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CIVIL SOCIETY'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO STRONG SOCIAL PROTECTION

The role of civil society organisation in developing and maintaining strong national social protection systems

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Research commissioned by 11.11.11 vzw, umbrella of the Flemish North South movement

Preface

This study was conducted by HIVA – KU Leuven upon request of 11.11.11, the umbrella of the Flemish North-South movement, who dedicated its 2016-2017 campaign to the issue of social protection. The study was designed to inform 11.11.11 and its members on the role of civil society in building and managing social protection systems at national level. We would like to thank everyone who contributed to the research.

Contents

Introduction

Context

Social protection has come to feature more and more prominently on international and national development agendas. Over the past decade the ILO, the World Bank, and different UN agencies all developed an approach on social protection. An ILO recommendation on social protection floors was adopted in 2012, the World Bank and ILO jointly launched the universal social protection initiative in 2015, social protection has been integrated in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the bilateral development cooperation of many donors has a social protection component. Many national governments in developing countries and their development partners are taking steps to put in place, expand or improve social protection systems.

However, little is known about the policy processes that shape the social protection system of a country and of the role of different political and societal actors within them. One of the actors whose contribution to social protection is poorly understood, is civil society (Devereux, Roelen, & Ulrichs, 2015). This brings us to the question: **What role do civil society organisations play in social protection, and to what effect?** Past and ongoing experiences may hold interesting lessons and insights that can improve our understanding of the policy process behind and the role of civil society within social protection.

Approach & methodology

Responding to this gap in current understanding, this study attempts to investigate the often made assumption that civil society involvement contributes to better social protection. Hence, its **initial research question** (visualized in figure 0.1) could be formulated as 'Does the involvement of civil society organisations influences the strength of social protection systems'?

Figure 0.1   Initial research question

A first step in looking for answers to this question, has been unpacking it (see figure 0.2). This led to the identification of several **sub-questions**: What is known about the impact of CSOs and social protection in general terms? Is there a difference in impact between CSO involvement in design versus the management of social protection? What routes or tactics do CSOs apply to influence social protection? What characteristics determine their influence on social protection?

Figure 0.1   Research question and sub-questions
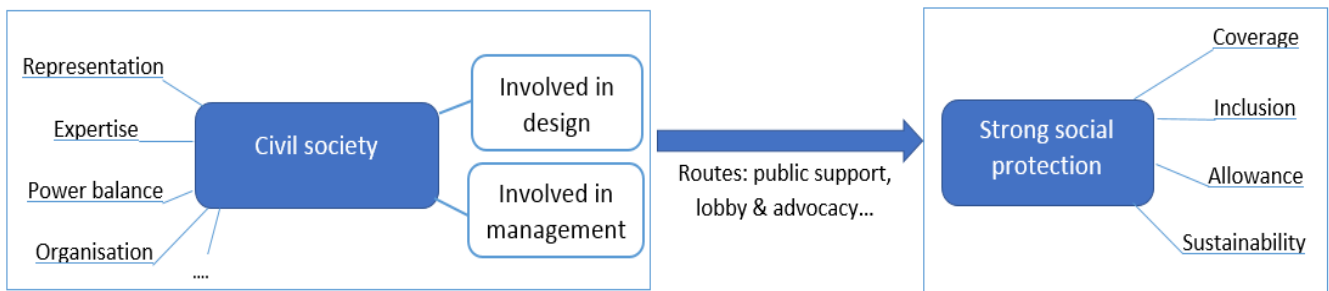
This study is mainly based on **literature review**. The selection of publications to be included in the literature study was done March-May 2016 and started with a search for relevant and recent publications in the following databases, platforms and organisations: Limo/LibisNet and Ingenta Connect; World Bank Data & World Bank Social Protection & Labour; ASPIRE, The Atlas of Social Protection Indicators of Resilience and Equity; Internatonal Labour Organisation (ILO); Southern African Social Protection Experts Network (SASPEN) a not-for-profit alliance of stakeholders, scholars and consultants who engage with social protection in the SADC region; African Studies Centre Leiden, Knowledge Platform Development Policies, Social Protection; Overseas Development Institute (ODI); Socialprotection.org; 3ie, International Initiative for Impact Evaluation. Key words used for the search have been 'social protection' and 'social policy' in combination with 'civil society', 'non-state actors' or 'non-governmental organisations'. An initial selection of publications was vetted for relevance, leading to a 'short list' of about 50 publications (listed in the bibliography) that have been taken into account in this study. Since not all of them were considered of sufficient quality or added value, they have not all been discussed or explicitly referred to. The literature review was complemented by **fieldwork** on the reform towards universal health coverage in Senegal in May 2016. During the fieldwork, unstructured in-depth interviews with key stakeholders and experts were conducted, including actors from administration, civil society and trade unions, service delivery related to social protection and the donor community.

Chapter 1 discusses several key concepts and theories that are used throughout the literature on CSOs and social protection. It highlights the need for a set of tools and concepts used in policy analysis to analyse and understand the complex relationship between civil society and social protection. Chapter 2 explores what is already known about this relationship. It becomes clear that the literature does not hold any simple answers to this question but instead confirms the fact that civil society and social protection both refer to very complex processes that can be understood or defined in different ways. There are also very few contributions that discuss the relation between CSOs and social protection at an aggregate level (i.e. across various cases). Most information has to be distilled from a range of qualitative case studies, of which the best are briefly presented in this chapter. Chapter 3 unpacks 'the involvement of civil society' in social protection. It is often pointed out that civil society can play a role in the design and management of social protection systems. However, the case studies quickly reveal that CSOs can in fact play a role in every stage of social protection policy making. Additionally, they also provide a - no doubt incomplete - overview of tactics CSOs have used to influence social protection policy (reforms). The final chapter zooms in on different factors that may determine their influence on the quality of social protection. The chapter discusses internal factors, such as the CSO's representativeness, expertise and financial capacity but also points out the importance of external factors, such as the place of CSOs in the political landscape. Each chapter begins with a brief summary of the key questions put forward and the answers distilled from the literature review and the field work in

Senegal. The rest of the chapter should be seen as an annotated bibliography, discussing the different publications that contributed to the answers. A final note, concluding this report, summarizes the main lessons for further research.

Key terminology

The two concepts central to this study – social protection and civil society – both lack a straightforward and shared definition. This section discusses the definitions applied in this study, and hence also outlines the study's scope. In brief, the study focuses on organized civil society and formal social protection at a national level. We recognize and want to emphasize that this only covers part of the overall picture. However, also including less organized civil society and informal social protection would have embarked us on an additional strand of literature, which fell outside the possibilities of this study.

Social protection

With regard to the **alternative terms in circulation**, one can summarize that 'social security' is primarily associated with the comprehensive social insurance and social assistance systems of the developed world. '(Social) safety nets', in contrast, are more associated with a limited range of often short-term interventions in developing countries, often in response to crisis. Hence, 'social protection' has the advantage of being relevant and used extensively in both contexts (Norton, Conway, & Foster, 2002, p. 543). It also has become quite common in the discourse of a variety of development actors, such as the World Bank, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the United Nations institutions, the G20, international and national NGOs, official donors and research centers.

Despite this, there is **no consensus on the definition of 'social protection'** or related terms such as 'social protection system' (Fonteneau, Vaes, & Huyse, 2014). On the contrary, different 'schools' exist and their views on the rationale, the scope and the preferred measures for social protection vary. Differences in definition include a broad versus a narrow perspective, and a focus on the nature of the problems addressed versus a focus on the policy response and instruments used[1]. Barrientos (2013) points out a difference in terminology across developed and developing countries. In developed countries, the term social protection most often covers what has been described in the definition of social protection above (i.e. social security). In many developing countries however, the term often relates to a wide variety of social assistance programmes and arrangements for those who are vulnerable and normally excluded from formal social security systems. This is due to the focus on programmes reducing poverty and vulnerability in the expansion of social protection in these countries over the past decade (Barrientos, 2013, p. 24). However, the Social Protection Floors Recommendation, 2012 (No. 202) states 'social protection' and 'social security' are part of the same social policy concept (ILO, 2016).

This study offers the following definitions as main reference points. The first clearly shows the potentially broad scope of the concept, the latter articulates the more narrow interpretation that has been applied in this study.

> "Social protection can be defined as the set of all initiatives, both formal and informal, that provide social assistance to extremely poor individuals and households;

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1 In their paper 'Social protection at the top of the international agenda, issues at stake from a civil society perspective', Fonteneau, Vaes, & Huyse (2014) offer a discussion of these different views on social protection.

social services to groups who need special care or would otherwise be denied access to basic services; social insurance to protect people against the risks and consequences of livelihood shocks; and social equity to protect people against social risks such as discrimination or abuse" (Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2007; Devereux & Barrientos, 2008).

"Social protection refers to the public actions taken in response to levels of vulnerability, risk and deprivation which are deemed socially unacceptable within a given polity or society" (Norton et. al., 2002).

Both definitions agree that social protection has two main components: social insurance measures consist of programmes providing protection against risks arising from life-course contingencies such as maternity, old age, disability, work related injuries or sickness; and social assistance measures provide support to those in poverty. They include various non-contributory cash- or in-kind transfer programmes for individuals and households. In addition, tax-funded social benefits, employment programmes (food-for-work, public works programmes) and labour market programmes (designed to protect workers, such as minimum wage legislation and minimize labour related risks) complement the basic components of social protection (Norton, Conway, & Foster, 2002; ILO 2016)

Another important element to unpack is **the 'quality' of social protection**. Logically, the views on what 'good' or 'strong' social protections entails, depend on the views of what social protection should constitute. Previous research has pointed out four challenges that social protection is actually facing: 1) inclusiveness and the transformative function of social protection, 2) a rights-based approach to social protection; 3) building sustainable social protection systems and ensuring their democratic ownership, 4) sustainable financing (Fonteneau et al., 2014).

In brief, looking at social protection systems, the focus in this study is mostly on public policy related to social protection. This means looking at "how, why and with what effect, governments pursue particular courses of action or inaction" (Jans, 2007) regarding social protection, and what the role of civil society is in this process. This has implications for the scope of this study. Firstly, it should be noted that civil society's role in social protection can be outside of the realm of public policy and with no intention of influencing government policy. This has not been covered in this study. Secondly, when studying public policy no single discipline integrates all useful or necessary tools for a good understanding. Consequently, the literature study cherry picks most relevant contributions from different disciplines.

Civil society

Civil society is extremely varied in its nature and composition. In fact, it is a dynamic arena in a state of constant redefinition (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2015). For this reason definitions of civil society vary considerably based on differing conceptual paradigms, historic origins, and (country) context. Hence, as with social protection, 'civil society' and 'civil society organisations' are rather **ambiguous terms**. The CIVICUS Index for Civil Society (2015) and Roitter (2010) provide two helpful general definition:

"Civil society is the arena, outside of the family, the state and the market, in which persons associate voluntarily on the basis of common interests" (Civicus 2015).

"Civil society can be defined as an arena for the expression of multiple voices, movements and organizations that intervene in questions of public interest outside of (but not necessarily independent of) the state" (Roitter 2010).

