# What can the Social Protection Floor Initiative mean for Mozambique: A Trap, a Pyrrhic Victory, or a New Opportunity?

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(\*) Author' brief bio, contact and acknowledgements on the last page

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### High-Level Conference Social Security Systems in Developing Countries

#### Programme

Registration

14h00 Welcome

Norbert Neuser, MEP

Karin Roth, Member of the German Bundestag

14h15 Keynote Speech – Presentation of the Communication on Social Protection –

Next steps ahead

Andris Piebalgs, Commissioner for Development

14h30 Comments

Eveline Herfkens, Member ILO/WHO Social Protection Advisory Group António Alberto da Silva Francisco, IESE (Institute for Social and Economic

Studies), Mozambique

Lucimara Brait-Poplawski, Brot für die Welt (tbc)

15h00 Open Discussion with participants

Chaired by Karin Roth, MP

16h00 End of the Debate.

Interpretation English-German.

### **Introduction**

- 1) Many thanks to the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) for inviting IESE for this High Level Conference (detailed acknowledgements on the last page).
- 2) IESE is a five year old Mozambican, independent, non-profitable and pluralist research institute on socio-economic issues. Poverty and Social Protection (PSP) has been one of IESE's research areas, with particular focus on:
  - a) The demographic and socio-economic foundations of Mozambican SP;
  - b) The Mozambican elderly in the context of a population experiencing a slow and incipient demographic transition;
  - c) Configurations of SP fostered by a "bazarconomy" in a chronically bankrupted State although not a Failed State.
- 3) Other research lines, directly or indirectly relevant for social protection (SP), deal with the political economy; the politics of social institutions, governance, democratization and decentralization.
- 4) IESE is the outcome of a small group of scholars interested in research policy oriented, but if it has not turned into a "stillbirth" was thanks to the understanding of some international donors who understand how important is to strengthen and invest in expanding a modern and independent Mozambican civil society.

### "The actual challenge is... to fight prejudices about the SPF concept..."? (FES 2012)

What kind of prejudices?

That which is seen!

And what about?

That which is not seen?



### What we see and... What we do not see

The range of what we think and do is limited by what we fail to notice. And because we fail to notice that we fail to notice, there is little we can do to change; until we notice how failing to notice shapes our thoughts and deeds.

**Daniel Goleman Psychologist & business consultant** 



### At first glance...

Based on our research at IESE and looking from the viewpoint of civil society:

- The Social Protection Floor (SPF) Initiative sets out good intentions for the effective scale-up of a comprehensive social protection;
- In 2012 a renewed impetus in the international community suggests a desire to move beyond the good intentions. The ILO and the European Commission (EU), among others stakeholders, made an explicit and strong POLITICAL COMMITMENT with SPFs.
- The CSOs would be too foolish if they simply disregarded the SPF initiative as "yet another wave of good will flying in the air to nowhere". In principle, we have no good reasons and arguments to cast doubts on the positive intentions of this new SPF initiative.
- Yet, the CSOs should not be too naive, to the extent of entertaining the believe that the SPF is "The Road to Paradise" that economic growth has failed to provide.

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### A TRAP?

### Why the SPF can easily turn into a TRAP in Mozambique? (1/5)

As it stands, it is set to add up and very much contribute to strengthen the "WHISHFUL THINKING", which is the most important and entrenched ideology of current public policies put forward by the Mozambican Government and many of its international partners;

"Wishful Thinking" means, in this case, the pattern of thought that interprets facts, reports, events, and perceptions according to what one would like to be the case, rather than according to the actual evidence of reality.

For an illustrative example of the current Mozambican wishful thinking ideology see the recent speech of Mr. Armando Guebuza, the President of Mozambique, in Brussels, on 16.10.2012 (http://eudevdays.eu/node/5280), namely what he calls "the concept of wealth redistribution" and "inclusive development"; or moreover how such concepts are translated into the alleged empowerment of Mozambican citizens, through the so-called "decentralized financial resources to the rural districts ... the "7 million fund" and the thousands and thousands new jobs and projects claimed to be created at local level.

