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Diversity of social protection forms in Madagascar

A multi-scalar and multi-actor approach

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**Diversity of social protection forms in Madagascar
A multi-scalar and multi-actor approach**

Abstract

Among the international recommendations, a new policy of social protection has been in progress of elaboration in Madagascar since 2015. In this country classified as being the less advanced, very exposed to the climatic and environmental risks, mostly rural and characterized by a high rate of informal employment, the challenges regarding social protection are numerous. Thereby, this article starting with the typification of the social protection system which prevails in Madagascar, puts into question its adaptation in the institutional context and its capacity to match the security needs related to the standards of living of the population. To reach this goal, this article is based on the institutionalist contemporary studies of social protection in the developing countries and suggests an original analysis, multi-scalar (national and local) and multi-actor (international and national, public and private, formal and informal). Supported by a diversified empirical material (gray literature, participative observation, qualitative interviews among the institutional actors and among the households), the study sets indeed that the sector of social protection in Madagascar remains characterized by a lack of integration, vertical as well as horizontal: vertical as we observe a strong disconnection between the forms of social protection thought at the national level and the mechanisms of social protection within reach by the malagasy population, largely dominated by the mechanisms of informal standard of living security ; horizontal as strong inequalities prevail from one place to another, the territory as being marked by micro- local forms of social protection. These elements lead to ask about the social sustainability of the malagasy social protection system.

Keywords: Social protection, Informality, Embeddedness, Madagascar

**Diversité des formes de protection sociale à Madagascar
Une approche multi-scalaire et multi-acteurs**

Résumé

Dans la lignée des recommandations internationales, une nouvelle politique de protection sociale est en cours d'élaboration à Madagascar depuis 2015. Dans ce pays classé par les pays les moins avancés, très exposé aux risques environnementaux et climatiques, encore à majorité rural et marqué par un taux élevé d'informalité sur le marché du travail, les défis en termes de protection sociale sont nombreux. Ainsi l'article, partant de la caractérisation du système de protection sociale qui prévaut à Madagascar, interroge son adaptation au contexte institutionnel malgache et sa capacité à répondre aux besoins de sécurisation des conditions de vie de la population. A cette fin, l'article s'appuie sur les études institutionnalistes contemporaines de la protection sociale dans les pays en développement et propose une analyse originale, à la fois multiniveaux (du national au local) et multi acteurs (internationaux et nationaux, publics et privés, formels et informels). Etayé par un matériel empirique diversifié (littérature grise, observation participante, entretiens qualitatifs auprès des acteurs institutionnels et auprès des ménages), l'étude établit ainsi que le secteur de la protection sociale à Madagascar reste caractérisé par un manque d'intégration, à la fois verticale et horizontale : verticale dans le sens où on observe une forte déconnexion entre les formes de protection sociale pensées au niveau national et les mécanismes de protection sociale accessibles par les populations malgaches, largement dominés par des mécanismes informels de sécurisation des conditions de vie ; horizontale dans le sens où de fortes inégalités prévalent d'une zone à l'autre, le territoire étant marqué par des formes micro-locales de protection sociale. Ces éléments conduisent à s'interroger sur la soutenabilité sociale du système malgache de protection sociale.

Mots-clés: Protection sociale, informalité, Encastrement, Madagascar

JEL: J46 ; H53 ; L51

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Introduction^{1,2}

Since 2010, the schedule of the implementation of social protection for all has been accelerated, outlining a new paradigm of international action (Merrien, 2013). In 2012, the resolution number 202 of the BIT, reminding that social protection is a Human right (article 22 of the universal declaration of Human rights), is dedicated to the promotion of a universal basis of social protection (BIT, 2012). At the same period, the World organization of Health (OMS) introduced the Universal Health Coverage (CSU) (OMS, 2010). The signature of these resolutions commits the countries to provide to all of their population elementary guaranties of social protections, that is to say guaranties regarding health and income security. In general, the social protection is presented as a decisive means in the achievement of the Objectives of the Sustainable Development (ONU, 2015): It is identified as an effective action lever to reduce poverty (Target 1.3), to privilege the access to health via the universal health coverage (Target 3.8), to promote the decent employment (Target 5.4) and reduce the inequalities (10.4).

However, the social protection systems, founded at the end of the nineteenth century in the countries formerly industrialized on the basis of two models of reference, bismarkian and beveridgian, (as from the second world war), are only partially adapted to developing countries. The huge informal employment market and the rural sector as well as the importance of mechanisms of private solidarity (family, community, and lineage) impose to revisit the forms of social protection on the basis of the specific needs of their population and of their own institutional obligations. The PNUD (2016) thereby, insists on the importance of adapting to the context the policies of social protection. If, in some emerging countries, innovative social programs have been developed (among the most famous ones, let's remember *Oportunidades* in Mexico, *Bolsa Familia* in Brazil), the worksite is open to the less advanced countries, like Madagascar, which remains characterized by a "social insecurity system" according to the terminology of Wood and Gough (2006). The Malagasy government has recently grasped the matter in launching its first official national plan of social protection in January 2015 (PNPS, 2015).

A country among the poorest of the world, Madagascar is subject to the system adapted to socio-economic characteristics of the less advanced countries, known with a high level of poverty and marked inequalities, a segmented employment market with a high informality rate, the dominance of rural work with still very landlocked areas. In addition, the Malagasy case is characterized with its poor macro-economic performances (Razafindrakoto and al., 2017) and only an adapted social protection would contribute to reverse the situation.

In the arrangements actually implemented since 2015 by the actors of social protection in Madagascar whether they are national or international, the programs inspired from the conditional transfer systems hold an important place. We can however put into question the relevance of such a solution in order to face the three challenges which are poverty, the informal and the rural sectors.

¹The work on which was based these articles of research has been financed within the framework of the research project Protect "Social protection in Madagascar. Identifying and understanding the innovative forms of social protection as a transmission to the concerned actors", 2018-2021, financed by the Région Nouvelle Aquitaine and the Social Science Department, University of Bordeaux.

