, and to examine the interaction with domestic policy and political processes at national and local levels. The conclusion summarises the three key propositions drawn from the literature, which will provide the basis for the construction of a conceptual framework in the following chapter.

2.2. Cycles or streams? Policy processes at global and national levels

2.2.1. National policy

National public policy-making has been defined as “a set of processes, including at least 1) the setting of the agenda 2) specification of alternatives from which a choice is to be made 3) an authoritative choice among those specified alternatives, as in a legislative vote or a presidential decision 4) the implementation of the decision” (Kingdon, 1984: 3), involving “an extremely complex set of interacting elements over time” (Sabatier, 1999: 3). Scholars have long identified the policy process as being divided into different stages (Brewer, 1974; Lasswell, 1956). While there is variation in the stages across different models, they usually include agenda-setting; policy formulation; decision-making; implementation and evaluation (Howlett et al., 2016). Interpretations have largely moved from a linear and sequential understanding of the stages to a policy cycle model, such as the example in Figure 1 from Cairney’s (2011) work on understanding public policy. This model, drawn from work on the UK and the US, substitutes ‘decision-making’ with ‘legitimation’, introducing the element of support, approval or consent for a policy idea.

Figure 1: The generic policy cycle



Source: Cairney, 2011

While the shift to a cycle framework goes some way to recognising the iterative nature of policy-making, the ‘stages’ heuristic continues to be criticised for offering an idealised image of the process, with no room for power, agency or framing (Howlett et al., 2016, 2015). The policy cycle has also been described as a “production model” of policy, reflecting the cognitive steps of a rational decision-making process (Fischer, 1989: 944). Attempts have been made to account for the cognitive limitations of decision-makers, both in terms of available information and computational capacity. Bounded rationality recognises that real-world behaviour diverges from the ideal-typical rational choice model and proposes that one or more of its assumptions be relaxed, for example decision-makers can be considered to be satisficers rather than utility maximisers (Simon, 1997). However, accounts based on rationality fail to capture the “struggle over ideas” (Stone, 1988 in Fischer, 1989: 944), or to engage persuasively with the politics of policy-making. Sabatier (1991) argues that the policy cycle model should be replaced altogether as the stages do not provide a causal theory of the policy process. As a heuristic rather than a theory it can be used to descriptively distinguish between different components of the

policy process, but it is important to recognise that these 'stages' are neither isolated nor linear.

An alternative approach to policy-making, which counters the rational model of decision-making, is John Kingdon's (1984) 'multiple streams' framework, which considers the interaction of forces driving the policy process, including receptivity and influence within the political sphere. Where stages and cycles approaches focus on tasks and activities, a streams approach focuses more directly on the role of actors and events (Howlett et al., 2016). Kingdon distinguishes between three streams: the problem stream emphasises problem recognition and the political stakes in defining a condition as a problem "appropriate for governmental action" (1984: 111); the policy stream focuses on the key actors involved in generating and promoting policy ideas; political receptivity within the political stream influences the prospects of a policy idea. Kingdon provides the useful concept of a 'policy window' to explain why some policy ideas are taken up and not others, depending on the alignment of the streams.

The multiple streams approach highlights the role of ideational processes and the importance of alignment between the different streams for the uptake of a policy idea. While this framework was developed by Kingdon for understanding agenda-setting in the context of the US political system, it has since been applied to a wide variety of case studies across 65 countries and 22 policy areas, with health and environment being the most common policy areas examined (Jones et al., 2016). It has also been extended, in some cases with adaptations, to other aspects of the policy process (Béland and Howlett, 2016; Howlett et al., 2016, 2015), demonstrating its versatility across a range of contexts.

Nonetheless criticisms of the multiple streams approach persist, particularly that Kingdon's figurative language can lead to lack of clarity regarding the key concepts, making them difficult to operationalise (Herweg et al., 2015; Howlett et al., 2016). To address this critique, Herweg et al. (2015) propose that the framework needs to be adapted appropriately when applied to other policy stages, political systems or units of analysis, with precise operational definitions relevant to the context. Also, although Kingdon emphasises that couplings of the streams are not random, Jann and Wegrich (2007) argue that not enough attention is paid to the ways in which power relations and societal biases, such as race, gender and class, privilege certain couplings over others. This is a critique which can be applied more broadly to the policy process literature which does not adequately theorise gender. Bensimon and Marshall (1997; 2003) clearly identify the limitations of conventional policy analysis which largely overlooks power asymmetries

and gender bias. They persuasively argue for the need to problematize policies that are assumed to be gender neutral in order to consider their biases concerning social roles and differential impacts of policies on women, which is highly relevant for welfare and social protection policies. To date, however, there are limited examples of analytical frameworks engaging in feminist critical policy analysis, with Marshall's (1997) work on education being a notable exception.

Howlett et al. (2016, 2015) propose a five-stream model, which adds two additional streams – programme and process – at the policy formulation and decision-making stages. Acknowledging the risk of mixing metaphors, these authors attempt to reconcile the stages and streams approaches. However, with its five streams, 'whirlpools' of appraisal and multiple confluence points, the resulting framework loses the parsimony of its three stream origin. Nonetheless, it does draw attention to an aspect of the process usually omitted from policy frameworks: design. The programme thread includes the selection, deployment and recalibration of policy instruments, recognising that there are different ways of translating a policy idea into a 'workable product' (Howlett et al., 2016). This does not take place at a single point but throughout the process, as new instruments are introduced and integrated with existing ones (Howlett et al., 2015). Design also continues into the implementation phase as the chosen instruments give form to a government decision, highlighting the links between policy formulation, decision-making and implementation (Howlett and Ramesh, 2003).

Although implementation is identified as a stage of both national and global policy-making processes in the definitions identified, it tends to be treated as a distinct field of study (Saetren, 2005), overlooking the ways in which implementation can alter or reverse the policy (Grindle and Thomas, 1991; Sutton, 1999). Thomas and Grindle (1990) point out that decision-making is usually associated with politics, while implementation is considered to be an administrative activity. These authors then propose that implementation is "an interactive and ongoing process of decision-making by policy elites (political and bureaucratic officials who have decision-making responsibilities and whose decisions become authoritative for society) and managers (implementers) in response to actual or anticipated reactions to reformist initiatives" (Thomas and Grindle, 1990: 1165), which is the definition adopted in this study.

The first generation of implementation studies focused largely on examples of failure, with Pressman and Wildavsky's (1984) work on an unsuccessful employment programme in Oakland, USA being a case in point. The second generation began to introduce

theoretical approaches to implementation research, divided into the 'top-down' or 'bottom-up' schools. From the top-down perspective, exemplified by Sabatier and Mazmanian's (1980) framework of analysis, implementation was considered to be the administrative delivery of a centrally-determined policy, while the bottom-up perspective introduced the role of local actors in negotiating as well as delivering policy (Pülzl & Treib in Fischer et al., 2006). The latter gives a greater role to bureaucrats, interest groups or citizens depending on the approach (Keeley and Scoones, 2000), with Michael Lipsky's (1983) theory that the discretionary role of 'street level bureaucrats' in delivering services made them essential actors in policy implementation being particularly influential here. Lipsky argues that the decision and actions of street-level bureaucrats "effectively *become* the public policies they carry out" (Hill, 2014: 389). The third generation of implementation research aims to bridge the gaps between these top-down and bottom-up approaches, recognising the role of both central and local actors (Pülzl & Treib in Fischer et al., 2006). Goggin et al. (1990) emphasise that implementers are political actors in their own right, with a key role in negotiating with central authorities. Grindle and Thomas also highlight the importance of bureaucrats and the public in implementing or rejecting policy reform, recognising that "interested parties can exert pressure for change at many points" (1991: 126).

Implementation is the stage at which reactions to the policy from local bureaucrats, target populations and the wider public emerge (Grindle and Thomas, 1991). Once a policy is being implemented, stakeholders may seek to protect or reform it depending on their understanding of, and relationship to, the programme and its benefits or lack thereof (Campbell, 2011). In this way policies can create constituencies with incentives to protect their own benefits, which is likely to be based on self-interest and may or may not reflect public interests (Campbell, 2012; Ingram and Smith, 2011; Pierson, 1994). Studies on policy feedback also find that "public programs themselves shape the ability, interest and opportunities of citizens to participate politically" (Campbell, 2012: 342). For example, a study found that recipients of a social insurance programme in the United States are more likely to be politically active than recipients of a public assistance programme, at least in part due to the differing lessons they learn about government and demand-making through participation in the respective programmes (Soss, 1999).

While there is now an extensive literature on the policy process, much of this work focuses on the national sphere. Stone 'stretches' the policy cycle heuristic to global and regional levels, to highlight the "higher degree of pluralization of actors as well as the multiple and contested modes of authority structures than is usually the case at national

levels of policymaking” (2008: 2). However, the difficulty of applying the policy stages approach in a global context due to lack of clear authority, legitimacy and coordination of global actors limits the usefulness of this approach. The following section examines the increasingly globalised nature of some areas of public policy and the potential for further links between these bodies of literature.

2.2.2. Policy-making in the ‘global agora’

The literature on policy-making in global policy spaces is diverse and the concept of global policy is not always clearly defined, due in large part to the range of approaches and policy areas encompassed under this broad term. Stone (2008) points to the variety of ways of describing different aspects of this phenomenon including ‘global public policy’, ‘global governance’ and ‘global programmes’, applied to policy areas ranging from global finance and trade policy to the environment, migration and population growth. In the field of social policy, Deacon et al. (1997) have observed that national social policies are being shaped by influences beyond country borders, as international organisations are increasingly involved in domestic policymaking (in Foli and Béland, 2014). This has particularly been the case in developing countries, where the international financing institutions (IFIs) have promoted wide-ranging policy reforms (Kahler et al., 1992). Post-colonial countries may also have an ‘imperial legacy’ that continues to influence their social policies and programmes (Midgley and Piachaud, 2011).

There are two main features that make global policy-making distinctive from the national policy-making processes addressed in the previous section. The first is that global policy actors are directly involved in policy formulation, and the second is that global policy-making processes entail the additional dimension of ‘diffusing’ global policy ideas to national settings (Orenstein, 2008, 2005). Global policies are therefore defined as “those that are developed, diffused, and implemented with the direct involvement of global policy actors and coalitions at or across the international, national or local levels of governance” (Orenstein, 2005: 177).

Stone proposes the term ‘global agora’ to describe the expanding global policy space “shaped by the interactions of its actors”, with some actors being more powerful and persuasive than others within this space (Stone, 2008: 21). She emphasises that policy debate in the global agora is not necessarily democratic but often managed by an elite transnational policy community, which has implications for the engagement of national

politicians, policy actors and citizens in influencing decisions in areas of 'globalised' policy. A diverse range of actors have gained power through processes of globalisation, particularly those with transnational links and resources (Lee et al., 2002). Rushton and Williams (2012) suggest that in the area of global health, international actors such as the World Health Organisation (WHO) and UNICEF tend to consider policy as being transmitted 'downwards' from the global to national space, whereas other scholars, for example Lee et al., (2002), consider global health policy-making to also take place at national and local levels. This interplay between actors at different levels requires further specification, in order to understand the mechanisms at work within a transnationalised policy-making process.

Deacon et al. (1997) identify the key elements of global social policy as being global redistributive mechanisms, global regulatory mechanisms, elements of global provision and empowerment. They are particularly concerned about citizens who are failed by their governments and therefore propose to omit national government, arguing for "the empowerment of citizens before a global court of social rights" (1997: 213 in Deacon, 2007: 110). However this approach rather overplays the remit and legitimacy of transnational structures and underplays the continued significance of national political and policy actors in the formulation and delivery of social policies. This emphasises the importance of studying the interaction between global and national processes, particularly as former low-income countries are gaining access to alternative resource flows, such as natural resource revenues, and becoming less reliant on donors.

2.2.3. The emergence of global social policy

The creation of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1919, with its focus on social justice, was a milestone in the origins of international co-operation on social affairs and international standards. In the 1920s and 1930s, the ILO adopted conventions and recommendations on labour standards, including the provision of social security, which were introduced mainly in European countries but also increasingly 'overseas' (Seekings, 2008). During this period, colonial powers were also influencing policies around the world through legislation such as the British Colonial Development Act in 1929. The 1942 Beveridge Report on social policy reform in Britain informed the ILO's Philadelphia Declaration in 1944, which included a recommendation (No. 67) on income security, stating that "provision for needs not covered by compulsory social insurance should be made by social assistance" (ILO, 1944).

Following World War II, international collaboration was established on a permanent basis with the formation of agencies such as the United Nations (UN) and later the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (Obinger et al., 2013). These agencies promote the exchange of information and experience on social policy, with the OECD's mission being 'to promote policies that will improve the economic and social well-being of people around the world.'⁵ These global influences shaped social policy choices across a diverse range of countries; for example the expansion of mass schooling in the period after World War II, and human rights policies, underpinned by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent UN conventions and treaties (Dobbin et al., 2007: 451).

In other cases, policies have been introduced through conditionality applied to financial assistance, for example the structural adjustment loans of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank in the 1980s. These interventions aimed to enhance international stability and national security or avoid financial instability and debt. Structural adjustment consists of a set of policy prescriptions derived from a neoliberal economic model, which aims to achieve stability, liberalization and deregulation. Termed the Washington Consensus due to its presumed acceptance and promotion by Washington-based institutions, including Congress, the economic agencies of the US government and the IFIs (Williamson, 1990), this approach represented "a shift in the ways in which development policies were framed and in the types of explanation through which policies were justified" (Gore, 2000: 790). The focus on macroeconomic issues within structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) demonstrated the prioritisation of economic over social goals (Brock et al., 2001), with the effects of adjustment on the poor being largely overlooked. It was UNICEF that drew attention to the negative social impacts of the SAPs with their call for "adjustment with a human face" (Cornia et al., 1987), influencing the World Bank and other agencies to take these concerns seriously (Jolly, 1991). Criticisms of structural adjustment in Africa came from Thandika Mkandawire, Charles Soludo and Adebayo Olukoshi, among others. Mkandawire and Soludo (2003) point out the development of the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes in 1990, a human-centred framework spearheaded by the UN-Economic Commission for Africa. Most African governments signed up to this framework, but it received short shift from the IFIs and gained little traction. Olukoshi (1998) argues that both these critiques

⁵ See the OECD website: <http://www.oecd.org/about/>

are focused on adding a social dimension to the macro-economic prescriptions and do not address the political aspects of development.

Other challenges to the SAPs have included a Southern Consensus, which Gore described as “a convergence between East Asian developmentalism and Latin American neostructuralism” (2000: 789), but which remained ‘latent’. The emergence of a ‘post-Washington Consensus’ seemed to be a more promising alternative paradigm, with its focus on equitable and sustainable development and shift away from ‘one size fits all’ policies (Stiglitz, 2008). However as Fine et al. (2003) observed, this widened focus also extended the scope of intervention by transnational actors. For example, while ostensibly giving governments more control over policies through their participatory nature, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) experiment of the late 1990s and 2000s continued to be an instrument of political and economic conditionality which constrained government policy-making (Brock et al., 2001). Sumner (2006) identifies a further alternative: the New York consensus or Millennium ‘meta-narrative’, which links macro-economic policies and poverty reduction strategies with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). During the 1990s, the UN held a series of summits and conferences, including the Rio Earth Summit and the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. In particular, the UN World Summit for Social Development held in Copenhagen in 1995 made a crucial contribution to the emerging global consensus that poverty reduction should be the main priority for development. At this meeting – the largest that had ever been held – 117 heads of state and government agreed to the target to eradicate extreme poverty by 2015, which was the starting point for the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) process (Hulme, 2010).

This trajectory has contributed to the ‘socialization of global policy’ and concurrently the ‘globalization of (national) social policy’ (Deacon, 2007; Gliszczynski and Leisering, 2016; Hickey and Seekings, 2017; Peck, 2011a), which makes understanding the specific ways in which global ideas interact with national policy processes paramount. Moving beyond policy stages or cycles, which assume a rational decision-making process, the multiple streams approach is more appropriate for this research which emphasises the importance of politics. The next section goes on to examine the distinctive features of global policy – the involvement of global actors in policy formulation and the addition of policy diffusion or transfer – in more detail, considering how these could be integrated with the multiple streams framework.

2.3. Towards translation: the formulation and movement of global policy ideas

The increasingly globalised nature of policy-making outlined above is leading to “*deepening transnational interdependence* in political decision-making and policy development” (Peck, 2011: 786, italics in original). While policy interdependence can encompass various types of policy movement, such as peer learning between countries, this research focuses on the role of global actors in formulating policy ideas and transmitting them to national contexts. Global public policy-making encompasses a specific set of processes as follows: policy development; policy diffusion and policy implementation (Gliszczynski and Leisering, 2016; Orenstein, 2008). This section examines the literature on each of these processes in turn.

2.3.1. Global policy development

Orenstein (2005) identifies two main aspects of global policy development: devising new policy ideas and formulating policy change in a particular area. He compares these aspects with the ‘agenda setting’ and ‘policy formulation’ stages of the conventional domestic policy cycle, but extends policy networks and coalitions to include global actors. Members of these policy networks have a working or professional knowledge of the substantive issues and advance solutions to policy problems as well as discussing feasibility of various options (Fischer, 2003: 15-16). Going beyond a rational approach to individual behaviour, Orenstein (2005) incorporates an actor-centred approach which highlights the importance of networks, coalitions and epistemic communities interacting with national level actors. Global policy formulation is therefore the product of both national and transnational political processes (Deacon et al., 2009b).

With a wide range of actors engaged in global policy development, there are likely to be competing priorities in terms of issues, problem definitions and policy solutions, with actors proposing alternative frames (Rushton and Williams, 2012). Global policies or models are usually implemented at national level, and therefore the first country or agency to adopt a new policy is important for testing a policy innovation and will influence later adopting countries. Orenstein (2005) calls the first adopting country a ‘laboratory’, and demonstrates this argument using the example of pension privatization across the world. In this case Chile was the policy laboratory in the early 1980s, developing a neoliberal pension reform as part of a shift towards market-oriented policies. A transnational coalition

of global policy actors, with resources from the World Bank, supported these reforms and promoted a flexible template allowing for adaptations of the model in a range of contexts. The pension reforms spread to 26 countries in addition to Chile between 1992 and 2004.

A technocratic approach to the policy development process proposes that social science is an independent force in 'evidence-based' policy development, with a privileged role for knowledge networks and epistemic communities. Evidence-based policy-making represents an effort to prioritise evidence and data during decision-making. It also aims to increase the likelihood of policy success through processes of evaluation and learning (Howlett, 2009). However, what is considered to be valid data and acceptable evidence is highly political (Keeley and Scoones, 2000). Work on the sociology of science has emphasised the constructed nature of scientific knowledge, which then contributes to the framing of issues such as the global climate change agenda (Keeley and Scoones, 2000; Shackley and Wynne, 1995). From a critical viewpoint, scientific expertise can be used to maintain paradigms and normalise power (Stone, 2008).

2.3.2. Global policy transfer

Gilardi (2014) identifies three perspectives on policy movement as follows: diffusion, transfer and convergence. It is crucial to recognise that while these terms are often conflated, they entail different mechanisms for explaining policy change (Stone, 2012), which will be unpacked in this section. There is also an emerging literature on 'policy translation' which leads to mutation rather than replication as policies interact with local environments (Peck and Theodore, 2010a). 'Translation' entails a greater level of domestic agency than diffusion, transfer or convergence.

Policy diffusion refers to the ways in which "an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among members of a social system" (Berry and Berry in Sabatier, 1999: 171). Policy transfer is the process by which "knowledge about how policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one time and/or place is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another time and/or place" (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996: 344). The main difference is that transfer emphasises knowledge and intentional processes or agency, while diffusion is usually explained as being structural and non-intentional (Obinger et al., 2013: 113). Policy convergence entails increasing similarity in policies over time (Bennett, 1991 in

Gilardi, 2014). Convergence therefore relates to policy outcomes, while diffusion and transfer denote processes (Obinger et al., 2013).

Early policy diffusion studies were developed to explain adoption of innovations within the American federal system (Walker, 1969), across internal state boundaries with a shared political basis. This approach has since been extended to study regional blocs, such as the European Union, and also the international level. While some studies have argued for neighbourhood effects to explain regional policy diffusion (e.g. Sugiyama, 2011; Weyland, 2009), the explanation is not necessarily geographical. Neighbouring units may not be strongly related, while interdependence can exist between countries that are not geographically proximate (Gilardi, 2014). Diffusion studies often aim to explain policy adoption across a range of cases, such as Brooks' (2015) analysis of social assistance reforms in the global South, and Weyland's (2009) study of pension and health reform in Bolivia, Brazil, Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Peru. Cairney (2009) applies a policy transfer lens to the adoption of smoking ban policies across the UK, to examine the complex decision-making processes that led to differences in policy development in Northern Ireland, Wales, Scotland and England.

Studies that frame these processes as transfer and diffusion focus on patterns and mechanisms to identify the 'ideal' conditions under which transfer can be successful. Different policy elements can be transferred through five distinct but overlapping modalities: broad policy ideals or goals, with a focus on outcome; institutions including constitutional apparatus; regulatory, administrative or judiciary tools through specific laws; ideas and ideologies as inputs rather than outcomes, in the form of underlying ideas such as new public management; transfer of personnel, for example commissions or individual consultants (Stone, 2012). There is a tendency in the transfer literature to present the process as either rational voluntary lesson-learning (Evans, 2004), "contagious rather than chosen" diffusion (Stone, 2012: 484; see also Stone, 2008; Weyland, 2009), or as coercion, such as the domestic reforms linked to financial aid by the international financing institutions (Obinger et al., 2013). However, recent scholarship on policy mobility and mutation, or policy translation, charts a more nuanced course recognising that policies are not transferred intact but evolve during processes of contestation and negotiation (Peck and Theodore, 2010a).

Policy translation recognises policy as meaning-making and foregrounds the role of ideas, actors and power at all levels of the policy process. This approach posits that "a series of interesting, and sometimes even surprising, disturbances can occur in the spaces

between the ‘creation’, the ‘transmission’ and the ‘interpretation’ or ‘reception’ of policy meanings” (Lendvai and Stubbs, 2007: 4). Translation highlights the complexity of the contexts into which global policies are transferred, emphasising the space for mutation and transformation (Peck, 2011a; Peck and Theodore, 2010a; Stone, 2012). This approach is closely associated with critical policy studies and political geography (McCann and Ward, 2012; Peck and Theodore, 2010a), and has been used to investigate policy mobilities. Using cases including drug policy in Vancouver (McCann, 2008) and anti-poverty policy in New York City (Peck and Theodore, 2010b), these authors explore how expertise in the form of mobile people, products and knowledge is engaged to push favoured global policy solutions in domestic settings. The latter study demonstrates that transnationalised policy mobility can occur in multiple directions, using the example of a conditional cash transfer introduced in New York City, which was modelled on Mexico’s *Oportunidades* programme (Peck and Theodore, 2010b), thereby problematizing a reductive understanding of policy transfer being a linear process from Global North to Global South or from global to national. This policy mobilities approach particularly highlights the role of domestic political pressures in shaping the outcomes of transnationalised policy dialogues. However, it is less explicit about which domestic political factors matter within the “intrinsic politics to the policy transfer process” (Peck and Theodore, 2010a: 169).

2.3.3. *Implementation of global policies*

A study of policy implementation research conducted by Harald Saetren in 2005 found a regional bias towards North America, with 69% of publications having either a North American empirical focus or American/Canadian authors. In contrast, policy implementation in Africa has been under-studied, with just 4% of the research being conducted in Africa. Research on international or global policy implementation comprised only 3% of the publications (Saetren, 2005), which tallies with the narrow field of literature available on this topic.

There is also remarkably little about implementation in the majority of the literature on global social policy cited in the preceding sections. While these studies have largely found that transnational actors are becoming increasingly powerful in the areas of policy development and transfer within the ‘global agora’, their role in implementation appears to be more problematic. Stone (2008) draws attention to the lack of authority and means among international organisations to enforce policy compliance, which is likely to limit their

involvement in implementation. The implementation of global policies requires cooperation with national and local state authorities (Orenstein, 2005; Stone, 2008), and the role of transnational actors is often to provide technical assistance, such as the technical advice from United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the World Bank on pension reforms in Latin America and Central Asia (Müller, 2003; Orenstein, 2005).

A recent study that begins to address the gap in research on policy implementation in sub-Saharan Africa is Béland and Ridde's (2016) work on the removal of user fees. This research makes an important contribution to the debate, particularly in recognising the role of local bureaucrats in mediating policy ideas at the local level. The study rightly highlights the potential for conflict between the ideas and interests of national government and those of local bureaucrats, but does not explicitly consider how the introduction of global ideas may influence this dynamic, despite user fees being a part of global health policy promoted by transnational actors.

Just as the rational and linear interpretations of the policy process at the national level fall short in understanding the role of actors and ideas, so explanations of policy diffusion and transfer are limited in understanding how policy ideas are received. Policy formation and transformation need instead be considered to be socially constructed processes. Policy translation makes a promising start here by considering the ways in which these processes are shaped by power relations and shifting ideological alignments (Peck and Theodore, 2010). However, the domestic political factors that matter need to be identified and more attention is needed to the agency of actors at national and local levels. Furthermore, while Thomas and Grindle's (1990) interactive model considers the characteristics of reforms that shape reactions to the policy in the public and bureaucratic arenas, the reception of global policy ideas at local level during implementation is yet to be explored.

2.4. Comparing rationalist and constructivist approaches to policy transfer

The approaches to policy transfer outlined above can be broadly categorised into accounts based on rational actor assumptions of self-interested decision-making by individuals or groups, and challenges to this rationalist approach. The critiques take the forms of bounded rationality (Simon, 1997, 1990), which recognises the role of 'cognitive shortcuts' rather than comprehensive analysis when making policy decisions (Obinger et al., 2013; Weyland, 2009), and critical constructivist perspectives, which draw attention to

the politics of the policy process and the role of power relations and ideas in shaping the behaviour of agents (for example Peck and Theodore, 2015, 2010a; Stone, 2012). The first and second generations of literature on policy transfer and diffusion have been identified as broadly rationalist in their approach (Stone, 2012). Policy translation tends to take the form of constructivist accounts, focusing on the relational interaction between policy-making sites (Peck, 2011a). These recognise the negotiated and contested nature of the policy process during which global ideas and policies mutate and adapt when they come into contact with domestic settings.

As well as proposing different theories of explanation, these approaches also have different objectives. Rationalists offer testable theories, and “are almost always willing to sacrifice nuance for generalisability, and detail for logic” (Levi, 1997: 21). On the other hand, interpretivist scholars prioritise thick description to provide an understanding of both process and outcome (Hopf, 1998), and question the possibility of prediction and generalisation (Lincoln and Guba, 2013).

2.4.1. Rational-actor approaches and bounded rationality

Early policy diffusion and transfer studies generally adopted a rational-actor approach, treating the policy-maker as “an optimizing, rational actor, scanning the ‘market’ for potential policy products” (Peck, 2011: 776). The definition of rational behaviour as self-interested, calculating and optimizing is based on economic theory (Sen, 1977), and can focus on outcomes (substantive rationality) or processes (procedural rationality) (Simon, 1997). This concept has been extended to political science, sociology and policy studies, bringing “technocratic, positivistic and economistic tendencies” to the practice of policy analysis (deLeon in Fischer, 1989: 943). The rational choice approach can explain outcomes when preferences are settled, but struggles to explain where preferences come from and why they change (John, 2003). The advantage of this approach is the predictive power of the models (Friedman and Hechter, 1988; Hall and Taylor, 1996). However, the rationalist underpinnings have been criticised by a range of scholars emphasising the limitations of comprehensive rationality in ‘real world’ policy-making, and the complexity of the policy context. For example, Weyland observes that “rather than systematically assessing the relevant information and performing careful, well-balanced cost-benefit analyses, policy-makers often act under considerable time pressure and confront great uncertainty” (2009: 44-45).

The first strand of the critique of rationality maintains the parameters of rational decision-making but proposes instead ‘bounded rationality’, which recognises these limitations and argues that policy actors are satisficers rather than maximisers (Simon, 1997, 1990). Using cognitive heuristics, policy actors use inferences and shortcuts in their decision-making. Applying ‘bounded rationality’ to the case of pension privatisation in Latin America, Weyland (2009) argues that heuristics of availability, representativeness and anchoring made the outcome rationally suboptimal. The availability heuristic refers to the excessive weight people put on information that is particularly dramatic and immediate, thereby grabbing attention. Representativeness encourages people to draw inferences from a small sample leading to over-generalisation. Anchoring places disproportionate value on the original model and limits adaptation to specific needs (Weyland, 2009). Features of the Chilean pension privatization model aiming to address deficiencies in the existing pay-as-you-go system led to early success and attracted the attention of policymakers in the region, including Brazil, Bolivia and Peru, which replicated this model. However, in the case of Peru for example, anchoring produced negative effects that deviating from the Chilean model could have avoided (Weyland, 2005). Tversky and Kahneman (1974) argue that while heuristics are useful and can be effective, they also lead to systematic biases and errors. The ‘bounded rationality’ approach relaxes the “unrealistic behavioural assumptions” (Friedman and Hechter, 1988: 212) of rational choice models, while maintaining a focus on outcomes based on actor interests (Weyland, 2005).

2.4.2. Constructivism and critical policy studies

Departing from the rationalist model altogether, critical policy scholars have adopted a constructivist approach, highlighting the ideologically and socially constructed nature of the environments in which policy mobility occurs (Peck and Theodore, 2015). Where rational choice theory is characterised by methodological individualism (Friedman and Hechter, 1988), constructivism adopts an intersubjective theory of action, with an analysis of power being central to the approach (Guzzini, 2000). From this perspective, power has both material and discursive dimensions. Critical constructivism highlights underlying power relations in order to interrogate and challenge them (Hopf, 1998).

Constructivism stands in contrast to positivism in its emphasis on meaning-making and the social construction and mediation of knowledge (Yilmaz, 2008). It is widely adopted in a range of disciplines including anthropology and philosophy, as well as increasingly in

international relations, as a challenge to rationalism in this field (Adler in Carlsnaes et al., 2012). Sociologists have studied public policy transfer through the lens of social constructivism since the 1970s, considering both legitimate ends and appropriate means as shared social constructs that can vary between place and time (Dobbin et al., 2007: 450-451). In policy studies there has been a post-positivist call for an “understanding of the discursive struggle to create and control systems of shared social meaning”, in reaction to the positivist emphasis on ‘technical rationality’ (Fischer et al., 2009: 2).

Constructivists highlight how international agencies and governments construct theories of action and behaviour, with David Mosse's (2005) ethnography of aid policy and practice, and Tania Murray Li's (2007a) work on development and the practice of politics providing critical insights into development practice in western India and Indonesia respectively. Understanding how policy ideas are received and accepted (or not) is important for studying transfer. Constructivism emphasises the importance of ideas in different forms, although these ideas do not operate autonomously of the actors that hold them or the fields of power within which they operate. Critical constructivists argue that powerful groups have a privileged role in the process of construction, with ideas being tied up with relations of power (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001).

2.4.3. Ideas and interests

A key assumption of rational choice theory is that actors have given and fixed preferences, values or utilities, and basic models give little consideration to preference-formation (Friedman and Hechter, 1988). On the other hand, constructivism incorporates multiple ideational factors such as generative and constitutive norms, operational and aspirational norms, discourses and causal beliefs (Haas, 2004). Ideational approaches do not usually reject interests, but emphasise that they are subject to construction and interpretation rather than being objective and fixed (Béland and Cox, 2011). However, Hay (2011) draws attention to ongoing inconsistencies in the conceptualisation of interests in social science, specifically whether interests are ‘real’ or perceived. Hay makes the case that material interests assume perfect information and can therefore only ever be hypothetical and idealized. Rather, actors are strategic and must rely on incomplete perceptions of a context to realise their contingent goals. As Lavers summarises: “from this constructivist perspective, there is no such thing as material interest, rather interests are only ever perceived interests that are based on an individual’s subjective interpretation of material reality based on a set of causal beliefs” (2018: 6). While interests are not fixed

or given, they tend to be relatively stable, and can therefore appear to be 'real' interests (Hay, 2011; Lavers, 2018).

Importantly, a constructivist understanding gives a central role in analysis to agency, recognising that actors "possess agency, free will and the capacity to reshape the environment in which they find themselves – though, of course, not necessarily as they intend" (Hay, 2011: 71). From this perspective, neither ideas nor interests can be separated from the actors that advance ideas and whose perceptions of their own interests are, in turn, shaped by them (Béland, 2014; Campbell, 2004; Lavers, 2018). An increasing emphasis on the influence of ideas and representations has led to a shift in public policy analysis to consider the dynamics of social construction of reality in the shaping of historically specific and socially legitimate frames and practices (Surel, 2000). In this context, studying the movement of ideas and techniques is imperative for understanding the mobilization of policy (Peck and Theodore, 2010).

Ideas operate at different levels within the policy process and there is a broad consensus across different strands of literature that there are three main types of ideas, which are all relevant for the type of policy discussions in this study. The first is that of policy ideas or solutions, which address why some policy choices are adopted and not others; the second is problem definition, which aims to understand agenda-setting and the framing of policy problems; the third type has been identified as philosophy, paradigm or world view (Béland and Cox, 2011; Hall, 1993; Schmidt, 2008). Paradigms serve as road maps, through a relatively coherent set of principles and casual beliefs (Béland, 2005; Campbell, 2002). Hall (1993) suggests that policy change can occur at the level of settings within a chosen policy instrument (first-order changes), policy instruments (second-order changes), and policy paradigm (third-order change). Hall (1989) also argues that new ideas must be aligned with administrative and political arrangements to ensure their adoption and spread. These typologies broadly align with Kingdon's (1984) streams approach, particularly the framing of problems and policies, which depends on how actors interpret and respond to the world around them (Rushton and Williams, 2012). Ideas also play a role in the political stream as both problems and solutions gain more attention if they fit within existing political and public philosophies. However, the political stream also comprises other factors, which will be detailed in section 2.5.2.

A distinction can also be made between normative ideas, which attach value to political action and influence legitimacy, and cognitive ideas, outlining 'what is and what to do' (Schmidt, 2008). The cognitive approach makes claims on science as "a more codified

and professionally constituted form of knowledge” (Stone, 2001: 16). These cognitive and normative elements are linked to the most appropriate methods and means to achieve defined values and objectives as “they delimit the choice of instruments to implement a particular strategy” (Surel, 2000: 498). Global policy models tend to combine cognitive and normative elements as they are specific proposals to address concrete problems from a particular worldview, while using research findings to justify the model. An example of this is UNICEF’s construction of family allowances as a cash transfer model that best served the needs of children, using research that they had commissioned and funded (Gliszczynski and Leisering, 2016),

The status of actors bearing the ideas also affects their uptake and adoption (Goldstein, 1993). Goldstein gives the example of the slow progress of liberal trade ideas when they were introduced in the United States due to the limited status of actors holding classical economic ideas and their inability to frame these ideas in a politically appealing way. This points to the role of actors and power relations in determining the influence of global ideas on national policy processes. In suggesting that “the acceptance of the idea is more politically relevant than the idea itself” (2012: 489), Stone (2012) also acknowledges the role played by the ‘takers’ or receivers of an idea, with receptivity to ideas being key to understanding ‘policy windows’ (Cairney, 2009). Rather than assuming that ‘good’ policy ideas will necessarily be successful based on their merits, the level of ‘fit’ with existing political structures and underlying ideas and values can influence the persuasiveness of ideas (Goldstein, 1993 in Yee, 1996). This is relevant at both national level during adoption and local level during implementation.

The concept of identifiable interests – and the rationalist approach more broadly – are useful for creating testable predictions in social science research that aims to model the natural sciences. However, the simplifications and heuristics required for predictive, parsimonious theories are limiting for work that goes beyond rational actor assumptions to consider agency. A constructivist approach is therefore more appropriate for a study such as this one, which examines the process of global policy transfer in a particular case in order to identify the interaction between the different factors at play. Acknowledging the longstanding tension regarding the relationship between ideas and interests, this research identifies that both are important in shaping behaviour. The next section goes on to identify the key influences on the promotion and reception of global policy ideas at national and local levels, including the (perceived) interests at work within the multiple streams.

2.5. Transnationalising and localising the multiple streams approach

So far, the chapter has surveyed the extensive literature on national policy-making, and the more limited work to date on global policy formulation. The rise of the 'global agora' (Stone, 2008) does not mean that national policy processes are decreasing in importance, but rather that the global and national spheres are becoming interconnected and increasingly complex as the influences at different levels interact (Orenstein, 2005; Stone, 2008). However, as identified above there is limited overlap between the 'global policy' literature and public policy literature focused on policy-making at national level, although the need to consider the role of policy transfer has been identified (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2012; Dolowitz, 2009). For an investigation of the politics of global policy transfer processes, the multiple streams approach is the most promising approach. It explicitly incorporates political factors influencing the process, which aligns with recent work that has emphasised that politics is central to the uptake of social protection. However global influences have not yet been adequately theorised within the multiple streams and the role of implementation has been under-investigated. This section turns to the interaction between the global, national and local, identifying the factors that may be important at each level and considering how they could lead to the translation of global policy ideas.

2.5.1. Strategies of persuasion: the role of transnational actors in policy processes

The coercive strategy of policy conditionality, which predominated during stabilisation and structural adjustment from the 1970s onwards, became increasingly discredited in the late 1990s and 2000s (Dornan, 2017), facing criticism that the conditions can be difficult to enforce and do not always have the intended effects (Dobbin et al., 2007: 455). Furthermore, a World Bank study on aid and reform in Africa highlighted that "donor conditionality undermines genuine policy learning" (Rakner et al. in Devarajan et al., 2002: 587), with conditionality considered an ineffective method of policy transfer (Stone, 2012). As coercion has been supplemented by strategies of persuasion (Peck and Theodore, 2015), alternative mechanisms for policy influence became more prevalent. These include technical assistance; training and capacity building; collaboration with civil society organisations; and think tanks. Conferences and seminars have also become a means of transmitting policy ideas (Foli and Béland, 2014).

This section identifies three main strategies of persuasion used by transnational actors to promote policy ideas: 'rendering technical'; working politically; and framing. The strategy of rendering an intervention technical is to present it as a technical solution to a (pre)defined problem. To achieve this, the area of intervention must be "bounded, mapped, characterised and documented; the relevant forces and relations identified; and a narrative devised connecting the proposed intervention with the problem it will solve" (Li, 2007: 126). This 'practice of government' (Li, 2007) is achieved through a combination of technologies and strategies. Technologies are "local and multiple, intertwining coherent and contradictory forms of activating and managing a population", while strategies are "theories which explain reality only to the extent that they enable the implementation of a program, the generation of actions... a 'practical object' (practicable) for corrective intervention of government programmes of intervention" (Donzelot, 1979: 77 in Frederiksen, 2010: 168). 'Technologies' are therefore institutional and programmatic apparatus, while 'strategies' are logics, rationalities and schema through which the targets of rule and field of government are identified, delimited and understood (Frederiksen, 2010: 168).

Attempts to render interventions technical aim to simultaneously render the issue non-political (Hickey and Seekings, 2017; Li, 2007). Ferguson illustrates this in his analysis of the 'anti-politics machine' of the development sector in Lesotho, which recasts political realities as technical problems, whilst pursuing political goals (Ferguson, 1990). Sustainable development has been similarly 'depoliticised' through the discourses of globalization and evidence-based policy, although environmental problems and potential solutions are inherently political (Elgert, 2010). From this perspective, policymaking can be seen either instrumentally as rational problem solving or critically as "a rationalising technical discourse concealing hidden purposes of bureaucratic power or dominance, which are the true political intent of development" (Mosse, 2005: 2). An instrumentalist view suggests that "policy is an intrinsically technical, rational, action-oriented instrument that decision makers use to solve problems and affect change" (Shore and Wright, 1997: 5), while for constructivists the "political nature [of policies] is disguised by the objective, neutral, legal-rational idioms in which they are portrayed" (Shore and Wright, 1997: 8). These approaches can serve to obscure but not remove politics, which can be both a relation of power and a practice of contestation (Li, 2007). 'The practice of politics' implies critical challenge, posing a limit on governmentality and creating an inevitable tension between the two.

In addition to the role of 'rendering technical' in promoting social protection in the global South, there has been a shift towards a second strategy of working politically in order to gain support from elites, informed by the emerging agenda on 'thinking and working politically' (Booth and Unsworth, 2014; Hickey and Seekings, 2017). Carothers and Gramont (2013) differentiate between political goals and the use of politically smart methods, although in practice these overlap. An initial step towards politically informed methods was the introduction of political economy analyses, conducted in order to better understand political contexts and to move away from best practice towards best fit. For example, politically smart tactics were engaged to push through 'sin tax' reforms in the Philippines by working with the political realities of the system through a broad-based network of players both within and outside government (Booth, 2014: x).

Thirdly, framing is used as a strategy of persuasion, bound up with issues of legitimacy and appropriateness. Frames are used to "identify, label, describe and interpret problems and to suggest particular ways to respond to them" (Rushton and Williams, 2012: 154). Framing engages with all three levels of ideas identified in section 2.4.3 – policies, problems and paradigms. Frames often draw on existing paradigms, while problem definition includes identifying both the problem and the approach, and is also linked to the availability of a solution (Li, 2007). In their study of 'global health policy', Rushton and Williams (2012) focus on ideas in the form of frames and paradigms (which they argue are closely linked) and the role of power and agency of actors in determining which ideas are mobilised and adopted. They distinguish between an underlying paradigm of neoliberalism, and competing policy paradigms in global health, identifying the extent to which the framing resonates with public understandings as key to determining the likelihood of persuasion. They also demonstrate that the extent to which a proposed policy resonates with underlying paradigms influences its success, for example framing infectious diseases such as influenza as an international security threat has shaped policy responses (Rushton and Williams, 2012).

While transnational actors largely position themselves within the problem and policy streams, they are also political actors. The political nature of aid relationships can manifest itself through direct donor involvement in processes of democratization (Rakner, 2011), but is also present in any negotiations between aid donors and recipient governments (Whitfield, 2008). Aid conditionality also creates dual structures of power and accountability, with ruling elites having to account to their national parliament and to Washington or other external power centres (Bayart and Ellis, 2000; Harrison, 2002).

Specific strategies used by development agencies to frame paradigms, problems and solutions, to render technical and to work politically, will be identified in the empirical chapters to follow, in the cases of social health insurance and cash transfers in Zambia.

2.5.2. Theorising the political stream

It is not only the introduction of global ideas that requires attention but their reception at national and local levels. While Li (2007) and Mosse (2005) both examine the interactions between development actors and national/local contexts, this is often through direct contact with 'beneficiaries' or 'target populations'. For Mosse, the interaction occurs predominantly at village level in his western India case, while Li's case studies include projects in the highlands of Central Sulawesi and in the area of the Lore Lindu National Park in Indonesia. In her case study of the Kecamatan Development Project, project actors bypassed Indonesia's government officials and bureaucratic systems altogether (Li, 2007: 242). When addressing the influence of development actors and ideas on national policy processes, as this research does, it is vital to consider the interaction with domestic policy and political actors. Kingdon's (1984) multiple streams model emphasises the need to consider the political stream and its alignment with the problem and policy streams in order to create a 'window of opportunity' for a policy idea. The policy translation approach suggests that policy models which affirm dominant paradigms and consolidate powerful interests are more likely to travel (Peck and Theodore, 2010). However, the interests and ideas within the political stream need to be further specified for the relevant context, which this section proceeds to do.

In the case of mature democracies, and with specific reference to the United States, Kingdon identifies national mood, elections and organized interest groups as the relevant factors for policy-making within the political stream. While the versatility of the multiple streams framework has been demonstrated through its application across a wide range of countries and policy areas (Jones et al., 2016), Herweg et al. (2015) rightly argue that the framework needs to be adapted appropriately, with precise operational definitions relevant to the situation. For example, in order to apply the multiple streams approach to the parliamentary democracies of Western Europe, Herweg et al. (2015) include a greater focus on political parties and how they interact with the original elements of the political stream identified by Kingdon.

The multiple streams framework has rarely been applied to African states, although notable exceptions include DeJaeghere et al. (2006) and Ridde (2009). DeJaeghere et al. (2006) employ a multiple streams analysis to assess policy options for increasing the supply of secondary school teachers in sub-Saharan Africa, while Ridde (2009) extends the framework to the implementation of health policies influenced by the Bamako Initiative in Burkina Faso. With regards to the political stream, Ridde (2009) proposes that in cases of policy transfer, international actors play a role in the political stream. However, neither paper further specifies what the political stream entails in relation to the domestic political systems in these cases.

Where much of the literature on the politics of welfare state or regime formation focuses on formal institutions and class mobilisation (Esping-Andersen, 2013; Korpi, 1983, 1980; Skocpol, 1995; Skocpol and Amenta, 1986), policy-making in African states has been characterised as a personalised process in which political leaders have high levels of decision-making autonomy (Kjær and Therkildsen, 2013). Central to this analysis is the persistent presence of clientelism in African politics, although it is important to note that clientelism exists in a variety of political settings and is by no means limited to African states (Hicken, 2011; van de Walle, 2009). Clientelism is defined here as a reciprocal and ongoing relationship between patron and client, with the aim of gaining and maintaining political support. This exchange is determined not by the nature of the benefit – which can include public and private goods – but the contingent and transferable basis on which it is distributed. Patronage is understood here to be one type of clientelist exchange, focused on public sector jobs, although many authors use the terms clientelism and patronage interchangeably (Hicken, 2011).

Although multiparty elections have been established in many African countries since 1989, democratisation does not necessarily undermine clientelism: these systems can co-exist, as demonstrated by Whitfield (2011) in the case of Ghana. Ruling elites – the political leaders of the regime who make major policy decisions – pursue a range of political survival strategies in order to stay in power (Kjær and Therkildsen, 2013; Whitfield and Therkildsen, 2011), with access to state resources becoming a means of reproducing this power (Allen, 1995; Boone, 1994). In some cases, this is a struggle for survival in the context of (perceived) existential threats to the regime. For example, Ethiopia experienced a distributional crisis triggered by severe drought and food insecurity in 2002-03, reminiscent of the famines in 1973 and 1984-5 which had led to the downfall of previous regimes (Lavers, 2019); while Rwanda has faced the possibility of resurgent ethnic divisions under a regime associated with an ethnic minority (Lavers, 2016). However

political survival does not necessarily entail existential threat, but rather refers to any strategy employed by ruling elites to stay in power.

This political survival approach includes 'horizontal' strategies to maintain loose and shifting ruling coalitions, which can include state agencies and non-state interest groups. 'Vertical' strategies are also important to gain support of lower level groups, including local political and traditional leaders, bureaucrats, civil society organisations and voters (Migdal, 2001; Whitfield and Therkildsen, 2011). Strategies for survival can include clientelist practices, whereby ruling elites exchange appointments or other benefits for political support, and also the use of policy-making and implementation to gain support and win elections (Kjær and Therkildsen, 2013; Whitfield and Therkildsen, 2011). They can also include means of disbursing power such as the frequent shuffling of ministers, non-merit appointments and in some cases 'dirty tricks' to remove or weaken opposition to the ruling party (Migdal, 2001).

While regime survival is paramount, there are other reasons to pursue political power, such as: "accumulate private wealth; gain individual or factional benefits, and/or shape or change direction of government strategies and policies based on ideas and visions of what should be done" (Whitfield and Therkildsen, 2011: 17). Realizing any of these goals requires remaining in power, so political survival strategies have the potential to achieve long-term social change, while simultaneously undermining state capacity to do so (Migdal, 2001: 84).

Visions for policy change – where they exist – are likely to be tied to deeply held paradigmatic ideas that are widely shared within the ruling coalition, structuring how these actors view and understand the world and how it works (Campbell, 2002). Examples include the Keynesian ideas that shaped macroeconomic policy in Britain during the post-World War II period until the early 1970s (for example Hall, 1993; Hay, 2001) or the ideas underpinning the developmental vision of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (Lavers, 2016). Policy ideas may also reflect elite perceptions of voter priorities (Kjær and Therkildsen, 2013), which can lead to programmatic or clientelistic policies, depending on the level of targeting and contingency involved (Hicken, 2011).

The politics of survival also has effects on bureaucrats implementing policies "who face the calculus of social and political pressures and are motivated by national interest but also careerism" (Migdal, 2001: 84). Grindle (1980) points out that bureaucrats have considerable discretion and impact on individual allocation decisions and are therefore

often in a strong bargaining position, either for allocation to others or personal gain. However, they can also be influenced by their supervisors at regional and national levels, clients of the programme and local politicians as well as non-state leaders (Migdal, 2001). In addition, Kingdon identified the need to pay attention to local ideas, and highlighted a gap in addressing the role of ideas at local and sub-state level (Kingdon 1993, 1994 in Béland, 2016).

These domestic political factors will interact with problem and policy streams, which in this research contain a significant global influence. Cairney (2011) has extends Kingdon's concept of a 'policy window' to take into account external influences on policy opportunities in national contexts and develops the idea of a 'policy transfer window'. Combining Kingdon (1984) and Cairney (2011), this research defines a policy transfer window as the political opportunity for the adoption of a global solution to a national policy problem.

2.6. *The rise of social protection as a global social policy*

Within the growing 'global agora' (Stone, 2008) of public policy-making, social protection gained a prominent position on the agenda in the 2000s in response to emerging social policy concerns, including global poverty and inequality (Gliszczynski and Leisering, 2016; Hickey and Seekings, 2017). Social protection can be defined as "all interventions from public, private, voluntary organisations and social networks to support communities, households and individuals, in their efforts to prevent, manage, and overcome their vulnerability" (Barrientos et al., 2005: 4). Within this broad definition, there are three main categories: labour market interventions, social insurance and social assistance (ILO, 2001). Over the last twenty years, social assistance – defined as direct non-contributory support, either in cash or in kind, financed through tax revenue and/or development assistance (Hickey et al., 2018; Seekings, 2007) – has gained increasing attention across the Global South (Hanlon et al., 2012) including in sub-Saharan Africa (Hickey et al., 2018; Niño-Zarazúa et al., 2012). Cash transfers have attracted widespread interest based on positive evaluation results, and have gained particular prominence as a social protection instrument, promoted across sub-Saharan Africa by various international organisations including the World Bank and DFID (Fiszbein et al., 2009; DFID, 2011). Other organisations, such as the ILO and WHO are supporting and promoting social health insurance as a means of achieving universal health coverage (ILO, 2008a; WHO, 2004), which was incorporated into the ILO's Social Protection Floors Recommendation

(No. 202) (ILO, 2012a). However, the lack of consensus on risk-pooling requirements where there is significant variation of income and assets has proved challenging for this model (Carrin, 2002).

The first part of this section will trace the rise of social protection as a global social policy, with a focus on cash transfers and social health insurance. After examining the design and transfer of specific global policy models for each of these social protection instruments, the section then briefly discusses existing studies of the adoption and implementation of these instruments in the global South, with a focus on sub-Saharan Africa.

2.6.1. Welfare-state building and social protection in the global South

Seekings (2011) identifies three routes of welfare-state building in the global South. The first is the development of contributory social insurance for formal sector workers through the demands of organised labour in Latin America and influenced by colonial regimes in much of Africa, where colonial officers were the primary beneficiaries. The second is through the introduction of social welfare policies and officers, mainly in British colonies. The third, more unusual, route was the introduction of non-contributory, tax-financed social assistance programmes aimed at the poor, including in South Africa and Mauritius.

South Africa in particular has a longstanding and well-studied history of welfare programmes. In the 1920s and 1930s, the South African government established various social insurance and social assistance schemes for white and coloured people, including contributory unemployment insurance, non-contributory old age pensions and disability grants. At this time it was assumed that black Africans would rely on kinship-based resources (Seekings, 2005). In 1944, the old-age pension and disability grant were extended to African people, but the transfer value was much lower than that received by white and coloured residents. There were also differentials between the amounts paid to black South Africans in urban areas compared to rural areas (Pelham, 2007). Nonetheless, the basis for provision of welfare for the 'deserving' poor was established (Seekings, 2005). These long-standing social assistance programmes in South Africa, as well as Namibia and Mauritius, have had some influence in the region through diffusion combined with domestic political factors, for example the adoption of social pensions in Lesotho and Botswana (Granvik, 2016; Niño-Zarazúa et al., 2012).

