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INTRODUCTION

1 This report presents the Institute's work from January through December 2008, including its conference, research, advisory, publication and dissemination activities. It is supplemented by an administrative and financial report.

2 During the current reporting period, research at UNRISD was organized under five programme areas—*Social Policy and Development, Markets, Business and Regulation, Civil Society and Social Movements, Identities, Conflict and Cohesion, and Gender and Development*—as well as the flagship project, *Poverty Reduction and Policy Regimes*.

3 The preparation of an *UNRISD flagship report on poverty* is a special activity bringing together all of the Institute's research areas and coordinators; it involves contributions from over 40 researchers in the form of case studies, thematic papers and the drafting of report chapters. All 36 background papers commissioned for the flagship report in 2007/2008 were completed by the end of December 2008, and five additional papers were in the process of being commissioned. The first draft of the report manuscript was completed and was sent for external review in October 2008. Following a workshop that brought together referees and UNRISD staff in November 2008, UNRISD held internal meetings to discuss feedback from the review process, as well as to develop a plan for revising the draft manuscript.

4 The *Social Policy and Development* programme comprised five research projects: *Poverty Reduction and Policy Regimes, Financing Social Policy* (including subprojects on *Mineral Rents and Pensions*), *Social Policy and Migration in Developing Countries, Social Policies in Small States* and *Social Policy Index*.

5 Good progress was made under the project *Poverty Reduction and Policy Regimes*. Drafts of virtually all research reports for all case studies were received, and almost all had gone through one round of revisions based on feedback from the country workshops and research coordinator. Highlights of research findings are presented below, particularly those relating to different development strategies and growth paths, and also how states have been key drivers in pursuing growth, structural change and poverty reduction.

6 A research wrap-up is presented in this Progress Report for the project *Financing Social Policy (Phase 1)*, which concluded during the reporting period. An edited volume was accepted for publication by Palgrave Macmillan in the *Social Policy in a Development Context* series, and several outreach events were held. Under the subproject *Financing Social Policy in Mineral-Rich Countries*, first drafts of the eight commissioned papers were discussed at a workshop in Geneva and revisions were under way. Preliminary findings of the research challenge the theoretical and empirical basis of the literature on the "resource curse". The subproject consisting of an edited volume on *Pension Funds and Development* made good progress, with first drafts of three commissioned papers received during the reporting period and preliminary research findings beginning to emerge.

7 Final revised drafts of all the papers commissioned under the project *Social Policy and Migration in Developing Countries* were received. An issue of *UNRISD Conference News* was published and various other publications were being

prepared. A proposal for an edited volume from the research was submitted to a commercial publisher for consideration and the initial reaction was positive.

8 Regarding the project *Social Policy Index*, during the reporting period the draft synthesis paper was presented to colleagues at UNRISD, sent for review to other interested parties and, in the light of comments from these groups, substantially revised. The model may again be revisited prior to publishing any results, however no further work was carried out following the research coordinator's departure from UNRISD in June 2008. Thematic papers commissioned for the project *Social Policies in Small States*, on consensual democracy, jurisdictional resourcefulness, social cohesion and the welfare state, were revised during the current reporting period. Twelve country-level teams were formed and country-level research was commissioned.

9 There were three main projects under way during the reporting period in the *Markets, Business and Regulation* programme area: *Organized Business and Social Policy*, *Negotiating Alternative Trade Regimes in Latin America*, and *Social Responses to Inequalities and Policy Changes*. In addition, research was conducted on the *role of business in poverty reduction* as part of the UNRISD flagship report on poverty. New collaborative research with established networks centred in North America and Europe with which UNRISD has worked in recent years was also planned. Research undertaken for this programme area (mainly under the project *Organized Business and Social Policy*) will be published in two edited volumes accepted for publication by Palgrave Macmillan; the first deals with the theme of *corporate social responsibility and regulatory governance*; the second volume addresses *how organized business interests relate to public policy*.

