



APPENDIX II

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**THE RISE OF SOCIAL PROTECTION IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH:
THE ROLE OF FOREIGN AID
APPENDIX II. SYSTEMATIC REVIEW**

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Appendix II. Systematic Review

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Appendix II to The Rise of Social Protection in
the Global South: The Role of Foreign Aid
to
The Expert Group for Aid Studies (EBA)

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Systematic Review Methodology

Search Protocol

We included in our review both the white and grey literature, i.e., peer-reviewed and published articles, book chapters, and books, as well as working papers and unpublished manuscripts that adopt both quantitative and qualitative methodologies.

We follow the Cochrane Handbook for Systematic Reviews and Interventions (Higgins and Green 2008) and PRISMA guidelines (Moher et al. 2009). The Cochrane methodology of systematic reviews is considered the gold standard for syntheses of evidence, and has been adopted, for instance, by the Campbell Collaboration and the International Initiative for Impact Evaluation (3ie), which focus on generating evidence of international development interventions.

Adherence to a systematic review methodology yields a review of the literature that is not only reproducible but also less prone to selection and publication biases than other types of literature reviews such as critical reviews and scoping studies (Cooper 1988; Grant and Booth 2009; Paré et al. 2015). This methodological approach also facilitates a more precise cross-study comparative analysis, which strengthens the findings from the review. To our knowledge, this is the first systematic review that examines the factors that are highlighted by the literature as underpinning the adoption and expansion of social protection systems in the Global South in general, and in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) in particular.

The search for relevant studies was formally conducted from March to July 2021. Permutations of search terms were used to capture all available publications regarding the adoption and expansion of social protection systems. These terms included, inter alia, the following Boolean combinations: “social protection”, “social assistance”, “safety net”, “cash transfers”, “old age pensions”, “social pensions”, “food vouchers”, “public works”, “workfare”, “expansion”, “adoption”,

“extension”, “take up”, “quantitative”, “impact”, “development assistance”, “foreign aid”, “effect”, “change”, “developing countries”, “Africa”, “Latin America”, “global south”.

The search was conducted via the following repositories: Microsoft Academic, Google Scholar, Project Muse, Econ Papers and Web of Science. Furthermore, the bibliographies of published reviews and influential studies in the field of social protection expansion were cross-referenced, to ensure our review did not omit any critical publications.

We restricted the search parameters to the time frame 1990–June 2021.¹ We also specified that search terms did not just assess titles, but the entire text of the publication, in order to capture papers of substantive interest. Results were refined to exclude patents and citations. The search was conducted for English-language sources.

The search protocol included both the white and grey literature. Unpublished work was included in order to mitigate the potential ‘file drawer problem’, i.e., the bias that can be introduced into evidence review when only published studies are considered due to the tendency of published work to reflect statistically significant results (either positive or negative), while excluding statistically insignificant findings. The search protocol in English language yielded 8,341,138 results, disaggregated by each search term below:

- social protection AND expansion AND development assistance = 195,374 publications
- social protection AND adoption AND developing countries AND developing countries = 184,096 publications
- social assistance AND extension AND effect AND foreign aid = 811,401 publications

¹ We could not find records of scholarly research on social protection adoption pre-dating 1990.

- social assistance AND change effect AND foreign aid AND global south = 1,169,459 publications
- safety net AND adoption AND quantitative AND Latin America = 303,127 publications
- safety net AND adoption AND impact AND Africa = 573,547 publications
- cash transfers AND adoption AND quantitative = 213,915 publications
- cash transfers AND expansion AND developing countries = 792,584 publications
- old age pension AND adoption AND effect = 477,558 publications
- old age pension AND adoption AND effect AND developing countries = 1,029,697 publications
- food vouchers AND expansion AND impact = 532,171 publications
- food vouchers AND expansion AND impact AND global south = 722,393 publications
- public works AND expansion AND impact = 689,556 publications
- workfare AND expansion AND impact AND global south = 646,260 publications

Naturally, checking all these results would not have been feasible. Instead, we checked the first 600 entries of each one of the searches. Of these 8,400 results, 8,320 were excluded at the identification stage due to their non-academic nature, or because of their analysis suffer from the absence of a rigorous quantitative or qualitative methodology, leaving us with 80 relevant studies, of which 32 were based on quantitative methodologies while 66 studies relied on qualitative research methods, to be screened for inclusion into the review.

Inclusion Criteria

We only included studies in this final eligibility stage that implement the analysis based on rigorous and well-defined quantitative or qualitative methodologies. In order to determine this, the reviewers read the abstracts of each publication that turned up in the initial search, identifying from that abstract if that study focus on the adoption or expansion of social protection in developing country contexts. Thus, publications were excluded if they were not relevant or because the analysis was not methodologically sound.

In addition, we identified one review study which we used to cross-reference the literature that was identified through the systematic review (Dorlach 2020); however, this review does not address the broader context or mechanisms that can explain the expansion of social protection in the developing world. Furthermore, we search for the literature published in specialized journals such as the *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy*, *International Journal of Social Welfare*, *Journal of Social Policy*, and *Global Social Policy*.

In this screening stage, we excluded duplicate publications and policy reports, or publications not intended for a research audience. We did include academic discussion papers and working papers.

In the final eligibility stage, we identified and kept only those studies that adopted rigorous quantitative or qualitative methods. Ultimately, our aim is to compile studies for which we could contextualize the determinants, in particular foreign aid, of social protection adoption and expansion. Therefore, papers for which the analysis is not focused on the adoption or expansion of social protection were not included in the analysis. Figure A1 summarizes the protocol and study selection. In the next section, we present a description of the studies included in this review.

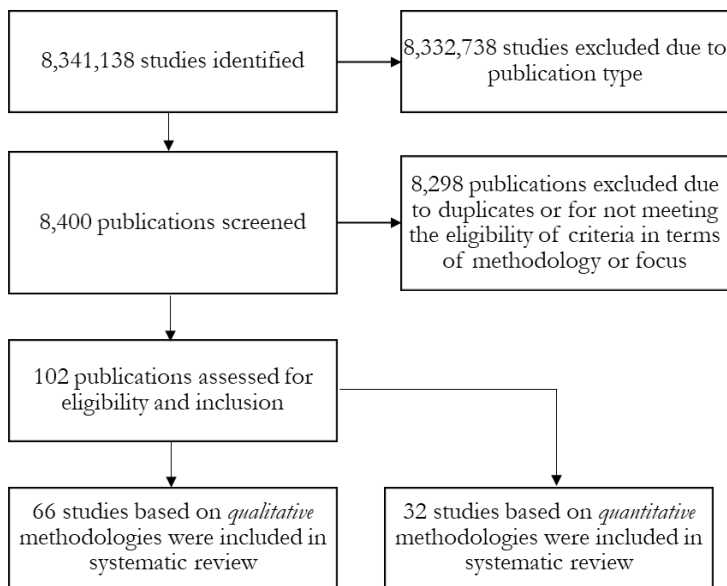
Description of studies

Taking into consideration the considerable heterogeneity of studies covered by the systematic review, in terms of focus, scope, methods and coverage, we present in the next section a synthesis of the analytical methods used in the literature.

Analytical methods used in the literature

The studies included in this systematic review come from economics, international relations, development studies, and comparative politics outlets. In terms of the methodological characteristics, of the 102 studies analysed, about two thirds of studies (66 studies) are based on qualitative methodologies while 32 adopt quantitative methods while four studies adopt mixed methods, combining quantitative and qualitative techniques to address the questions of interest.

Figure A 1: Systematic review search protocol and study selection



Source: Authors

Qualitative analyses are, for the most part, case studies undertaken via process tracing and comparative historical analysis (Devereux 2013; Garay 2016; Kwon, Cook, and Kim 2015; Kapiszewski, Levitsky, and Yashar 2021). Around half of the case studies (22 studies) focus on one single country (e.g. Peng 2011; Diaz-Cayeros, Estévez, and Magaloni 2016; Ehmke 2019). Their sources are interviews, official government documents and statistics, rules of operation, policy reports from international organizations, other academic works, and journalistic sources. 31 studies undertake cross-country comparative analyses (see Table A2 below). They track the extension of expansion of social protection in at least two countries and identify the role of their variables of interest (Weyland 2006; Pribble 2013; Niedzwiecki 2014; Lamprea 2017).

In contrast, quantitative studies are largely international comparative analyses that rely on both cross-country and panel data variation for analysis (S. M. Brooks 2015; Desai and Rudra 2019; Altman and Castiglioni 2020). The majority of quantitative studies employ ordinary least squares (OLS) estimators (Schmitt 2020), logistic regressions (Knutson and Rasmussen 2018), regressions with panel-corrected standard errors, like in the case of Huber, Mustillo, and Stephens (2008); Rothstein, Samanni, and Teorell (2012), and Niedzwiecki (2015), or some form of survival analysis (Kangas 2012; Dodlova 2020) (see Table A1 below).²

Either explicitly or implicitly, the quantitative studies recognize the challenges in estimating causal links in these settings. Isolating the factors that lead to the creation or expansion of social protection requires fundamentally overcoming the endogeneity about the time in which such policy actions are undertaken, the type of governments that decide to do so, and the prevailing conditions that countries experience when receiving aid. For the scant quantitative literature, most studies mainly correct for serially correlated errors. While these corrections make the standard errors unbiased, they fail to isolate the causal variation in the explanatory variable of interest. A few studies resort to some forms of exogenous variation beyond country fixed effects or lags of dependent variables. Two papers, Dodlova, Giolbas, and Lay (2017) and Niño-Zarazúa and Santillán Hernández (2021) exploit the variation in some versions of neighbouring countries' democratic levels, however, neither of these studies address explicitly the question of aid effects on social protection expansion.

Two other papers (López-Cariboni and Cao 2015; Vacaflóres and LeSage 2020) use seemingly exogenous variation, namely policies from either neighbours or trade competitors, to explain changes in social protection. While they provide robust correlations, these

² Survival analysis models the probability of moving from one state (i.e., no social protection policies in place) to another (a social protection programme is established) within a certain period. For a technical discussion, see Wooldridge (2010), Chapter 22.

estimations still do not address the common factors that may be endogenously correlated with policy decisions abroad and at home. A way to overcome some of the challenges would be to study within country variation, either across regions or across time, but only Shim's (2019) study of the policy changes in Korea as it became more democratic hint in that direction. Therefore, the concern of endogeneity is a key challenge to overcome in the empirical analysis presented below.

Data Sources and Coverage

The most common data sources for international comparative analyses are global datasets from international or regional organizations like the International Labour Organization (ILO), the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund; non-governmental organizations like Freedom House; projects like Polity IV; and other international repositories.

In terms of the geographic coverage, most of the analyses, both qualitative and quantitative, have either a global focus (Brown 2005; Abu Sharkh and Gough 2010; Çemen and Yörük 2020) or a regional focus, particularly on Latin America (Haggard and Kaufman 2008; Borges Sugiyama 2011; Carnes and Mares 2015; Hunter 2021) or sub-Saharan Africa (Kangas 2012; Cherrier 2016; Simpson 2018; Hickey et al. 2020). Importantly, despite our focus on the adoption and expansion of social protection in low- and middle-income countries, we find that a handful of studies focus on the experience of high-income countries (Jensen 2011; Iversen 2005). We decide to include these studies because they provide relevant insights into the evolution of welfare-benefit systems.

As mentioned earlier, our definition of social protection comprises policies that fall under social insurance, but especially social assistance policies, such as social pensions, conditional cash transfers (CCTs), unconditional cash transfers, public works, in-kind food transfers, sickness benefits, family allowances, unemployment benefits as well as universal health benefits. The most common arms of social protection examined in the literature are conditional cash transfers and social pensions with 27 and 15 studies, respectively, while 19 studies focus on both type of policies.