Also in 1944, the ILO was promoting public provision of welfare through the Income Security Recommendation (No. 67), including social insurance complemented by social assistance, as well as the Medical Care Recommendation (No. 69). This paved the way for the ILO Social Security Convention (102) in 1952, and the ILO then went on to establish a number of conventions to encourage the development of well-functioning systems of social insurance, support and assistance (Deacon, 2007). Throughout the twentieth century, the ILO retained a strong commitment to a 'workerist' model, emphasising social insurance funded through contributions from workers and employers. According to Recommendation No. 67, social insurance should 'embrace all contingencies in which an insured person is prevented from earning his living... or in which he dies leaving a dependent family', while social assistance covers 'certain categories of persons, particularly dependent children and needy invalids, aged persons and widows' (ILO, 1944). It is notable that this model assumes a male breadwinner. As Carole Pateman has argued: "the position of men as breadwinner-workers has been built into the welfare state" (1989: 187).

The ILO began to take social assistance more seriously after the 2001 International Labour Conference, when it was recognised that more than half the world's population was not covered by formal social security (Seekings, 2008). This has led to a strategy on decent work for all and the establishment of the 2012 Social Protection Floors Recommendation, pushed by Michel Cichon as Head of the Social Security Department at that time (Deacon, 2013). In addition to the labour standards approach of the ILO, there has also been recognition of poverty as a growing global concern (since the 1990s). As a response to the social costs of structural adjustment, including rising poverty levels, 'social funds' emerged as a mechanism to mitigate these negative effects (Foli and Béland, 2014). The World Bank has taken a leading role in social action programmes – which should support or complement traditional solidarity systems and mechanisms (Marc et al., 1995) – and demand-driven social funds. The first social fund was established in 1987 in Bolivia, with the aim of being "free-standing social protection instruments that target under-served populations" (Silva and Sum, 2008: 2), and this model was soon extended, including to sub-Saharan Africa.

The World Bank's Social Protection Sector was established in 1996 (Norton et al., 2001). The overall strategy is based on a social risk management approach (World Bank, 2001), and social funds formed part of this framework (Silva and Sum, 2008). Africa had the largest number of social fund projects, which accounted for 50 percent of the Social Protection portfolio in Africa in February 2006 (Silva and Sum, 2008: 17). Initially

introduced as a safety net approach, social funds were the first stage of the World Bank's growing involvement in poverty reduction, social protection and social transfers (Cherrier, 2016)

The World Bank went on to play a significant role in promoting conditional cash transfers (CCTs) based on the success of Brazil's Bolsa Escola from 1995 and PROGRESA established in Mexico in 1997. Integrating evaluations and impact studies from the beginning, Bolsa Escola (later Bolsa Familia) and the PROGRESA programme (renamed Oportunidades and then Prospera) developed a cash transfer model combining a safety net with human capital development (Handa and Davis, 2006) and gained widespread attention based on positive results (Sugiyama, 2011). In Mexico, the programme was a national initiative introduced by President Zedillo, as part of a range of antipoverty programmes based on assessments of poverty and various ideological precepts. It was designed by Mexican government officials and has been recognised as one of the first programmes of this type to be implemented. Brazil also launched a cash transfer programme in the 1990s, initially designed and implemented at municipal level. These programmes introduced human development objectives through conditionalities of school and health clinic attendance (Adato and Hodinott, 2010; Sugiyama, 2011). Molyneux (2007) has argued that this design is based on maternalist assumptions that place responsibility on women as mothers whose primary duty is to the family, thereby reproducing traditional roles and social divisions. Ferguson (2015) also notes that cash transfer programmes in the global south are being structured around 'able-bodied' male wage labour and feminised categories of 'dependants'.

It was the World Bank that first labelled these programmes as CCTs and they became strong advocates of this model, with an emphasis on the conditionalities attached (Gliszczynski and Leisering, 2016). Versions of these designs have since been adopted across the region, with support from the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank (Handa and Davis, 2006), although the World Bank favoured Mexico's strict enforcement of conditionalities over Brazil's softer and more social democratic approach (Peck and Theodore, 2015). In 2002, an 'inaugural international summit' focused on CCTs was held in Puebla in Mexico funded by the World Bank. Attended by eight countries: Brazil, Columbia, Costa Rica, Honduras, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Turkey and Mexico, the conference featured a demonstration of Mexico's flagship programme, and marked the beginning of the CCT movement (Peck and Theodore, 2015). While CCTs spread quickly across Latin America, with the majority of countries in the region having adopted a form of the model within a decade of Mexico's adoption of PROGRESA (Sugiyama, 2011),

experience across sub-Saharan Africa is much more varied. CCTs were not the only cash transfer model established and promoted during the 2000s, and have not been the most significant in sub-Saharan Africa. There are several other sub-models which all fall under the composite term of 'social cash transfers' (Gliszczynski and Leisering, 2016), which will be explored in the next section.

2.6.2. From CCTs to 'no-strings-attached': design and transfer of global policy models

Gliszczynski's (2015) typology of global policy models identifies four variants of cash transfers. In addition to CCTs there are social pensions, family allowances and general household allowances. These models identify different target groups and are supported by various international organisations with their own priorities. For example, HelpAge International has been active in promoting social pensions for older people while UNICEF has invested in types of family allowances which benefit children. General household assistance provides cash based on need, but does not specify a categorical group of recipients. This model was the basis for the Kalomo pilot in Zambia, when the term 'social cash transfer' (SCT) was first used by the development consultant Berndt Schubert (Gliszczynski, 2015; Hickey and Seekings, 2017). The Kalomo pilot was used to demonstrate SCTs in general rather than to promote a specific model.

Policy design refers to the content or structural logic of public policy, including problem definitions, goals, costs and benefits, rules and policy tools, and technical assumptions underlying design. Social constructions of target populations and knowledge also play a role here (James and Jorgensen, 2009: 150). While targeting is often "treated as an administrative method whose function is to allocate welfare to claimants on the basis of financial resources" (Mkandawire, 2005: pn), Schneider and Ingram (1997) argue that "policy designs reflect efforts to advance certain values and interests, that they reflect dominant social constructions of knowledge and groups of people, and existing power relations" (Fischer et al., 2006: 83).

In the United States, the maternalist idea of women as 'mothers of the nation' facilitated the introduction of benefits for mothers and regulations, including women's hours laws and minimum wage, at the turn of the twentieth century. These policy ideas were spread by women's organisations through federal associations, shaping opinion and influencing laws to protect mothers and women workers (Skocpol, 1995). However, debates about welfare

in the US have shifted over time towards a concept of 'dependency' which is both feminised and racialised (Fraser and Gordon, 1994; Cassiman, 2008). The focus on women, and specifically lone mothers, contributed to the construction of the 'welfare mother' or 'welfare queen' as the embodiment of the deviant, pathological welfare recipient in the US: female, black, poor and dependent on unearned income (Cassiman, 2007). The association of receiving welfare with moral weakness, irresponsible behaviour and individual defects and corresponding notions of the 'undeserving' poor (Fraser and Gordon, 1994; O'Connor, 2001; Katz, 1989) have also entered and begun to influence welfare debates in other countries, including in the Global South.

While the gendered nature of poverty has been increasingly recognised and investigated (for example Chant, 2011), social protection approaches have been accused of being "gender-blind" (Jones and Holmes, 2011). Although the labour market, social systems and households have been identified as "gendered sites of poverty" (Bradshaw, 2002), interventions are doing little to challenge the power relations underpinning gender inequalities. There is also limited recognition of the disproportionate burden faced by women who are responsible for domestic labour in addition to paid employment (Moser, 1997). Where designs do include explicit gender dimensions, they have tended to reinforce traditional gender roles rather than challenge unequal divisions of labour and power imbalances between men and women (Jones and Holmes, 2011), much as the male breadwinner model does. In a study focused on the treatment of gender within social protection, Holmes and Jones (2010) found that only two programmes – in Bangladesh and Mexico – has been designed with the explicit objective of empowering women. Often, the only consideration of gender has been the inclusion of women as a target beneficiary group, usually as mothers and caregivers, as in Molyneux's (2007) Latin American study cited in section 2.6.1. This is an example of what Bensimon and Marshall (2003) refer to as 'adding' women to existing frameworks, whereas they call for the transformation of these frameworks by exposing the gendered nature of apparently neutral practices and decisions in order to disrupt and rearrange unequal power relations.

In relation to targeting, transnational actors have differing stances on targeted versus universalist approaches to social welfare. The universalist position, promoted by the ILO and other UN agencies, focuses on redistribution and frames social protection in terms of social justice and rights-based approaches. Targeting tends to focus on addressing negative shocks rather than social inclusion, as embodied in the World Bank's 'social risk management' framework (Holzmann and Jorgensen, 1999). While the arguments for targeting are based on cost constraints and efficiency, it also has implications for conceptions of need and deservingness (Mkandawire, 2005). There has also been

disagreement on conditionality. World Bank arguments for maintaining conditionality included encouraging rational behaviour where it is lacking and achieving social optimization of human capital investment, and they supported some CCT pilots in Africa, for example Kenya and Tanzania (Fiszbein et al., 2009). However, Schubert and Slater (2006) question the appropriateness and cost-benefit analysis of conditionality in low-income African countries. Later DFID challenged the World Bank on conditionality based on a lack of evidence about the effects of conditions. Some of these ideological conflicts have also played out at a country level during processes of policy transfer (Hickey and Seekings, 2017).

As well as determining which groups benefit or not, targeting decisions also reflect and/or construct attitudes regarding deservingness (Schneider and Ingram, 1993) for example framing able-bodied men as workers and women as passive and deserving of assistance (Ferguson, 2015). Therefore “technical choices around design, and practical concerns such as security, corruption, targeting, feasibility and gender, mask fundamental ideological battles concerning attitudes to the poor and welfare, and who is ultimately responsible for those unable to support themselves” (Farrington et al., 2007 in Kalebe-Nyamongo and Marquette, 2014: 5). In contexts of high levels of poverty and limited public funding, political choices regarding social policy designs are not only about targeted versus universal programmes, but also about different categories of poor people.

Addressing the politics of design for social protection programmes therefore requires an understanding of political and public attitudes about social justice and redistribution, which are “not only key to the choice of programs, but... are likely to influence the design and future direction of policies” (Graham, 2002: 33). A utilitarian approach to social justice is based on the principle that the average welfare in society should be as high as possible. This approach may focus on the worst off if their utility is weighted appropriately, but generally makes no provision for the least advantaged and rather expects them to accept their sacrifice for the benefit of others (Barrientos, 2013a; Dworkin, 2002). A meritocratic approach emphasises individual merit and autonomy, and has similarities with Nozick’s entitlement theory in which transfers require fair contracts based on entitlement to holdings. These two approaches both avoid attempts to re-order social relations, for example by protecting property rights, and advocate a minimal state (Piachaud in Craig et al., 2008; Hickey, 2014; Waldron, 1986).

Liberal approaches recognise both individual rights and wider social principles to varying degrees. Rawls espouses ‘justice as fairness’, based on a social contract and social

minimum to prevent the ‘strains of commitment’ from becoming excessive (Barrientos, 2013b). Dworkin on the other hand, emphasises individual responsibility, distinguishing between choice and circumstance: “what we must take responsibility for, because we chose it, and what we cannot take responsibility for because it was beyond our control” (Dworkin, 2002: 323), although the feasibility of this distinction has been critiqued both philosophically and morally (Scheffler, 2003). The capabilities approach of Amartya Sen and later Martha Nussbaum, considers freedom over resources to be the basis for justice (Craig et al., 2008), but has been criticised for overlooking the causes of injustice.

Radical thinkers aim to challenge structural inequalities and power relations, through transformative approaches (Hickey, 2014). Nancy Fraser (1995) distinguishes between redistribution and recognition, and argues that these should be valued equally in a just society. Misrecognition entails a denial of status, which she argues is no less harmful than being denied access to resources. According to Fraser, achieving equal status requires claim-making for recognition, for example to establish women as full partners in social interaction able to participate on an equal standing with men (Fraser, 2013).

Hickey (2014) has considered how these different schools of thinking on social justice might shape social protection interventions in different ways, based on aspects such as the diagnosis of injustice and the space in which social justice should be addressed. Table 1 provides an overview of these distinctions, providing a starting point for considering the versions of social justice that are being channelled by international and local actors during the discussions in the later chapters.

Table 1: Competing theories of social justice and their implications for social protection

Philosophy / dimension	Conservative/ neoliberal	Responsible liberalism	Social liberalism	Critical liberalism	Radical
Key advocates	Friedman, Nozick	Dworkin	Rawls	Sen, Nussbaum	Forst, Fraser, Young
Diagnosis of injustice	Market failure, individual frailty	Risk	Basic structure of society	Social arrangements/ behaviour	Power relations
Procedure	Reason, judgement	Reason	Social contract, reason	Reason	Deliberative democracy
Space	Circumstance (not choice),	Circumstance (not choice),	Primary goods	Capabilities	Relations

	risk	risk			
Policy approach	Minimalist, targeted, limited role for state	Targeted, behavioural changes	Welfare state	Enable individual, change world, universal	Transformative, universal
Social protection exemplar	Social risk management	Conditional cash transfers	Basic income grant	Social minimum	Full welfare, decent work

Source: Hickey (2014)

Dworkin's approach supports the distinction between 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor (Hickey, 2014) that has been identified as an important determinant of public support for welfare programmes across the United States (Graham, 2002; Will, 1993) and Europe (Jensen and Petersen, 2017; Oorschot, 2006, 2000). The focus on lack of labour power as the main criteria in determining groups deserving of support has led to a gap in social protection policies and programmes for the working age poor (Gliszczynski, 2015: 53). The difficulty of identifying the 'deserving' beneficiaries in a high poverty context, where differences between levels of poverty are small, for example between households in absolute and ultra-poverty, has also created challenges for gaining acceptance of social cash transfers and has the potential to lead to social divisiveness. This is exacerbated by lack of data as well as limited capacity or time of staff and volunteers, leading to the use of proxy indicators and 'rules of thumb' to identify beneficiaries (Ellis, 2012).

2.6.3. Adoption and implementation of cash transfer model

Studies considering the influence of external inputs in terms of policy adoption have tended to focus on levels of 'success', defined through measures such as permanency, scale and national ownership (Cherrier, 2016). However the role of domestic factors is being increasingly recognised. In Latin America, Sugiyama (2011) identifies domestic preconditions, including poverty levels and political ideology, as well as foreign pressures such as neighbourhood effects, shared norms or coercion. Exchange may be more frequent between neighbours and countries with similar political institutions, ideological positions or existing policies (Obinger et al., 2013: 115). A study of the adoption of cash transfers across the Global South also selects both domestic factors, including democracy, partisanship and divided government, in addition to international sources of information, with a focus on the World Bank (Brooks, 2015). While these studies are very useful for testing which factors matter, they do not necessarily provide insight on the

processes of policy transfer at work or the ways in which external inputs, such as global policy ideas, are promoted and received in national settings.

There are a growing number of studies of the adoption of social assistance programmes, and social protection more broadly, which recognise the importance of domestic political factors, and begin to investigate the underlying processes (Lavers and Hickey, 2016; Niño-Zarazúa et al., 2012). Lavers and Hickey (2016) adopt a political settlements approach, which emphasises the strength of the ruling coalition, power relations between elite and non-elite factions, and the distribution of rents and resources in determining the outcome to redistributive conflicts. Their adapted political settlements framework also incorporates the role of policy coalitions, ideas and transnational factors, which tend to be missing in political settlements analysis. These additional elements are of particular interest to this study.

The interaction between these global policy ideas and local level processes has received less attention. Apart from some recent work on social accountability (Hickey and King, 2016; Jones et al., 2016; Molyneux et al., 2016), studies of the politics of implementation of social assistance policies remain sparse (Jones et al., 2016). There is a gap in understanding the role of bureaucrats and the public in accepting or rejecting policies, for example the potential mismatch of ideas at local level identified by Béland and Ridde (2016).

2.7. Conclusion

Tracing both national policy processes and emerging global policy processes, including various forms of policy transfer, this review has considered ways in which these bodies of literature may interact. The chapter has identified three main propositions as follows: the extension of the multiple streams approach to incorporate global and local influences; the potential role of implementation in policy development; and the need to move beyond a rational-choice approach to policy-making. The chapter has argued that a constructivist approach is more appropriate for this study, as it highlights the importance of ideas and actors contributing to the negotiated and contested nature of the policy process. The chapter has also identified three strategies of persuasion: rendering technical, working politically and framing. Moving beyond the promotion of policy ideas to their reception, it has explored in more detail the potential for translation and adaptation when global policy ideas interact with domestic policy-making at national and local levels. Extending

Kingdon's (1984) work, the chapter has both transnationalised and localised the multiple streams approach in order to trace the movement of policy ideas from the global to local levels. As the multiple streams approach has rarely been applied to African states, the chapter has theorised the political stream in this context identifying political survival strategies as the main motivation for political actors in determining policy choices and distribution of resources. Building on this review, the next chapter outlines a conceptual framework for analysing the interaction of global policy ideas with the politics of domestic policy processes.

3. A conceptual framework for analysing the interaction of global policy ideas with the politics of domestic policy processes

Building on the insights and gaps identified within the existing literature in Chapter 2, this chapter constructs a conceptual framework for analysing the ways in which global policy ideas interact with domestic policy and political processes, leading to adaptation of these ideas. Recognising that the literature on policy transfer and translation has predominantly focused on policy adoption at the national level, this framework extends the analysis to examine how policy ideas continue to be transformed when they reach local level during implementation. Moving beyond the descriptive heuristic of the policy cycle, this framework engages with Kingdon's (1984) multiple streams approach and applies it to increasingly transnationalised policy processes. The framework sets out the mechanisms through which global policy ideas are formulated and promoted by transnational actors, and identifies the domestic political factors which are important for understanding the reception of these ideas at both national and local levels.

The emerging policy translation literature explored in Chapter 2 (Peck and Theodore, 2015, 2010a) reflects a promising step towards the recognition that the domestic political context matters when global policy ideas travel in an increasingly transnationalised policy environment. This critical approach identifies an intrinsic politics to the policy transfer process, influenced by power relations and shifting ideological alignments (Peck and Theodore, 2010a). The framework developed in this thesis goes further to identify which political factors influence this process of translation, namely political survival strategies of the ruling elite, as well as the ideas held by actors at all levels.

Adopting an actor-oriented approach, this thesis examines the politics of global policy transfer, specifically the formulation and promotion of global policy ideas by transnational actors and how these ideas are shaped as they interact with domestic actors at national and local levels. In order to do this, the framework identifies three strategies through which transnational actors aim to influence national policy – rendering technical, working politically and framing – and proposes that the level of alignment with existing interests and ideas within the political stream determines how these strategies are received in domestic settings. The framework incorporates the concept of a ‘policy transfer window’ as an important factor in determining whether global policy ideas are taken up at national level, and also draws on incipient work on the role of local actors and ideas in shaping policy development (Béland and Ridde, 2016). In addition to contributing to the growing

body of work on global social policy and transfer, with greater attention to ideas and power, this framework also interrogates the ways in which global policy ideas are translated at multiple sites during the policy process.

3.1. *An actor-oriented approach: power and agency*

A critical constructivist approach proposes that ideas have power, but not in isolation from the actors that carry and promote them. Following Mosse, this study adopts an actor-oriented approach, emphasising the “complex agency of actors in development at every level” (Mosse, 2005: 6), the power relations between them, and how these affect the processes under examination. Authors such as Mosse (2005) and Li (2007) have successfully moved beyond “simplistic, state-centred, top-down approaches to development” (Silvey, 2010: 222): in Li’s central case study of the World Bank’s Kecamatan Development Project in Indonesia, the project actors bypassed government systems altogether (Li, 2007). However, the role of the state in development remains a point of contention, and acknowledging McKee’s (2009) call to reinsert the state as a significant and powerful actor into analyses informed by governmentality, this thesis pays particular attention to the interaction between transnational actors and government officials – both politicians and bureaucrats – at the national and local levels.

More broadly a wide range of actors engaged with political and policy processes will be considered *inter alia*: politicians and leaders at national and local levels; bureaucrats at national and local levels; transnational actors, differentiating between international financing organisations, multi- and bilateral agencies, as well as international non-governmental organisations and networks; civil society organisations; trade unions, churches; policy entrepreneurs, consultants and researchers; target populations, both beneficiaries and (potentially qualifying) non-beneficiaries; and the wider public.

3.1.1. *The ‘expert’*

It is not only the content of policy ideas that is important, but also the mechanisms through which they are conveyed and received. While Kingdon (1984) recognises the crucial importance of ideas within the policy process, his suggestion that they ‘float around’ is under-specified in terms of explaining their influence. The claim by discursive

institutionalists⁶, such as Vivien Schmidt, that it is the mobilisation of ideas and the power of the actors promoting them that determines their influence is more convincing. This mobilisation occurs through discourse defined as both a set of ideas and an interactive process of conveying ideas (Schmidt, 2008, 2002). It can include ‘coordinative’ discourse, between policy actors regarding policy construction and the justification of policy ideas, as well as ‘communicative’ discourse in which policy actors and politicians engage with the public about the necessity (using cognitive arguments) and appropriateness (using normative arguments) of policies (Schmidt, 2008, 2002).

In the context of policy mobility, McCann (2008) identifies ‘experts’ who are considered to be sources of legitimate and actionable truth. These experts can be a range of state and non-state actors, with some degree of specialised knowledge, who work with resources and products of expertise – including reports, presentations and best practices – through which policy ideas circulate. The expert embodies “neutrality, authority and skill in a wise figure” (Rose and Miller, 2010: 187) and there is an association between neutrality and scientific methods (Rushton and Williams, 2012), which plays an important role in establishing the possibility and legitimacy of government.

While there are many conceptualisations of actors working together in a policy field – for example ‘epistemic communities’, ‘global networks’, ‘knowledge networks’, ‘advocacy coalitions’ and ‘transnational coalitions’ (Haas, 1992; Reinicke, 1997; Sabatier, 1988; Stone, 2004) – they all capture a similar spirit of working together to achieve a common goal. This framework employs the concepts of an epistemic community at the global level, identified by Ridde (2006) as a complement to Kingdon’s framework when considering the influence of international organisations on policy transfer, and a transnationalised policy coalition at the national level.

Epistemic communities are defined as “a network of professionals with recognised expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue area” (Haas, 1992: 3), seeking to advance a new set of policy ideas based on a combination of research findings and principled frames. These communities are particularly important in promoting a technocratic and scientific approach to policy-making as they “provide scholarly argumentation and

⁶ Who consider institutions to be “constructs internal to agents whose ‘background ideational abilities’ within a given ‘meaning context’ explain how institutions are created and exist and whose ‘foreground discursive abilities’, following a ‘logic of communication’, explain how institutions change or persist” (Schmidt, 2008: 303)

scientific justification for ‘evidence-based’ policy formulation” (Stone, 2008: 32). An example is the wide-ranging community that has emerged around climate change consisting of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, supporters of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, international organisations, governmental officials, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), scientists and some businesses. This group has adopted a knowledge-based approach, using scientific research to inform climate change assessment and policy, which can contribute to resources and efforts being directed to this policy agenda and away from other issues (Gough and Shackley, 2001).

Policy coalitions enable “individuals, groups or organisations [to] come together to achieve social, political and economic goals that they could not achieve on their own”, while their constituent parts retain their individual identities (Leftwich, 2012: 5). These advocacy or policy coalitions can include a range of actors from different levels of government, as well as public and private organizations or individuals, such as civil society groups, donors and researchers (Leftwich, 2012; Sabatier, 1988) that ‘share a set of normative and causal beliefs’ and ‘engage in a nontrivial degree of coordinated activity over time’ (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1999: 120). Brady (2009) emphasises the potential of coalitions to bring together individuals or groups motivated by ideological commitments in addition to, or instead of, material interests, united by a common project, such as poverty reduction. While these coalitions may consist of and represent powerful actors and their interests, they can also represent less powerful groups, for example supporting a generous welfare system that will also benefit the poor. Within the thesis framework, the transnational policy coalition comprises both transnational and domestic actors operating at a national level. An example is a coalition of UN agencies, multi-lateral donors, bilateral donors and national organisations, led by the Pan American Health Organization, that worked together on a global polio eradication initiative, successfully increasing immunization levels in polio-endemic countries (Shiffman et al., 2002).

Kingdon defines policy entrepreneurs as “advocates for proposals or for the prominence of an idea” (1984: 122), who use their authority and expertise to promote favoured ideas. They can be from within or outside government, from interest groups or international organisations, and are an important source of ideas (Béland and Orenstein, 2013). They can also act as brokers and assist the process of policy transfer by forming a ‘double alliance’, engaging with both political authorities and the individuals affected by the policy (Rose and Miller, 2010). By connecting actors and policy sites, “shared interests are constructed in and through political discourses, persuasions, negotiations and bargains”

(Rose and Miller, 2010: 282), during which policy ideas are often adjusted to fit national requirements (Obinger et al., 2013).

3.1.2. *Governmentality within development*

Aside from the strict economic and political monitoring associated with conditional debt-lending, international organisations broadly lack formal veto power over policy at national level. Therefore the notion of power as productive, facilitative and creative (McKee, 2009), coming from below as well as above, is more useful for explaining the practices and negotiations of development practice than theories of power operating through repression and domination.

Governmentality entails a specific type of power, which differentiates between power and domination (Lemke, 2002). Definitions and conceptualisations of power that focus on domination, such as Lukes' (2005) three dimensions of power, have been criticised for failing to recognise this distinction (Béland, 2010; Morriss, 2006). In the field of policy studies, Lowi's (1972, 1964) seminal work on the role of state power through coercion in the understanding of policy has also been criticised, for example by Anderson (1997) who argues that the power of 'suasion' is also critical. Government is "the regulation of conduct by the more or less rational application of the appropriate technical means" (Hindess, 1996: 106 in Lemke, 2002: 7), and highlights "everyday relations of power extending beyond the central state" (Merlingen, 2003: 366).

A critique levelled at the governmentality approach is that it reduces politics to rationality, with power operating through strategies rather than individuals, thereby precluding human agency. However the productive form of power that underpins governmentality actually presupposes human agency as "subjects have the ability to react to, and resist, governmental ambitions to regulate their conduct" (McKee, 2009: 471). Li (2007) refers to this resistance and contestation as the 'practice of politics', which is the "expression, in word or deed, of critical challenge" (12). This emphasises the importance of considering the role played by domestic political factors and agency in policy translation (Hickey and Seekings, 2017), and will be explored in this study, with particular attention paid to the power and agency of actors at national and local levels.

The purpose of 'government' is "to secure the 'welfare of the population, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health etc.'" (Foucault, 1991 in Li,

2007: 5), through “technical means that can be brought to bear on the actions of human beings in an attempt to affect their conduct” (Merlingen, 2003: 367). Development scholars, particularly within the ethnographic tradition, have engaged with the notion of governmentality to show how development interventions have aimed to contribute to this goal by “regulat[ing] social life and mak[ing] subjects and citizens, not by repression and overt control, but through a productive power which engenders subjectivities and aspirations” (Mosse, 2005: 6).

The productive and structuring functions of this form of power, contribute to defining “what constitutes legitimate knowledge, and shapes whose knowledge matters” (Barnett and Duvall, 2004: 3-4; and Lewis and Mosse, 2006a), bringing in the role of ideas. Ideas are a crucial vehicle for influencing domestic policy development (Béland and Orenstein, 2013), for example the use of discourse to construct situations as problematizations calling for intervention. Ideas also play a central role in convincing others to mobilize in order to shape outcomes and reach common goals (Béland, 2010). By adopting a governmental approach, transnational actors use ideas and actions to “structure a field of possible actions” and thereby represent a “claim to power” (Li, 2007: 5), through specialized knowledge and expertise (McCann, 2008).

3.1.3. Interests and ideas of domestic actors

Lindemann (2008) argues that in post-colonial African states, the dominant political parties gained and maintained control of state structures through clientelist practices and patronage politics, as defined in section 2.5.2. The focus in this research is on the survival strategies of politicians in a ‘centralised-bureaucratic’ system – where clientelist resources are distributed through a bureaucracy answerable to the president (Allen, 1995). The key motivation of these ruling elites is to stay in power, while recognising that they may also have a vision for development and social change (Migdal, 2001; Whitfield and Therkildsen, 2011), which is likely to be linked to paradigmatic elite ideas.

The relationship between politicians and bureaucrats will depend on the degree of politicisation of the bureaucracy, and also decentralisation of power in the case of implementation. Bureaucratic appointments may be based on merit or patronage – or a combination of both – which will affect the competency and efficiency of policy implementation. Bureaucrats are also likely to be involved with social policy formation, and may demonstrate more commitment than their political counterparts (Chopra, 2015),

although they may also have their own particular interest in a programme and make demands on its allocation procedures. The goals of the actors involved – including national and local political elites, bureaucrats and recipient groups – are often in direct conflict with each other, in which case “the outcome of this conflict and consequently, of who gets what, will be determined by the strategies, resources, and power positions of each of the actors involved” (Grindle, 1980: 12). In addition to interests, the ideas and assumptions of local level actors can influence responses to a policy as they come into contact with it for the first time during implementation (Béland and Ridde, 2016; Grindle and Thomas, 1991). Béland and Ridde focus on the role of implementers, arguing that if they “share different ideas than the ones embedded in that instrument, which are by and large the ideas that dominated the formulation stage” (2016: 14) this can lead to a mismatch, which they demonstrate through the resistance of health workers to the implementation of user fee waivers across a range of countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

This potential clash of ideas requires a nuanced understanding of power, in order to grasp the nature of agency from below. Carstensen and Schmidt (2016) propose the ‘political power of ideas’ to describe the role of persuasion through ideational elements. This enables an understanding of power based on position or access to resources to be supplemented by agency through the mobilisation of ideas (Blyth, 2002; Parsons, 2007). This is compatible with an agency-oriented approach and illuminates the power relations at work between transnational actors, politicians and bureaucrats – distinguishing between the national and local levels – and groups that are less powerful in terms of resources and position. It also encompasses both top-down and bottom-up aspects of the process, recognising that less powerful actors in terms of resources can hold and use ideas.

Political power also operates beyond the state through diverse authorities that govern a multitude of facets of economic activity, social life and individual conduct (Rose and Miller, 2010). The practice of government, in the Foucauldian sense, is not limited to state actors but can include transnational actors, as outlined in the previous section, and domestic non-state actors. Influential figures who do not have an official role within government, such as intelligentsia and reformist elites, may have a level of power in decision-making on policy reforms (Seekings, 2007; Grindle and Thomas, 1991). Interest groups, defined as organisations that attempt to influence government (Berry and Wilcox, 2018), lobby the government to adopt favourable policies in their own interests (Rakner, 2003). These groups can include business, organised labour and agricultural associations among others.

Understandings of 'civil society' have shifted from "well-ordered political association" to "a natural realm of freedoms and activities outside the legitimate sphere of politics" (Keane, 1988a Rose and Miller, 2010: 277). Alexis de Tocqueville's influential work argues that civil society acts as a counterbalance to the state, playing a role in maintaining its effectiveness and accountability. Alternative thinking, influenced by Antonio Gramsci, identifies the potential of civil society to contest political space and influence public policy through negotiations between citizens, state and market (Lewis, 2002). Development policy discourse tends to adopt the de Tocquevillean view, building on the neo-liberal conception of civil society in which service delivery is supplemented by private organisations and non-governmental actors facilitating a reduced role for the state. However, Lewis (2002) suggests that in some African contexts, engagement with the Gramscian conceptions of power, struggle and dissent provide opportunities to challenge neo-liberal orthodoxies.

Having focused on domestic actors here, the following section goes on to discuss the ideas and interests of transnational actors.

3.2. *How global policy ideas are formed and how they travel*

3.2.1. Global policy formulation in the 'global agora'

The policy positions of international organisations are often changing and contested and "tend to navigate a route between complex and shifting ideas and interests, rather than adhere to a consistent, single path" (Béland and Orenstein, 2013: 126), meaning that they may not be as ideologically stable as they are often thought to be (Peck, 2011b). For example, the apparent "expert consensus on how global poverty is to be eliminated and the poor governed" (2011a in Mosse, 2014: 518) demonstrated shifting ideas about poverty among international organisations, from an income-based measure to a basic needs perspective and then to Amartya Sen's capability approach (Foli and Béland, 2014). There are also likely to be competing priorities in terms of issues, problem definitions and policy solutions, with actors proposing alternative frames (Rushton and Williams, 2012). Actors within epistemic communities in the 'global agora' use research findings and principled frames to determine which policy ideas will be selected from this range of alternatives and then to promote these ideas.

3.2.2. *How do global policy ideas travel?*

Policy mobility is not just a case of ideas circulating, but of prioritisation and promotion of specific ideas by actors positioning themselves as ‘experts’, for example the World Bank in its role as a ‘Knowledge Bank’ (Mehta, 2001). Li (2007) and Mosse (2005) have utilised their insider status within development agencies to conduct ethnographic studies of development processes and practices with a focus on the role of development consultants as experts. Both emphasise the nuance that lies between intentions, unintended consequences and hidden purposes, which are unlikely to be purely benevolent or purely dominant but nonetheless contain the power to influence what is considered to be appropriate and possible. While these development agencies and consultants tend to present themselves as ideational actors, they are motivated by national, commercial, institutional and personal interests, just as domestic actors are (Bayart and Ellis, 2000). Hickey and Seekings (2017) have integrated these approaches to investigate how ideas about social protection, and specifically social cash transfers, form and travel within and beyond transnational agencies. These authors interrogate the strategies used by development actors as trustees to promote their ideas and how these play out in different contexts, respectively: landscapes, conservation and livelihoods in Indonesia (Li, 2007); British aid for rural development in India (Mosse, 2005); and the global social protection agenda (Hickey and Seekings, 2017).

These practices represent a shift from the ‘blunt instrument’ of conditionality towards a more subtle approach of persuasion using “ideological reinforcement, institutional capacity building, evaluation-scientific justification and financial facilitation” (Peck and Theodore, 2015: 140) to modify views and behaviour. The three strategies identified in the literature review – rendering technical, working politically and framing – are employed by transnational agencies aiming to promote global policies and development interventions. These can be policy ideas or specific models and programmes. Transnational actors must negotiate both the policy and political contexts, and interact with domestic actors, involving policy mediation, dialogue, translation, compromise, and resistance (Lendvai and Stubbs, 2007).

The concept of ‘rendering technical’ makes an important distinction between separating the ‘technical’ and the ‘political’, and the framing of political domains in technical terms. As Ferguson's (1990) highly critical analysis of the development apparatus in Lesotho finds,

the apparent 'de-politicisation' of a problem and provision of a 'technical' solution can have political effects, in this case expanding the exercise of bureaucratic state power. Rather than treating the 'technical' and the 'political' as distinct dimensions, the notion of 'rendering technical' highlights that the technical is political in its constitution, and that while politics can be obscured it cannot be removed.

Since Ferguson's study in 1990, the debate on the politics of aid and development has expanded rapidly both in academic circles and communities of development practice. There are many barriers to thinking and working politically in practice including a reluctance to (overtly) politicise donor-recipient relationships and the risk-averse, results-based structure of aid which makes messy political goals difficult to justify (Yanguas and Hulme, 2015). However, the rise of the political economy analysis agenda within development agencies such as DFID and the World Bank suggests that these actors are increasingly adopting politically smart methods.

Rushton and Williams (2012) point out that actors can use framing either sincerely or instrumentally to justify prior policy preferences, with the manipulation of frames being used to mask true interests or motives. They also argue that powerful or authoritative actors are more likely to persuade audiences to accept their policy framing, although this also depends on the extent to which the chosen frame resonates with the interests and paradigmatic ideas of domestic actors, as identified earlier in this chapter.

This section has outlined mechanisms through which global policy ideas travel. The next section will now consider how the outcomes of these governmental efforts by transnational actors depend not only on the strategies themselves but also on how these are received in domestic contexts.

3.3. *Multiple streams and the 'policy transfer window'*

Cairney (2009) identifies the relationship between ideas, their promotion and their reception as being central to explaining policy decision-making processes, and argues that we know less about receptivity than we do about the strength and promotion of ideas. While strategies of persuasion can constitute a 'formidable offensive', they are also limited and fragile being subject to the priorities of policy and political actors being targeted (Peck and Theodore, 2015). A policy translation approach proposes that policy ideas are subject

to 'translation', in the sense of being adapted to the domestic context, during the transfer process.

Alignment – referred to by Kingdon (1984) as 'coupling' – occurs between three streams: the problem stream makes the case for a condition to be recognised and defined as a problem that needs to be addressed. The policy stream must ensure that a policy solution is available, which sometimes leads to 'solutions chasing problems'. The political stream can provide the motive and opportunity for a policy to be adopted (or not) (Cairney and Jones, 2016). While alignment is unpredictable it is not random, and prospects for a policy solution to be adopted are greatly increased if all three streams are joined (Kingdon, 1984). Hall (1989) agrees that new policies ideas need to align with existing political interests: these ideas must be able to serve the interests of ruling parties by strengthening their political position in the state and there must be capacity within the state to implement the policy.

The framework constructed for this study extends this requirement for alignment at the national level during agenda-setting and policy adoption to the local level during policy implementation.

3.3.1. Alignment with the political stream: elite ideas and interests

Analyses of the role of the government in social protection policy tend to treat political engagement as a question of 'will' or 'ownership', which can be measured by the level of budget allocation and administrative capacity (Cherrier, 2016; Niño-Zarazúa et al., 2012). This is also the case in the documents of transnational actors, for example the intervention summary from DFID's Zambia Social Protection Expansion Programme implies that political will is a potential barrier that can be overcome through technical means: "financial and technical support from donors allows the evidence base, technical capacity and political will to be built, while still directly addressing the needs of the poorest" (DFID, 2009). Whitfield and Fraser (2008) engage in a more nuanced discussion about the definition of ownership, distinguishing between ownership as commitment to policies (regardless of their origin) and ownership as control of the policy process.

While ownership is an important element of building political support for a policy, this is not the only dimension of national politics that determines the reception of global policy ideas. Peck and Theodore (2010) suggest that 'dominant paradigms' and 'powerful

interests' are significant factors in the uptake of policy ideas. 'Dominant paradigms' refer here to the deeply held paradigmatic ideas of elites, which inform their understandings of cause-and-effect relationships (Campbell, 2002). In this thesis, 'powerful interests' are defined as the political survival strategies of ruling elites, whose key motivation is to stay in power (Migdal, 2001; Whitfield and Therkildsen, 2011), as discussed in section 2.5.2. The prospects for a new global policy idea will therefore depend on whether it aligns with the paradigms and survival strategies of these ruling elites, or offers new resources – ideational as well as financial – to support such projects and strategies.

3.3.2. *Policy transfer window*

All three transnational strategies have a role to play in identifying and opening a 'window of opportunity', the scarcity of which constrains participants (Kingdon, 1984). Framing is used deliberately and strategically to shape meanings and direct solutions to pre-defined problems (Rushton and Williams, 2012). The process of 'rendering technical' provides 'evidence-based' policy solutions to problems, while 'working politically' aims to improve the receptivity of politicians and maximise the possibilities of identifying a political window. However, the political stream is the most difficult to influence.

Policy entrepreneurs play a crucial role here in 'softening up' the systems and connecting policy actors to political elites. The formation of policy coalitions, consisting of politicians, bureaucrats, civil society representatives and also transnational actors, has been a strategy for advocacy and for influencing powerful Ministries in the context of social protection (Hickey and Seekings, 2017). The transnational element of these coalitions also provides a link with epistemic communities and a conduit for introducing policy ideas into the national domain (Lavers, 2018).

Extending Kingdon's (1984) concept of 'windows of opportunity', which in his study focus on the national arena and specifically the United States, Cairney (2011) has identified a 'policy transfer window', which brings together the transfer and public policy literature to take into account external influences on these policy opportunities in national contexts, which is relevant to the study of global policy transfer. In the framework, the 'policy transfer window' represents the political opportunity for the adoption of a global solution to a national policy problem.

3.3.3. *Alignment with local ideas and interests*

Acceptance of a global policy idea at local level during implementation also requires alignment with the political stream. Where transnational actors have limited involvement with policy implementation, global policy ideas may be mediated through the implementers rather than directly through the policy stream. The nature of the interaction between the streams is different because during implementation the policy is already in place so the focus shifts from uptake of a policy to the reactions the policy by local leaders, implementing actors and the public, including the target population. The harmony or mismatch between the ideas within the policy and the ideas of these various local actors can affect implementation and policy development more generally (Beland and Ridde, 2016). In the absence of clear feedback effects (Pierson, 1993) and social accountability (Hickey and King, 2016; Jones et al., 2016; Molyneux et al., 2016), feedback occurs through direct channels of contestation and bureaucratic response facilitated by political intervention.

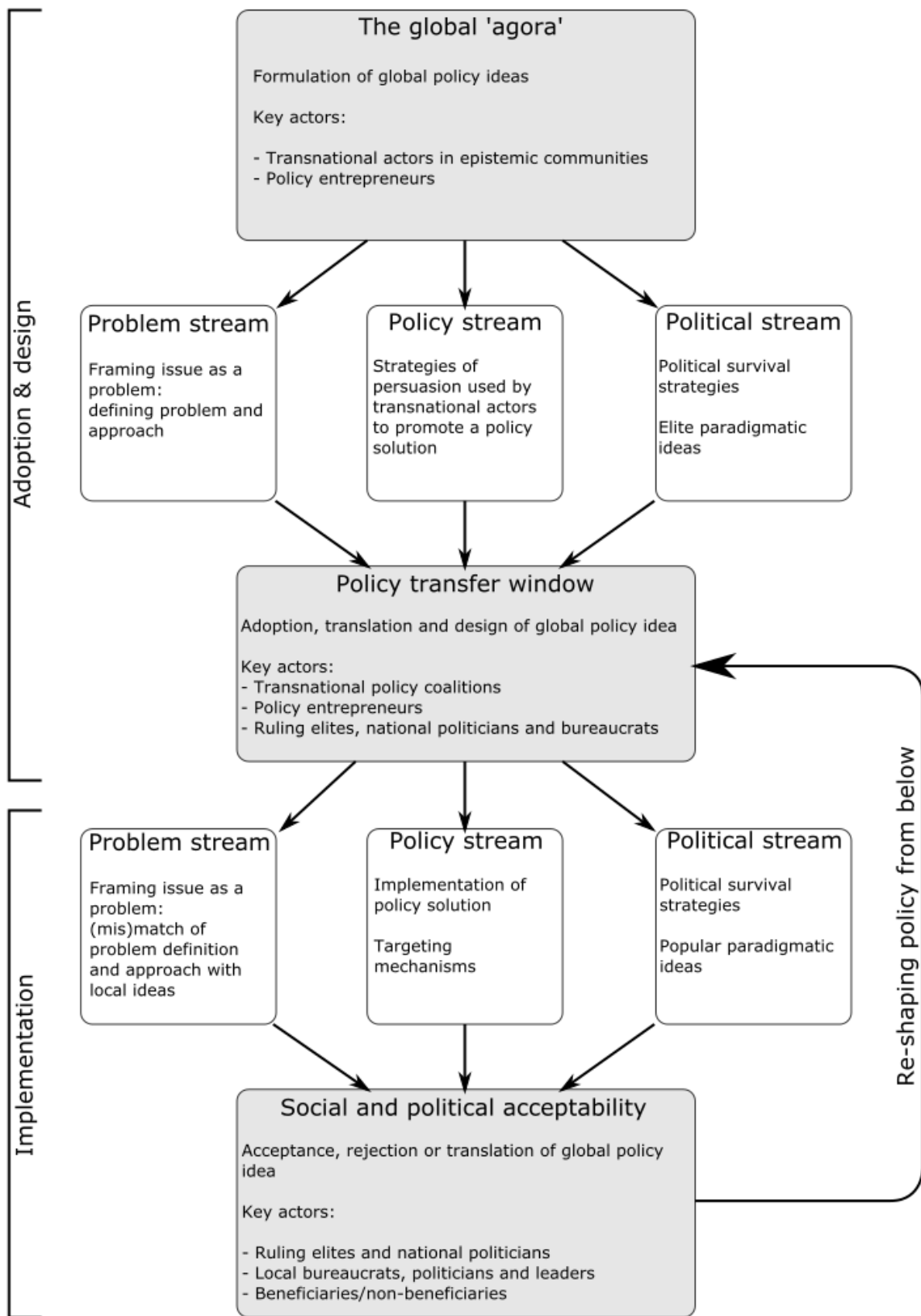
This focus on alignment raises a question concerning the transformative nature of ideas. If new policy ideas can only be accepted when they are congruent with existing ideas and interests, this suggests that there is little room for change apart from at moments of crisis and uncertainty, which Blyth (2002) has identified as the key drivers of ideational change. This tension has been examined in the context of the politics of negotiating gender equity. Nazneen et al. (2019) identify the challenges faced by transformative policies which challenge existing structures, compared to ameliorative policies, and investigate strategies that have been used to promote transformative ideas across a range of cases. The thesis acknowledges this tension, and considers attempts to shift, as well as align with, existing ideas within the case study.

3.4. *Conceptual framework*

See Diagram 1 below for the conceptual framework for analysing the interaction of global policy ideas with the politics of domestic policy processes. The diagram identifies the key actors and mechanisms during the process of global policy transfer, as a policy idea is transferred from the global agora to the national level, and then to the local level through implementation. The framework presents global, national and local levels as discrete arenas for the purpose of clarity of analysis, but the thesis recognises the permeability of these levels and categories in practice. It specifies that the alignment of problem, policy

and political streams is required to create a policy transfer window for national level adoption and design. It also suggests which key actors and processes are operating within each of these streams, for example political survival strategies and elite ideas in the political stream. In the absence of a policy transfer window, a policy idea may be rejected or make minimal progress. The framework also extends the multiple streams downwards, indicating the need for continued alignment for the social and political acceptability of the policy idea at local level. If the streams do not align at this point then a policy idea that has been accepted at national level may be rejected or re-shaped during implementation through policy translation.

Diagram 1: A framework for analysing the interaction of global policy ideas with the politics of domestic policy processes



3.5. Research design and methodology

3.5.1. Perspective and approach

Chapter 2 argued that constructivism offers the most appropriate paradigmatic approach for a study of the negotiated and contested processes of policy transfer and translation. This thesis therefore adopts a constructivist lens to conduct this actor-oriented study. It engages with the field of critical policy studies, which foregrounds the role of power, actors and their ideas in policymaking processes. A constructivist approach engages with multiple ideational factors, including generative and constitutive norms, operational and aspirational norms, discourses, and causal beliefs. (Haas, 2004: 586).

Constructivism occupies the ‘middle ground’ between rationalism and poststructuralism (Adler, 1997; Guzzini, 1994), being both ‘critical’ and ‘problem-solving’. A constructivist ontology maintains a distinction between the natural world and the social world, conceiving of multiple worlds that are socially constructed (Moses and Knutsen, 2007). This approach recognises the close association between knowledge and power, and is therefore both critical and self-aware (Moses and Knutsen, 2007). The research adopts an interpretive critical epistemology, a form of interpretive inquiry that recognises the constructed nature of reality and integrates critical theory in order to address social change (Lincoln and Guba, 2013).

Adopting a constructivist approach to the policy process facilitates an interrogation of the ways in which knowledge is developed and legitimated by ‘autonomous’ and ‘neutral’ scientists, transmitted by ‘experts’, while recognising that agency and power also resides in domestic actors. States’ perceptions of problems to be addressed and the nature of their responses, as well as the role of non-state actors are central here (Haas, 2004). Adopting an actor-oriented perspective entails “recognising the ‘multiple realities’ and diverse social practices of various actors” (Long and Long, 1992: 5), which are central to understanding complex and contested processes, such as policy-making.

3.5.2. Methods and selection decisions

To address the research questions listed in Chapter 1, a qualitative approach is used, employing a case study method. A case study allows for a detailed examination of an aspect of a social phenomenon to develop or test explanations that may be generalisable

to other similar events (George and Bennett, 2005: 5). A case is a spatially delimited unit, in this research a single country, observed over a specified period of time (Gerring, 2007). I have selected a case study approach for a number of reasons. A single case is appropriate for “units of political study of considerable magnitude or complexity” (Eckstein, 2000: 119-120) as it enables an intensive investigation of the phenomenon in question. A case study provides the opportunity to incorporate “qualitative variables, individual actors, decision-making processes, historical and social contexts and path dependencies” (George and Bennett, 2005: 9), making it relevant for an actor-oriented study of policy processes. It therefore affords a focused arena for in-depth interrogation of complex processes involving contestation and negotiation through interactions between different actors at transnational, national and local levels. Furthermore, case studies offer advantages for work of an exploratory nature, which is what this emerging field of study regarding the spread of social protection requires. Case study research requires a necessary trade-off between depth and breadth. A single case, or small number of cases, suffers from a problem of representativeness between sample and population, which limits the generalisability of the findings and weakens the external validity of the research in comparison to cross-case studies. On the other hand, a case study approach offers high levels of internal validity and in-depth analysis providing detail and richness (Gerring, 2007).

It is this ‘holistic’ analysis and ‘thick’ description of events (Gerring, 2007) that makes a case study the most appropriate method for this thesis, as a single example of a larger phenomenon: in this case the introduction of a global policy idea – social protection – into a national context. This qualitative approach enables an investigation of the causal relationships at work. Process-tracing – defined as the investigation of the ‘decision process by which various initial conditions are translated into outcomes’ (George and McKeown, 1985: 35), often incorporating historical analysis – is particularly suited to searching for causal mechanisms and establishing the internal validity of these causal factors (Bennett and Elman, 2006; Gerring, 2007). The first step is to establish that a set of events around the promotion, adoption and implementation of social protection in Zambia occurred. The second step is to establish that there is a relationship between these events and the factors identified in the conceptual framework that explain the outcome (Mahoney, 2012), with the aim of identifying the most plausible and convincing account of the sequence of events (Patomäki and Wight, 2000: 224). Process tracing offers deeper insights into how ideas have shaped events than can be captured by alternative methods such as a survey-based approach.

Of the countries identified as being part of a 'new wave' of social protection programmes, representing a shift by donors from emergency food aid to regular and reliable cash assistance, Zambia was the first to experiment with cash transfers in 2003, followed by Malawi in 2006, Kenya in 2007 and Ghana in 2008 among others (Niño-Zarazúa et al., 2012; Barrientos, 2018). Zambia hosted the African Union regional conference in 2006, funded and facilitated by DFID, which led to the Livingstone Call for Action on social protection. The country's cash transfer pilot scheme in Kalomo was also the focus of study tours, including visits from representatives from Malawi and Uganda (Hickey et al., 2009; Niño-Zarazúa et al., 2012). Zambia is therefore an influential case in the development of cash transfers in the region. On the other hand, little progress was made on other elements of this agenda in Zambia during the same period, including efforts to promote social health insurance, despite this policy having been tabled by donors in the early 1990s. This provides a comparison between the trajectories of two different global policy ideas in the same political context, which is useful for testing the conceptual framework identified above.

Within the main case study of social protection in Zambia, two sub-case studies were selected in order to investigate the rejection of the '2014' cash transfer model during implementation and the subsequent revision of the targeting model. Following a written request to the Director of Social Welfare to access programme monitoring reports, permission was refused on the basis that the material in the reports was too sensitive. In the absence of these reports the selection of the sub-cases was made purposively based on information and recommendations provided by programme officials within the Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare, who work directly with the Provincial and District officers implementing the programme. I asked these officials about the sites where the '2014' targeting model had been contested, and established that there were complaints from all 17 districts that received this model. From these 17 sites, I selected Kawambwa in Luapula Province and Petauke in Eastern Province. This was on the basis that both these districts were specifically identified by officers as having experienced politicisation around the beneficiary selection and subsequent rejection of the '2014' model in communities resulting from the selection criteria.

Kawambwa district in Luapula Province was the site of a political intervention by the Minister of Community Development. This was the key moment at which the complaints about the '2014' harmonised model became politicised at the national level due to the presence of the line Minister. The Minister's response to complaints from communities regarding the selection criteria for the '2014' model initiated a process which led to

changes to the policy design. I also included Mansa district, which falls under the same Provincial Social Welfare Office and has regional similarities to Kabambwa but received a different model: the revised '2016' design.

Petauke district in Eastern Province also received the '2014' model and experienced challenges with targeting based on the selection criteria. The District Social Welfare Office required support from headquarters to address these challenges and conducted a re-targeting exercise to check the eligibility of selected beneficiaries. Petauke also provided the opportunity to test whether understandings of deservingness varied in a different location. The population of Petauke is more than double that of Kawambwa. In addition it is situated along the Great East Road providing accessibility and connection to other parts of the country. The most recent available district level poverty estimates indicate 78% poor and 58% extremely poor in Petauke (Central Statistical Office, 2010), lower than most other districts identified as possible cases for investigating the 2014 model, which have similar poverty rates to Kawambwa – between 86-88% poor and 73-75% extremely poor.

