

**PROPOSITIONS**  
attached to the thesis

**Bargaining with Social Protection:**  
**The Political Economy of Social Protection Expansion in Africa in the Context of Broader**  
**Struggles for Development Policy Autonomy**

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1. The Cash Transfer agenda is associated with broader neoliberal policy reforms, including agricultural input subsidy policies reform, where the emergence and expansion of cash transfers is supposed to result in the rise of and pursuit of market 'SMART' pro-poor agricultural input schemes as a replacement for large-scale statist fertiliser input price subsidy policies. *This thesis.*
2. The emergence of the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) in Ghana and Social Cash Transfers (SCT's) in Zambia largely reflects structure while the persistence of the Ghana Fertiliser Subsidy Programme (GFSP) and Zambia's Farmer Input Support Programme (FISP) reflects agency. *This thesis.*
3. Cash Transfers emergence in Ghana and Zambia signify a continuation of the neoliberal agenda, i.e., the 'SAPs 2.0 agenda' in the 2000s and pushed through by various 'hard', yet subtle means of external influences involving externally-oriented incentive structures. *This thesis.*
4. The 'hard' and subtle forms of external pressures operated or were shaped by complementary institutional dimensions and processes involving the application of rules, both formal and informal, that governed the practices of financing and organised relationships through which donor-recipient asymmetrical power and influence were exerted. *This thesis.*
5. Agricultural input price subsidies continue to persist on account of their use to advance broader food security and agrarian rural development goals. Yet, these input price subsidies are often abused during implementation in service of elite vested interests and other domestic political economy motives. *This thesis.*
6. The emergence of cash transfers in Africa has largely been interpreted, in social protection debates, with reference to technocratic policy learning and emulation, evoked through ideational transmission.
7. The first major change that occurred in the agricultural sector in Africa, with the introduction of structural adjustment and stabilisation programmes, was the reform to agricultural markets, particularly for agricultural inputs and food crops.
8. The Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative, which converged with accepting and adopting Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), provided the context in which cash transfer programmes emerged in most parts of Africa in the 2000s, after their initial rise in Latin America in the 1990s.
9. Poverty Reduction Strategies became the 'new technologies' for managing poverty relief within the context of the post-Washington consensus as they became integral and explicit parts of the project design and aid activities of international development agencies.
10. The African debt crisis of the 1970s and 1980s triggered donors' interference in debtor countries, through the SAPs reforms, with this essentially serving as the critical juncture in donor-recipient aid relations prior to which donors had little means by which to influence the domestic policies and processes in African countries.
11. President Kenneth Kaunda's decision to embrace the Bretton Woods Institutions structural adjustment and stabilisation programmes in the 1980s partially triggered the 1986 and 1990 nation-wide food riots that eventually led to the fall of his United Independence Party (UNIP) government in the 1991 elections, following the democratisation reforms of the 1990s.