Studies that focus on CCTs are primarily conducted in the context of Latin America where these type of programmes are dominant (Borges 2018; Velázquez Leyer 2020), although a few studies focus on experiences in sub-Saharan Africa (Rohregger et al. 2021; Abdulai 2021). In the case of studies on social pensions, most focus on Latin America (Carnes and Mares 2014; Dorlach 2021) while some studies covering both social pensions and cash transfers also focus on sub-Saharan Africa (Ellis, Devereux, and White 2009; Hickey et al. 2020).

The dependent variable is often measured or conceptualised in terms of the time of adoption or creation of a specific programmes (Saguin and Howlett 2019; Ouma and Adésinà 2019); the probability of adopting a transfer programme (Simpson 2018; Schmitt et al. 2015), characteristics of a type of programme – for example, whether conditional cash transfers are less prone to political manipulation (De La O 2015), or changes in the population covered (Desai and Rudra 2019; Pribble 2013). Moreover, other studies use proxy measures like government social spending, spending on social protection or even spending on social security to capture the scale of social protection systems (Segura-Ubiergo 2007; Sirén 2021).

The bulk of the studies range from the mid-1990s until the mid-2010s (Béland et al. 2018; Tillin and Duckett 2017; Cochrane and Tamiru 2016; Lamprea 2017), although few studies examine the evolution of welfare benefit systems over the past two decades for the specific case of social assistance programmes (Niño-Zarazúa and Santillán-Hernández 2021), or in some cases, from the early or mid-20th century to the 2010s (Knutsen and Rasmussen 2018; Martinez Franzoni and Sanchez-Ancochea 2016).

Based on the hypotheses underlying the reviewed studies, we have classified the literature in six broader areas, with specific subcategories. The literature is heterogenous in the methods used, geographic coverage and time frames, However, within each area, studies share similar research objectives.

Synthesis of Evidence

Through the review, we identified four (non-systematic) scoping studies which review the literature on the extension of social protection. The first study by Dorlach (2020) focuses on the expansion of the Welfare State in democratic middle-income countries, excluding low-income countries and countries with autocratic political regimes.³ Dorlach (2020) groups the factors underpinning the expansion of welfare-benefit systems around nine topics: “economic development, fiscal capacity, democracy, partisan ideology, labour unions, social mobilization, cultural homogeneity, institutional architecture, and welfare rights and norms”. The author suggests that these topics are relevant to understand welfare enlargement in the Global South. While there are certain areas of affinity between our review and Dorlach (2020)’s work, our analysis is clearly distinct in its methodological rigor, the scope and breadth of analysis as well as the regional and temporal coverage.

The second study (Gough 2008) identifies five ‘families’ of explanatory factors underlying the expansion of social policy in Europe: industrialization, political interests, formal institutions, ideas, and international influences. Gough (2008) argues that, with some modifications, including the relevance of path dependence, these explanatory factors are valid to understand social policy change in developing countries.

The third study (Graziano and Jessoula 2018) compares the literature on the evolution of the Welfare State in Western Europe vis-à-vis Latin America. The authors highlight three sets of explanatory factors for the emergence of welfare states in both regions: socio-economic factors such as economic growth and the level of poverty, political factors à la Power Resource Theory (Korpi 1983;

³ Although the author does not provide an extensive list of countries included, some examples include Argentina, Brazil, South Africa, Chile, Bolivia, Ghana, Mexico, South Korea, Colombia, Turkey, India, Uruguay, Thailand and Botswana.

Gosta Esping-Andersen 1985),⁴ and institutional factors such as formal political institutions. They argue that political variables are particularly relevant to understand the development of welfare-benefit systems in Latin America.

Finally, the fourth study (Tillin and Duckett 2017) focuses on Brazil, China, India and South Africa, and identifies three groups of theories used in the literature to explain the expansion of social policy in these countries: varieties of capitalism, power resources, political institutions, and political entrepreneurs.

While there are areas of analogy between these works and ours, there are important cleavages. First, our focus is on the adoption and expansion of social protection in low- and middle-income countries. Second, we differentiate methodological traditions, either quantitative or qualitative, used in the literature to test key propositions about the expansion of social protection systems. Finally, we identify through the systematic review six broad categories of explanatory factors that the literature highlights as underpinning the development of social protection systems.

The first group of studies highlights historical legacies and path dependence in the evolution of social protection systems. The second strand of the literature emphasizes the role of external actors, which through foreign aid, donor influence and the diffusion of successful policies, have promoted the expansion of social protection in developing countries. The third strand of the literature places institutions at the centre of social protection expansion. Because these studies have underscored diverse institutional factors, we divide this literature in three subcategories: the first subcategory focuses on the role of democracy and democratic institutions, the second one focuses on political settlements, while the third one

⁴ Proponents of the Power Resource Theory argue that a more egalitarian distribution of income is achieved through the power of the working class, which is organised through labour unions and left-wing parties. For a critical analysis, see O'Connor and Olsen (1998).

examines the role of the judiciary system. A fourth strand of the literature centres on the role of economic and demographic factors, while a fifth argues that ideas, both international and domestic, are behind the adoption of social protection programmes. Finally, the sixth strand of the literature focuses on covariate shocks as strong determinants of the emergence of social protection systems. In the following sections, we discuss in more details these literatures. In Table A1 and Table A2 below, we present a summary of the studies included in the systematic review.

Historical Legacies and Path Dependence

The first strand of the literature focuses on the origins of the first social protection systems in the developing world. These are, with one exception (Kangas 2012), quantitative studies that focus on the role of history, persistence, and the different policy archetypes that countries have adopted. This literature is close to classic welfare state studies (Thelen 2014, 1994; Pierson 1996; Gøsta Esping-Andersen 1990) in that it focuses on historical processes affected by the balance of power between different political and social actors.⁵

For example, Kangas (2012) uses a Cox hazard model to uncover the correlates of the time in which African countries introduced legislation on work accident insurances, sickness benefits, pensions, and family allowances. He finds that, along with industrialization rates, countries with a French colonial past tended to enact social security legislation earlier. Segura Ubiergo (2007) also shows that those Latin American countries that set up welfare states between 1920 and the mid-1970s had either one of two particular combinations of political and economic factors. The first group combined dynamic yet closed-to-trade economies with either powerful left-wing forces or a functional democracy. The other group combined political and trade openness,

⁵ Given the complexity of the arguments, and the longer periods of study, books rather than papers are the main texts.

with no economic success. These two configurations generated wide fiscal base and a powerful, protected labour movement that demanded social security. On the rest of the continent, either one of these components were absent.

Haggard and Kaufman (2008) provide a different explanation for the development and reform of social policy in Latin America. By studying not only Latin America, but also East Asia and Eastern Europe, the authors argue that the welfare structures of the post-war decades were the result of the efforts that traditional elites made to co-opt leaders of the increasingly powerful workers and peasant organizations who emerged as members of the new elites. The agreements, concessions, and political relevance of these groups, in turn, shaped and limited the policy reforms, including social policy, that countries had to undergo in response to democratization and globalization pressures. Similarly, Huber and Stephens (2012) note that social welfare in Latin America in mid-20th century occurred either in countries with a democratic system and a strong left political forces, like Chile and Uruguay, or in authoritarian systems where leaders co-opted middle classes, like in the cases of Argentina and Brazil.

External Forces

The second strand of the literature focuses on the role of external actors. We group this literature into three sub-strands that underscore specific external elements of influence: foreign aid, donor influence and policy diffusion.

Foreign Aid

Surprisingly, only three studies identified in our systematic review emphasize explicitly the role of aid in the expansion of social protection in the developing world, two do it quantitatively. Simpson (2018) argues that the identity of the main donor is

correlated with likelihood of adoption of a conditional cash transfer programme (CCT) vis-à-vis an unconditional cash transfer (UCT) among low- and middle-income countries in sub-Saharan Africa. In short, a series of Fischer exact tests indicate that CCTs are more likely to emerge when the donor is the World Bank. UCTs seem more prone to emerge when the donors are other agencies, like DFID, UNICEF, the EU or USAID, but the associations are not significant. Relatedly, Dodlova (2020) studies the role that international financial institutions, like the World Bank, DFID, UNICEF, the EU Commission and WFP, have played in the design of social protection among developing countries since the 1960s.

Particularly, using correlational duration models, she identifies, among others, that virtually all agencies have promoted public works and family support programmes, none social pensions and only the World Bank, CCTs. Simpson's paper stresses that the World Bank's focus on conditionality stems from its interpretation of the intergenerational poverty cycle and the tools to break it. Whereas Dodlova's suggests that the World Bank supports proxy means testing targeting, characteristic of CCTs, to shield policy from political manipulation and effectively identify the poor.

Cherrier (2016) argues that foreign aid has been instrumentally important for the creation of national social transfer schemes in sub-Saharan Africa. The hypothesis, supported by a series of case studies, is that foreign aid has facilitated the mobilization of domestic resources – through tax reform recommendations and co-funding requirements – and provide scientific evidence of the positive impact of social protection.

Donor Influence

The second sub-strand of this literature highlights the role of donor influence. In particular, these studies, which rely mainly on qualitative methods, document how bilateral and multilateral donors bolster the emergence of specific forms of social protection, via

persuasion and pressure, not financial aid. In the only quantitative analysis in this area, Çemen and Yörük (2020) seek to explain the expansion of social protection as a response to social unrest and the policy recommendations made by the World Bank to mitigate these demands. The authors use Generalized Least Squares and identified that social protection spending in developed and developing countries is correlated with general strikes only in countries that simultaneously received World Bank social policy recommendations. This finding suggests that the World Bank indeed promotes social protection as a response to some forms of contestation, making it a political tool as much as an economic one.

Dadap-Cantal, Fischer, and Ramos (2021) state that donors can have negative influences over social policy. They argue that the pressure from agencies like the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank to harmonize all poverty-related programmes was key to design and maintain the ineffective targeting system of the Philippines' CCT, Pantawid Pamilya Pilipino Program (or 4P) programme. The outdated and incomplete registry of beneficiaries has been, according to them, consistently overlooked by the ADB and the World Bank, who have continue praising both the programme and highlighting the role of the registry for several social protection programmes in the country. The authors claim that improving targeting would probably mean revamping both the social protection and social security systems, potentially unifying them, which would go against the banks' ideals.

Some studies within this literature hypothesize that negotiations between national elites and international organizations are essential to understand the emergence of social protection. For example, Saguin and Howlett (2019) find that the design of 4P was shaped by "instrument constituents", namely a coalition of external actors that support certain designs features and objectives of anti-poverty programmes. For them, particularly bureaucrats from the World Bank, with previous experience in CCTs in Latin America, had a

central role in advocating the expansion of 4P. Béland et al. (2018) extend this analysis and examines how instrument constituents influenced the adoption of CCTs in the Philippines and in Ghana.

Similarly, Kwon, Cook, and Kim (2015) track the evolution of the Cambodian National Social Protection Strategy (NSPS) – comprised by food transfers and cash, public works and emergency food programmes, among others – and identify that the partnership, complementarity between international organizations and public-minded national policymakers was key for its emergence. The technical and political role of global agencies, like the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the World Health Organization, the World Food Programme, and UNICEF, as well as bilateral donors, like Germany's Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), met with the desire of a sector of the Cambodia bureaucracy to own the mentioned programmes, originally created in tandem with these agencies. Abdulai (2021) documents an analogous complementary relation between transnational and domestic players that explained the design and implementation of the Ghanaian Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) cash transfer programme. The author argues that the emergence of the programme and its design features reflect the negotiations between donors and the party in power, the New Patriotic Party. According to Abdulai, the establishment of a cash transfer programme was driven by the conditions that Multi-Donor Budget Support Mechanism, the Department for International Development (DFID) and the Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC) placed on the Government of Ghana to receive their funds. The New Patriotic Party accepted such conditions but was largely in control of the design and implementation because it anticipated that the programme would be electorally beneficial.