These definitions provide a solid starting point, as they clearly recognize the broad scope of civil society. The World Bank definition adds additional substance: "the wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations" (World Bank 2013). Looking at the EU definition (Communication 52012/ 492) two additional criteria are being added: civil society organisations are non-violent and not embedded in political parties, though civil society has a political dimension. With the EU and World bank definitions prominently using the word 'organisations' one might forget that civil society does not have to be formally organized. It can thus include community groups, indigenous groups, broad social and grassroots movements, labor unions, mutual health organisations, organisations in the social and solidarity economy, cooperatives, socio-cultural and educational organisations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), research centers, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, foundations and networks. They can also be organized at different levels, from to local to the global.

However, a more narrow focus has been applied, in part for reasons of feasibility and availability of literature. In determining the scope of CSOs considered, we follow the key attributes proposed by Salamon (1993) and took into account CSOs that are organized, self-governing and independent, and of which the membership or affiliation is voluntary. This means the focus is on formally organized CSOs. Assessing literature on the contribution of unorganized civil society to often informal social protection was beyond the constraints of this literature study.

Limitations

We have attempted to identify and include the most relevant contributions, but the body of literature covering social protection, civil society and the interface between both is by far too vast to be comprehensively and exhaustively covered in this study. As discussed above, we also have chosen for a focus on formal social (protection) policy and organized civil society. This means a vast field of interesting cases and experiences in the informal sphere falls outside the scope of this study. The role of the private sector in social protection is another gap in this study. Our literature screening approach did not find many contributions that specifically look at the interaction between CSOs, private sector and the state in the field of social protection.

1 | Tools for analysis?

1.1   Summary

A simple and clear-cut assessment of the impact of CSOs on social protection systems is not possible because both variables and the relation between them is complex (see chapter 2). What tools and concepts exist to analyse and understand the relation between CSOs and social protection systems and the role of civil society in shaping social protection systems? This is in fact a question about the political processes behind social protection policy formulation and implementation, and how to understand them.

The literature agrees that the political processes shaping national social protection systems are severely under researched, and the role of civil society within them even more so (Bender, 2013, p. 33). Consequently, the consulted literature does not offer many in-depth analyses of the political dimension of social protection.

> What do the political processes resulting in social protection systems look like?
>
> How are social protection systems created, and how can CSOs play a role in this process?

This also means that the scientific research on the evolution of social policy and social protection, on the role of social organisations or civil society organisations, and on the processes behind social policy change are quite diffuse: no single analytic framework jumps out as very influential or authoritative. Instead one quickly ends up with a list of several concepts and theories from policy analysis that are used to reflect on the role of civil society. This chapter aims to provide an overview of these concepts and theories.

Considered as important is the concept of the policy cycle that summarizes the different stages of policy making. This is key to determine at what stage CSOs can influence social protection policy. Additionally, the concepts of 'policy entrepreneurs' and 'veto players' are often used to describe the role CSOs play. In brief, the former are actors that work from outside the formal governmental system to introduce, translate, and implement innovative ideas into the public sector. The latter are political actors whose agreement is necessary to change an existing policy or the current state of affairs. The processes of 'policy transfer', 'policy diffusion' and 'ideation' are also considered relevant. The first two refer to processes through which successful policy innovation in one context is used (either as blueprint or as inspiration) for designing and introducing policy in another context. Ideation refers to the process through which ideas, such as social inclusion, or social justice, shape policies. These concepts also play a part in different theories on policy change and on tactics to change policy, of which this chapter gives on overview. Of these theories the consulted literature on social protection and CSOs most often referred to the policy window theory (Kingdon), the Power Elites theory (Mills, Domhoff) and the Regime theory (Stone), which are all used to reflect on the specific roles CSOs can play and the type of allies they need, to be effective in influencing social protection policy.

1.2 Key literature

Making, maintaining or improving social protection systems at a national level are complex policy processes. As several of the contributions consulted in this literature study have shown, some basic concepts and theories from policy analysis are useful for a good understanding of when, how and why civil society can play a role in these processes.

1.2.1 The policy cycle: the stages of policy making

Although arguably an artificial and too linear reconstruction of the policy process, the **policy cycle** has proven a very useful concept to structure and streamline the insights collected throughout the consulted literature. The policy cycle brakes down the process of policy making in different stages. It was first developed in the 1950s by Lasswell, who distinguished between 7 different stages. At present there seems to be a consensus on a less fragmented representation with 4 or 5 major stages. Howlett et al (2009) propose the following stages: agenda-setting, policy formulation, public policy decision-making, policy implementation and policy evaluation (Howlett, Ramesh, & Perl, 2009). De Peuter et. al. (2007) distinguish between agenda setting, policy formulation, policy implementation and policy effects, monitoring and evaluation. In this study we follow the latter, but added 'problem formulation' as a separate stage in our representation of the policy cycle, to draw extra attention to the significant role of civil society before social protection even enters the formal policy agenda.

Figure 1.1   Policy cycle
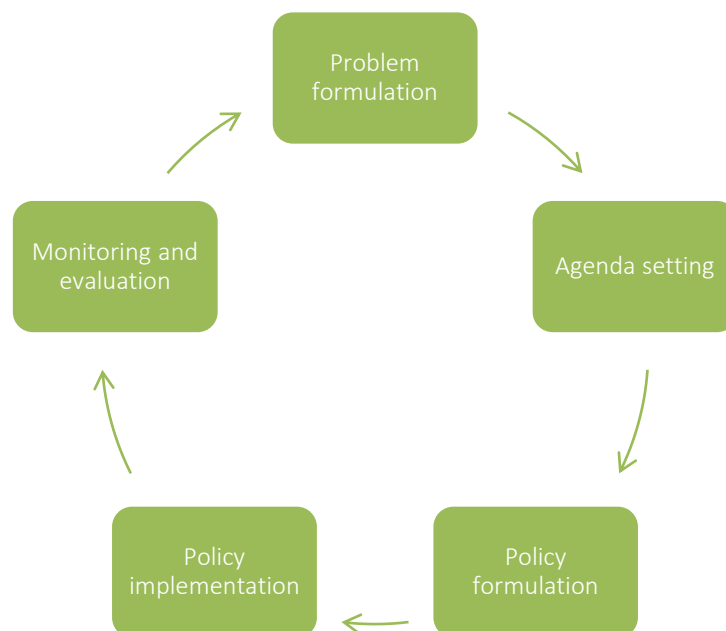
Source Adapted from (Crabbé, Gysen, & Leroy, 2006; De Peuter, De Smedt, & Bouckaert, 2007)

- Agenda setting: The policy cycle starts with issue identification and problem formulation. Many issues compete for a spot on the agenda: depending on a variety of factors, such as timing and power constellations, certain issues make it onto the political agenda and are recognized as something that needs government attention, other issues do not.

Parallel the problem formulation takes place. The problem formulation is about providing a description of the undesired situation and thus implicitly sets goals for the desired situation.

- Policy development, including policy formulation and instrumentation: Different solutions to the identified problem are being identified, considered and selected. This is a process that can vary in openness with different degrees of participation of societal actors like media, interest groups, citizens and civil servants. The policy choices are political and determined by the power balance between the actors involved. Once the ultimate course of action is decided, the policy option is operationalisatized in policy measures, instruments, division of tasks, allocation of resources and mandates, the formulation of rules and procedures, and the establishment of mechanisms for management and coordination.

- Policy implementation: Policy is fleshed out, now it is being put into practice. However, most often operationalization also continues in this stage. Implementing actors can exert a strong influence on how the policy is executed.

- Policy effects and monitoring and evaluation: implementation of policy will result in policy output (acts performed by executive actors, such as for example the number of pensions distributed), in policy outcomes for the target group (such as a decrease in salary workers above 60 years old living in poverty) and in policy impact at the broader level (such as a formalization of economy). These policy effects and side effects together with external events determine needs and problems in society and are the beginning of a new policy cycle. For policy effects to inform a new policy cycle, monitoring and evaluation are crucial.

Without claiming to be exhaustive, Crabbé et. al. (2006) distinguish between three important **theoretical approaches to policy** (summarized in table 1.1). The first views policy as the result of a rational process in which policy makers identify the most effective and efficient solution to address a specific problem, followed by the neutral execution of what has been decided. The second approach views policy as the product of the balance of power between political and societal actors interacting on a specific policy topic, and recognizes that these actors, all with their own ambitions, agenda's and objectives, will continue to influence policy during the implementation. A third approach interprets policy as the result of institutionalised processes of policy making and will use comparison with other policy fields to uncover the traditions, discursive coalitions, and regimes that determine policy making in a particular field (Crabbé et al., 2006, pp. 20–34). In the consulted literature on the role of civil society in social protection, the second approach is most common, although many studies also focus on the operational features of social protection systems, and thus also follow a more rational outlook.

Table 1.1   **Views on policy making**

Rational process	Political interaction	Institutional product
• Problem definition & rational search for solution → policy	• Power balances & interaction between actors → policy	• Process institutionalised ways of policy making → policy
• Comparative effectiveness and efficiency of the different policy options is key	• The positions and power play between different political and societal actors is key	• Existing regimes, traditions, discursive coalitions, political contexts in each field are key

Source Adapted from (Crabbé et al., 2006)

1.2.2   Policy change: how does it happen?

Stachowiak (2013) provides a summary of **five influential social science theories (see table 1.2) that are relevant to understand advocacy and policy change efforts.** She argues that every actor has implicit views on how policy change will occur. Knowing different theories helps to explicitate and complement these views and can result in a sharper and more complete analysis of the policy making process. In her paper she also indicates what theories are most relevant for different types of change makers and different situations.

Table 1.2   **Overview of 5 theories that explain how policy change occurs**

Theory (key authors)	How change happens	When this theory may be useful
Large Leap theory, **also called Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (True, Jones, & Baumgartner, 2007)**	When conditions are right, change can happen in sudden, large bursts that represent a significant departure from the past. Conditions for large-scale change are right when: 1) an issue is defined differently or new dimensions of an issue gain attention; 2) when new actors get involved; 3) the issue becomes more salient and gets more media or public attention	- Large-scale policy change is the primary goal - You have strong media-related capacity
Policy Windows theory **or Agenda-Setting theory (Kingdon)**	A policy system is determined by three streams: the way a problem is defined, the policy solutions presented to address the problem, and the overall political climate (e.g. pro 'big government' or not). When two or more of these components converge or are connected, a window of opportunity for policy change opens. These windows can be created.	- You can address multiple components of policy making simultaneously (problem formulation, policy formulation, public support, …) - You have internal capacity to create, identify and act on policy windows
Coalition theory **or Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier & Jenkings-Smith)**	All individuals have core beliefs about policy areas. Policy change happens through coordinated activity among individuals and organization outside of government with the same core policy beliefs.	- A sympathetic administration is in office - You have a strong group of allies with a common goal

Power Politics theory **or Political Elites or Power Elites theory** (Mills, Domhoff)	The power to influence policy is concentrated in the hands of a few. Policy change can happen by working directly with those with the power to make decisions and influence policy making	- You have key allies in a position of power on the issue - Focus may be on incremental administrative or rule-changes
Regime theory **(Stone)**	Governments must work collectively with public and private interests to achieve certain aims and outcomes. Such (formal and informal) collective groups that coalesce around a shared agenda are called 'regimes'. Policy change happens through the support and empowerment of policy makers by this close-knit group of influential individuals.	- You know or suspect that a coalition of non-politicians is deeply involved in policy making - You have access to or can become part of this coalition

Source Based on (Stachowiak, 2013)

Although they sometimes share specific assumptions, each of these theories offers its own, encompassing worldview on how policy change happens. Each of these theories offer interesting frameworks and concepts to think about the role of civil society in establishing, shaping, implementing, managing and maintaining social protection systems.