# The TRAP lies in the confusion between MINISCULE and MINIMUM (2/5)

- A quick review of the literature easily shows that Mozambique is described as having now a very comprehensive legal framework that provides a diversified range of solutions to the extension of social security coverage and for the development of a social protection.
- The instruments and programmes portrayed as innovative experiences and successful steps in the direction of a national SPFI (Mausse & Cunha 2011), explicitly contradict and unashamedly violate all the basic principles set by the Social Protection Law (4/2007):

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universality,
progressivity,
equity,
inclusion,
efficiency,
solidarity,
participation,
accountability.
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### **How MINISCULE can a Minimum SP be?**

### **See the Mozambican case (3/5)**

Beyond the frequent patronizing and complacent assessments of formal MSP, even those who make their best efforts to support and promote the existing instruments often cannot avoid acknowledging the discriminatory nature, limited coverage and low level of benefits they provide:

- "Overall, however, social transfer programmes are fragmented, have limited coverage and provide low levels of benefits" (Hodges et al. 2010, p. 25)
- Value of PSA transfers. According to the 1993 decree on the PSA, the transfer is supposed to be 30% of the minimum wage. In practice, the amount has not been adjusted in line with the minimum wage and the value of PSA transfers has been eroded by inflation. The PSA benefits were last raised in January 2008 to MT 100 for a single beneficiary .... equivalent in 2010 to about USD 3) Hodges et al. 2010, p. 27).
- "... widespread coverage remains a big challenge" (Mausse & Cunha 2011, p 317)
- "Registered workers constitute 7.5 per cent of the economically active work force and contributing workers are merely 2.4 per cent of the economically active, less than one third of registered workers. Only 26,437 retirees received pension benefits" (Mausse & Cunha 2011, p 321)
- "Monthly, the Food Subsidy Programme amount ranges from Mtn100 (about US\$2.85) for a household with a single person to a maximum of Mtn300 (about US\$8.50) for a household with five or more members (Mausse & Cunha 2011, p 326)

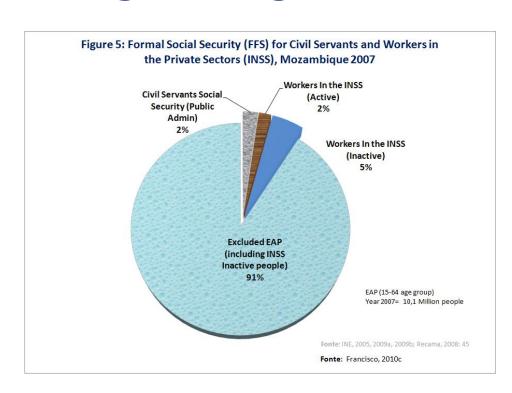
### Is a Miniscule Coverage a Progress? (4/5)

91%

of the economically active population are excluded from the formal social protection system, including contributive and non contributive mechanisms

(5% registered but inactive)

Current State Budget allocated less than 0.5% of its financial resources to social security and social assistance, which represents less than 0.2% of the GDP.



PUBLIC BUGLET FOR FORMAL SOCIAL PROTECTION IN					
MOZAMBIQUE, 2009-10					
	2009	% for SP		2010	% for PS
Public SP	\$13,743,791		\$	11,290,801	
State Budget	\$ 2,857,937,908	0.48%	\$	3,855,464,052	0.3%
GDP	\$ 8,326,588,627	0.17%	\$	8,926,103,009	0.13%



### **Exclude and Criminalize Beggars?** (5/5)

- The Basic Social Subsidy Program (PSSB), provided in 2008-2011 was a monthly monetary transfer of 100 to 130 Mts (US\$ 4), for about household members, including children living with elderly people (FDC & UNICEF, 2011).
- For 2012, the Mozambican Social Welfare Sector represented US\$ 65 million, 1.1% of the State Budget or 0.4% of nominal GDP.
- The budget for the social protection programmes (PSSB, PASD and PSSAS) has been US\$ 37 million, 0.6% of the **OE** or 0.2% of nominal GDP for 2012.
- "A pension insulting ... For pensions, the Mozambican government has allocated to the elderly 120 MT monthly". That is, about US\$ 4 monthly. @Verdade, 01 Outubro 2012

Only 0.9% allocated to social assistance while the draft criminal code proposes to criminalize begging

Apenas 0,9% foi alocado para assistência social

#### Proposta de Orçamento do Estado para 2013 "ignora" camadas vulneráveis

· Paradoxalmente, o projecto da revisão do Código Penal, ora em discussão, propõe a criminalização da mendicidade