In her exploration of the extension of social protection in Tanzania, Ulriksen (2016) observes that the World Bank and ILO have had to refine and adapt their policy and institutional recommendations to fit the national elite's interests. In particular, the author notes that

the reason behind the successful push of the Productive Social Safety Net programme and the unsuccessful push for social pensions was because the national elites deemed the former relevant for economic development but not the latter. Similarly, Hickey and Bukenya (2020) argue that international donors managed to advance social cash transfers (SCTs) in Uganda because they used political, rather than just welfare-enhancing, arguments to promote them among Ugandan elites. Namely, aware SCTs were viewed as handouts, donors switched from technocratic to political considerations when promoting a set of cash transfers. Initial arguments about the effect of cash transfers on poverty alleviation were replaced by arguments about their role on fostering social harmony and improving the popularity of the regime. According to the authors, policymakers do not conceptualize SCTs as part of a development strategy. The downside of reframing these interventions as mainly politically advantageous was that they became entrenched in clientelistic logics, abandoning considerations of efficiency and fiscal sustainability.

Similarly, in the context of Kenya, Wanyama and McCord (2017) argue that specific social protection schemes emerged and in the end prevailed when the political, electoral ambitions of national politicians were aligned with the funding conditions of international donors. Ouma and Adésinà (2019) and Ouma (2019) make a similar argument in their analysis of the adoption of two of the Kenyan CCTs, the Cash Transfer for Orphans and Children (CT-OVC) and the Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP), in the early 2000s. For them, the relative power, discourse and alliances formed by international organizations and agencies, like UNICEF, the International Policy Centre, DFID (now the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO)), the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), allowed them to influence the preferences of national governmental and non-governmental actors and thus affect the creation and design of these programmes.

Ouma and Adésinà claim that international actors influence policy by identifying both a problem and a solution, narrowing down the set of additional players (i.e., other organizations) that could solve the issue and consistently promoting their approach in different fora. Providing initial funding and using funding conditionalities were central in persuading the government of Kenya.

Qualitative evidence from in-depth interviews also suggests that impact evaluations funded by donor agencies, and the evidence that was generated from these studies, was decisive in changing policy priorities of the Kenyan government to support the adoption of social protection as an antipoverty policy tool.

The role and strength of national institutions, according to Osorio Gonnet (2019), determines the extent to which international agencies influence local policy. The author contrasts the creation of CCTs in Chile, *Chile Solidario*, and Ecuador, *Bono Solidario* (later *Bono de Desarrollo Humano*), and identifies different diffusion processes. External forces, like financial and technical assistance from World Bank and the IADB, exerted considerable influence in the design of the programme in Ecuador. In Chile, contrastingly, the main features of the programme were shaped by national dynamics, learning not from rather than emulating other countries. This difference due to the relative strength, in technical, financial and infrastructure terms, of the relevant Chilean institutions as opposed to the Ecuadorian.

Policy Diffusion

A third sub-strand of the literature highlights the role of policy transfer and policy diffusion. Unlike the previous hypothesis, this set of studies find that a key predictor for the adoption of social protection in a country is the state of development of social protection systems that prevail in neighbouring countries. This literature is composed by both quantitative and qualitative studies.

On the quantitative camp, the correlational study by Schmitt et al. (2015) on the legislative introduction of different components of social security since 1820 in 177 countries detects regional patterns. Through probit estimators, the authors find that the probability of adopting all types of social security (work injury programmes, sickness protections, old age pension, unemployment benefits and family allowances) is higher the more neighbouring countries also have one of those programmes. They also observe that membership to the ILO is positive associated with *de jure* emergence of social security, probably due to the influence of its conventions and recommendations, and to the technical assistance that this international organisation provides.

Similarly, Brooks (2015) estimates via a dynamic logit model the likelihood of adoption of a CCT among developing countries between 1990 and 2011. The results indicate that adoption is more likely when a country is neighboured by countries with CCTs and with democratic regimes. Focusing only on Latin American countries from 1997 to 2007, Borges Sugiyama (2011) observes with a Cox model that the likelihood of a country adopting a CCT increases with when its neighbours have one of such programmes. Vacaflores and LeSage (2020) extend the period of analysis and employ a probit state-transition model to study the probability of adopting either CCT and UCT programmes. They find that the probability of creating a CCT, not a UCT, is higher the more neighbouring countries have it.

López-Cariboni and Cao (2015) identify via a spatio-temporal autoregressive model that social insurance and progressive social spending (health, education, and housing) in a developing country whose domestic production has to compete with another developing country's exports (its import-competitor) are positively related to this country's social protection spending. Specifically, the expected social insurance and progressive expenditures in a country lower when its import-competitor lowers its expenditures in these areas as well. Social security spending, however, is expected to lower only

when there are no strong organized labour movements that can isolate policy from external shocks. The theoretical mechanism is that such policies affect productivity, so countries have to respond to their import-competitor's actions to be competitive.

A set of studies have looked at the other side of social protection adoption: structural reforms like privatization. Brooks (2005) employs a duration model to measure whether there was diffusion in the privatization of pension systems in the last two decades of the 20th century. She finds that neighbour's policies increase the probability of adoption only among developing countries. In a follow-up study, Brooks (2007) finds that, from 1980 to 2002, the likelihood of a developing country adopting a funded defined-contribution pension scheme (private model) is higher when its peers have already done it. The effect is absent in reforms to notional-defined contribution (pay-as-you-go) schemes because, according to the author, they are less politically costly to change or eliminate, and thus the incentives to learn, through others' experience, its consequences are lower.

Qualitative studies, with process tracing and interviews, have advanced a similar hypothesis. In general, these works are centred around the ideas of policy transfer and policy diffusion. As Bender, Keller, and Willing (2014) suggest, these concepts refer to the link between policy changes across borders. Hunter (2021) analyses the adoption of CCTs in Latin America and claims that, given a set of domestic political conditions conducive to the expansion of social protection, diffusion plays a central role. Her argument is that the diffusion of general policy models, rather than actual designs, between two countries is more likely to occur the stronger their resemblance. Weyland (2005; 2006) also undertakes case studies, using process tracing and interviews to find that structural reforms in the health and pension systems in Latin America during the last decade of the 20th century were characterized by a special type of diffusion. He notes that, instead of relying solely on objective,

systematic decision-making, policymakers faced cognitive biases⁶ that lead them to resort to heuristics to draft policy. Thus, policymakers undertook policy reforms, especially pensions, inspired by the country experiences that seemed successful.

This literature has identified both beneficial and harmful benefits of policy diffusion. Devereux (2013) observes that social protection systems in Africa have been largely adapted from the European models and thus have not reflected the specific economic dynamics of African countries. Kwon and Kim (2015), in contrast, note that in the creation of cash transfers in Indonesia, based on imported models, strengthened social policy capacities and the changed the prevailing paradigms, which were crucial for the development of a more complex social protection system.

Institutions

A third strand of the literature underscores the role of economic and political institutions as core determinants of the expansion of social protection in developing countries.

Democratic Institutions

The first set of studies underscores the centrality of democracy in the expansion of social protection. As with the literature on policy diffusion, there are both quantitative and qualitative analyses. Dodlova, Giolbas, and Lay (2017; 2018) put together a dataset that records the dates in which countries adopted non-contributory social transfers. Using instrumental variable estimators, they find that the adoption of CCTs is more prevalent among electoral democracies than in autocracies. Interestingly, they also note that unconditional cash transfers (UCTs) and programmes with non-technical targeting

⁶ Cognitive biases are subconscious distortions and limits to rational thinking. For a discussion, see Bellé et al., (2018), and Norman and Delfin, (2012).

mechanisms are more common in autocracies than democracies, supporting the hypothesis that programmes with limited programmatic characteristics, and delivered without conditions, are more prone to be politically manipulated by authoritarian regimes. Similarly, in their analysis of the expansion of social protection in low and middle-income countries, Niño-Zarazúa and Santillán Hernández (2021) also present evidence based on instrumental variable estimators that suggest democracies tend to favour the expansion of CCTs and social pensions, while autocracies are more likely to adopt UCTs and public works, which are smaller in scale and also more prone to electoral manipulation.

Huber, Mustillo, and Stephens (2008) identify, via Generalized Least Squares (GLS), that the total number of years that a country in Latin America has been under a democratic regime, since 1945, is positively associated with the expenditures in social security, health and education. In their successive book, Huber and Stephens (2012) provide further qualitative and quantitative evidence that cumulative democracy is associated with social protection expenditure in Latin America from 1970 to 2005. Their argument is that long-term democratic exposure influenced spending, among others by consolidating left-wing political parties and strengthening civil society, which in turn led to poverty and inequality reductions. More recently, Kapiszewski, Levitsky, and Yashar (2021) proposed a similar hypothesis. According to these authors, the creation of inclusionary social policy in Latin America since the 1980s is largely explained by endemic inequality and cumulative exposure to democracy. They claim that while inequality fuels demand for redistribution, democracy provides incentives for politicians to do redistribute.

Similarly, De La O (2015) uses quantitative and qualitative methods to document the role that democracy and the balance of power have in the emergence of anti-poverty policies in Latin America since the 1990s. Using linear probability model, a regression discontinuity design and case studies, she observes that countries with divided

governments have a higher expectation of adopting a CCT with a stringent design. The theoretical argument is that among new Latin American democracies, opposition parties in the legislature limited the political discretion of Presidents over anti-poverty programmes. Diaz-Cayeros, Estévez, and Magaloni (2016) argument points at the same direction. When analysing Mexico's anti-poverty strategies since the early 1990s, they observe that democracy, via electoral competition, generated incentives for redistribution. Moreover, the institutional reforms and the real chance of a regime change limited discretionary spending and clientelism and brought about more technical and transparent operation rules.

Dion (2008) credits the political and economic liberalization reforms of the 1990s with the extension of social assistance but at the cost of reducing social policy (i.e. pensions and health insurance) in Mexico. Her argument is that the government had to compensate the losers of globalization by extending welfare benefits, particularly for those outside the formal sector. Velázquez Leyer (2020) makes a complementary claim. The author tracks the creation of the two pioneer CCTs in Latin America, Mexico's Progresa and Brazil's Bolsa Familia, and concludes that the democratic transitions contributed to reframing poverty as the result of insufficient human capital, which such transfers could contribute to improve.

Garay (2016) undertakes four case studies in Latin America to explore the reasons behind the expansion of non-discretionary social policy since the democratization wave of the 1980s. Her research highlights the importance of two factors: electoral competition for political outsiders and political mobilization from below (labour unions). The book argues that the combination of these elements also determined the inclusiveness of the social protection systems created in the region. More (less) restrictive models emerged when conservatives were (not) in power and popular social forces were not (were indeed) included in the negotiation process.

Altman and Castiglioni (2020) study the expansion of progressive social policy in Latin America between 1990 and 2013. The authors construct an index of equitable social policy – based on the structure of the education and health systems and on the universality of social protection in general – and identify, via a linear regression model, that political competition, the strength of civil society and GDP per capita are statistically correlated with such index. Conversely, they do not find a statistical association with the ideology of the ruling party or the rates of economic growth. Their interpretation echoes the aforementioned studies: political competition incentivizes redistribution, and an organized civil society demands policy more efficiently.

Brown (2005) uses discrete-time logit models to find correlates of the adoption of income-tested old-age pensions and mandatory privatized social security schemes in developing countries from 1960 to 1999. He observes that democratic countries tend to adopt more contributory schemes than non-contributory programmes. In the analysis, political strikes are found to be correlated with higher probability of adopting means-tested non-contributory (social) pensions. Schmitt (2020) examines the cross-sectional variation in the coverage of contributory and non-contributory pension schemes among 100 low- and middle-income countries in the late 2010s, and reaches a different conclusions. The author employs an OLS estimator and observes that non-contributory schemes tend to have wider coverage than contributory ones and are positively associated with democracy.

The theoretical argument behind the results is that enlarging non-contributory schemes is a politically transparent and programmatic response to assist disadvantaged populations, which also renders electoral dividends. Enlarging social security, in contrast, is a more corporatist process, in which only some groups are benefited. This argument is in line with the findings reported by Dodlova, Giolbas, and Lay (2017; 2018) and Niño-Zarazúa and Santillán Hernández (2021) regarding UCTs vs CCTs. Finally, Shim (2019) provides evidence of the universalistic bent of democratic social protection by

tracking the number and generosity of social welfare legislative initiatives in South Korea from 1948 to 2016. Employing logistic regressions, the author finds that democratic consolidation is positively correlated with the share of welfare policies – social security, public assistance and social services – especially those that aim to grant universal coverage.