10 Under the programme *Gender and Development*, research activities were under way in two projects. For the project *Political and Social Economy of Care*, country-level research continued in seven project countries and Research Reports 3 and 4 were completed, while work on the eighth country study (Japan) got started at an intense pace. Research Reports 3 and 4, and some of the thematic papers, were being revised and posted on the UNRISD web site. A paper drawing on project findings was prepared as an input into the Expert Group Meeting organized by the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) in preparation for the 53rd United Nations (UN) Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) (2009) which has as its priority theme, "The equal sharing of responsibilities between women and men, including caregiving in the context of HIV/AIDS". The project's third, and final, research workshop was held in Geneva. For the project on *Religion, Politics and Gender Equality* the first drafts of nine country studies were submitted, and the researchers presented and discussed their papers at the project's first research workshop in Istanbul. For the remaining two countries, researchers were identified and research proposals prepared. Four thematic papers were also commissioned. Two more volumes were published under the *Routledge/UNRISD Research in Gender and Development* series.

11 In 2008, research was under way for one project under the *Civil Society and Social Movements* programme: *Social Responses to Inequalities and Policy Changes*. This project is carried out jointly with the programme *Markets, Business and Regulation*. Good progress was achieved in the revision of the case study reports and conceptual papers. The Publication and Dissemination Unit carried out negotiations with copublishers, and oversaw manuscript preparation for several case studies from previous projects under this programme area. Contracts were signed with four new publishers for manuscripts, in line with UNRISD efforts to

increase availability and affordability of publications in the South, and particularly in countries where research is carried out.

12 Research under the project *Identity, Power and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* concluded in 2007, and a research wrap-up was provided in the previous Progress Report. Activities during the current reporting period related to dissemination, and the preparation of manuscripts in view of publication. Two Programme Papers were published in 2008. The research coordinator of the programme, Terence Gomez, left UNRISD in July 2008 to return to his home country.

13 UNRISD staff members are frequently called upon to act in a range of advisory roles for United Nations (UN) agencies, multilateral and bilateral organizations, governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), research institutes and universities. This provides UNRISD with opportunities to make substantive contributions to the thinking and programmes of other institutions and groups, while staff members benefit from the exchange of ideas and are also able to network, identify potential research partners and explore funding opportunities. During the reporting period, UNRISD staff members carried out advisory and consultancy activities on 62 occasions.

14 In 2008, 20 publications were issued. Six books were produced, as were two Research and Policy Briefs (one in French and one in Spanish), six Programme Papers, three issues of *UNRISD Conference News* and three issues of UNRISD News (one each in English, French and Spanish). The UNRISD Library CD-Rom for 2006–2007 was also produced. The decline in the output of publications over the reporting period compared to the previous one was due to project cycles. Most of the outputs of 2000–2005 research were published in 2005–2007, and projects under the 2005–2009 agenda are not yet at the stage of publishing their outputs. During the reporting period, more than 20 book and journal manuscripts were at different stages of development prior to submission to copublishers. UNRISD publications were made available at a range of important events organized by the United Nations, specialized agencies, universities, NGOs and national governments. In addition to regular dissemination via mailings and fulfilment of requests, 14,258 printed publications and CD-Roms were disseminated to 54 events in 28 countries.

15 Several changes were made to the UNRISD web site (www.unrisd.org) during the course of 2008 to ensure its evolution with technology, add new features to fulfil users' needs, and present UNRISD research, events and publications as clearly and comprehensively as possible. Statistics showed an average of 39,987 unique visitors to the site each month during 2008. PDF versions of the Institute's publications downloaded directly from the site grew moderately, from 318,264 in 2007 to 339,663, an annual increase of 7 per cent. Dissemination staff prepared strategy documents on pursuing web links from other sites and on how UNRISD could make greater use of Web 2.0, and implementation of both began during the reporting period.

16 Work carried out by the UNRISD Press Office continued to help raise the visibility and awareness of the Institute's work around the world and, in particular, at the local and national levels in developing countries where research is carried out.

17 Since mid-2005 the Publication and Dissemination Unit has made special efforts to collect and analyse data about the use of UNRISD research and

publications, in order to gain insight into the results of outreach efforts. In 2008, UNRISD received and granted 78 requests for course use (36 universities in 14 countries); granted permission to translate its publications into Chinese, French, Japanese, Russian and Spanish; and recorded nearly 230 bibliographic citations, web postings, articles, mentions, book reviews, interviews, etc. for the reporting year.