O Governo submeteu, no passado dia 30 de sos nos Setembro de 2012, à Assembleia da República, do a proposta de Plano Económico e Social (PES) e Orçamento do Estado (OE) para 2013. Entretanto, a proposta do OE continua a resgistar discrepâncias na distribuição de fundos entre os diferentes sectores. Os sectores sócio-económicos, com impacto directo na vida das populações, continuam a ser marginalizados, cabendo-lhes fatias muito reduzidas do Orçamento do Estado, estimado em 174.955 milhões de meticais, um aumento de cerca de 36,2 porcento face ao orçamento camento dos programas de 2012 que foi de 163.035 milhões de meticais, sociais do Instituto Na-Em termos de alocação de recursos, o sector de cional de Acção Social Acção Social é o mais crítico. A sua dotação não (INAS), aprovados pelo ultrapassa um porcento. Paradoxalmente, o projecto da revisão do Código Penal, submetido pelo Conselho de Ministros à Assembleia da República, propõe a criminalização da mendicidade.



Segundo estatísticas ofi- rastreio e monitoria or- lar os do INAS, verificaciais, 54 porcento dos camental, considera que -se, em termos relativos, cerca de 23 milhões de a dotação ideal só para a que o peso das transfemoçambicanos são po- assistência dos 500 mil rências da componente bres, vivendo de um dó- beneficiários seria de interna do Orçamento lar norte-americano por três mil milhões de me- do Estado para o INAS dia. Sendo assim, o sec- ticais e não os menos de reduziu, havendo nor



o Governo reforcar o or-

Conselho de Ministros no dia 6 de Setembro de 2011, na sequência das manifestações dos dias 1 e 2 do mesmo mês quetiveram como móbil o elevado custo de vida. No tocante aos programas orientados para os mais pobres, em particu-



Adivinha-se dias dificeis para as camadas pobres

# The contributory scheme run by the INSS - plagued by corruption scandals

The national press has publicized recent INSS scandals. Given this experience, perhaps a universal pension fund out, but well away from the INSS, can win the trust of citizens in a "Bank Pension" for seniors.

"Caso INSS" - SAPO Vídeos

Tomas Vieira Mario says that Social Security's problems are not resolved by replacing people

Terça, 07 Agosto 2012 00:14 Redacção "Case INSS" - Parte II

9/06/2012

INSS paid 1 million dollars for a house that did not exist



<u>Instrumentos de gestão do INSS devem ser revistos e</u> autores responsabilizados

Terça, 14 Agosto 2012 00:02 André Manhice



Inocêncio Matavele

#### echoes of the case of INSS's financial scandals

#### MADAM MINISTER OF LABOUR

Long ago the taxpayers expected to hear the outcome of the investigation to the INSS, something being postponed just because scandals are scary, however, the Minister must show courage and service.

### The INSS staff continues to squander taxpayer funds

Quinta, 21 Junho 2012 00:00 Redacção

Adelino Buque Um dos administradores do INSS em representação da CTA

CTA distancia-se da má gestão do INSS.



26/11/201/219.10.2012

## A Pyrrhic Victory?



"One more such victory will undo me!", This words attributed to King Pyrrhus of Epirus in response to the received congratulations for his victory in the Battle of Asculum in 279 BC. Nevertheless this was a costly victory over the Romans, which made Pyrrhus far from happy. Likewise, the existing social protection setting the SPF initiative perceived as a victory for the Mozambican civil society could bring a devastating cost with similar implications: a victory which would ultimately lead to a great disaster.