Despite the positive association between democracy and social protection adoption and expansion, Mares and Carnes (2009) note that social protection often predates democratization periods: in both the developed and the developing countries, most social protection programmes emerged during authoritarian governments, although the authors highlight that coverage and generosity of social protection vary significantly among democratic and non-democratic countries. Moreover, in the line of Bueno de Mesquita (2003) and Acemoglu and Robinson (2006), they argue that autocratic regimes can decide to expand welfare programmes to a small, key subset of the population or to encourage third parties to do so, creating vested interests that compete with each other.

Relatedly, Knutsen and Rasmussen (2018) provide theoretical evidence of the restrictive nature of autocratic social protection. Using a dataset of 140 countries around the world since the 1880s, they carry out logistic regressions, and find that autocracies are as likely as democracies to create old-age pensions but that the coverage tends to be more limited. In consonance with the findings from the studies described above, their argument is that making credible commitments that guarantee the support of politically relevant groups is essential for the survival of autocratic regimes.

Political Settlements

The second sub-strand of the literature puts emphasis on political institutions, other than democracy itself. This literature relies on quantitative approaches, theoretical analysis as well as qualitative studies, like case studies.

While only focusing on welfare schemes in developed economies, Iversen (2005) argues that institutionalized parties (able to make credible commitments that overcome time-inconsistent preferences) and proportional representation systems (more likely to have institutionalized parties and promote left-leaning coalitions) are more conducive to spending in social insurance. In a related fashion, Rasmussen and Knutsen (2021) use OLS estimators with panel-corrected standard errors to test whether party institutionalization is correlated with wider and more universal social policy in 134 countries throughout the 20th century, until 2015. Like Iversen, they find that indeed countries with more institutionalized parties, both in democratic and authoritarian regimes, have a wider network of programmes and have higher coverage. The theoretical explanation behind this finding is that the capacity to implement policies, and make credible commitments, give incumbents the incentives to expand social policies that they can claim credit for them.

Niño-Zarazúa et al. (2012) analyse the evolution of social protection in sub-Saharan Africa since the late 1990s, identifying two archetypes or models: one in low-income countries and another one in middle-income countries, particularly in Southern Africa. They argue that both the specific model that a country establishes and the speed at which it does has been shaped and determined by domestic politics, the fiscal space of governments, and the institutional capacity of states. While middle-income countries have primed the creation of institutionalized, age-based categorical programmes resulting from domestic political negotiations, low-income countries have opted for poverty-targeted schemes, primarily driven by donors.

Lavers and Hickey (2015) argue that the political settlements literature is well-suited to explain the expansion of social protection in sub-Saharan Africa. The authors state that the negotiation between formal and informal institutions, as well as the impact of ideology and transnational players, can account for the continental emergence of social protection. More general, they conjecture in a subsequent study (2016) that political commitment of elites, and its

relationship with external forces, are responsible for the emergence of social protection in low-income countries. Hickey et al. (2020) illustrate the relevance of politics in the emergence of social protection with several case studies in Eastern and Southern Africa. The *Politics of Social Protection in Eastern and Southern Africa* documents that the political commitment to social protection at the national level and the balance of power between elites and non-elites are the main drivers of social protection on the subcontinent. Importantly, in contrast with the literature on democracy, the book argues that democratic countries are not substantively different than authoritarian countries in the region.

Holland and Schneider (2017) identify two stages in the expansion of non-contributory social policy in Latin America in the 2000s, characterized by different coalitions. The first stage, which they call “easy” redistribution, was characterized by the provision of targeted benefits to historically marginalized groups. The authors call it easy because there was virtually no political or economic rivalry during the expansion of social protection: the creation of new schemes, like CCTs, did not mean the decrease of existing contributory ones; hence there was no substantial opposition. The second, “hard” stage entails reforming and expanding existing programmes, which generates losers. While easy redistribution was clearly favoured by some sectors, chiefly outsiders, hard redistribution lacks champions.

Peng (2011) examines the history of expansion of social care in South Korea and finds that the progression of programmes has been inconsistent, promoting policies with contradictory goals. Programmes aimed at supporting women’s labour force participation, like childcare programmes, have been followed by deregulations in the labour markets that have left workers unprotected against life course contingencies. The “Politics of compromise” is the cause for this succession of progressive and regressive policies. Huang (2014) analyses the main features of the Chinese social health insurance since the turn of the 20th century. Using a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods, her study argues

that the design of the social health insurance system reflects a tension between maintaining privileges for the elite and granting basic benefits to the people. The argument is that the expansion of the social health insurance has not been driven by democratic forces but rather by calculations from the authoritarian government to maintain stability, covering basic demands from the people and the local elites.

According to this literature, political forces and institutions shape not only the emergence and design of social protection, but also its implementation and further expansion. For instance, in the context of sub-Saharan Africa, Rohregger et al. (2021) observe that depending on the local political dynamics, traditional authorities and informal institutions in Kenya can help or thwart the access to, and compliance with, the national Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (CT-OVC) programme. In Ethiopia, Cochrane and Tamiru (2016) conducted interviews with beneficiaries and government officials from the Productive Safety Net Programme and found that there were delays in the implementation of several components of the programme due to the lack of channels through which citizens could effectively submit complaints. The authors state that opening those channels would have empowered citizens, thus the resistance by the authorities.

In their comparison on the expansion of anti-poverty transfers in India, South Africa and Brazil, Pellissery and Barrientos (2013) observe that political changes revamped the social contract and, thus, social protection in these countries. They argue that the interplay of factors like the pressure of left-wing forces, the similarities in the political identity of ruling parties at the state and federal levels and policy centralization in one ministry facilitated the enlargement of social transfer schemes. They claim that the extension of social assistance in India accelerated once left parties were part of the ruling coalition in 2004; however, the lack of a centralized federal ministry in charge of anti-poverty programmes and the disincentives for collaboration between the federal and state governments have thwarted the progress.

Tillin and Pereira (2017) contrast the expansion of *Bolsa Familia* in Brazil and the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) and National Food Security Act (NFSA) in India and highlight the role of federalism and the characteristics of national and state parties. Their argument is that the competition between levels of governments for political credit and the progressive national reach (nationalization) of political parties explain why, despite the inherent slowness in policy making of federal systems, social protection expanded greatly in these countries in the early 2000s. *Bolsa Familia* allowed the national parties, in particular the Worker's Party, to reap political benefits throughout the country, becoming more competitive and forming alliances with local parties. In India, the desynchronized electoral calendars have made state parties the main political beneficiaries of these programme. Schreiber (2014) examines the progression of the South Africa's Child Support Grant (CSG), from the State Maintenance Grant (SMG) created during apartheid. The author finds that only the provisions related to racial discrimination and unequal benefits were reformed, highlighting the centrality of legislative and political veto players.

Devereux and White (2010) look at the differences in the success of social protection reforms – i.e. what explains why some policies persist and accomplish their policy goals – in six sub-Saharan African countries since the 2000s.⁷ They find that what distinguishes successful policy in these counties is whether they are domestically generated. In short, programmes that are introduced as a consequence of national political processes, with domestic input, tend to be more stable and effective than those initiated and promoted by external actors, a fact that questions the propositions of policy transfer and policy diffusion theory. More recently, Devereux has acknowledged that in some cases, donor-initiated projects can become institutionalised over time, as happened in some cases (e.g., PSNP in Ethiopia) but not others (e.g., the Social Cash Transfer Programme in Malawi).

⁷ Malawi, Zambia, Ethiopia, Lesotho, Swaziland and Kenya.

Rothstein, Samanni, and Teorell (2012) claim that the quality of government, understood as how impartial it is, is central in explaining the creation of the welfare state and its ultimate characteristics. Workers mobilize and demand more social policy depending on how much they believe the government will be an efficient provider. Regressing quality of government – proxied by an index of corruption, law and order, and bureaucratic professionalism – on social spending and benefit generosity in 18 OECD countries from 1984 to 2000 illustrates the positive association. Moreover, they also show that the interaction between quality of government and a proxy for organized labour mobilization is significant to explain variation in generosity.

In an analysis of the universalization of social protection (cash transfers, social pensions and healthcare coverage) in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Venezuela since the late 1990s, Pribble (2013) identifies, on top of electoral competition, two sets of explanatory factors: policy legacies, namely the initial policy conditions that reformers face, and the ideology and organization of political parties. In short, the book claims that in countries with less entrenched policy status quo and with left-leaning parties in power, internally organized and more programmatic social protection reforms reached a higher share of the population, were better administered, and delivered more efficiently and equally.

Similarly, Martinez Franzoni and Sanchez-Ancochea (2016) study the expansion of health provision and pension systems in Costa Rica, Mauritius, South Korea and Uruguay since mid-20th century. They observe that, while all four countries had a priori favourable political conditions to provide universal policy, like electoral competition and left-wing parties, only in Costa Rica, and to a lesser extent Mauritius, universalization indeed occurred. According to them, the key is that these two countries had more generous policy architectures. Namely, the features of the initial reforms made it easy for countries to expand the benefits. Having unified systems, in which citizens have essentially the same benefits, facilitates universalization due to

logistic and political economy issues, limiting the provision of differential services, like social security only for a subsector of society or a powerful private sector. Ehmke's (2019) study of the expansion of India's NREGA points out that the implementation process and the scope for new legislation was affected by the experience of previous programmes, supporting the political legacy argument.

The Judicial System

A small subset of the literature studies the impact of the judicial system on social protection expansion, particularly in the health care sector. Gauri, Varun, and Brinks (2008) document the “legalization”⁸ of health and education policies in Brazil, India, Indonesia, Nigeria, and South Africa. The authors conclude that, while rulings tend to be specific to certain policy sectors, they have indirectly opened the door for systematic policy change. Legalization has been neither clearly pro-poor nor clearly anti-poor, but when courts are responsive, there is popular and political support, and cases are general rather than specific, social justice is more likely to occur. In a follow-up study, Brinks and Gauri (2014) examine social and economic litigation in India, South Africa, Brazil and Indonesia and find a pro-poor bent in the first two countries; namely, the bottom two quintiles of the income distribution represented more than 40% of the beneficiaries of the legislation. These findings challenge the idea that courts tend to rule regressively by observing not only the direct consequences of specific pieces of legislation but the general outcomes for parties not necessarily involved in the onset of the cases. Thus, it seems to suggest that legal systems and cases that favour collective rulings tend to be more pro-poor.

⁸ The authors “decompose the life cycle of public-policy litigation into four stages: (a) the placing of cases on the courts’ docket (we usually refer to this stage as legal mobilization); (b) the judicial decision; (c) a bureaucratic, political, or private-party response; and, in many cases, (d) some follow-up litigation”. The authors argue that the product of this four-stage process is the legalization of policy.

Focusing solely on South Africa and India, Friedman and Maiorano (2017) argue that both supreme courts have contributed to the expansion of social and economic rights, in housing and child nutrition policy, by favouring collective actions. These sets of rulings, the authors note, have primed dialogue between the government and civil society and have not systematically confronted the general agenda of incumbent leaders and parties, maximizing the chances of unchallenged compliance.

Finally, Lamprea's (2017) review on the judicialization of healthcare contrasts the experiences of Latin America and South Africa. The former, dubbed "litigation epidemic", is characterized by more particularistic, provision-related cases, resulting largely in better access to medicines for smaller groups. The former is more general, structure-related, and usually benefits larger groups. Lamprea claims that the structure of the courts and the health systems explain the differences observed.