²The authors thank the Ministry of population of Social protection and of the promotion of women in Madagascar (MPPSPF), the National Reserve Fund of Social Protection (CNaPS) for sharing all the data on which this article is based.

In order to contribute to the reflection of social protection forms adapted to the characteristics of the agriculture-based poor countries, the article suggests to identify and to analyse the institutional forms taken by the social protection in Madagascar. To achieve this, the article is registered in the same line as the research of Destremeau and Lautier (2006) on the diversity of social protection models in developing countries and which insists on the importance of history to create national social protection. On the same basis, Wood and Gough (2006) identify the institutional matrix which leads in the elaboration of such systems.

In a context of a national re-structuring policy on social protection in Madagascar (first National plan of social protection, PNPS 2015), the article focuses on the institutions of social protection in Madagascar and puts into question the way their interactions create the forms taken by the national sector of social protection.

The article adopts an analytic context in terms of embedded social protection in which a national social protection system is the result of history and of the institutions, interactions between actors with potentially divergent interests. It develops a multi-scalar analysis (national or local) and multi-actor (national and international, public and private, formal and informal) to analyse the diversity of forms of Malagasy social protection and to put into question the sustainability of national system in progress of elaboration.

The first part sets the mobilized analytic context for the study. The second part discloses a historical perspective and shows the importance of international actors in the orientations and re-orientations of the Malagasy social protection. The third part, from a typology of contemporary institutions of social protection in Madagascar displays that their interactions or their lack of interactions confront hard times to structure the sector of social protection.

1. The embedded social protection: A theoretical and a methodological scoping

The study is focused on the conceptual context in terms of embedded social protection. The national systems of social protection are social accomplishments, the result of the interaction of the actors who participate, depending on the balance of power changes, the conflicts, the negotiations and the compromises which are set among them. The first part presents the institutional interactions that work at a national scale, then, the second part focuses on the actors.

1.1. The institutional matrix of the social protection

According to Devereux and Sabates-Wheller (2004:9) the social protection describes “ the set of initiatives, formal as well as informal, which provides: the social support to the extremely poor households; the social services for the groups who have specific needs or who are refused the access to the basic health care: social insurance in order to protect the people against the social risks and consequences of survival crises; and social equity in order to protect the people against social dangers such as discrimination”.

The social protection is thus multi-sector (health, poverty, family, retirement, housing but the list may change depending on the national conflicts and the national arrangements); it commits the multiple actors with a logic of plural redistributions (we can count 5 ways of regulation which are the social insurance, the private insurance, the universalist system, the social assistance and the private transfers).

Each national system of social protection takes a specific form according to the presence and the degree of these different ways of adjustments which are themselves the result of interaction between the different actors often with divergent interests and is constituted by the articulation of the numerous logics through the balance of power, conflict and of compromises. The systems of social protection are indeed embedded in the social.

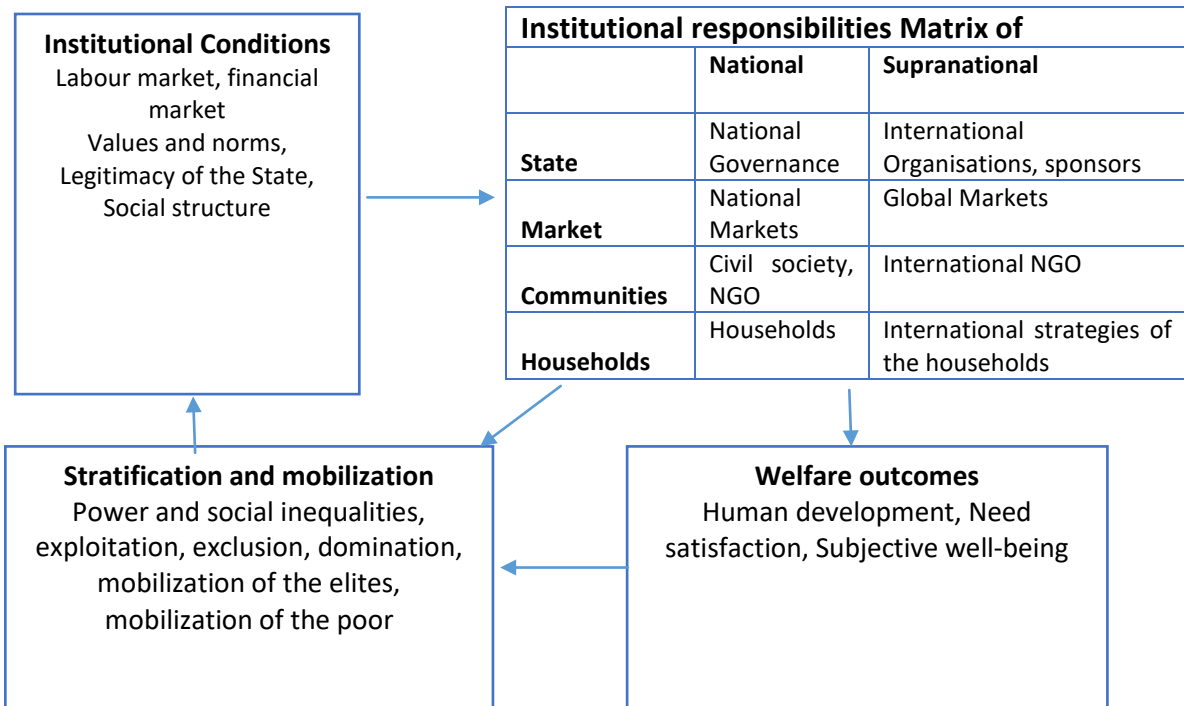
In this perspective, a recent report of the United Nations Program for Development (2016) has revealed the importance of adapting to the context the social protection. The work of Barrientos and Hulme (2010) highlights the necessity of taking into account the existing social institutions, because the good knowledge of these is a condition of construction of an adapted social system. As Platteau reminds (2005), the different European and American social protection systems were developed on their reality, formed by social organizations, community unions and the existing religious institutions. A lasting system of social protection can only be developed on the basis of the existing local institutions.