3.5.3. Data collection and analysis

The data collection was conducted during three main phases of fieldwork:

Phase 1 – April-May 2015

- Scoping and first round of key informant interviews at national level
- Planning for phase 2

Phase 2 – Nov-Dec 2016

- Second round of key informant interviews at national level and non-participant observation
- Selection of the sub-cases for phase 3

Phase 3 – Feb-May 2017

- Final round of key informant interviews at national level
- Key informant interviews at provincial and district level in selected sub-cases
- Focus groups discussions and non-participant observation in selected sub-cases

Several different data collection techniques were engaged during this research. The main data collection strategy was conducting face-to-face semi-structured interviews with a wide range of actors involved in the social cash transfer and social health insurance policy processes. The areas of questioning are outlined in the interview schedule (see Appendix 2), intended to be adapted depending on the specific role of the interviewee and allowing scope for further probing. A significant advantage of this approach is that responses to initial questions during the interview shape the subsequent ones (Babbie, 2001). It is important to ask follow-up questions to pursue new and unanticipated themes but these cannot be drawn up in advance (Arksey and Knight, 1999).

Key informant interviews are an important tool for process tracing as they allow the researcher to gain access to direct witnesses of the events in question and confirm information from other sources or reconstruct undocumented accounts (Tansey, 2007). Interview techniques, and particularly elite interviews, are valuable for gaining insights into perceptions, beliefs and ideologies of actors with specialised knowledge and experience of the phenomenon in question which are otherwise difficult to determine (Richards, 1996). When conducting these interviews it is important to consider who is being interviewed and their motivations (George and Bennett, 2005), as there can be a discrepancy between what people say and what they actually do (Gillham, 2000). By their nature interviews provide a subjective account (Richards, 1996) and therefore need to be triangulated with multiple independent observations in order to increase the reliability (Beach and Pedersen, 2013). Rigour will be enhanced by gathering and triangulating insider accounts from key stakeholders from each different institutional perspective (for example government, donors, civil society), with policy documents, programme reports, meeting minutes and internal records (where available). Specific sector and policy areas are likely to consist of a limited number of actors, which may lead to smaller sample sizes (Richards, 1996). However, the methodological literature suggests that for interview based qualitative research, sample sizes of less than 20 are sufficient (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006), particularly where there is a high level of consistency between accounts and a point of 'saturation' is reached.

Single stage non-probability sampling was used, starting with purposive sampling based on existing contacts and relevant actors in the process and extended through snowball sampling (Blaikie, 2009). In total, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 96 key informants, with some of these informants interviewed multiple times over the three phases of fieldwork. Of this number, 77 were interviewed about social cash transfers, at

national and district levels, while the remaining 19 were interviewed about social health insurance.

In addition to the interviews, 16 focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted with beneficiaries, non-beneficiaries and Community Welfare Assistance Committees in the sub-case districts: Kabambwa, Mansa and Petauke (see previous section for district selection). The FGDs provide an insight into the perceptions of the SCT programme in communities their experiences of the targeting mechanisms. While this data is not representative of attitudes in Zambia, which would require a larger sample size and random sampling, it provides insights within the selected districts from the perspective of the target population. A focus group discussion is a group interview consisting of a small number of individuals (usually 6-10), which enables the researcher to explore the views and experiences of participants in depth (Cronin in Gilbert, 2008). In order to uncover underlying perceptions of target groups for social cash transfers among the FGD participants, I designed and conducted an exercise to rank 10 hypothetical households in order of deservingness of receiving assistance in the form of a cash transfer, assuming the same level of poverty for each household. The participants anonymously recorded their rankings on sheets of paper which I then used to discuss which groups they felt were deserving or not, and why. Due to language barriers in the communities, I worked with a research assistant for facilitation and translation.

A further strategy was a review of a wide range of secondary sources including national development plans, policy documents, budgets, evaluations, reports and relevant media coverage. There is extensive secondary data available on the SCT targeting models: the 10% inclusive model, social pension, child grant and the multiple categorical scheme. As well as a number of impact evaluation reports, there is a qualitative study on the wider impacts of SCTs which includes perceptions of SCT beneficiaries and communities (IDS, 2014). The Assessment of the Zambia Social Protection Expansion Programme Targeting Mechanisms (Beazley and Carraro, 2013) provides an overview of the experiences of these different models as well as the justification for the recommendation of the harmonised model.

The final strategy was non-participant observation⁷ during the fieldwork visits and at relevant events. During visits to Provincial and District Social Welfare Offices, I was able to observe the officers in their daily work, including interactions with social cash transfer beneficiaries/non-beneficiaries. In Kawambwa district I was invited to join a delegation from Department of Social Welfare headquarters visiting a ward receiving the SCT programme, and in Petauke district I attended a meeting of the District Welfare Assistance Committee, as an observer. In November 2016 I had the opportunity to attend a Social Cash Transfer Targeting Workshop in Lusaka organised by the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) where I was able to observe consultation and decision-making processes in action, as well as the interactions between DSW head office staff and Provincial/District officers, as well as cooperating partners. This workshop also provided insights into the targeting debates so far and the plans for 2017.

The primary data is cited used interview codes listed in the interview key in Appendix 1.

The first section of each code indicates the type of informant or source of data as follows:

ZC = cooperating partners

ZG = Zambian government

ZO = Zambian organisations

ZK = key individuals (independent consultants or currently unaffiliated)

FGD = focus group discussions

TW = targeting workshop (non-participant observation)

The data analysis was conducted systematically by combining relevant data with the pertinent elements of theory for each research question, in order to engage with and contribute to the key debates in each area. First the data from the semi-structured interviews was typed up, and focus group discussions were transcribed from recordings, in collaboration with a research assistant for translation. The data was then entered into NVivo software and the analysis conducted using a two stage coding process. The first stage – open coding – involves breaking down the data into categories and mapping it to nodes or themes derived from the conceptual framework, while the second stage – axial coding – is used to find relationships between these categories (Blaikie, 2009).

⁷ Recognising that there is a continuum between complete observer and complete participant, and that it is important to be reflexive about my presence and role as a researcher in those situations (Mason, 2002)

3.5.4. Reflections and ethical considerations

While I was confident that my key informants understood my role as a researcher, independent of the operations of the social cash transfer programme, my positionality during focus groups discussions may have been less clear. Although I emphasised that I was conducting independent research and was not involved the operations of the programme, it is possible that as a white, Western woman there may have been an assumption that I was connected to one of the cooperating partners that has influence over the SCT programme. This in turn may have affected participant responses during the focus group discussions.

During the district visits, I was reliant on the District Social Welfare Office staff in terms of their availability and willingness to assist with the research. This was particularly the case for the organisation of the focus groups discussions in communities. The aim was to speak to both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, ensuring a gender balance and a range of ages. However, it was not possible to make an open call for participants due to the lack of time, access and the limited numbers needed for each discussion. Therefore, the selection was made by the District Social Welfare Officers with assistance from the Community Welfare Assistance Committees responsible for the programme in their area. This selection method introduced a risk of bias and power dynamics, as the District officers and committee members are involved in beneficiary selection processes within communities.

During the focus group discussions, I was aware that some participants were speaking more than others and specifically directed questions at the quieter members of the group – mainly women – to ensure they had to opportunity to contribute if they felt comfortable to do so. Nonetheless there were dominant voices in the discussions, particularly those that had a leadership role within the community or spoke better English, so it is likely that power dynamics within the community were being reproduced during these discussions.

I employed a number of strategies to address potential ethical challenges. Before travelling to Zambia, I gained approval for the fieldwork from the University Research Ethics Committee. When in Zambia I obtained a letter from the Department of Social Welfare granting me permission to conduct research and interviews, at the Headquarters in Lusaka, as well as at field sites in the Provinces and Districts identified above. During the district visits and particularly during the focus group discussions I consulted with my research assistant to gain insights and advice, while remaining aware of his own social

positioning in the situation. In the field, I ensured that all informants gave informed consent, having received information about the research. This included an information sheet, which was translated into local language for the FGDs, detailing the purpose of the research, what would happen to the data and that participants are free to withdraw from the research at any time. Recognising that confidentiality and anonymity are of the utmost importance, I ensured that data was anonymised and held securely. A risk assessment was also completed for the fieldwork aspect of the research, with mitigation strategies developed for any significant risks. I have secured funding for a dissemination trip to Zambia after submitting my thesis enabling me to share my findings directly with the key informants and other relevant stakeholders, as well as gaining their input. The trip has the dual objective of fulfilling an ethical commitment to the research participants, and contributing to my pathway to impact.

3.6. Conclusion

The global policy literature recognises the increasingly transnationalised nature of policy-making, however there is a disconnect with the literature on the policy process which largely remains methodologically national. There is also a growing appreciation of the 'intrinsic politics' of global policy transfer, but the pertinent political factors are under-defined and under-investigated. To deepen understanding of the politics of global policy transfer, through the case of social cash transfers in Zambia, I have developed a conceptual framework that incorporates the transfer of global policy ideas through strategies of persuasion, multiple streams and the role of implementation in continued policy translation. The framework has been developed drawing on Stone (2012), Mosse (2005) and Li (2007), Peck and Theodore (2010; 2015) and Béland and Ridde (2016). Adopting an actor-oriented approach, this research is a critical interpretivist inquiry underpinned by a constructivist perspective.

Chapter 4 will now provide the context for the case study of Zambia, tracing politics, ideas and development in the country since the colonial period. The chapter will identify the key elements of the case that are relevant for the conceptual framework, with a focus on the political survival strategies and elite ideas within Zambia's political stream.

4. Politics, ideas and development in Zambia

4.1. Introduction

Since its formation as a nation “defined by prior and more sought-after claims to the territories to its south, east, west and north” (Larmer et al., 2014: 895), Zambia has been significantly influenced by external actors and processes. The country’s borders, institutions and policies were initially shaped during the colonial period, first through the coercion of direct rule and later the more dispersed mechanisms of power of ‘indirect rule’ (Frederiksen, 2014). While independence in 1964 marked a clear break with colonial rule, inherited political structures and policy legacies have nonetheless continued to influence the functioning of politics and development in Zambia. Domestic political actors have also been constrained by the economic model and political parameters prescribed by the international financing institutions (IFIs), particularly after the world oil crises and collapse in copper prices during the 1970s. However, the country’s improved fiscal outlook due to high copper prices from 2004 onwards means that Zambia has become less reliant on transnational actors and able to exert greater control over their policy decisions to some extent (Fraser, 2009). Copper prices dipped temporarily in the wake of the 2008 global crisis but initially recovered, and economic growth in Zambia averaged 7.4% between 2004 and 2014 (Hinfelaar and Achberger, 2017; ICCM, 2014; Smith et al., 2016). However, as copper prices fell again from 2011 onwards, economic growth slowed to 3.2% in 2015 and has remained below 4%. Nonetheless, public spending continued to rise funded largely by external borrowing, leading the IMF to issue a warning in 2017 that Zambia was at high risk of debt distress (Smith et al., 2016; Banda-Muleya and Nalishebo, 2018).

In addition to providing the wider context for the case study of Zambia, Chapter 4 also situates this study of global policy transfer against the historical, political and economic background of the country. The conceptual framework for the thesis (diagram 1) identifies the political stream, specifically political survival strategies as well as elite and popular ideas, as an important factor influencing global policy transfer. This chapter will proceed to draw out the key interests and ideas operating in the political stream in Zambia that will be relevant for the investigation of global policy transfer to follow in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, through the empirical analysis of social health insurance and cash transfers.

First, the chapter assesses the nature of colonialism in Northern Rhodesia (as Zambia was known during the colonial era), as well as the ways in which colonial legacies and the

independence struggles shaped post-independence Zambia from 1964. Section 4.3 then traces the growing authoritarianism that emerged during the First and Second Republics (1964-1991), despite the apparently progressive philosophy of Zambian humanism promoted by the first President Kaunda and the United National Independence Party (UNIP). This section finds that the coalition-driven nature of politics in Zambia has largely served the interests of the ruling elite, but has tended to undermine development progress. While popular participation in politics has been minimal, powerful non-state groups, particularly the trade unions and churches, have proved vital at key turning points in Zambia's political development, although these have been largely excluded or co-opted by the ruling coalitions. The final section of this chapter looks at the return of multi-party politics to Zambia in 1991 and the implementation of structural adjustment under the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), as an example of a global policy agenda imposed on Zambia. The 2000s continued to witness extensive liberalisation and privatization, and an embrace of neoliberalism. This led to declining standards of living, particularly in urban areas, prompting a populist backlash against MMD's policies, which brought the Patriotic Front (PF) to power in 2011.

4.2. Colonial rule and the independence movement (1890-1964)

The system of colonial rule in Northern Rhodesia, particularly following the transfer of authority from the commercial British South Africa Company to the Colonial Office in 1924, shaped Zambia's political structures after independence (Phiri, 2006). The introduction of 'indirect rule' in British colonies in the 1930s led to a dual system of administration, divided into 'modern' colonial law and traditional 'customary' law in rural areas (Mamdani, 1999). Following the discovery of copper in 1925, the concentration of economic activity in the mining towns and along railway lines led to inequality of wealth and development within the country. The growth of the mining industry also led to rapid processes of urbanisation and class formation, including the establishment of African trade unions in the 1940s (Lindemann, 2011; Rakner, 1992). These trade unions and other groups formed the basis of the nationalist independence movement, which succeeded in gaining independence for Zambia in 1964. However, they were soon either silenced or incorporated into the new regime as the interests of these groups were subordinated to the 'national interest' within an all-encompassing African nationalism (Larmer, 2016), a dynamic which would come to define Zambia's politics under the one-party state of the Second Republic.

4.2.1. *The nature of colonialism in Northern Rhodesia*

The country that would become Zambia was a product of the 'scramble for Africa' among European powers in the nineteenth century. With a pro-British missionary presence in the Lozi kingdom – or Barotseland – and British agreements already in place with various chiefs in the region, the present borders were determined by international treaties with Germany, Portugal and Leopold of Belgium (Roberts, 1976). The new territory of Northern Rhodesia was initially run by the British South Africa Company (BSAC), set up by Cecil Rhodes, although the Lozi kingdom maintained a separate legal status and independent government (Dresang, 1974; Phiri, 2006; Roberts, 1976). As a commercial company, the BSAC was more interested in profit than administration, and at this time Northern Rhodesia had little economic interest for BSAC beyond being a source of labour for mines in Congo and South Africa. The Company was eager to reduce expenditure on the territory, but settlers in both Northern and Southern Rhodesia were resistant to an amalgamation, and in 1924 Northern Rhodesia was transferred to the Colonial Office as a protectorate (Roberts, 1976).

The constitution of colonial Zambia established in 1924 provided for the division of power between an Executive Council and a Legislative Council. This structure was dominated by settlers, with no African representation on these councils until 1948 (Phiri, 2006) and a "virtual political monopoly" by Europeans until 1959 (Tordoff, 1974). The colonial government also introduced the policy of 'indirect rule', which extended the powers of chiefs to include the administration of justice as well as local taxation and expenditure in rural areas (Roberts, 1976). Provincial commissioners, charged with the administration of their province, including political, economic and social development plans, also had powers to appoint African 'native authorities'. Despite the existence of matriliney among precolonial tribes in the country which gave women autonomy and potential for leadership, including female chieftaincies, only males were recruited into this system of indirect rule. This new political structure thereby excluded women from direct participation in formal political processes in rural areas (Schuster, 1983). District commissioners, supported by a team of administrative staff, were responsible for delivering these development plans at district level. In addition there were technical staff reporting to the central government operating in parallel to these provincial and district structures (Mukwena, 2001). This combination of coercive power through direct rule and dispersed techniques of power through structures of indirect rule (Frederiksen, 2014), led to a 'bifurcated' state based on a regime of racial division and control by colonial authorities (Mamdani, 1999, 1996). This

system created a fragmented and largely ineffective administrative structure at provincial and district levels (Mukwena, 2001).

In 1925 large quantities of copper sulphide ores were discovered in the area north of Central province up to the border with the Democratic Republic of Congo. This area became known as the Copperbelt and by 1930 four large mines has been established (Roberts, 1976). Mining quickly became central to Northern Rhodesia's social, economic and political development (Phiri, 2006), raising the stakes in terms of the potential revenues from this natural resource. BSAC had retained mineral rights in the north west of the country and benefitted through royalties. The British government also gained from the arrangement as the London-based mining companies were taxed in Britain, with only half of this revenue being returned to Northern Rhodesia (Roberts, 1976). With Zambia's economic development focused in the Copperbelt, divisions emerged between the mining towns, and rural areas which remained subsistence economies (Roberts, 1976). The concentration of economic activity along railway lines also contributed to regional inequalities (Andersson et al., 2000), which continued after independence.

The mines in the Copperbelt also reversed the labour market flow in the region, with Europeans arriving to provide skilled labour, while unskilled labour was mainly sourced from Africans within Northern Rhodesia. These employment opportunities were not available to women who therefore became dependent on men, usually their husbands, for economic support and status (Evans, 2014; Schuster, 1983). The British colonial male breadwinner and female housewife model was adopted during this period and retained influence after independence, aligning with the nation's modernist aspirations (Evans, 2016). The mining companies provided better pay than other employers and housing for both European and African workers. However, they also discouraged permanent African settlement and operated on the assumption that in sickness and old age the workers would return to their villages for support. This avoided the costs of providing social security; an approach shared by the colonial government (Roberts, 1976).

The presence of a white working class and British trade unions in the Copperbelt influenced the emergence of a Zambian trade union movement, which went on to be arguably the strongest on the African continent, with the exception of South Africa (Rakner, 1992). After witnessing the strike action of their European counterparts, the African mine workers conducted two major strikes 1935 and 1940 in the form of mass urban events spread by religious and social groups, as well as personal networks (Cooper, 1989). From 1942 African welfare societies were formed in mining towns on the

Copperbelt, which were precursors of the first nationalist political parties (Roberts, 1976) and separate African trade unions were legalised in Zambia 1949 (Rakner, 1992). These groups were male dominated, meaning that women were also excluded from political processes in urban areas (Schuster, 1983). European and African workers had different conditions for their work in the mines, provoking tensions and competing claims (Berger, 1974), which led to a reduction in the European and African mineworkers earnings gap between 1949 and 1960 (Roberts, 1976: 216).

4.2.2. The independence movement and post-colonial state

In the late 1940s, the question of the franchise and engagement of Africans in politics was under discussion, with resistance from the Colonial Office as African voters represented a threat to European dominance. Nationalist activities began as a reformist rather than revolutionary movement, with emerging African elites pursuing limited access to political and economic power within the existing system (Phiri, 2006).

The formation of the Central African Federation in 1953, which aimed to strengthen European control across Northern and Southern Rhodesia, as well as Nyasaland (present day Malawi), in fact provoked opposition from Africans leading to the rise of a more revolutionary movement seeking independence (Roberts, 1976). The welfare societies that had been present in the Copperbelt since the early 1940s had formed a Federation of African Societies, aiming to improve the conditions of its members within the colonial system. This group developed first into the Northern Rhodesian African Congress in 1948 and then the African National Congress, which became a radical political party from 1953 in opposition to the Central African Federation. Secretary General of the Congress, Kenneth Kaunda, was more committed to this radical approach than Congress President Nkumbula who made concessions regarding an election held in 1959. These dynamics led to the formation of a new party – the United National Independence Party (UNIP) – with Kenneth Kaunda as its leader. The male UNIP leaders created the Women's Brigade, later renamed the Women's League, which gave women the opportunity to engage with the nationalist movement but in supportive rather than political roles (Schuster, 1983). The minimal participation of women in politics in Zambia over time has reflected deeply held gender stereotypes that women are incapable of certain tasks, including leadership, and moral pressures for women to prioritise domestic responsibilities (Evans, 2014). While some trade unions aligned with UNIP, the strongest ones – the African Mineworkers Union and the railway workers unions, remained resistant to alliance, recognising that the

interests of nationalist leaders were not the same as their own. Nonetheless, the Copperbelt was a significant region within the independence struggle, as mineworkers themselves were largely supportive of the nationalist movement, as well as unemployed youth wanting to benefit from the revenue from the mines (Larmer, 2016).

The attempts by UNIP to silence or incorporate these non-state voices, which continued after independence, serve to highlight that the interests of these groups were not necessarily the same as the interests of the party (Larmer, 2016: 228-229). Although the narrative of African nationalism was necessarily presented as the answer to the problems of colonialism, this concealed divisions within the nationalist movement, evidenced by the split within the African National Congress with one branch forming UNIP. It also played down the significance of economic, social and cultural saliency of longstanding ethno-linguistic communities divided arbitrarily by colonial claims to territory (Larmer, 2016: 13), as well as the interests of powerful groups, such as the trade unions and churches.

In terms of political organisation, the legacy of the colonial administration remained in place after independence was achieved in 1964. As Phiri (2006) argues, Zambia's inherited economic, political and social structures were determined during the second phase of colonisation, when the Colonial Office took over rule from the BSAC. Post-independence Zambia retained a variant of the Westminster parliamentary system with a continued executive and legislature structure, but with the differences that the Zambian President is chief executive as well as head of state and that there is no committee to oversee the activities of the executive (Tordoff, 1974). Tordoff (1980) argues that the colonial model of governor's rule led to the presidentialism and executive dominance of Zambia's government, leaving a 'residual' and weak parliament.

The engagement of Africans as waged labour in the mines led to higher rates of urbanisation and class formation in Zambia than most countries in the region, making class cleavages salient from the 1930s onwards (Cooper, 1989; Lindemann, 2011). At the time of independence, Zambia was recognised as the most urbanised country in sub-Saharan Africa apart from South Africa (Simance, 1972), and continued urbanisation has been a dominant strand in processes of social change in the country (Ferguson, 1999). This section has shown that in the period leading up to independence, the trade unions were a politically significant force, both in terms of protecting their own interests and as part of the independence struggle. The next section goes on to examine how the uneven levels of support for UNIP across the country led to ethno-linguistic cleavages more directly shaping the survival strategies of the ruling coalition after independence.

4.3. The First and Second Republics (1964-1991)

The First Republic was characterised by a strategy of building inclusive ruling coalitions, the related discourse of ‘One Zambia, One Nation’, and modernist narratives of development as part of the nationalist, state-building project led by Kaunda (Larmer et al., 2014). This combination supported an often progressive period of economic and social development (Noyoo, 2010), promoting “a welfare state with a centrally planned economy, a common school movement and the nationalisation of previously private enterprises” (Mwalimu, 2014: 1095). These developments were boosted by a copper boom during which Zambia was the third largest copper producer in the world (Roberts, 1976). This period of relative prosperity made Kaunda’s philosophy of Zambian Humanism, interpreted by the ILO as a basic needs approach to social and economic policy, seem feasible in the early days of independence (Mhone, 2004).

4.3.1. ‘One Zambia, One Nation’: attempting national unity in a fragmented context

The boom in copper prices and impressive growth rates averaging 7% in the decade following independence (Andersson et al., 2000), led to the First Republic (1964-1972) being “widely remembered as a period of significant progress in the provision of health, education and welfare services, compared to the abysmal provision of the colonial era and given the constraints imposed by the regional context” (Larmer et al., 2014: 901). Rapid Zambianisation occurred in the civil service increasing wage employment (other than domestic service) from 190,000 in 1963 to 310,000 in 1970 (Tordoff, 1980), although appointment was not always based on merit (Mukwena, 2001). Humanism underpinned UNIP’s programme with its stated commitment towards an egalitarian society (Muwina, 2018), and this era has been described as moving towards a welfare state, including free health services, expanded education and the “provision of what were effectively grants to many village farmers” (Tordoff, 1974: 23).

At independence, there was considerable potential for conflict along regional, ethno-linguistic and class cleavages (Dresang, 1974), with limited support for the ruling party in the south and west of the country. Nonetheless, the government initially preserved stability through ‘tribal balancing’: a practice of equitably distributing positions of state power among representatives of competing groups (Lindemann, 2011; Phiri, 2006). Informed by the legacy of colonial rule, under which projects of state formation and

governmentality took shape around the construction of ethno-linguistic groups, the efforts of successive ruling coalitions in Zambia have recognised the political salience of these groups. Four main political groupings can be identified on an ethno-linguistic basis – Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga and Lozi (Dresang, 1974). With no single group able to dominate alone, politics in post-colonial Zambia has been shaped by efforts to form coalitions across these groups, with a tendency to seek ‘inclusive or over-sized rather than minimum winning coalitions’ (Scarritt, 2006: 234).

In the urbanised Copperbelt region, which has a mixture of ethnic groups, the labour movement has continued to be a powerful organised force, prioritising the interests of (predominantly male) workers. Following a period of racial tensions and industrial unrest, including strikes, in the Copperbelt in 1966 (Gupta, 1974 in Mukwena, 2001), the mineworkers union successfully achieved large pay rises contributing to growing inequalities within towns (Roberts, 1976). More broadly, the African trade unions in Zambia have considered themselves to be ‘defenders of democracy’ (Rakner, 1992: 71) and have engaged in political campaigns at times of transition including the independence struggle. However, on gaining power in 1964, UNIP attempted to incorporate the trade unions through the creation of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU). As a government agency sharing the goals of the party, the ZCTU lacked legitimacy in the eyes of the unions themselves, which aimed to remain pluralist and autonomous (Rakner, 1992).

Throughout UNIP’s rule, women only accounted for 3–8% of elected parliamentarians in Zambia (Evans, 2016), and were more commonly found in UNIP’s Women’s League, and later in equivalent women’s branches of political parties and organisations (Geisler, 2006). One female politician identified these party-affiliated structures as the biggest barrier to women’s political participation (Ferguson et al., 1995 in Tripp, 2001), contributing to politics being considered an “all-men affair” (Geisler, 2006). The lack of women in positions of political power has meant that they have largely been excluded from the ruling coalitions in Zambia, with their views and interests therefore having little political representation (Schuster, 1983).

The political survival strategies of the ruling coalitions in Zambia have focused on constructing inclusive ‘elite bargains’ accommodating the ethno-linguistic groups through the distribution of state resources, to maintain order and retain power (Lindemann, 2011). These elite bargains have been achieved largely through patronage as an instrument to create and maintain political cohesion (Erdmann and Engel, 2006), in this case mainly

through appointments which are under the control of the Presidency. In order to achieve this, the size of government was increased during the First Republic, with the number of ministries and deputies growing from 38 in 1964 to 55 in 1972, involving significant economic costs (Lindemann, 2011). As party officers owed their positions to Kaunda rather than local support, patronage flowed at the elite level but did not reach lower levels (Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003; Cheeseman, 2006 in Larmer, 2016: 94). These survival strategies have continued to shape the political stream in Zambia, which will be relevant to tracing social policy formation and domestic receptivity to social protection ideas within the policy stream in the following chapters.

Building on the 'foundational myth of nationhood' (Larmer, 2016), Kaunda invoked the rhetoric of 'One Zambia, One Nation' in an attempt to overcome tribalism within the population. Humanism was Zambia's official ideology in the period following independence (Scarritt, 1971; Tordoff, 1977), espousing the dignity of the individual and value of human relations above material possessions (Roberts, 1976). Humanism is claimed to have been the foundation for UNIP's programme of action on taking power in 1964, for example the abolition of fee-paying schools and hospitals and Zambia's support for the Southern African liberation movements (Tordoff, 1980). While there is some disagreement among scholars as to whether Zambian humanism emerged from a return to traditional values, the embodiment of UNIPs' principles formed during the independence struggle, or Kenneth Kaunda's personal thoughts, it is likely to be a combination of these (Molteno, 1973). Zambian Humanism was specifically based on ethics and state moralizing (Ferguson, 2006), emerging from Kaunda's Christian education and pacifist preferences. However, the rather imprecise nature of humanism also had the advantage of being able to accommodate the wide range of interests within Kaunda' ruling coalition after independence (Szeftel, 1978). It also drew on African forms of socialism, influenced by other post-independence leaders such as Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and Tanzania's Julius Nyerere, although the relationship between humanism and socialism was not clearly spelled out (Gertzel et al., 1984). In a study of elite values in Zambia, Scarritt (1971) found that these ideas of humanism and African socialism were often compared with cooperative forms of social organisation found in villages, largely considered to be an African tradition which should be preserved.

Despite these efforts to build political coalitions and a shared Zambian identity, national unity in the country remained fragmented (Larmer, 2016: 23), reflecting a lack of unity within the ruling party due to the competing demands of its various interest groups (Phiri, 2006). The failure to accommodate class cleavages on the Copperbelt also began to

undermine UNIP's supposedly inclusive elite bargain (Lindemann, 2011). Kaunda's intolerance of regional or ethnic forms of discontent began to extend to any criticism of his government and policies (Larmer, 2016), and the authoritarian nature of Kaunda's brand of nationalism had started to become apparent (Macola, 2008). At the Mulungushi conference in 1967, there was a split in UNIP between a Bemba-Tonga alliance on the one hand and a Lozi-Nyanja alliance on the other. Kaunda used UNIP's highly centralised and politically controlled administration structure to appoint politicians as district governors in an attempt to strengthen national unity (Mukwena, 2001). However, as opposition parties began to emerge, including the largely Lozi-speaking United Party in 1966 (Molteno in Tordoff, 1974) and the United Progressive Party in 1971 which was strong in the Copperbelt (Phiri, 2006), Kaunda resorted to repression and declared a one-party state in 1972.

4.3.2. The one-party state: losing legitimacy

During the Second Republic (1972-1991), the one-party state further increased the centralisation of power in the presidency, with all important decisions being taken by Kaunda and his key advisors (Larmer, 2016). This was accompanied by increasing state control of the economic sector with the major industries and mining companies nationalised in the late 1960s and administered by politically appointed leaders (Rakner, 1992). Despite the framing of this new political arrangement as a 'one-party participatory democracy' (Lungu, 1986; Phiri, 2006; Tordoff, 1980), still rhetorically anchored in Humanism, the government during the Second Republic institutionalized central political control over the distribution of spoils, which had created political conflict and instability under the First Republic (Szeftel, 2000). This was accompanied by accusations of mismanagement and corruption.

Humanism continued to provide a narrative of solidarity and a legitimating discourse against exploitation while often being self-serving for politicians in practice (Ferguson, 2006). Combined with 'high modernist' ambitions, UNIP's top-down approach to development rationalised significant levels of state intervention, and by 1979 over 80% of the Zambian economy was under state control (Simutanyi, 2006). However the dominance of the executive, and specifically the Presidency, weakened the technocracy leading to a dualistic but unbalanced decision-making structure. In 1980, an "embattled technocratic team" led by the head of the Bank of Zambia tried to stand up to against budgetary expansion without sufficient revenue, but were consequently dismissed as

political logic trumped economic logic. They were later reinstated, only to be replaced again in 1985, demonstrating the precarious nature of these technocratic roles (Callaghy in Nelson, 1990: 290). The implementation of policies at local level was equally weak. The introduction of the Local Administration Act in 1980 aimed to address the dysfunctional administrative structure that was having adverse effects on development, but this integration did not happen as intended and budgets were still controlled centrally (Mukwena, 2001). The Local Administration Act faced resistance from MPs and trade unions concerned about the implications of extending party control to local level politics (Rakner, 1992), and indeed the links between the party structure and local government did lead to a blurring of political and administrative boundaries (Chikulo, 2009; Tordoff and Young, 1994). Grassroots structures such as the village productivity committees aimed to increase participation but were limited by fears of political repercussions. Larmer et al. (2014) point out that UNIP's centralised control of development provided the party with the opportunity to 'manage' Zambian citizens. Despite the repressive nature of the one-party state, criticism did continue through established channels including the Churches and the trade unions. For example, the introduction of the Industrial Relations Act of 1971 marked a series of unsuccessful attempts by the government to incorporate the unions by force, leading to the ZCTU and trade union movement emerging as political opposition to the one-party state (Rakner, 1992).

Initially UNIP had enjoyed legitimacy as the liberation party, and Kaunda took up the role of moralist and mediator in support of the liberation movements across the region, in Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa among others (Chan, 1992). At this time, the values of Pan-Africanism and non-alignment were at the forefront of the country's outward-looking stance (Shaw, 1976). Zambia was an active member of the Non-Aligned Movement and gained support from both sides during the Cold War. However, by the end of the Cold War, these conditions had disappeared and the one-party state had lost legitimacy both at home and abroad (Fraser, 2009: 309, 311) accompanied by an undermining of solidarity as the trade unions took up the role of political opposition. With the retreat of socialism globally during the 1980s, Zambia faced an ideological crisis exacerbated by the increasing influence of the IFIs, as discussed in the next section.

4.3.3. Economic crisis and the onset of structural adjustment

While Zambia experienced impressive growth rates and development gains in the first decade or so after independence, these were short-lived due to a series of shocks to the economy. First the 1973 oil crisis led to a threefold increase in oil prices, then the subsequent world recession reduced demand for copper, and as a result the price of copper fell by 40% in 1975. The second oil crisis in 1979 led to further decline, negatively affecting Zambia's balance of payments (Andersson et al., 2000). With the collapse of copper prices, "the economic basis of the post-colonial state broke down" (Larmer, 2005: 34). The reduction in government revenue led to a lack of resources for social services (Baylies, 1982), which quickly deteriorated. Zambia became caught in a 'debt trap', with imports exceeding exports, accompanied by food shortages and rising inflation (Rakner, 1992).

Following the sharp decline in Zambia's terms of trade and the impact on the country's balance of payments the IFIs stepped in. After signing the first agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1976, Zambia continued to receive IMF funds through a series of agreements with increasing levels of conditionality attached (Loxley, 1990). The first structural adjustment package was agreed with the IMF and World Bank in 1983, entailing a wide range of policies aiming to restructure Zambia's economy (Saasa, 1996). Having identified excessive state regulation as the cause of the economic crisis in the region, and positing a neoliberal approach as both the explanation and solution to this crisis, the IFIs incorporated various neoliberal prescriptions into their interventions (Simutanyi, 2006). These included measures on privatisation, wage freezes, subsidy removal and civil service retrenchment (Saasa, 1996; Simutanyi, 1996), which were required in order to continue receiving external finance. However, there was widespread opposition to these reforms. Trade unions resisted the changes with a series of strikes in 1984 and 1985, managing to increase the wage freeze level from 5% to 10%, and later resistance spread to urban elites and members of the government leading to several renegotiations of the IMF agreement (Hawkins, 1991; Simutanyi, 1996).

In December 1986, the government removed the maize subsidy as a condition of the structural adjustment programme, leading to huge increases in basic food prices. This prompted demonstrations and riots during which 15 people were killed. President Kaunda then reversed the decision to remove subsidies and on 1 May 1987 he cancelled the IMF agreement, putting an end to these reform attempts (Baylies and Szeftel, 1992; Rakner, 2003; Simutanyi, 1996). Instead the government introduced a home-grown New Economic Recovery Programme (Loxley, 1990; Rakner, 2003), which abandoned the liberalisation of the economy and reduced debt servicing, re-introducing state-controlled mechanisms

(Rakner, 2003). This break with the IMF then led to suspension of credit from the World Bank and most donor countries (Bates and Collier, 1995). While these events indicated a willingness to reject donor ideas when under pressure from citizens, this approach quickly backfired. The government struggled without donor funds and was forced to re-open negotiations with the IMF in 1989 (Fraser, 2009).

In order to qualify for another IMF loan, Zambia was required to draw up a Policy Framework Paper and implement a number of market-oriented economic policy measures. This agreement again included the reduction of maize subsidies, which was carried out in 1990 increasing the price of maize meal by over one hundred percent. Once again, riots broke out in Lusaka and Copperbelt towns and this time 27 people were killed, with hundreds of others injured or arrested (Simutanyi, 1996). However, this time Kaunda did not rescind the decision, and the antagonism was directed against UNIP rather than the IMF as it had been previously (Rakner, 1992). This precipitated the reintroduction of multiparty elections with the opponents of structural adjustment forming the opposition party that went on to win the 1991 election, as addressed in the following section.

4.4. *The Third Republic and beyond*

Following the reintroduction of multi-party democracy in 1991, the imbalance of power in favour of the executive was maintained under the newly elected Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), as well as the continued use of patronage to secure maximum coalitions (Baylies and Szeftel, 1992). The ongoing centralization of power in the Presidency has continued the deficit of political accountability both in terms of answerability and enforceability (Burnell, 2003). Zambia's chronically weak parliament struggles to make meaningful policy changes without executive turnovers (Barrientos et al., 2005; Evans, 2018), which has implications for new policy ideas introduced by transnational actors.

This section analyses the social forces that worked together to overthrow UNIP after 27 years in government, and the declining influence of these interest groups following the change of power due to a combination of economic and political liberalisation. This period saw the continuation of existing political logics, including coalition building and patronage. The populist rise to power of the Patriotic Front in 2011 disrupted these dynamics to some extent but factionalism and authoritarianism are still at work within Zambian politics, with a focus on maintaining access to power and state resources.

4.4.1. *The coalition against UNIP*

Demands for reform in Zambia reflected growing discontentment with Kaunda's regime, spurred by the one-party state's vulnerability to public pressure demonstrated by the reversal of government policy in 1987 (Larmer, 2016). The challenge to return to multiparty democracy in 1989 was led by future President Frederick Chiluba, Chairman of the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) (Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003). Until this point, Zambia's economic problems were publically considered to be temporary and the unpopular policies blamed on external actors, particularly the IMF (Callaghy in Nelson, 1990; Rakner, 1992). Although the relationship between UNIP and ZCTU had been fraught since the early 1980s, exacerbated by the detention of leaders of the Mineworkers' Union of Zambia and the ZCTU (including Chiluba) (Larmer, 2005: 34), the strikes and food riots in 1986 and 1987 were primarily directed against the economic reform measures rather than the political system (Rakner, 2003). However in 1990 this changed: sparked by the doubling of the maize price, further riots spread in protest against the government and the *de facto* opposition led by the trade unions turned their antagonism against UNIP (Rakner, 1992). Coupled with widespread popular calls for the reintroduction of multiparty democracy, this eventually put sufficient pressure on Kaunda to call a general election in 1991.

A broad representation of social groups participated in the public protests, ranging from students and unionized workers to public employees (Bratton, 1994). The trade union movement, and ZCTU in particular, were the leading actors in mobilising this opposition against UNIP and establishing a 'broad-based alternative ruling coalition' (Bratton, 1994; Rakner, 1992). The labour movement's resistance to incorporation by UNIP gave them credibility as opponents to the existing political order (Larmer, 2016). The unions retained their status as an autonomous interest group with affiliation to the opposition party being limited, and trade unionists supported MMD as individuals rather than as trade unionists (Rakner, 1992). The business community had also formed a "dissident political faction" (Bates and Collier, 1995: 119), feeling alienated by UNIP's restrictive policies that worked against business interests. While some members of the business community entered Parliament as UNIP MPs and criticized policy from within, others joined the opposition coalition (Bates and Collier, 1995; Gertzel et al., 1984). Students were another vocal group in articulating their opposition to the regime (Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003), as well

as academics and intellectuals, including representatives of the Economic Association of Zambia and the Zambia Research Foundation (Bartlett, 2000).

While the Churches claimed neutrality with regards to the political system, they used their considerable influence to support political reform. Under UNIP, the Catholic Church was particularly critical of the growing poverty and inequality in the one-party state, stating in a Pastoral Letter to the *Times of Zambia* in July 1990 that “we feel compelled to speak out on behalf of the poor” (Komakoma, 2003: 225). This reflected their increasing move towards social justice goals from the late 1960s (Hinfelaar, 2008). The Catholic Church also posed challenging questions about levels of representation and accountability of the government, and in the same letter mentioned above publically endorsed the proposed referendum on a multi-party system (Komakoma, 2003).

The opposition party MMD therefore emerged as an “uneasy coalition of social forces” (Larmer, 2016: 250), disenchanted with UNIP for various reasons. In addition to the trade unions, this coalition included businesses, churches and former political leaders, as well as academics (Larmer, 2005; Lindemann, 2011). It was UNIP’s failure to accommodate these groups in their ethnically balanced inclusive elite bargains that provided the opportunity for opposition party MMD to rise to power.

4.4.2. *The rise of neoliberalism under MMD*

The 1991 election in Zambia saw a landslide victory for MMD, with the party gaining 80% of the vote in many areas, and marked the return of multi-party politics to the country. One of the early examples of a peaceful transfer of power to an opposition party – following Benin’s ‘democratic renewal’ in 1989 (Allen, 1992) – this was a major achievement (Baylies and Szeftel, 1992). However, despite the change of players entailed by the election of MMD, this shift did not transform how politics worked in Zambia. Presidents Chiluba and Mwanawasa both continued to maintain maximum coalitions through the use of patronage in appointments, allocating key positions within the executive, administration, military and parastatal sector in a balanced way across the main groupings (Baylies and Szeftel, 1992; Lindemann, 2011). Ethnic balancing continued to be prioritised with labour concerns largely overlooked, despite the pivotal role played by trade unions in the political transition. While a Zambia National Women’s Lobby Group was established in 1991 to support women’s participation and representation in the new era of multiparty politics, little progress was made on this front during the 1990s (Phiri, 2008). Under MMD, women’s

needs continued to be subordinated to national interests and party welfare (Geisler, 2006), with MMD leaders and even some female parliamentarians resisting constitutional changes to incorporate women's rights including reproductive rights and equal opportunity in education (Tripp, 2001).

The Local Government Act of 1991 was designed to 'de-link' the ruling party from government structures, distinguishing between the ruling party, central government and local government (Chikulo, 2009). However, amendments were quickly made which meant that MPs automatically became councillors in their districts, therefore retaining political control of these structures. In 1995 the National Assembly introduced Constituency Development Funds which were supposed to enhance local development but were largely driven by political rather than economic considerations (Mukwena, 2001).

Self-seeking tendencies and factionalism remained endemic within Zambia's political system (Burnell, 1995), and the Third Republic (1991-2001) was also a period of increasing 'financial indiscipline' (Burnell, 2001). Having previously been excluded from access to the state and its resources, there were now increasing opportunities for those in power to benefit, facilitated by privatisation and deregulation (Szeftel, 2000). This combination of factors marked an era that has since been described as plunder and pillaging of the Zambian state, with President Chiluba and others in his government accused of using state funds for personal expenses (Noyoo, 2010; van Donge, 2009). With funds for social sectors already massively cut as a result of the reforms and retrenchment under the earlier restructuring packages, this culture of indiscipline led to the distribution of scarce public resources favouring the machinery of state rather than economic and social wellbeing of citizens (Burnell, 2001), showing the lack of prioritisation given to social policy by the government.

Despite their importance in delivering political change in Zambia, many of the groups involved in the pro-democracy movement were subsequently excluded. The influence of academics and progressives declined vis-à-vis the more powerful business and political interests, and other key supporters, particularly the unions, were side-lined in decision-making (Bartlett, 2000; Lindemann, 2011; Simutanyi, 1996). Larmer (2016) argues that the groups involved in the coalition were largely pursuing material and cultural improvements for themselves and their communities, which at this point aligned into a broader movement for political change. The ways in which these interests were later ignored or incorporated by the ruling party demonstrates the continued tension between

the priorities of political parties and those of constituencies and interest groups (Larmer, 2016: 229).

For example although ZCTU leaders, including Chiluba himself, had opposed structural adjustment and condemned UNIP's re-engagement with the IMF in 1988 (Bartlett, 2000; Hawkins, 1991; Rakner, 1993), Chiluba gained popular support and votes through a campaign based on austerity and sacrifice (Simutanyi, 1996). On becoming President in 1991, Chiluba swiftly embraced the liberalisation agenda in order to attract foreign aid and capital (Fraser, 2009). This approach alienated the trade unions who were supporting labour rights and the churches who remained concerned about the effects on the poor, while maintaining the support of business associations and getting donors back onside. Taking advantage of the 'honeymoon' period following their election victory, MMD succeeded in withdrawing maize subsidies – which doubled the price – as well as introducing other liberalisation measures, with negligible political and public opposition (Rakner, 2003; Simutanyi, 1996).

The MMD's large electoral majority and the apparent public acceptance of the structural adjustment reform measures, reduced the government's incentive to engage with interest groups. As the combination of political liberalisation and economic reforms fragmented these groups and undermined their economic basis, their influence began to decline under MMD's rule leading to a lack of representation in terms of the political agenda. Political pluralism weakened the trade union movement, while the government no longer consulted with business representatives. Agricultural interests had emerged as the largest constituency that could support or threaten MMD's coalition, recognised by covert inputs and subsidies provided to producers by the government throughout the 1990s. From 1995 onwards the Zambia National Farmers Union (ZNFU) in particular became increasingly critical of MMD's inconsistent agricultural policies, and the ZNFU President formed his own opposition party, the National Lima Party. However, divisions within the group of associations representing agricultural interests weakened their influence (Rakner, 2003). This decline of interest group influence and the continued predominance of patronage-based politics contributed to the politicisation of the public bureaucracy (Levy, 2014), and to personalised rather than programmatic politics.

The lack of programmatic or ideological differentiation in Zambian politics was also illustrated by the frequency with which politicians moved between parties, sometimes then retracing their steps to re-join a party they had formerly left (Burnell, 1995). By the mid-1990s half the original MMD cabinet had resigned and a number of former UNIP

politicians “crossed the floor” to join MMD, undermining the new party’s credibility (Fraser, 2009: 303). The extension of political space also created a clearer exit option for elites dissatisfied with their status. The incentives for these elites to leave and form their own challenger parties are further raised by the presidentialist character of the political system in Zambia, whereby the president holds significant personal powers concerning appointments and rents. This creates a strong incentive for internal squabbles over party leadership and succession issues (Scarritt, 2006: 240), thereby increasing factionalism. It also raises the attractiveness for elites of leaving and forming their own party as a basis for running for office, indicated by the range of parties that split from MMD (Fraser, 2009).

The process of democratisation stalled during Chiluba’s first term as President, despite an increase in democracy-related aid from donors, which helped to foster ‘institutions of restraint’ but did not challenge executive dominance (Rakner, 2012). Rejecting these apparent opportunities for political challenge, there were swift moves towards presidential authoritarianism under Chiluba (Baylies and Szeftel, 1992; Mphaisha, 1996; Rakner, 2003). In the 1996 election, Former President Kaunda was barred from standing, leading UNIP to boycott the election. With the other opposition parties weak and fragmented, MMD won a clear majority but with doubts about the fairness of the election leading to questions about the legitimacy of the government and strained relations with donors (Baylies and Szeftel, 1997).

After years of stop-start reform under UNIP, Chiluba’s radical programmes of economic liberalisation seemed to “attest to [the party’s] conservative neo-liberal ideological disposition” (Ihonvbere, 1996: 115). However, Kabandula and Seekings (2016) argue that to read this stance as purely neoliberal is to miss the ways in which this ideology chimed with elements of Zambian thought. These include productivist ways of thinking and deeply rooted conservative liberal ideas, with links to evangelical Christianity emphasising individualism. These ideas are particularly strongly held in Southern Zambia, due to the economic tradition of business and free enterprise of the Tonga people in that region, exemplified by opposition leader Hakainde Hichilema from the United Party for National Development. This entails an acceptance of inequality, a valorisation of achievement and a belief that the poor should lift themselves out of poverty (Kabandula and Seekings, 2016).

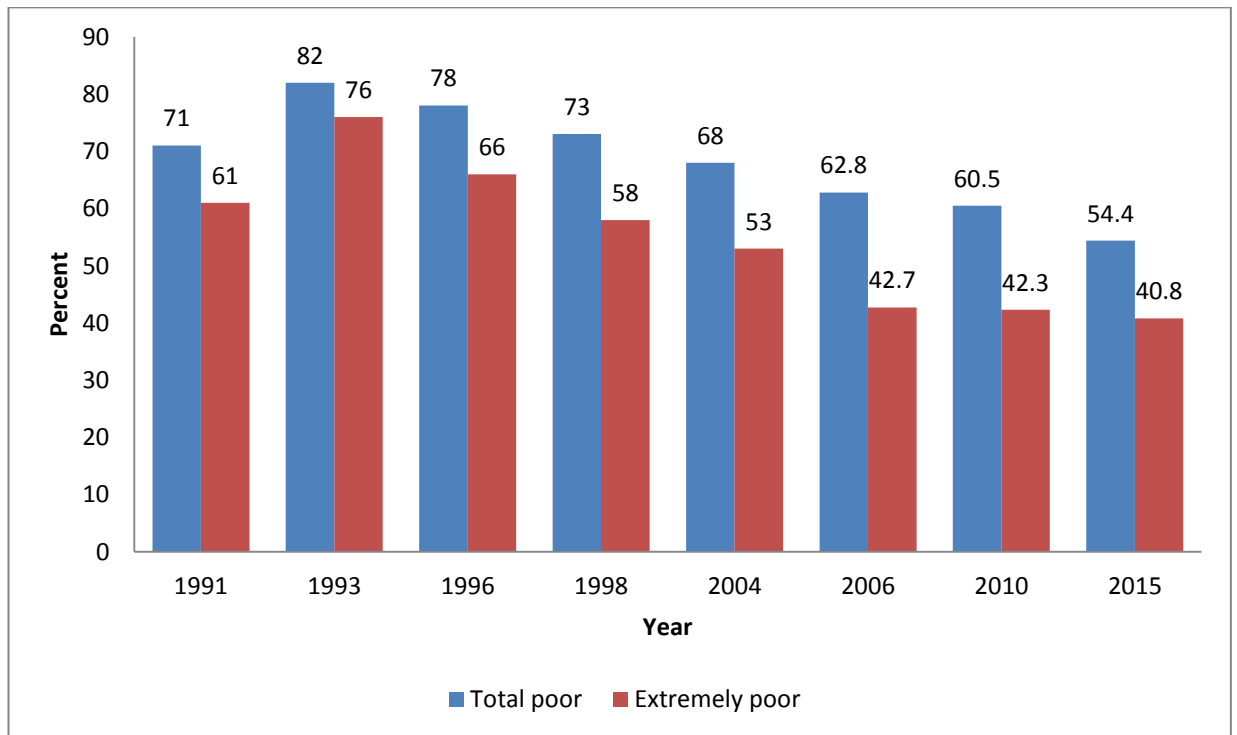
There was some resistance to the neoliberal doctrine of the structural adjustment reforms under MMD, mainly through trade union-led action against privatisation, for example a demonstration against the proposed privatisation of the Zambia National Commercial

Bank held in Lusaka in 2002 (Larmer, 2005). These reforms were also challenged by the churches in Zambia and some civil society organisations (CSOs), particularly around the effects on social sectors. An example is the pastoral letter from the Catholic Bishops of Zambia in 1993 entitled 'Hear the Cry of the Poor', which challenged "the primacy accorded to free market dominance" and drawing attention to the impacts of structural adjustment and the suffering of 'ordinary Zambians' (Komakoma, 2003: 291). Nonetheless, the paradigmatic ideas within the government at this time align more closely with neoliberalism than Kaunda's humanist vision.

4.4.3. Zambia's poverty crisis

The impacts of structural adjustments included a sharp rise in poverty and a growing debt burden. The World Bank's poverty assessment of Zambia in 1994 identified a 'poverty crisis' attributed to a combination of inappropriate policies and external shocks (World Bank, 1994a). In 1991, Zambia's Central Statistical Office undertook its first Priority Survey under the Social Dimensions of Adjustment programme launched by the World Bank in 1987, which acknowledged the social costs associated with structural adjustment. A second Priority Survey was conducted in 1993. These nationally representative household surveys measured living standards in Zambia, including poverty rates. From 1996 onwards, the surveys were expanded into Living Conditions Monitoring Surveys (LCMS), which have since been conducted in 1998, 2004, 2006, 2010 and 2015. These surveys categorise the population as non-poor, moderately poor or extremely poor based on an absolute poverty line, which attempts to define the economic resources required to meet a person's minimum needs of basic nutrition plus essential non-food items (Hulme, 2015). In Zambia the poverty line is calculated using a food basket measure for a family of six constructed by the National Food and Nutrition Commission and Prices and Income Commission (NFNC/PIC) using nation-wide surveys of food costs. However, these do not take into account seasonality, food availability and differences between rural and urban areas, which are captured in data used by the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (Chibuye, 2014).