Economic and Demographic Conditions

A group of studies that we identified through the systematic review places economic and demographic factors at the centre of explanations underpinning the adoption and expansion of social protection systems in developing countries. These studies adopt, by and large, quantitative methods of analysis. For example, Segura Ubierno (2007) finds that trade openness is negatively correlated with social security expenditures in Latin America from 1973 to 2003, conditional on the historical development of the welfare state. As mentioned earlier, only a set of countries had a relatively developed welfare state by 1973 (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, and Uruguay). Most of them had a particular combination of economic development, trade closedness, and strong left-wing forces. Hence, trade openness debilitated the strength of the labour movement and decreased social security expenditures.

Interestingly, Segura Ubierno finds that being a democracy is only statistically significant when social spending is allocated to the health and education sectors.

Niedzwiecki (2014) has also noted the role of labour unions in shaping social protection. Using the cases of Argentina and Brazil from the 1980s to the late 2000s, she observes that the support or opposition of unions to policy reforms was crucial to advance or thwart health and pension reforms. The author tests this general relation quantitatively in a subset of South American countries from 1980 to 2010 and identifies that general social spending, as well as spending on health and social security, are positively correlated with an index of organized labour strength – capturing the share of workers affiliated to unions, minimum wage levels and union concentration (2015). These correlations hold even when accounting for the ideology and power concentration of the party in power, and the cumulative years a country has been a democracy.

Carnes and Mares (2014; 2015) assert that the expansion of non-contributory social insurance programmes since the 1990s in Latin America responds to societal requests for social protection. They state that labour insecurity has risen due to deindustrialization, and thus created vulnerable groups who may suddenly stop being protected by social security. These groups have sided with traditionally excluded sectors to demand social protection. The authors illustrate this relation regressing the adoption of non-contributory pension reforms on deindustrialization (cross-country logistic regressions) and using continental survey data to show the link between employment insecurity and support for social pensions and healthcare protection via hierarchical models and individual probit regressions.

Huang (2014) relies on ordinary least squares (OLS) to compare the Chinese experience in enlarging social protection relative to the experience of other developing countries in East Asia between 2005 and 2010. She finds that engagement in international trade is negatively correlated with social protection generosity but positively

associated with coverage. The correlations can be explained due to the tension between labour competitiveness for exports and protection in the presence of risks. Rudolph (2016) employs a Cox duration model to explain the variation in the emergence of social pensions around the globe since 1960. She finds that demographic factors such as lower fertility, and economic factors including national income and savings that affect aggregate demand, are among the most relevant correlates of social protection adoption. Moreover, in the line of Huber and Stephens (2012) and Kapiszewski, Levitsky, and Yashar (2021), this research observes that cumulative exposure to democracy is associated with a higher likelihood of adoption.

Abu Sharkh and Gough (2010) employ cluster analysis to identify the archetypes of welfare regimes among developing countries from 1990 to 2000. Focusing on institutional factors, like social spending, policy outputs such as vaccination and mortality rates, and the role of non-government transfers, they find three progressing typologies. The authors note that, although countries tended to remain in the same category between 1990 and 2000, factors like HIV prevalence were important determinants in the evolution of social protection systems in certain developing countries.

Ideas

Another subset of the literature focuses on the role that ‘ideas’ have in the emergence of social protection. These studies highlight the importance of change of paradigms and institutional – and on some occasions, personal – efforts in adopting and expanding anti-poverty systems.

Jensen (2011) employs OLS estimators with panel-corrected standard error to account for the variation in the total spending in transfer programmes among developed countries from 1980 to 2001 to test whether the long-standing hypothesis of the central role of left-wing parties in the creation of social policy is valid for the

deepening of social policy in mature welfare states. He finds that left-wing parties are statistically correlated with more spending, albeit marginally, only in countries with corporatist arrangements. Jensen interprets this finding as suggestive that in mature welfare states the left is able to push for more spending via its negotiations with employers. Sirén (2021) finds similar patterns among developing countries from 1995 to 2015. Social spending tends to be higher when left-wing parties, as opposed to right-wing or centrist parties, are in power. These associations are robust to the inclusion of variables like quality of government, which, contradicting Rothstein, Samanni, and Teorell (2012), is statistically insignificant.

Barrientos et al. (2013) study Brazil and South Africa and conclude that new social contracts and new constitutions lead to changes in paradigms regarding the role of social protection in the economy, especially about its effects on human capital and growth. The authors argue that the end of the dictatorship in Brazil and of apartheid in South Africa resulted in more progressive, egalitarian constitutions that influenced social policy in the following years, including the introduction of *Bolsa Família* in Brazil and the Child Support Grant in South Africa.

Reviewing the African experience, Bossuroy and Coudouel (2018) find that the take up of social safety nets in the region has been shaped by the beliefs that key political actors have about redistribution and poverty. They observe that social protection is more likely to emerge in the aftermath of shocks and with the push of international agencies. Manor and Duckett (2017) traced the expansion of social policy in Brazil, China, India and South Africa and finds that heads of governments in all four countries were decisive in this expansion. They shared a concern about poverty and inequality and the view that social policy could be an effective and feasible tool to address these problems while creating political credit to them. Borges (2018) proposes a counterintuitive argument to explain the emergence of CCTs in Latin America. The argument is that left-wing administrations were sceptical about expanding CCTs,

as these programmes were associated with neoliberalism due to their strict eligibility rules and also financing from international donor agencies. However, the support of CCTs by Brazil's President Lula da Silva, an iconic figure in the continental left, help popularize them across the continent. Particularly, Borges observes that left-leaning governments in the continent tended to prefer and adopt the Bolsa Familia design, as opposed to the Mexican *Progresa* design brought about by centre-right administrations that focused on enhancing the human capital component.

Dorlach (2021) puts forward a similar argument. The study of the expansion of Chile's non-contributory pension underscores the role of conservative economists in the design of the scheme. According to Dorlach, the participation of conservative voices reflected the limited scope of the programme, which facilitated the support by the pension fund industry and conservative parliamentarians, and its subsequent approval and adoption.

Deacon (2013) traces the creation of the ILO's Social Protection Floor Initiative (SPF) and singles out the contributions of three high-ranking members of the organization. His book recreates the conditions that gave rise to the plan, a form of "global social policy", and the efforts of these international bureaucrats in its advancement. Seekings (2019) suggests, however, that since the elaboration of the SPF did not have inputs from Eastern and Southern African countries, its impact has been rather limited in the regions. There has been discursive acceptance but few social policy reforms. Von Gliszczynski and Leisering (2016) contend that the different types of social assistance programmes (e.g., social pensions, family allowances and CCTs) have gained prominence largely because at least one international organization (e.g. HelpAge International, UNICEF and the World Bank) took their promotion as part of their core missions. They also highlight the role of evidence in the popularity and adoption of welfare benefit programmes.

Covariate Shocks

Finally, a small part of the literature places covariate shocks as key determinants of social policy expansion. This literature is mixed in their methodologies (both quantitative and qualitative). For example, Desai and Rudra (2019) use OLS estimators to uncover the impact of trade shocks in different sectors on the expansion of social protection, expenditures, coverage and adequacy in 150 developing countries from 2000 to 2010. They identify that trade surpluses in the agricultural (manufacturing) sector are associated with higher (lower) social protection coverage. This difference, according to the authors, is due to the spill over effects that agricultural shocks have on the entire economy.

In the context of sub-Saharan Africa in particular, the literature has documented the role of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and related health shocks. Mokomane (2013) argues that cash transfers became more common among southern and eastern African nations in the mid-1990s due to the upsurge of HIV/AIDS. Stable cash flows helped families mitigate the economic impacts of foregone earnings generated by morbidity and mortality. This particular challenge explains, according to Mokomane, the relative popularity of UCTs vs CCTs. Similarly, Ellis, Devereux, and White (2009) document that the devastating effects of the HIV/AIDS, both in terms of morbidity and mortality, was one of the reasons behind the creation of Old Age Grant in Swaziland and was a key element in the design of, among others, the Food Assistance Programme in Mozambique, which contains explicit provisions for people receiving antiretroviral therapy, and the Small Livestock Transfers in Zimbabwe. Relatedly, according to Lamprea (2017) and Gauri and Brinks (2008), the HIV/AIDS epidemic explains in part the increasing judicialization of health care in South Africa and Latin America.

A group of studies hypothesizes that economic crises can trigger or thwart the expansion of particular forms of policy. McCord (2010) observes that social protection emerging from the 2008 crises was

largely provisional and that crises in fact obstructed more long-term and sustainable forms of social protection policies. Donors supported such provisional efforts, rather than structural reforms. Relatedly, Barrientos and Niño-Zarazúa (2011) underscore the importance of international assistance in financing the creation of social protection for children, given the difficulties developing countries have in setting up new long-term policy during crisis. Beazley, Marzi, and Steller (2021) compared the timeliness in setting up cash transfers in 53 low- and middle-income countries during the COVID-19 pandemic and observed that those with better social protection capacities responded faster. Particularly, they note that having a system financially and technologically inclusive, reliant on national identification numbers and legally robust has been crucial. Lowe, McCord, and Beazley (2021) analysed more dimensions of the response but only of a subset of four countries, Nigeria, Peru, Sri Lanka and Togo. Their conclusions point at the same direction. Effective identification systems, good technological outreach and accessibility to services, coordinated institutional settings and solid finances are associated with successful policy responses to the pandemic.

Finally, in the aforementioned review, Bossuoy and Coudouel (2018) also observe that social protection in Africa is more likely to emerge in the aftermath of shocks. Like Çemen and Yörük (2020) document, the argument is that during crises, governments resort to social protection as a means to appease society and avoid losing governability.

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Tables

Table A 1: Synthesis of evidence matrix (quantitative studies)