In addition to these general theories, a wide range of theories about particular **tactics** to evoke policy change exist. Again Stachowiak (2013) summarizes five influential theories (see table 1.3), from the fields of psychology, social psychology and communications, and discusses their assumptions and possible uses in relation to advocacy tactics.

Table 1.3 **Overview of 5 tactical theories that explain common advocacy tactics**

Theory (key authors)	How policy change can be influenced	When this theory may be useful
Messaging and Frameworks theory or **Prospect theory** (Daniel & Tversky)	Not a rational assessment of the pros and cons of a decision, but the way different options are framed and presented influences individuals' preferences most.	- The issue needs to be redefined as part of a larger campaign - A key focus of the work is on increasing awareness, agreement on problem definition of attention for a specific issue
Media Influence **or Agenda-setting theory** (McCombs and Shaws	The issues that feature prominently in mass media are the same issue that people consider key to the political agenda. Extent of coverage by mass news media (including social media and new media channels) will determine the place of on issue on the public agenda (but not what constituents think about the issue).	- You have strong media-related capacity - You want to put an issue on the radar of the broader public
Grassroots theory **or community organizing theory** (Alinsky; Biklen)	Elites don't have monopoly on power. Groups of people can create power by taking mutual action to achieve social change. Policy change is made though collective action by members of the	- A distinct group of people is directly affected by an issue - Your organisation's role is more

	community who work on changing problems affecting their lives.	'convener' or 'capacity builder' rather than 'driver'
Group formation **or** self-categorization theory (Turner, Taifel)	Group formation is a process that makes social cohesion, cooperation and influence possible. Policy change happens when individuals identify with groups and subsequently act in a way that is consistent with that group membership	- You are looking to build and tighten support base - Cohesion among your organisation's members is a prerequisite for change
Diffusion theory **or** diffusion of innovation (Rogers)	Innovations are first modelled or communicated by change agents, and can progressively be adopted by different types of adopters, until they reach a critical mass, at which point it will be adopted or rejected by the members of a social system. Change happens when a new idea is communicated and adopted by the critical mass.	- The focus is on a new idea - You have trusted messengers or champions to model or communicate the innovation

Source Based on Stachowiak (2013)

1.2.3 Roles, processes & timing in policy influencing

Roles

The literature on policy development and policy change is interspersed with an array of terms and concepts that describe different **roles** that actors involved in policy change can play. **Policy entrepreneurs** is such an often used term, thoroughly discussed by Roberts & King (1991). The term builds on related concepts such as 'public entrepreneurship' and 'public entrepreneurs'. The first refers to the process of introducing innovation to public sector practice. The latter refers to those actors that highlight problems and propose and actively support specific solutions and help to implement it in public practice. The detailed definitions of public entrepreneurs differ, but scholars agree that these individuals are key contributors to any policy process. For example, Kingdon, key author on this subject, described how public entrepreneurs play a crucial role in bringing together the different streams of policy making. Roberts & King continue by distinguishing between different types of public entrepreneurs (Roberts & King, 1991, p.152):

- Political entrepreneurs, who hold elected leadership positions in government;
- Executive entrepreneurs, who hold appointed leadership positions in government;
- Bureaucratic entrepreneurs, who hold formal positions in government, although not leadership positions;
- Policy entrepreneurs, who work from outside the formal governmental system to introduce, translate, and implement innovative ideas into public sector practice.

Veto players is another interesting concept, first coined by Tsebelis (2002). He argues that decision-making structures are characterized by veto players who have a key role in the making of political decisions. The term veto player refers to a political actor whose agreement is necessary to change an existing policy or the current state of affairs. The basic claim of the book is that each political system can be characterized by a certain configuration of veto players (Roberts & King, 1991). Tsebelis devotes his book to explaining how that the number of veto players as well as their preferences has an effect on the stability of policy and on the stability of governments or regimes. In an effort to bring out the essence of the possible role of veto players,

he loses sight of some of the nuances of political life. Still, the concept of veto players can be very helpful for understanding politics better.
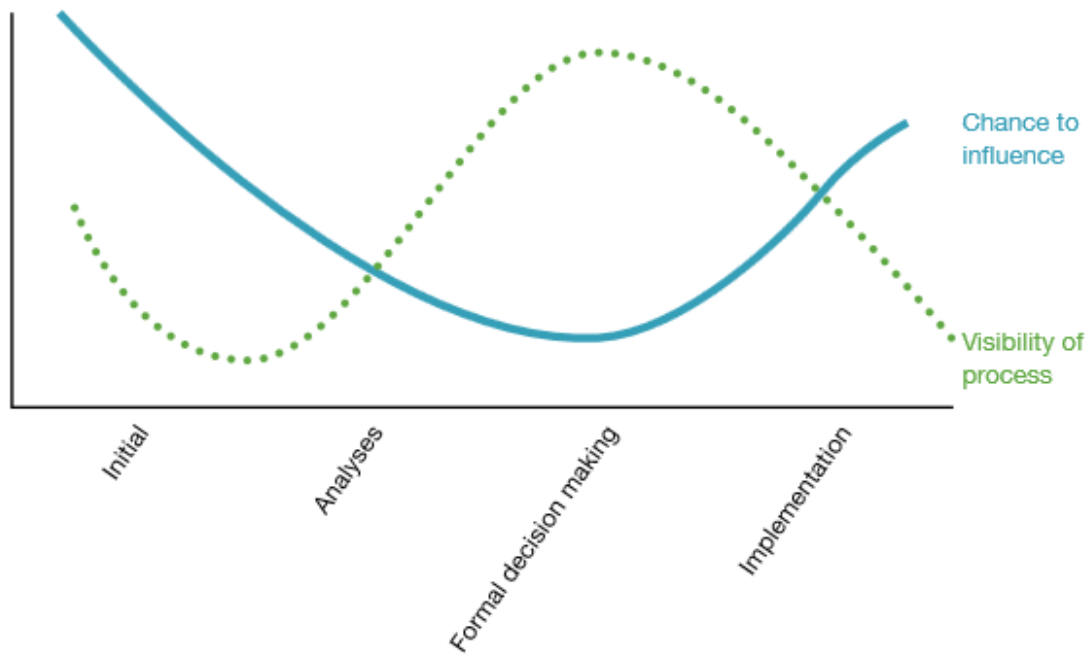
Processes
Bender et.al. (2014) investigated how relevant international interdependencies are for policy outcomes in the field of social protection reforms. Their very instructive research report clearly shows that the concepts of **policy transfer and policy diffusion** are relevant for understanding social protection policy development. The term policy transfer is defined as "the process, by which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one politic al system (past or present) is used in the development of policies administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another political system" (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000, p. 5 cited in Bender et.al 2015). Policy diffusion is defined as "the process whereby policy choices in one unit are influenced by policy choices in other units" (Maggetti & Gilardi 2013, p. 3 cited in Bender et.al. 2015). Rogers understands policy diffusion as "the process in which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system" (Rogers in Lütz 2007, p. 132 cited in Bender et.al. 2015). As such, policy diffusion is generally concerned with the spread of policy between policy units, with interdependence being its defining characteristic. Units can be of various nature with regard to level (international, transnational, national, subnational etc.) and type (country, city, public organizations, firms etc.) (see Maggetti/Gilardi 2013, p. 3).

A final interesting concept, used by Béland (2007) in the analysis of political processes behind social protection, is **ideation** or the power of ideas. Drawing extensively from the French case, his work suggests that social exclusion can become a policy paradigm, the centerpiece of influential reform blueprints and a justification discourse. From this perspective, the politics of social policy surrounding the issue of social exclusion features the three main ways in which ideas can impact policy development: the crystallization of policy paradigms that affect the perception of social problems, the elaboration of reform blueprints and, finally, the construction of the 'need to reform' and the related justification of relevant policy options. Regarding the social exclusion debate, these three types of ideational processes helped move policy attention away from other forms of social inequality while legitimising specific policy alternatives compatible with moderate interpretations of economic liberalism and, consequently, with centre-left and Third Way agendas. Although he argues that the idea of social exclusion can be a useful intellectual tool, he judges that in the current context, the dominant political discourse about social exclusion has done little more than legitimize modest social programmes that seldom challenge the liberal logic seeking to limit social spending while encouraging citizens to become increasingly dependent on market outcomes (i.e. 'recommodification') (Béland, 2007, 2010, 2011).

Timing
In their manual on lobby and advocacy, ICCO (2010) provides some interesting information on the possibility for lobbyists to exert influence in the various phases of the policy-making process (figure 1.2).

Figure 1.2   Chance of lobby influence throughout the policy making process

Source (Sloot & Gaanderse, 2010)

As the figure shows the chances to influence are highest in the initial phase of the policy-making process. At this point the issue is not yet (or just) been put on the political agenda and there are still many opportunities to get your point across. In the analytic phase, information and facts will increasingly be put forward, making it more difficult to change the opinion of the people concerned. Provoking change is hardest during formal decision making: at this point in the process, decision makers prefer not to change their mind. However, not all is lost! In the implementation phase, new stakeholders generally come into play, which brings new opportunities for influencing the implementation of the decision made. The overall conclusion is that one should seek early influence. The figure also takes into account visibility, showing a high visibility at the moment of formal decision-making (often related to high media coverage by the decision-maker). These are not ideal moments for lobbying. Instead moments with less visibility are better to seek out suitable alternatives and win - win situations without the risk of stakeholders and decision-makers 'losing face'.

The ICCO manual provides interesting insights and useful tips on lobby and advocacy. An additional or complementary resource could be the framework developed by the Developmental Leadership Program. Based on key literature in the fields of political economy, political analysis and policy change, Hudson et.al. (2016) presented a framework for thinking about politics and power called **Everyday Political Analysis (EPA)**. This framework offers a guideline to make sense of the political context in which development programs are deployed. It is targeted at anyone who is convinced that politics and power matter, but feels less sure of how to work out what they mean for their work or programs. There are two 'steps' for everyday political analysis. Step 1 is about understanding interests. What makes people tick? Step 2 is about Understanding change. What space and capacity do people have to effect change? Several theories, strategies and concepts discussed previously have been integrated in this stripped-back political analysis framework (Hudson, Marquette, & Waldock, 2016).

2 | Determining impact?

2.1 Summary

It is often assumed that there is a positive correlation between a strong civil society and strong social protection. Or, put differently, that civil society involvement has a positive impact on the quality of social protection systems. But, do existing studies offer evidence that corroborates or contradicts this assumption? Taking a helicopter view, this question prompts a search for research that can inform us about the relationship between civil society and social protection systems.