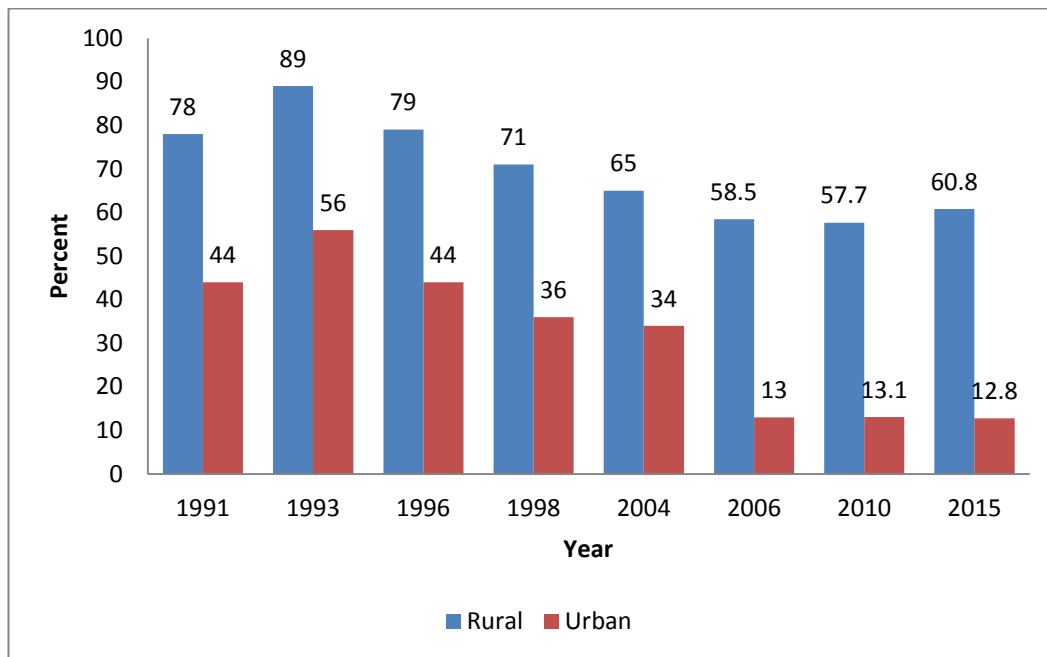
Figure 2: Changes in poverty rates, 1991-2015, Zambia



Source: Author's construction from Central Statistical Office, 1993; 1994; 1996; 1999; 2005; 2012; 2016

Figure 2 above indicates that poverty rates in Zambia, both for the total poor and the extremely poor, increased after 1991, peaking in 1993 at 82% total poor and 76% extremely poor. Since this point the rates have gradually decreased, although extreme poverty has remained relatively static since 2006 at just above 40%. Figure 3 shows that poverty levels in Zambia vary between rural and urban areas, and that the proportion of extremely poor people is consistently higher in rural than urban contexts.

Figure 3: Extreme poverty in rural and urban areas, 1991-2015, Zambia

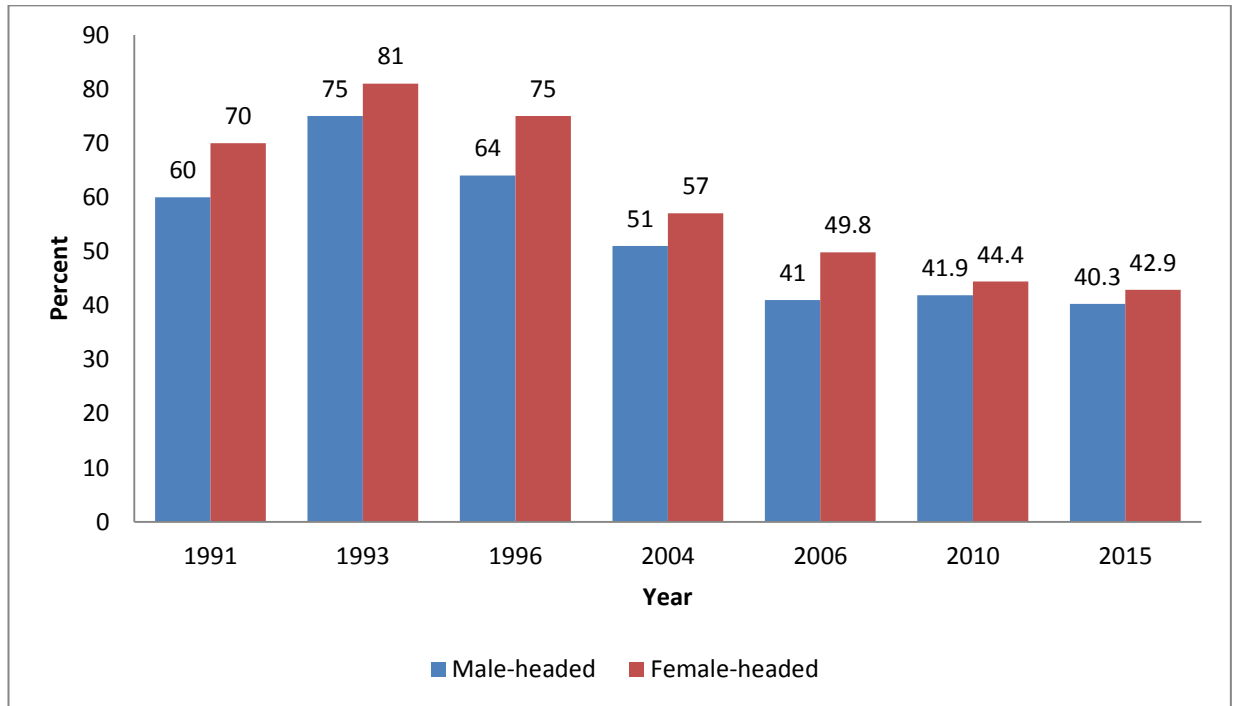


Source: Author's construction from Central Statistical Office, 1993; 1994; 1996; 2005; 2012; 2016

In their analysis of the four surveys conducted in the 1990s, McCulloch et al. (2000) conclude that the increases in poverty rates are linked to the stabilisation and adjustment programmes implemented from 1991 onwards, based on timing of the reforms and the impact of these policies. The urban areas were affected by job losses due to the stabilisation and the simultaneous maize subsidy removal, with the liberalisation of the maize market system also negatively affecting producers of maize in rural areas. The severe drought in 1992 exacerbated the poor conditions in rural areas at this time.

The LCMS surveys also demonstrate that female-headed households are consistently more likely to experience extreme poverty than male-headed households (see Figure 4 below). Only the 1998 LCMS did not include this data. The adverse effects of rising poverty disproportionately affect women, as they tend to have more responsibility in cushioning their families than men (Elson and Cagatay, 2000). Changes in the labour market have led to more women participating in paid employment (Moser, 1997), which leads to a double burden of paid and unpaid labour. Women have been disproportionately affected by HIV, both in terms of infection rates and caring responsibilities, and property-grabbing has also been identified as a factor contributing to high levels of poverty among female-headed households (GRZ, 2006).

Figure 4: Extreme poverty in male- and female-headed households, 1991-2015, Zambia



Source: Author's construction from Central Statistical Office, 1993; 1994; 1996; 2005; 2012; 2016

External assistance to Zambia was at its height in the late 1980s and early 1990s: in 1992 disbursements from multilaterals and bilaterals amounted to US\$ 1,479 million or US\$ 130 per capita (Bonnick, 1997; Rakner et al. in Devarajan et al., 2002a: 540). Around this time, aid had been funding an average of 40% of government expenditures in Zambia, reaching 72% in 1999 (Bräutigam and Knack, 2004). In the period leading up to 1991, there was an overall increase in external support for social sectors: in 1991 it was 33% up from 13% in 1985, although there were fluctuations between these two dates (Andersson et al., 2000).

Much of this external assistance was provided in the form of grants. However, Zambia's debt burden had been rising since the government signed the first stabilisation agreement in 1976. Since the beginning of structural adjustment in 1984, support from the IMF has only concerned debt servicing with no net financial inflow (Andersson et al., 2000). By 1998, the total external debt in Zambia stood at over USD 6.5 billion, of which 46% was owed to the multilateral institutions, such as the IMF and the World Bank (Cheru, 2000). This was more than twice the level of gross domestic product (GDP) and almost seven times that of exports (Andersson et al., 2000). There were also peaks in the mid-1980s, due to obligations to the IMF, and the early 1990s, due to obligations to the World Bank, as can be observed from the debt service ratios to gross national income (GNI) in Table 2.

Table 2: Zambian debt to GNI ratio (%), 1970-2014

1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2014
47	74	91	226	230	195	169	71	23	29

Source: World Bank World Development Index in Jepson and Henderson (2016).

When MMD came to power in 1991, Zambia was among the most indebted countries in the world (Andersson et al., 2000). Of the almost USD 1,500 million aid the country received in 1992, the net official development assistance (ODA) was only about USD 300 million while the rest was external debt service and debt relief (Bonnick, 1997). While the Zambian government managed to honour the debt service in 1998 by drawing on foreign exchange reserves (Carlsson et al., 2000), this situation was unsustainable and served to increase the country's reliance on external assistance.

It is important to note here that the LCMS reports on which Zambia's poverty statistics are based were produced by the Central Statistical Office (CSO). In a study of national statistical offices in sub-Saharan Africa, Jerven (2013) has found that Zambia's CSO performs particularly poorly in the region due to "deficiencies in the data the statistical office produced and in the methods it used" (Jerven, 2013: 102), raising questions about the quality and reliability of Zambia's poverty data. While Jerven focuses on capacity and resource constraints as the main source of these problems, another recent study has found that it is not only government data that is poor, but also survey data of well-funded external organisations, contributing to "invalid and unreliable depictions of the African reality" (Kinyondo and Pelizzo, 2018: 854). For example, the decline in Zambia's poverty figures since 1993 indicated by the LCMS statistics do not capture the fluctuating nature of poverty in the country. The lived experience of poverty is affected by seasonality and shocks, such as the droughts in 1992, 2001-2002 and 2004-2005, as well as the food, fuel and financial crises of 2008-2009.

Food availability and prices in Zambia vary every year based on seasonality, with harvest season being in April and 'hungry season' lasting from November to March. During periods of drought, levels of food insecurity increased with food aid being a major source of cereal availability (maize, wheat), particularly in 1992 and 2003-2004 (del Ninno et al., 2007). Lack of availability and increased imports of food contributed to price instability,

affecting the many rural households, and especially the poor, who are buyers of staple foods (Jayne et al., 2006). The food, fuel and financial crises in 2008 led to declining affordability of maize and bread (Mason et al., 2011), with the price of Zambia's food staple (mealie meal) rising from K34,400 in Jan 2008 to K55,600 (rural) and K53,800 (urban) in Jan 2009, and inflation hitting 27% of the food staple price (Hossain, 2009). Urban households, particularly the poorest, were very hard hit by these rises in food prices in 2008 and in non-food prices in 2009 (McCulloch and Grover, 2010). These shocks affecting food availability and affordability have been compounded by the HIV and AIDS pandemic, which has placed an increasing burden on extended families particularly in rural areas who were supporting relatives (Hossain, 2009). Concerns about these additional burdens on poor rural households in particular motivated both the re-launch of Zambia's Public Welfare Assistance Scheme and the design for the pilot social cash transfer programme introduced by GTZ in 2003.

Other actions in response to food and price insecurity have included the role of the Food Reserve Agency (FRA), in buying more than 50% of smallholders' maize at above-market prices. However, while benefiting producers, this has adversely affected buyers – mainly urban consumers and the rural poor – by further increasing prices (Mason et al., 2011; Mason and Myers, 2013). Another agricultural policy, aiming to improve national food security but largely focused on rural beneficiaries, is the Fertilizer Support Programme, which was introduced in 2002-2003 and renamed the Farmer Input Support Programme (FISP) in 2009-2010. Despite its implicit poverty reduction goal, this programme has been targeted mainly to larger farms that are less likely to be poor, rather than small scale producers. While it has had some positive effects on maize output, these have been small due to the crowding out of smallholder purchases of fertilizer, high soil acidity and late delivery (Mason et al., 2013).

The production and pricing of food are highly politicised issues across Southern Africa (Jayne et al., 2006). Subsidized fertilizer has been used to reward government supporters in Zambia and Malawi (Mason et al., 2013; Mason and Ricker-Gilbert, 2013), and fertiliser prices were lowered during the 2008 Presidential by-election in Zambia, only to rise again sharply at the end of that year (Hossain, 2009). The prioritisation of rural constituencies by MMD – through agricultural subsidies and cash transfers to some extent – contributed to the rise and eventual victory of Michael Sata's PF party. This success was based on strategic targeting of campaign promises that responded directly to the priorities and demands of the urban poor who felt disenfranchised by policy shifts under MMD (Resnick, 2014), as discussed further in the following section.

4.4.4. *The populist response*

The more democratic elements of the transition to multiparty politics that initially flourished, including a vibrant independent media and civil society, have struggled to become institutionalised in Zambia. Diamond's understanding of the role of civil society in restricting the centralisation of state power and enforcing accountability (Diamond in Bartlett, 2000) seemed to be playing out for a time during the 1990s. This was evidenced by campaigns such as the successful challenge to Chiluba's third term attempt, led by the Oasis Forum: a diverse civil society coalition, including the leaders of the Zambian women's movement, the churches, the Law Association of Zambia and the Non-Governmental Coordinating Committee (Gould, 2006). In a bid to retain power, Chiluba attempted to change the Constitution in order to run for a third term in 2001 but was faced with widespread opposition. The campaign used multiple channels, including media, public debates and lobbying of Members of Parliament (MPs), to mobilise and communicate the 'anti-third term' message. The mounting public pressure caused Chiluba to abandon his bid (Chella and Kabanda, 2008). However, despite this historic victory, more recent civil society campaigns around the constitution in 2007 and democracy in 2012 have not been successful.

Chiluba's failed bid for a third term triggered the formation of several new parties including the Forum for Democracy and Development, the Heritage Party and the Patriotic Front, led by former MMD Minister Michael Sata (Resnick, 2014; Scarritt, 2006). Even with the proliferation of new opposition parties, they largely failed to gain support due to a lack of differentiation and key messaging (Resnick, 2014), instead continuing to look across at other elite groups rather than considering citizens. However, MMD only narrowly won the contested 2001 election, leading the new President Levy Mwanawasa to create new alliances in rural areas of Zambia, which served to alienate urban Bemba-speaking communities, which had been a core constituency in MMD's rise to power (Cheeseman and Hinfelaar, 2010).

MMD remained committed to liberalisation under President Mwanawasa, and retained a "pro-capitalist, free-market stance, emphasizing the importance of entrepreneurship" (Resnick, 2014: 67). Economic growth improved during the 2000s but the benefits were not felt by citizens and privatisation only served to further channel economic gains towards foreign investors and elites leading to disillusionment particularly in urban areas.

From its inception in 1991, the policy measures introduced as part of the liberalisation programme led to declining living standards in Zambia particularly among the urban poor. Between 1992 and 1996 between 30,000 and 50,000 formal sector workers lost their jobs leading to an explosion of informal sector work such as street markets (Rakner, 2003; Resnick, 2014). Harassment of the urban poor began under Chiluba and increased during Mwanawasa's rule. Crackdowns on street vendors and illegal squatters were part of Mwanawasa's 'Keep Zambia Clean' campaign, which aimed to improve hygiene and also make Lusaka more attractive for foreign investors (Resnick, 2014). The cost of living and services became very expensive in Zambia, with the food basket cost for a family of six in Lusaka increasing from 829,250 to 1,421,650 kwacha between 2002 and August 2006 (Resnick, 2014).

In response a more populist element to politics emerged in the pursuit of these urban constituents (Cheeseman and Hinfelaar, 2010), appealing to a group that felt disenfranchised by policy shifts under MMD. The growing concerns outlined above provided fertile ground for PF's distinctive urban-based populist political discourse, championed by Sata's leadership (Larmer and Fraser, 2007). Although there is little evidence that Zambians have historically voted along opposed rural-urban lines, the urban vote has become crucial to the electoral turnovers (Helle and Rakner, 2012) that have defined Zambia's democracy since the return of multi-party politics. When MMD took power in 1991, they gained 95% of seats in urban areas, and urban voters were again critical in bringing a new party into power, this time the Patriotic Front (PF) elected in 2011.

Despite the proliferation of parties during the 1990s, the lack of programmatic differentiation remained. The opposition parties largely attempted to appeal to all Zambians with general and wide-ranging agendas but without offering substantive policy differences to MMD (Resnick, 2014). On the other hand, the PF slogan of 'Lower taxes, more jobs, more money in your pockets' offered an appealing pro-poor message, albeit with little clarity about how they would deliver on the PF's highly contradictory platform. An example of Sata's inconsistency was his shift from a highly critical view of Chinese and Indian companies in 2006, referring to them as 'infestors', to a much more conciliatory tone in 2008 (Cheeseman and Hinfelaar, 2010; Resnick, 2014). Nonetheless, the PF's continued focus on the urban poor and the unemployed gave credibility to their pro-poor rhetoric (Cheeseman and Hinfelaar, 2010). From gaining only 2-4% of vote in Lusaka in 2001, PF went on to create credible challenges in the 2006 and 2008 elections. Sata gained 58% of the vote in Lusaka and the majority of votes in the other major urban

centres in 2006. PF's vote share increased again in the 2008 by-election, and they finally gained power in 2011, again winning the majority of the urban vote (Resnick, 2014). This broadened Sata's ethnic support base particularly within Lusaka's highly heterogeneous population (Cheeseman et al., 2014).

Sata won the 2011 Presidential election with 42.2% of the national vote, up from 38.1% in the 2008 election (Electoral Commission of Zambia, 2008, 2011). This electoral victory initially appeared to mark a shift within the political and ideational dynamics in Zambia. The social basis of support for PF was derived mainly from the urban working classes and intelligentsia, which led to a leftist policy agenda focused on the labour market: minimum wages, labour relations and being tough on businesses (Helle and Rakner, 2012: 11), amidst broader claims to be pro-poor. However, although PF's campaign appeared to appeal directly to voters and eschew the personalistic networks and elitism of the other parties, once in government it was difficult for the party to maintain its connections with voters having lost its outsider status (Fraser, 2017).

There has also been little change in the inter- and intra-party dynamics of Zambia's political scene. Factionalism within the PF increased following Sata's death in office in 2014. With no named successor, there was a contest between Sata's nephew Miles Sampa and PF Secretary General Edgar Lungu. Sampa's delegation was barred from the PF leadership convention by cadres loyal to Lungu. Following a series of court cases in an atmosphere of intimidation and violence, Lungu was declared PF's de facto Presidential candidate. In 2014, the former PF Secretary General Wynter Kabimba left the party to form the Rainbow Party. Defections have also continued, with a notable example being the former MMD President Rupiah Banda 'crossing the floor' to endorse and influence the PF, having lost the leadership of MMD. After losing power in 2011, MMD quickly imploded and the United Party for National Development became the most threatening opposition force (Fraser, 2017). The frequent splintering of parties and swift changes to the political landscape, as well as the ease with which politicians move between parties helps to explain the popular disillusionment with politics in Zambia, with little expectation that politicians represent the people (Fraser, 2017).

Throughout these political upheavals, women have remained in the minority in Zambian politics. However as gender stereotypes weaken due to growing flexibility in gender divisions of labour, this is changing their position in society and in their families, providing increased opportunities for female participation in politics in Zambia (Evans, 2016, 2014).

As of 1 January 2019, the percentage of women in Zambia's parliament stood at 18%⁸. Opposition party Forum for Democracy and Development has been led by Edith Nawakwi since 2011, and women are holding an increasing number of Cabinet portfolios, such as Margaret Mwanakatwe, who was appointed as Minister of Finance in 2018, and Doris Siliya who has held a number of positions including Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Minister of Agriculture and Minister of Energy and Water Development. Even with increased representation, the link between the politics of inclusion and the politics of influence is nuanced. Women's participation does not necessarily lead to the representation of women's interests in politics, particularly as women are not a homogenous group, but may provide increased scope for addressing gender equity concerns (Nazneen and Mahmud, 2012).

4.5. Conclusion

This chapter has traced the economic, political and ideational developments in Zambia since independence, taking into account the country's colonial inheritance. It has also identified the ways in which political interests and elite ideas operate within the political stream. It has found that a political legacy of a dominant executive and weak parliament has led to a system of personalised decision-making across different regimes. Through a strategy of building inclusive elite coalitions, focused on ethnic balancing, the ruling elite have achieved some level of stability. However, the political survival strategies required to maintain this balance have led to a system of patronage in which access to state resources serves as a means of securing consent from competing groups, and in some cases for personal enrichment. The high costs of these forms of resource allocation have also had detrimental effects for development, including social policy.

Although the rhetorical influence of Kaunda's Zambian humanism continues to resonate in Zambia to some extent, the solidarity that underpinned it has declined and this philosophy has been largely replaced with a neoliberal model due to the influence of structural adjustment and the MMD's embrace of this agenda, which resonated with some strands of elite thinking in Zambia. Even following the reintroduction of multi-party democracy and the proliferation of opposition political parties, there has been a lack of ideological difference between them, leading to opportunism and populism on the part of PF to successfully attract voters and gain power in 2011 with a pro-poor mandate.

⁸ See Women in National Parliaments data, compiled by the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Available at: <http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>

High poverty levels and reliance on a combination of aid and debt relief have had a constraining effect on policy. Fluctuating copper prices have also affected development in Zambia, contributing to crisis at several points while from 2004 onwards, improved revenues have increased the policy space for the Zambian government. A wide range of non-state actors, including mining companies, church organisations, transnational actors and community groups, have proved vital at key turning points in Zambia's political development, but remain largely side-lined by the series of ruling coalitions.

5. Social policy ideas in Zambia: putting the social protection agenda in context

5.1. Introduction

“Zambia is no longer a donor dependent country, which is why government budget support has fallen away, you can’t buy influence that way... So it’s about being trusted and also responsive and flexible” (*Interview with cooperating partner, 14th April 2015*)

Chapter 4 identified the political interests and paradigmatic ideas within Zambia’s political stream that have been significant in shaping the country’s political history and development trajectory. Chapter 5 will address the trajectory of social policy formation in Zambia, the introduction of the global social protection agenda and social health insurance as a case of global policy transfer. Social policy ideas in Zambia have been shaped by a range of influences: from colonial legacies to the implications of structural adjustment, as well as the prominence of poverty reduction in terms of donor priorities. Elite and popular attitudes to poverty have also shaped responses to global ideas within the policy stream in Zambia.

The introduction of the global social protection agenda in Zambia has been largely donor-driven. Against a backdrop of well-established but limited social protection measures, such as the formal sector social security and residual welfare assistance dating back to the colonial period, the chapter argues that the global agenda has brought new ideas particularly in terms of meeting the needs of “the poorest and most vulnerable” (MCDMCH, 2014: 9). These global ideas have interacted with both elite and popular ideas about ‘acceptable’ target groups for assistance, within the wider context of the country’s ‘growth first’ approach and a “prevailing political discourse in Zambia [that] tends to favour the ‘productive’ segment of the population” (Hickey et al., 2009: 77). These new global ideas have also had to compete with existing social protection policies, which have their own constituencies and functions with the political survival strategies of the ruling coalition.

Through an original study of social health insurance as a global policy idea, the chapter examines the ways in which epistemic communities and coalitions have shaped framings of global health problems and proposed solutions. It argues that the extent to which these

ideas and strategies can influence policy-making depends on alignment with the political stream based on political interests and ideas.

The following section traces the influence of global ideas on social policy and welfare provision in Zambia since the colonial period. It finds that these influences have shaped some aspects of policy reform in Zambia, for example through requirements linked to budget support and debt relief, but that this influence has had limitations due to ideas and interests embedded within the domestic political stream (Kingdon, 1984). Section 5.3 shows that donors have played a decisive role in introducing and promoting a social protection agenda in Zambia, leading to its inclusion in the national development plans from 2005. However, this agenda has faced resistance – particularly from the Ministry of Finance - and the adoption of these global policy ideas has been uneven depending on the factors within the political stream identified in the conceptual framework (diagram 1). Drawing on primary research, section 5.4 analyses the case study of social health insurance in Zambia to investigate the influence of global ideas about social protection in the context of health care financing. It finds that the strategy of working politically and support from a political champion facilitated the passing of the bill, but that progress has stalled due to lack of fit with government and other donor priorities in the sector. The chapter concludes that although donor influence is declining in Zambia, global ideas promoted by transnational actors remain influential through strategies of persuasion rather than coercion (Peck and Theodore, 2015). However, the adoption of these global ideas is determined by the alignment between the problem, policy and political streams, which suggests an active process of translation rather than transfer.

5.2. *Social policy and welfare: actors, influences and ideas*

The legacies of the ‘bifurcated’ structure under the colonial regime in Zambia have continued to influence access to state resources and services, with inequalities persisting between rich and poor, urban and rural, as well as different regions of the country. The fragmented system of social entitlements in Zambia has continued to be evident through the large number of non-state actors supplementing government provision of services (Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003).

As new donors to Africa, ‘rising powers’ such as China and India have adopted an apparent ‘no-strings-attached’ approach to domestic political and policy affairs of recipient countries (Cheru and Obi, 2010; Roy, 2014). This is a contrast to ‘traditional’ donor

assistance provided by Western powers which has often been overt in its aim to shape policy-making. This donor influence has taken a variety of forms such as conditionality, which is the focus of many studies on the role of international organisations in national policy-making, as well as other mechanisms such as technical assistance and capacity building which have tended to be overlooked, particularly in the sub-Saharan African context (Foli and Béland, 2014). However, the policy translation approach has recognised that persuasion can be the main tool of transfer, particularly where international actors are reliant on national governments to implement a policy (Stone, 2012).

This section examines how these transnational actors, ideas and mechanisms have shaped Zambia's policy landscape, including education, health and welfare. It also considers the role of political survival strategies and elite ideas in determining which policy ideas are prioritised.

5.2.1. Under the colonial protectorate

This section finds that the second phase of colonial rule, when Zambia was a protectorate under the Colonial Office (1924-1963), was the most influential on Zambia's social policy legacies, as well as on the country's political history (Phiri, 2006). Missionaries were helping to meet increasing demand for schooling, and had "a very significant influence on the shaping of educational thinking in the colonial and imperial context at a time when state influence in the sector was still often quite weak" (Kallaway, 2009: 218). A series of international missionary conferences contributed to a period of discussion of education and welfare in the colonies, with the involvement of British Colonial Office and anthropologists. The Edinburgh conference held in 1910 marked a shift among the Protestant churches towards a 'social gospel' and initiated a link between theological debate, missionary policy and the emergent welfare politics in Britain. These increasing links between the missionary ideas and government policy directly influenced the 'Education Policy in British Tropical Africa' published in 1925 (Kallaway, 2009, 2005). This policy provided official recognition and government funding to missions as partners of the state in providing schooling in the colonies (Carmody, 2007; Whitehead, 1999).

A shift from the extractive foundations of the Colonial Development Act 1929 which gave little consideration to the welfare of 'colonial peoples' (Wicker, 1958), towards 'trusteeship', raised questions about imperial responsibilities for working conditions and standards of living. The Colonial Development and Welfare Bill in 1940 accordingly

increased funding and its availability for social, health and education services. With highly progressive social policy reforms proposed by the Beveridge report in Britain in 1942, there was interest in welfare and social security provision from colonial governments, with Northern Rhodesia being the first colony on the African mainland to raise welfare issues. Concerned about the potential scope of demands, the Colonial Office resisted and advised that these measures were 'inapplicable' to the colonies (Seekings, 2013). Official communication from the Colonial Office in 1943 defined colonial welfare as productivity-enhancing, for example education and health, rather than income supporting. A memorandum sent to colonial governments specifically stated that funding from the Colonial and Development Act may be used for social services but not for cash payments to individuals, contributing to a productivist approach to development from 1943 onwards (Seekings, 2013).

This response was based on colonial attitudes regarding traditional support systems and subsistence agriculture, similar to the ideas of the homogenization of African populations as rural and agricultural among missionaries and colonial reformers in the 1920s (Kallaway, 2005). It led to a dichotomy between welfare states in the global North and 'development' in the global South leaving a legacy of employment-linked, contributory schemes in many former colonies, rather than the universal forms of provision proposed by Beveridge. There were exceptions for countries with permanent workforces, such as the West Indies and Mauritius, with their sugar plantations, which helps to explain the different trajectories taken by various countries, and the kinds of programmes considered to be acceptable (Seekings, 2013).

Northern Rhodesia's early claims for welfare provision from the Colonial Office are likely to have been influenced by the dynamics of the Copperbelt (Seekings, 2013). From 1929 onwards, the country, and the Copperbelt in particular, was transformed by the development of copper mines in the region (Frederiksen, 2013). The centrality of the Copperbelt to the extractive strategies of the colonial administration led to widespread immigration into the area – from rural areas of the country as well as “a small but significant white labour class which in all ways occupied a privileged position vis à vis the African workers” (Rakner, 1992: 71). The threat of unionised labour – initially limited to the European workers but later also from the African workers unions – led colonial officials to consider social policy “while trying to contain workers' reactions to the strains of their daily lives” (Cooper, 1989: 746).

The Mine Townships Act in 1933 authorised mining companies to provide social services usually associated with the state – including hospitals, housing and utilities – directly to the mining townships (Butler, 2007; Gewalt and Soeters, 2010; Rakner, 1992). The mining companies “provided better services to the employees than the services offered to the residents in the government townships” (Rakner, 1992: 98), reflecting a ‘socially thick’ form of capitalism through investment in social projects, facilities and welfare programmes, which benefitted the miners and their families (Ferguson, 2006: 36). Nonetheless, there were still discrepancies between the treatment of white and African workers, for example in 1940 the wages of Europeans were 34 times higher than those of the ‘indigenous people’ (Midgley and Piachaud, 2011: 151). Pensions were introduced for white workers in 1954, but African workers were not covered based on an assumption that on retirement they would return to their villages and be supported by their communities (Midgley and Piachaud, 2011).

Combined with the Colonial Office directive that extensive social security systems may not be necessary or applicable in colonial territories, as well as trade union organisation focused on workers, these influences pushed Northern Rhodesia in the direction of employment-related contributory schemes, mainly for white workers initially. The assumption that Africans would be provided for by traditional support structures underpinned the approach to social policy at this time. However, there was some recognition even at the time that these solidaristic, agrarian societies were beginning to break down as workers travelled to urban areas to engage in waged labour (Seekings, 2013).

5.2.2. Social policy and service provision in post-independence Zambia

Zambia inherited an inequitable colonial health system (Aantjes et al., 2016) and a “disastrously inadequate” education system (Larmer et al., 2014: 903) with a scarcity of skilled and educated citizens (O’Brien, 1982). At independence there were only 1,200 secondary-certificate holders and 100 university graduates, out of a total population of 3.5 million (Mwalimu, 2014). Under the First Republic (1964-1972), the government made progress on state provision of education, health and welfare, with these social services expanding significantly (Tordoff, 1977), although access to secondary education remained limited (Larmer et al., 2014). Zambian humanism was claimed officially to be the basis of UNIP’s policies and programmes, with President Kaunda being both the creator of the ideology and chief architect of government policies (Tordoff, 1980). An example of a

humanist policy enabling all citizens to benefit equally from the state was the provision of free health services, creating an expectation of free healthcare that persisted beyond UNIP's rule (van der Geest et al., 2000). Initially underpinned by high copper prices and the economic success of the mining sector, UNIP's political and development strategy in the early days of independence had positive pay-offs in terms of generating stability, a sense of nationhood, and a degree of human development (Noyoo, 2010).

The social security programs established in post-independence Africa were influenced by their colonial heritage, outlined in the previous section. British colonies generally saw limited welfare systems develop around pensions or provident funds (Bailey and Turner, 2002; Seekings, 2005). In Zambia, the first public social security scheme was the Zambia National Provident Fund established in 1966, as a compulsory retirement savings scheme covering formal workers in the private sector only. Provident funds were established in most former British colonies: they are relatively simple to operate as they do not involve risk pooling, but the benefits they provided were limited (Bailey and Turner, 2002). Based on contributions by both employees and employers, lump sum payments were made for retirement but these were not adequate to provide protection in old age (Midgley and Piachaud, 2011). Nonetheless, these schemes were favoured as the lump sum modality facilitated a return to rural areas for retirement, based on the assumption of a continued agrarian model where welfare is provided by access to land or kin-based support (Bailey and Turner, 2002; Seekings, 2005). Later, many of these schemes were converted to social insurance with strong support from the ILO in line with its preferred 'workerist' model (Seekings, 2005: 34).

The oldest non-contributory social assistance programme in Zambia is the Public Welfare Assistance Scheme (PWAS) which has existed since the 1950s. Under colonial rule, PWAS supported retiring white civil servants and war veterans that had fought for the British and Commonwealth forces during World War II (Niño-Zarazúa et al., 2010). Since independence, it has provided in-kind assistance for 'needy' widows, children and older people. Demand for the scheme grew in response to the deteriorating economic situation from the late 1970s onwards, but the budget was reduced to negligible levels with the onset of adjustment (Harland, 2014).

The non-state provision of social services has continued to be significant in Zambia. The Catholic Church made a significant contribution through the provision of quality education, with the creation of an educated labour force being part of the government's modernization approach to national development. Many of Zambia's political leaders,

including President Kaunda, are graduates of missionary schools (Lungu, 1986). The church schools consistently achieved results far above the national average. Between 1982 and 1988 the percentage passing in Catholic schools ranged from 79% to 91% while the national average ranged from 61% to 66%, and by 2003 the average passing rate was 90% while the national average was 64% (Carmody, 2007: 555). Catholic schools had more qualified and committed staff, as well as better equipment than government schools. Another factor was the government's post-Independence policy of equity through merit that served to stratify the education system into 'haves' and 'have-nots', with the most academically able students being channelled into the Catholic schools (Carmody, 2007). The churches also play a parastatal role in increasing volume, coverage and quality within the health sector, through the involvement of mission hospitals, church-related organisations and Churches Medical Association of Zambia. Indeed, the missions have been by far the largest and most experienced group of non-state actors providing health services in Zambia, mainly in rural areas. According to Ministry of Health figures in 1990, 62% of all hospital beds in Northwestern province were operated by missions (DiS, 1993).

Despite attempts by the government to bring the mining townships under the control of District Councils through the controversial Local Government Act of 1980, the Act was passed with an amendment to maintain the status quo of the mining townships thereby retaining the dual system of service provision. Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) continued, and even expanded, these services and amenities for its employees, providing a 'cradle-to-grave' welfare system from subsidised education to burials (Fraser and Larmer, 2010). A former mine worker attested to the generous benefits he received:

"When I was in the mines, health services were provided to me and my wife freely with minimum children of 6 so 8 of us qualified for free quality health care. The second aspect was education – mines had their own schools for children at a small fee. Mines were providing mealie meal, cooking oil, sugar. In some instances they were even providing free transport services. There was no worry of worker about managing life so concentration was on production. Even for funerals they would bring all requirements. Social security aspects were provided." (ZO11)

However, when the mines were privatised and the townships handed over to the municipalities in the late 1990s as part of Zambia's structural adjustment programme, this provision of services and welfare was reduced or eliminated (Macmillan, 2012). Along with

the evaporation of welfare provisions, this led to the retrenchment of half the labour force (Burawoy, 2014: 972), representing a shift from socially 'thick' capitalism to a capital intensive and socially 'thin' mining industry (Ferguson, 2006).

From the time of independence, initiatives ostensibly designed to develop agriculture, such as the Southern Province African Farming Improvement Scheme, have been used to gain support among provincial political leaders (Larmer, 2016). The Zambian government has also been actively involved in maize markets since before independence, subsidising both producers and consumers, and at their peak in 1986 these subsidies accounted for 17% of total government spending. The riots that resulted from government attempts to remove these maize subsidies in 1986 and 1990 demonstrated the political sensitivity of maize policy (Dorosh et al., 2009). The drastic reduction of maize production in Zambia during the drought of 1992 prompted emergency food relief, mainly through maize imports, and this form of assistance continued into the mid-2000s. In 2004, the World Food Programme (WFP) was providing food assistance to approximately 800,000 people, through its school feeding programme for orphans and vulnerable children, food-for-work activities and by providing nutritional support to people living with HIV/AIDS.⁹ There were growing concerns about this approach including costs and efficiency, disincentive effects for domestic production and the implications of introducing genetically modified maize, which led Zambia to reject food aid from the US entirely in 2002 due to health concerns (del Ninno et al., 2007; Stewart, 2003; Zerbe, 2004). Nonetheless, during the 2000s it proved difficult to replace this means of distribution as "popular discourses seem[ed] to favour food related support, food relief and protection" at this time (Barrientos et al., 2005: 37).

Fertilizer subsidies are also a longstanding feature of agricultural policy in Zambia, with their own political dynamics. The MMD introduced a fertilizer credit scheme under President Chiluba, then when Mwanawasa took over as President he converted it to a cash-only input subsidy system called the Fertilizer Support Programme in 2002-2003. When President Banda replaced Mwanawasa following his death in office, he re-named the scheme the Farmer Input Support Programme (FISP). Banda raised the subsidy rate and scaled up the programme (Mason et al., 2013). The government has justified the use of fertiliser subsidies as a means to increase the agricultural productivity of small farmers, enhance food security and reduce poverty (Xu et al., 2009), with these interventions

⁹ See WFP news release, 2004. Available at: <https://www.wfp.org/news/news-release/wfp-plans-buy-more-food-aid-zambia-southern-africas-new-breadbasket>

considered to be a form of social protection in Zambia. However, several studies have found that these fertilizer inputs are used by the ruling party to reward loyalty among their voter base, and are disproportionately targeted to better-off households (Mason et al., 2013; Mason et al., 2013; Mason and Ricker-Gilbert, 2013).

Having considered the dynamics underpinning the introduction of social services and social protection interventions in the colonial and post-independence eras, the next section turns to the influence of transnational actors from the 1970s onwards.

5.2.3. The rise and fall of transnational actors and ideas

When Zambia began receiving financial assistance from the IMF in 1976, the Bretton Woods institutions began to grow increasingly influential in terms of rhetoric, as well as financial and technical investment (Mwalimu, 2014: 1097). This marked the beginnings of the transfer of the ideas underpinning what would become the Washington Consensus as a transnational policy paradigm (Williamson, 1990; Babb, 2013; Gore, 2000) to Zambia, as well as contributing to the country's debt accumulation. The Washington Consensus framework became dominant in Zambia during reforms of the 1990s, driven by the then Minister of Finance, Ronald Penza, and supported by the neoclassical economists within the Ministry of Finance (Hinfelaar and Sichone, 2019). Grindle and Thomas have identified that the characteristics of educational background, professional background and international experiences interact to shape the "values, experiences and perceptions of elites" (1991: 5). International links are becoming increasingly salient within a transnationalised elite, with a new data set on policy elites in developing countries indicating that 52% of elites (ministers and permanent secretaries) hold a postgraduate qualification from an overseas institution, with the highest percentage in Ministries of Finance and Foreign Affairs (Dey et al., forthcoming). These experiences in international settings are influencing internalised norms, perceptions of poverty and receptivity to policy ideas (Brezis, 2010, Reis, 2012, Dey et al., forthcoming): for example many Ministry of Finance officials "were inducted into the neoliberal orthodoxy through training offered by IFIs and embedded programmes of technical assistance" (Hickey and Seekings, 2017: 13).

This global policy idea was introduced into developing countries, including Zambia, through macroeconomic policy prescriptions and social policy conditionalities. This led to the increasing definition of economic policy by the World Bank and IMF and a dependent

relationship with these transnational actors (Larmer, 2005). The conditionalities also led to drastic reductions in government spending on social services, which fell by a third in real terms between 1984 and 1991 (Burnell, 1995: 676). The percentage of GDP allocated to education reduced from 6.5% in 1982 to 2.4% in 1989, UNIP's policy of free health care was removed with the introduction of user fees in 1993 and the government withdrew subsidies for essential goods. Support for national welfare was reduced, without safety nets being put in place for those hit by the austerity measures (Burawoy, 2014; Larmer, 2005; Mwalimu, 2014). This process represented a fundamental ideological shift from state-run politics towards market-oriented reforms (Mwalimu, 2014: 1097).

Criticisms of structural adjustment quickly emerged, led initially by UNICEF. The World Bank's response to the concerns about the effects of SAPs was to introduce temporary safety nets in the form of social funds from the late 1980s, which was influential in framing the problem as temporary welfare gaps that require social safety nets rather than long-term policies. Initially designed as emergency initiatives, social funds later developed into longer-term demand-driven service delivery mechanisms, suggesting that the gaps were less temporary than the Bank would like to admit. The social fund schemes had both a direct social rationale of mitigating the social costs of adjustment, and also an indirect political rationale of continuing the adjustment programmes (Cornia and Reddy, 2004). By 'adding on' social policy, the IFIs avoided restructuring the system and developing permanent social protection systems (Cornia and Reddy, 2004; Elson and Cagatay, 2000). In Zambia there were two centrally managed Social Recovery Projects – SRPI (1990-1994) and SRPII (1995-1999) – delivered by the Micro Project Unit in the Ministry of Finance. These were replaced by an increasingly decentralised social investment fund called the Zambia Social Investment Fund (ZAMSIF) (2000-2005), including education, health and income generation projects (de Janvry et al., 2009).

There were high expectations of social funds, with significant investment: "it was estimated that, in 2003, up to one fourth (\$7 billion) of the World Bank's annual disbursements were occurring through this modality" (Mansuri and Rao in de Janvry et al., 2009: 3). These schemes were supposed to work through government administration but this rarely happened (van Donge, 2004), with the capacity of local government being variable (de Janvry et al., 2009). Social funds have evolved towards a community-driven development model, although the participation tends to be at the level of action rather than decision-making (Vajja and White, 2008). Projects have included supporting schools and health centres, often providing better access and quality than the government (van Domelen, 2002), but with no documented evidence of a 'demonstration effect' of these

programmes on local governments. In Zambia, social expenditure as a percentage of GDP dropped from 5.4% before the Social Recovery Project began to 4.9% during the project (Cornia and Reddy, 2004), indicating that the social funds were substituting for rather than strengthening government services.

The 1990 *World Development Report*, reflected the rise of a 'new poverty agenda' on the global agenda, which extended the growth focus to include social services and safety nets as poverty reduction measures (World Bank, 1990). This was accompanied by an emerging global consensus that poverty reduction should be the main priority for development, influenced by the 1995 UN World Summit for Social Development in particular as outlined in 2.2.3. The variation and breadth of transnational work on poverty reduction makes it difficult to define a clear epistemic community. However, there were two specific strands of thought that shaped global poverty reduction efforts: human development as an equal goal to economic growth, and the multidimensional nature of poverty (Hulme, 2015). Under pressure from these largely UN-driven efforts as well as civil society influence, particularly the Jubilee 2000 campaign, the IFIs responded to the continuing low-income country debt crisis in the 1990s with the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative in 1996. Aiming to provide debt relief on the basis on qualification and performance criteria, it was modified in 1999 to focus on poverty reduction, prioritising higher social spending, by including the requirement of a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) within the performance criteria (Gautam, 2003). Gore (2004) has proposed that although the MDGs and PRSPs were separate processes they became interrelated in what he describes as "the first-ever global social policy" (p. 278). Fukuda-Parr and Hulme (2011) argue that while the MDGs are generally considered to be desirable, the narrative surrounding the agenda led to an 'antipoverty supernorm', focused on global poverty eradication, but with limited buy-in from developing country governments.

A highly critical report on HIPC in Zambia by the World Development Movement suggested that the HIPC initiative extended the ability of the IMF and the World Bank to impose conditions in order to qualify for debt relief (Situmbeko and Zulu, 2004). The IMF established the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF) to support the PRSP process, aiming to integrate macroeconomic structural and social policies. However, in practice it remained largely focused on macroeconomic stability, rather than growth and the incipient MDGs (Gottschalk, 2008). Zambia's interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (I-PRSP) made it clear that the government was obligated to undertake the PRSP process under the terms of HIPC, using phrases such as "Zambia urgently needs

substantial debt relief under HIPC” and the “I-PRSP is a required document to access PRGF and subsequently for consideration for HIPC” (MoFED, 2000: 2).¹⁰ As a result, “the Zambian government [had] little leeway to choose its own fiscal policies, despite donor rhetoric about ‘national ownership’ of poverty-reduction policies” (Weeks and McKinley, 2009): as former Finance Minister Ng’andu Magande explained at the time, “we are running the country but the budget is controlled by donors” (*The Post*, 18 July 2003 in Larmer, 2005: 42).

Spearheaded by the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR), a group of Zambian civil society representatives formed a coalition called Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (CSPR). Building on the efforts of the earlier Jubilee Zambia coalition, which had campaigned for the cancellation of Zambia’s debt, CSPR aimed to ensure civil society participation in the PRSP process. This broad-based coalition included trade unions and associations, for example the Economics Association of Zambia; church-based organisations such as JCTR; women’s organisations, including the Zambia Alliance for Women and the Forum for African Women Educationalists; and advocacy NGOs, such as the Programme Against Malnutrition and Oxfam Zambia (Mwinga, 2002).

Co-ordinated by the Ministry of Finance and National Planning, the government did conduct an extensive consultation process for the full PRSP document. The deliberate effort of the Ministry to involve donors was considered to be a move to pre-empt later criticism of the PRSP. The timing of the PRSP process during Chiluba’s third term bid and the subsequent elections in 2001 meant that politicians and Parliamentarians were notably absent (Bwalya et al., 2004; Fraser, 2009). This gave civil society the opportunity to have an influential role, and also for donors to “insert themselves between the state and civil society” (Fraser, 2009: 316), where previously they had struggled to have political influence. However, it also led to a lack of political involvement and ownership (Bwalya et al., 2004). In addition to this government-led process, CSPR conducted its own consultative process and published a separate poverty reduction document in 2001 which was largely reflected in the full PRSP, which was accepted by the World Bank in 2002 (Hickey and Mohan, 2008). Having achieved the HIPC completion point in 2005, Zambia was one of the first countries in the region to return to national planning, rejecting PRSPs

¹⁰ Zambia had already developed a National Poverty Reduction Strategic Framework and a National Poverty Reduction Action Plan through a consultative process led by the Ministry of Community Development and funded by UNDP, endorsed by the Zambian government in 1998. However, these plans were criticized by the IMF and World Bank for not being feasible due to high financial requirements and were side-lined as the interim PRSP was rushed through with little time for consultation (AFRODAD, 2003; Hickey and Mohan, 2008; Mwinga, 2002).

in favour of the Fifth National Development Plan launched in 2006 (GRZ, 2006). Although it was based on a similar preparation process to that of the PRSP (Fraser, 2009), this marked a shift from the explicitly “pro-poor interventions” of the PRSP (MoFED, 2002) to a focus on “broad-based growth” (GRZ, 2006).¹¹

Zambia’s improved fiscal outlook during this period meant that the government was less reliant on transnational actors and thereby able to exert greater control over their policy decisions. As world copper prices soared, reaching a record high of USD 8985 per tonne in July 2008 (Brown et al., 2010), the performance of the mining industry in Zambia began improving from 2004. The contribution of mining to gross domestic product (GDP) increased from 6.2% in 2000 to 11.8% in 2005, while Zambia’s copper production increased by 7.1% in 2006 (Simutanyi, 2008). Official development assistance (ODA) now contributes a much smaller percentage of the government budget, down from about 60 percent in the early 1990s to 11.2% of gross national income (GNI) in 2009 (Bertelsmann Stiftung BTI, 2012). However, there is still significant social sector support, accounting for 75% of bilateral ODA spending in Zambia: 62% on health, 3% on education and 10% on other social infrastructure and services.¹²

This section has identified the transfer of global policy ideas developed within a growing epistemic community around poverty, and how these ideas have interacted with the domestic politics of regime survival within Zambia’s political stream. The next section examines elite and popular attitudes that have shaped policy responses to poverty in Zambia.

5.2.4. Attitudes to poverty and the policy responses in Zambia

The global poverty agenda brought with it ‘universal’ conceptions of poverty. However, McGregor (2016) argues that local understandings of poverty need to be considered for effective poverty policy, while also recognising that there can be many local perspectives among different groups. Both elite and popular attitudes matter in determining policy

¹¹ Other African countries did not make this shift until later, despite having reached their completion points earlier than Zambia. Uganda launched a National Development Plan in 2010 to replace the Poverty Eradication Action Plan from 1997, while Ghana’s Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy continued until 2009 and to date there is still no national development plan in place but instead a series of medium-term policy frameworks.

¹² See OECD Development Assistance Committee data, Zambia. Available at: https://public.tableau.com/views/OECDDACaidataglancebyrecipient_new/Recipients?:embed=y&:display_count=yes&:showTabs=y&:toolbar=no?&:showVizHome=no

responses to poverty and inequality. While initial research on how elite attitudes shape welfare policies focused on Europe and the US, for example de Swaan's (1988) expansive book 'In the Care of the State' on the modern welfare state in the US, Britain, France, Germany and the Netherlands, there have now been several studies focused on the Global South, including Hossain and Moore (1999) on elite perceptions of poverty in Bangladesh, Reis and Moore (2005) and Kalebe-Nyamongo and Marquette (2014) on elite attitudes in Malawi.

As Kalebe-Nyamongo and Marquette (2014) have found in Malawi, the elite in Zambia – particularly within the Ministry of Finance – also have concerns regarding dependency and laziness among the poor. MMD politicians in particular resisted state interventions to reach the poor (Kabandula and Seekings, 2016; Siachiwena, 2016). A study by Scarritt in 1971, with further interviews conducted since 2000, has provided insights into the attitudes of politicians and bureaucrats in Zambia. In post-independence Zambia, the political elite favoured equality of opportunity rather than absolute economic equality and equality of outcome, with civil servants being even less egalitarian than politicians. This was found to be due to the value these elite groups placed on both talent and education, as a result of the struggle they had undergone to obtain the positions they held. These elite values were somewhat in contradiction with Kaunda's humanism, which made reference to working towards equality, particularly in terms of avoiding a class system, although was not specific about how this would be achieved (Scarritt, 1971). Scarritt's more recent study found continuities of these values, including the concern for status particularly as their expectations of political and economic rewards had been frustrated due to the policies of Kaunda and Chiluba (Scarritt, 2006). These attitudes in Zambia align more closely with Dworkin's conception of equality than Rawls. While Rawls' egalitarian view proposed that society has a responsibility to equalise outcomes across individuals, Dworkin distinguished between a person's preferences, for which they should be held responsible, and their resources, which are beyond their control. Dworkin's conception of equality entailed equalising resources across individuals, but allowing differences of outcomes to emerge due to the exercise of choice based on preferences (Roemer, 2002).

In terms of wider public attitudes, concern about poverty among Zambian citizens rose up the agenda from rank 7 to rank 4 between 1999 and 2008 according to Afrobarometer data, as poverty gained increased focus through the PRSPs. An attitudinal survey conducted in 2009 found that 50% of urban respondents thought that the poor take responsible decisions and only a minority thought they were irresponsible, suggesting that attitudes towards the poor are relatively sympathetic and that they are not considered

undeserving (Schüring, 2011: 180). Over half of respondents in the survey felt that the government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for (Schüring, 2011). However, the Afrobarometer data show that unemployment was the highest priority on the popular policy agenda in 2005 and 2008, suggesting a preference for policies tackling unemployment over poverty reduction among Zambians at this time (Bratton and Lolojih, 2009).

This section has explored how transnational ideas have shaped the main policy changes within Zambia, interacting with domestic interests and ideas in the political stream through increasingly negotiated processes as Zambia became less reliant on debt. Section 5.3 goes on to examine the introduction of the global social protection agenda in Zambia through global policy transfer by transnational actors.

5.3. Introducing the global social protection agenda in Zambia

A search of Zambia's national planning documents from the HIPC decision point in 2000 reveals that social protection was hardly mentioned, beyond limited references to the provision of safety nets in the PRSPs, until it featured as a sector in its own right in the Fifth National Development Plan (FNDP) 2006-2011. As donors had only begun promoting this agenda in earnest in 2003, the inclusion of a full chapter on social protection in the FNDP with specific references to 'cash transfers' (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2006), indicates that within only a few years, social protection had been established on the policy agenda, although funding levels for the associated programmes were low at this point.

Towards the end of the 2000s, it was becoming increasingly clear that Zambia's impressive rates of growth of 5-6% were not translating into poverty reduction. The number of people falling below the poverty line remained stubbornly high at 60.5% in 2010, with the number in extreme poverty standing at 42% (Central Statistical Office, 2012). Social cash transfers appeared as a specific budget line in 2011, accompanied by a budget narrative delivered by Finance Minister Musokotwane to the National Assembly stating that "the Government has a responsibility to assist its citizens to plan and prepare for when they are no longer in active employment and to protect those who are most vulnerable in society" (Musokotwane, 2010: 20), marking a shift in position from the 'growth-first' approach under the previous Finance Minister Ng'andu Magande towards poverty reduction. The ascent to power of PF in 2011 on a pro-poor agenda provided

further hope that social protection would gain political support, given the promise to 'put money in the pockets' of ordinary people.

This section examines the role of transnational actors – referred to in Zambia as cooperating partners (CPs) – in introducing global social protection ideas in Zambia, and their reception by the government as they interact with the political stream in the context of Zambia's wider social policy and welfare trajectory.