Reynaud (2002) thereby defines the social protection “as a collective arrangement which allows to slow down the effects of the temporary or the permanent incapacity to obtain an income from their employment”. From Reynaud (2002), we will remember that “ a system of social protection is a set of principles, of values and of political, economic and social, objectives combined to a dominant institutional structure which organizes the rights, the services, the financing and the management of the social protection of the individuals residing in a nation.”

This institutional vision of social protection is kept by Wood and Gough (2006) in a study which aims to extend pioneer characteristic approach of Esping Andersen (1990) to the developing countries. Their conceptual and analytic environment is summarized in figure 1. A defined system of social protection is the result of the interaction between: (i) the institutional conditions prevailing in the country (mainly the characteristics of the work market, the shared values and standards, the matter of the legitimacy of the State), (ii) the matrix of the institutional responsibilities (who the actors are and the institutions who take part in the social protection); and (iii) the forms of the socio-economic stratification which defines the capacity of mobilization of the civilian actors. The standard of living of the population and the access conditions to property and basic services (rate of poverty, GDP per person, IDH indicator of human development, IPM-indicator of multidimensional poverty, rate of schooling, life span ...) are the observable results of the system of social protection but they also retro-act with it as a more educated, better fed and healthy population will be more able to mobilize and to get involved in the social matrix (direct impact on the matrix of responsibilities, on the stratification and the mobilization.)

Such an approach leads to ask questions on the specific social protection in the developing countries in extending the area of the typology of analysis led by Esping-Andersen (1990). It appears that the social protection systems of the developing countries are hybrid systems (institutions, financing, involved actors, degree of coverage generality and types of covered risks), largely marked by the influence of international actors, results of a specific history and on which founding their diversity (Destremeau and Lautier, 2006). In any case, the systems on universal systems or social insurance (most of the time linked to the prevailing system in the former colonizer country) stop at the limits of the formal sector. They are complemented by the targeted assistance programs on the conditions of resources, under the form of a variety of public transfer programs of all kinds (food programs, school materials etc.) or monetary. Among the latter, we can find the major monetary transfer programs (health, education, food), created in South and Central America, and presently promoted in a number of countries among the less advanced, for instance in sub-Saharan Africa (Nino-Zarazua et al., 2011).

Figure 1. Institutional matrix of a national social protection system



Source: Wood et Gough (2006, p.6)

The integrality of the population is far from being covered. Nevertheless, from this point of view, important differences exist between the developing countries: if a proportion not to be neglected of the population is covered in some of the emerging countries (between 50% and 70%), the part of the covered population is very low (among 10%) in the less advanced countries (World Bank, 2015, 2018). Thus, the mechanisms of private solidarity (family, community, lineage) and the customer-based insurance remain the two major mechanisms of standard of living security in developing countries (Wood and Gough, 2006; Clément, 2017). They are even more developed whereas the other logical social protection (private assistance, social insurance, Universalist logic and assistance) are limited. Following Wood and Gough (2006) then Clément (2017), so we distinguish the systems of informal security, and the systems of social insecurity, that we encounter essentially in the less advanced countries.

This environment in which are created the national systems of social protection, is completed in the next part within an analysis of interactions between the actors of social protection, founders of the dynamics of embeddedness.

1.2. The actors of social protection involved in the dynamics of embeddedness

According to Cusin and Benamouzing (2006), the reticular organization of modern societies is brought forward by the classic authors such as Durkheim and Simmel and justifies the importance given to the structural analysis, that is to say to the role of social networks in the dynamic of embeddedness. Such an approach has been developed by Granovetter (1985), underlining the personal social relationships in the creation and the functioning of the markets in the economy referred as modern. Le Velly (2002) distinguishes thus three areas of embeddedness which are the natural structural embeddedness (Granovetter, 1985), the formal institutional embeddedness and the cultural embeddedness (cultural institutions, standards and values, Di Maggio, 1994). Le Velly (2002) insists thereby on the “indissoluble connection between the actor and his social environment” as we can take into account through the cognitive dimension of the action. There is thus a confusion

in the forms of embeddedness, because when the person must act, he doesn't comply automatically with the pre-defined logic (*ni homo oeconomicus ni homo sociologicus*, to quote Cusin and Benamouzig, 2006) but basically makes his decisions taking into account simultaneously the three dimensions of embeddedness and the specific context in which he is.

A system of social protection is structured step by step by the interactions between the persons but also between the institutions in order to produce the mechanisms of standard of living security. These mechanisms can be built on different levels of interaction: the environment of the relations among formal and informal organizations. The mechanisms of social protection which are developing are the result of interactions and meets the multiple, structural, institutional and cultural dynamic of embeddedness. A national system of social protection is thus the outcome of interaction between the actors who lead it and the exchanges between the actors (information, collaboration and opposition). The analysis of the forms taken by a national system of a defined social protection is thereby inseparable of the analysis of the actors who form it and of their interactions.

1.3. An information system to observe the embeddedness dynamics of the Malagasy social protection

The set of the mobilized information within the framework of this study has been obtained from the interviews among the key actors of the social protection in Madagascar, (different actors belonging to the following institutions: Ministry of population, UNICEF, World Bank, CNaPS), thanks to the direct observation by the participation of the different meetings of the Thematic Group of the Social Protection³, the published reports by these institutions and the exploratory qualitative investigations led among the inhabitant.e.s of the three areas of investigation: two rural regions (Itasy, 12 interviews, and Analanjirofo, 47 interviews) and one urban area (poor neighbourhoods of Antananarivo, 37 interviews).

In mobilizing the theoretical study and this informational basis, the two following parts present the malagasy socio-economic and historical context in order to give the elements of the malagasy social protection matrix.