Pinpointing causal links and contributing impact is very tricky in highly complex socio-political and socio-economic processes, such as the interaction between civil society and social protection systems. Time lapse and disproportionality between cause and effect, multi-causality, and context-specificity can all play a role in obscuring the real relationship between civil society and social protection systems. The fact that both key variables in this study, 'social protection' and 'civil society', involve extensive ambiguities, also means that the unit of analysis across different studies and contributions will differ, and that this may not always be explicitly noticed (Bender, 2013). This conceptual confusion (What is civil society? What is social protection?) further adds to the challenge of isolating, determining and measuring this relation. Hence, a clear-cut judgement on the impact of CSO involvement on social protection cannot be offered.

What is the impact of civil society on social protection systems?

What relationship exists between the two variables: civil society and social protection?

Some quantitative indicators exist that provide information that relates to the strength of civil society and the quality of social protection systems. For example: democratization, freedom of organization, and overall environment for civil society on the one hand; coverage of social protection, % of GDP spent on social protection on the other hand. Depending on the availability and quality of this data, a quantitative study on the relations between such indicators may provide additional insight. Unfortunately, no such study was found during this review.

In the light of the complex processes involved, it is no big surprise that the literature review mainly uncovered research that uses methods that are less oriented towards generalisation and considered to be more suitable for studying complex processes of social change. This is mostly in-depth (comparative) qualitative case study research (Stern et al. 2012). The majority of the reviewed case studies point to a positive and important role of CSOs in building social protection. The review also came across some cases where the active involvement of civil society organisations is not a necessary condition for the introduction of social protection policy (e.g. in the post-revolutionary states of China and Cuba). Some cases reviewed provided examples of a less constructive role of CSOs, i.a. where CSO initiatives contributed to fragmentation of social protection mechanisms (e.g. Senegal), or were CSOs opposed or (involuntarily) delayed policy formulation and implementation (e.g. historical cases of France, Britain, Germany, and recent case of Portuguese CSOs delaying the transposition of EU labour law to national law and practice).

2.2 Key literature & case evidence

2.2.1 Assessing impact is tricky

Several publications (listed below) help to understand why the impact question is such a though one. These publications stress the difficulty of establishing a causal link when highly complex socio-political and socio-economic processes are involved, as is definitely the case with the development and implementation of national social protection policy and the role of civil society in such policy making. The following characteristics of complex processes contribute to this difficulty:

- "There are usually several causes for any change that occurs, and causality must be understood as multiple at best" (Uphoff cited in Mara 2011). Many factors and actors outside the realm of civil society play a role in the establishment and implementation of social protection systems. Isolating and demonstrating the role that civil society played in determining the strength or quality of social protection systems therefore poses serious measurement problems.
- The distance between causes and effects can be long in time, or short, depending on a large number of intervening factors. This time lag, and its unpredictability, complicate any study of causal relationships (Uphoff 1992).
- The relationship between causes and effects may not be proportional (Uphoff 1992). Eyben (2006) refers to the possibility of minor "butterfly" actions having a major effect, while major actions can have very little effect on continuously changing complex social systems.
- The major role of boundary conditions in explaining how change occurs. Boundary conditions are the specific conditions whereby a certain change will occur. When change is very context-specific these conditions and the interaction between them becomes impossible to generalize. Also, these conditions may be situated in so many different areas (e.g. politics, psychology, geography, communication) that no research design will be able to include all of them or even be aware of all of them.

An additional challenge is posed by the fact that the key variables in this study 'social protection' and 'civil society' involve extensive ambiguities. This also means that the unit of analysis across different studies and contributions may differ sometimes without this being explicitly noted (Bender 2013).

2.2.2 There are no matching indicators that can establish a relation

A possible approach to determining the relationship between civil society and social protection, would be to look at data from civil society assessments and from social protection assessments, and attempt to link the two.

Starting with the former, methods and indicators for civil society assessment have been brought together in the 'Users' Guide to **Civil Society Assessments**' (UNDP, 2010). The guide discusses an array of assessment methods for investigating the position of civil society within the broader governance context, or to assess the performance of the whole of civil society or a specific civil society actor. Our screening resulted in the following shortlist of relevant indicators and corresponding databases with information:

- A first key source to get a snap shot of the state of civil society in different countries is the Civil Society Index by CIVICUS. The methodology underlying the index measures five core

dimensions: civic engagement, structure and level of organization of civil society, practice and promotion of values; perceived impact; and external environment in which civil society functions.

- The <u>Afrobarometer</u> is a first interesting resource. In use in 30 African countries, the barometer is based on a reiterative household survey targeted at a representative sample of the population. Out of 100 questions, four are particularly relevant to understand the position of CSOs: the respondents' agreement with statements on government banning organizations and joining of organizations (in the section democracy and politics), a question on influence of citizens on the government, and two questions on participation in groups and activities (in the section participation). Thanks to the possibility for online data analysis, it is possible to get an overview of the results these questions yielded in different African countries over the past 6 rounds of data collection (the latest 2014/2015).
- The <u>Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (CNP)</u> is one of the largest systematic efforts undertaken to analyze the scope, structure, financing, role and impact of the private non-profit sector in 45 countries around the world.

When investigating the quality of **social protection systems**, there are also several resources and indicators of interest.
- The <u>2014-2015 World Social Protection Report</u> by ILO provides information on social protection systems, coverage, benefits and expenditures in more than 190 countries. It holds valuable insights in social protection on the ground, both quantitatively and qualitatively. However, there are a lot of gaps in the collected data.
- The <u>SPF-Performance-Index</u> first published in Summer 2015 by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung aims to measure and benchmark national SPF protection gaps and hence government shortcomings in social protection politics. It also aims at detecting and understanding gaps between a country's current performance and the optimal level of performance as described by the SPF standards. The index is, however, still very young.
- In 2005, the Asian development Bank and its partners developed a <u>Social Protection Index (SPI)</u> to help governments assess the nature and effectiveness of social protection programs. It was the first comprehensive, quantitative measure of social protection systems in Asia and the Pacific, covering 35 countries in 2009. The index is derived by dividing the total expenditures on social protection (including social insurance, social assistance and labor market programs) by the total number of intended beneficiaries. This also means that it may hold information on the quantity of social protection but less so on the quality.

Quantitative indicators offering fragmented information on civil society and social protection exist, but a perfect match with the two variables 'strength civil society' and 'quality of social protection' was not found. The indicators offer fragmented information (geographically, content-wise, time period) and it was outside the scope of this study to investigate the exact data being rendered and whether (a combination) of indicators could be used to trace a relationship statistically.

2.2.3   Case evidence

The complex nature of the research object (discussed in 2.2.1) helps to explain why the literature review mainly uncovered research that uses complexity oriented research methods such as in-depth comparative case study research designs and 'realist inquiry' based designs (looking at mechanisms in context). Such research designs are considered to be more suitable for studying complex processes of social change (Stern et al. 2012) as they allow for a more in-depth study of specific mechanisms and their outcomes (in this case the role of civil society in determining the

quality of social protection systems) within particular socio-economic contexts. This body of research includes diverse case studies that provide empirical evidence of instances where civil society influenced the 'quality' of social protection systems, most often in a positive sense but in some cases in a negative sense.

Extensive research has been conducted on the development of modern welfare states in **industrially advanced countries** in Western and Eastern Europe, Scandinavia and the United States. Hicks & Esping-Andersen (2005) provide a thorough overview using an interpretation of welfare state that resonates with our focus on the development of public and formal social protection systems. Summarizing key literature, they conclude that the first steps toward social legislation in Western welfare states came in conservative, even authoritarian, polities attempting to perpetuate the reign of absolutism. In the second phase of welfare state development, during the 1940s to 1960s, this changed. One observation was that unionization played an important role, with evidence for a strong correlation between social spending and prior union strength. In many countries, the leading impulse behind social reform has been Christian (in Continental Europe) or Social (in Northern Europe and Britain) Democratic parties and their associated unions (Hicks & Esping-Andersen 2005, p. 525).

Lengwiller (2006) gives us an analysis of the advancement of social insurance in **Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland** during the nineteenth and twentieth century. He describes how Britain, Germany and France witnessed the emergence of mutual insurance organisations, a variety of local and occasionally trans-local associations, to provide support in case of sickness-related loss of wage, and to cover basic medical costs, funeral expenses and sometimes minimal pensions. He also shows how these organisations played a major role in Britain ('friendly societies') and France ('mutualités'), but less so in Germany and Switzerland, where respectively state-run organisations and corporate organisations became dominant. Lengwiller thus shows how civil society was at the origin of the first social insurance institutions in these countries. However, he also recounts that in these countries, the mutual insurance organisations bitterly fought against welfare legislation that aimed at introducing comprehensive insurance schemes and establishing social insurance institutions. In the end, they settled for having the associative tradition of mutual insurance organisations not replaced but rather embedded in the statutory social insurance systems of the twentieth century.

Conducting 90 qualitative case studies, Hartlapp & Leiber (2010) studied the implementation of EU social policy directives[2] in four Southern European member states: **Portugal, Italy, Greece, Spain**. They were interested in detecting the factors that influence a smooth 'transposition', the process by which the European Union's member states give force to a directive by passing appropriate implementation measures. Their empirical results indicated that in a considerable number of cases the social partners proved to contribute to transposition delays. In a few cases, they even caused the enactment of flawed transposition measures, for example in order to accommodate the interests of a particular social partner organization. This logic seemed to be particularly strong in cases of minority governments. For example, during the transposition of the Young Workers Directive, the Portuguese socialist minority government (partly) gave in to employer organization demands not to extend night work restrictions from industry to other sectors.

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22 They examined the six most important labour law directives of the 1990s: written information on contractual employment conditions (91/533/EEC); the protection of pregnant and breastfeeding workers (92/85/EEC); regulation of working time (93/104/EC); protection of young workers (94/33/EC); parental leave (96/34/EC); and non-discrimination of part-time workers (97/81/EC).

The case of **Finland**, brought by Kuivalainen & Niemelä (2010) tells an interesting story about the role of civil society in influencing the key principles that guide social protection policy. The guiding principle of Nordic social policy is universalism, resulting in efforts to build a universal welfare state that covers the entire population instead of investing in targeted anti-poverty policies. The situation has, however, altered in Finland, after the church, unions and NGOs took issue with the rising inequality and poverty following an economic recession in the early 90s. Their lobby and advocacy helped the issue of poverty to make its way from the public agenda to the political agenda during the late 90s and a new discourse on anti-poverty policies was introduced. The idea of selectivism was translated into policy instruments in 2001 when the Government launched an anti-poverty programme known as a 'package for the poor'. The Government has since introduced two further poverty packages (in 2005 and 2006) and each government programme since 1999 has addressed the issue of poverty (Kuivalainen & Niemelä, 2010).