5.3.1. Epistemic communities shaping the problem and policy streams in Zambia

Against the backdrop of the global poverty debate outlined in sections 2.2.3 and 5.2.3, social protection emerged as a policy paradigm in the early 2000s with a focus on reducing poverty, risk and vulnerability (Barrientos, 2010). An emerging epistemic community – defined as a transnational network of experts seeking to advance a new set of policy ideas through a combination of research findings and principled frames (Haas, 1992) – began pushing this broad social protection agenda. This is a broad community including: IFIs; bilateral donors; international NGOs, such as HelpAge International; and development consultancies, like Development Pathways. This chapter focuses on the actors within this community that have been most involved in social protection in Zambia. While the organisations themselves are often international, many of their in-country staff members are likely to be of Zambian origin or have personal connections in the country, such as the World Bank Zambia representative interviewed for this research, contributing to the hybridity and fluidity of the categories of global and national.

Epistemic communities are in a privileged position to advance particular framings but these framings have varied between actors within the community. The World Bank recognised the need to move beyond safety nets and began to explore a broader 'social risk management' (SRM) approach to social protection, with a preference for narrowly targeted transfers and a resistance to subsidies, which tend to favour the better off (World Bank, 2001); GTZ focused on unconditional cash transfers, introducing the idea through a pilot scheme in Kalomo district in 2003; DFID also began promoting social transfers as an alternative to emergency and humanitarian assistance (DFID, 2005); the ILO have extended their longstanding focus on social insurance to incorporate social assistance within a broader 'social protection floor' approach that aims to guarantee a basic minimum over the life cycle (United Nations, 2015). The policy designs promoted by these agencies

have been shaped by their varying understandings of the problems and solutions for poverty reduction.

Bernd Schubert was arguably the first cash transfer policy entrepreneur (Gliszczynski, 2015; Hickey and Seekings, 2017), initiating a global debate on poverty-targeted income transfers as a more sustainable alternative to food aid in the 1980s (Schubert, 1987). After a failed attempt to launch a cash transfer scheme in Mozambique in 1992, Schubert brought the idea to Zambia in 2003 through the GTZ pilot. A growing realisation that “emergency food relief and protection measures [had] not led to sustainable improvements” (Barrientos et al., 2005: 11), led other donors, including DFID “to find ways of replacing food transfers to drought-affected households with more stable and regular transfers” (Barrientos et al., 2005: 13). Once the cash transfer scheme was established, several other external consultants were involved at different stages. Steven Devereux from the Centre for Social Protection at IDS presented on the international experience of cash transfers at key meetings, while Stephen Kidd who was originally involved through DFID and HelpAge International, then later with Development Pathways, contributed to discussion on targeting, with a bias towards social pensions (ZG2).

In terms of problem framing, social protection – both globally and in Zambia – has been broadly framed as a policy response to social concerns, particularly poverty and inequality, which have risen up the global agenda. Factors that increase vulnerability have also shaped social protection debates in terms of appropriate instruments in response to different conditions, including natural shocks such as drought or famine and longer term challenges such as conflict and climate change. Disease, and particularly HIV/AIDS, has been a key driver of vulnerability during 2000s (DFID, 2011). Health has also become a global policy agenda, with some aspects overlapping with social protection, particularly the financing of health care access.

A transnational epistemic community consisting of “a relatively small and tightly integrated network of policy-makers, technical advisers and scholars” (Lee et al., 2002: 105) has shaped debates about health care financing globally, including the framing and content of policy reform. Key players include WHO, UNICEF, the World Bank, USAID, and later ILO. However the group has not always been in accord, due to disagreements between the public health experts and the economists on fundamental principles and approaches to health financing, for example the appropriate role of the state. The 1993 World Development Report marked an attempt to bring together these two sides, but conflicting policy prescriptions continued. In terms of framing, the World Bank led the way in

promoting user fees as a means of cost recovery, arguing that free services are both unsustainable and inefficient (World Bank, 1987). WHO has been the main proponent of social health insurance, as a form of risk protection for all, including those who are unable to contribute (Carrin and James, 2005). They were joined by the ILO in 2008 in supporting this policy idea for achieving universal health care coverage.

Some regional organisations, including the African Union (AU) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), also took up the social protection agenda. The African Union developed a social policy framework for Africa in 2008, which included social protection (African Union, 2008). This was influenced in part by the ILO regional meeting held in Addis Ababa in April 2007, as well as the 2006 Livingstone Call for Action. The Livingstone conference was significant to the extent that it provided an opportunity for delegates from Zambia and other countries to visit the cash transfer pilot scheme, due to the proximity of Kalomo. The AU process also led to the set-up of the Platforms for Social Protection, including the Zambia branch, which has played a (limited) role in engaging civil society in the social protection agenda but was later shut down due to issues of accounting and mismanagement (ZC14). SADC produced a code on social security in 2007 to provide guidelines to SADC members for establishing and maintaining a social security system (SADC, 2007). However, according to one cooperating partner representative the SADC secretariat does not have powers of enforcement and does not request or receive reports regarding social protection activities (ZC11). These regional bodies and processes did not emerge as being influential in my interviews with Ministry of Community Development officials and cooperating partners about the establishment of social protection or cash transfers in Zambia.

5.3.2. Donor strategies – from conditionality to persuasion

The decline of donor influence, as rising copper prices improved Zambia's fiscal outlook during the 2000s, enabled the government to start challenging donors and making their own decisions: "the donor's role has diminished a little bit. They used to do what the IMF said, no question, now they decide what their bills will be, irrespective of the IMF." (ZC3) So while previously "donors and a number of multilateral agencies have exerted considerable power and influence on [Zambia's] policy-making process" (Saasa and Carlsson, 2002: 59), particularly through the SAPs and then the PRSPs, this leverage was waning from 2004 onwards. However, this shift has not marked the end of transnational efforts to influence policy, but rather a move away from conditionality and towards the

research, training and monitoring approaches that were already part of the repertoire of international organisations to some extent.

The World Bank promoted their SRM approach through training sessions for civil servants in Washington DC and conferences, such as the one held in Tunisia in 2005 where countries were invited to present their social protection strategies (ZC3; Hickey et al., 2009; Hickey and Seekings, 2017). At the conference in Tunisia, the presentation by Zambia's Ministry of Community Development and Social Services (MCDSS) emphasised on a focus on "three categories of the most vulnerable groups" as follows: low capacity households-widows, the disabled, other marginalized, low-income households and informal sector operators; incapacitated households-those with no one fit to work; child – headed households and street children (MCDSS, 2005). This sets out a focus on incapacitation, defined as households with no able-bodied members of working age (Schubert, 2005), from the early stages of social protection in Zambia.

DFID were prioritising social transfers and their wider strategy, which was applied in Zambia, included an objective to "re-focus the social transfer/social protection work of other key international partners" (Hickey et al., 2009: 7). DFID specifically identified the World Bank's SRM approach, which they felt needed to be expanded to tackle chronic as well as transitory forms of poverty, and also the ILO which DFID was keen to persuade to extend its focus on social security beyond the formal sector to the informal. Nonetheless, Mosse (2005) explains that actors within epistemic communities may be operating within different discourses but work together strategically to further a particular narrative or agenda. Social development advisors from DFID and the World Bank proposed to the government that they set up a Sector Advisory Group on Social Protection (SP-SAG), which was established in June 2004. This group drove the social protection agenda in the early stages, although there remained a lack of coherence between the underlying SRM framework and the other policy initiatives being promoted (Barrientos et al., 2005), including cash transfers. Other strategies engaged by these cooperating partners to influence national policy included study tours, studies and evaluations, and targeting powerful government figures.

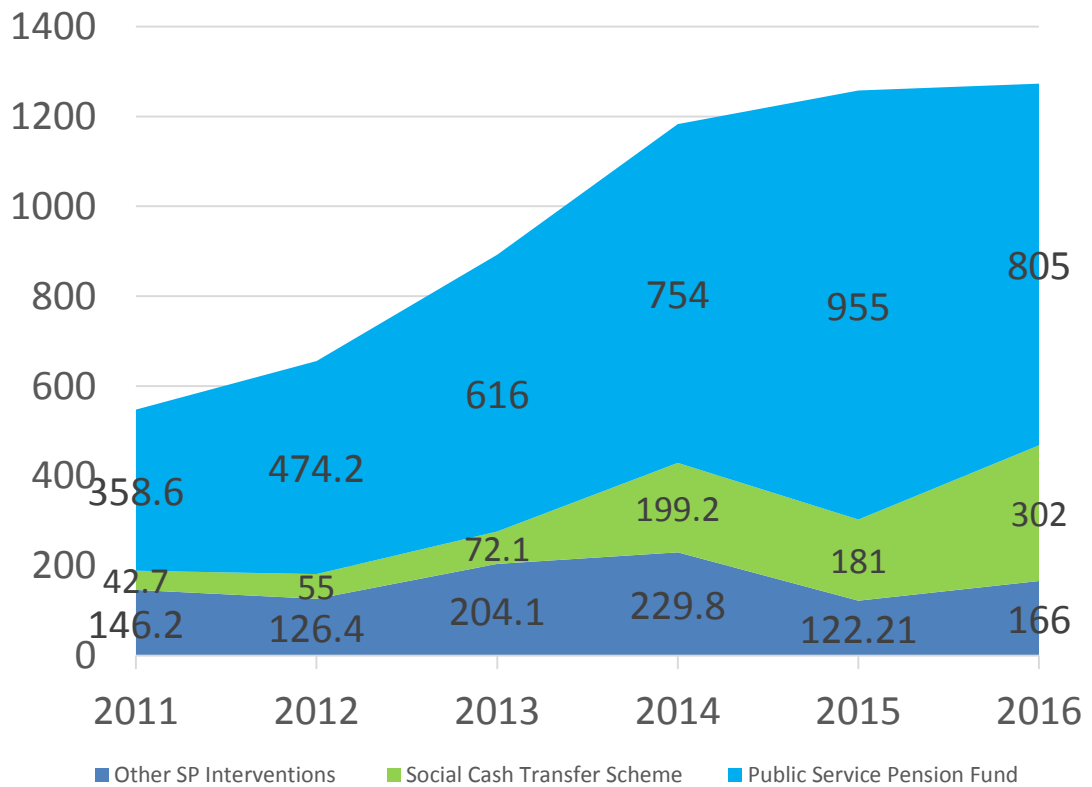
5.3.3. Uneven commitment to social protection at national level

Social protection in Zambia has focused largely on contributory social security schemes for formal sector workers, shaped by colonial legacies and the social insurance model

promoted by the ILO. The labour movement has negotiated with the government for the protection of workers, although Zambia Congress of Trade Union representatives reported that their power has weakened in recent years. For example, the PF government pushed through decisions disputed by the unions such as raising the retirement age (ZO8). Reforms during the 1990s saw the provident funds being replaced by the National Pension Scheme Authority and the Public Service Pension Fund, as well the introduction of other schemes such as the Local Authorities Superannuation Fund and the Workers' Compensation Fund. These are governed by social security legislation enacted during this period of reform, including the National Pensions Authority Act 1996 and the Public Service Pension Fund Act 1996. However, Zambia's pension schemes all have weaknesses in design and substantial arrears in payments (Queisser et al., 1997): "the pension situation was bad and it lost the trust of the public, you are paying into a system and not receiving the benefits." (ZG44)

Budget allocations for social protection in Zambia increased from 0.4% of the total budget in 2006 to 2.9% in 2007 (Magande, 2007), and again to 4.2% in 2008 (Magande, 2008). However, the majority of this amount was allocated to the Public Service Pension Fund, which in 2005 covered 2.4% of the labour force (ILO, 2008b). From the total social protection budget line of ZMK 577.7 billion, ZMK 435.7 billion went towards the payment of pension arrears and current pension obligations. This suggests that the donor's preferred social protection instrument of cash transfers was not a government priority under MMD (Hickey et al., 2009: 24). This pattern of allocation largely continued when PF came to power: between 2011 and 2016 there was a sustained increase in the social protection budget predominantly to cover the Public Service Pension Fund (see Figure 5 below). However the graph shows that this period did also see an increase in the social cash transfer budget, which will be investigated in more detail in Chapter 6. It is interesting to note that agricultural subsidies, which are part of the government's social protection policy, are not included in the graph prepared by UNICEF (Figure 5) – the amounts are far larger than the figures in the 'other SP interventions' category.

Figure 5: Social protection national budget allocation 2011-2016 in ZMW million, Zambia



Source: UNICEF Zambia, 2016

The focus on contributory schemes for workers in the formal sector severely limits coverage in Zambia where only 11.2% of an employed labour force of about 5.8 million, had formal jobs in 2012 (Central Statistical Office, 2013). This is a common pattern across low and middle income countries, with the informal economy accounting for up to 90% of total employment in developing countries (ILO, 2012b). While the ILO is doing work on extending social protection to informal sector workers in Zambia (ILO, 2016a), there has been limited engagement from the government on this. There is also suspicion on the part of informal workers about paying into schemes without seeing benefits as “the perception of citizens regarding government initiatives is very bad” (ZO11).

Zambia’s Public Welfare Assistance Scheme (PWAS) – established in the 1950s – was re-designed and re-launched in 2000, in response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, supported by the then Minister of Finance (ZK1). However once the SCT programme was introduced, the resources directed to the national PWAS scheme dwindled again (Harland, 2014). The budget reduced from ZMK 12 billion in 2002 (IMF, 2004) to ZMK 4.3

billion in 2008 (ILO, 2008b), suggesting that SCTs were diverting attention from this long-standing programme.

As a form of state-subsidised support to rural areas, the Zambian government conceives of 'social protection' primarily in terms of agricultural and food subsidies (as in Malawi, see Chinsinga, 2012). In Zambia, these subsidies take two main forms: fertilizer inputs to support small scale farmers, and maize subsidies to control prices, with "both maize and fertilisers [being] highly politicised in Zambia, as they are across southern Africa" (Barrientos et al., 2005: 13). Agricultural associations were relatively weak in the face of agricultural liberalisation in the 1990s, and agricultural policies tended to respond to the political considerations of winning farmers votes and benefitting powerful elites engaged in trading agricultural commodities (Rakner, 2003). Agricultural subsidies have therefore become protected by powerful interests, as these subsidies operate both as a means of distributing state resources and rewarding loyalty in elections.

According to Zambia's National Social Protection Policy, the Farmer Input Support Programme is now considered one of the largest social protection programmes in Zambia, supporting about 800,000 beneficiaries and a strong driver of public expenditure on social protection (Ministry of Community Development, 2014: 6). During the period covered by Figure 5 above, the FISP budget remained at ZMK 500 billion between 2011-2014, then more than doubled to just over ZMW 1 million in 2015.¹³ The absence of this programme from UNICEF's breakdown of the social protection budget allocation suggests that the donor conception of social protection differs from that of the government. Subsidies fit with the government's preference for supporting 'productive' groups. On the other hand, the donors in Zambia are opposed to these subsidies as they are targeted to the better-off, and even their impacts on agricultural productivity have been found to be limited (Tesliuc, 2013). However, the World Bank is the only transnational agency in Zambia that has challenged the government on its use of agricultural subsidies (ZC2).

As the impacts of globalisation on health have emerged, such as the rise of 'international health issues' including infectious and food-borne diseases (Lee et al., 2002), health policy has also become increasingly globalised. Health is a central feature of global

¹³ As of 1 January 2013 the Zambian Kwacha was rebased by dividing the original value by 1,000 so ZMK 1,000 = ZMW 1: <https://www.lusakatimes.com/2012/08/23/bank-zambia-sets-1st-january-2013-kwacha-rebasing/>

frameworks, such as the MDG goals on improving maternal health and combating major diseases, and the subsequent SDG on good health and well-being. This has been accompanied by a rise in global health funding, to supplement government expenditure. The Abuja Declaration signed by the AU countries in 2001 committed these governments to allocate at least 15% of their annual budgets to health but by 2011 only one country had reached this pledge, which was Tanzania (WHO, 2011). In terms of external sources, development assistance for health has increased from USD 2.5 billion in 1990 (World Bank, 2007) to USD 37.4 billion in 2017 (IHME, 2017). Private funding has also increased, and by 2007 was reported to account for about a quarter of all development aid for health (McCoy et al., 2009).

Within a wide-ranging debate about health care financing (HCF) options, social health insurance (SHI) has been established as a policy instrument to deliver a global policy agenda of 'health for all' (WHO, 2004). Promoted on the basis of risk pooling, sustainability and universal coverage, the model has faced resistance from some groups as the implicit redistribution of a scheme with large differences between contributions and benefits across groups may not be acceptable to the population, depending on the level of financial solidarity (Carrin and James, 2005). The absence of a single clear model for health reform means that SHI has been competing with other health care initiatives in an already fragmented health sector in Zambia. In addition, the main organisations promoting this universalist approach globally – including WHO, ILO and UNICEF – have not been in a position to impose conditionalities, relying instead on the normative appeal of the 'health for all' message, and moral pressure on governments to combat health problems (Weyland, 2009).

Government commitment to different forms of social protection is uneven in Zambia. Existing social security and agricultural subsidy policies are well established and protected by their constituencies. Non-contributory provision has been minimal in Zambia, with the residual Public Welfare Assistance Scheme and the Food Security Pack (FSP) being the main government-funded schemes. New ideas about social protection have been introduced by transnational actors with a focus on reaching the poorest but there has been resistance to these ideas within the government, particularly the Ministry of Finance. Through the cases of Zambia's slow-moving social health insurance policy and cash transfer programme, which has begun to expand quickly since 2013, the thesis argues that this uneven commitment can be understood by examining the intersection of global policy transfer by transnational actors within the policy stream with domestic political

economy factors within the political stream. The next section applies this conceptual framework (diagram 1) to the policy case of social health insurance in Zambia.

5.4. The case of social health insurance

“Social health insurance is social protection, that’s how we view it. But traditional economists see it as consumption, many colleagues in the Ministry of Finance see it this way. It will take a bit of mind set change” (*Interview with Ministry of Health official, 30th March 2017*)

Using new empirical data gathered through primary research in Zambia, this section will examine the progress of social health insurance (SHI) as a global policy idea in Zambia. First it provides a brief overview of the story of SHI in Zambia so far, in the context of a fragmented health sector, significantly influenced by donors, and a health care financing (HCF) debate focused on user fees which were introduced together with structural adjustment reforms in Zambia in the 1990s. Applying the conceptual framework outlined in Chapter 3, it then analyses the strategies of transnational actors and looks at how the global policy idea of SHI interacts with the political stream in terms of both interests and ideas.

5.4.1. Global health policy and SHI in Zambia

Discussions about SHI in Zambia date back to the liberalisation reforms of the early 1990s. When Chiluba’s MMD government embraced the structural adjustment agenda from 1991 onwards, this included “radical health sector reforms” (ZG44). The country’s first national health policy stated that “every abled bodied Zambian with an income should contribute to the cost of his or her health” (MoH, 1991 in Aantjes et al., 2016: 301) and the National Health Service Act in 1995 had financing at the centre. One element of the health financing debate was cost-sharing, for example contributions from communities to increase the perceived value of services (ZG6).

There were also several attempts by the WHO to introduce SHI in Zambia, initially in 1992 and again under Michael Sata as Minister of Health in 1994. However, these failed to generate support as HCF was not a priority in Zambia or within the international community at this time (ZK3). During the same period, the Ministry of Health initiated a “very badly designed community health insurance project” (ZK3) using in-kind

contributions of maize for the local hospitals, but this also failed. Other health financing initiatives at the time included a prepayment scheme run by Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines and compulsory employment based health insurance for the formal sector (Ekman, 2007). Within the health sector, support for insurance schemes that would protect health workers increased as they suffered badly during the country's HIV and AIDS crisis (ZG5, ZG6), directly influencing Ministry of Health officials whose colleagues were being affected. Other civil servants also started to ask why Zambia could not come up with its own scheme, as their insurance was being provided by a private company from Zimbabwe called Premier Aid (ZC10).

Access to health services had been free at the point of use in Zambia, as part of the government provision of services initiated by President Kaunda in line with his humanist doctrine, until user fees were introduced in Zambia in 1993 as part of health sector reforms (Masiye et al., 2008). This move was intended to “ensure adequate budgetary provision for health, education, sanitation and services aimed at the poor and vulnerable” as part of the World Bank's social action programme (World Bank, 1994: 18), as well as to promote partnership between users and the health system (Gilson et al., 2003). Charging users of government health facilities was one of the recommendations in a 1987 World Bank policy study on financing health services in developing countries (World Bank, 1987), and was included as one of many conditionalities attached to Zambia's second economic recovery programme (ERC II) led by the IMF and the World Bank (Saasa, 1996), marking a shift away from the era of “free health care all the way” under Kaunda (ZG44).

In 2006, the MMD government under President Mwanawasa abolished user fees for health care. Initially this fee removal only applied to free primary health coverage in rural areas, extended to peri-urban areas from 2007 (MoH, 2011). The full removal of user fees and co-payments was in the PF manifesto (Patriotic Front, 2011) and was carried out once the PF government came to power in 2011 (ZG44). The funding gap created by the removal of user payments was not fully covered by the government budget, and costs continue to go up making this model unsustainable (ZG5) without equivalent increases in funding from other sources.

For the period 2002-2004 donors were the biggest source of healthcare expenditure in Zambia accounting for 38% (Econ/UNZA, MoH/ SIDA/IHE, 2006). By the mid-2000s, DFID, USAID, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), the European Union (EU), the Global Fund, Gavi, Japan and increasingly China (ZG5) were

all involved in financing the health sector. It was therefore a financial blow to Zambia's health sector when Sweden suspended their aid contributions to the sector in 2009 following an alleged misappropriation of funds within the health ministry.¹⁴ Ministry of Health officials emphasise that this withdrawal of funds was a key driver of interest in the idea of SHI, as it forced the Zambian government to consider how it could finance health through domestic revenues alone (ZG5, ZG6). When SIDA re-engaged with the health sector, they became the leading agency on social health insurance in Zambia. This included funding and supporting a technical assistant specifically on SHI based within the Ministry of Health.

Following consultations with the ILO and other external advisors, the Ministry of Health decided that Zambia's SHI scheme should include all formal sector workers and vulnerable groups from the outset. Contributions from the former group would support the latter, along with funding from the Zambian government and donors. Informal sector workers would then be covered in the second phase (ZG4, ZC7). The SHI technical assistant explained that the scheme is "mandatory as far as you can enforce compliance in the informal sector, and contributory for those who can afford. The poor, those covered by SCT, will be subsidised by government" (ZC13). Although targeting the vulnerable through the existing structures of the SCT programme makes administration relatively straightforward as the selection has already been done, there is a concern that the same beneficiaries receiving both schemes will be considered unfair in communities.

Although it has been promoted as a means of making health care more affordable for government, the SHI design requires the government to increase its allocations to the sector by paying into the health insurance budget in addition to existing health expenditure. For example, the SHI coordinator claimed that the coverage of vulnerable groups would be subsidised 100 per cent by the government but provided no further detail on how these funds would be sourced (ZG45). Both health bureaucrats and CP informants raised concerns that government would actually reduce their health funding on the introduction of SHI, explaining that the Ministry of Health and Ministry of Community Development were lobbying the Ministry of Finance not to decrease the allocation (ZC10, ZC13, ZG44).

¹⁴ See *Zambian Economist* (2009): <http://www.zambian-economist.com/2009/05/corruption-watch-ministry-of-health.html>

Having gone through a series of consultations and revisions, the SHI bill was ready in January 2014 (ZC13). However, before it was passed, Cabinet decided to combine it with a range of social protection measures, including controversial pension reforms. Proponents of SHI, clearly disappointed by this “shock announcement” (ZG44), claimed to be supportive in general of the combined approach whilst advocating a ‘health first’ approach – endorsed by the Swedish Embassy – which would prioritise the SHI component (ZG5, ZG6, ZC13). This move caused delay, and when the combined bill finally reached Cabinet it was separated again (ZC8): “so we re-submitted the SHI bill to Cabinet on 25th October 2016 – ‘I’ll never forget that day’” (ZG44), followed by further consultations and adjustments. Initially expected in June 2017, the “controversial” National Health Insurance bill was finally signed into law in April 2018 (Lusaka Times, 2018). In the 2019 budget, Finance Minister Margaret Mwanakatwe allocated ZMW 10.7 million towards the ‘operationalisation’ of the scheme (Mwanakatwe, 2018), 0.13% of the total health sector budget. However there is not yet any sign of implementation, not least because the financing of the scheme is still unclear, as well as a lack of agreement on coverage and implementation plans.

5.4.2. The limits of policy coalitions and policy entrepreneurs

Despite the claim by a Ministry of Health official that SHI is “not driven from outside” (ZG6), transnational ideas have clearly influenced the direction of health care financing in Zambia. Global debates about health care financing, including the framing and content of policy reform, have been shaped by a transnational policy elite since the late 1970s. However this epistemic community has not always been in accord, due to disagreements between public health experts and economists on fundamental ideas and principles, for example the appropriate roles of the public and private sectors in health care financing and provision (Lee et al., 2002). At the Alma-Ata conference convened by WHO and UNICEF in 1978, all member states pledged to achieve ‘health care for all by the year 2000’: a message that had wide normative appeal (Weyland, 2009). However, during the 1980s and 1990s the World Bank’s approach of cost-sharing and cost-recovery prevailed. The Bank’s reports and recommendations on health financing (World Bank, 1993, 1987), along with IFI policy conditionalities aiming to reduce public expenditure on social sectors, including health (Bond and Dor, 2003; Lee et al., 2002), led to the introduction of user fees across lower-income countries, including Zambia. Rising health care expenditure prompted further debate within this policy community on the need for multiple sources of funding for health care. By 2000, WHO was promoting social health insurance as a route

to achieving universal health care coverage, joined by the ILO in 2008.

In Zambia, donors have played a role in shaping health sector priorities by providing large amounts of project-based or disease-specific funding, often leading to fragmentation and duplication of efforts (Cassels and Janovsky, 1998). This type of disease-specific programming represents a vertical approach to health funding (Reich et al., 2008), with examples being the US President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) to tackle HIV/AIDS and the GAVI vaccine alliance initiatives (Sridhar and Tamashiro, 2009). On the other hand, horizontal approaches aim to strengthen health systems, including financing. The introduction of the Sector-Wide Approach model was also a horizontal approach aiming to address coordination issues. While it brought about some improvements, it did not manage to bring all development assistance in the sector under a single framework in Zambia (Chansa et al., 2008: 244). Donors in Zambia have "different vested interests" (ZC10) and "are not looking at the bigger picture" (ZC18), favouring vertical project-based funding channels over addressing health systems and health care financing. During the first phase of primary research for this project conducted in 2015, SIDA were leading on SHI in Zambia, with technical support from WHO and ILO. However, by 2017 SIDA had stepped back, with the First Secretary reporting that: "we are not really involved in SHI, although we are a member of the health CP group. WHO and ILO are leading" (ZC16).

These shifts in donor engagement have weakened the incipient policy coalition for SHI in Zambia. There have been high levels of commitment from some donors to this initiative, for example SIDA funded a technical advisor to sit within the Ministry of Health and work specifically on SHI from 2013-2015, but this has failed to translate into coordinated action. This technical advisor identified that not being MoH staff was "a real problem actually because when we want to make significant progress we always compete with other priorities and they always take precedence so it's actually quite difficult not to have a full team" (ZC13). The limited integration has also led to lack of communication and coordination between the donors and the Ministry of Health staff (ZC17; ZC18): "dialogue is difficult" (ZC17). During interviews with the Ministry of Health staff and the CP representatives, both groups seemed to think that they were taking the lead but there was little sense that they were working together.

While the lead organisations have shifted, there has been some consistency through policy entrepreneurs (Kingdon, 1984) with a personal commitment to SHI in Zambia. One of the WHO headquarters staff members involved in the first SHI mission in 1992 had close links to Zambia having been born there. On retirement, this former WHO staffer

turned independent consultant has continued to promote SHI in Zambia. The technical assistant who initially worked within MoH, funded by SIDA then moved to ILO in role of technical adviser on SHI also played this role of an entrepreneur. They have pushed for a particular problem definition and invested in their proposed policy solution, in this case SHI. These policy entrepreneurs and the broader efforts of their respective organisations, particularly in terms of resources, have contributed to shaping the policy stream. Social health insurance was included in the 2014 National Social Protection Policy (MCDMCH, 2014), as well as the Zambia National Health Strategic Plan 2017-2021 (MoH, 2017) and the Seventh National Development Plan 2017-2021 (MoNDP, 2017). However, although the bill for its legal enactment was pending for several years it kept being sent back for further consultations and revisions (ZC17), due to a lack of alignment with the political stream at this time. In the context of the personalised decision-making found in Zambia, high level political connections are crucial for policy influence.

The Patriotic Front was elected in 2011 on a manifesto promise to abolish user fees and co-payments (Patriotic Front, 2011), which was delivered once PF came to power (ZG44). Under this new government, health was selected as one of four priority areas, with the suggestion that this sympathy towards the sector was influenced by then President Sata's knowledge of the sector from his former position as Minister of Health (Evans, 2018). However, the social health insurance approach did not align with the PF's commitment to abolish user fees rather than increase the costs to citizens. The government's stance began to shift with the PF manifesto for the 2016 election, which included a pledge to invest in a National Social Health Insurance Scheme (Patriotic Front, 2016). According to the health bureaucrats and the technical advisor, Hon. Dr. Chitalu Chilufya – appointed Minister of Health in 2016 – is a 'champion' for SHI and has the ear of the President (ZG44, ZG45; ZC17). After so many delays, the passing of the National Health Insurance Act in 2018 under this particular Minister suggests that he was able to leverage his connections with President Lungu – who replaced Sata following his death in office – and the Minister of Finance to gain political support for the policy (ZG44). Although this political connection facilitated the opening of a policy transfer window to pass the bill, it is not clear that social health insurance genuinely aligns with PF's wider interests, which helps explain the lack of implementation so far.

This lack of coordination within the sector and shifting responsibility regarding SHI indicates that while there were key individual policy entrepreneurs, the policy coalition was weak. It managed to promote the agenda to some extent but did not have the political clout to get the bill passed until a new more supportive Minister of Health took over. In

addition, the powerful transnational actors have been reluctant to commit funding to SHI (ZC13), perhaps due to the Ministry of Health scandal in 2009. This was still the case in 2017, with the donors remaining “on the sidelines – offering technical support but no capital injection” (ZG44). The following section examines in more detail the strategies engaged and the support or resistance of the scheme from different groups.

5.4.3. A health insurance scheme for all?

The policy actors promoting SHI in Zambia adopted particular strategies, which reflected the broader shift from conditionality to persuasion outlined in section 5.3. Initially these strategies focused on ‘rendering technical’, playing down the political sensitivities of health financing reform in Zambia. This was likely due to a desire to avoid controversial issues, but as a result little consideration was given to which policy models were better aligned with political ideas and interests (Gilson et al., 2003). As observed by a Ministry of Health official closely involved with the SHI scheme: “at the beginning I thought it was a technical question but it quickly enters the political realm” (ZG44). The technical assistant revealed that after observing the political influencing undertaken by the SCT coalition, the SHI proponents adopted a similar strategy of identifying senior figures in the political arena and using connections to get the message about the scheme to the highest level (ZC13).

The early strategies focused on training, study tours and reports. The former WHO staffer was teaching an annual social health insurance course held at the ILO training centre in Turin from 2003, and actively recruited Zambians to attend every year, funded by ILO, the National Pension Scheme Authority and Workmens’ Compensation. By 2012, a ‘critical number’ of Zambians had done the course, including a senior technocrat at the Ministry of Health, who began to seek advice on a national framework for health care benefits (ZK3). In December 2012 the retired WHO staffer, now turned independent consultant, was invited to run an SHI workshop in Zambia, with the aim of creating a social security package including pension, health benefit and funeral, in response to demands from public sector workers unions for health insurance coverage (ZK3, ZG6, ZC13).

Study tours have been used for learning and advocacy, not only for bureaucrats but also to convince opponents of the scheme such as the Zambia Employers Federation (ZG5). In 2002, there was an exchange between Zambia and Tanzania, which had incipient National Health Insurance and Community Health Insurance schemes in place, introduced by a policy coalition of reform-minded bureaucrats in the Ministry of Health and

development partners (Hundsbaek Pedersen and Jacob, 2018). These schemes were subsequently rolled out – albeit slowly – while Zambia continued deliberating: Tanzania “have developed their system but Zambia hasn’t made a decision yet” (ZC10); “they went back and implemented and have a running scheme, we are good at over-discussing here” (ZG5). In 2006 there was a reciprocal study tour, and Tanzania has provided technical support for actuarial report and design of programme in Zambia (ZC10). Zambia also learnt from other countries, such as Ghana, Thailand, China and Japan, through reports and study tours (ZG6, ZC10), and adapted lessons from these examples to the Zambia situation (ZC13).

In addition to the training and study tours, reports and assessments were also mentioned as being helpful in convincing health bureaucrats and also Cabinet office, particularly of the need to include the vulnerable in the scheme (ZG5). The 2002-2004 National Health Accounts revealed that household expenditure on health rose from ZMK 308.9 billion in 2002 to ZMK 528.9 billion in 2004, and that households were one of the largest contributors to health expenditures (Econ/UNZA, MoH/ Sida/IHE, 2006). While there was a national exemption policy designed to protect the poorest from the burden of user fees, this was largely ineffective in reaching the target population (Masiye et al., 2010), making it a regressive policy with detrimental effects on health care utilisation by the poor (Blas and Limbambala, 2001 in Aantjes et al., 2016). The first actuarial assessment conducted in 2008 presented proposals on the benefit package and options for contribution rates (MoH, 2008): “we looked at our own figures” for the design (ZG6).

To some extent, the removal of user fees complicated the campaign for health insurance scheme as it raised questions about why insurance was needed if services were free (ZG5; ZG44). However, out of pocket health costs for government provision have remained high (ZG5) and this burden was cited as a contributing factor in the SHI discussions (ZC10). Those who can afford it opt for private providers due to poor quality of state services, but the majority of the population are not currently covered by insurance – “less than 4% are covered, which are mostly the rich in formal employment aged between 25-45 years” (ZG45). Civil servants often take out private insurance, with a Ministry of Health official working on SHI explaining that he only registers his children, as the insurance is too costly: “we all live very risky lives” (ZG5). Inequalities within social provision have also been evident in the ‘externalisation’ of education and health care (Larmer et al., 2014). There has been negative publicity and political embarrassment regarding high profile cases of politicians or their family members being sent out of the

country for health care: “treatment abroad is a very big issue for the public, they go away and it costs a good deal, especially to South Africa” (ZG5).

In terms of buy-in from interest groups likely to be affected by the discussions, the public sector unions were involved in the health financing negotiations, and were pushing for health insurance through the collective bargaining process (ZG6; ZC7). One trade union representative claimed that unions were the ‘pioneers’ of health insurance, bringing “the idea of introducing a voluntary medical scheme to cover medical expenses, [that] was the genesis of social health insurance in Zambia” (ZO9). Initially there was some resistance from unions that already had schemes in place (ZG5), and also concerns regarding the goal of a universal system that will also support informal and vulnerable groups. These concerns seem to be less about the inclusion of these groups per se, but rather that the efforts to design a universal scheme are causing delays in implementation that are affecting the formal workers. Both union and employer representatives stated that they were supportive of the idea of a universal approach, echoing the language of the solidarity principle (ZO8, ZO9, ZO10). The discussions about contributions focus on the negotiations between employers and workers about the percentage that each will contribute, with an assumption that the government will provide the funds to cover the informal and vulnerable groups (ZO8, ZO9).

Private sector actors have also raised concerns about financing the SHI scheme (ZO10), including employers such as mining companies which have their own private schemes, and the Zambia Federation of Employers (ZFE) who were very difficult at first (ZG5). Some individuals have complained that their contributions would finance individuals in the informal sector who “don’t want to work” (ZC13). The protests by ZFE and the unions have slowed the progress, requiring discussions and study tours to persuade them, but their bargaining power has weakened and representatives of both these groups complained that the government consults them at a late stage in the process and often does not consider their input (ZO8; ZO10).

Zambia’s informal sector accounts for between 40 and 60% of the country’s GDP (Nhekairo, 2015), and the Zambian government has been reluctant to impose regulations on this sector (e.g. around taxation) for fear of resistance and losing votes (ZO8). Despite some resistance, initial results from the Zambia Household and Health Expenditure and Utilisation Survey – a national survey of about 15,000 households across groups (formal, informal, vulnerable) released in 2015 divided by deciles – indicate that over 80% of respondents expressed a willingness to pay (ZG44). In terms of amounts, the willingness

to pay for social health insurance (removing the poorest deciles) is K80 per month, which is higher than the average estimates of 2.5-3 percent of salary in the informal sector which works out at K30 (ZC13). The estimate for the formal sector is 5 percent of salary (ZC7). These figures initially demonstrate a willingness to join and to pay for such a scheme among workers.

Promoting a new policy idea requires “pursuing a strategy of persuasion, aiming to use the strength of a particular frame to influence other actors’ perceptions of their own interests and to convince them of the legitimacy/appropriateness of the framer’s preferred policy response” (Rushton and Williams, 2012: 155). The framing of SHI has included the message of solidarity (ZC13), which some proponents claimed fits with Zambian society, based on the strong tradition of providing support for family and community members at the local level (ZG5; ZG45). However, another government informant suggested that solidarity is not as strong as it used to be in Zambia due in part to increased dependency ratios as a result of HIV and AIDS. There may also be an enduring expectation that services should be free, including health, from the Zambian humanism approach of the first Republic (ZG44). The same informant reported a loss of trust in the government among the public: “when you see schemes based on solidarity, like the pension, and you hear the money is being used for other things, like elections, you lose trust” (ZG44).

The struggle to pass the SHI bill suggests that this policy is not in alignment with expectations of ‘free’ health services provided by the state, and that the contribution-based aspect has raised concerns among groups that will be required to pay in, despite apparent fit with the solidarity principle that underpins Zambian humanism and the concept of ‘One Zambia, One Nation’.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter has argued that colonial legacies shaped the direction of social policy in Zambia and that non-state actors, particularly the churches and the mining companies, have continued to supplement government service provision. The period of state-led development after independence, during which social services improved, was short-lived. The fall in copper prices in the 1970s and subsequent IFI conditionalities dramatically reduced government spending on social sectors, leading to a decline in service and welfare provision. Transnational influence on policy in Zambia has become increasingly contested as donor contributions to the budget have declined, and there has been a shift

from a largely coercive approach through conditionality to strategies of persuasion such as evidence-building, advocacy and coalitions between transnational and national actors.

In the context of this long history of external policy influence in Zambia, this chapter set out to show how the interaction of transnational ideas and domestic politics shapes government commitment to social protection policies. An in-depth and original case study of SHI has found that the progress on adopting and implementing a global policy idea depends on the alignment of the problem and policy streams with existing ideas and interests within the political stream. For example, policy choices involving the allocation of state resources, such as social protection, can be part of political survival strategies to gain support from specific groups.

Promoted less by a coalition than a disparate set of players acting in a fairly uncoordinated way, it was only after the introduction of political influencing and the appointment of a more favourable Minister of Health in 2016 that the National Health Insurance bill was finally passed in 2018 following a delay of several years. Even now the legislation has passed, there does not seem to be a clear and credible plan for how the scheme would actually work in practice. Nor is there a compelling evidence base to justify its prioritisation amidst other pressing concerns in the health sector, particularly with other donors focusing on different aspects of health. The policy transfer window that opened briefly with the support of the Minister of Health seems to have closed again before the policy can be established, and it is not clear how SHI would align with interests in the political stream. Neither does it align with paradigmatic ideas as solidarity wanes in Zambia, and user contribution to healthcare costs goes against citizen expectations and political promises.

The next two chapters apply the conceptual framework to social cash transfers, and examine the ways in which its differences to SHI – in terms of how it has been promoted and how well aligned it is to dominant ideas and interests within the political stream – have affected its adoption and implementation.

6. Promotion and adoption of social cash transfers in Zambia

6.1. Introduction

The previous chapter traced the introduction of the emerging social protection agenda in Zambia through global policy transfer, with a focus on social health insurance (SHI). Based on empirical data gathered through primary research in Zambia, this chapter will conduct an in-depth investigation into the adoption of social cash transfers (SCTs) in Zambia. As with SHI, national level political dynamics have proved critical in shaping the timing and extent to which aspects of the new global policy of social protection has been adopted in Zambia, pointing to the need to think in terms of translation rather than transfer.

The incipient policy translation literature explored in Chapter 2 reflects a promising step towards the recognition that elements of domestic context continue to matter in an increasingly transnationalised policy environment. This approach identifies an intrinsic politics to the policy transfer process, influenced by power relations and shifting ideological alignments (Peck and Theodore, 2010). However, despite acknowledging that policies and their outcomes are “products of local politico-institutional contexts” (Peck and Theodore, 2010: 170), this literature is less explicit about which domestic factors matter and how they interact with global policy ideas introduced by transnational actors. The conceptual framework for this study identifies political survival strategies as well as elite ideas as the key factors within the political stream (Kingdon, 1984), determining receptivity to a global policy idea at national level. Survival strategies include elite-level coalition building, the distribution of state appointments and policy choices determining distribution of political power and state resources.

Chapter 4 demonstrated that the political system in Zambia continues to be characterised by the centralisation of power within the executive, and specifically the President; a weak parliament; and personalised rather than programmatic decision-making. In this context, citizens have limited policy influence and elites play a significant role in determining policy decisions. In line with the actor-oriented approach of this study outlined in Chapter 3, this chapter focuses on elite agency, arguing that both interests and ideas shape behaviour (Hickey et al., 2015). The framework also engages with concepts of epistemic communities and transnationalised policy coalitions to explore the strategies engaged by such experts in order to mobilise policy ideas (McCann, 2008; Li, 2007). This includes

ways in which these practices are used to determine the framing of the problem and the legitimacy of proposed policy solutions: the problem and policy streams (Kingdon, 1984). This chapter will argue that the alignment between the problem, policy and political streams identified in the conceptual framework (diagram 1) is required to create a 'policy transfer window' for the adoption of a global policy idea.

The next section briefly outlines the three main phases of development of social cash transfers in Zambia in the decade or so from the first pilot in 2003 to the government budget increase in 2013. Section 6.3 shows how transnational actors have promoted the global policy idea of SCTs in Zambia – through strategies of rendering technical, working politically and framing – in ways that have shaped both the problem and policy streams. Section 6.4 demonstrates that a 'policy transfer window' was created through both a partial ideational shift amongst key ruling elites and a scandal surrounding an existing political survival strategy in the form of agricultural subsidies to powerful players in rural areas. This combination of events served to align cash transfers with the interests of the ruling coalition in the political stream. The chapter concludes that this combination of transnational strategies and national political dynamics opened a 'policy transfer window' for the adoption and scaling-up of SCTs in Zambia.

6.2. *Three phases of development of social cash transfers from 2003-2016*

There have been three main phases in the promotion and adoption of SCTs in Zambia. The first phase (2003-2009) began with the introduction of a pilot cash transfer scheme in 2003 by the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ), followed by a concerted effort by donors to form a transnational policy coalition in support of social protection. Once a scaled-up SCT programme was agreed between the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and the Zambian government in 2009, the next phase (2009-2013) involved the strengthening of this policy coalition through capacity-building of a dedicated SCT Unit. This Unit was set up within the Ministry of Community Development to deliver the programme and contribute to continued lobbying and advocacy efforts – including political influencing – within the policy stream. During the third phase (2013-2016) alignment with events in the political stream led to the government announcement of a 700% increase for SCTs in the 2014 national budget (Chikwanda, 2013), from a base of 17.5 million kwacha topped up by donor contributions of 54.5 million kwacha in 2013 (Siachiwena, 2016). This dramatic increase reversed the balance of government and donor contributions to 75% government funding and 25% donor funding of SCTs

(Chilombo and van Ufford, 2015), and enabled the expansion of the programme to 50 districts in 2014, followed by continued budget increments and scale up. This section describes these phases in more detail, demonstrating the evolution of SCTs in Zambia between 2003 and 2016.

6.2.1. Promoting social cash transfers (2003-2009)

In 2003, GTZ approached the Ministry of Community Development to propose a new pilot cash transfer scheme, which became known as the '10% inclusive' model as it aimed to target the bottom 10% of households in Zambia based on the criteria that they were both critically poor and incapacitated (Schubert, 2005). Three years earlier, the government had relaunched its long-standing PWAS scheme in response to Zambia's HIV and AIDS crisis. The GTZ model was similarly designed to respond to high levels of food poverty and labour-constrained households, exacerbated by the burden of HIV, and it was also implemented through existing PWAS structures. The main difference was that the transfers were in cash rather than in kind (Schubert, 2005).

The formation of the Social Protection-Sector Advisory Group (SP-SAG) in 2004 provided a forum for debate and activity to promote social protection in Zambia, chaired by the Ministry of Community Development. However at this time there was a lack of understanding and ownership of social protection among bureaucrats despite training received from the World Bank, perhaps due to lack of coherence between the World Bank's social risk management (SRM) framework and the policy concerns of other SP-SAG members focused on chronic poverty rather than shocks (Barrientos et al., 2005). An informal donor group met separately from the SP-SAG, increasing government suspicion that donors were maintaining control of the agenda. Funded by DFID and GTZ, the SP-SAG selected a consultant to draft the strategy paper for the new sector (Barrientos et al., 2005; Hickey et al., 2009). This strategy became the basis for the chapter on social protection in the Fifth National Development Plan 2006-2010, indicating that social protection had been established within the policy stream.

The limited commitment of the Ministry of Community Development, and the marginal position of its portfolio at this time, made it very difficult to secure buy-in from more powerful and initially resistant ministries (Hickey et al., 2009), particularly the Ministry of Finance. However, DFID funded an extension of the cash transfer programme, so that by 2007 variants of the Kalomo scheme – including different targeting models such as a

social pension – were operating in parts of five districts, with some 12,000 beneficiary households (Harland, 2014). The Ministry of Community Development was assisted on a day-to-day basis by GTZ in delivery terms (Schubert, 2005), with CARE International and HelpAge also supporting the implementation. When GTZ and the World Bank moved out of the sector in 2007, influenced by Zambia's adoption of a Joint Assistance Strategy in 2007, DFID became the co-lead of the social protection cooperating partners group with UNICEF. These organisations therefore had significant influence within the policy coalition, along with IrishAid and later also Finland and Sweden.

Informed by their commissioning of a 'drivers of change' study in 2005 (Barrientos et al., 2005), DFID Zambia started to adopt a more politically-informed approach, with the aim of influencing the political stream. This approach included increased engagement with government technocrats within the Ministry of Community Development, and specifically the Department for Social Welfare, to strengthen the policy coalition. This group of actors within the policy stream targeted powerful players within the political stream, particularly the finance ministry, using study tours, reports and informal networking.

6.2.2. Strengthening and scaling up (2009-2013)

In 2009, DFID succeeded in signing an agreement with the Zambian government for the Social Protection Expansion Programme (SPEP) to the tune of £38 million over 10 years. This included a planned expansion of SCTs targeting the poorest and most vulnerable households, made up of the elderly above the age of 60, children under the age of five, and adults who are chronically ill, affected by HIV and AIDS, or living with disabilities. The agreement included a commitment from the government to gradually increase its budget allocation to the programme, so that by year seven they would be contributing 50% of the annual budget and by year ten it would be 100 per cent.

From 2010 onwards, the policy coalition made a concerted effort to build a stronger evidence-base in support of SCTs. This went beyond the initial evaluations of the Kalomo pilot (MCDSS and GTZ, 2007; Wietler, 2007), which lacked a control group, and focused on randomised control trial (RCT) evaluations carried out by independent research institutions (ZG1). The cooperating partners made the case for using categorical targeting informed by organisational priorities, for example UNICEF's focus on children, leading to the introduction of a Child Grant for mothers with children under five years in 2010, and a Multiple Categorical Targeting Grant for households with orphans or disabled members in

2011. These new pilots were accompanied by impact evaluations commissioned by UNICEF, conducted by the American Institutes for Research (AIR) and funded by UNICEF, DFID and IrishAid (Quarles van Ufford et al., 2016). These evaluations found that both these pilot models had positive effects, including poverty reduction, improved food security and economic multiplier effects, summarised in two briefing papers produced in 2016 (MCDSW and AIR, 2016a; MCDSW and AIR, 2016b). These findings enabled the Ministry of Community Development to offer clear evidence that the transfers could reduce poverty and contribute to the economy, as well as refuting the belief that recipients of cash transfers would work less (ZG1).

According to multiple interviewees, the efforts to use the impact evaluations as an advocacy tool peaked with a high-level meeting in 2013, which was attended by senior civil servants from all key ministries, including Finance, and chaired by the Cabinet Secretary. At this meeting, the results of both the impact evaluations and the 2013 World Bank assessment of SCTs (Tesliuc et al., 2013) were delivered and discussed, with the findings providing a persuasive evidence base. The World Bank assessment not only reported favourably on the impact of SCTs in Zambia, but also revealed how badly other programmes, such as agricultural subsidies, were faring in comparison, both in terms of their cost-effectiveness and their success in reaching poor people.

6.2.3. Government budget increase and expansion of social cash transfers (2013-2016)

When the Patriotic Front (PF) gained power in 2011 on a pro-poor platform, including a manifesto commitment to adopt a comprehensive social protection policy (Patriotic Front, 2011), this raised hopes that this global policy idea would now become a political priority in Zambia. Nonetheless, the announcement by the Minister of Finance that the SCT budget would be significantly increased came “out of the blue” (ZC2) to the policy coalition. The Minister’s 2014 budget address declared that government financing for SCTs would be scaled up by over 700% to 150 million kwacha and that a national social protection policy would be developed (Chikwanda, 2013). This commitment exceeded the co-financing agreement within the SPEP and was nearly three times the total budget request for SCTs from the Ministry of Community Development for that year, which was for only 53 million kwacha (ZG2).

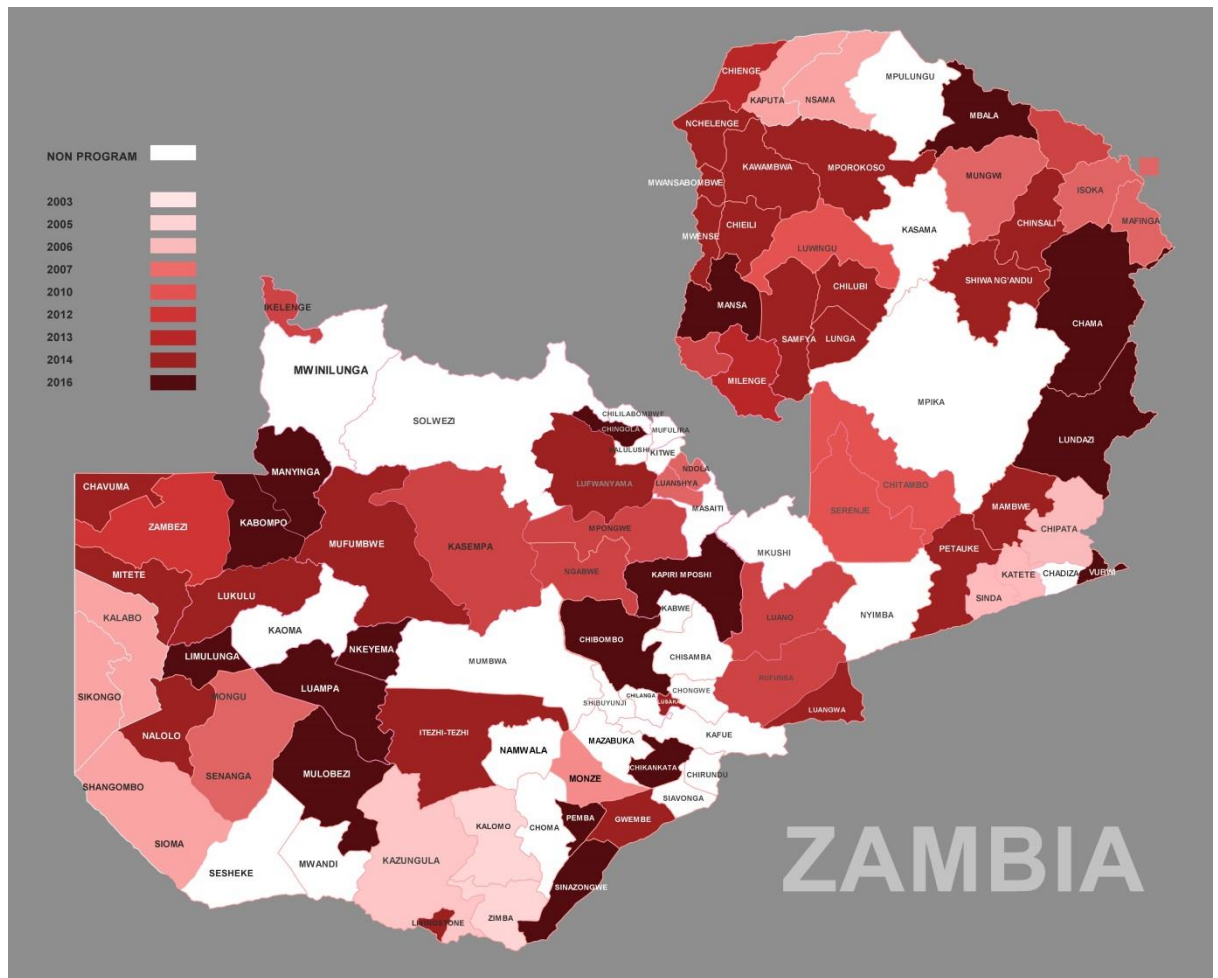
This budget increase came about amidst an attack by the President on the waste incurred by agricultural subsidies, which were used by the ruling coalition in Zambia to reward

loyalty among their voter base and to be disproportionately targeted to better-off households (Mason et al., 2013). Following a scandal in 2013 concerning massive overspending on the budget lines for the Farmer Input Support Programme (FISP) and the Food Reserve Agency (FRA) (ZC6, ZK2), the President announced that he would remove fertiliser subsidies and redirect resources to the poorest citizens. The efforts of the SCT policy coalition, particularly the showcasing of the RCT evidence base to senior political figures (ZC2, ZC3, see also Quarles van Ufford et al., 2016), had successfully positioned SCTs as an effective and pro-poor policy idea.