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Simpson (2017)	Sub-Saharan Africa	1990–2011	CCT	Multilateral aid	Fischer exact tests	(+)	(**) World Bank aid	Not specified	CCTs are more likely to be adopted with World Bank financial support.
Dodlova (2020)	Global	Since 1960	UCT, social pension, family allowance, CCT and employment guarantee schemes	Multilateral aid (World Bank, DFID, UNICEF, EU Commission and WFP)	Linear probability model	(+)	(*) (**) and (***)	The World Bank supports proxy means testing targeting to shield policy from political manipulation	All agencies have promoted, public works and family support programs, none have promoted social pensions and only the World Bank CCTs.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Brooks (2007)*	Global	1980–2002	Defined-contribution pension scheme (private model) and notional-defined contribution (pay-as-you-go) scheme	Diffusion	Bivariate probit	(-) and (+) respectively	(*)	Political cost of adopting a model	The likelihood of a developing country adopting a funded defined-contribution pension scheme (private model) is higher when its peers have already done it. The effect is absent in reforms to notional-defined contribution (pay-as-you-go) schemes because, according to the author, they are less politically costly to change or eliminate, and thus the incentives to learn, through other's experience, its consequences are lower.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Brooks (2005)	Global	1980–1999	Private pension schemes	Diffusion	Cox hazard model	(+)	(***)	Not specified	Neighbour's policies increase the probability of adoption only among developing countries.
Borges Sugi-yama (2011)	Latin America	1997–2007	CCT	Diffusion	Cox hazard model	(+)	(**)	Not specified	The likelihood of a country adopting a CCT increases with when its neighbours have one of such programs.
Vaca-flores & LeSage (2020)	Latin America	2000–2017	CCT and UCT	Diffusion	Durbin probit model	(+) for CCT	(*) (**) and (***)	Not specified	The probability of creating a CCT, not a UCT, is higher the more neighbouring countries have it.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
López-Cariboni & Cao (2015)	Global	1977–2004	Social insurance and progressive social spending (health, education, and housing)	Diffusion (policies of import-competitors) and labour force power	Spatio-temporal autoregressive model	(+) and (-) for labour force strength	(*) (**) and (***)	Countries need to produce efficiently	The expected social insurance and progressive expenditures in a country, lowers when its import-competitor lowers its expenditures. Social security spending is expected to lower only when there are no strong organized labour movements that can isolate policy from external shocks.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Schmitt et al. (2015)	Global	1820–2013	Work injury, sickness protection, old age pension, unemployment benefit and family allowances	Diffusion and donor influence	Probit regression	(+), except British colonial legacy	Several	Not specified	Adoption is more likely the more neighbouring countries have one of those programs. Membership to the ILO is positive associated with de jure emergence of social security.
Brooks (2015)	Global	1990–2011	CCT	Diffusion, democracy, and divided government	Dynamic logit	(+)	(***)	Not specified	Adoption is more likely when a country has a divided government and is neighbored by countries with CCTs and with democratic regimes.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Çemen & Yörük (2020)	Global	1989–2015	Total public social expenditure	Donor influence	GLS	(+)	(***) and (*)	The World Bank promotes social protection as a response to some forms of protest	Social protection spending is correlated with general strikes only in countries that simultaneously received World Bank social policy recommendations.
Carnes & Mares (2014)	Latin America	1980 and 2007 & 2010	Non-contributory social insurance programmes	Deindustrialization	Logistic regression with cubic polynomial & Hierarchical model	(+)	(***)	Labour insecurity	Labour insecurity has risen due to deindustrialization, creating vulnerable groups who have sided with traditionally excluded sectors to demand social protection.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Carnes & Mares (2015)	Latin America	2010	Non-contributory social insurance programmes	Deindustrialization	Ordered probit estimation	(+)	(*) and (***)	Labour insecurity	Labour insecurity has risen due to deindustrialization, creating vulnerable groups who have sided with traditionally excluded sectors to demand social protection.
Shim (2019)	East Asia	1948 to 2016	Social security, public assistance and social services	Democracy	Logistic regressions	(+)	(***)	Not specified	Democratic consolidation is positively correlated with the share of welfare policies, especially those that aim to grant universal coverage.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Dodlova, Giolbas & Lay (2018)	Global	1990–2014	Unconditional family support schemes, social pension schemes, CCTs, and public works programs	Democracy	Descriptive statistics	(+): CCT and democracy	-	Not specified	Democratic countries tend to have more social transfer programs and specifically adopt CCTs. Unconditional family support programs are more prevalent in non-democratic regimes. Non-democratic countries resort more often to targeting methods that can be altered for political purposes.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Dodlova, Giolbas & Lay (2017)	Global	1960–2014	CCT and UCT	Democracy	OLS and IV	(+) and (-) respectively	(*) (**) and (***)	Not specified	Adoption of CCTs is common among electoral democracies. UCTs and programs with non-technical targeting mechanisms are more common in autocracies.
Nino-Zarazua & Santillan (2021)	Global	2000–2015	CCT, social pension and UCT	Democracy	Censored (tobit) IV	(+) and (-) respectively	(***)	Not specified	Democracies tend to favour the expansion of CCTs and social pensions, while autocracies of UCTs and public works.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Schmitt (2020)	Global	Late 2010s	Contributory and non-contributory pension schemes	Democracy	OLS	(-) and (+) respectively	(*) (**) and (***)	Increasing non-contributory schemes is more transparent, efficient and popular than increasing social security	Non-contributory schemes tend to have wider coverage than contributory ones and are positively associated with democracy.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Huber, Mustillo & Stephens (2008)	Latin America	1970–2000	Social Security and Welfare, and Health and Education	Democracy	Prais-Winsten regression	(+) for social security, health and education	(**)	Responsiveness to social demands	The total number of years that a country has been under a democratic regime, since 1945, is positively associated with the expenditures in social security, health and education.
De la O (2015)	Latin America	1990–2011	CCT	Democracy	Linear probability model and RDD	(+) adopting a CCT with stringent design	(***)	Limit the discretionary power of incumbents	Countries with divided governments have a higher expectation of adopting a CCT with a stringent design.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Knutsen & Rasmussen (2018)	Global	Since 1880s	Old-age pensions	Democracy and autocracy	Logit regressions, GMM	(+) and (-) respectively	(**)	Autocracies need to make credible commitment to key groups	Autocracies are as likely as democracies to create old-age pensions but that the coverage tends to be more limited.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Huber & Stephens (2012)	Latin America	1945–1980 & 1990–2004	Pension systems, sick/maternity leave, social spending, and social security and welfare spending	Democracy and path dependence.	OLS & Prais-Winsten	(+)	(***) & (**)	Political competition, consolidation of left-wing parties and strengthening civil society	Long-term democratic exposure influenced spending which in turn led to poverty and inequality reductions.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Brown (2005)	Global	1960–1999	Income-tested old-age pensions and mandatory privatized social security schemes	Democracy and political strikes	Discrete-time logit models	(+) for contributory systems	(**) and (*)	Not specified	Democratic countries tend to adopt more contributory schemes than non-contributory programmes. Political strikes are correlated with higher probability of adopting means-tested non-contributory pensions.
Rudolph (2016)	Global	1960–2012	Social pensions	Demographic and economic factors	Cox hazard model	(+)	(*) (**) and (***)	Not specified	Demographic factors such as lower fertility, and economic factors including national income and savings that affect aggregate demand, are among the most relevant correlates of social pensions adoption.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Sirén (2021)	Non-OECD democracies	1995–2015	Total public social expenditures	Left-wing governments	OLS	(+)	(**)	Not specified	Social expenditures tend to be higher when left-wing parties, as opposed to either right-wing or centrist, are in power. These associations are robust to the inclusion of variables like quality of government.
Jensen (2011)	Global North	1980–2001	Total spending in transfer programs	Left wing governments and corporatism.	OLS with panel-corrected standard errors	(+)	(***)	Push for more spending via negotiations with employers	Left-wing parties are statistically correlated with more spending, albeit marginally, only in countries with corporatists arrangements.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Kangas (2012)	Africa	The 20 th century	Work accident insurance, sickness benefits, pensions, and family allowances	Path dependence	Cox hazard model	(+)	Unclear	Not specified	Along with industrialization rates, countries with a French colonial past tended to enact social security legislation earlier.
Altman & Castiglioni (2020)	Latin America	1990–2013	Education and health and social protection systems in general	Political competition and the strength of civil society	OLS	(+)	(*) and (***)	Popular demands	Political competition, the strength of civil society and GDP per capita are statistically correlated with equitable social policy.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Iversen (2005)	OECD countries	1980–95 for correlation and 1960–1995 for regression	Social insurance	Political institutions and ideological factors	Correlation and OLS	(+)	(***)	Ability to make credible commitments and to include left-wing parties in ruling coalitions	Institutionalized parties and proportional representation systems are more conducive to spending in social insurance.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Rasmusen & Knutsen (2021)	Global	1900–2015	Old age, unemployment, maternity leave, family allowances, work injury and sickness benefits	Political party institutionalization	OLS with panel-corrected standard errors	(+)	(***)	The capacity to implement policies and make credible commitments give incumbent the incentives to expand social policies that they can claim credit for.	Countries with more institutionalized parties, both in democratic and authoritarian regimes, have a wider network of programs and have higher coverage.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Rothstein, Samanni & Teorell (2012)	OECD countries	1984–2000	Social spending in general and coverage of unemployment, sickness and public pension schemes	Quality of government	Prais-Winsten regression	(+)	(***)	Workers mobilize and demand more social policy depending on how much they believe the government will be an efficient provider	Quality of government – proxied by an index of corruption, law and order, and bureaucratic professionalism – is correlated with social spending and benefit generosity.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Nied-zwiecki (2015)	South America	1980–2010	General social spending, as well as spending on health and social security	Strength of organized labour	Prais-Winsten regression	(+)	(**)	Ability to support or block policy	Organized labour strength is correlated with general social, health and social security spending.
Huang (2014)	East Asia	2005–2010	Social insurance, social assistance and labour market programs	Trade	OLS	(+) for generosity (-) for coverage	(**)	Labour competitive-ness for exports and protection in the presence of risks	Engagement in international trade is negatively correlated with social protection generosity, but positively associated with coverage.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Segura-Ubiergo (2007)	Latin America	1973–2003	Social security expenditures	Trade openness	Error correction model	(-)	(*) (**) and (***)	Weakening of the labour movement	Trade openness is negatively correlated with social security expenditures conditional on the historical development of the welfare state.
Desai & Rudra (2019)	Global	2000–2010	Total expenditure, coverage and adequacy or all forms of social protection	Trade shocks	OLS	(+) for exports in agriculture and (-) in manufacturing	(**) and (*)	This sectoral difference is due to the spill-over effects that agricultural shocks have on the entire economy	Trade surpluses in the agricultural (manufacturing) sector are associated with higher (lower) social protection coverage.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Main determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Estimation methods	Direction of correlation	Level of statistical significance	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Leisering (2019)	Global	1971–2011	Social pensions	Structural transformation, democratic history, policy diffusion and global norms	Conditional logit model	(-) agricultural share of GDP, (+) democratic history, democratization, ILO declaration, and regional prevalence	(*) (**) and (***)	Democratic consolidation, unemployment pressures, socialization of global politics	Structural transformation, democratic history, recent democratization, adherence to the 1998 ILO's rights at work declaration and prevalence of pension programs among neighbours increase the likelihood of adoption.

Table A 2: Synthesis of evidence matrix (qualitative studies)