In **Latin America**, as in much of the developing world, low tax revenues and weak commitments to redistributive policies ruled out the development of effective, universal welfare systems. According to Molyneux (2007), only five countries, Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba and Uruguay developed a form of welfare state and, with the exception of Cuba, none achieved universality of entitlement or coverage (Molyneux, 2007, p. 2). Different authors have pointed out that, in the case of Latin America, organized labor has historically been weaker, and consequently played a lesser role in welfare state formation and reform than was the case in advanced industrial economies. Instead these contributions attributed a key role to a.o. executives and leadership, fiscal crisis, international relations, and policy diffusion. However, based on case studies of reforms in the domains of health and pension in **Argentina and Brazil**, Niedzwiecki (2014) presents a convincing case for the major role of organized labor and other civil society groups in social policy formulation and reform in Latin America since the late 1980s. The author follows Huber and Stephens's (2001, p.6) definition of civil society organization as "the totality of social institutions and associations, both formal and informal, that are not strictly production related nor governmental or familial in character". This definition includes old and new social movements, unions, NGOs, and professional advocacy networks, such as the Sanitaristas in Brazil. She argues that the possibility of structural or broad social policy change is, at least in part, a product of the strength of organized civil society and of how intensely it supports or opposes changes: in the presence of a strong, organized civil society supporting the reform, the occurrence of structural change is highly likely; and in the presence of strong relevant organized groups opposing the reform, structural social policy change should generally not occur.

Aria and Niedzwiecki (2015) add to this work, with a case study on **Bolivia**'s non-contributory universal pension, Renta Dignidad. An important distinction made at the onset of their paper, is between 'old' and 'new' social movements. Whereas the former are typically associated with organized labor and class-based mobilization, the latter are associated with a broader array of movements—including, among others, ecology, feminist, and indigenous movements—and with multiple forms of collective mobilization. In their opinion the role of the 'old' social movements in the formation of social policy is overemphasized. In the Bolivian case, the passing of the pension policy was possible, thanks to the large-scale, sustained mobilization of social movements allied with the left-wing political party Movement Towards Socialism (MAS) in key moments of the reform process. Using insights from Bolivia, they argue that old as well as new social movements have played a decisive role in achieving the universal pension scheme by exercising direct agency (influenced design and used direct mobilization to support the passing of legislation and the correct implementation). The authors also point out that the evidence for this relation is restricted to similar conditions: left parties in charge with strong ties to social movement and operation in weakly institutionalized contexts.

Fleury (2011) points out the rather unusual case of **Brazil**, where the health reform was designed fully by militants of the so called Sanitary Movement about a decade before health care was added to the Brazilian Constitution of 1988 as a citizens' right. She discusses how "the singularity of a social policy project designed by social movements, and the strong association of this project with the transformation of the state and society into a democracy, added some important characteristics to the Brazilian social security system, including pensions, health, and social assistance" (Fleury, 2011, p. 1724). These characteristics included, according to Fleury, universality of coverage, recognition of social rights, affirmation of the State's duty, subordination of private practices to regulation on the basis of the public relevance of actions and services in these areas, with a public-oriented approach (instead of a market approach) of co-management by government and society, and with a decentralized arrangement.

Durán-Valverde & Pacheco (2012) point towards the importance of tripartite social dialogue and good governance to protect social contributions. Based on the findings in various country cases (Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Costa Rica, Lesotho, Namibia,Thailand and South Africa), the study argues that tripartite representation and the participation of other stakeholders in the governance of social protection systems have functioned as a powerful political shield to protect social contributions. The experiences of Brazil (see also Niedzwiecki, 2014) and **Costa Rica** are very rich in this regard. In Costa Rica, during the 1980s and 1990s, when the neoliberal structural adjustment and stabilization packages reduced central Government spending on health to a historical low, the revenue of the social security system actually increased and helped to keep expenditure on health at the same level. Civil society should be seen as a partner in the creation of fiscal space. Its involvement does not imply that it should present a finished product to its audience, but that it should co-design the main features of the project jointly with its social partners. In **Thailand**, a combination of three key elements encouraged the process: bringing together of all the necessary know-how by means of research; social participation; and political commitment.

Kim (2015) analyzes the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in social protection in **East Asia**. The article argues that NGOs do not merely render direct social services but, at times, play a critical part in pressuring the state to provide greater—and better—social protection. Social movements and campaigns for welfare and social security initiated by NGOs have become particularly important in several new democracies, such as Indonesia, Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand. With the help of a middle class that has emerged in the wake of recent democratization, NGOs often campaigned for an expansion of the welfare state, broader protection for the poor, and equity in health care. In some cases, NGOs play the role of policy entrepreneurs to pressure the state to build welfare institutions and implement welfare policies (Fiori and Kim, 2011). In **Korea**, a large amount of welfare-related legislation has been greatly influenced and promoted by civil society mobilization led by NGOs, with the advocacy coalition for inclusive health insurance being a good example. The passing of the National Basic Livelihood Security Act in 2000, or the amendment to the Employment Insurance Act for maternity protection, would not have been possible without the effective role of CSOs. The maternity protection scheme was initiated and pushed by women's organizations (Lee, 2004: 297). In **Thailand** too, CSOs and specifically labor groups and organizations raise awareness on the issue of welfare and put pressure on politics in order to drive legislation related to social protection. For example, the Foundation for Labor and Employment Promotion and informal workers' associations united in 'HomeNet Thailand' campaign for legal and policy changes to guarantee labor rights and improve the quality of life of informal workers, such as street vendors and foreign and contract workers. Looking at **Indonesia**, Kim (2015) reports that Indonesian NGOs have focused largely on playing the provision

role in social protection and are in fact actively replacing the state. This choice is attributed to the fact that the state lacks both ability and willingness to design and carry out serious welfare policies and social protection programs. Under these circumstances, NGOs find it ineffectual, if not futile, to lead movements or campaigns to call for state action and policy response. In recent years however, there is growing empirical evidence of civil society playing an increasing role in pressurizing the Indonesian government towards more inclusive social policy. A good example for successful civil society and trade union engagement is provided by the Action Committee for Social Security (KAJS) which in 2011 (after 18-months of campaigning) successfully pushed the government into the implementing a Social Security Law from 2004 that mandated (through a progressive implementation) the extension of social security coverage to the whole population. Furthermore, trade unions are also represented in Indonesia's social security's tripartite supervisory body (Rekson, 2015)[3].

OECD's 2001 report on social protection in Asia does not pay any specific attention to the role of civil society, except for the chapter on **Korea**. The discussion of the Korean case by No (2001) fits with Kim's (2015) observations presented above: Following the economic crisis, and given the violent reactions of the unemployed and of those excluded from the social safety-net system and the continual pressure from associations and trade unions for a new social policy, the government decided to reform the general social safety-net system. They did so by reinforcing and broadening social insurance (unemployment insurance in particular); by launching a new social assistance system; and establishing a Korean workfare system. Importantly, for the implementation of the reform, the government partnered with civil society. No argues that in fact the government did not have much choice but to work principally with CSOs because of the strong pressure from public opinion. CSOs on their side had to find common ground with the government in order to become involved in the reform and introduce measures that they believed would create jobs (No, 2001, p. 355).

Digging further in the case of **Thailand**, Alfers & Lund (2012) look at why the Thai government introduced in 2002 a Universal Coverage scheme allowing all Thai citizens to access health services based on co-payment, followed in 2007 by the introduction of a universally free public health services funded by general taxation and with impressive results. They assigned the success of the scheme to the participatory approach to policy development and implementation that was adopted by the advocates of universal healthcare in Thailand: "Civil society groups, including informal worker organizations, were heavily involved in the campaign for the UC scheme and have continued to be included in its implementation and monitoring" (Lund & Alfers, 2012, p. 1)

The Centre for Social Protection together with other partners published in 2010 a discussion paper on social protection in **Africa**. The paper looks specifically at how (wrongly) 'outsiders' or development partners are engaging with social protection in different African countries. A key critique is that the many externally-driven social protection projects have little domestic traction. One of their conclusion was that international and local non-governmental, community-based and faith-based organisations are often excluded by national governments from social protection policy formulation, although these civil society actors are frequently involved in programme implementation and delivery. Initiatives to engage civil society more strategically have included internationally-supported consultations around the African Union's Social Policy Framework, the formation of the Africa Civil Society Platform on Social Protection, and the work of the Grow Up Free From Poverty (GUFFP) coalition of international NGOs working on social protection. Despite

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3 Rekson Silaban (2015).The reform of social security in Indonesia. (http://www.ituc-csi.org/the-reform-of-social-security-in)

some efforts for a more strategic engagement of civil society, most governments and development partners continue to treat civil society as junior partners or subcontracted service providers, and there are few success stories to report from Africa of effective mass mobilisation or popular lobbying around social protection at national level (CPS, IDS, ODI, DEV, & RHVP, 2010).

In his article on social protection **in South Africa**, Devereux (2011) argues that, besides fiscal space, there are two other prerequisites that determine the quality of social protection systems: political will and wide civil society mobilization. He considers the lack of those two as a major reason why social protection is still weak in many African countries: the governments concerned are not seriously committed to providing adequate social protection, and their citizens are not yet mobilising to demand their right to social protection. Devereux supports his argument with lessons from the South African experience, where the political will to correct historic injustices and the relatively well-organised civil society post-Apartheid have contributed to the establishment of a social protection system that "is widely praised for the coverage, generosity and efficiency". In brief, Devereux considers organized and mobilized citizens, hence a civil society, as a condition for the emergence of comprehensive social protection systems, and indirectly also blames weak organization and mobilization of civil society for the limited progress in many African countries.

Civil society in **Senegal** is clearly is a pivotal player regarding social protection. Most strikingly in the domain of health, civil society organisations have been instrumental in organising people and establishing mutual health organisations. Today the mutual health organisations had an average coverage in 2012 of 3,8% of the total population or 14% of its target population (i.e. people from informal sector and rural areas)[4]. The expansion of the health coverage was initiated by the new-elected president Macky Sall. Although not visibly preceded by large scale mobilization of civil society organisations, his campaign promise for universal health coverage was in line with the results of several rounds of reflection and consultation between CSOs and between state and CSOs on the topic. They lobbied for the inclusion of mutual health organisations, and thus civil society, in the national social protection systems. This is now happening with the decentralized universal health insurance being introduced: the basic idea is that for every village at least one mutual health organisation will be established and will act as the intermediary between state and beneficiary. The fieldwork delivered several interesting observations: Firstly, 'the civil society' obviously is not a uniform homogenous block. In the Senegalese case, trade unions have been far less active in promoting health coverage than development NGOs and community based organisations. In fact, they are now looking for ways to become engaged, if necessary by establishing their own mutual health organisations, because they consider this type of service provision as an important tool to build membership. In the agricultural sector too civil society organisations are contemplating on setting up mutual health organisations. While the involvement of different branches of civil society may bring benefits related to public support for and specialized service delivery by mutual health organisations, it also raises questions on whether it will deepen fragmentation and coordination problems.

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[4] Source: USAID, (2014). Universal Health Coverage Measurement In A Lower-Middle_Income Context: A Senegalese Case Study (weblink)

3 | Design or manage?

3.1 Summary

When investigating the impact of civil society involvement in social protection, it becomes clear that civil society can be involved in different ways and at different stages. Most often cited is their potential role in the design and/or the management of social protection systems. In fact, the case evidence points out that civil society can have a determining role in each stage of social protection policy development and implementation.

This section builds on the cases presented in the previous chapter, complemented were necessary with additional information or new cases. Using the policy cycle (see chapter 1) as a stepping stone for our overview, we have mapped civil society involvement across cases (see figure 3.1):

How are civil society organisations involved in building social protection systems?

In what policy stage do they play a role?

What impact does this provoke?