2. Socio-economic context and a historical viewpoint

2.1. The malagasy context and the institutional matrix of social protection

Madagascar is an example of countries belonging to the category of countries in a situation of social insecurity (Wood and Gough, 2006 and Clément, 2017). A unique case of countries in a situation of cumulative decline (apart from the countries in war), the study of this country brings a particular interest. The present GDP per inhabitant is established at about 60% from the one which prevailed in 1960 and the rate of the national poverty has been chronically at 70% since the 1990's (World Bank, 2015). The improvements of this rate are linked to the economic burst, and are of a short time and chronically curbed by political crisis burdening the growth potential generated by the economic and political transformations : democratization, progressive re-orientation to the economy of the market,

³ The thematic group of social protection (GTPS) has been founded in Madagascar in 2017 from the initiative of the Ministry of population, of the social protection and of the promotion of women (MPPSPF) to assure a better coordination between the actors of the social protection in Madagascar. The GTPS, co-directed by the MPPSPF and the UNICEF, met on a regular basis between 2017 and 2018 and the actors attended to some of these meetings.

development of infrastructures, property offices and policies of land security etc. (Razafindrakoto et al., 2017). This double phenomenon constitutes what Razafindrakoto and al. (2017) call the « Malagasy mystery », made of a “riddle” (trendy decline of the GDP per person on a long term) and of a “paradox” (recurrent political crisis marking the end of short periods of growth). In extending the reflexion of Hugon (2005), the authors explain the phenomenon focusing on the analysis of the socio-economic institutions. Madagascar is characterized by a society strongly segmented (the system of casts officially abolished continues to dominate the social relationships) and splintered. A close elite shares the power, conquered by a customer-based logic, a characteristic of a neo-patrimonialist State, and the alliances and coalitions are done and undone depending on the private interests of the members of this elite. The almost non-existence of middle class and of intermediary people imply the weakness of the opposition forces, according to the interests and the coalitions of this elite, and implies the decline of the GDP per person on a long term.

Moreover, even in good periods, the orientations taken by the growth have a hard time to work together, the economy and strong inequalities persist for instance between the urban and the rural areas (according to the BAD report, 2015, in 2013, the rate of persons living in extreme poverty is set at 79,6% in rural zones against 50,3 % in urban zones). The redistribution policies and social policies do not have a strong influence (according to the PNUD, 2017, the part of the social expenses in the GDP represents 2,4%, meanwhile it is 5,3% for the sub-Saharan Africa) and the social protection is very low developed whether in terms of social insurance (10% of the work is formal and gives way to a social insurance, INSTAT, 2013) or in terms of social assistance (less than 2% of the population is covered according to the World Bank 2018).

Since 2015, the successive governments have been showing a determination to reinforce the national system of social protection. This constitutes, after the first wave of structuration of the Malagasy social protection system in the 1960's, a renewal of the Malagasy social protection, matching the orientations of the international development.

2.2. The importance of the international actors: A historical analysis

The two major constitution phases of the Malagasy social protection system (the 1960's then the 2010's) match two conceptions of development totally different. However, a consistency remains with the influence marked by the international policies of development and the international actors.

- a. The 1970's : A voluntarist vision of development and of social protection related to employment

In the 1960's, a series of laws and decrees⁴ set the basis of a system of social insurances, related to employment, and regarding the system of retirement and of reserve fund in the public sector (CRCM- Civilian and military Retirement fund and CPR- reserve and retirement Fund) and of the private sector (CNaPs-National Reserve fund). These laws and decrees do not involve the workers of what we call the modern sector and exclude the workers in the sector called traditional which represents almost the totality of the economy. However, the paradigm of development which marks the thought of the pioneers of the development economy (Azoulay, 2002), insists on the fact that the

⁴ Law n 68-023 of the 17th December 1968 instituting the National Reserve Fund (CNaPS) ; Decree n 69-145 of the 8th April 1969 stating the Code of Social Protection ; Decree n 62-144 of the 21st March stating the set-up of the Civilian and Military Retirement Fund (CRCM) ; Decree n 61-642 of the 29th November 1961 stating the set-up of the Retirement and the Foresight Fund (CPR).

modern sector will automatically develop and will cover step by step the whole economy when the traditional economy is likely to disappear (look at the dynamic of the Lewis model, 1954) if the good levers are operated (big investments in the framework of a *big push*). So why thinking about the social right adapted to a reality which will disappear?

However, 50 years later, we have to notice that what we call now the informal employment continues to be a reality in the developing countries and mainly in Madagascar. Thus, in the beginning of the 2000's, the malagasy social protection remains largely connected to employment, in a logic of the bismarkien inspiration, when 90% of the employment is informal (80% urban work and 96% in the rural work according to the INSTAT, 2013). For instance, the malagasy social protection system is particularly segmented: the assets of the formal sector are covered by the CNaPS, the National Reserve Fund and the needs of the informal economy are partly covered by a variety of assistances structures and of social actions (micro-insurances of health, micro-loan, programs of national and international public transfers, NGO). The system of social protection is thereby far from satisfying the needs of the population, in a context of extreme poverty and particularly exposed to risks (climatic change and a variety of shocks such as drought, cyclone, locusts invasion, fire)

During the following years, the matters of social protection were of less importance in the active reforms in the 1970's, marked the politics of rupture leading to the establishment of a socialist government, or in the 1980's and 1990's, characterized by politics of structural adjustment and of the economic and political liberalization. As from the 1990's, we have been observing the power growth of the international assistance and of the issue of the fight against poverty which result to numerous programs linked to the forms of social protection founded on the assistance logic. However, it is only in 2015 that a national plan of social protection (PNPS, 2015) was set up.

b. The 2010's : the reinforcement of the assistance logic and the outline of a universal health coverage

As from the 2000's the social protection becomes a major subject of the international public assistance and according to Merrien (2013), tends to impose itself as a new paradigm of international development. In the Malagasy case, this happened with a reinforcement of the qualifications and of the means of the Ministry of population, of the social protection and of the promotion of women (MPPSPF) with the opening of the constitution of the universal health coverage (CSU) at the Ministry of Health ⁵ and from the reflection of the CNaPS to extend the coverage (in provinces and beyond the limits of the formal employment), and improve the quality of the services (awareness campaign of the employers, actuarial audit, study of satisfactory feedback)).