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Cherrier (2016)	Sub-Saharan Africa	Since the 1990s	Social transfers (cash and in-kind transfers, targeted subsidies, and public works)	Foreign aid actors	Case studies	National governments	Foreign aid programs facilitate the mobilization of domestic resources – through tax reform recommendations and co-funding requirements – and provide scientific evidence of the positive impact of social protection, resulting in the institutionalization of social transfers.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Wany-ama & McCord (2017)	Sub-Saharan Africa	Early 2000s to mid-2010s	Cash transfers and social health insurance (SHI)	Donor influence and domestic political actors	Process tracing	Not specified	Specific social protection schemes emerged and prevailed when the political, electoral ambitions of national politicians were aligned with the funding conditions of international donors.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Osorio Gonnet (2019)	Latin America	2000s	CCT	Donor influence	Process tracing	Strength of national institutions	External forces, like financial and technical assistance from World Bank and the IADB, exerted considerable influence in the design of the program in Ecuador. In Chile, contrastingly, the main features of the program were shaped by national dynamics, learning not from rather than emulating other countries. This difference due to the relative strength, in technical, financial and infrastructure terms, of the relevant Chilean institutions as opposed to the Ecuadorian.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Ulriksen (2016)	Sub-Saharan Africa	Early 2000s to mid-2010s	Social pensions and CCT	Donor influence, ideas, and domestic political actors	Process tracing	Ideology and interest of the national government	The World Bank and ILO have had to refine and adapt their policy and institutional recommendations to fit the national elite's interests.
Hickey & Bukenya (2020)	Sub-Saharan Africa	2002–2019	Social cash transfers	Donor influence and political strategy	Process tracing	Ideology and political interest of the national government	International donors managed to advance social cash transfers in Uganda because they used political, rather than just welfare-enhancing, arguments to promote them among Ugandan elites.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Adulai (2021)	Sub-Saharan Africa	2007–2013	CCT	Donors and domestic political interests	Process tracing	Electoral interests of the national government	The emergence of the of the Ghanaian Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) cash transfer program and its design features reflect the negotiations between donors and the party in power, the New Patriotic Party.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Kwon, Cook & Kim (2015)	South Asia	2008–2011	Food transfers and cash, public works and emergency food programs	Donor influence and domestic political actors	Historical institutionalism	Not specified	The partnership, complementarity between international organizations and public-minded national policymakers was key for the emergence of the Cambodian National Social Protection Strategy (NSPS). The most relevant agencies were the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the World Health Organization, the World Food Programme, and UNICEF and German Corporation for International Cooperation.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Dadap-Cantal, Fischer & Ramos (2021)	South-east Asia	2007–2020	CCT	Donor influence	Documentary analysis and interviews	Not specified	Pressure from agencies like the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank to harmonize all poverty-related programs was key to design and maintain the ineffective targeting system of the Philippines' CCT.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Saguin & Howlett (2019)	South-east Asia	Since the mid-2000s	CCT	Donor influence. Instrument constituents: a coalition of external actors that support certain designs and objectives of anti-poverty programs	Process tracing	Not specified	Bureaucrats from the World Bank, with previous experience in CCTs in Latin America, had a central role in advocating the expansion of 4P.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Béland, et al. (2018)	South-east Asia and sub-Saharan Africa	Late 2000s	CCT	Donor influence. Instrument constituents.	Process tracing	Not specified	Instrument constituents, from the World Bank, DFID and other agencies with experience in Latin America, influenced the adoption of CCTs in the Philippines and in Ghana.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Deve-reux (2013)	Sub-Saharan Africa	Since mid-20 th century	Contributory and social pension insurance, CCT, and public works, food aid	Diffusion. Adaptation of European social security model and humanitarian responses, lack of focus on domestic realities	Process tracing	Not specified	Social protection systems in Africa have been largely adapted from the European models and thus have not reflected the specific economic dynamics of African countries.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Bender, Keller & Willing (2014)	Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa	Since 1990s	Not specified	Diffusion and policy transfer	Case studies	Not specified	Policy transfer and policy diffusion theories argue that policy decisions have geographic spillover effects. Imitation, learning, emulation are among the main forms of diffusion.
Weyland (2005)	Latin America	Early 1990s to early 2000s	Pension systems	Diffusion and rational biases	Process tracing	Neighborhood effects	Decision heuristics are key to understand social security reform. In particular, countries tend to imitate others' policies because they are available and seem successful in similar settings.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Weyland (2006)	Latin America	Late 1980s to early 2000s	Health and pension systems	Diffusion and rational biases	Process tracing	External pressure and cognitive heuristics	Instead of relying solely on objective, systematic decision-making, policymakers faced cognitive biases that lead them to resort to heuristics to draft policy. Policymakers undertook policy reforms, especially pensions, inspired by experiences of countries that seemed successful.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Hunter (2021)	Latin America	1997–2012	CCT	Diffusion	Process tracing	Not specified	Given a set of domestic political conditions conducive to the expansion of social protection, diffusion plays a central role. The diffusion of general policy models is more likely to occur the stronger their resemblance.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Kwon & Kim (2015)	South-east Asia	Since the late 1990s	CCT	Diffusion	Process tracing	Paradigms of social protection	The creation of cash transfers in Indonesia, based on imported models, strengthened social policy capacities and the changed the prevailing paradigms, which were crucial for the development of a more complex social protection system.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Huber & Stephens (2012)	Latin America	1945–2005	Social security, pension, social pensions, sick/maternity leave, family allowance	Democracy and path dependence	Comparative Historical analysis	Consolidating left-wing political parties and strengthening civil society	Social welfare in Latin America in mid-20 th century occurred either in countries with a democratic system and a strong left political forces, like Chile and Uruguay, or in authoritarian systems where leaders co-opted middle classes, like in the cases of Argentina and Brazil. After that initial period, cumulative democracy is associated with welfare expenditure.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Mares & Carnes (2009)	Global	Since the mid-20 th century	Old age, disability, Unemployment benefits	Democracy and political institutions	Theoretical and historic institutionalism	Balance of power within autocratic regimes and political coalitions in general	Most social protection programs emerged during authoritarian governments. The coverage and generosity of social protection vary significantly among democratic and non-democratic countries. There is variation in the determinants of the reforms of the different social policy areas. The political coalitions behind the expansion of each component of the welfare state are unique.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Díaz-Cayeros, Estévez & Magaloni (2016)	Latin America	Early 1990s to 2012	CCT	Democracy, political loyalty, coalition size	Process tracing and quantitative analyses	Electoral competition	Democracy generated incentives for redistribution. The institutional reforms and the real chance of a regime change limited discretionarily and clientelism and brought about more technical and transparent operation rules.
De la O (2015)	Latin America	1990–2011	CCT	Democracy	Parliamentary debates and process tracing	Limit the discretionary power of incumbents	Countries with divided governments have a higher expectation of adopting a CCT with a stringent design.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Garay (2016)	Latin America	1980s-2010	Health care, pensions, and cash transfers	Democracy	Comparative Historical Analysis	Policy influence and electoral threats	The expansion of non-discretionary social policy since the democratization wave of the 1980s is explained by electoral competition for political outsiders and political mobilization from below (labour unions). The combination of these elements also determined the inclusive-ness of the social protection systems created in the region. More (less) restrictive models emerged when conservatives were (not) in power and popular

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Kapiszewski, Levitsky & Yashar (2021)	Latin America	1980–2016	Social pensions, health care, and cash transfers	Democracy and inequality	Process tracing	A more engaged citizenry	social forces were not (were indeed) included in the negotiation process. The creation of inclusionary social policy is largely explained by inequality and cumulative exposure to democracy. Inequality fuels demand for redistribution, democracy provides incentives for politicians to do redistribute.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Barrientos et al. (2013)	Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America	Since 1990s	CCT, social pensions, children and disability grants	Democracy	Process tracing	Changes in ideas about poverty, human capital, and growth	New social contracts and new constitutions, brought by democratization, lead to changes in paradigms regarding the role of social protection in the economy. More progressive, egalitarian constitutions influenced social policy after democratization.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Velázquez-Leyer (2020)	Latin America	Mid 1990s	CCT	Democracy	Process tracing	Changes in ideas about poverty, human capital, and growth	Democratic transitions contributed to reframing poverty as the result of insufficient human capital, which cash transfers could contribute to improve.
Niedzwiecki (2014)	Latin America	Late 1980s to late 2000s	Health care and social pensions	Economic and demographic factors: support of labour unions	Case studies (Mill's Method of Difference)	Not specified	The support/opposition of unions was crucial to advance/thwart structural health and pension reforms.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Abu Sharkh & Gough (2010)	Global	1990–2000	Social spending	Economic and demographic factors	Cluster analysis	Not specified	They detect three progressing typologies of welfare regimes. Although countries tended to remain in the same category between 1990 and 2000, factors like remittances and HIV prevalence are important to understand the trajectory of countries.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Segura-Ubierno (2007)	Latin America	1920–1979	Social spending and social security	Favourable economic conditions (economic development and protection from international market competition) and democracy or left-labour power	Qualitative comparative analysis, with Boolean methodology	A wide fiscal base and a powerful, protected labour movement that demanded social security.	Latin American countries that set up welfare states between 1920 and the mid-1970s had either one of two particular combinations of political and economic factors. The first group combined dynamic yet closed-to-trade economies with either powerful left-wing forces or a functional democracy. The other group combined political and trade openness, with no economic success.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Dion (2008)	Latin America	Since 1988	Social security, healthcare provision, cash transfers and social pensions	Economic and political liberalization	Process tracing	The government had to compensate the losers of globalization by extending welfare benefits.	The political and economic liberalization reforms of the 1990s caused the extension of social assistance but at the cost of reducing social policy (i.e. pensions and health insurance) in Mexico.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Von Gliszczynski & Leisering (2016)	Global	Since 1990s	Social pensions, family allowances, CCT and general household assistance	Ideas and international support	Schemes of inter-pretation	Not specified	The different types of social assistance programmes have gained prominence largely because at least one international organization (HelpAge International, UNICEF and the World Bank) took their promotion as part of their core missions.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Bossuroy & Coudouel (2018)	Africa	Since the early 2010s	Social safety nets	Ideas about redistribution, a socio-economic instability and external shocks	Use of examples. It is simply descriptive with several examples.	Threat of revolts	Social protection in Africa is more likely to emerge in the aftermath of shocks. During crises, governments resort to social protection as a means to appease society and avoid losing governability.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Von Gliszczynski (2015)	Global	Since the late 1990s	Family allowances, CCTs, social pensions and general household assistance	Ideas and discourses among the donor community	Process tracing	Global legitimation of anti-poverty policies	Cash transfers gradually became widely accepted and legitimized among the donor community due to a change in the global discourse about poverty. At the end of the century, transfers started being recognized for their role in addressing economic development and human capital.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Leisering (2019)	Global	2000s	Family allowances, CCTs, social pensions and general household assistance	Ideas and discourses among the donor community	Process tracing	Global legitimation of anti-poverty policies	The main global discursive changes that motivated the boom of cash transfers were related to the benefits of pro-poor growth, safety nets, a more holistic understanding of human development view and a rights-based construction of policy.
Seekings (2019)	Sub-Saharan Africa	Since mid-2000s	Social protection floor initiative (SPF)	Ideas and lack of African participation during the negotiations of the SPF	Process tracing	Participation in the policy process	Since the elaboration of the SPF did not have inputs from Eastern and Southern African countries, its impact has been limited in these regions.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Borges (2018)	Latin America	Since 1990	CCT	Ideology of the incumbents and diffusion	Process tracing	Endorsement by an ideologically aligned government	Left-wing administrations in Latin America were sceptical about expanding CCTs, as these programmes were associated with neo-liberalism. However, the endorsement of CCTs by Brazil's President Lula da Silva help popularize them across the continent. Left-leaning governments tended to prefer and adopt the <i>Bolsa Familia</i> design, as opposed to the Mexican <i>Progresas</i> , brought about by center-right administrations.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Deacon (2013)	Global	2008–2012	Social protection floor initiative (SPF)	Ideas and stakeholders within ILO	Personal experience, documentary analysis and interviews	Not specified	The contributions of three high-ranking members of ILO was crucial for the creation of the Social Protection Floor Initiative (SPF).
Dorlach (2021)	Latin America	Mid 2000s	Non-contributory pension program	Participation of conservative economists	Process tracing	Legitimation	The participation of conservative voices during the expansion of Chile’s non-contributory pension, reflected in the limited scope of the program, legitimized it before opposing stakeholders, facilitating its approval.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Manor & Duckett (2017)	Global	Since 2002	Social policy in general	Ideology of political leaders	Process tracing	Recognition of the importance to tackle poverty and inequality	The heads of governments in all Brazil, China, India and South Africa were decisive in the expansion of social policy. They shared a concern about poverty and inequality and the view that social policy could be an effective and feasible tool to address these problems. They also aimed to get political credit for these programs.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Lamprea (2017)	Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa	1990s and early 2000s	Healthcare rights	Judicial and health systems	Process tracing	The different types of litigation strategies	The wave of healthcare-related litigation in Latin America, characterized by more particularistic cases, has resulted largely in better access to medicines for smaller groups. The more general, structure-related cases in South Africa, has benefited larger groups. The structure of the courts and the health systems explain the differences observed.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Gauri & Brinks (2008)	Global	20 th century	Health and education rights	Responsiveness of the judicial system	Case studies and legal analysis	Popular and political support and kinds of cases	The “legalization” of health and education policies has been neither clearly pro-poor nor clearly anti-poor, but when courts are responsive, there is popular and political support, and cases are general rather than particular, social justice is more likely to occur. Rulings have indirectly opened the door for systematic policy change.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Brinks & Gauri (2014)	Global	20 th century	Social and economic litigation	The different types of litigation strategies and legal systems	Case studies and legal analysis	Not specified	This paper examines social and economic litigation in India, South Africa, Brazil and Indonesia and detect a pro-poor bent in the first two countries. These findings challenge the idea that courts tend to rule regressively by observing not only the direct consequences of specific pieces of legislation but the general outcomes for parties not necessarily involved in the onset of the cases.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Friedman & Maiorano (2017)	Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia	Since the 1980s	Housing and child nutrition	The different types of ruling and political strategies of Supreme Courts	Case studies and legal analysis	Collective actions	The Supreme Courts of South Africa and India have contributed to the expansion of social and economic rights by favouring collective actions. The rulings have primed dialogue between the government and civil society and have not systematically confronted the general agenda of incumbent leaders and parties, maximizing the chances of unchallenged compliance.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Ouma (2019)	Sub-Saharan Africa	Early 2000s	CCT	Power relations between national and transnational actors, like UNICEF and International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA)	Process tracing	Affecting the preferences of national governments	International agencies and organizations pushed their policy agendas by shaping the preferences of national governments. The tools these agencies use are discursive, financial and research-related, such as conditionalities for funding. With such tools, international agencies have been able to advance the expansion of social protection.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Ouma & Adesina (2018)	Sub-Saharan Africa	Early 2000s	CCT	Power relations between national and transnational actors, like UNICEF and International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA)	Process tracing	Affecting the preferences of national governments	International agencies and organizations pushed their policy agendas by establishing partnerships and alliances with local actors. The strategy of these agencies is based on defining a problem and a set of specific actors and tools to solve it.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Cochrane & Tamiru (2016)	Sub-Saharan Africa	2015	CCT and food transfers	Political control of bureaucrats	Interviews and case studies	Lack of mechanisms to complain	The delays in the implementation of several components of the Productive Safety Net Programme were due to the lack of channels through which citizens could effectively submit complaints. Opening those channels would have empowered citizens, thus the resistance by the authority.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Roh-regger et al. (2021)	Sub-Saharan Africa	2004–2020	CCT	Political institutions Traditional authorities	Interviews	Not specified	Depending on the local political dynamics, traditional authorities, and informal institutions, can help or thwart the access to, and compliance with, the national Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (CT-OVC) program.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Nino-Zarazua, et al. (2012)	Sub-Saharan Africa	Since late 1990s	Social protection in general	Political institutions, political discourse, bureaucratic agencies, urbanization, social inequality	Process tracing	Interaction between national politics and global factor and social forces	Two archetypes or models of social protection have emerged: one in low-income countries and another one in middle-income countries, particularly in Southern Africa. The specific model that a country establishes and the speed at which it does has been shaped and determined by domestic politics, the fiscal space of governments, and the institutional capacity of states.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Bender et al. (2021)	Sub-Saharan Africa	2001–2017	Cash transfers and social health protection	Political institutions of each arm of social protection	Process tracing	Power and preferences of the main stakeholders	While cash transfer reforms in Kenya follow a pattern of cumulative incremental change, social health protection reforms show patterns of non-cumulative change, including blocked reforms and reform reversals.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Schreiber (2014)	Sub-Saharan Africa	1995–1998	Unconditional cash transfer	Preferences of veto players	Historical and rational choice institutionalism	Not specified.	Only the provisions related to racial discrimination and unequal benefits, which were considered discriminatory by all the stakeholders, – the Lund Commission, politicians, bureaucrats, and advisers – were reformed, highlighting the centrality of veto players.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Tillin & Pereira (2017)	South Asia and Latin America	2000s	CCT and public works	Political institutions. Federalism and party nationalization	Process tracing	Competition between levels of government for credit	Competition between levels of governments for political credit and the progressive national reach (nationalization) of political parties explain why, despite the inherent slowness in policy making of federal systems, social protection expanded greatly in Brazil and India in the early 2000s.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Ehmke (2019)	South Asia	Mid 2000s	Workfare	Political institutions and legacy	Historical analysis and interviews	Ideational motives and implementation challenges	The implementation process of India's NREGA and the scope for new legislation was affected by the experience of previous programs, supporting the political legacy argument.