In the phase of problem formulation, civil society can play the key role of **organising** and **building consensus** among the public and among civil society organisations. In this stage, CSOs can raise awareness on a specific problem as well as on a potential solution, for example using a rights-based approach and informing people on their rights. They can drive organisation, consensus building and capacity building among people and civil society organisations to either implement a solution themselves or demand government action. Because this often happens before an issue enters the policy agenda, and hence outside the scope of official policy making, this contribution of civil society to social protection is often overlooked. Still, the work of organising and consensus building often determines how a problem and the solution are formulated.

In the phase of agenda setting, civil society can be key in **pressuring politics** to take action and in **building a public support base** for a specific course of action. They can do so through formal and informal lobbying and public mobilization (e.g. public campaigns, strikes) but also by setting-up experiments that prove a solution is feasible (to both the public and the politicians) and that provide valuable lessons. CSO involvement in this phase can determine how high social protection is on the policy agenda, and can affect the speed at which policy formulation or reform is happening. Depending on the type of their input and the framing used in their campaigns, CSOs can also influence the philosophy behind a specific policy.

During policy formulation, CSOs can have an impact on the **design** of social protection systems. By bringing their experience, expertise, organisations, and networks to the table, they can provide a base or inspiration for building social protection systems. This may mean social protection mechanisms initiated and run by civil society are integrated in a state-initiated expansion of social protection, or systems developed by CSOs are used as inspiration in the design of a social protection system/mechanism. This could be understood as policy transfer or policy diffusion from CSOs to state. Tactics used in this stage include formal and informal lobbying, participation in official consultation processes and in social dialogue, as well as mobilization to keep public support. CSOs involvement in this stage can have a profound impact on every aspect of the
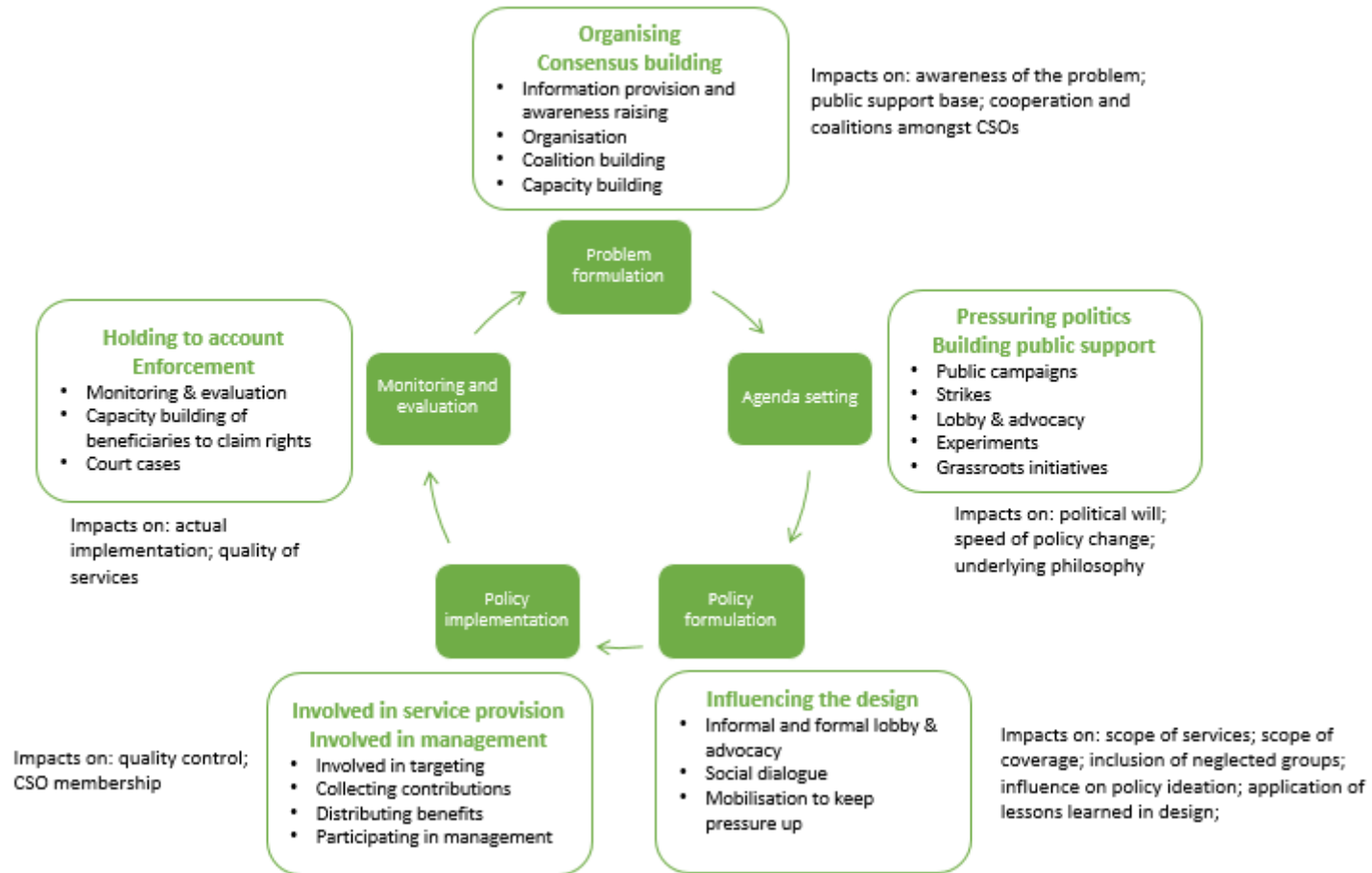
designed policy, including the scope of coverage, the scope of services it will provide, the inclusion or exclusion of specific groups, the provisions for quality control and accountability and the arrangements made for a good management of the system.

The phase of policy implementation again shows a clear role for civil society. Firstly, the role of **service provider**, in many cases as subsidiary of the state, is a common role for CSOs. In some cases this is limited to the simple executive provision of services to specified target groups. In other cases it can include a very significant and autonomous role in targeting, collection of contributions, and distribution of benefits. Secondly, CSOs can also be part of the **management** of social protection mechanisms or systems. By being included in the management, they can in theory continue to influence the execution of the agreed-upon policy as well as any adjustments made in the future. However, in practice not all management structures have as much power as envisioned on paper.

Finally, in the stage of monitoring and evaluation of policy, CSOs can **stimulate accountability** of government and services providers. By conducting independent monitoring and evaluation of the actual functioning of social protection mechanisms and systems, CSOs can be an important voice holding the government institutions in charge accountable. This can be vital for improving the overall quality of social protection systems. By building the capacity of beneficiaries to claim their rights and if necessary by going to court, CSOs can play an important role in **enforcing** the actual implementation of social protection provisions.

Figure 3.1   Different actions & tactics CSOs use through the policy cycle of social protection policy

Organising
Consensus building
- Information provision and awareness raising
- Organisation
- Coalition building
- Capacity building

Impacts on: awareness of the problem; public support base; cooperation and coalitions amongst CSOs

Holding to account
Enforcement
- Monitoring & evaluation
- Capacity building of beneficiaries to claim rights
- Court cases

Impacts on: actual implementation; quality of services

Pressuring politics
Building public support
- Public campaigns
- Strikes
- Lobby & advocacy
- Experiments
- Grassroots initiatives

Impacts on: political will; speed of policy change; underlying philosophy

Involved in service provision
Involved in management
- Involved in targeting
- Collecting contributions
- Distributing benefits
- Participating in management

Impacts on: quality control; CSO membership

Influencing the design
- Informal and formal lobby & advocacy
- Social dialogue
- Mobilisation to keep pressure up

Impacts on: scope of services; scope of coverage; inclusion of neglected groups; influence on policy ideation; application of lessons learned in design;

Inner circle: Problem formulation → Agenda setting → Policy formulation → Policy implementation → Monitoring and evaluation

* The inner circle visualizes the policy cycle. Listed in bold green are the different actions CSOs have been reported to take in a specific phase of the formulation or reform of social protection policy, complemented with a non-exclusive list of tactics used. It is also briefly indicated what impact such actions and tactics have been reported to have (if successful).

3.2   Key literature & case evidence

Most cases presented in the previous chapter already included information on the role of civil society in the policy process, showing how CSOs can at times be involved at one specific stage, or at several stages. In the rest of this section we complement with additional insights from fieldwork carried out in Senegal and some additional cases.

The case of **Senegal** illustrates the role of CSOs in different stages of the policy cycle well. To begin with problem formulation, CSOs have been the initiators and driving force behind the establishment of community-based mutual health organisations. This involved a lot of sensibilization, organisation and experimentation (for example with different tools for governance and information management). By the time health coverage ended up on the political agenda, at least part of civil society had extensive experience with mutual health organisations and the key challenges they face. Hence they were equipped to put mutual health organisations and the need to make them more sustainable and affordable at the heart of the policy on health coverage. It is unclear to what extent domestic civil society has been influential in getting social protection on the political agenda. The role of international organisations, bilateral development partners and external civil society organisations working on 'mutuelles' is more pronounced in this regard. At the time presidential elections came around, social protection was 'hot' in sub-Saharan Africa and the international development discourse. Several rounds of consultations - among civil society and between civil society and the state - have been organized throughout the past two decades and more intensely since 2010, in order to develop a possible approach for health care coverage. This shows the clear involvement of Senegalese civil society in policy formulation. As they will also be the key institutions through which individuals can access their social benefits, they clearly have a strong role in the actual implementation of the policy. It is also agreed that they will be represented in the structures managing the decentralized universal health coverage. At the moment it is still too early to tell whether this gives civil society a real control over the actual implementation and further evolution of the system. Finally, with regard to monitoring, a big question mark remains: at the moment many mutual health organisations have difficulty even getting their own data management in order. Actually playing a real independent monitoring and advocacy role will demand extensive capacity building in this regard.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (2015) published a **civil society guide on social protection floors**. Based on several workshops involving a variety of civil society organisations, NGOs, trade unions and experts on social protection, the guide offers valuable insights on the possible contributions of CSOs in establishing social protection floors. Of specific interest here are the different roles identified for civil society. A first role is that of building political platforms or coalitions in which CSOs, including trade unions can act unanimously. A second role is to create early awareness and political sensitivity of policy makers and the public by taking the consensus position as often as possible into the ongoing political processes. A third role is building capacity of CSOs, by investing in the analytical technical capacity of the CSOs representatives that will take part in the policy making and awareness raising. The guide also summarizes different strategies that have shown to be useful for getting a topic on the public agenda:
- generation and spreading of information;
- lobbying and building social pressure;
- creating educational materials and capacity-building space;
- use of mass media and social networks;
- campaigns, citizen mobilization and public demonstrations;
- requests for public information, participation in public hearings and presentation of legal resources

Although not a scientific publication, the report by the Global Network & Solidar (2011) offers a state of play on social protection as well as interesting examples on what is being done by CSOs across the world. One interesting observation is that across the chapters showcasing what CSOs are doing on social protection in different regions, three key roles emerge: 1) putting pressure on government to commit to stronger agenda; 2) helping vulnerable groups to access their rights; and 3) holding governments accountable for the implementation of their national and international engagements.