The first National Plan of the social protection was created in 2015(PNPS, 2015) with the principal objective of insuring the coordination of the intervention of national and international actors (international organizations, NGO, Intervention Fund for the Development) in terms of social protection. The law related to social protection which is not contributory and the associated decrees⁶ really mark such an orientation in creating a structure of coordinated actions on non-contributory social protection (GTPS- a thematic group on social protection which gathers all the actors in regular

⁵ Decree n 2016-072, stating the set-up of an institutional framework for the SN-CSU operation

⁶ Law 2017-028 on the social protection related to the non-contributory system in Madagascar; Decree n 2017-327 of the 9th of May 2017 stating the creation of a structure of coordination for social protection actions of the non-contributory system; Decree 2017-844 stating the creation of the year book of the interventions and the registration of the vulnerable households in the framework of social protection actions of the non-contributory system

meetings in order to privilege exchange and convergence of practices and at the same time setting the Ministry as the coordinator) and in planning the set-up of a special year book of the actors which identifies the different actors, the programs in progress, the intervention zones, the rate of intervention) and the counting of the vulnerable households with standard criteria to avoid targeted criteria according to the programs). This reinforcement of qualifications of the Ministry of social protection in the role of coordination is assisted by the UNICEF and the World Bank.

The PNPS (2015) indicates for instance the 4 strategic action plans of social protection in Madagascar: (i) to increase the income of the poorest; (ii) to improve the access to basic social services; (iii) to reinforce the abilities of the vulnerable persons for a progressive integration in the process of development; (iv) progressive consolidation of the contributory system. The essential of the programs operated till now mainly involve the first strategic action plan and we can presently say, the principal way of national policy of social protection lies on the extension of programs of social security, mainly financed by the World Bank and the UNICEF, under the coordination of the MPPSPF and the implementation is given to the FID (Intervention Fund for the development). It deals essentially with programs of conditional monetary transfers (TMC), not conditional monetary transfers (TMNC), Monetary transfers for the human development (TMDH), Money from productive employment (ACTP), Money from employment (ACT) (see FID 2018 for more details), targeted on geographic conditions and on conditions of resources and for some of them related to retaliations to the aftermath of catastrophes. The PNPS 2015 reveals thus the hegemony of the logic of assistance as a privileged method of social protection which is not contributory.⁷

The CSU, managed by the Ministry of health, achieved an important progress with the creation of the CNSS (National Reserve of Social Security) in charge of managing the contributions and the health services of the social insurance system. The CNSS, financed on the basis of voluntary contributions (an amount of 9000 ar per family and per year or 2,3 euros), budget contributions (mobilization of equity fund from the hospitals) and the private financing (especially a contribution from the cell-phone operators), gives way to a set of property and services of health. It is thus a social health insurance. Such a project, if it is implemented, offers the possibility to go well beyond the boundaries of the formal employment as the contribution doesn't lie on the status of the work. However, the fact that the system is based on a voluntary action involves the risk to limit hugely the impact on the poorest populations. The assessment of the pilot project in progress in 3 districts⁸ will allow to facilitate the practical terms for more effectiveness.

Even if the Malagasy social protection is currently in progress of re-structuring, the social protection managed by the main public actors remain minor to the scale of the country. Actually, it only represents a low part of the GDP: the expenses linked to the social security represent 1,2% of the GDP in 2018 (UNICEF, 2018), which remains low despite the important growth since 2016 when they only represented 0,6% of the GDP, and ranks Madagascar in the African average (World Bank 2018). The coverage of the different programs is presently limited: only 11 out of the 114 Malagasy districts

⁷ According to UNICEF (2018), the total budget of the program for 3 year operation for the component TMDH/LUL reaches 11,5 million US dollars on the financing of the World Bank (or 3,8 US dollars/year) And 560 000 US dollars the financing from UNICEF, and 14,7 million US dollars for the ACTP (OR 4,9US dollars/per year). The financing of the World Bank will come to an end in 2019, the financing from UNICEF is obtained from an annual basis.

⁸ The pilot project of the Universal Health coverage (CSU) is developed in the district of Vatomaniry (Atsinanana region), the district of Manandriana (Amoron'I Mania region) and the district of Faratsiho (Vakinankaratra region) USAID (2018)

are covered by a program ⁹ and 3% of the household in an extreme poverty are beneficiary. (Unicef, 2018)

It is thus essential to take into account the set of other actors of the Malagasy social protection in order to have a global view of the latter.

3. Institutions and characteristics of the malagasy social protection

The huge quantity of needs in terms of social protection and the sub-proportions of the centralized projects by the public actors explain the diversity of the actors of the Malagasy social protection. The presentation of the actors and of their logic (sub-part1) will allow to put into question the characteristics of the Malagasy social protection (sub-part 2).