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Pellisery & Barriento: (2013)	Global	Since early 2000s	Anti-poverty transfers	Political institutions, like pressure from left-wing actors, alignment between national and local authorities, changes to the social contract and policy centralization	Comparative study of politics	Not specified.	The interplay of factors like the pressure of left-wing forces, the similarities in the political identity of ruling parties at the state and federal levels and policy centralization in one ministry facilitated the enlargement of social transfer schemes. Political changes in South Africa and Brazil revamped the social contract, thus allowing larger social protection expansion.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Huang (2014)	East Asia	Since the early 2000s	Social health insurance	Political institutions, specifically an interest in maintaining regime stability	Process tracing	Balance between keeping the privileges of the elite and providing benefits for all	The design of the social health insurance system reflects a tension between maintaining privileges for the elite and granting basic benefits to the people. The expansion of the social health insurance has not been driven by democratic forces but rather by calculations from the authoritarian government to maintain stability, covering basic demands from the people and the local elites.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Deve-reux & White (2010)	Sub-Saharan Anglo-phone Africa	Early 2000s	Social cash transfers and subsidies	Political institutions, specifically the generation of policy initiatives locally	Process tracing	Not specified	What distinguishes successful policy is whether they are domestically generated. In short, programs that are introduced as a consequence of national political processes, with domestic input, tend to be more stable and effective than those initiated and promoted by external actors.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Heimo (2019)	Latin America	Mid 1990s	CCTs	Political institutions, specifically the domestication of global ideas	Process tracing	Domestication	Domestic actors claim complete authorship of <i>Progresa</i> . Outside influences, such as ideas from international organizations, like the IADB and the World Bank, or experiences from other countries, like Brazil, were “domesticated” and adapted to the Mexican reality, making it seem as if <i>Progresa</i> was conceived totally in Mexico. This narrative contributed to the success of the program.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Hickey, et al. (2020)	Eastern and Southern Africa	Since mid-1990s	Cash transfers, social pensions, in-kind transfer, community assets	Political institutions, specifically negotiations between domestic political forces	Process tracing	Prevailing ideas about and organizations of traditional welfare systems.	The political commitment to social protection at the national level and the balance of power between elites and non-elites are the main drivers of social protection in the subcontinent. The impact of international actors depends on their understanding with national stakeholders. Democratic countries are not substantively different than authoritarians in the region.

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Pribble (2013)	Latin America	Since the late 1990s	Cash transfers, social pensions, and healthcare and education coverage	Political institutions, specifically policy legacies, electoral competition, ideology and structure of political parties	Process tracing and interviews	Distribution of power and interests that drive the reforms	On top of electoral competition, two sets of explanatory factors explain the universalization of social protection: policy legacies, namely the initial policy conditions that reformers face, and the ideology and organization of political parties.

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Peng (2011)	East Asia	Since the 2000	Family-work harmonization policy reform	Political institutions and the politics of compromise	Historical institutionalism	Not specified	The progression of social care programmes in South Korea has been inconsistent, promoting policies with contradictory goals. The “politics of compromise” is the cause for this succession of progressive and regressive policies.
Haggard & Kaufman (2008)	Latin America, East Asia and Eastern Europe	1945–2005	Pensions, health insurance, pensions and health insurance	Historical legacies: vested interests created by coopting	Historical institutionalism	Agreements and policies that made further reform harder	The welfare structures of the post-war decades were the result of the efforts that traditional elites made to co-opt leaders of the increasingly powerful workers’ and peasants’

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				new political elites			organizations who emerged as members of the new elites. The agreements, concessions, and political relevance of these groups, in turn, shaped and limited the policy reforms, including social policy, that countries had to undergo in response to democratization and globalization pressures.

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Martinez Franzoni & Sanchez-Ancochea (2016)	Global	Since the 1940s	Health care and social pensions	Political institutions and historical legacies, specifically policy architecture.	Historical institutional methodology and policy process tracing	Agreements and policies that made further reform harder	The key behind the expansion and universalization of health provision and pension systems are generous policy architectures. Namely, the features of the initial reforms make it easy for countries to expand the benefits. Having unified systems, in which citizens have essentially the same benefits, facilitates universalization due to operational and political economy issues.

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Holland & Schneider (2017)	Latin America	Since late 1990s	CCTs, social pensions, healthcare, housing	Political institutions and coalitions	Historical institutionalism	Strength of policy winners and losers	There are two stages in the expansion of non-contributory social policy in Latin America. The first stage (“easy” redistribution) was characterized by the provision of targeted benefits to historically marginalized groups. The creation of new schemes, like CCTs, did not mean the decrease of existing contributory ones. The second, “hard”, stage entails reforming and expanding existing programs, which generates losers. Easy redistribution was clearly

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							<p>avored by some sectors, chiefly outsiders, but hard redistribution lacks champions.</p>
Lavers & Hickey (2015)	Africa	Mainly since the 2000s	Social protection in general	Political settlements framework	Literature review	Not specified	<p>The negotiations between formal and informal institutions, as well as the impact of ideology and transnational players, can account for the continental emergence of social protection.</p>

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Lavers & Hickey (2016)	Global	Theoretical	Social protection in general	Political settlement approach, plus power relations and coalitions, plus ideas, plus global actors and processes	Theoretical	The factors interact with each other	Political commitment of elites, and its relationship with external forces, are responsible for the emergence of social protection in low-income countries.

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Mokomane (2013)	Sub-Saharan Africa	Mostly since the 1990s	Cash transfers, pensions, social security, public works	Shocks, specifically the HIV epidemic	Descriptive analysis and process tracing	Not specified	Cash transfers became more common among southern and eastern African nations in the mid-1990s due to the upsurge of HIV/AIDS. Stable cash flows helped families mitigate the economic impacts of foregone earnings generated by morbidity and mortality.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Lowe, McCord & Beazley (2021)	Global	2020–2021	CCT	Robust social protection systems respond faster to shocks, like the COVID-19 epidemic	Analysis of programs and descriptive statistics	Not specified	Countries with better infrastructure inside and outside the social protection system can respond quicker to shocks.
Barrientos & Nino-Zarazua (2011)	Latin America	Mid 1990s to 2010	Social protection for children	International assistance	Descriptive and normative	Not specified	International assistance is crucial for financing the creation of social protection for children, given the difficulties developing countries have in setting up new long-term policy during crisis.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Ellis, Devereux & White (2009)	Sub-Saharan Africa	2000s	Cash, food and in-kind transfers, social pensions, public works	Shocks, specifically the HIV epidemic	Case studies and process tracing	Not specified	The devastating effects of the HIV/AIDS, both in terms of morbidity and mortality, was one of the reasons behind the creation of Old Age Grant in Swaziland and was a key element in the design of, among others, the Food Assistance Programme in Mozambique, containing explicit provisions for people receiving antiretroviral therapy, the Small Livestock Transfers in Zimbabwe.

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Beazley, Marzi & Steller (2021)	Global	2020–2021	CCT	Robust social protection systems respond faster to shocks, like the COVID-19 epidemic	Graphs, plots, tables	Not specified	Countries with better social protection set up emergency cash transfers faster during the onset of the pandemic. Having a system financially and technologically inclusive, reliant on national IDs and legally robust has been crucial.

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Levy (2006)	Latin America	1995–2006	CCT	Shocks, specifically economic crises and existing evidence on the determinants of poverty	Process tracing and literature	Pressure to solve short-term concerns and address the structural determinants of poverty	The final design of <i>Progresa</i> was the result of balancing the need to provide immediate poverty relief with the goal to create a program that would sustainably reduce poverty in the long run. The necessity to carry out a budgetary efficient intervention and the existence of growing evidence on the cause of poverty persuaded officials to adopt/create a CCT.

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McCord (2010)	Global	2007–2010	CCTs, food transfers, food subsidies, school feeding programs, public works	Shocks. Financial crisis and the donor community	Use of examples. It is simply descriptive with several examples.	Not specified	Social protection emerging from the 2008 crises was largely provisional. Crises in fact obstructed more long-term and sustainable forms of welfare policies – in a “sticky slope” fashion. Donors supported such provisional efforts, rather than structural reforms.
Dorlach (2020)	Global south	Since 2000s	Expansion of the Welfare State in democratic middle-income countries	Economic development, fiscal capacity, democracy,	Literature review	Not specified	-

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
				partisan ideology, labour unions, social mobilization, cultural homogeneity, institutional architecture, welfare rights and norms			

Author(s)	Regional focus	Period of analysis	Type of policy under analysis	Key determinant of social protection adoption or expansion	Qualitative methods	Inter-mediate channel(s)	Main finding
Tillin & Duckett (2017)	Global	Since 1990s	Welfare expansion	Varieties of capitalism, power resources, political institutions, and political entrepreneurs	Literature review	Not specified	-
Graziano & Jessoula (2018)	Latin America and Western Europe	Since the mid-20 th century	Welfare expansion	Socio-economic factors, political factors and institutional factors	Literature review	Not specified	They argue that political variables are particularly relevant to understand the progression on welfare systems in Latin America.



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