Bender et.al. (2014) discuss existing **research on policy transfer and policy diffusion** in different cases, including: the Brazilian programmes 'Bolsa Escola' and 'Alfabetizacao Solidaria (Alfasol)' transferred to Ecuador and Mozambique respectively; the health sector decentralisation in Malawi; and the transfer of Chile´s 'Programa de Mejoramiento de la Gestion (PMG)' to Mexico. They concluded that change agents (e.g. 'policy entrepreneurs') and organizations involved in the policy transfer process matter. For example, for agenda setting, both International Organzations and Non-Governmental Organizations seem to be important actors within the transfer process. For implementation, the role of Knowledge Institutions and again Non-Governmental Organizations are pointed out as significant (Bender, Keller, & Willing, 2014).

On the case of **Finland**, introduced earlier, authors Kuivalainen & Niemelä (2010) reported: "The Finnish case of the active role of the Church and the non-governmental social welfare organisations gives support to Kingdon's (1995) argument that experts and interest groups can promote a policy alternative in the absence of a clear problem to solve. Slow government action prompted especially the Church as well as the non-governmental social welfare organisations to fill the void and introduce a new language" (Kuivalainen & Niemelä, 2010, p. 270).

Kim's (2015) article analyzes the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in social protection in **East Asia**. The article focuses on two types of NGO roles in social protection—direct provision and indirect pressure—and examines how the relative proportions of the two types of roles vary by country in East Asia, depending on factors that are contextual (political democratization), pulling (developmental welfare state), or pushing (civil society). A comparative analysis of Korea, Thailand, and Indonesia reveals that each represents a differing mix of pressure and provision functions by NGOs in social protection. In Korea pressure seems to be the main role of NGOs; in Indonesia it is provision; while in Thailand pressure and provision are relatively evenly mixed (Kim, 2015).

No (2001) pays attention to the changing role of CSOs and the social partners when it comes to social protection in **Korea**. Before the economic crisis in 1998, CSOs showed no interest in co-operating with government to combat unemployment. Instead, they focused on providing emergency assistance to unemployed workers and their families, while the trade unions fought against mass lay-offs and the structural adjustment policies backed by the government. Neither CSOs nor the trade unions had previously sought to improve the situation of the unemployed and the excluded. The CSOs became only gradually associated with the design and implementation of social protection reforms, as their awareness of the need on the ground grew. When they became actively involved, they successfully mobilised and convened several hundred organisations that were combating unemployment and poverty in the field; they built a partnership relationship with the government; and they launched a new policy of Social Integration through Work (SIW) by providing assistance for the creation of social enterprises (No, 2001, p. 356). Since 1999, the government has entrusted CSOs with the management of about 10% of these so-called SIW schemes provided that they do not create profit-making activities. For CSOs this involvement in

the management offers a means to strengthen their local activity base and to keep close contact with their constituency.

Ford et.al. (2004) report on a 2002 court case where two Thai people with HIV-1 won an important legal case to increase access to medicines. The authors discuss how the Thai court case was the outcome of a learning process and years of networking between different civil society actors who joined forces to protect and promote the right of access to treatment. They also state that CSOs have been central in defending and promoting access to medicines in **Thailand** (Ford, Wilson, Bunjimnong, & von Schoen Angerer, 2004).

The free universal health coverage introduced in **Thailand** in 2007, discussed by Lund and Alfers (2012), provides additional insights in the potential roles of CSOs. They report: "The Consumer Association began to recruit other civil society groups, eventually forming a network that could push for health reform through the drafting of legislation and the collection of signatures. This alliance of nine civil society groups, which became known as the Network of People Organizations, was originally made up of groups representing a wide range of interests: informal workers, women, the urban poor, agriculturalists, the elderly, children and youth, indigenous people, the disabled, and people living with HIV/AIDS. Through the efforts of this network, 50,000 signatures were collected and a health reform bill was submitted as a people's sector law to the 2001-2002 sitting of the Thai Parliament" (Lund & Alfers, 2012, p. 1). The growing public support for health reform did not go unnoticed by government and opposition parties who were about to compete for election. All five versions of health reform legislation submitted to the 2001-2002 sitting of Parliament had been clearly influenced by the propositions of the Network of People Organizations. Widespread consensus on the need for the health reforms was now established.

Durán-Valverde & Pacheco (2012) present a convincing case for the strong role of civil society in creating fiscal space for the extension of social protection. Their paper presents the results of studies conducted in eight developing countries that successfully extended social protection including floors for national social protection systems in recent years: **Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Costa Rica, Lesotho, Namibia, Thailand and South Africa**. Based on the findings in various country cases, the study argues that tripartite representation and the participation of other stakeholders in the governance of social protection systems have functioned as a powerful political shield to protect social contributions. The experiences of Brazil (see also Niedzwiecki, 2014) and Costa Rica are considered very rich in this regard. In Costa Rica, during the 1980s and 1990s, when the neoliberal structural adjustment and stabilization packages reduced central government spending on health to a historical low, the revenue of the social security system actually increased and helped to keep expenditure on health at the same level. In Thailand, a combination of three key elements encouraged the process of extending social protection: bringing together all the necessary know-how by means of research, broad social participation, and strong political commitment. In South Africa, civil society is represented in its national tripartite social dialogue institution NEDLAC that, next to labour issues, also advises on social and economic policies. Broad representation of civil society organisations and trade unions and advise from NEDLAC needs to be considered by parliament. Advice from NEDLAC needs to be considered by parliament and in a majority of cases NEDLAC's advise is also adopted by the South African parliament. The influence of organised labour and civil society in the social dialogue process in South Africa has had effects in different parts of society e.g. democratisation, trade liberalisation, restructuring of the labour market, competition policy, social policy, housing (Norad, 2012) and has helped to lessen negative effects of globalization on free trade (interview with FEDUSA & IIAV reps).

4 | Factors of success?

4.1 Summary

In the previous chapter, it has become clear that CSOs can intervene in all stages of the policy cycle to influence social protection policy and practices. But, what factors determine whether they are actually successful?

The literature review did not uncover any publications systematically discussing this question. However, throughout the different contributions and case studies, a range of factors playing a role in the success of CSOs were identified.

A general observation is that these factors can be either internal or external. An overview of the internal and external determinants for success mentioned in the consulted literature, is provided in table 4.1 below. Internal factors refer to characteristics of the CSOs themselves, including their organisational structure, financial strength, membership base etcetera. External factors refer to the wider context in which they are operating and can include the overall configuration of CSOs, their position in the broader political landscape, the economic context, etcetera. In the consulted literature, the emphasis lies on the external factors.

> What factors determine the success of CSOs attempting to influence social protection policy and practice?

Table 4.1 Internal and external determinants for success

Internal determinants	External determinants
- Membership base - Visibility, status, reputation, and public recognition of the organisation and/or its leaders. - Financial capacity, stability and autonomy - Internal organisation, democratic leadership, accountability towards members - Capacity and tools for cooperation and coordination with other CSOs - Capacity and systems for consensus building - Experience with different tactics, and expertise on social protection mechanisms and systems - Connection with the political establishment - Network & contacts - Sense of timing	- Economic context - Political regime & degree of democratisation - Type of government (e.g. more influence when minority government is in place) - Manoeuvring room for both CSOs and state to push policy (reforms) (e.g. how many veto players are there?) - Proliferation of organisations, leading to duplication or competition - State capacity to put in place and implement social protection policy - Policy making structures and the formal place of CSOs within them - Regional/multilateral policy - Partnerships with external donors

- Use of social media & technology	- The overall social protection policy in which CSO contribution is integrated.

4.2   Key literature & cases

For the identification of factors that determine the success of CSOs, the literature on organised interest groups becomes relevant. Granados & Knokke (2005) point out that theoretical and empirical analyses of interest groups are divided among two major themes. The first considers the formation and maintenance of organized interests groups, and the second theme considers their role and impact on public policy making. The authors provide a comprehensive overview of the different theories on the role of interest groups in policy making, as well as on the internal dynamics within interest groups. They also offer a simple overview of the challenges that many interest groups come across during their development. **Organizational formation, resource mobilization, internal governance, collective interest identification, democratic accountability, and issues of loyalty and exit** (Granados & Knoke, 2005). We can assume that these challenges also affect the strength and functioning of CSOs.

A clear example of some of these challenges can be found in Senegal. Mutual health organisations are being put at the centre of the ongoing expansion of the health coverage. With the aim of achieving full universal health coverage by 2017, the president has introduced free health care for specific target groups and health insurance through mutual health organisations has become subsidized by the state. All these provisions can be accessed only through a decentralised system of mutual health organisations. The existing number and geographical scope of mutual health organisations is by far insufficient to cover the entire population. CSOs have an opportunity to become the key pillar of health insurance in Senegal, but are confronted with huge organisational challenges. Are the existing mutual health organisations, most often run by volunteers, capable of expanding their service provision to such an extent as required by the president's ambitions? Are they competent enough to channel public money in a responsible and accountable manner? How to combine democratic governance with professionalization of the 'mutuelles'? Is it even possible to found so many mutual health organisations from scratch in such a short term, especially considering the need to be community-driven to work? If the idea of 'one village – one mutuelle' is put into practice, will this run the risk of too much fragmentation and an insufficient membership potential for each mutual health organisation to become financially sustainable?

In their civil society guide on social protection floors, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (2015) discussed different strengths and weaknesses CSOs need to take into account. Starting with the former, 1) a good **insights in the needs** and expectations of their constituencies; 2) the **visibility** through inspiring - sometimes even heroic - leaders giving confidence to rally around a cause; and 3) the **adaptability** to the context are listed. With regard to the weaknesses, FES points out 1) the **proliferation** of organisations leading to duplication and often competition; 2) the **financial insecurity** which hinders long-term visioning, strategizing and planning and which endangers the independence of CSOs; 3) the heterogeneity of CSOs and their often short-term vision hindering good coordination and cooperation; 4) a **lack of transparency and representation** when leadership is not elected democratically. The guide builds on this analysis to argue in favour of a strong cooperation of CSOs with unions, which have democratically elected leadership, more stable financing, expertise on decent work and organizing, and a communication line with the 'establishment' through social dialogue.

In their discussion of the Finnish case, Kuivalainen & Niemelä (2010) also point out some factors that determined the success of the church, the unions and CSOs in influencing the social policy discours and policy. Firstly, the status, good **reputation** and broad public recognition of the church as one of the key protagonists, was important. Secondly, the fact that the Hunger Group, the expert group called together by the church, drew broad and **influential representation** from various institutions, such as parliament, labour market organisations and the Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities, was important. It meant that powerful actors (possible veto players) were already 'on board'. Finally, the impeccable sense of **timing** demonstrated by the Hunger group when they released a report right before the parliamentary election of 1999 proved vital. This repeats the factor of visibility and leadership offered above, and adds the importance of timing.

In his account of the situation in Korea, Indonesia, and Thailand, Kim (2015) provides interesting insights in the determinants of the influence NGOs had on social protection. In the case of Korea, the advocacy coalition for inclusive health insurance only succeeded in concretizing their ideas and proposals (going from a health agenda to a welfare agenda) after they expanded to include several grassroots organizations. This resonates with FES's remark (see above) that the **insight in real needs and expectations** on the ground constitute an important strength for CSOs. The subsequent **appointment of members from the welfare advocacy coalition on key positions** in the Kim Dae-jung administration in 1998 further built the political connections and hence possibilities for lobbying. His account of the Indonesia case shows how the **limited capacity of the state** to actually formulate and implement policy led CSOs to invest in service provision themselves.