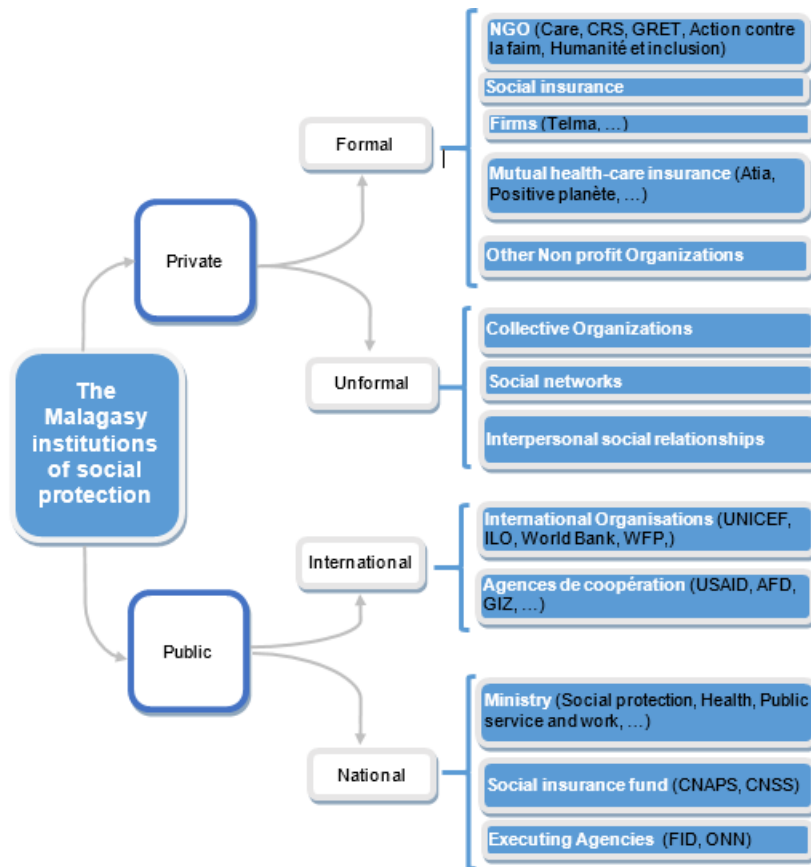
3.1. *The contemporary institutions of the Malagasy social protection*

From the list of the GTPS actors, established by the MPPSPF in 2015, we have set up a typology of actors of the social protection in Madagascar. This typology is presented in figure 2. Following Jutting (1999), our typology is based on the identification of the institutions of social protection and we will bear in mind for this aim the definition of North (1990), that the institutions are “human-conceived obligations which structure the political, economic and social interactions”. Such a definition has the convenience to encapsulate not only the formal institutions but also the informal institutions, that is to say not being legally registered and that contributes in an important way to the social protection of the developing countries such as Madagascar. As a divergent point of view from North, we consider like Commons and Williamson that the institutions include the organizations¹⁰.

⁹ These 11 districts are located in 5 of the 22 Malagasy regions

¹⁰ The organizations are considered by North as players and not like institutions.

Figure 2. Diagram of the actors of the social protection in Madagascar



Source: Authors, on the basis of the list of the GPS actors (Social protection Group), trained by the MPPSPF (Ministry of population, the social protection and the promotion of women)

From Jutting (1990) and Wood and Gough (2006) we keep in mind 4 principal actors of social protection: the State (or more generally the public organizations) the market, the community, (the “member-based associations” such as the NGOs, the insurance companies or the religious groups) and the households. We distinguish then these actors according to their public or private status. Then, among the public actors, we take into account their scale intervention, national or international, and, among the private institutions, we distinguish those which are formal from those which are informal, that is to say not beneficiary from a legal status. The underlying idea of this typology is to specify the status of the institution based on the identified criteria, disclosing the hypothesis that the latter contributes to place on the global chessboard of the actors and at least partly sets the rules that it must adopt in the relationships with the other actors. We can also connect the economic integration principles according to Polanyi (1944, reciprocity, redistribution and market): each institution, according to the status, is likely to see one or the other principle dominant among them and lead the mechanisms of social protection in which it contributes to develop, influencing then the global social protection according to the influence of this institution at the national level and its capacity to influence the other actors.

Regarding the public actors, we observe that each national actor works with the financial support and/or the technical assistance of one or some international actors, technical and financing partners (PTF). Some national public actors have a role of reflection and a role of public political orientation

(ministries), others have a role of operators (FID, ONN for instance) and the last one have a mixed role (BNGRC-The national bureau of natural disasters management, CNaPS-National Reserve Fund of social protection). Among the private actors, we distinguish the formal actors from the informal ones. The formal private actors gather the NGOs (non-governmental organizations) national or international, the insurance companies, the private insurances and the private companies, which, via their policy of social responsibility, can impose themselves by the national legislation. Among the private actors, some of them play an important role at the national scale; we can think for example of the famous NGOs like Care International and Catholic Relief Service (CRS) which work on big budgets and can influence the national political operations due to their national and international fame. Moreover, if most of the private actors don't have a national recognition, they play a major role at the local level, and their intervention zones are not located in the targeted zones of national programs. Among the NGOs but also at the level of some international actors, a huge part of the actors work in a more humanitarian and urgent logic than the development, in retaliation to the shocks and crisis that Madagascar is particularly exposed to (cyclones, famines for instance).

However, in terms of the rate of the population, the most important institutions of the Malagasy social protection, remain the informal institutions. There is no actual assessment of the national coverage regarding all the kinds of actors¹¹ we estimate that it doesn't exceed 15%¹², with a knowledge of rights from time to time very limited. Thus, the informal social protection remains largely the majority at the national level and is often the only accessible structure for the Malagasy populations, especially for the poorest people and the inhabitants of the landlocked areas.

We define the informal social protection as any form of monetary transfer or in kind in order to secure the standards of living of a person or of a household or from a person or an informal institution, that is to say an institutional unity not legally registered. Following the research of Platteau (1991) then of Verpoorten and Verschraegen (2010), Stravpoulou and al. (2017) define 4 forms of informal social protection in the developing countries: (i) the one which is governed by collective rules and collective mechanisms; (ii) the one which is registered in a network of reciprocity (for instance in associations of work exchange or of private resources and transfers.); (iii) the one which is set on semi-formal mechanisms (saving association and rotary credit); (iv) the one which is governed by religious organizations. The recent research on the matter carried out in Madagascar, in the poor neighbourhoods of Antananarivo, (Desplats and Razafindrakoto, 2018) identify three types of social protection mechanisms based on informal institutions: (i) mechanisms based on the interpersonal relationships which are deeply rooted in a social collective group which sets the rules (the close or distant family, the employer and the employees; (ii) collective mechanisms which rely on informal organizations (tontine, solidarity contribution) or (iii) on social networks (for instance the system of the envelopes¹³).