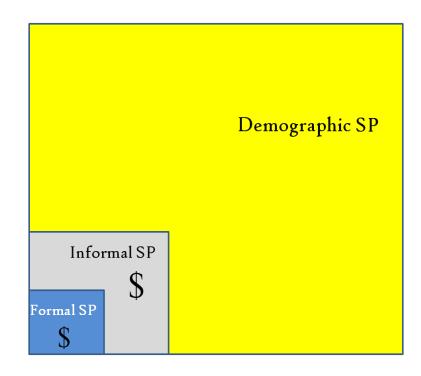
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pyrrhus\_of\_Epirus

# Can the SPF become a *Pyrrhic Victory* for Mozambicans?

Yes! Very much so, if the Government and its international partners continue to approach SP as indicated by the EU Communication:

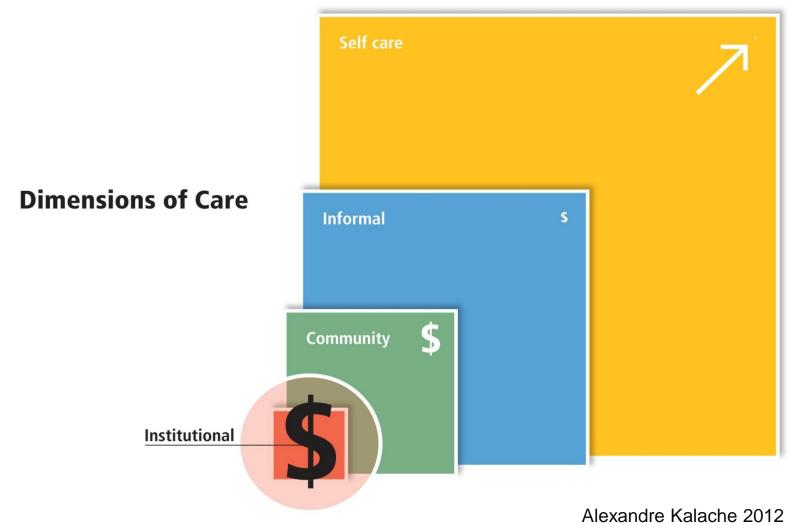
"Social transfer programmes – whether targeted or untargeted, conditional or unconditional – remain the dominant form of social protection with donors often playing an important role in their design and funding." (EU 2012, p. 5)

This view is partially right, but strongly misleading. It fails to admit that, in fact, the dominant form of SP is provided by people and families themselves, away and without any support from the State and donors. It confuses the small squares called "Formal and Informal SP" (see the picture) with the big (yellow) DSP.



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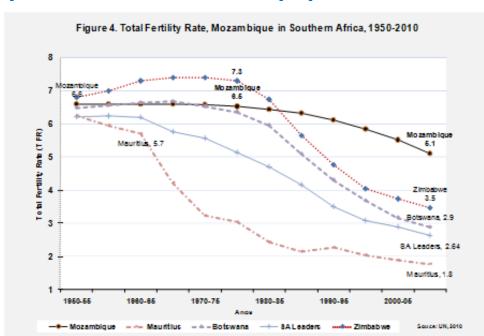
### Kalache admitted recently with regard to Ageing



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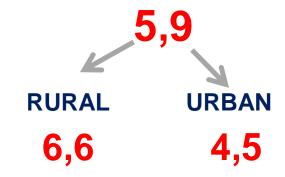
# Too many children for a minimal and precarious Social Protection

Having too many children continues to be the main form of social protection in Mozambique, while what is conventionally regarded as the realm of both formal and informal social security and social assistance is accessed by a very limited portion of Mozambican population.





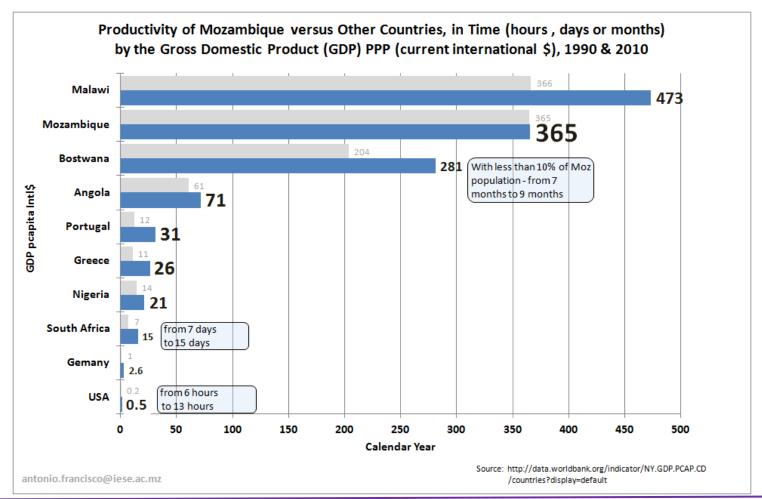
Children per Women (2011)



http://prbblog.org/index.php/2012/04/13/2011-mozambique-dhs-fertility-infant-child-mortality/

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It is always possible to distribute the resources available better, but is much more difficult, if not impossible, to distribute what we don't have. Not so much what we don't produce, because in the case of Mozambique the State has been able to distribute more than the society produces, through the usage of international aid.