Anria and Niedzwiecki (2015) discussing Bolivia's Renta Dignidad come with an equally interesting conclusion. They argue that "old and new social movements have played a decisive role in achieving the universal pension scheme by exercising direct agency. (…) what mattered were their high levels of **coordination and mobilization**, which enabled them to play a direct role in helping the Movement Towards Socialism (MAS) pass legislation. While our analysis privileges agency over structural determinants, it also confirms the **importance of left parties as crucial allies** of social movements in explaining social policy reform" (Anria & Niedzwiecki, 2015, p. 2), thus supporting previous findings by Esping-Andersen 1990; and Huber and Stephens 2001. In her discussion of the strong role of civil society in the pension and health reforms in Argentina and Brazil, Niedzwiecki, S. (2014) points out a key external factor: the overall configuration of civil society and its **position within the broader political landscape**. She concludes that "The mere existence of strong unions is not enough to explain structural reforms, since the game is defined by the interaction between their position for or against and the strength and position of other interest groups".

As Devereux and colleagues pointed out, civil society in many African countries is often excluded by national governments from social protection policy formulation (Devereux et al., 2015). They argue that the lack of effective mass mobilization or of lobbying around social protection, is one of the explanations for the limited progress made in many African countries. This analysis shows how the overall power relations, and whether CSOs are **recognized as legitimate stakeholders** in the policy making process co-determines their success in influencing social policy.

A more profound question is whether CSO necessarily contribute to the inclusive character of social protection. Some authors argue that this is not necessarily the case. Lengwiller (2006) offers an example of this, in his account of role of CSOs in the origin of social insurance in Germany, France, Britain and Switzerland. Lengwiler (2006) argues (p.414) that mutual insurance movement in nineteenth-century Europe "was not an unreserved promoter of civil society. (…)

Rules for the internal associational life underlined values of equality, civility and sociability. In practice, however, most mutual societies confined their membership to inherited traditions of trade and craft associations, cultivating an aura of elitism and secretiveness." He continues (p. 415): "Only in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did friendly societies gradually reduce their selective rules and broaden their membership, but this increasing openness was hardly a voluntary act but the result of external pressures. With the rising competition of state-run insurance schemes, such as the mandatory societies in Germany and the later statutory social insurance, and the imminent prospect of forced integration into compulsory institutions of the welfare state, mutual societies had no choice but to adapt to the encompassing model of social insurance."

Kim's (2015) cases in East Asia illustrate how the **economic context** can make or break the window of opportunity. The 1997–1998 economic crisis fundamentally changed Korea's traditional reluctance, if not 'escapism', regarding social welfare. The private sector-dependent welfare system was simply inadequate to support the Korean population in a crisis. The Korean state could no longer turn a blind eye to the public uproar for better welfare and distribution. Political parties and electoral candidates without credible social policy agendas risked defeat.

Bender (2013) takes a more critical look at the traditional views which hold that the extension of (public) social protection depends on **economic development**. While the experience of high-income countries with comprehensive social protection in Europe seems to confirm this, looking beyond Europe modifies the picture: reforms are definitely not limited to high- or middle income countries (Germany, Japan, Korea, Ghana, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam all started to extend their social protection coverage while they were still low-income countries). Also, sustained high growth rates do not trigger social protection reforms, as the big time gaps between strong economic growth and social protection expansion in Botswana, Brazil, and Japan, Korea, Taiwan, China and Indonesia show. Bender remains careful and admits that statistical cross-country studies on the relation between economic factors and social protection remain inconclusive. She does conclude that the relationship between economic development and the extension of social protection is not straightforward and may be dependent on other factor (Bender, 2013, pp. 36–37).

Bender (2013) continues with a discussion of the evidence for a link between **regime type** (and democratization) and social protection. Since quite some regime changes have occurred in low- and middle income countries between the 1980s and the 2000s, the impact of democratization on social protection can be judged using a relatively large sample of cases. The hypothesis put forward is that electoral competition and the formation of interest groups contribute to bigger pressure for redistribution, resulting in democracies offering higher levels of social protection to their citizens than authoritarian regimes. Several country examples demonstrate this positive link between democratization and changes in social protection, but some example also underscore that this link is not uniform. Several examples of authoritarian regimes extending social protection systems exist. In Korea and Taiwan, authoritarian governments expanded health services to prevent rural unrest. Middle Eastern governments developed social protection for the middle class to secure their support and China and Vietnam introduced substantial reforms over the past two decades. Bender concludes that the existing evidence suggest that "neither economic development nor regime type is a necessary or sufficient condition for policy change. Instead, the impact of both factors is probably conditional on other factors" (Bender, 2013, p.39). Interestingly, she suggests that such other factors may include the specific attitudes or values within a population and the preferences in which they result, as well as specific interest group and partisan structures.

According to Najam (2000, cited in Halimatusa'diyah, 2015, p. 86), the relationship between state and CSOs takes different forms, ranging from repression to collaboration, depending on the **strategic interests** of both government and CSOs. He defines four possible types of relationship: 1) cooperation, in which government and CSOs share similar ends and means; 2) confrontation, in which both ends and means are dissimilar; 3) complementary in which the ends are similar, but the means vary; and 4) co-optation, in which the practices of government and CSOs share similar means but have dissimilar ends. Of course, in order for the government to engage in cooperation or complementarity with CSOs, it must admit to institutional pluralism. Hence some types of relationship seem conditional upon the regime type. This simple framework nicely summarizes how the respective strategic interests of state and CSOs determines the possibility for cooperation or complementary for social protection. All four relationships have featured in the cases discussed so far. In these cases the type of relationship determined the contribution CSOs made toward social protection policy. For example, how mutual health organisations originally resisted the introduction of social policy in pre-war France and UK (confrontation), because they feared loss of control and being made redundant. After it was negotiated that they could be integrated in the wider system without loss of power, they settled, hence ending up in a relationship of complementarity with the state. The Senegalese case offers another interesting example: CSOs fear that the mutual health organisations will slowly become totally absorbed in a state-run system of social insurance and will lose their participatory community-driven character. This fear (for co-optation) brings some civil society representatives to take position against the efforts of professionalization in the mutual health organisations, a stance that may in the end definitely affect the quality of the social protection system.

In her discussion of the Korean case, No (2001) also raises the question how one can explain the sudden co-operation between the government and CSOs following the economic crisis? She answers that each had an interest in establishing a partnership relationship with the other: For the government, there was no choice but to propose active job creation measures. However, since it was laying off large numbers of civil servants in the public sector, it had to rely on the CSOs. This is why the active participation of associations as the main actors in the creation of community-based jobs was necessary. For CSOs, it was important to create jobs at the local level through policies for Social Integration through Work, but it was just as vital to improve people's quality of life. The cooperation they built with the government enabled them to create jobs while ensuring the proper functioning of CSOs by enabling them to survive financially. Additionally, the first successful partnership subsequently made them partners at the table when discussing a broader social reform. Other positive results of this partnership include: the partnership has filled gaps in the assistance extended to those excluded from the social safety-net system, provided neighbourhood services to disadvantaged persons, launched SIW programmes.

5 | Further research

In their 2015 state of play and scenario planning exercise on social protection, Devereux et. al. (2015) states that: "work is urgently needed to improve the understanding of political processes around social protection policy, including the roles of civil society and social accountability mechanisms and the challenge of delivering social protection in fragile states, given that much attention has focused on 'building the evidence base' and not enough on understanding the political drivers that result in social protection being either adopted or resisted by governments" (Devereux et al., 2015, p. 22). Bender (2013) also concluded that political processes shaping national social protection systems are severely under researched, and the role of civil society within them even more so. This study confirmed that little specialized research on the relation between CSOs and social protection is available at this point. Both in the academic debate and in the internal policy making processes of international organisations and donors the role of civil society does not feature prominently.

These observations were confirmed during the International Symposium on Social Protection 'Tying the Knots', held in Bonn in September 2016. At the symposium key international organisations and researcher active on social protection discussed different challenges and opportunities for social protection. For example, the issue of fragmentation and the challenge of forging a variety of social protection mechanisms into a social protection *system* was high on the agenda. As was the issue of the diverging interpretations and agendas on social protection of donor countries and international organisations and the need for more unity between them. The importance of coordination, of common tools for developing social protection, of one-window access points, etc. was pointed out. However, compared to this technocratic approach to the challenges ahead, far less attention was given to the political dimension of building social protection systems, or to the question how civil society should/could respond to these challenges.

Based on this, we argue that **in-depth understanding of the politics behind social protection, including the role of civil society, is lacking. This needs to be researched more systematically and it needs to be inserted more centrally into the academic debate as well as into policy formulation of international organisations and development actors. The study, in our opinion, also uncovers several opportunities to contribute to this through further research.**

Some quantitative indicators exist that provide information that relates to the strength of civil society and the quality of social protection systems. For example: democratization, freedom of organization, and overall environment for civil society on the one hand; coverage of social protection, % of GDP spent on social protection on the other hand. A quantitative study on the relations between such indicators may therefore provide interesting insights about the relationship between civil society and the quality of social protection systems. This could be an interesting area for further research, given that no such study was found during this literature review.

However, quantitative research will surely not suffice to understand the complex politics behind social protection. The studies offers some interesting avenues for further qualitative research. Firstly, the literature review learned that scientific reflections on the evolution of social policy and social protection, on the role of social organisations or civil society organisations, and on the

processes behind social policy change are quite diffuse: no single analytic framework jumps out as very influential or authoritative. Instead one quickly ends up with a list of several concepts and theories from policy analysis that are used to reflect on the role of civil society. More efforts are needed to develop suitable analytic frameworks that can facilitate an in-depth analysis and understanding of the development of social protection systems and the influence of different civil society in this process.

Secondly, the review showed that very few scoping studies that provide a cross-case analysis of the relationship between civil society and the quality of social protection systems exist. Development actors who collaborate with civil society organisations in the development of social protection systems could join hands to support such scoping research.

Thirdly, this literature review uncovers and summarizes quite some interesting existing research that illustrates how civil society is involved in social protection in different stages of the policy cycle. It also provides clues on what tools for analysis, for policy influencing and for developing tactics could be used by CSOs working on social protection. However, the paper does not offer a broadly accessible and 'light' overview of this material. It could be interesting to use the material for the development of an accessible, visually attractive and dynamic summary of the role of civil society in social protection.

In fact, these different aspects could be addressed in one comprehensive research effort. Using this study as a stepping stone, an analytic framework for civil society involvement in social protection could be developed. In a collaborative action research with CSOs this framework could be tested in different settings. CSOs active in social protection could experiment with and test the framework and its potential for a better understanding and monitoring of their lobby and advocacy on social protection. The action research could then contribute to a central database that gradually collects the different stories of CSOs in social protection. This would allow for a systematical cross-case analysis, and could at the same time be designed in a visually attractive and accessible manner. A broader audience could then have access to general insights in the role of civil society organisation in social protection, as well as to illustrative cases.

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