Despite the flat-lining of the SCT budget in 2015, which led to concerns among the policy coalition about the level of government commitment to SCTs, budget increases have continued. Following a gradual scale up from the single district of Kalomo in 2003 to 19 districts in 2013, the dramatic expansion to 50 districts in 2014 and then to 78 districts by 2016 (out of 117 districts, as of 2018¹⁵). . Figure 6 visually illustrates the number of new districts added in each year that the programme was scaled up and shows the rise of the programme following the 700% budget increase, with the highest number of new districts being added in 2014 and 2016. Social protection was also included as one of five pillars in the Economic Recovery Programme dubbed 'Zambia Plus', launched in 2016 (Mutati, 2016).

¹⁵ In 2011 there were 73 districts, meaning that at least 44 new districts have been created since PF came to power

Figure 6: Map of social cash transfer programme expansion in Zambia, 2003-2016



Source: Author's construction, based on data provided by Department of Social Welfare, 2017

This section has provided the empirical background to the development of SCTs in Zambia. The remaining sections will analyse these events using the conceptual framework (diagram 1), beginning with donor efforts to promote the SCT policy idea in section 6.3.

6.3. Strategies of persuasion: transnational influence on social cash transfers in Zambia

Social cash transfers were initiated in Zambia by cooperating partners through various pilot schemes, beginning with the GTZ intervention in Kalomo district in 2003. While these SCT pilot schemes have been described as a failed exercise in donor-influenced political advocacy (Kabandula and Seekings, 2016), this section argues that they were a key component of the cooperating partners' wider approach to generating opportunities for this

policy idea within the political stream. The government's increase of funds to the SCT programme in the 2014 budget, and development of a National Social Protection Policy in the same year, suggests that donors have influenced the political stream over time. The pilot schemes have been vital to the efforts of the policy coalition, both through demonstration of the programme and enabling evidence to be built by conducting impact evaluations of the pilot models.

This section identifies three main strategies adopted by cooperating partners to promote social cash transfers: rendering technical i.e. presenting an intervention as a technical solution to a (pre)defined problem and simultaneously attempting to remove it from the political sphere (Li, 2007); working politically through the use of politically informed methods with the aim of gaining elite support (Hickey and Seekings, 2017); and framing as a strategy of persuasion, in order to gain legitimacy for the intervention (Rushton and Williams, 2012). By framing SCTs as a successful poverty reduction tool, the policy coalition has presented SCTs as a policy solution to the problem of persistent poverty despite relatively high levels of economic growth. The coalition has also engaged directly with political actors to convince them of the merits of SCTs and counter their concerns about cash transfers being handouts that lead to dependency.

6.3.1. Rendering technical: cash transfers as a poverty reduction tool

Cooperating partners (CPs) in Zambia describe their role in supporting cash transfers as being technical in nature, for example “to coordinate and provide technical services” (ZC4) and to engage in “direct support for the SCTs as well as building capacity of the Ministry to deliver on its plans for SCTs at different levels” (ZC6). This is situated in a context in which the CPs “saw it as [their] role to expose [the Zambian government] to international norms and standards regarding social protection” (ZC8). International standards are identified by McFarlane (2009) as an example of a ‘global form’, which can facilitate movement of ideas between diverse situations: in this case transferring global ideas about social protection into national settings. Informants identified key individuals within the CPs who have been “supporting research and evidence-based programming. Looking at international standards, what works and supporting piloting of different target models for SCT” (ZC6). These individuals and agencies have not only drawn on global influences but also aimed to contribute to international debates (GTZ, 2005) and acted as a ‘knowledge interface’ between stakeholders and the growing evidence base (Davies et al., 2009). These efforts have played well in donor headquarters (HQ), particularly as the programme

has expanded. According to a DFID representative, DFID HQ has used their “experiences in Zambia to build the case globally”, claiming that: “we are the experts so they come to us” (ZC2), while in Ireland “Zambia is being perceived as a very good best case model of the programme” (ZC6). These agencies are thereby contributing to, as well as being subject to, the mobile products of expertise through which ideas about cash transfers travel. This shows that global policy transfer is not a one-way process, with in-country experiences also feeding back into the global epistemic community on social protection and informing continued processes of global policy-making and transfer.

Both bureaucrats and politicians within the Ministry of Community Development seem to agree with this technical interpretation, explaining that donor support mainly consists of “capacity-building, doing research, e.g. ongoing impact evaluation, with only some [funds] going to transfers” (ZG1) and that “CPs are... involved – mainly through technical assistance, they recently donated 46 vehicles” (ZG16). Members of staff from the SCT Unit outline the contributions of the specific CPs as follows: DFID provide financial aid, facilities, goods and services, while UNICEF focuses on research and technical assistance. IrishAid are involved, also Finland and the World Food Programme (WFP), especially on making the process electronic (ZG1). This emphasis on the technical aspects of support by donors and government alike serves to distance the intervention from the political domain in which it is operating. However, the concept of ‘rendering technical’ recognises that a recasting of political realities as technical problems (Ferguson, 1990) can obscure but not remove politics, in pursuit of inherently political goals.

Through the activities identified below, including pilot programmes, training, impact evaluations and study tours, CPs have engaged methods to demonstrate and measure the impacts of the cash transfer intervention as a solution to the problem of high poverty levels. They have also aimed to make the design of the programme a technical question by focusing on the categorization of poverty rather than the political implications of redistribution, through acts of calculation and processes of gathering and inscribing information about individuals and groups (Rose and Miller, 2010). However, these are not apolitical processes and the notion of ‘rendering technical’ acknowledges that as the technical is political in its constitution, it is not possible to separate them.

The initial approach examined here is the use of pilot programmes to demonstrate and test the cash transfer concept. The first direct non-contributory cash transfers were introduced through a pilot scheme initiated and financed by GTZ in Kalomo district in Zambia’s Southern province in 2003. Kalomo was selected over the other option, which

was Siavonga, on the basis of strength of existing Public Welfare Assistance Scheme (PWAS) structures and staff in the district (Schubert, 2003), rather than on poverty measures. GTZ focused its assistance only on the structures and capacity needed for implementation in a small part of Kalomo district (Harland, 2014). This scheme would go on to generate what one former CP representative referred to as 'Kalomo mania' (ZK1), whereby the small pilot became a demonstration site for donors and government officials within and beyond Zambia, including field visits to Kalomo during the 2006 Inter-Governmental Regional Conference on Social Protection held in Livingstone in Zambia. Internationally, the pilot was referenced in reports on poverty reduction and social protection that have been published by HelpAge International, Overseas Development Institute, International Labour Organisation and The Commission for Africa (GTZ, 2005). At the local level, one beneficiary reportedly said that "if one more person came to speak to her about the SCT she didn't want to receive the transfer any more" (ZK1), illustrating the extent of interest it attracted in the early stages.

Despite requests from officials within the Ministry of Community Development that the pilot scheme be integrated within the recently re-designed PWAS, supported by the then Minister of Finance (ZK1), the project was designed as a separate entity (Harland, 2014). In GTZ documentation the lack of impact of PWAS was attributed to lack of funding – of the K12 billion budgeted for PWAS in 2002, only K300 million was released that year (IMF, 2004) – and the potential of the scheme was recognised: "partly due to extreme under-funding, the PWAS has had no significant impact on the welfare of households urgently requiring social welfare interventions. Nevertheless, the PWAS seems to have the potential to implement a scheme targeting households that are critically poor and labour-constrained" (GTZ, 2005: 19). Research conducted by the GTZ-assisted Social Safety Net project under the Ministry of Community Development in March 2003 found that "the critically poor households were in favour of cash transfers, which they could use flexibly and according to their own priorities" (GTZ, 2005: 19). However, this was a relatively small study conducted in 6 villages in Choma district, and it is likely that GTZ, who were leading the process, exerted influence on the shift from in kind to cash transfers through their pilot model. This approach indicates that at this stage donors were more interested in importing and demonstrating their own models than supporting existing ideas, which may have achieved greater ownership within government.

Once the Kalomo pilot was established, CARE, DFID and Oxfam all supported further SCT initiatives in various parts of Zambia (Barrientos et al., 2005). These were also set up as pilots to test different targeting models, including a social pension in 2007, a child grant

in 2010 and a multiple categorical grant in 2011. As well as demonstration, these pilots have played a crucial role in the key strategy of building an evidence base: “Zambia has actually used the pilots, rather than donors doing them for the sake of piloting – we evaluated them”, although this informant claimed that the research was used “for advocacy, not for knowledge” (ZC11). This suggests that convincing key stakeholders to adopt cash transfers was prioritised over finding the most effective model.

As the initially donor-driven programme expanded, DFID and the other CPs worked in partnership with the Ministry of Community Development to build a cadre of civil servants committed to promoting cash transfers in Zambia. One of the methods that contributed to this objective was capacity building through a training course on designing and implementing social transfer programmes attended by 23 officers from the Department of Social Welfare headquarters, provincial and district offices (ZG1; MCDSS, 2010). Offered by the Economic Policy Research Institute (EPRI) based in Cape Town, this training, described as a course for policymakers, government officials and practitioners from around the world¹⁶, has contributed to the circulation of policy knowledge determined by experts and consultants linked in to the wider epistemic community, such as Michael Samson, the Director of Research and co-founder of EPRI. As the SCT programme has continued to scale up, the unit has expanded with three additional Senior Social Welfare Officers recruited in 2014. These new staff members were funded by UNICEF, who explained that for the expansion it was more practical to have these staff on UNICEF contracts (and conditions) but with the intention that they should eventually become government positions (ZG1, ZC8). Additional staff members were also recruited in each new district joining the programme: one Senior Social Welfare Officer plus two other officers, one of whom is 100 percent on SCT (ZG1). An account of this process in Zambia, drawing on insights from practitioners, attests to the strengthening of Zambian technical assistants vis-à-vis their international counterparts between 2005 and 2010 (Quarles van Ufford et al., 2016). Zambian civil society organisations, particularly the Platform for Social Protection established in 2009, also came on board to provide support and monitoring (ZO1; ZO2).

There is a broad consensus among informants that it is particularly the impact studies from 2010 onwards that have been a successful means of gaining support for SCTs. The evaluation report for the Kalomo pilot was a retrospective study with no baseline. This study has been widely recognised as problematic (ZO3), particularly as it lacked a control

¹⁶ See EPRI website. Available at: <http://epri.org.za/courses/cape-town-course/>

group due to a major drought in the pilot region in 2004-2005 (Tembo et al., 2014). It was therefore difficult to attribute observed changes to the cash transfer (Quarles van Ufford et al., 2016). On the other hand, most of the impact evaluations conducted from 2010 onwards were randomized control trials (RCTs) including baseline studies and control as well as treatment groups (with the exception of the Monze study which adopted a quasi-experimental design), making them attractive to politicians: “scientifically we could prove and attribute those successes to the cash transfer”, “they certainly like evidence, Ministers love it, they’re all doctors so they love RCTs” (ZC2); “studies containing P values made them scientific and credible.” (ZK1). As well as identifying the positive results of SCTs, the studies were also valuable for countering resistance to the SCT model among politicians and some bureaucrats, particularly within the Ministry of Finance, by “showing it is an investment, not a hand out” (ZC11). According to informants, these reports have played an important role in convincing political leaders and policy makers, and also shifting attitudes within the Ministry of Finance (ZC1, ZG1, ZG23), as part of wider advocacy efforts.

A further approach engaged by the SCT policy coalition is the use of study tours to advocate for the cash transfer model. These tours have included field visits within Zambia, initially to Kalomo from 2004, regional tours to Lesotho and South Africa, and an international trip to Brazil and Chile in 2012 (ZC1, ZC3, ZG1, ZG26). The aim was to target powerful players within the Ministry of Finance and political elite, although “it was tricky to get Ministry of Finance officials, they would send less influential ones” (ZG1). A Ministry of Finance insider, who was one of the main advocacy targets during the strengthening and scaling up phase, cited the impact reports and study tours as being particularly effective in convincing himself and his colleagues of the merits of SCTs (ZG26). This key figure personally participated in the trip to Brazil and Chile in 2012, while his colleagues visited Kalomo and Kazungula in Zambia. He reported that the evidence that SCTs were having a positive impact on individuals and households was particularly influential in converting him. This suggests that the strategic use of demonstration and evidence did contribute to increased support for cash transfers over time.

These strategies engaged by the policy coalition contribute to a ‘practice of government’ (Li, 2007), achieved through a combination of persuasion and “an active, technical process” (Rose and Miller, 2010: 283) that shapes the representation of that which is to be governed. The selection criteria and the evidence of the impacts of the programme construct processes that render both the problem and the proposed solution as calculable and actionable (Rose and Miller, 2010). The studies and reports contribute to the policy

knowledge produced and circulated by the policy coalition, which plays a role in establishing the legitimacy of government the field of cash transfers. The claims based on such expertise are both provisional and contested, as they rely on the power of experts in relation to political authority (Rose and Miller, 2010). Nonetheless, accounts from informants suggest that the political figures actively targeted by the policy coalition have begun to accept the legitimacy of their claims regarding cash transfers, marking a shift from the initial resistance to this policy idea among politicians and bureaucrats.

6.3.2. Working politically: the politics of influencing

The previous section demonstrated the ways in which the cooperating partners, with increasing involvement from technocrats within the Ministry of Community Development, attempted to 'render technical' the profoundly political goal of redistributing resources to the poorest through the SCT programme. From 2007 onwards, the emerging policy coalition began to recognise the need to supplement this strategy with efforts to actively gain political support for the policy idea. As a long-standing technocrat in the SCT team explained: "key for us was to directly influence the Ministry of Finance, we knew that MPs would support the SCT budget in parliament, so the key was to get Ministry of Finance support before this" (ZG1). Focusing on the agency of the actors involved, this section examines the strategies adopted by the CPs for working politically, including investing in the policy coalition. It also highlights the role of policy entrepreneurs and brokers in connecting the policy stream to the political stream, with the aim of securing commitments to the policy from politicians and decision-makers in Zambia.

DFID has been particularly explicit about their 'influencing' role in the social transfers sector, commissioning reviews of their 'politics of influencing' approach (Davies et al., 2009; Hickey et al., 2009) and two drivers of change studies in Zambia. The first of these studies in 2003 was on pro-poor change more broadly (Duncan et al., 2003), while the second in 2005 addressed social protection specifically (Barrientos et al., 2005). The 2003 study suggested that "Zambia's aid dependence means that the donor agencies are highly influential in the political and economic spheres and in civil society" (Duncan et al., 2003: v), but it is difficult to push through changes if these are opposed by powerful domestic interests (Mosley et al., 1995). Also, less than a decade later this level of aid dependence and the influence it entailed was declining, as detailed in section 5.2.3. Referring to the significant drop in external financing in Zambia, a Zambian representative of one of the cooperating partners reflected that "the outlook towards donors has changed. I see it also,

I am a Zambian, and I can see the change” (ZC3). This situation increases the value of donor coordination, and also engagement with government to facilitate persuasion through advocacy.

The adoption of a Joint Assistance Strategy in 2007, informed by Paris Declaration principles concerning harmonization, influenced donor priorities and division of labour in Zambia. According to a World Bank representative in Lusaka, the Zambian government requested that the World Bank moved into other sectors, specifically infrastructure through International Development Association credits for infrastructure projects, as the social sectors were covered by other donors (ZC3).¹⁷ GTZ also moved out of the sector in Zambia in 2007 due to priorities set at the headquarters in Germany (Hickey et al., 2009). Given their significant investment in establishing the cash transfer sector, the GTZ team in Zambia was very unhappy about being forced to pull out and made high level requests to get exception for this case, which were unsuccessful (ZC11). This cleared the way for a group of “very like-minded donors” to take the lead in the social protection sector (ZC2), and there is general agreement among these CPs that there has since been good coordination on social cash transfers (ZC4, ZC5, ZC6). DFID became co-leads with UNICEF, with their respective officers responsible for SCTs working together in the same office (ZC2; ZK1), thereby strengthening the links between the two organisations.

A key recommendation from the 2005 drivers of change study was to build a political constituency for social protection in Zambia. Advice included bringing key actors, such as research and advocacy organisations as well as political elites, on board, and engaging with stronger Ministries, specifically the Ministry of Finance (Barrientos et al., 2005). With planning documents and budgets being prepared largely by technocrats rather than ministers (ZG2; ZG4), building a policy coalition which included strong and committed civil servants – detailed in the previous section – also contributed to the thinking and working politically agenda.

However, resistance to cash transfers at the Ministry of Finance was initially very strong: particularly up to 2008, when Ng’andu Magande was the Finance Minister, they saw SCTs as a handout and “needed convincing”, according to a senior official within the

¹⁷ The World Bank re-entered the sector with a review of social safety nets in Zambia in 2013 and has now launched its own programme. The Girls’ Education and Women’s Empowerment and Livelihoods (GEWEL) project is implemented through SCT structures leading to concerns among SCT proponents about duplication of tasks and increased pressure on the SCT team (ZG2, ZC2, ZC6).

Department of Social Welfare (ZG2). The policy coalition therefore invested in creating 'core supporters' within the Ministry of Finance, with representatives of the SCT Unit reporting that "it has not been a one-off, it's a progressive effort" (ZG1). Using the strategies of study tours, evaluations and informal networking, they gradually convinced individuals, such as the Ministry of Finance insider mentioned in the previous section, who have now "gone up the ranks" (ZC2) and gained influence with decision-makers. The CPs within the coalition also tried to engage with high level political figures, including the President and Secretary to the Cabinet (ZC4), through the heads of their development agencies. An important turning point for this high level advocacy was a breakfast meeting held in advance of the budget discussions in 2013. Two leading CP representatives described how the influential RCT impact evaluations and the World Bank's safety net review were presented to a large group of powerful political figures, including all the Permanent Secretaries and the Cabinet Secretary, through a combination of the convening power of the World Bank and the 'behind the scenes' efforts of a Zambian policy entrepreneur (ZC2, ZC3).

This Zambian policy entrepreneur has high level political and bureaucratic connections that are valuable for the important brokering role of an entrepreneur (Kingdon, 1984), which is often informal and personalised (Lewis and Mosse, 2006b). With over 30 years' experience of policy consultancy as well as involvement in political negotiations, this entrepreneur is considered to be a trusted and non-partisan player by the members of the policy coalition. He also has useful personal connections, such as attending church with a recent Finance Minister. Conducting 'insider' work behind the scenes (ZC2), he is reported to have "saved the day" (ZK1) during the difficult negotiation processes, for example setting up the aforementioned breakfast meeting with key political figures. During interviews, many informants deferred to him on both technical and political issues based on his extensive knowledge and experience of the programme. He is often called upon to lead workshops organised by the Department of Social Welfare, such as the targeting workshop in November 2016, where he has influence over the direction of discussions and decisions in his role as facilitator (TW1, TW2).

Local policy entrepreneurs work on 'softening up' the system (Kingdon, 1984) in order to get their preferred policy ideas established at national level. They also have the task of translating one set of interests (or ideas) into another (Mosse, 2005). These entrepreneurs can be development workers and government officials, as well as consultants and brokers. The DFID and UNICEF leads also took up this role, as well as a senior figure within the Ministry of Community Development bureaucracy who negotiated the

technical/political balance involved in promoting the cash transfer programme that has been largely downplayed by CPs, such as managing relations with the line Minister. This key figure was eventually removed from post for challenging the Minister's use of SCT funds during election campaigning (ZC8). The consistency and collaboration of these entrepreneurs improved coordination and investment in relationship-building. The CP leads both have personal connections in Zambia and were planning to stay, which overcame the usual constraints of donor practice where 3-5 year postings for officers work against long-term goals: "things tend to be rushed because donors need results but you can't get outcomes in less than 5 years" (ZC7); and staff on three year contracts usually need quick results to boost their careers, "otherwise they would have been sent to run a rural project in Northern Nigeria" (ZK1). There has also been consistency of staff within the Department of Social Welfare, and specifically the SCT unit, which has enabled the accumulation of high levels of organisational knowledge. The CPs in the policy coalition invested in individual technocrats, which has contributed to their continued engagement as 'internal' policy entrepreneurs, for example one of the Directors of Social Welfare was sponsored to do a Master's degree in Europe (ZK1).

When the SP-SAG was first formed in 2004, a lack of understanding about social protection among bureaucrats led to limited ownership on the part of the Ministry of Community Development, although they chaired the group from the beginning. At this time, the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services was a weak ministry with limited political clout and limited capacity to deliver on the ground (Hickey et al., 2009). However, the efforts of the policy coalition strengthened both knowledge and capacity within the Department of Social Welfare. The Ministry also received a boost when the sector of Mother and Child Health was added during a realignment carried out by President Sata when PF came to power in 2011. With this additional remit over a significant proportion of the health budget and health sector personnel, the Ministry of Community Development became the Ministry with the second-highest spending, after Education. Despite being a short-lived move, which was reversed in 2015, this saw the Ministry of Community Development's status rise in relation to the Ministry of Finance and amongst the broader political class (ZG2, ZK1). When the budget increase in 2013/2014 reversed the donor-government funding split (so the government was contributing 75% and donors 25%), this emboldened the Ministry of Community Development to take greater control and responsibility of the management of the SCT programme, for example "mak[ing] decisions without engaging the CPs first" (ZC6).

By 2015, donors felt that the Ministry was not consulting them about key decisions regarding the programme which made them uncomfortable, suggesting that they wanted to retain a level of control despite their emphasis on ownership. As one CP representative explained:

“It’s a bit of a bitter-sweet situation in a way because obviously ultimately you want to encourage ownership and initiative and independence, wean off you know donor dependence in that sense but on the other hand, because we have invested so much time and money over several years and we’re still willing to offer the technical assistance and expertise, we would hope that it would still remain sort of a collaborative process” (ZC6)

By 2017, CPs seemed to be more reconciled to this situation: “The Ministry of Community Development invite us to everything, we have to decide and attend the key things. It is mainly government-funded so we can’t dictate” (ZC2) but want to continue their involvement: “we are lucky that [our programme officer] has such a close relationship with the Department, she is able to go and see them and get information” (ZC2). Dialogue between CPs and government therefore remains important.

This section has demonstrated that transnational policy coalition and local policy entrepreneurs have played a crucial role in advancing the cash transfer agenda within the policy stream through strategies of rendering technical and political influencing. Despite the discomfort of some CPs, increased government ownership suggests that the strategy of working politically has paid dividends in Zambia, both in terms of building capacity within the technocratic team and convincing reluctant officials and politicians to support the programme, evidenced by the increased government funding. The next section turns to the ways in which the coalition has influenced the framing of SCTs in Zambia.

6.3.3. Framing as a strategy of persuasion

Rushton and Williams argue that “whatever their motive, actors engaged in framing at any stage of the policy cycle are pursuing a strategy of persuasion, aiming to use the strength of a particular frame to influence other actors’ perceptions of their own interests and to convince them of the legitimacy/appropriateness of the framer’s preferred policy response” (2012: 155). This is achieved through a combination of rendering technical and working politically including issue construction, problem definition and advocacy. Two

main factors determining the success or failure of a particular framing are the extent to which it resonates with broader paradigms and the power of the framer (Rushton and Williams, 2012).

The use of framing techniques, and in some cases manipulation, highlights the constructed nature of problem definition and policy solutions in order to structure the 'field of possibilities'. While sometimes the 'better' argument does win out (Rushton and Williams, 2012), it cannot be assumed that a 'good' policy idea will necessarily be successful based on its merits (Goldstein, 1993). The success of a policy idea is not inherent (Latour in Mosse, 2005), but rather its persuasiveness depends on the status of the actors promoting the idea and the level of 'fit' with existing political structures as well as underlying ideas and values (Goldstein, 1993 in Yee, 1996). Interpretive networks, such as the SCT policy coalition, which are a source of agency and power in development, can play a role here (Mosse, 2005).

The competing framings of social protection between different organisations at the global level have also played out in Zambia. When social protection was initially introduced, CPs in Zambia "didn't agree on the conceptual framework, there were definitional issues, at that time..." (ZC1), leading to contestation between different framings, with framing (ultimately) being a question of agency and power relations (Rushton and Williams, 2012). The lack of coherence between the underlying social risk management framework, influenced by the World Bank, and some of the policy initiatives in Zambia's initial social protection strategy was identified as a challenge, contributing to a lack of certainty about definitions and technical aspects which made government representatives reluctant to engage (Barrientos et al., 2005). This clash entailed contestation over the governance of a specific problem space, where "programmes lay claim to a certain knowledge of the sphere or problem to be addressed – seeking to exercise legitimate and calculated power over them" (Rose and Miller, 2010: 280). Competing ideas – such as neoliberalism and welfarism – are underpinned by differing modes of government regarding the economic, social and personal lives of citizens (Rose and Miller, 2010), which are translated through different programmatic schemes (O'Malley et al., 1997). However as Ferguson (2015) points out, ideological lines are often blurred around cash transfers, with neoliberal strategies and arguments being used to promote interventions that are not usually associated with neoliberalism, for example transparency, measurable results and impact evaluations being used to support the expansion of state-provided social protection.

In terms of solutions, Peck and Theodore (2010) and Rushton and Williams (2012) both argue that policy models are more likely to be successful if they align with dominant paradigms. Social protection policy can take many different forms, for example contribution-based insurance or non-contributory transfers, with inherent (re)distributional implications. While the Zambian government does briefly mention the role of 'redistributive policies' for reducing poverty in the Fifth National Development Plan, the plan focuses on poverty reduction through direct transfers to individuals in the context of extreme poverty and vulnerability in Zambia (GRZ, 2006). Donors also focus on cash transfers as "the most direct possible approach to addressing extreme poverty" (DFID, 2011). Framing cash transfers as a poverty reduction tool rather than a means of redistribution has been a deliberate choice by CPs as part of the process of rendering technical. By "reducing poverty to a technical problem, and by promising technical solutions" (Ferguson, 1990: 256), CPs aim to persuade opponents of SCTs that they are concerned only with poverty reduction rather than the politically contentious issue of redistribution.

As discussed in section 6.3.1, the impact studies were an important advocacy strategy for promoting cash transfers. The framing of this evidence was also a technique for convincing key figures, based on the arguments to which they are considered most likely to respond favourably: "the presentation of the evidence has been good in a way, I mean if you say you only need K200 per year per person and a politician understands that... so I think it's also the way the evidence has been packaged" (ZC6). However, the CPs do not always correctly gauge the government's priorities. For example, the World Bank focused on costs, with a representative explaining that "we did an assessment of social safety nets in Zambia and the report pointed out that less than 0.2 of GDP was being spent on social protection" (ZC3). However, other informants have argued that the financial angle did not gain much traction and that the poverty reduction results were more effective: "poverty reduction of a few percentage points was more convincing than 2 percent of GDP" (ZK1). This reflected concerns that were emerging in the late 2000s regarding the 'growth-poverty paradox' where Zambia's growth rates were not translating into poverty reduction. Technocrats within the Ministry of Finance were looking for a solution as they were developing the Sixth National Development Plan (ZG26). Arguably, the evidence of economy-wide effects has been the most persuasive: "people were interested in multiplier effects, which they sold to the Ministry of Finance: within one year we saw this boom.... [The] local economy-wide study is what influenced them" (ZO3). The framing of cash transfers as a productive investment was particularly effective in a context in which economic growth was a policy priority and unconditional transfers were being criticized as handouts, particularly by the Ministry of Finance.

Another technique in terms of framing is to create narratives that are flexible enough to serve a diversity of contradictory interests. An example is the way DFID has used the narrative of stimulating local market development to promote non-contributory social benefits in the form of cash transfers (DFID, 2005; 2011), which can lead to the ideological blurring mentioned above. The larger the number of external interests to negotiate, the more likely state authority is to be disrupted (Allen, 2004; McFarlane, 2009). In this context a powerful actor is one that is able to mobilise people, procedures and products in order to achieve their goals (Rose and Miller, 2010), which involves influencing the conduct of others. Donors and consultants “are able to exert influence only because the ideas or instructions they purvey can be translated into other people’s own intentions, goals and ambitions” (Mosse, 2005: 8). The multiplicity of interests among actors in the policy and political streams makes coherence difficult to achieve, and the policy entrepreneurs identified in the previous section contribute to translation within and between these streams. In the case of cash transfers, an example of this is the use of a ‘pro-poor’ narrative in Zambia rather than a rights-based approach. Recognising that economic, social and cultural rights were not enforceable under Zambia’s Constitution at the time, the National Social Protection Policy in 2014 instead emphasises the role of social protection in pro-poor growth. This fits with the growing focus on poverty reduction in the late 2000s and aligns with the Patriotic Front’s economic policy focus on pro-poor growth in their manifesto for the 2011 election. It also appeals to pragmatic voters who measure politics against how much MPs can help them rather than ideological arguments about rights and equality (ZC11).

Section 6.3. has argued that through the strategies of rendering technical, working politically and framing, a transnational policy coalition — initiated by donors and then with increasing engagement of technocrats within the Ministry of Community Development, framed the global policy idea of cash transfers as an appropriate ‘pro-poor’ solution to the problem of poverty. These efforts went some way towards overcoming resistance among powerful players, particularly key figures within the Ministry of Finance who were beginning to look for solutions to the country’s persistently high poverty rates. The next section goes on to examine the role of the political stream in creating a policy transfer window for the adoption of SCTs.

6.4. *The ‘policy transfer window’: aligning cash transfers with the political stream*

The strategies outlined in the previous section shaped the problem and policy streams by framing cash transfers as a credible policy solution to the problem of Zambia’s persistently high poverty rates. However in the context of declining donor influence during this period and the level of resistance faced by the scheme, the role of transnational actors alone cannot explain the adoption of cash transfers. An explanation is needed for the shift in government commitment demonstrated by the SCT budget increase and introduction of a National Social Protection Policy in 2013-2014. This requires a more detailed examination of the ways in which the strategies of persuasion outlined above interacted with the political stream, and the factors that determined political receptivity to the policy idea of social cash transfers at national level.

Political engagement in policy-making is not restricted to support or resistance of specific policy models – political will or ownership – but also wider political factors. In the context of mature democracies, specifically the US, Kingdon (1984) identified these factors to be national mood, elections and organised interest groups. Kingdon (1984) argues that elections are important political events for bringing a change of power and potentially a new ideological position. In developing countries too, increasingly democratic elections have been identified as a factor in bringing about social policy reform, providing a platform for political parties to gain support through pro-poor promises (Seekings, 2005; Seekings, 2014), although in many cases the ideological content of election processes in developing countries has remained low. In Zambia’s personalised rather than programmatic system of policy-making (International IDEA, 2012), the policy influence of citizens and those excluded from the elite bargain is limited (Lindemann, 2011), particularly in rural areas (Barrientos et al., 2005; Duncan et al., 2003; Kuss, 2015; Schüring and Lawson-McDowall, 2011). As detailed in section 2.5.2, this research focuses on the interests of ruling elites, identified as political survival through strategies such as coalition-building and allocation of state appointments (Kjær and Therkildsen, 2013; Whitfield and Therkildsen, 2011), as well as paradigmatic ideas that shape how these elites see and understand the world (Béland, 2005; Campbell, 2002; Schmidt, 2008).

The chapter argues that alignment first between the problem and policy streams, then with the political stream is needed in order to achieve a ‘policy transfer window’. Section 6.4.1 sets out how a shift of ideas first among individuals and later through a change of the ruling party provided the opportunity for the uptake of cash transfers, and the subsequent

sections then examine the interests of key figures, including the President, that provided the motive for the policy adoption. Although there was a concern that this would be a short-lived interest and that funding would not be maintained, growing political demand and the continued need for the government to deliver on pro-poor promises have kept the SCT programme on the agenda, as this final section will highlight.

6.4.1. From 'handouts' to 'money in people's pockets': a shift of ideas

As section 6.3.3 on framing has argued, alignment with dominant paradigms strengthens the case for a policy idea. Following independence, a modernist narrative of development and improvement prevailed in Zambia, which continues to resonate today: “people want to see Zambia as a modernising nation; poverty and inequality do not fit into this view” (ZC8). In terms of elite values – defined as “intensely held endogenous preferences” (Scarritt, 2006: 236) – in post-independence Zambia, “development... was and is the most important value among the African political elite in Zambia” (Scarritt, 1971: 37). The African political elite favoured ‘equality of opportunity’, believing equality of outcomes to be impossible due to the value they placed on education and the difficult struggles they had undergone to obtain the positions they held (Scarritt, 1971). This chimes with Finance Minister Ng’andu Magande’s personal resistance to cash transfers, which was a barrier to the development of the programme until his departure in 2008. This resistance was based on his own experiences: “he had come from the village and thought that everyone else can come up too. He was a big sticking point” (ZC2).

In the early days of independence, a cooperative approach derived from traditional forms of social organisation was seen by many African elites as central to modern Zambian humanism that emerged under Kenneth Kaunda (Scarritt, 1971). Harland (2014) argues that this notion of humanism still resonates in Zambia, particularly through the continued use of the ‘One Zambia, One Nation’ rhetoric. Whilst this is often still invoked in public discourse, for example during political speeches on Labour Day, these former attitudes stand in contrast to present day young professionals and decision makers who are apparently “nonchalantly happy to denounce poor people” for their poverty rather than wider structural forces (ZC3). More broadly, a number of government officials referenced a decline in traditional support systems, due to a shift from extended family structures to a focus on nuclear families leading to a “decline in social ties” (ZG32; ZG36; ZG56). Reason for this include the burdens of HIV/AIDS, and family members moving to towns and ‘forgetting’ about their relatives in the village or being unable to support them (ZG34;

ZG36; ZG56). This suggests that groups that were previously supported by family may now be in need of cash transfers: “we can’t say we can’t help you because you have children” (ZG34), as “people are left to fend for themselves” (ZG36).

As described in detail in Chapter 4, the liberalisation and privatisation reforms initiated in the 1980s by the United National Independence Party (UNIP) and fully implemented by the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) from 1991 onwards contributed to an ideological shift from state-run politics towards a market-oriented approach (Mwalimu, 2014: 1097). The decline in state funding and provision of social services and welfare, which had begun in the 1970s, worsened due to structural adjustment, further lowering citizen expectations of the state. The MMD brought with them an antipathy to statism in opposition to President Kenneth Kaunda’s humanist approach, ushering in an era of neoliberalism which chimed with underlying conservative and productivist tendencies (see Chapter 4). During the 2000s, cash transfers did not align with the MMD’s priorities of productivity and growth-first, and their ‘broad-based growth’ approach to poverty reduction: “what is very clear is that 10 years ago, government especially in the first Republic thought cash transfers were handouts that made people lazy so the shift is tremendous” (ZC6). Resistance to cash transfers was particularly strong in the Ministry of Finance, led by Magande who thought they were “un-African” (ZC11). In addition to his personal reservations, Magande was committed to the trickle-down model of growth, and believed that SCTs would encourage dependency (ZG1, ZC12, ZG9) rather than upwards mobility (ZC2).

One of the self-proclaimed SCT ‘converts’ within the Ministry of Finance explained that in the 2000s the department, including himself, “thought the best way to develop the country is to invest in the productive sectors – if we stimulate growth and development it will lift the poor from the poverty cycle” (ZG26). According to this informant, the ‘growth poverty paradox’ was a significant factor in shifting attitudes towards SCTs within the Ministry of Finance: “we were not able to register a dent on poverty, we were looking for a solution to bridge the gap” (ZG26). However, the shift towards cash transfers was made possible by Magande’s departure in 2008: “this was a big change. He left and that freed everything up a bit” (ZC2). Nonetheless, the MMD government remained cautious about giving cash and the long-term financial responsibility required for such programmes. When the DFID Social Protection Expansion Programme (SPEP) agreement was proposed in 2009 the then Minister of Finance (Magande’s replacement) “did not have the same level of opposition to cash transfers... and was quite happy with the evidence from the four pilots (minus the social pension)” (ZG1). Although he was less resistant than his predecessor,

he was still “‘very nervous’ – [the original proposal] was for £32 million over 5 years, but [the Minister of Finance] said give me ten years, which we did” (ZG2). While this agreement provided commitment on paper to increased government funding for the scheme, it did not guarantee that this promised funding would materialise.

In 2011, the Patriotic Front was elected on a populist and pro-poor agenda, with a manifesto promise to ‘put money in people’s pockets’ (PF, 2011). Siachiwena (2016) argues that this represented a programmatic shift in policy under PF, influenced by a ‘social democratic’ faction within the party, which would suggest that elections do provide the opportunity for ideological shifts. While Siachiwena rightly points out the close links between the PF and the policy coalition promoting social protection, the fact that this centred on one leading figure in the party whose partner was a key player in the policy coalition, seems to underline the personalised rather than programmatic tendencies of policy-making in Zambia. One senior insider reports that President Sata had actually used red ink to strike out any mention of cash transfers from the first draft of the Manifesto (ZG19). It was later re-inserted by another senior member of the PF Cabinet who was closely connected to a leading player within the transnational policy coalition. This inclusion of cash transfers in the PF manifesto without Sata’s approval, acknowledged by Siachiwena in his paper, further questions the existence of a programmatic faction in support of SCTs. Moreover, there was a mismatch between SCTs and the main constituency-building strategies adopted by the PF at the 2011 elections, which focused on the urban poor and formal sector workers rather than the poor rural residents targeted by SCTs.

Despite promises to overturn elitism during their election campaign, the personalised tendencies within Zambian politics have continued with increasing levels of populism, partisanship and factionalism (Fraser, 2016). PF’s pro-poor messaging did provide an opportunity for the President to fulfil his pledge using the already established policy solution of social cash transfers. However, concerns about deservingness and dependency remain:

“elites want it to just go to the poor – ‘teach a man to fish’. They can’t even fish – there are those who are too old. Give them an image of an old person who tries to throw the net in the water and falls in. If you show them a picture of a young woman they will not go for it. They are worried about laziness, dependency. This came up in the discussions with MPs... The biggest

criticism is dependency. This is foreign, we need to grow the economy. Some say ‘I hate this!’” (ZG2)

“The politicians say: don’t encourage laziness by giving cash. They appreciate support for those who are incapacitated” (ZG55).

These views – both personal and societal – are informed by the third and deepest level of ideas outlined in section 2.4.3. These are underlying paradigms or worldviews – the “organizing ideas, values and principles of knowledge and society” (Schmidt, 2008: 306) – that serve as guides for public actors and a source of justification and legitimation. Although these background assumptions are rarely challenged directly, they can be developed and even replaced over time (Schmidt, 2008).

This section has shown that a partial shift in underlying ideas from a ‘growth-first’ approach to a ‘pro-poor’ agenda following a change of government, along with individual shifts and conversions has provided the opportunity for social cash transfers to take root. The next section considers the political interests that have shaped the prospects for SCTs in Zambia.

6.4.2. ‘Progressive decisions’: response to crisis

Political space for the idea of cash transfers was still limited when PF took power. Although cash transfers did feature in the ‘social protection’ section of the PF manifesto on which they were elected, the scheme was not an immediate investment priority for the government. Expenditure for the first two years of PF rule prioritised infrastructure in order to demonstrate visible progress, with 16% of the total 2012 budget allocated to roads (Chikwanda, 2011). SCTs also had to compete with other well-established programmes such as the Farmer Input Support Programme (FISP), despite emerging evidence and growing awareness that FISP does not reach the poor. Although FISP’s poverty reduction aims are implicit rather than explicit, there has been growing concern particularly among cooperating partners about the investment versus effectiveness: “FISP pulls a big bulk of money away from the social sector – it’s known to be ineffective, inefficient, not even good for agriculture and politically not finding correlations with support. SCT could provide a replacement [to FISP] but it’s not politically popular enough” (ZC7). The World Bank has tackled the Zambian government concerning its use of subsidies, where other CPs have been reluctant to do so (ZC2). In their 2013 assessment of Zambia’s social safety nets,

the World Bank reported the positive impacts of SCTs, and revealed how badly other programmes, including the agricultural subsidies, were faring in comparison, both in terms of their cost-effectiveness and their success in reaching poor people (Tesliuc et al., 2013). The government's own mid-term review of the Fifth National Development Plan also found that FISP is predominantly benefitting non-poor farmers (GRZ, 2009).

The relative scale of these programmes had limited political interest in cash transfers, which were “too small to be a political programme” (ZC2). It may also have protected SCTs from capture, as a high level politician observed: “my instinct says that as long as it is small, it will work – it's a small amount of money. The minute the thing grows too big it becomes another trough” (ZG19). In contrast, strong vested interests can explain FISP's ongoing success vis-à-vis cash transfers: the amounts of money involved are much higher (ZC4) and FISP has become “an animal on its own, too big to challenge, very much a political programme” (ZC2). Agricultural subsidies were scaled up under MMD and increased dramatically from 48,000 metric tons (MT) of fertiliser in 2002 to 184,000 MT in 2012. The MMD's distribution of agricultural subsidies during this period was highly politicised, with households in constituencies won by MMD in the last presidential election receiving an average of between 16.2kg and 23.2kg more subsidized fertiliser compared to households in areas that MMD lost (Mason et al., 2013: 2).

The politicised nature of FISP has made the programme “notorious” (ZC1), and CPs consider it “too big to challenge” (ZC2) due to the powerful vested interests. In 2013 a scandal broke concerning massive overspending on the budget lines for the FISP and the Food Reserve Agency (FRA) (ZC6, ZK2), to the tune of K1.181 trillion on FISP against a budget allocation of K500 billion, and K1,354.70 trillion against the budgeted amount of K485 billion. The public nature of this revelation promoted President Sata to make a statement announcing that the government were making ‘progressive decisions’ to remove fertiliser subsidies and that resources would be channelled to the poorest citizens (Lusaka Times, 2013) providing the motive to redirect some funds from agricultural subsidies to the SCT programme. Following these events in May 2013, the budget speech delivered in October 2013 announced a 700% increase for the SCT budget to K150 million (Chikwanda, 2013). The line Minister confirmed that this budget increase was a Presidential directive (ZG16).

Although the SCT programme had featured in the PF's 2011 manifesto, President Sata had reportedly resisted this policy idea (detailed in section 6.4.1) and it had not been prioritised by the PF up to this point. In addition, the SCT programme did not align with the

ruling party's targeting of the urban poor and working classes, through a leftist policy agenda focused on the labour market, including minimum wage and labour standards (Helle and Rakner, 2012) (see also sections 4.4.3 and 6.4.1). The SCT budget increase did not take place during an election campaigning period, but entered political calculations at a time when the government was receiving negative attention regarding government spending and its failures on poverty reduction. While this may not have been an existential threat, it did constitute a reputational threat which was significant enough to prompt an unexpected budget decision in favour of cash transfers, sanctioned by the President. This move points to the instrumental use of a policy to pacify the wider public rather than target a specific constituency, with the added bonus of appealing to the rural poor.

However, the following year the budget for FISP and FRA remained high at K1,083.17 million and K992.9 million respectively (taking into account the currency rebase that took place on 1st January 2013), and in the 2017 budget FISP received K2,856.40 million. The continued funding of the disgraced FISP and FRA, despite the scandal, illustrates the enduring power of these programmes which are needed to retain an established and powerful constituency of agricultural interests required for political survival. The SCT budget has remained a much smaller percentage of the budget share: 1 percent in the 2018 budget compared to 2.5 percent allocated to FISP. Following this 'window of opportunity' leading to the 700% increase, the SCT budget then flat-lined in 2015 prompting concerns within the policy coalition that its expansion would be short-lived. This was confirmed by the Medium-term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) for 2015-17, which indicated that the budget for SCTs would remain at ZMW 150 million per year until 2016-17 (MoF, 2014). However, in the revised MTEF for 2016-18, the domestically financed contribution to SCTs were set to increase to ZMW 350 million by 2018 (MoF, 2015), and the actual figures exceeded this with the 2018 SCT budget standing at K721,180 million (Mutati, 2017). Programme expansion also continued: the budget allocation is ZMW 699.5 million and coverage has reached 540,000 households as of 2019.

In terms of framing, the SCT programme has continued to be useful to the PF in terms of their pro-poor messaging. In his 2017 budget address, Finance Minister Felix Mutati introduced an Economic Recovery Programme dubbed 'Zambia Plus'. One of the five pillars of the programme is the scaling up of social protection programmes in order to 'cushion the poor' from the austerity measures (Mutati, 2016), which include the removal of government subsidies, for example on fuel and electricity. Social cash transfers therefore continue to align with both the interests and the pro-poor rhetoric of the PF, enabling further expansion of the programme.

6.5. Conclusion

Social cash transfers have been promoted in Zambia since 2003, initially by cooperating partners who then built a transnationalised policy coalition, including technocrats within the Department for Social Welfare and policy entrepreneurs, who were able to assist with making connections with the political stream. Following very gradual expansion during the 2000s, the SCT programme received a boost in 2013 when the PF increased the budget by 700%. Tracing this process through interviews with CPs, technocrats and politicians, as well as planning and policy documents, budgets, reports and impact evaluations, this chapter has identified the combination of factors that led to this scale up.

The chapter has argued that the strategic efforts of the transnationalised policy coalition established social cash transfers as a credible and effective policy solution that could respond to the problem of persistently high poverty levels in Zambia. However, in terms of alignment with the political stream, a partial shift in ideas from a 'growth-first' towards a 'pro-poor' approach was required to increase domestic receptivity to this global policy idea. This was brought about by the departure of a Finance Minister ideologically opposed to cash transfers in 2008, and a new ruling coalition that came to power in 2011 promising to 'put money in people's pockets'. It was facilitated by a growing realisation in the late 2000s that Zambia's growth rates were not translating into poverty reduction. When a political scandal in 2013 regarding agricultural subsidies threatened the government's key political survival strategy in rural areas, cash transfers finally came into alignment with the interests of the ruling coalition, with the advantage of also delivering on their pro-poor manifesto promise. Together these factors opened up a 'policy transfer window', as proposed in the conceptual framework (diagram 1), enabling the political decision to invest in cash transfers. Although this could have been a one off moment, growing political interest in the programme and its alignment with the government's pro-poor rhetoric (encouraged and materially supported by the policy coalition) have led to continued investment and scale up of cash transfers in Zambia.

Global policy ideas introduced by transnational actors – including SHI and SCTs – are competing with established policies, such as FISP, which serve powerful vested interests and political survival strategies. While these new ideas have not yet displaced the deeply embedded interests and allocation practices of the existing policies, they have begun to gain political momentum. Despite efforts by the policy coalition to frame the SCT targeting

criteria as a series of technical decisions aiming to maximise poverty reduction, the policy design scaled up after the budget increase in 2014 triggered debates about redistribution within the wider public. Chapter 7 goes on to address the clash of ideas between a transnational model and local ideas of deservingness that emerged during the implementation of the cash transfer scheme following the scale up in 2014.

7. Re-shaping policy from below: implementation of social cash transfers in Zambia

7.1. Introduction

“Someone is doing the gymnastics and we are receiving the blows” (interview with District Social Welfare Officer, March 2017)

In Zambia, the cash transfer scheme relies heavily on a decentralised structure in which provincial and district social welfare offices, supported by community volunteers, are expected to deliver a centrally designed policy model. The above quote from a District Social Welfare Officer expresses the frustration felt by implementers who are acting on instructions from above and ‘receiving the blows’ from communities as they deliver the cash transfer programme. It also draws attention to the contestation that has arisen during the implementation of this global policy idea at the local level in Zambia.

As Howlett et al. (2016, 2015) point out, policy development does not end with adoption but continues into the design and implementation phases through the ongoing selection, deployment and recalibration of policy instruments. Within the policy process literature, research on implementation has largely remained a distinct field of study (Saetren, 2005), predominantly focused on whether the policy objectives are implemented as intended rather than ways in which implementation can influence the policy itself. Adopting Thomas and Grindle’s definition of implementation as “an interactive and ongoing process of decision making” (1990: 1165), which recognises the role of politicians and bureaucratic officials in shaping policy, this chapter considers implementation to contribute to processes of policy translation during global policy transfer. It is during implementation that reactions to the policy from local bureaucrats, target populations and the wider public begin to emerge (Grindle and Thomas, 1991). Emphasising the “complex agency of actors in development at every level” (Mosse, 2005: 6), *inter alia* bureaucrats, politicians, traditional leaders, cooperating partners and citizens, this chapter argues that the engagement of new actors as a policy idea hits the ground influences policy design as well as implementation.

Extending Kingdon’s (1984) model, my conceptual framework proposes that alignment between the problem, policy and political streams is also required during policy implementation, incorporating the new actors involved in this dimension of the policy

process. Within the political stream, survival strategies continue to influence political and bureaucratic actors at local level. Bureaucrats often have considerable discretion over allocative decisions during implementation, including allocation to others or personal gain. Other influencing factors on bureaucrats can include political or social pressures, national interest and careerism. Political pressures may come from local or national politicians, concerned about the ways in which policies are affecting the support of lower level groups required to stay in power, including beneficiaries/non-beneficiaries of the SCT programme in this case. Paradigmatic ideas also continue to be important, with a focus at this level on popular ideas. For the problem and policy streams, the main factor is the extent to which the problem framing and policy idea resonate with local perceptions of the issue at hand and policy solution, particularly among implementers and recipients. These streams influence the local level policy process indirectly through mediating actors involved in implementation.

Building on the previous chapter, which analysed the domestic receptivity to the global idea of cash transfers during the promotion and adoption of this policy model, Chapter 7 examines how cash transfers have been received in local sites. As detailed in section 3.5.2, the case study sites for this phase of the research were chosen from the list of 17 districts where complaints were received from community members and local leaders, following the implementation of the '2014' targeting model. They were selected on the basis of reported politicisation of the targeting criteria in these districts. Kawambwa district is particularly noteworthy as it was the site of the visit by the Minister of Community Development which escalated the complaints about the model to national level. Petauke district provided the opportunity to test whether there was any variation in responses to the targeting model in a different location, with lower poverty rates. However the perceptions of deservingness were similar across all FGD sites, with incapacitation emerging as being a particularly important criterion of deservingness in these areas.

The policy translation literature foregrounds the mobility and mutation of ideas during policymaking, but neglects the ways in which the "intrinsic politics of the policy process" (Peck and Theodore, 2010: 169) extends to implementation. Research on the politics of implementation of cash transfers tends to focus on social accountability initiatives and the prospects for transforming state-society relations (Hickey and King, 2016; Jones et al., 2016), rather than the ways in which local agency shapes the policy process itself. The factors in the problem, policy and political streams outlined above continue to determine receptivity to new policy ideas as they hit the ground during implementation.

This chapter examines the ways in which global policy ideas continue to be adjusted to fit domestic requirements (Obinger et al., 2013) – local as well as national – during implementation, through the case of a clash between a centrally designed targeting model and local ideas of deservingness in Zambia. This played out following the launch of a new policy model in 2014, based on a targeting assessment and recommendations from two external consultants. The key criterion for beneficiary selection in this model was a dependency ratio, which has proved to be highly controversial as households with labour capacity are eligible to receive the transfer. This led to complaints across the districts receiving the model, initially through bureaucratic channels or local leaders and MPs. The incident was then politicised through direct ministerial intervention, when the line Minister visited Kawambwa district in January 2015 during the Presidential by-election campaign. Based on the perceived political risk to the SCT programme, the Minister put pressure on the SCT team to respond by removing beneficiaries from the programme. This decision was later reversed and the beneficiaries were reinstated but as a result of these public and political reactions at the local level, the programme has been re-designed in order to increase its social acceptability and political support. This demonstrates that global policy ideas introduced through strategies of persuasion are subject to the responses of national and local actors leading to a continued process of policy translation.