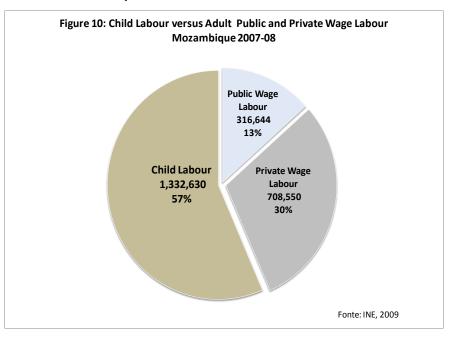
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# Mozambican SP in the context of a deep and chronic economic stagnation

Stagnation is the most important developmental challenge of Mozambique -the true "ICEBERG", while growth and accumulation are part of the tip of the ICEBERG that might contain one of the keys to overcome the former but so far nobody has found how. Over the 1st decade of the 21st Century the rural Mozambican economy generated a median income per capita of 4 Meticais (average 10 Meticais) per day. This means, in US currency, **just 0.13 cents per person daily!** Moreover, as the Graph 2 shows, while the **two poorest quintiles have impoverished**, the two wealthiest quintiles have prospered (Francisco & Muhorro 2011).

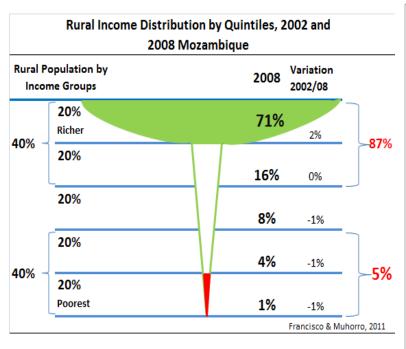
This gloomy picture has been confirmed by several research studies, including the most recent World Bank 2013 World Development Report.

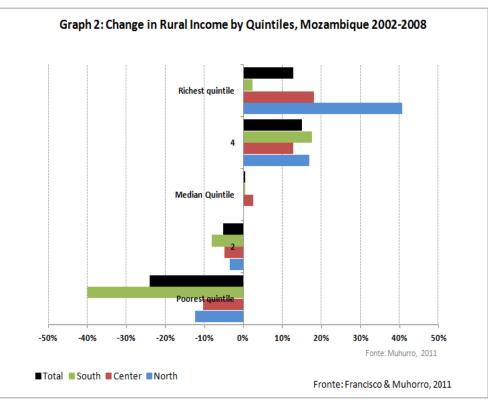
There are no clear and coherent policies and both manufacturing and smallholder agriculture are stagnating. 300,000 adults are joining the workforce each year, and there are no jobs for them. "There is no evidence of a positive process of structural transformation in the employment landscape; rather, underemployment is rife [and] education levels remain extremely low" (Jones & Tarp 2012)



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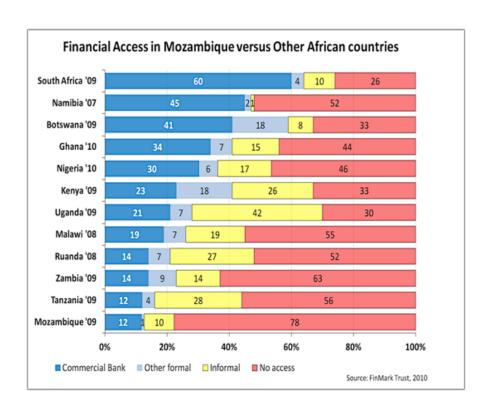
# Economic stagnation continues to be the major problem of Mozambican Population

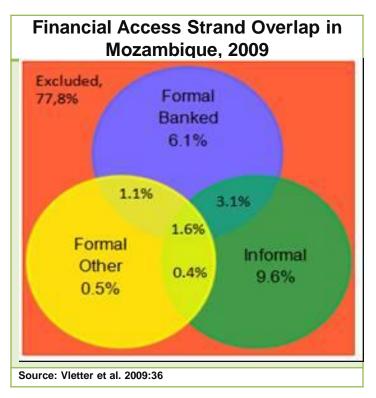






### Overcoming financial exclusion is crucial for an inclusive Fiscal SP





With **78%** excluded from the financial system, no wonder that more than **90%** of citizens are excluded from the contributory and non-contributory social protection.