¹¹ The counting task of the set of programs of social protection (contributory or non-contributory) and the actors who are in charge, has been in progress since the first semester 2018 (MPPSPF and World Bank). However, taking into account the extreme diversity of the actors and of the programs of social protection, the task should not be entirely done before a few months.

¹² The rate of coverage is estimated by the CNaPS (2018) at about 10% of the population, which is coherent with the rate of informal rate. With the latter, we need to add the beneficiaries of social programs, estimated at 3% of the people in extreme poverty (UNICEF) or about 2% of the total population and the beneficiaries of the PAM programs (World Food Program), which has big programs in progress in Madagascar, mainly for instance in the deep South and those of the NGOs.

¹³ These are the envelopes containing collected money within a social group as a financial support in happy or unhappy life events. In Antananarivo, the most common is the "Faodranomaso", literally " making the tears go away", given on the funeral occasion, during a ritual visit to the family in grief or the "famangiana". There is also the envelope for sickness, called in

Starting from the identification of these actors, the question which is asked is the one of their interactions for understanding the structure of the social protection in the logic of embeddedness. Presently, the sector is in progress of re-structuring mainly in connection with the new impulsion given to the social protection in the international policies of development. How is this sector constituted, what are its characteristics ?

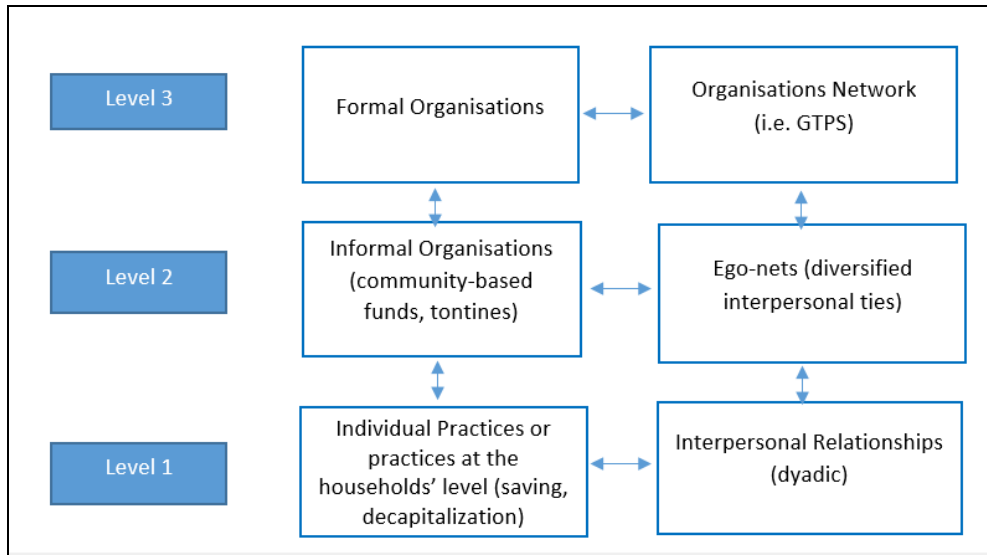
3.2. The Malagasy social protection, a system still to become

Despite of the huge dynamic of the Malagasy social protection sector and of the coordination policy started by the government in 2015 (PNPS, 2015), the sector of social protection in Madagascar remain characterized by a lack of integration, vertical and horizontal, with a high level of atomic character.

From the analysis of social interactions between the social protection institutions, we can represent the social protection system as a system made of three levels, as presented in figure 3. This figure is inspired by Berrou and Gondard-Delcroix (2017) which analyses how the interpersonal and interinstitutional social relationships structure the economic activities from the embeddedness dynamic and the disconnection. The underlying idea is that the economic activities are embedded in the social relationships that imply them, but some economic forms obtain an autonomy from the social substratum. This dynamic process, also called disconnection from White (2008), is represented graphically by the passage of level 1 (dyadic relationships: the relationships between the persons are set by the socio-economic status of the people and their social status, power balance, solidarity and of dependence) at level2 (informal organization: the organization is independent from the members who constitute it: one of the members, even the founder, can leave the association which continues to exist as it has formal, legal rules which confirm the membership and the relationships with the other institutions). However, we can observe the mechanisms of re-embeddedness at level 3 (the one of the formal organizations) which are constituted of platforms or divergent associations and where a new balance of power is set, of solidarity, of dependence but this time between institutions. Such a dynamic presides, according to us, to the constitution of a system of social protection which is in a perpetual dynamic. It can however face some relative stability, in connection with important socio-historical compromises between the actors, or with the periods of fast change and of re-negotiations between the actors, which is currently the case in Madagascar.

Antananarivo “Soloranoboakazo” (literally: “ which replace the fruit juice”) or the envelope given for a delivery “ropatsa” (literally: little shrimps broth”, privileged food for the newly mothers, as the dish should increase the milk for breastfeeding).

Figure 3. The articulation of the mechanisms of social protection as the basis of a social protection system



Source : Authors, from Berrou and Gondard-Delcroix (2017)

Being based on the observations of the exchanges during different meetings of the GTPS in which the actors participated in 2018 and on the study of the PNPS 2015 and on the project of the national strategy of social protection (SNPS 2018), we can figure out the following particular elements.

First, at the national level, we notice three big sectors of the social protection (contributory or non-contributory, health) which tend to be structured on national actors (respectively (i) the CNaPS and the Ministry of civil service and of employment, (ii) the MPPSPF) and (iii) the Ministry of public health), each of them supported by major international actors (mainly for instance the World Bank, UNICEF, USAID) giving financing and support in terms of better capacities. To this three areas, we need to add two ones that without intervening directly in the social protection as defined in the PNPS 2015, work in related fields, for instance with the BNGRC (The national bureau the management of natural disasters and risks) implied in the emergency of post-catastrophes, may result into possible capacity conflicts).