Using the conceptual framework constructed in Chapter 3 (diagram 1), which extends the multiple streams approach to policy implementation as well as adoption, this chapter argues that the level of alignment with existing ideas and interests continues to be crucial in determining the domestic receptivity to the ideas introduced through the cash transfer policy during implementation. The criteria for policy ideas within the policy stream include both politicians' receptivity and public acceptability (Kingdon, 1984). In Zambia, the acceptability of cash transfers is shaped by local ideas of deservingness, which in turn reflect particular notions of social justice. The main criterion of deservingness emerging from the findings of this study in Zambia is incapacitation, with groups that are considered unable to provide for themselves – such as the elderly and the disabled – being prioritised for receiving assistance. On the other hand, those considered to have control over their circumstances – for example having many children – were identified as less deserving. This criterion corresponds with Dworkin's distinction between choice and circumstance: "what we must take responsibility for, because we chose it, and what we cannot take responsibility for because it was beyond our control" (2002: 323), which this chapter demonstrates as being central to understandings of deservingness in Zambia.

The proceeding section sets out the development of the social cash transfer model in Zambia in the period from its introduction in 2003 to the '2017' model, outlining the different models that have been piloted and the changes to design that have been made in the search for a 'national model'. Section 7.3 shows that influence over Zambia's cash transfer programme has shifted away from the cooperating partners and towards the government. This is due to a combination of increased ownership by bureaucrats and growing demand from constituencies. The policy coalition, which was central to the adoption of the policy, has weakened following the increase in government funding, as well as reduced coordination following the (re)entry of additional cooperating partners into the sector including the World Bank and the Swedish development agency. Having identified the interests and ideas that shape the social and political acceptability of cash transfers at local level, Section 7.4 finds that the deservingness debates in Zambia centre on control versus need, corresponding with Dworkin's (2002) distinction between choice and circumstance. Section 7.5 concludes that the expression of these local ideas of deservingness, catalysed by political intervention, have led to the rejection of eligible fit-for-work recipients and subsequent changes to the targeting criteria. The chapter argues that the reading of global policy transfer as a process of translation through the engagement of domestic actors needs to be extended to recognise that local sites contribute to re-shaping policy from below as part of an iterative process of policy formulation.

7.2. Design, implementation and reactions to the social cash transfer models in Zambia 2003-2017

This section sets out the development of multiple social cash transfer models piloted in Zambia, from the programme's inception in 2003 to the '2017' model. Section 7.2.1 provides an overview of the SCT models that were tested in Zambia between 2003 and 2013. Section 7.2.2 then describes in detail a clash between the centrally designed '2014' targeting model, based on assessments of the pilots and recommendations by an external consultancy, and local understandings of deservingness. This section also identifies political factors that escalated these events leading to further changes to the policy design. Finally section 7.2.3 examines how the complaints about the '2014' model, and the reactions to these complaints, led directly to changes to the policy design, demonstrating that attempts to frame cash transfers and targeting criteria as technical decisions can obscure but not remove the political nature of redistribution.

There is a heated debate within the global epistemic community on social protection about the relative merits of universal and targeted social protection designs, with a clear tension apparent between these universal and targeted approaches. While there are a large number of economic studies that have found that when the budget is fixed a degree of targeting optimizes social welfare, there is another literature on the politics of targeting that finds that targeting actually makes the poor worse off. This debate is examined in detail in the Gelbach and Pritchett's (2002) study entitled 'Is More for the Poor Less for the Poor? The Politics of Means-Tested Targeting'. Mkandawire (2005) suggests that a preference for targeting is often a reflection of the residual role assigned to social policy. While these are framed as 'technical' debates, focused on the "efficient allocation of resources subject to budget constraints" (Mkandawire, 2005: 1), they are subject to political processes and underpinned by differing notions of social justice determining who is deserving of assistance and on what basis, constructed around desert, needs and citizenship (Mkandawire, 2005). These transnational targeting debates have played out on the ground in Zambia since the introduction of cash transfers in 2003 through the piloting of a wide range of models, including a means-tested transfer for labour-constrained households, a universal social pension and a child grant, among others.

The justification of poverty targeting is "to correctly and efficiently identify which households are poor and which are not" (Coady et al., 2004: 13). In Zambia, Schubert (2005) identified four different categories of poverty based on level (moderate or critical) and viability of the household (capacitated or incapacitated), targeting the cash transfer at those in the 'most unfavourable situation i.e. critically poor and incapacitated. Methods of determining poverty level include community based targeting (CBT), where selection is carried out by community members, and proxy means testing (PMT), which uses characteristics of the household to determine poverty levels (Coady et al., 2004). There has been a lot of resistance to PMT within the global epistemic community, particularly from policy entrepreneur Stephen Kidd and more recently within the World Bank. Several papers have outlined the flaws of the method, such as the lack of accuracy of the indicators and the static nature of the results, and have described it as a 'poor means test' and 'exclusion by design' (Brown et al., 2016; Kidd et al., 2017).

Categorical targeting has also been defined as a methodology, with all individuals in a specified group being eligible to receive benefits based on simple eligibility criteria such as age (Coady et al., 2004). However this study follows Kidd (2013) in defining categorical targeting as a policy choice, for example a child grant or a social pension, which in Zambia have been designed to have universal coverage within the identified category.

However this is not always the case, for example Zambia’s multiple categorical grant, described in Table 2 below, is universal by design but quotas were applied so it operated as a targeted programme (Beazley and Carraro, 2013). Broadly in Zambia, a categorical approach means using categories to identify eligible recipients, for example people over the age of 65, but may also include a poverty test so is not necessarily universal.

For targeted policies, three stages of the targeting process have been identified: the first stage is policy *choice*, when governments select the policy they want to pursue; the programme *design* then defines the target population, such as households in extreme poverty or older persons; once the target group has been decided, a targeting methodology is needed to *select* the recipients (Barrientos, 2013a; Kidd, 2013). This chapter addresses the first two stages of policy *choice* – including the use of categorical targeting – and programme *design* in Zambia, but not the targeting methods or the systems for beneficiary selection.

7.2.1. Global policy models: Zambia’s pilot programmes 2003-2013

The four pilot SCT models that have been trialled in Zambia were largely shaped by the ideas of various transnational actors. The 2003 pilot, which targeted the “10% most vulnerable and incapacitated households in the community” (MCDSS and GTZ, 2007), was spearheaded by Berndt Schubert, the GTZ consultant who adopted and extended the World Bank concept of the ‘ultra poor’ as a target group, focusing on the lack of labour power (Gliszczynski, 2015). The social pension, child grant programme and multiple categorical scheme have been championed by other agencies, including UNICEF and HelpAge International. Much of the funding for these pilots came from DFID. Table 3 indicates the selection criteria for each of these pilot models, as well as when and where they were introduced.

Table 3: Overview of SCT pilot models in Zambia 2003-2013

Model	Timing and coverage	Criteria
10% inclusive model (IM)	2003 6 districts (Kalomo, Zimba, Kazungula, Chipata, Monze, Sinda)	1) Destitute 2) Incapacitated

Social pension	2007 1 district (Katete)	1) All people aged 60 and above
Child grant programme (CGP)	2010 3 districts (Kaputa, Shang'ombo and Kalabo)	1) The applicant must be a mother and where the mother is dead, applicant should be the primary caregiver: any person (parent, relative or friend) who is looking after the child and directly responsible for the child's welfare; 2) The child must be 36 months or younger at point of application and registration (entry age set to ensure every household would spend a minimum of two years on the scheme; 3) Households with physically disabled children are eligible for entry onto the scheme at any age below the age of 14 years.
Multiple categorical grant (MCG)	2011 2 districts (Luwingu and Serenje)	1) Female-headed household keeping orphans; 2) Elderly-headed household (60 years and above) keeping orphans; 3) Household with at least one disabled member 4) A special case: this category is for cases that are critical but do not qualify under the other categories; for example, a household of two elderly people who are unable to look after themselves.

Source: Author's construction

With regards to the acceptability of these pilot models, an 'Assessment of the Zambia Social Protection Expansion Targeting Mechanisms' carried out by two external Oxford Policy Management (OPM) consultants in September 2013 found that the criteria for the multiple categorical scheme, and also for the 10% inclusive model targeting incapacitated households, were in line with perceptions about the poorest households amongst communities and are therefore widely accepted. On the other hand, the child grant was

found to be unpopular in communities as many people believed that the targeting included better-off families while excluding many of the poorest households (Beazley and Carraro, 2013).

7.2.2. The search for a national model: design and roll out of the harmonised model

This 2013 OPM targeting study assessed each pilot model against the criteria of effectiveness, efficiency and acceptability, using community surveys and focus group discussions to study stakeholder perceptions. The consultants also conducted an analysis of the perceptions of poverty and vulnerability and assessed the extent to which they are compatible with targeting criteria. The OPM report states that: “there is no mention of vulnerability at all in the main objectives, and it is reasonable to interpret that the target group is the extreme poor” (Beazley and Carrero, 2013: 30).

Based on this analysis, the assessment proposed a ‘harmonised national methodology’, hereafter referred to as the ‘2014’ model, with a double screening strategy. The consultants recommended intra-household dependency as the first filter, defined as households without able-bodied members and households with a dependency ratio of at least three dependents per able body, and a second screening of an objective poverty assessment. They specify that the unfit are those less than 19 or more than 64 or those aged 19–64 but chronically ill, disabled or still attending school. The report claimed that dependency ratio is the best eligibility criterion for reaching the poorest and that “this is in line with the perception of poverty that the communities have and therefore could increase the acceptability of the targeting method” (Beazley and Carraro, 2013: 75). The OPM consultants adopt Schubert’s interpretation of dependency ratio as the relation between productive and dependent household members, rather than the UN’s demographic definition of the number of children and older persons to the working population (on the basis that children and older people are not able or expected to work and therefore economically dependent on the workers or producers).¹⁸ However the report does not specify the origin, make reference to other uses of this selection criterion, or provide any supporting research/evidence regarding this criterion.

¹⁸http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/natlinfo/indicators/methodology_sheets/demographics/dependency_ratio.pdf

During non-participant observation of the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) targeting workshop held in November 2016, a representative from the department explained that we “invited OPM to help us make a decision, to make an assessment of the different models” (TW1), highlighting the influence of the external consultants on the development of the new model. Their recommendations were adopted after only two meetings (ZC8; ZC19). The final decision on the model was made during a workshop in late 2013 led by the Ministry of Community Development, and attended by provincial and district representatives from seven Provinces, with support from the cooperating partners, particularly UNICEF and DFID (ZG2; ZC19). Once adopted, it was rapidly rolled out, with no pilot, to 88,000 households in 31 districts across the country in early 2014 (ZK2), and was therefore referred to as the ‘2014’ model.

Despite acceptability in communities being “one of the main considerations” (ZC19) for the targeting criteria recommended by the OPM consultants, the dependency ratio criterion did not resonate with community perceptions of deservingness. When the ‘2014’ model hit the ground across the country, including North-Western, Eastern and Luapula provinces, there were widespread complaints in the districts where it was implemented (ZG2). The main concern was that those who are ‘energetic’ and ‘fit for work’ were on the programme, while others – particularly the elderly – were being left out (ZG23; ZG46). These complaints were directed to DSW staff, traditional leaders and MPs. They also reached the media: “there were sections of the media that reported that some recipients are not deserving of the programme” (ZG31). For example an article appeared in the Lusaka Times in December 2014 in which Chieftainess Kayembo from Nchelenge district in Luapula Province called on the Minister of Community Development to visit the district to see the situation in which “economically able families [were] lining up for the social cash transfer money when the real vulnerable were left in the cold”, with the vulnerable groups identified as being widows, orphans and the disabled (Lusaka Times, 2014).

Figure 7: Minister of Community Development launches SCT programme in Kawambwa District, Luapula Province, 6 January 2015



Source: Copy of newspaper cutting displayed in District Social Welfare Office, Kawambwa, accessed March 2017

The Minister did visit Luapula province in January 2015 to launch the SCT programme. The public and high profile nature of this event is illustrated by the newspaper cutting in Figure 7, which documents the attendance by a large number of community members and also media coverage of the event. During this visit, the Minister saw young mothers with children receiving the grant (ZC2) and also received direct complaints from community members that it was not fair for able-bodied people to benefit while other vulnerable people, particularly older people, were left out (ZC6; ZG23). Following the visit, the Minister decided that households should be removed from the programme and instructed the DSW to remove able-bodied beneficiaries who were perceived to be undeserving – including young women (ZC2, ZC6, ZG34) – as this was making politicians unpopular (ZG2).

Complaints had already been coming to the Department of Social Welfare, through bureaucratic channels, MPs and Chiefs who would phone the office directly. A senior figure at the DSW headquarters reported that initially they thought they had managed to “weather the storm” (ZG2). He explained that initially they did nothing in terms of the design, but focused on improving understanding of the 2014 model through communication with beneficiary communities. However, the Minister’s visit to Luapula Province at the beginning of January 2015 coincided with the run up to the Presidential

by-election, which was held on 20 January 2015. Faced with direct complaints and seeing ‘young girls with children’ receiving the transfer, the Minister intervened directly in the policy implementation. At this point “pressure came from upstairs and all hell broke loose” (ZG2), as the Minister instructed the SCT Unit to remove households with able-bodied beneficiaries from the programme, although they were eligible according to the selection criteria. Shortly afterwards those that had been removed from the programme were reinstated (ZG31; ZG34; ZG54) due to concerns among other politicians, including the Vice President, that the removal of beneficiaries had contributed to ‘de-campaigning’ and the subsequent loss of votes in the Presidential by-election (ZG2; TW1). Although the Minister’s decision had been reversed, the senior technocrats within the department had recognised the political risks of the 2014 targeting criteria and began the process of re-shaping the policy design.

7.2.3. *The search continues: changes to the cash transfer design*

In response to the challenges raised against the 2014 model, the search for a model with “national character” (ZG23) continued. A rapid assessment of the SCT targeting was carried out by the DSW following the Minister’s intervention to investigate so-called ‘inclusion errors’, although the verification found that the majority of households that had been removed were eligible under the 2014 criteria (TW1). The report concluded that fit for work beneficiaries, such as young women with children, made the programme ‘politically unattractive’ (Department of Social Welfare, 2015). The Director of Social Welfare explained that he had learned “never put younger people on the programme ahead of older people” (ZG2) based on the complaints by community members, traditional leaders and MPs about young fit-for-work beneficiaries receiving transfers. Following the events outlined above, he identified people with disabilities and older people as being priority groups for assistance through the SCT programme. Table 4 provides an overview of the evolving SCT models in the period following the budget increase in 2013, indicating the frequency of the changes and their nature in terms of the targeting criteria.

Table 4: The search for a national SCT model, 2014-2017

Model	Timing and coverage	Criteria
‘2014’ model	2014 27 districts	1) Intra-household dependency: households without able-bodied members and households with a dependency ratio of at

		least three dependents per able body, 2) Affluence test (PMT)
'2016' model	2016 28 districts	1) Two categories (instead of incapacitation criteria): over 65 years, with proof of age through NRC, and severely disabled, established through disability certification. 2) Residency test 3) Affluence test (PMT)
'2017' model	2017	1) Categories extended to include terminally ill persons, child-headed households and female-headed households with three or more children, in addition to 65+ and persons with disabilities 2) Residency test 3) Affluence test (PMT)

Source: Author's construction

During this re-design process, bureaucrats within DSW were struggling to mediate the clash between transnational and local ideas. One District Social Welfare Officer explained that “district experiences are influencing changes to the model” but that “headquarters would rather listen to consultants than districts” (ZG46). A two day workshop was held in June 2015 to discuss possible alternatives to the 2014 model. This workshop was organised by the Department of Social Welfare head office, with participants from the DSW headquarters, representatives from selected District and Provincial Social Welfare Offices, as well as cooperating partners and PSP Zambia. An influential policy entrepreneur within the global epistemic community on social protection, who supports universal provision rather than poverty targeting, also attended to provide critiques of the proposed models. This entrepreneur argued strongly against the use of PMT but this component was retained with an informant within the DSW claiming: “the decision was ours” (ZG2).

The aim of this workshop was to address targeting design issues and identify potential alternatives, as a result of the challenges caused by local resistance to people who are fit-for-work receiving the transfers (TW1). Following the workshop an internal memo was circulated on revision of SCT targeting outlining four proposals, as follows:

- 1) Improve the implementation of the current new inclusive model

- 2) Application of “dependency ratio = 4 or more” to some but not all potentially eligible households
- 3) Replace dependency ratio calculation with inclusion of the following categories of households: households with elderly members, households with persons with disabilities, households headed by children, or households with children aged 0-5
- 4) Enroll all elderly persons and persons with disabilities, as well as poor/vulnerable families with children aged 0-5 identified by the community or PMT

The memo recommended that the third proposal was “the best way forward” as the categories identified aligned with perceptions of vulnerability in communities (internal memo on revision of SCT targeting, June 2015). This proposal was therefore adopted as the ‘2016’ model and approved by the Permanent Secretary as well as the Minister.

The ‘2016’ model was clearly understood and accepted in communities, but coverage decreased as fewer households qualified under the new criteria. There were also concerns about phasing out previous models, such as the child grant, and how to re-target using the new model in current districts without creating a backlash. These questions were addressed during another targeting workshop was held in November 2016 at Legacy Lodge, Chongwe. Again, this was organised by the Department of Social Welfare head office and attended by a selected group of Provincial Social Welfare Officers and District Social Welfare Officers, as well as representatives from the cooperating partners within the policy coalition. This workshop also opened up discussions about a ‘2017’ model with further adjustments. Several proposals were made for the ‘2017’ model as follows:

- 1) Maintain the ‘2014’ model on the basis that it did not have design issues, only implementation challenges
- 2) Maintain the ‘2016’ model with older people and people with disabilities as priority categories
- 3) Create a ‘2016’ model plus – maintaining the categories of older people and people with disabilities with room to add additional categories
- 4) Harmonise the ‘2014’ and ‘2016’ models, removing the dependency ratio except when it is 4 or above

At the end of the workshop, a vote was taken to decide the ‘2017 harmonised model’ (TW2) and the result guided the design of this model, to the surprise of the CPs who thought the workshop was a consultative rather than a decision-making forum (ZC6; ZC8; ZC15). The 2017 model closely resembled the 2016 model with the eligibility criteria

focusing on incapacitation but with additional categories. Female-headed households with 3 or more children were reintroduced as an eligible category, but there was no mention of the phrase 'dependency ratio'.

This section has outlined the key events of the social cash transfer policy design in Zambia, including the various iterations of the policy model. The following sections will analyse these events using the conceptual framework (diagram 1). Section 7.3 will focus on how the political acceptability of the model shaped the development of the policy, based on a combination of local ideas and political interests.

7.3. *Political acceptability: the political stream shapes policy design*

The significant increase in government funding of the SCT programme, announced in 2013, brought the government share to 75% of the total budget, exceeding the Social Protection Expansion Programme agreement. The scheme was expanded under the Patriotic Front government, with coverage more than doubling in terms of number of districts and beneficiary households between 2013 and 2014. One of the CPs observed that as the government stepped up its financial contributions to the programme, the Ministry has become less consultative (ZG5), marking a shift in relations between the Ministry of Community Development and the cooperating partners. The expansion of the programme has also increased awareness and interest among MPs, who want to bring it to their districts. More recently, the SCTs were used by PF during the 2016 election campaign, as part of their offer to poorer voters suggesting that this policy idea has now been accepted within the political stream.

The changes to the social cash transfer design outlined in section 7.2 above, are part of a wider move beyond the donor influenced pilots to a predominantly government owned and funded programme. The policy models, up to and including the '2014' model, have been designed by transnational actors, with some involvement from bureaucrats within the DSW as the policy coalition strengthened. In terms of implementation of the SCT scheme, the Ministry of Community Development was assisted by GTZ until 2007 and by CARE International until the end of 2008 (Tesliuc et al., 2013). Since then the programme has been delivered by government structures, with some continued support from cooperating partners, such as UNICEF's funding of additional staff members for the SCT Unit during the programme expansion.

The implementation of the '2014' model elicited a much stronger response in communities than the previous models, in the form of complaints from community members and traditional leaders (internal memo on revision of SCT targeting, June 2015). The rapid expansion in 2014 with inadequate awareness raising and training may have contributed to a lack of understanding of the model, but the complaints centred on the idea of young, able-bodied people receiving the transfer under the dependency ratio criteria. These complaints became politicised due to the involvement of MPs and the Minister of Community Development. These events occurred at a sensitive time politically, during campaigning for a Presidential by-election in January 2015 following the death of President Sata in office in October 2014.

This section argues that global ideas have influenced the design of the social cash transfer programme in Zambia, through strategies of persuasion (similar to those engaged by CPs for promoting the policy adoption). However, as social cash transfers have become increasingly government owned and expanded across the country, this transnational influence has decreased and other groups, particularly local politicians, bureaucrats and to some extent citizens have become more influential over policy design.

7.3.1. Transnational influence on policy design

The strategies of persuasion employed by CPs to promote social cash transfers have also been used to influence policy design, particularly rendering technical and framing, which will be addressed in section 7.4 below. By presenting the targeting criteria as a technical matter, rather than a political question of redistribution, the CPs attempted to govern both recipients and non-recipients through acts of calculation and processes of gathering and inscribing information about individuals and groups (Rose and Miller, 2010). The pilot programmes have also been used as a strategy to demonstrate specific models, including the social pension and the child grant, as well as being used to demonstrate, test and evaluate the cash transfer concept more generally, as identified in Chapter 6.

The model used in the Kalomo pilot is an example of poverty targeting, using a calculation based on a well-defined but overly simplified categorization of poverty. It was designed by the policy entrepreneur Bernd Schubert in the role of consultant for a GTZ-assisted Social Safety Net Project of the then Ministry of Community Development and Social Services. The Kalomo pilot targeted the 'worst off' or 'bottom 10%' households using what later became known as the '10% inclusive model'. This model is based on a combination of the

level of poverty and capacity or viability of a household. The calculation identified 200,000 households as being the '10% worst of households in Zambia' due to both critical poverty and low capacity. The figures came from "approximate estimates based on a number of smaller surveys undertaken by the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services (MCDSS), assisted by the GTZ in 2003" (Schubert, 2005: 4). Another CP highlighted the unrepresentative nature of this study – the data was collected in 6 villages in a single district in Southern Province – and stated that they "are not comfortable with the model as the 10% cap is too low and does not work across the board when poverty levels are unevenly disbursed geographically... the 10% model didn't make sense in this context" (ZC2). High dependency ratio, defined as "the relation between the number of dependent household members (not able to perform productive work) and the number of household members able to perform productive work" (Schubert, 2005: 5), was one of the criteria for this model, although not specified numerically. These households were considered to be non-viable due to having no or few able-bodied adult members. This categorization serves to prioritise households in poverty depending on whether they are in a 'favourable' or 'unfavourable' situation, with labour capacity being the key determinant. Schubert acknowledged from the beginning that the 10% limit excluded eligible households (Schubert, 2005). However, it was only following the OPM targeting assessment in 2013 that the coverage was increased to 20% (Quarles van Ufford et al., 2016).

The other three pilot models were also directly shaped by the ideas of transnational actors and were funded mainly by DFID. The social pension was implemented from 2007 in Katete, with input from HelpAge International and CARE International, targeting all people over 60 (Beazley and Carraro, 2013). In 2010 a Child Grant cash transfer programme, influenced by UNICEF, was introduced for all households with a child under five years old in three districts – Kalabo, Kaputa and Shongombo, then in 2012 there was also a pilot for a multiple categorical scheme in Luwingu and Serenje. This programme targeted households meeting any of the following conditions: a female-headed household keeping orphans; a household with a disabled member; an elderly-headed household (over 60 years old) keeping orphans; a special case: this category is for cases that are critical but do not qualify under the other categories; for example, a household of two elderly people who are unable to look after themselves (Seidenfeld et al., 2014). These models were all designed to be universally applied to the identified category, but in practice they operated as targeted schemes (Beazley and Carraro, 2013).

For the '2014' model, the policy coalition had agreed on the targeting mechanism (ZC6) and "everyone was happy with the result" (ZC19). Comparing the targeting criteria for the 2014 model with the recommendations in the 2013 targeting assessment, it is evident that the new 'harmonised' model was taken directly from the OPM proposals. Chapter 6 has established that the American Institutes for Research (AIR) impact evaluations were an important part of the advocacy efforts to convince politicians and policy makers, particularly within the Ministry of Finance, about the value of the cash transfer programme. However, the findings about the specific targeting models were less influential, with one cooperating partner reporting that "impact evaluation reports were important evidence to increase support in general but not relevant for specific models" (ZC8). The same informant explained that "many of the impacts are the same" (ZC8), while a government official agreed that "the model didn't really matter, it was about results" (ZG1). The AIR studies found positive poverty reduction and multiplier effects across both the child grant and multiple categorical programmes. These evaluations, particularly of the child grant were influential in terms of the SCT scale up, but it was the OPM targeting assessment that shaped the 2014 targeting decision made by the policy coalition (see also Quarles van Ufford et al., 2016).

Commissioned and funded by UNICEF, and conducted by two external experts from the social protection team of a development consultancy, the OPM targeting assessment is an example of a product of expertise that has influenced policy ideas (McCann, 2008). This study of the effectiveness, efficiency and acceptability of the donor-influenced pilot models, combined with recommendations provided by the consultants directly informed decision-making in Zambia regarding the direction of the social cash transfer programme. The consultants emphasise the importance of upholding the principles of justice, fairness and transparency in relation to the targeting approach, but do not identify the version of justice and fairness underpinning the proposed model. Their report also recognises that "people might simply disagree with the targeting, considering it unfair or unjustified" (Beazley and Carrero, 2013: 27), but again does not specify what this might entail or how to address it if this happens. In this context, this chapter analyses the content of the assessment in relation to the perceptions of and responses to the 2014 model as it was rolled out in communities.

According to the OPM consultants who conducted this assessment, both government and CPs were open to new ideas and "were interested in what we are doing" (ZC19). UNICEF Zambia initially pushed hard for the child grant programme "against the tide", but the government was resistant and according to a staff member, UNICEF eventually accepted

that SCTs assist children, even if they are not specifically targeted, so let go of this focus (ZC4). More broadly, government has been inclined towards the 10% inclusive model while CPs preferred the multiple categorical grant but they were not pushing specific preferences at the time (ZC19). This helps to explain why the recommendations were adopted directly from the report.

Another reason that the recommendations were adopted immediately was the political pressure to scale up with the additional government funds in the 2014 budget. The policy coalition were 'working politically' in order to demonstrate the capacity and potential of the programme, but with greater external pressure to do so. This was done with the new '2014' model, which had not yet been tested. According to the OPM consultants, their intention was that their proposed model would be piloted before being scaled up and they discussed this with UNICEF (ZC19). However, Department of Social Welfare staff explained that there was political pressure to scale up quickly (ZG1, ZG23) and the roll out started in January 2014. The rapid scale up meant that there was little time for capacity building and training of District Social Welfare Officers and Community Welfare Assistance Committees (CWACs) on the selection criteria, for example what is meant by being disabled or chronically ill (ZG1, ZC19). Although the report described intra-household dependency as a 'simple categorical eligibility criterion' (Beazley and Carraro, 2013), it actually proved difficult for community volunteers and community members themselves to understand and calculate, leading to some inclusion and exclusion errors especially in the first round of targeting in 2014.

Up to this point, transnational influence within the policy coalition was still relatively strong, but the 700% increase in government funding marked a change as the balance of donor and government contributions was reversed. The next section examines the shifting relationship between the government and the CPs from 2014 onwards.

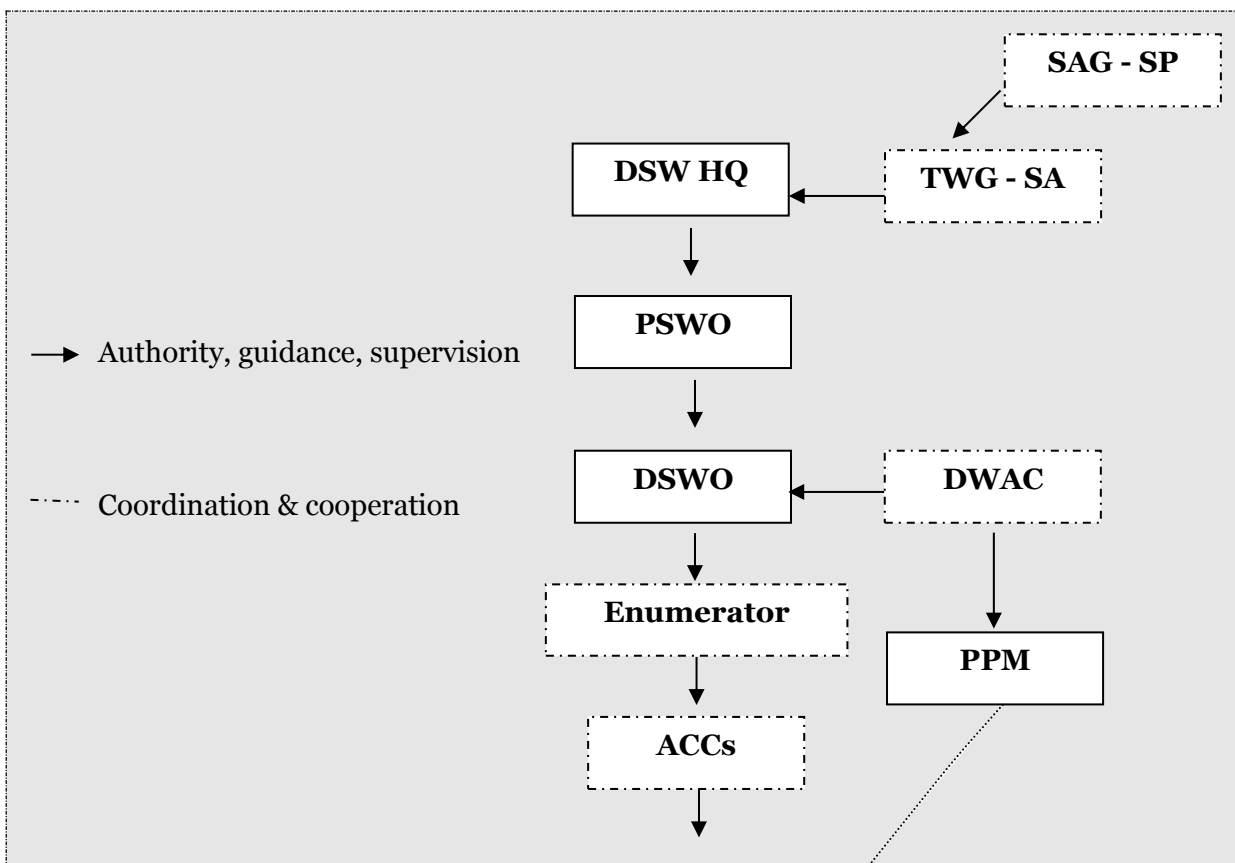
7.3.2. From policy coalition to "government in the driving seat"

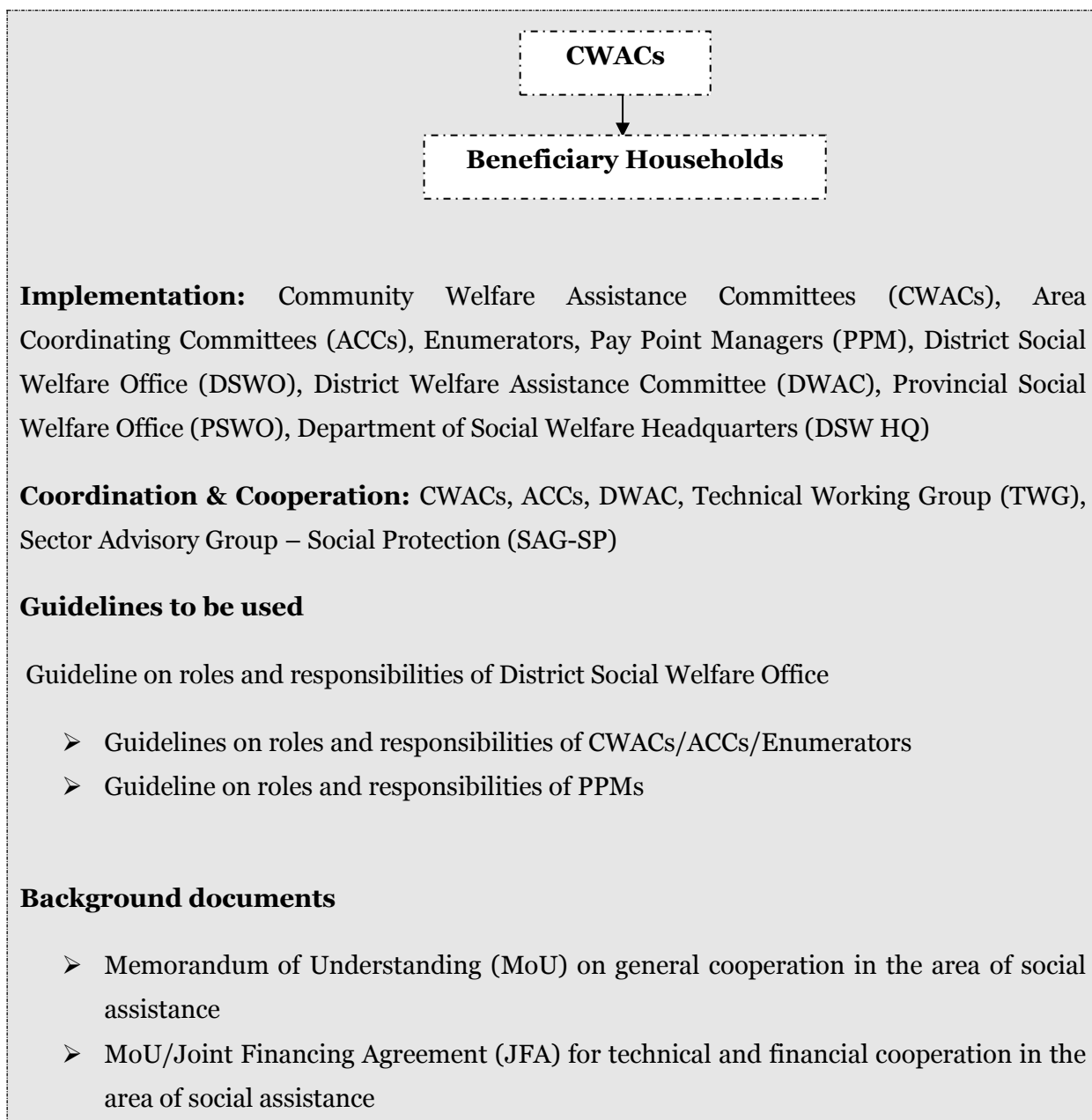
As the Department of Social Welfare structures have been strengthened to support the SCT expansion following the budget increase, implementation has largely been taken over by the government. CPs are now focused mainly on financial accountability and fiduciary risk (ZC2, ZC6, ZC15). Figure 8 below, taken from the SCT handbook, specifies that donors are not involved with implementation. While the CPs are still represented in coordination and cooperation through the Technical Working Group and the Social

Protection Sector Advisory Group (which were initially established by donors), they were becoming less involved in key decisions as government ownership increased. One CP suggested that the use of the name ‘inclusive model’ by the government was “a dig at the donors” (ZC2), who had supported the targeting of specific groups such as children through the child grant and older people through the social pension. This suggests that the government-CP relationship had shifted and that the “government is in the driving seat” (ZC6).

According to the SCT guidelines (MCDSW, 2016) presented in Figure 8, there is a clear line of communication, which is used for reporting and feeding back any issues that arise in communities. In terms of the bureaucratic channel, the CWACs should be the first point of contact for concerns regarding the programme. According to interview respondents, the bureaucratic channels outlined above are followed to some extent with CWACs bringing issues to the District Social Welfare Office (DSWO) (ZG33). However this protocol is sometimes bypassed when community members go directly to the District Social Welfare Officers: “beneficiaries do come direct to the office, even from 70kms away” (ZG31 and ZG46).

Figure 8: Institutional set-up from SCT guidelines





Source: MCDSW, 2016

With the government structures now largely responsible for the delivery of the SCT programme, it is the decentralised Ministry of Community Development staff that have been on the frontline of receiving the complaints raised by the 2014 model and in particular the district officers who have face-to-face contact with community members on a daily basis.

The initial response from the Department of Social Welfare to the complaints regarding the ‘2014’ model, outlined in section 7.2, was to treat them as an implementation issue rather than a design issue (ZG2, ZG23). The department did not see a problem with the selection criteria under the 2014 model and still defend the model: “the design was

excellent, the foot soldiers had problems” (ZG2). Social welfare officers continued to support the use of the dependency ratio: “we are targeting the young due to critical levels of poverty” (ZG23); “you are young but you have a lot of responsibilities – many to support so we are trying to help them manage” (ZG34). They argued that it was inadequate time and capacity for training that caused problems in implementation and lack of understanding of criteria in communities. Given the complexity of the dependency ratio criterion this led to a lot of misunderstanding amongst local bureaucrats, CWACs and also community members around eligibility and selection. Experiences and lessons from phase 1 of the roll out of the 2014 model were taken on board for phase 2, with efforts to increase the capacity of District officers and CWAC members, and to improve the enumeration and selection processes (ZG2; ZG23).

People also complained to politicians who then raised the concerns with the local DSW office, District Commissioner, and the Ministry of Community Development in Lusaka (ZG58), or even contacted the Minister directly (ZC8). The increasing involvement of politicians has been an area of concern for both CPs and technocrats: “donors are nervous about the politicisation of the programme, from an international relations point of view... [they] don’t want the wrong sort of politics with their money” (ZK1). The Director of Social Welfare was also becoming worried that “the SCT is too big and visible” and “we are becoming victims of our own success” (ZG2). The political interest has increased the pressure on bureaucrats regarding the technical processes. However, it has also contributed to the scheme potentially reaching a point of ‘political irreversibility’ (ZC2), which will make it politically difficult to remove SCTs from communities that are now expecting to receive them. Indeed, in the 2016 election the Patriotic Front claimed that the SCT programme demonstrated their poverty reduction efforts, as illustrated by the PF election billboard in Figure 9, and promised to increase the budgetary allocation to the scheme in the manifesto (Patriotic Front, 2016). The next section explores the effects of this increasing politicisation on the development of the social cash transfer policy.

Figure 9: Election campaign billboard by Patriotic Front Campaign Team, Zambia 2016



Source: CC0 1.0

7.3.3. *'You don't know politics': political intervention in SCT targeting*

As the SCT programme scaled up, support amongst parliamentarians was growing. According to one former member of the current government: 'The rural MPs loved the idea, it was largesse without any bullshit, you just give money away' (ZG19). Although they understand that there is a roll out schedule based on the poverty index (ZG11, ZG12, ZG13, ZG14, ZG15), Ministers, MPs and representatives of various interest groups periodically request that technocrats within the department include specific districts or beneficiaries in the scheme: "there has been pressure in the past to push for other target districts, technocrats have had to explain on a number of occasions." (ZG2). The bureaucrats at district level also have to resist this kind of pressure: "sometimes the MP will bring list and ask us to consider the names, we refuse" (ZG42). One informant reported that a strategic decision had been made to ensure that the scaled-SCT programme would include the constituency of the Permanent Secretary to help secure buy-in, although given that this is also one of poorest districts in Zambia, this could also have been justified on technical grounds (ZG1). This strategy was recommended in a targeting study conducted by Kimetrica International Limited and submitted to the Technical Working Group (TWG) in February 2008: "in some cases, concessions to

politically potent areas may be made to avoid a collapse of support for the programme, even if these areas are not needy according to the poverty statistics” (2008: 27).

A number of informants, both government and CPs, attested to the ‘push back’ to the 2014 model that came from politicians and traditional leaders, as well as community members, when they realised that young people who were ‘fit-for-work’ were on the programme (ZC6; ZG34). These leaders and chiefs felt that the programme should target incapacitated households, especially the elderly (ZG23). The complaints about the model came up in Parliament and it became ‘a national thing’ but the biggest complaint was in Kawambwa (ZG34). This was due to the intervention of the area MP, who later became the Provincial Minister (for Luapula Province in which Kawambwa is situated), and the visit by the Minister of Community Development in January 2015 in the run up to the Presidential by-election described above (ZG2).

This affected the relationship between the government and donors as the Ministry decided to act on the criticisms and remove households without consulting the CPs (ZC2, ZC6). Although CPs acknowledged that there were some inclusion and exclusion errors, particularly in the first round of targeting, for the most part the recipients being removed were eligible according to the criteria (ZC2, ZC6). Some of the errors were due to insufficient training leading to misunderstandings about the targeting criteria among District Social Welfare Officers and CWAC members, but also limited numbers being selected from those who are potentially eligible due to partial coverage (ZG23). In a few cases, CWAC members put their relatives on the programme (ZG2), but this was not widely reported to be an issue. The majority of the removals were due to complaints based on acceptability and local pressures around specific individuals or households being on the programme (ZC4): “we were told to remove households from programme as they were considered fit for work” (ZG34).

However, following the election the Vice President questioned this removal and other politicians accused the Department of Social Welfare of ‘decampaigning’ them, reflecting different political priorities. The removal of beneficiaries also became political in districts. In Kawambwa with the “young ones – when it became clear that we wanted to remove them there was a meeting. At the same meeting they said these old ones don’t even vote, we are the ones that vote. It became a bit political, not necessarily that we should reward them for voting but help their families” (ZG34). At this point the Minister reversed the decision to remove the eligible households, with the Director of Social Welfare being told: “you don’t know politics” (ZC6). This series of events demonstrates the influence of

survival strategies on policy implementation, as the interests at work within the political stream continue to determine the alignment of the streams at local level, through the actions of a national politician.

The strategies of persuasion engaged by donors have played a role in shaping the available targeting models, mainly through processes of ‘rendering technical’ and framing. However, policy decisions relating to design continue to be contingent on an alignment with existing ideas and interests within Kingdon’s (1984) political stream. This is demonstrated by the changes made to the programme following the Minister’s response to the complaints about the model which coincided with the campaign period for the Presidential by-election. The fragmentation of the policy coalition, which has been central to advocacy efforts promoting cash transfers, has weakened the coordination of design and implementation processes in the face of increasing politicisation of the programme.

This section has addressed the political acceptability of the social cash transfer policy, based on ideas about poverty targeting catalysed by political interests. Section 7.4 will now focus on social acceptability, and the clash of a global policy design with local ideas.

7.4. *Social acceptability: ideas of deservingness*

The changes to the social cash transfer design are part of the search for a ‘national’ model that is both socially and politically acceptable. The evolution of policy models through a series of workshops, outlined in section 7.2, indicates that the 2016 and 2017 models were designed in direct response to complaints about the 2014 model, focused on the dependency ratio. Section 7.4.1 investigates the politics of targeting in a high poverty context, where “we are all poor here” (Ellis, 2012: 202). It also identifies factors of acceptability, with incapacitation emerging as the key determinant of deservingness. Section 7.4.2 then goes on to dig deeper into local ideas about deservingness and their underpinnings in terms of theories of social justice. The final section traces the re-shaping of policy from below and the ways in which social acceptability, catalysed by politics, has shaped policy design.

7.4.1. *‘We are all poor here’: the politics of design and targeting*

In Zambia, attempts at categorical targeting – designed to be universal for the identified category – have been resisted. Many community members – both recipients and non-

recipients – felt that the eligibility criteria for the categorical child grant programme are not fair based on the belief that better-off families were included while the poorest and more vulnerable were excluded (Beazley and Carraro, 2013; Institute of Development Studies, 2014b). It has been reported that the child grant targeting is “not in harmony with local support practices and understanding of social justice (FGD with men in recipient community)” (Institute of Development Studies, 2014b: 72). For the social pension in Katete, “there were mixed feelings that the aged should be receiving despite being well off. There were outcries from communities about other categories – disabled, orphans – how do you leave them out? People feel the poorest should be getting” (ZG55). On the other hand, there were few complaints about the 10% inclusive model which targeted the ‘worst-off’, and generally the recipients were considered to be ‘deserving’ of support by community members (Institute of Development Studies, 2014a).

Other targeting discussions investigate the effectiveness of different methods, with a focus on errors and ‘leakages’ (Barrientos, 2013a), such as the current debate about PMT. In addition to the dependency ratio, the OPM report proposed an objective poverty assessment as a second filter, and identified (but did not specifically recommend) the PMT as one of the available targeting methods. They recognise that such a poverty screening would exclude the better-off households rather than differentiate among the poor. However, despite these findings, this is an aspect of SCT design that has been retained for the ‘2014’, ‘2016’ and ‘2017’ models without complaints and poverty targeting has not been a major area of contention in Zambia.

Instead, this chapter focuses on defining target populations, in terms of eligibility and priority for receiving social cash transfers. A senior technocrat within the Department of Social Welfare explained that based on the complaints about the 2014 model he had learnt to categorise and prioritise groups as follows: disabled, older people and then other categories (ZG2), while a CP representative proposed that “to mitigate [the concerns] – move on to the elderly and people with disabilities, people agree that they deserve it” (ZC6). During key informant interviews the elderly, people with disabilities and orphans are consistently identified as priority categories (ZG2; ZG23; ZG31; ZG34; TW1). Some respondents provided reasons for selecting these groups, such as that the elderly “did their work, they have contributed” (ZG34), but in most cases the prioritisation of the groups identified by respondents was assumed rather than justified.

However, there is not an absolute consensus on the priority categories. Some informants within the Department of Social Welfare have raised questions about the disability

criterion: “they are disabled, they deserve, but not all of them... some disabled are teachers – how can we say we are giving to teachers?” (ZG34). One provincial officer believes “this is not a fund for the disabled” (ZG55), while another asserted that “the disabled have been getting a lot of help from government” (ZG34). According to the OPM consultants who carried out the 2013 targeting assessment there has been “political pressure to have special rules for people with disabilities so there was a reflection of certain vocal groups” (ZC19): they now receive double the bimonthly transfer amount. Both government and CP respondents agreed that the Disabled Persons Organisations ‘make noise’ and “government have learned that you can’t do anything without consulting them, it backfires” (ZG35; ZC17). These findings contradict the predictions of a targeting assessment conducted in 2008 by Kimetrica International Limited that the choice of categorical indicator is unlikely to be contentious in Zambia due to the absence of strong lobbies or special interest groups (Watkins, 2008: 48).

Another group that is frequently mentioned as being a priority is female-headed households (ZG31; ZG34; ZG36; ZG43; ZG46), but this group is contested as a category of deservingness. The resistance is coming from districts, but is also found among some staff within the Ministry of Community Development (ZC8). Female-headed households are recognised as being among the poorest and most vulnerable in official documentation, including the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (2002) and the most recent National Development Plan (GRZ, 2002; GRZ, 2017). The manual of operations for the SCT programme in 2013 stated that “priority should also be considered for female-headed households as they are more vulnerable to extreme poverty and hunger” (MCDMCH, 2013: 23). However, the complaints about the ‘2014’ model have been mainly about ‘young ones’, particularly young women, although they are eligible to receive the transfer under the criteria for that model (ZG2; ZC8; ZG23; ZC6; ZC11).

Single mothers who have more than three children and therefore qualify for the transfer based on the dependency ratio have been the focus of these complaints as cited by a wide range of respondents, both government and CPs (ZG2; ZG23; ZC6; ZC8). There are concerns about perverse incentives, including women leaving their husbands or having more children: “I can give an example in UK... Some girls if they couldn’t further their education they would get knocked up and put in a council flat, getting something to sustain themselves. It might encourage adolescent girls to get pregnant” (TW1); “I imagine pregnant teenagers would not be very popular – you get into discussions about how they do it just to get a council house like in the UK” (ZK1). Although infrequent, these references to ‘welfare mothers’ in the UK by key informants suggest a move towards

women, particularly lone parents, being individualised and stigmatized in the context of the cash transfers (Fraser, 1987, Lowe, 2008), which also reflects the pathologization of 'welfare queens' in the United States. This has already been observed to some extent in South Africa in relation to the child support grant (Hochfeld and Plagerson, 2011), and indicates that policy elites are pre-exposed to ideas circulating globally about gender roles and dependency, which are influencing approaches to social protection nationally.

The child grant model in particular has raised concerns about increased fertility rates, with some bureaucrats suggesting that it may lead to an "increase of people having children" (ZG34). This is despite a UNICEF study unequivocally titled 'Unconditional government social cash transfer in Africa does not increase fertility' finding no positive programme impacts on number of births (Palermo et al., 2015). However, the two main reasons given for why these mothers should not receive the transfer were that they're fit for work so people felt it wasn't fair (ZC6) and that although they were eligible, the community felt that other vulnerable households were being left out (ZG23). The gendered implications and effects of these policy discussions will be examined in more detail in section 7.4.2.

The responses from a series of focus group discussions (FGDs) conducted in communities as part of this study broadly confirmed that community members identified the same groups as being deserving as did the respondents during the key informant interviews. When asked to rank and then justify a range of hypothetical household structures in order of priority to receive the cash transfer, incapacitation emerged as the most frequently occurring factor in determining deservingness to receive the cash transfer. Across the focus groups, which included both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, old age, disability and sickness were most frequently ranked as the highest priorities to receive assistance. Households with labour capacity were perceived to be able to support themselves and their families, for example participants said: "if they can work there is no need of helping them" (FGD3) and "both the man and the woman are ok, they are both strong so they can provide for the family" (FGD12). Even if these households with labour capacity also had a high dependency ratio, they were perceived to be in control of their situation: "If they have this many children and can't support them they are bringing problems on yourself, you have to plan how to support them, not someone else to support them" (FGD4).

Prioritisation also plays a role in determining acceptability: an informant within the Department of Social Welfare explained that if "a young person was receiving the transfer

while an older person was not getting it, this was socially and politically unacceptable” (ZG2). However, the understandings of deservingness in communities are more nuanced than this simplified message of ‘young versus old’ reported by the Department, reflecting priorities of deservingness rather than a clear distinction between deserving and undeserving. One District Welfare Assistance Committee member described the community members as “frogs, chameleons and snails” (ZG53): all moving slowly but some faster than others. When asked to rank households in terms of priorities of deservingness, several groups agreed that “[able-bodied households] can get but only after everyone else” (FGD4). There was also recognition of levels of need: “everyone is poor, poverty is different in different households so they should get according to priorities” (FGD12), and some understanding of the role of fiscal space in determining the scope of the programme: “if [able-bodied households] are to be helped you have to make sure the other groups have received, then they get last but if the funds are limited then they shouldn’t get” (FGD3); “[able-bodied households] should be considered after everyone else has taken, if the money is enough” (FGD13).

The 2013 OPM assessment identified intra-household dependency as the best eligibility criterion for reaching the poorest in targeting assessment. The consultants proposed that “such an eligibility criterion is in line with the perception of poverty that the communities have and therefore could increase the acceptability of the targeting method. Communities tend to consider that the poorest ones are those with no or reduced labour capacity, which is exactly what the dependency ratio captures” (Beazley and Carraro, 2013: 75). However in practice, the dependency ratio was rejected in communities on the basis that households could be eligible, even if they had some level of labour capacity. The next section analyses these understandings of deservingness.

7.4.2. Understandings of deservingness

The distinction between deserving and non-deserving poor has been identified as an important determinant of public support for welfare programmes in many countries. While much of the literature on deservingness is based on the United States (Graham, 2002), the United Kingdom (Meth, 2005), and Europe (Jensen and Petersen, 2017; Oorschot, 2006, 2000), the concept has also been applied in low and middle income countries in a few cases. References to elite and popular attitudes to deservingness in Zambia include Barrientos et al., (2005) and Schüring (2011).

Hossain (2005) explains that historically the 'deserving' poor were not necessarily the poorest but those that attracted most sympathy, including groups "usually identif[ied] as worthy of charitable assistance – orphans and the disabled, for example" (966). In present day Bangladesh, Hossain finds that while elites avoid distinguishing between 'deserving' and 'undeserving', they do prioritise categories based on their productive potential. Here it is those with the potential to be economically productive that are prioritised for assistance, while the poorest are a lower priority. This contrasts with Zambia where "elites just want it to go to the poor" (ZG2). In South Africa, deservingness has been used as justification for social assistance policy adopting a needs-based conception of desert. However, this also differs from targeting in Zambia because in South Africa "disadvantage is defined in terms of past opportunity not of current need" (Seekings, 2009: 28). These examples demonstrate that understandings of deservingness can vary by context, as well as leading to different problem frames and policy decisions, for example whether to prioritise those with productive potential or those who are labour constrained.

Chapter 6 argued that policy models are more likely to be successful if they align with 'dominant paradigms' in specific contexts (Peck and Theodore, 2010a; Rushton and Williams, 2012), and that framing was used by the policy coalition as a strategy of persuasion, and alignment of ideas. During the adoption phase this entailed framing social cash transfers as a poverty reduction tool rather than a rights-based entitlement, in order to align with elite ideas about pro-poor growth. Zambia's first National Social Protection Policy document invokes a variety of framings for the incorporation of social protection, including cash transfers, into national plans for sustainable growth and development. Ranging from risk management and building human capital to rights-based claims (MCDMCH, 2014), the broad framing of the policy document provides a flexible narrative enabling actors with different interests to buy in to the policy (Mosse, 2005), while doing little to clarify the ideational underpinnings and social justice approach of Zambia's social protection provisioning.