### A NEW OPPORTUNITY?



### The SPF is not "The Road to Paradise", but...

#### Social Protection Floors

Social protection floors comprise a basic set of social guarantees for all (horizontal dimension) and the gradual implementation of higher standards (vertical dimension) as an integrated set of social policies designed to guarantee income security and access to essential social services for all, paying particular attention to vulnerable groups and protecting and empowering people across the life cycle.<sup>8</sup>

The Social Protection Floors Recommendation adopted at the 2012 ILC states that social protection floors should comprise at least the following basic social security guarantees:

- (a) access to a nationally defined set of goods and services, constituting essential healthcare, including maternity care, that meets the criteria of availability, accessibility, acceptability and quality;
- (b) basic income security for children, at least to a nationally defined minimum level, providing access to nutrition, education, care and any other necessary goods and services;
- (c) basic income security, at least to a nationally defined minimum level, for persons in active age who are unable to earn sufficient income, in particular in cases of sickness, unemployment, maternity and disability; and
- (d) basic income security, at least to a nationally defined minimum level, for older persons.<sup>9</sup>

(EC 2012)

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<sup>8</sup> ILO, Social protection floor for a fair and inclusive globalization. Report of the Social Protection Floor Advisory Group, 2011.

ILO, Article 5 of the Recommendation concerning National Floors of Social Protection, 2012.

# Mozambique is *Maningue* Nice, or... *Maningue* Nasty?

Undoubtedly, Mozambique is one of the best endowed countries with natural resources in sub-Sahara Africa, with a very privileged geographical location and at least over the past two decades, relatively high rates of economic growth and social and political stability.

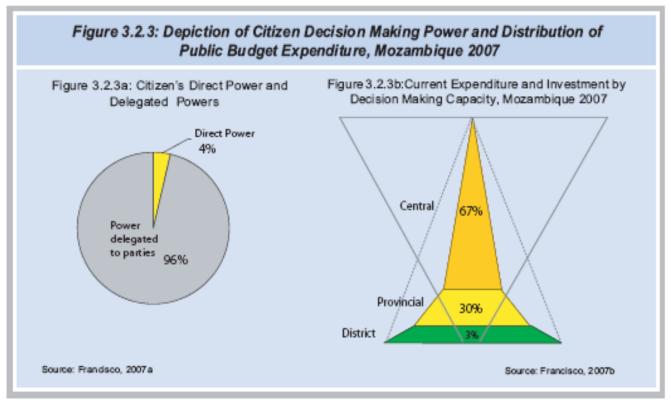
The image of Mozambique *Maningue* Nice contrasts with another image not so positive and promising. A country with most of its population living in poverty, in fact, living in abject poverty and destitution, totally dependent on a subsistence economy unable to free people from economic and social stagnation that is steeped. A deep stagnation in multiple institutional domains, covering the majority of the population.

One of the most revealing examples of the quality of a society can be seen by how its people and institutions dealing with the elderly. O Moçambique dos idosos é Maningue Nice... or Nasty?

In anticipation to the Conference I shared three small pieces of our work, which highlight three core features of our findings: 1) Having too many children is the main form of SP (Francisco et al. 2010); 2) Elderly people in misery (Sugahara & Francisco 2012); 3) The proposal of a universal pension for elderly people (Francisco & Sugahara 2012).

# Mozambican Government is more accountable to Donors and to the Society

Due to its political power highly concentrated and to a state monopoly of natural and financial resources, the bargaining power between the State and the Society is unbalanced.