Second, we notice the importance of the international institutions in the Malagasy social protection. This leads to a result well established in the literature on the systems of social protection in developing countries. According to Destremeau and Lautier (2006) and Deveraux and Getu (2013), they are dominated by the donors and the international actors and are rarely the reflection of the local values and the local institutions.

Third, the sub-sectors of the Malagasy social system look for their limits. The strong increase of non-contributory social protection, under the impulsion of the international politics of development and of the financial and technical partners, tend to create conflict zones such as: (i) confusion on the same capacities between some public actors; (ii) the matter of financial means and the access to the resources of the international assistance; (iii) the claiming of autonomy of some national actors.

Fourth, we observe the difficulty of articulation between the different levels of the national sector of social protection. The public policy, elaborated at level 3 encounters difficult times to integrate the

dynamics in progress at the formal level and the formal and the informal articulation is not planned. The level at the households is very little taken into account in the public policy in progress (it is explained by the weak influence of the middle actors: some organizations and some representatives of the civilian society are members of the GTPS but only a few seem to be able to participate effectively).

Fifth, the matter of financing of social protection, not discussed at the GTPS, is however a decisive element of the relationships between the actors (balance of domination, power and conflicts) as well as an element structuring the system itself. What are the sources of financing? What is the place of the international assistance? Which part of the financing lies on the public debt? What is the place of the social contributions and the fiscality? So many key questions which put into question the inter and intra-generational equity and thus participate fully to the reflection on the sustainable social protection. The data known to the public do not allow at the present time to give specific figures to these different sources of financing. We know that the most important financing amount are related to social transfer programs, largely financed by the international assistance and thereby a huge part by a public debt.

Taking into account the multiple actors, the difficulties of vertical and horizontal integration, and the weakness of the rate of coverage, we observe thus the forms of very localized social protection.

3.3. Micro-local forms of social protection¹⁴

From the view point of the beneficiaries of social protection, the access is largely different from one area to another.

The projects of social protection are badly spread on the national territory. The rates of coverage of the CNaPS are in average 10% but they are less in the middle size towns and almost to 0 in rural areas. The big national or international projects (such as FID, UNICEF, PAM, Care) are targeted geographically, due to the lack of means and to the big extent of needs. So, the systems of social protection take a variety of local forms according to present formal institutions on the considered zone (formal social protection, which takes back to level 3 of figure 3) but also due to the characteristics of the social local substance (informal social protection, levels 1 and 2 of figure 3). We thereby observe marked differences from one area to another, even at a very short distance. This is what we call micro-local forms of social protection, characterizing the mechanisms of social protection really accessible to the populations of a considered community and the institutions that carry them. The national cartography of the forms of micro-local social protection would show a big heterogeneity but would also reflect some regularities according to some key-characteristics of the area (for instance in the urban or rural area, in the capital, in secondary towns, poor neighbourhoods, or richer neighbourhoods, priority to a specific geographic area or not included in the targeted programs of assistance and of emergency, degree of landlocked areas).

The “system” of Malagasy social protection is thus far from being homogenous and is characterized by geographic differences marked in terms of the level of coverage as well as in terms of the type of coverage or of logic of intervention. This leads to important territorial inequalities which go against the inter-generational equity and against the global sustainability of the system.

¹⁴ The expression is inspired by the one from Fauroux (2002) as the big part of his research was carried out in the west of Madagascar in analysing the «micro-local forms of power » underlying their major stake in the success or in the failure of the development projects.

Conclusion: For a sustainable social protection in Madagascar

The article is based on the analytic framework regarding the embedded social protection in order to identify the forms taken by the social protection form in Madagascar. The analysis is focused on empiric elements (interviews with key-actors, direct observation, qualitative investigations among the households) so as to identify the actors of the Malagasy social protection and to understand how their interactions can structure their sector.

A first result shows the extraversion of the Malagasy system, on one hand, the successive orientations taken by the Malagasy policy of social protection follow the orientations of the international policy of development, on the other hand, the essential of the programs in progress are financed on the basis of the international assistance (loans or grants). This result is the same as the observation done for numerous developing countries (Destremeau et Lautier, 2006). A second result underlines that despite the big dynamic particularity of the Malagasy social protection sector and a policy of coordination started by the government as from 2015 (PNPS, 2015), the sector of the social protection in Madagascar remains characterized by a lack of integration, vertical as well as horizontal, and a high level of atomicity. Third, we observe a strong disconnection between the forms of social protection designed at the national level and mechanisms of social protection accessible by the Malagasy population. The latest are largely dominated by the mechanisms of informal social protection which are based on methods of social regulation prevailing at the local scale. In general, Madagascar is characterized by the forms of micro-local social protection: The systems of social protection can hugely vary from one locality to another, sometimes at a very short distance: depending on the present actors (such as national program or NGO, private company which gives access to a health reserve fund or a health insurance) but also the characteristics of the social local substance which is going to define the informal forms of social protection.

Regarding the policy of social protection thought at the level of the public actors, it is oriented to an intensification of the security social programs (SNPS, 2018), we can ask the pertinence of this option to reach the objective of sustainable development. As the assessment on a scale of these program's needs, on a short term, the reinforcement of the flux of multi-lateral assistance and on a medium term, the development of the public financing dedicated through a fiscal reform which is not on the agenda. The solution of the financing by exterior debt currently approved imply questions on the financing or on the social as the effort will be on the future generations. Finally, these policies are overlapped on the existing one without a real articulation and potentially leading to eviction effects or risking to put into danger the existing social structures.

As it has been displayed in the study, the Malagasy social protection sector is very localized, which could constitute an innovative structuring orientation. The support to the local systems of social protection is one more orientation usually privileged for the development of social protection systems of these less advanced countries (see for instance Atwortwi, 2018). The coverage of the set of the population by the programs of transfers is actually illusory as the needs are tremendous in these countries where a large part of the population lives under the poverty line. These unfocused systems, closer to the territories and the persons would be indeed easier of access by the populations. They could finally give its part to the societal innovation.

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