Zambia's social cash transfer policy does not adopt the productivist approach that underpins social assistance programmes incorporating public works, such as Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme and India's Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act. In the case of public works, no able-bodied person can receive support without working (Lavers, 2016), while cash transfers can be targeted at those incapable of labour market participation. The objectives of the social assistance pillar of Zambia's National Social Protection policy are to reduce extreme poverty and destitution, enhance food security and build human capital. It is not aiming to get people

into work, indeed a gap has been identified in programming for able-bodied poor youth and adults (Gliszczynski, 2015: 53; ILO, 2016), although there is a separate pillar on 'livelihoods' which has received less attention and funding than the SCTs (ZG43).

Nonetheless, the figure of the able-bodied worker has influenced the debate about the cash transfer design in Zambia. According to the 2013 targeting assessment, the acceptability in communities of criteria to select recipients of the transfers is dependent on the absence of a 'fit man' – the male breadwinner role – in the household (Beazley and Carraro, 2013). What has emerged in the Zambia case is that this condition is applied to any fit-for-work member, including able-bodied women: "if you have labour you should be working, that's why there's an issue with women with many children" (ZC2). While this view subverts the stereotype of women's 'traditional' roles as dependents and caregivers to some extent, it does so in a punitive rather than a transformative way. Evans (2014) has argued that increased flexibility in gender divisions in the labour market in Zambia – specifically in Kitwe – has led to a growing local belief that 'women can do what men can do'. However this apparently empowering shift has not been accompanied by a change in attitudes to unpaid care work. Caring and homemaking roles continue to have low status and are considered to be 'feminine' work in Zambia (Evans, 2016: 1147), leading to a 'double burden of labour' for women as identified by Moser (1997) and Bradshaw (2002) among others. By failing to recognise these unequal responsibilities within the household, the social cash transfer design perpetuates rather than challenges the high expectations placed on women to earn and take care of their families. In addition to being gender-blind, an approach to social protection that focuses on labour capacitation also ignores the limitations of having labour for reproducing the wellbeing of the household if labour markets are not functioning productively and effectively.

The broad framing has facilitated an elision of the concepts of poverty and vulnerability, which are sometimes used interchangeably while at other times they are meant as very different concepts (Beazley and Carrero, 2013). Both the interview and FGD responses indicate a preoccupation with "those who are vulnerable" (ZG31), despite the programme's stated objective to "reduce extreme poverty and the intergenerational transfer of poverty among beneficiary households" (MCDMCH, 2014). This has led to questions as to whether the programme is "really addressing needs of extremely poor people or not?" (TW1) and a concern that "the question is no longer how can we reach the poorest but who do we not want to exclude?" (ZC2), despite a recognition within the policy coalition that able-bodied people can be very poor.

The basis for these redistributive decisions about deservingness, prioritisation and fairness in society depends on the approach to social justice. From the range of possible approaches detailed in Chapter 2, this thesis engages with debates about the respective roles of society and the individual in determining distributional justice. The Rawlsian concepts of a 'social contract', as an overlapping consensus on the equal distribution of goods, and a 'social minimum', as an institution embedding justice as fairness, have been particularly influential in debates about distributive justice. Rawls argues that a social minimum is required to prevent the 'strains of commitment' within society from becoming excessive (Barrientos, 2013b). However, there remains disagreement about how to determine the social minimum for the purposes of redistribution. Waldron defines social minimum as "a level of material well-being beneath which no member of society should be allowed to fall" (1986: 21) and critiques Rawls' difference principle, which argues for a relative minimum which would rise as the wealth of society rises. This second form of social minimum "must ensure political participation and economic inclusion, measured in terms of primary goods (which include but are not restricted to income)" (Barrientos, 2013: 11). Waldron instead argues for a fixed need-based conception for required resources, located within a basic needs framework. The definition of poverty in Zambia's social protection policy document refers to a 'minimum standard of living' and access to basic needs and services', giving the examples of food, clothing, shelter, basic health care facilities and education (MCDMCH, 2014: 3), suggesting a needs-based approach.

Among others, Dworkin has criticised Rawls for overlooking the role of individual choice and responsibility in shaping preferences which determine outcome, proposing that these factors should be considered within a theory of distributional justice (Craig et al., 2008: 5). Dworkin (2002) distinguishes between choice and circumstance, identifying a distinction between "what we must take responsibility for, because we chose it, and what we cannot take responsibility for because it was beyond our control" (323), which has implications for the design of a cash transfer programme. This distinction divides people into categories of responsible and irresponsible; and by implication deserving and undeserving (Hickey, 2014). Dworkin has been described as a "luck egalitarian" (Anderson, 1999), although Cohen argues that this focus on responsibility is in fact anti-egalitarian (1989: 933). A further critique of the versions of responsibility-based egalitarianism espoused by Dworkin and others, such as Arneson and Vallentyne, is that these authors disagree about which factors fall into the category of choice and which are circumstance (Scheffler, 2005). For Dworkin, circumstance consists of personal and impersonal resources, including physical and mental health as well as capacity to produce goods and services, while choice refers to ambition, which includes voluntary individual choices (Woolf in Craig et al., 2008;

Dworkin, 2002). However, the difficulty of detaching preferences and ambitions from circumstances shaped by structural factors remains.

Dworkin's proposal to incorporate the notion of responsibility chimes with the perceptions of deservingness that emerged during focus group discussions (FGDs) across all the sites included in this study. Van Oorschot (2000) identifies five criteria of deservingness, as follows: control; need; identity; attitude; and reciprocity. In the ranking exercise conducted during the FGDs in this study, incapacitation emerged as being particularly important for deservingness in these sites. This suggests that respondents are most concerned about whether the situation of need is beyond the control of the individual or household. As Van Oorschot (2000) explains: "without the possibility of control, people cannot be held responsible and thus are seen as deserving" (36). Aligning with Dworkin's definition of circumstance above, FGD respondents considered incapacitation to be beyond the control of the individual, while perceiving having a large number of children to be a choice. Respondents from beneficiary and non-beneficiary groups stated: "for them to have 6 children they have a plan. You can't have this many children that they can't support" (FGD3) and the parents "are both well and having a lot of children is their fault, it's something they can control" (FGD7).

Despite Zambia's apparently needs-based approach, the role of need is less clear as it is either taken for granted or difficult to identify how groups differ in this regard, particularly where everyone is entitled (Larsen, 2008). The complaints about 'energetic' young people being eligible for the grant, based on a dependency ratio designed to identify the poorest, suggest that in Zambia control of circumstance is more important than need in determining deservingness. This is underlined by the frequent references to vulnerability, associated in this case with lack of control over circumstances, such as old age or disability, rather than poverty based on level of need. Incapacitated groups, such as the elderly and people with disabilities, are considered to be "visibly deserving" (ZC2) in a high poverty context.

In terms of Oorschot's (2000) other three criteria, identity in the sense of whether the wider community could identify with the beneficiaries did emerge to some extent but depended on the model that was being implemented in the fieldwork district of study. For example, in Mansa which had the disability model, many of the participants in the FGD either had a disability or had experienced the difficulties of taking care of disabled household member and therefore felt that people with disabilities are deserving. The other two criteria –

attitude, in terms of docility, gratefulness or compliance; and reciprocity, in terms of earning support – were not mentioned in any of the focus group discussions.

The findings from the cases in this study suggest that these respondents have adopted an individual and voluntaristic notion of labour capacity, based only on being ‘fit-for-work’. They appear to be discounting the structural dimensions of poverty – identified as asset poverty, employment vulnerability and subjection to unequal social power relations (du Toit, 2005) – which mean that being capacitated does not necessarily mean access to employment or economic opportunities to reproduce the wellbeing of the household. This is where theories of social justice that take these structural aspects seriously differ from Dworkin’s approach. The dependency ratio model supported by the policy coalition recognised these structural aspects to some extent, although it did not address the lack of opportunities for those able to work. Disagreements within the policy coalition, particularly among (decentralised) DSW staff, about the merits of the dependency ratio point to further fragmentation of this formerly coordinated group. The next section will examine the ways in which local actors are shaping changes to the social cash transfer policy.

7.4.3. Re-shaping policy from below

Chapter 6 demonstrated that the adoption of Zambia’s social protection policy, and the initial development of the social cash transfer programme, has been a largely top-down process. Introduced by donors and taken up by the government when it aligned with the political stream, there was limited civil society demand during the adoption stage of the process (ZC8; ZK1). Where cash transfers are funded by global actors, they can be introduced without significant changes to legislation, at least initially: “SCT and social assistance... can operate without a legal framework” (ZC17), as they are non-contributory, while SHI “can only be put in the government budget after the bill has gone through” (ZG44). Debates regarding redistribution and the acceptability of SHI have so far taken place during the consultation phase, as this policy has not yet been implemented. On the other hand, cash transfers have reached the ground through implementation and these debates are playing out at the interface between bureaucrats as implementers and citizens as beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries of the policy.

Once the programme began scaling up to more than half the districts in Zambia in 2014, demand began to increase. This demand came from MPs, who wanted to bring the programme to their constituencies, and also from citizens who were becoming aware that

other districts were benefitting while they were not (ZC2; ZC8; ZG2; ZG47; ZG53). Accounts of citizen demand and engagement in social protection policies tend to focus either on social accountability or on feedback effects. Building social accountability mechanisms into social protection programmes aims to incorporate the participation and rights of citizens. However the instrumental nature of this approach has struggled to move beyond an inclusive liberal discourse to a more transformative agenda. The social contract required to improve social accountability involves a wider re-ordering of politics and state-society relations (Hickey and King, 2016; Molyneux et al., 2016). While there has been some work on social accountability education in Zambia, for example training communities to monitor government programmes, there is little follow up on this (ZO13). There is also little evidence in Zambia of the transformative effects in terms of participation and citizenship that are apparently promoted by social accountability approaches to SCTs.

Literature on policy feedback has identified political as well as material effects, in the sense that policies can generate incentives that influence government, mass publics and interest groups (Pierson, 1993; Skocpol, 1995). Public policies can create constituencies that may seek to protect or reform a policy area depending on their understanding of, and relationship to, the programme and its benefits or lack of them (Campbell, 2011). However in the context of Zambia, where social cash transfers were not a significant campaign issue during the 2015 Presidential by-election, with presidential candidates either unaware of or hostile towards the policy (ZO2), the feedback channels have largely been through formal bureaucratic structures and local politicians and traditional leaders. "Implementation becomes a filter that often alters intended policy" (Grindle and Thomas, 1991), with local leaders, bureaucrats and the public directly influencing policy development through their reactions as the nature and impact of a policy becomes visible.

One of the cooperating partners claimed that designing a successful targeting model is "a case of balancing the best technical result and politically acceptable design" (ZC2). In the case of SCTs in Zambia, the 2014 model was based on a 'product of expertise' in the form of an externally driven targeting assessment and recommendations which were adopted wholesale by the policy coalition. However, the process of re-designing the model triggered by the events outlined above suggests that acceptability is the more important factor: both social and political. The clash of ideas occurred when global ideas come into contact with locally-held ideas in communities during implementation. Perceptions of risk by politicians, particularly around elections, have led to "flip-flopping" (ZC6) on policy decisions due to political intervention and eventually resulted in a revised policy design.

The ways in which these global policy ideas are subject to the reception of local as well as national actors demonstrates that the process of policy translation identified by Peck and Theodore (2015) continues beyond adoption to implementation, contributing to an ongoing re-formulation of the policy. In Zambia local ideas of deservingness, based on labour capacity, have led to the rejection of eligible fit-for-work recipients and subsequent changes to the targeting criteria, thereby re-shaping policy from below as part of an iterative process of policy formulation.

7.5. Conclusion

Transnational actors have engaged strategies of persuasion, particularly rendering technical and framing, to promote specific targeting models for the cash transfer programme. Using products of expertise, including an assessment of the transnational pilot schemes, the policy coalition designed a 'harmonised national methodology' but this failed to align with popular ideas of deservingness in communities. While impact evaluations helped promote the merits of SCTs in general, they have been less influential over the design process. Combined with a weakening of the policy coalition there has been a shift away from donor-led models to a policy design shaped more directly by elite and popular perceptions of which groups deserve to receive transfers.

The clash of ideas that played out through the community-level complaints regarding the dependency ratio criteria in the 2014 cash transfer model, and the subsequent changes to the targeting model, clearly show that policy formulation does not end at adoption. In the case of Zambia, a centrally designed targeting model, derived from recommendations by external consultants, was rejected based on the local idea that any household with labour capacity was not considered deserving. The bureaucratic response to these complaints was catalysed by Ministerial intervention during the Presidential by-election campaign in early 2015, demonstrating the ongoing role of the political stream.

This chapter has argued that the need for alignment between the problem, policy and political streams continues during implementation, determining the social and political acceptability of a global policy idea at local level. Policy ideas that have been introduced by transnational actors continue to be translated and altered as they reach communities through implementation. While debates regarding acceptability of the SHI policy have so far taken place during the adoption phase, for cash transfers these debates have played

out 'on the ground' at the interface between bureaucrats as policy implementers and citizens as beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries of the policy. Although the '2014' model focused on reduced labour capacity – apparently acceptable within communities – the prioritisation of control over need in communities led to complaints about this criterion. This chapter concludes that the clash of ideas combined with political interests has re-shaped policy from below, based on the level of alignment with paradigmatic ideas at local level, underpinned by conflicting notions of social justice.

8. Policy-making in a transnationalised context: how global policy, domestic politics and ideas of deservingness shape social protection in Zambia

8.1. Introduction

The central inquiry of this thesis is to investigate how global policy ideas are shaping the adoption and implementation of social protection policies in national settings, and to explain through what mechanisms and to what extent they do this. The thesis has interrogated these questions using the case study of social protection in Zambia, comparing the progress of social health insurance and social cash transfers. Unlike many studies of policy transfer, this thesis examines the introduction of these global policy ideas in the historical context of longstanding influences – both external and internal – on development processes and social policy in Zambia. Specifically, the thesis has assessed the extent to which domestic politics influences the global policy transfer process, and sought to explain the ways in which global ideas are introduced, received and adapted in national and local contexts, through the case of social protection in Zambia.

The thesis has analysed two key points in the policy development of social cash transfers in Zambia: the unexpected increase in government funding in 2013 leading to the significant expansion of the SCT programme; and the rejection of a centrally designed model based on a dependency ratio in 2014-2015 during implementation. These events are examined in the context of wider donor efforts to promote particular forms of social protection across low- and middle-income countries. The study also uses the case of social health insurance, which was eventually adopted into legislation in Zambia in 2018 but has not yet been implemented, as a comparison. Tracing the transfer of the global policy idea of cash transfers all the way down to their reception at local level during policy implementation, this multi-level study finds that the political stream determines the reception to and translation of these ideas at all levels.

Recognising the limitations of applying a rationalist approach to the inherently social and political processes of global policy-making and transfer, this study identifies the multiple streams and policy translation approaches as more useful for understanding the factors determining domestic reception of global policy ideas. However, there is a lack of clarity in the existing literature about the mechanisms through which these interactions take place and the links between global, national and local levels are also underexplored, particularly

the role of implementation. This research has sought to address this by constructing a conceptual framework to explain the politics of policy-making across these three levels, through a constructivist lens. The thesis contends that the social cash transfer policy in Zambia has been shaped by a combination of the efforts of a transnationalised policy coalition, national political dynamics and local ideas of deservingness. This case demonstrates that social and political receptivity to a global policy idea promoted within the policy stream is determined by the level of alignment with the problem stream and the political stream – specifically survival strategies, as well as paradigmatic elite and popular ideas.

The chapter first summarises the empirical findings from the Zambia case study explored in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, and highlights three main findings that have emerged. First, that the strategic efforts of a transnational policy coalition operating within the policy stream established cash transfers as an effective and credible policy idea, while a more disparate group of transnational actors failed to do so in the case of social health insurance. Second, that it was a shift towards pro-poor ideas and a crisis in an existing survival strategy of the ruling elite that led to the adoption of cash transfers, while social health insurance has not clearly aligned with political interests and is making slow progress. Third, that in the case of cash transfers, policy implementation has been shaped by competing ideas around social justice.

The chapter goes on to consider the implications of these findings for the wider theoretical debates with which this thesis engages. The case demonstrates the importance of the political stream in determining the uptake of policy ideas and the need to consider the interaction between the multiple streams, not only during agenda setting but also adoption and implementation. The focus on the transfer and subsequent translation of a global policy idea highlights the need to consider the role of national politics, in order to avoid overplaying of the importance of transnational influences vis-à-vis domestic dynamics. A further debate emerged during the research which illuminates the analysis of alignment between global policy ideas and local ideas on the ground in the context of cash transfers in Zambia. Understandings of deservingness proved to be the main point of contention when social cash transfers were scaled up in 2014, indicating that social protection policies are underpinned by notions of social justice. In Zambia, local ideas of deservingness, based on labour capacity, have led to the rejection of eligible fit-for-work recipients and subsequent changes to the targeting criteria leading to continued policy translation from below.

In this chapter, I also identify the policy implications of the thesis findings, and the ways in which they can contribute to current social protection debates. These contributions focus on strategies for promotion of global policy ideas by donors; how donors can better gauge the likely acceptability of policy designs based on understandings of deservingness; and future prospects for social protection programmes in sub-Saharan Africa more broadly. Finally, I briefly consider future research agendas that can deepen and extend this thesis.

8.2. Empirical findings

In this section, I present a summary of the main empirical findings from the case study and reflect on how these findings relate to the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 3.

8.2.1. Transnational strategies within negotiated domestic processes

The introduction of social protection as a sector for the first time in Zambia's Fifth National Development Plan 2006-2011, including references to cash transfers, marked relatively quick progress on establishing this global idea on the policy agenda in Zambia, having been introduced by transnational actors in 2003 with the Kalomo pilot scheme. Cash transfers have become a flagship social protection programme in Zambia, within a range of social protection interventions included in Zambia's 2014 National Social Protection Policy.

Transnational actors promoted cash transfers through strategies of 'rendering technical', for example building an evidence base by commissioning impact evaluations conducted by an external research institute, and framing SCTs as poverty reduction tool. They have also adopted a politically informed approach, building a transnationalised policy coalition and working with policy entrepreneurs and brokers to connect the policy actors to the political elite and target powerful government figures. These strategies of persuasion are governmental in the sense that they aim to regulate the views and behaviour of actors involved in the policy process through a combination of expertise, authority and daily activities (McCann, 2008). This approach demonstrates that far from being a rationalist process, policy transfer is an inherently political endeavour and that transnational actors engage with domestic actors in negotiated processes in an attempt to achieve their desired outcome.

It was these efforts by the transnational policy coalition that established social cash transfers as a credible and effective policy solution to persistently high levels of poverty in Zambia. This approach also aligned with wider moves to replace food aid with a more sustainable alternative, as well as the pressing need to respond to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Connections between the SCT policy coalition and the political elite, through a Zambian policy entrepreneur as well as a close personal link between a leading SCT proponent and an influential member of the ruling party, provided the entry point for the policy model into the political stream. In contrast, the weaker transnational coalition around SHI has been more disparate, has had little buy-in from senior players or powerful donors and has lacked the connection between the policy and political streams.

With increasing levels of government ownership of the SCT programmes, there are concerns among some cooperating partners that the Ministry of Community Development is no longer consulting them on key decisions. While there have been some signs of relinquishing control perhaps indicating an acceptance that they can no longer dictate the terms of negotiation, cooperating partners still have mixed feelings about the politicisation of the programme, with concerns about political interference and the 'wrong sort of politics'.

8.2.2. The determining effects of politics on reception to global policy ideas at national and local levels

Operating in the policy stream, the SCT coalition got cash transfers onto the policy agenda but struggled to make this policy idea a political priority, and a decade after its inception the programme remained at the pilot stage. It was a partial shift in ideas towards a 'pro-poor' message under a new ruling party, combined with the political threat regarding agricultural subsidies that created alignment with the political stream. This led to a 700% increase in government funding of the programme in 2013 followed by the first National Social Protection Policy in 2014 indicating the 'adoption' of the cash transfer policy in Zambia.

Political priorities in Zambia have shaped government commitment to various social protection initiatives. The level of support depends on the political salience of the groups contributing and benefitting, which determines whether it is in the government's interest to protect, extend or retrench a policy. For example, according to the National Social Protection Policy, the Farmer Input Support Programme is one of the largest social

protection programmes in Zambia. It has remained central to government strategy, despite evidence that it is ineffective at reaching the poor, due to strong vested interests among the 'maize mafia' in the agricultural sector and its appeal to an important political constituency benefitting from the subsidies, that SCTs would be unable to reach. However, this existing system of resource allocation was threatened when high budget overspend on these subsidies caused public outcry in 2013. It was this combination of events in the political stream that opened a 'policy transfer window', with the SCT programme already positioned as a credible and effective alternative, enabling the government to deliver on their pro-poor messaging.

A perceived threat to the ruling party also catalysed the re-design of the policy in response to complaints about the targeting criteria during implementation. Following a district visit during the Presidential by-election campaign in January 2015, the line Minister made the decision to remove beneficiaries perceived as undeserving from the programme. Although this move was quickly reversed based on the realisation that the removal may also be politically unpopular, it instigated a process that led to a change in policy design.

8.2.3. Re-shaping policy from below: policy translation continues

This clash of ideas between the targeting model designed by the transnationalised policy coalition, advised by external consultants, and understandings of deservingness in communities was underpinned by contested notions of social justice. Initially treated as an implementation rather than a design issue, the reaction of the department was to improve sensitisation and capacity for delivering the existing model. However, catalysed by political intervention with the involvement of the line Minister, the complaints about the policy dependency ratio design led to a series of debates eventually resulting in a new policy model. These changes to the cash transfer targeting model, directly resulting from complaints in communities, have demonstrated that policy ideas can be further translated during implementation if they do not fit with "dominant paradigms and powerful interests" (Peck and Theodore, 2010: 170) at local as well as national level.

In Zambia, cash transfers have reached the ground through implementation and provoked citizens to engage directly with questions of redistribution. In the case of social health insurance, these debates about redistribution have so far taken place during the consultation phase, as this policy has not yet been implemented. Challenges to SHI have come mainly from representatives from the formal sector who are concerned about

contributions from employers and employees being used to fund poorer Zambians. This suggests that social protection is likely to provoke questions of distributive justice at multiple levels during the policy process.

8.3. *Theoretical implications*

This thesis has engaged with literature on the policy process, which tends to focus on the national sphere (Cairney, 2011; Kingdon, 1984; Sabatier, 1999, 1991), and emerging debates on policy translation, which recognises the increasingly transnationalised nature of policy-making (Lendvai and Stubbs, 2007; McCann and Ward, 2012; McCann, 2008; Peck, 2011a; Peck and Theodore, 2010a; Stone, 2012). The research has highlighted the “intrinsic politics to the policy transfer process” (Peck and Theodore, 2010: 169), identifying the political factors at play and the mechanisms through which global policy ideas form, travel and are received. Connecting these bodies of literature has enabled an in-depth investigation into ‘deepening transnational interdependence’ within policy-making (Peck, 2011), with a focus on how domestic politics and policy processes influence the transfer of global policy ideas into country settings, leading to adaptation and translation.

The thesis has also identified contested notions of social justice, particularly understandings of deservingness, as being significant in shaping the cash transfer policy in Zambia. Despite being framed as a technical tool for poverty reduction, cash transfers engage with political and public attitudes about social justice and redistribution, giving local as well as national actors a stake in the policy design.

The following section examines the implications of this thesis for these sets of literature, including the need for greater links between them, and extends the scope of the debates to include implementation as an integral part of an ongoing and iterative policy process.

8.3.1. *Implications for the multiple streams approach*

With the stage and cycle approaches to the policy process being largely descriptive rather than analytical, Kingdon's (1984) multiple streams approach is more insightful in identifying three main ‘streams’ that influence agenda setting: the problem, policy and political streams. These streams have since been extended to other aspects of the policy process (Béland and Howlett, 2016; Howlett et al., 2016, 2015). The streams approach goes beyond limited rationalist models to consider constructivist processes of persuasion

and consensus-building, highlighting the importance of alignment between these 'streams' for the uptake of a policy idea. However some aspects of Kingdon's model lack clarity, such as ideas floating around in a 'policy primeval soup'. This research contributes by identifying specific mechanisms to explain how these streams interact and influence the whole policy process.

Framing is central to the process of problem definition. In the policy arena, framing is often conducted by 'experts' who mobilise people, procedures and products in order to achieve their goals (Rose and Miller, 2010). This is achieved through a combination of issue construction, proposed solutions and persuasion (Rushton and Williams, 2012) (Chapter 6). Broad framing can enable actors with varying interests to buy in to a policy idea, but may also lead to lack of clarity about the vision, or competing approaches to the policy at hand.

In Kingdon's policy stream, the focus is on 'floating' ideas, with little specification of actors within 'policy communities' apart from policy entrepreneurs who advocate their preferred policy solutions. This research identifies a wide range of actors that play different roles in formulating and promoting policy ideas. The focus here is on policy coalitions, usually held together by a shared set of beliefs and broadly coordinated activity (Sabatier, 1988), which mobilise policy ideas, and also enable transnational actors connected to an epistemic community to engage with national actors. Policy entrepreneurs at both transnational and national levels often play a brokering as well as an advocacy role in promoting a policy idea.

Within the political stream, Kingdon identifies three main political factors to be relevant: elections; national mood; and interest groups. However these factors need to be adapted beyond the context of US democracy, in order to understand how they might operate in other political systems. This research proposes an adaptation and deepening of Kingdon's understanding of the political stream to focus on political survival as the key motivation for ruling elites in developing countries, requiring support from ruling coalitions and lower level groups. Recognising that the reasons to pursue and maintain power vary – including individual gain, political benefits and achieving social change, the realisation of any of these goals requires remaining in power. Policy choices and implementation can contribute to distribution of power and state resources and can therefore form part of the strategies of survival. Political elites may also have specific ideas and visions of what should be done, and/or respond to ideas of lower level groups. Therefore elite and popular paradigmatic ideas (Béland, 2005; Campbell, 2002; Schmidt, 2008) are also important

within the political stream, and need to align with problem definitions and policy solutions to open a policy transfer window.

In Zambia, the political factors that enabled the move of the cash transfer policy from the policy to the political stream were twofold. First, there was a partial shift of elite ideas when PF came to power in 2011, with an apparently pro-poor mandate. Second, and more important, was a political scandal that threatened both an existing survival strategy for distributing resources to rural areas and the ruling party's (already weak) pro-poor credentials.

The applicability of the three stream model to other aspects of the policy process beyond agenda setting has been debated, with authors such as Howlett et al. (2015) proposing that new streams are needed, thereby losing the parsimony of the original model. This research finds that the alignment between problem, policy and politics streams continues to matter beyond agenda setting. This approach can also shed light on policy adoption (Chapter 6) and implementation (Chapter 7). A key reason for this is that acceptability is not only a criteria for the selection of a policy idea (Kingdon, 1984), but also for the reactions to the idea among new actors that come into contact with a policy during promotion and once it is being implemented, including politicians, implementers and citizens.

Like much of the policy process literature, the multiple streams approach tends towards methodological nationalism in its focus on domestic influences on policy decisions. By integrating the multiple streams approach with the policy translation literature, this thesis aims to explain how global ideas introduced by transnational actors interacting with national policy processes.

8.3.2. Implications for policy translation at national and local levels

The literature on policy transfer and policy translation helps to address the methodological nationalism of the wider policy process literature by considering transnational influences that shape agendas and policy alternatives. An example is the role of a transnational coalition of Chilean reformers, the World Bank and many others in the spread of pension privatization to many national contexts across the world (Orenstein, 2005). However, these processes of transfer and translation tend to focus on national level decision-making, with implementation receiving little attention. Far from being the straightforward

administrative delivery of a political policy decision, implementation is a site of continued contestation, with the potential to reshape the nature of global policies once they hit the ground.

This thesis contributes to these debates in two ways. First, it identifies the domestic factors that matter during the policy transfer process leading to adaptation and translation. These are the political factors outlined in section 8.3.1 above, as well as the local level reactions, which form part of an ongoing process of policy translation. This point also ties into the second contribution, which is to extend the concepts of alignment of the multiple streams and adaptation of policy ideas through translation. Where so far they have largely been focused on national level agenda setting and policy adoption, this thesis extends these concepts to implementation, taking into account the role of local actors.

Peck and Theodore (2015) emphasise that “domestic political ‘realities’” (136) lead to the mutation of policy models, but do not specify the factors that matter, beyond ‘local circumstances’. This thesis contends that it is the factors identified above within the political stream – namely political survival strategies, as well as elite and popular ideas – that shape the adaptations of a policy model. These factors determine whether a global policy idea introduced into a national setting will be taken up, and also the adaptations that may be made to the idea to make it more acceptable.

Domestic receptivity to global policy ideas continues to be relevant at local level, leading to the acceptance, rejection or adaptation of these ideas. During implementation, epistemic communities and policy coalitions may have less influence, for example over framing, as policy ideas are mediated by bureaucrats and other local actors that get involved at this stage, including district officials, MPs and traditional leaders, as well as beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries.

8.3.3. Social and political acceptability: contested notions of social justice

Kingdon (1984) identifies public acceptability and politicians’ receptivity as two key criteria for the survival of a policy idea. The role of politicians’ receptivity played out during the promotion of social cash transfers, with the departure of an ideologically opposed Finance Minister removing a significant barrier and a change of government in 2011 bringing about a shift towards pro-poor ideas (Chapter 6). However, the elite-driven nature of this

process meant that the level of public acceptability only became apparent during implementation.

The rejection of the externally influenced and centrally designed '2014' harmonised model in districts across Zambia demonstrates the importance of social, as well as political, acceptability. It emerged from the fieldwork that these reactions in communities, and the subsequent re-shaping of the policy from below, were due to contested notions of social justice and specifically ideas of deservingness. Social policies, in this case cash transfers, concern needs, desert and citizenship, which are social constructs depending on definitions of concepts such as 'deserving poor', 'entitlement' and 'citizens' rights' (Mkandawire, 2005). Although targeting is often framed as a technical debate, these decisions, for example selecting a universal or a means-tested programme, are inherently political and subject to processes of negotiation and contestation.

These kinds of redistributive decisions are underpinned by different social justice theories of deservingness, prioritisation and fairness. While some of these theories focus on distributive responsibilities within society, such as Rawls' theory of justice as fairness (1985), others draw attention to individual responsibility, for example Dworkin (2002). In this study of Zambia, incapacitation emerged as the key determinant of deservingness in communities, corresponding with Dworkin's (2002) distinction between choice and circumstance: "what we must take responsibility for, because we chose it, and what we cannot take responsibility for because it was beyond our control" (323). This suggests that respondents are adopting an individual rather than structural view of poverty, assuming that the availability of labour capacity determines the wellbeing of a household.

Although acceptability was considered in the design of the 2014 targeting model (Beazley and Carraro, 2013), the identification of the poorest using a dependency ratio calculation did not align with perceptions of vulnerability in communities. The model has since been redesigned to reflect categories identified as vulnerable in communities, and therefore deserving of receiving the transfer, such as the elderly and people with disabilities. This highlights the need for policy actors to gain a more in-depth understanding of local ideas, as well as elite ideas, when introducing global ideas in domestic contexts.

8.4. Policy implications

Zambia has been part of a ‘new wave’ of social protection programmes in sub-Saharan Africa, as donors within the broad epistemic community around social protection have actively promoted the global policy idea of cash transfers. Leading the way with the first donor-driven pilot cash transfer scheme in the region in 2003, Zambia was also the first country to use the 10% targeting model devised by policy entrepreneur Bernd Schubert. This model aimed to reduce extreme poverty and hunger by targeting the ultra-poor and incapacitated: an approach that is unlikely to achieve productivity impacts. Since this initial pilot, Zambia has implemented at least six different targeting models, including a social pension and a child grant. Donors have attempted to advance their own agendas in terms of targeting, for example UNICEF has pushed universal child grant in Zambia (Chapter 7) and within the global social protection debate (ILO and UNICEF, 2019).¹⁹ In Zambia, UNICEF commissioned and co-funded (with DFID and IrishAID) impact evaluations for the child grant programme and the multiple categorical grant. While the positive results from these evaluations have helped promote the merits of SCTs in general which has been important for the adoption of cash transfers (Chapter 6), the report findings been less influential over the design process (see also Quarles van Ufford et al., 2016).

This thesis shows that despite efforts by the policy coalition to frame targeting choices as technical decisions, the cash transfer design has been shaped more directly by elite and popular perceptions of which groups deserve to receive transfers (Chapter 7). In this section, I examine the implications of this thesis for the promotion of global ideas by transnational actors; understandings of deservingness and the acceptability of social protection interventions; and future prospects for social protection in sub-Saharan Africa.

8.4.1. Promotion of global policy ideas

Comparing the cases of social cash transfers and social health insurance in Zambia, three main strategies of promotion emerge as being particularly important for establishing a policy idea as effective and credible. The first is the formation of strong policy coalitions which include national as well as transnational actors, working closely and in a coordinated way. Involvement and capacity-building of bureaucrats can assist with buy-in and ownership within government. Second, adopting a politically informed approach and conducting a political economy analysis helps identify the relevant political figures to

¹⁹ Joined by ILO and ODI

target to gain support. Connection between the policy coalition and the political elite, for example through policy entrepreneurs and brokers, assists with getting political attention for a policy idea. Third, producing evidence of success, both of feasibility through demonstration and of results through impact evaluations, has played a major role in the adoption of cash transfers in Zambia, while it has been lacking in the case of social health insurance.

8.4.2. Deservingness and acceptability

As noted in section 7.4.2, much of the existing literature on welfare and deservingness is based on the United States (Graham, 2002), the United Kingdom (Meth, 2005), and Europe (Jensen and Petersen, 2017; Oorschot, 2006, 2000), with some key exceptions including Hossain (2005) and Seekings (2009). This thesis finds that in Zambia, deservingness is determined by incapacitation according to respondents in communities, while elites are largely concerned about reaching ‘the poorest’. However, it is important to note that understandings of deservingness differ by context. For example, Uganda has some similarities with Zambia, with a focus on vulnerability: “cabinet only approved the cash transfer pilot in 2009 when the policy coalition changed their discourse from a focus on poverty to vulnerable groups, particularly the elderly, who were seen as deserving” (Hickey and Bukenya, 2016). However in South Africa, Seekings (2009) finds that deservingness to receive social assistance is determined by past opportunity rather than current need.

The lesson here for donors is that receptivity to social protection models is likely to depend on understandings of deservingness in specific country contexts, which can lead to trade-offs between achieving programme objectives and gaining political and popular support (see also Hickey and Bukenya, 2016). Although acceptability was a key consideration in the 2013 Oxford Policy Management (OPM) targeting assessment and subsequent recommendations, there is also a need to pilot new models before scaling up to test their acceptability in communities which was not done in the case of the ‘2014’ model in Zambia.

The negative response to the dependency ratio criteria in communities, and particularly with regards to women with children qualifying based on a high dependency ratio, analysed in Chapter 7, sheds light on the lack of acceptance of the child grant in communities in Zambia. The OPM assessment of the SCT targeting mechanisms and an

evaluation of the wider impacts of social protection in Zambia conducted between 2012 and 2015 both found that recipients and non-recipients felt the targeting criteria for the child grant was unfair (Beazley and Carraro, 2013; Institute of Development Studies, 2014b). The universal design of this model meant that 'better off' households received the grant if they had children under 5, while poorer and more vulnerable households were excluded.

UNICEF and ILO have since identified ongoing gaps in social protection provision for pregnant women and infants in Zambia. They have proposed that these groups be considered for the cash transfer scheme (for example ILO's Integrated Framework for Basic Social Protection, 2016b) despite the previous rejection of this model. The privileging of mothers and children – albeit in a paternalistic manner – in Latin American contexts (Molyneux, 2007) has not manifested in the same way in sub-Saharan Africa. Indeed, the references by Zambian bureaucrats to women in the UK getting pregnant to receive a grant seems closer to the construction of the 'welfare mother' (Lowe, 2008; Seccombe et al., 1998), which has already begun to play out to some extent in South Africa in relation to the child support grant (Hochfeld and Plagerson, 2011). More broadly in the Zambian context, women are not considered to be dependent but are expected to support themselves and their own dependents if they are 'fit-to-work'.

This thesis suggests that this proposal to target mothers and children, without some form of means-testing, will not gain political traction in Zambia as the universalist arguments of UNICEF and others do not chime with perceptions of deservingness on the ground, and they will therefore not be accepted.

8.4.3. Implications for the social protection agenda in sub-Saharan Africa

Zambia is among a number of countries in sub-Saharan Africa that have adopted and implemented social protection policies since the early 2000s. These countries, including Ghana, Kenya, Uganda and Malawi, have done so under the influence of transnational actors promoting this global policy idea as part of a shift from emergency food aid to regular cash transfers (Chapter 1). Niño-Zarazúa et al. (2012) described these initiatives as the 'green shoots' of social protection systems in the region, providing the opportunity to determine the feasibility and acceptability of social protection programmes in low-income countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

As I have argued in this thesis, a combination of transnational efforts and domestic politics has shaped social protection policies in Zambia, as evidenced by the differences between social cash transfers and social health insurance, so the trajectory is likely to differ depending on the policy idea and country context. However Zambia's experience is instructive with regards to the reception of social protection ideas. Lack of elite and popular support for universal social pensions and child grant models led the transnational policy coalition to search for an alternative way of reaching a large number of poor households. The resulting design incorporated labour capacity and dependency – apparently acceptable criteria within Zambian communities – but under-estimated the levels of resistance to able-bodied people receiving the transfer (Chapter 7). In such contexts, narrow targeting is more acceptable – politically and socially – but also restricted in terms of reach. Even if these programmes are adopted and scaled up by the government, as in Zambia, they are likely to remain residual and prospects of becoming incipient welfare systems are limited. Similar dynamics are playing out in countries like Uganda and Malawi which are also prioritising acceptability over reach.

8.5. Further research

There are opportunities to improve and test the conceptual framework in other countries experimenting with social protection interventions, and also extend it to other policy areas. This will help to assess its external validity and further improve our understanding of the interaction between transnational influences and domestic politics for social protection, as well as global policy transfer in other policy areas.

Emerging during the fieldwork, the deservingness debate provides a fruitful avenue to be developed in future work, with further exploration of which visions of social justice are being channelled by different actors, and the implications for implementing various forms of social protection.

More broadly, better theorisation of gender is needed for the study of policy-making and policy transfer to enable a more in-depth analysis of the gendered nature of these processes. This is particularly relevant for social protection policy debates, which have been largely 'gender-blind' (Jones and Holmes, 2011).

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Appendix 1 – Interview Key

Phase 1: April-May 2015

Phase 2: Nov-Dec 2016

Phase 3: Feb-May 2017

Government representatives

ZG1: SCT Unit, MCDMCH. Lusaka, 13 April 2015

ZG2/1: Director of Social Welfare, MCDMCH. Lusaka, 14 April 2015

ZG2/2: former Director of Social Welfare now Registrar for NGOs. Lusaka, 4 Nov 2016

ZG2/3: former Director of Social Welfare now Registrar for NGOs. Lusaka, 6 Dec 2016

ZG2/4: former Director of Social Welfare now Registrar for NGOs. Lusaka, 17 February 2017

ZG2/5: former Director of Social Welfare now Registrar for NGOs. Lusaka, 1 May 2017

ZG3: Accountant, MCDMCH. Lusaka, 14 April 2015

ZG4: Director of Planning, Ministry of Labour. Lusaka, 15 April 2015

ZG5: Deputy Director Planning and Budgeting, Ministry of Health. Lusaka, 15 April 2015

ZG6: Director Planning and Budgeting, Ministry of Health. Lusaka, 15 April 2015

ZG7: Senior Social Welfare Officer Southern, Choma, 27 April 2015

ZG8: Provincial Social Welfare Officer Southern, Choma, 27 April 2015

ZG9: District Social Welfare Support Officer, Monze, 28 April 2015

ZG10: CWAC Chairperson, Monze, 28 April 2015

ZG11: Member of Parliament UPND, Lusaka, 29 April 2015

ZG12: Member of Parliament UPND, Lusaka, 30 April 2015

ZG13: Member of Parliament PF, Lusaka, 30 April 2015

ZG14: Member of Parliament MMD, Lusaka, 30 April 2015

ZG15: Member of Parliament PF, Lusaka, 30 April 2015

ZG16/1: Honourable Minister of Community Development, MCDMCH, Lusaka, 6 May 2015

ZG16/2: Honourable Minister of Community Development, MCDSW, Lusaka, 26 May 2017

ZG17: Chief Planner, MCDMCH, Lusaka, 7 May 2015

ZG18/1: Desk Officer, Ministry of Finance, Lusaka, 7 May 2015

ZG18/2, Desk Officer, Ministry of Finance, Lusaka, 22 November 2016

ZG19: former Vice President, Lusaka, 17 April 2015 and 30 April 2015

ZG20: President, Forum for Democracy and Development. Lusaka, 15 April 2015

ZG21: Senior Social Welfare Officer, Policy, Monitoring and Evaluation, Lusaka, 8 Nov 2016

ZG22: Acting Manager SCT Unit, Lusaka, 10 November 2016

ZG23/1: Senior Social Welfare Officer, Lusaka, 10 November 2016

ZG23/2: Senior Social Welfare Officer, Lusaka, 6 December 2016

ZG24: Budget Coordinator, Ministry of Finance, 14 November 2016

ZG25: Principal Planner, MCD, 15 November 2016

ZG26: Director National Planning, 21 November 2016

ZG27: Chief Social Welfare Officer, 29 November 2016

ZG28: Management and Implementation, 29 November 2016

ZG29: MIS Specialist, 1 December 2016

ZG30: Head of GEWEL (former Head of SCT Unit), 22 February 2017

ZG31: DSWO Kawambwa, 8 and 9 March 2017

ZG32: District Administrative Officer, Kawambwa, 9 March 2017

ZG33: Assistance Social Welfare Officer and Assistant Programme Officer, Mansa, 14 March 2017

ZG34: Provincial Social Welfare Officer Luapula, Mansa, 15 March 2017

ZG35: DWAC Chairperson, Mansa, 17 March 2017

ZG36: District Social Welfare Officer, Mansa, 17 March 2017

ZG37: Assistance Social Welfare Officer, Kawambwa, 21 March 2017

ZG38: Headman Mutuna, Kawambwa, 21 March 2017

ZG39: Headman Munkanta, Kawambwa, 22 March 2017

ZG40: District Planning Officer and DWAC Chairperson, 23 March 2017

ZG41: Councillor, Ngona ward, Kawambwa, 23 March 2017

ZG42: District Social Welfare Officer, Samfya, 28 March 2017

ZG43: District Administrative Officer, Samfya, 28 March 2017

ZG44: Director Special Duties, Ministry of Health, Lusaka, 30 March 2017

ZG45: SHI Coordinator, Ministry of Health, Lusaka, 5 April 2017

ZG46: District Social Welfare Office and Programme Officer, DSWO Petauke, 24 April 2017

ZG47: District Administrative Officer, Petauke, 24 April 2017

ZG48: Headwoman Muzumwa, Chilimanyama, Petauke, 25 April 2017

ZG49: Headman Nkhoolondo, Chilimanyama, Petauke, 25 April 2017

ZG50: Section Head and Area Development Chairperson, Ndeke, Petauke, 26 April 2017

ZG51: Section Head, Ndeke, Petauke, 26 April 2017

ZG52: Councillor Nyika ward, Petauke, 26 April 2017

ZG53: DWAC Chairperson, Petauke, 26 April 2017

ZG54: District Social Welfare Officer Katete, Petauke, 27 April 2017
ZG55: Provincial Social Welfare Officer Eastern, Chipata, 28 April 2017
ZG56: Senior Social Welfare Officer Eastern, 28 April 2017
ZG57: Councillor Chilimanyama, Petauke, phone interview, 28 April 2017
ZG58: District Social Welfare Officer Serenje (formerly Katete), Lusaka, 2 May 2017
ZG59: Provincial Minister Luapula Province, Lusaka, 7 April 2017
ZG60: Honourable Minister of Agriculture, Lusaka, 26 May 2017

Zambian organisations

ZO1: former Platform for Social Protection, Lusaka, 13 April 2015
ZO2: Country Co-ordinator, plus two colleagues, Platform for Social Protection, Lusaka, 13 April 2015
ZO3: Palm Associates, Lusaka, 13 April 2015
ZO4: Ruralnet and IGC Country Manager, Lusaka, 14 April 2015
ZO5: IAPRI, Lusaka, 16 April 2015
ZO6: ZIPAR. Lusaka, 23 April 2015
ZO7: Anti-Voter Apathy Project, Monze, 28 April 2015
ZO8: Director – PR and International Affairs, and Director of Research, Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, Lusaka, 29 April 2015
ZO9: Director Research and Information, Civil Servants and Allied Workers Union of Zambia, Lusaka, 6 May 2015
ZO10: Manager – Economics and Policy, Zambia Federation of Employers, Lusaka, 6 May 2015
ZO11: General Secretary, Alliance of Zambian Informal Economy Associations, Lusaka, 7 April 2017
ZO12: Health Workers Union of Zambia, Lusaka, 18 April 2017
ZO13: Economic Empowerment and Sustainable Livelihoods Coordinator, CSPR, Lusaka, 20 April 2017

Cooperating partners (CPs) and consultants

ZC1: Senior Programme Officer, World Food Programme, Lusaka, 13 April 2015
ZC2/1: Programme Officer, DFID, Lusaka, 14 April 2015
ZC2/2: Programme Officer, DFID, Lusaka, 6 May 2015
ZC2/3: Programme Officer, DFID, Lusaka, 30 November 2016
ZC2/4: Programme Officer, DFID, Lusaka, 1 March 2017

ZC3: Programme Officer, World Bank, Lusaka, 14 April 2015
ZC4: Programme Officer, UNICEF, Lusaka, 15 April 2015
ZC5: Head of Cooperation, Finnish Embassy, Lusaka, 15 April 2015
ZC6: Programme Manager and Development Attaché, Embassy of Ireland, Lusaka, 16 April 2015
ZC6/2: Programme Manager, Embassy of Ireland, Lusaka, 8 December 2016
ZC7: Technical Advisor on Social Security, ILO. Lusaka, 20 April 2015
ZC8/1: Head of Social Policy and Programme Officer, UNICEF, Lusaka, 21 April 2015
ZC8/2: Head of Social Policy, UNICEF, Lusaka, 4 November 2016
ZC8/3: Head of Social Policy, UNICEF, Lusaka, 8 December 2016
ZC9: First Secretary Health, Embassy of Sweden. Lusaka, 22 April 2015
ZC10: National Professional Officer, Managerial Processes and Networks, WHO, Lusaka, 23 April 2015
ZC11/1: Programme Manager, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Lusaka, 30 April 2015
ZC11/2: Social Policy Specialist, UNICEF (former FES), Lusaka, 8 December 2016
ZC11/3: Social Policy Specialist, UNICEF, Lusaka, 2 May 2017
ZC12/1: Child Protection Specialist, UNICEF, Lusaka, 4 November 2016
ZC12/2: Child Protection Specialist, UNICEF, Lusaka, 18 November 2016
ZC13: Technical Assistant SHI, Embassy of Sweden, Lusaka, 17 April 2015
ZC14: Technical Advisor on Social Security and intern, ILO, Lusaka, 23 November 2016
ZC15/1: First Secretary, SIDA. Lusaka, 1 December 2016
ZC15/2: First Secretary, SIDA. Lusaka, 3 April 2017
ZC16: Counsellor Health and SRHR, SIDA, Lusaka, 3 April 2017
ZC17: Social Health Protection Specialist and Disability Specialist, ILO, Lusaka, 3 April 2017
ZC18: Health Systems Advisor, WHO, Lusaka, 21 April 2017
ZC19: Oxford Policy Management, Skype, 5 July 2017

Key individuals

ZK1/1: Consultant and former UNICEF, Lusaka, 17 April 2015
ZK1/2: Consultant and former UNICEF, Lusaka, 8 May 2015
ZK1/3: Consultant and former UNICEF, Lusaka, 7 Dec 2016
ZK2/1: Consultant, Lusaka, 13-17 April 2015
ZK2/2: Consultant, Lusaka, 28 Nov 2016
ZK2/3: Consultant, Lusaka, 4 April 2017
ZK3: Consultant and former WHO rep, 4 April 2015
ZK4: Consultant and researcher, former GTZ, 22 February 2017

Focus group discussions

FGD 1: CWAC committee, Chumfya CWAC, Mansa district, 15 March 2017

FGD 2: CWAC committee, Chinanda CWAC, Mansa district, 15 March 2017

FGD 3: beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, Chumfya CWAC, Mansa district, 16 March 2017

FGD 4: beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, Chinanda CWAC, Mansa district, 16 March 2017

FGD 5: committee, Mutuna CWAC, Kawambwa district, 21 March 2017

FGD 6: beneficiaries, Mutuna CWAC, Kawambwa district, 21 March 2017

FGD 7: non-beneficiaries, Mutuna CWAC, Kawambwa district, 21 March 2017

FGD 8: committee, Munkanta CWAC, Kawambwa district, 22 March 2017

FGD 9: beneficiaries, Munkanta CWAC, Kawambwa district, 22 March 2017

FGD 10: non-beneficiaries, Munkanta CWAC, Kawambwa district, 22 March 2017

FGD 11: committee, Chilimanyama CWAC, Petauke district, 25 April 2017

FGD 12: beneficiaries, Chilimanyama CWAC, Petauke district, 25 April 2017

FGD 13: non-beneficiaries, Chilimanyama CWAC, Petauke district, 25 April 2017

FGD 14: committee, Ndeke CWAC, Petauke district, 26 April 2017

FGD 15: beneficiaries, Ndeke CWAC, Petauke district, 26 April 2017

FGD 16: non-beneficiaries, Ndeke CWAC, Petauke district, 26 April 2017

Non-participant observation

TW1: Targeting workshop day 1, Lusaka, 24 November 2016

TW2: Targeting workshop day 2, Lusaka, 25 November 2016

Appendix 2 – Interview Schedule

The topic of this interview is social protection in Zambia, with a focus on the Social Cash Transfer (SCT) programme/social health insurance. During the interview I would like to discuss your experiences, observations and reflections based on your involvement in these social protection processes.

Actors involved with social protection in Zambia

Main questions	Additional questions	Probe for
Please can you tell me about your role in social protection in Zambia, as an individual and/or organisation as appropriate	How long have you been involved? Which partners have you worked with? What progress have you seen, if any?	Observations and attitudes about the process and dynamics of the social protection policy areas
Who are the other key players and what are their roles?	How do they interact and what are the levels of coordination among the various actors involved?	Areas of consensus and disagreement among the different actors
To what extent are the relevant government departments involved?	Does the level of involvement vary between the different departments?	Commitment within departments, including specific individuals

Policy formulation and implementation processes

Main questions	Additional questions	Probe for
What are the national, regional and international influences that have affected decisions regarding Zambia's social protection policies?	Do these differ among the three policy areas?	Influential actors at each level
Are there any particular events, individuals, moments, tools that have influenced the process in the three policy areas?	Which are the most important/influential?	Political events Champions Reports and impact studies
How have social protection policies been translated in	Has this been successful? Plans for scale up?	Possible politicisation of programmes on the ground

practice, if at all?	What are your experiences of this (local programme officials)?	Feedback to national level
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Developments in Zambia's social protection programmes

Main questions	Additional questions	Probe for
What have been the key moments in the development of each of the policy areas?	What? When? Who was involved?	Specific details Support/opposition
What do you think led to each of these key moments?		Reflections on factors and influences
What are the financing requirements and implications for developing these programmes?	What role has the Ministry of Finance played in the development of social protection in Zambia?	Financial priorities Budget processes

Ideas and attitudes about social protection

Main questions	Additional questions	Probe for
Is there agreement about the approach to social protection in Zambia?	Have different approaches been discussed and if so have the debates been resolved?	Donor influences National responses to international ideas
What are the political attitudes to social protection?	How have these manifested and at what stages in the process?	Support or resistance to policy ideas and implementation from politicians
What are the public attitudes to social protection?	How have these manifested and at what stages in the process?	Understanding of the programmes Reactions to implementation
Do the social protection approaches fit with dominant ideas and values in Zambia?	What influence does this have on the level of interest in and commitment to the different policy ideas?	What are the dominant ideas/values in Zambia and how are they understood? Do they vary between actors?

Is there anything else you would like to share about your experience of being involved with social protection in Zambia that you have not yet had the opportunity to talk about?