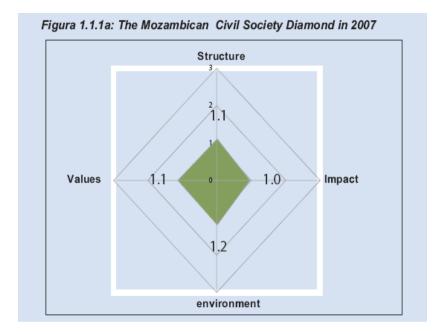


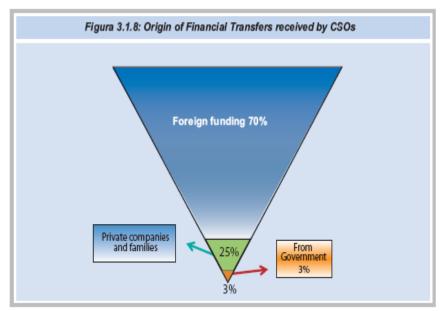
(Francisco et al. 2008)



# Stronger and more professional Civil Society - the way to avoid the SPF TRAP

IESE is working and making its way, hoping that new opportunities emerge for many other IESEs and other types of civil organizations, born from the realm of informal CSOs which comprise the bulk of the Mozambican civil society. Particularly those informal organizations which don't even consider themselves as civil organizations because they are extra legal e very marginalized from the formal and legal societal setting.





(Francisco et al. 2008)



# "Money does not give happiness, but it pays what it spends" (Millôr Fernandes)

If the Mozambican Government and its international partners are serious about creating a national MINIMUM SP FLOOR, let us see in practice.

IESE is putting forward a very specific simulation for a Minimal, Pro-active, Dignifying UNIVERSAL PENSION FOR MOZAMBICAN ELDERLY.

Not fake insultina and pension, but a minimum pension for the 5% of Mozambican population of 60 years and more. Something aiming pushing fertility transition while empowering and stopping violence and accusations of witchcraft against elderly Mozambicans.

### Scenario 3: Universal Pension - How Much It Would Cost?

#### **Annual Cost**

- 3.39% of GDP (gross domestic product)
- 11.25 billion Mozambique Meticais (380 Million US dollars)
- · 12.11% of government expenditure

#### **Montlhy Pension**

- 750.00 Meticais (US\$ 25)
- 63.43% of average income
- 51.87 PPP\$ (135.78% of international poverty line)

#### Coverage

- · 1.191.000 people eligible for benefit
- 100% of pop. over 60 receiving benefit
- 5,1% of total pop. receiving benefit

1 US\$ = 29.99 Meticias; Administrative costs 5%
Source: http://www.pension-watch.nel

And what if the value would be of 750 MT per month (\$ 25), about 25% of the national minimum wage? It is believed that such a value would start to take actual impact, both economic and social negotiable.

The cost of the option is not unaffordable for the State Budget, the Government could compare it with the cost of the alternative option of leaving the population at your own risk, for example, the avoided cost to accelerate the fertility transition avoiding pregnancies and births unwanted.

The accessibility depends on a number of factors, including: costs, fiscal space, financing options, governance, administrative efficiency, transparency, among others. Knowing and estimating the cost of the pension is one thing, but knowing the fiscal space to accommodate such cost is another. Fiscal space in the budget is the part that allows you to provide resources, in this case for the pension fund, without jeopardizing the sustainability of its financial position (HelpAge, 2012).

(Francisco & Sugahara 2012

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### For further debate, see IESE's Research Work



The Doubling Elderly: Challenges of Mozambigue's Ageing Population

Gustavo Sugahara' e António Francisco"

10 International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth

by António Francisco, Rosimina Ali and Yasfir Ibraimo, Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos (IESE).

Financial versus Demographic Social Protection in Mozambique



Idosos em Moçambique: Romper a Conspiração do Silêncio

#### Which Pension System for the **Elderly in Mozambique?**

António Francisco(\*) & Gustavo Sugahara(\*) 17-20 October 2012, Cape Town



Mocambique é Maningue Nice... ou Maningue Nasty?

António Francisco(\*)

Nampula, 2 de Novembro de 2012

"Demographic Social Protection" (DSP) is the set of mechanisms and

by the components of

as the vital rates (crude death and birth rates), age

and life expectancy.

framework stands on

its own, thanks to the

relations determined chiefly

demographic change, such

structure, infant mortality

The current social protection

goodwill of some dedicated

public employees and their

international partners, but in general those with power

do not pay attention to the implications of the current

phase of Mozambique's

demographic transition.

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(\*) Authors' brief bio and contact on the last page

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### **Author's biography**

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