18 The composition of the Board, chaired by Lourdes Arizpe, remains the same as at the time of the 2008 session.

19 In October 2008 Ilcheong Yi took up his functions as Research Coordinator in the *Social Policy and Development* programme. Isabelle Schaller, Assistant to the Director, left UNRISD in April 2008. Naren Prasad and Terence Gomez, Research Coordinators, left the Institute respectively in June and July 2008.

20 The level of core funding received by the Institute for the financial year 2008 was USD 3,682,108 compared with USD 3,301,987 received for 2007. The government of Denmark increased its contribution in 2008, and Finland re-joined as a contributor to core funds. Switzerland decreased its contribution and Norway withdrew as a core contributor, and this, together with the appreciation of the euro and other currencies against the US dollar, resulted in a net surplus of USD 380,121. In 2008, eight governments were approached for financial support in order to increase the number of core donors.

21 The level of project funding received by the Institute decreased from USD 893,944 to USD 859,479 in 2007.

22 The University of Geneva approved a contribution of USD 4,283 for the UNRISD research on Negotiating Alternative Trade Regimes in Latin America, part of the project coordinated by the *Geneva International Academic Network (GIAN)*.

23 In 2007 it was agreed with the Department for International Development (DFID, UK) that it would contribute to the project *Organized Business and Social Policy*. The second instalment of USD 31,558 was received in 2008. In 2008 DFID also made a contribution of USD 9,073 to the *Social Policy and Development* project.

24 In 2006 the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada, and the Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation (SDC) agreed to financially support the research project on *Political and Social Economy of Care*. In 2008 IDRC paid the fourth instalment of USD 24,429; the third instalment of USD 26,178 was received from SDC in 2008 as well. For the same project, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) disbursed USD 369,000, representing the second and third (final) instalments of its contribution.

25 The European Union (EU) paid the final instalment for the *Policy Report on Gender and Development* project of USD 113,248. The EU also provided funding for the project *Inequality: Mechanisms, Effects and Policies (INEQ)*, through the University of Siena. The second instalment of USD 123,794 was received in 2008.

26 The Institute for Futures Studies (IFS) made a second contribution of USD 13,000 to the project *Migration and Social Policy in Developing Countries*.

27 In 2007 the Heinrich Böll Foundation agreed with UNRISD to contribute to the project *Religion, Politics and Gender Equality*; in 2008 the second, third and final instalments were received, for a total of USD 78,635. For the same project, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) contributed USD 28,890.

28 The Commonwealth Secretariat approved a second grant of USD 71,856 for the project on *Social Policies in Small States*, and the funds were received in 2008.

SPECIAL EVENTS AND ACTIVITIES

Flagship Report on Poverty

Background

29 A special activity that brings together all of the Institute's research areas and coordinators, the preparation of an UNRISD flagship report on poverty is also the second area of work under the project Poverty Reduction and Policy Regimes (see the 2006 and 2007 Progress Reports for background information, as well as paragraphs 58–79 below). The research is examining the causes, dimensions and dynamics of poverty. It adopts a policy regime approach, examining the interconnections of institutions and policies in the domains of the economy, social policy and politics to explain variations in poverty outcomes across countries. It reviews contemporary approaches to poverty reduction, including the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), and identifies key institutional, policy and political issues that are not being addressed in current poverty reduction strategies.

30 The preparation of the flagship report on poverty is coordinated by Yusuf Bangura. In 2008, assistance was provided by Thomas Lavers (research analyst), Pon Souvannaseng (research analyst), Temilade Aromolaran (intern) and Matthew Geddes (intern).

31 Funding for the report is provided by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and UNRISD core funds.

32 The preparation of the UNRISD flagship report on poverty brings together contributions from over 40 researchers in the form of case studies, thematic papers and the drafting of report chapters. All UNRISD researchers and two external writers participated in the preparation of the first draft manuscript in 2008.

Commissioned Papers

33 All 36 background papers commissioned for the flagship report in 2007/2008 were completed by the end of December 2008 (please refer to the 2007 Progress Report for more details). As a result of feedback from the review process, at the end of the reporting period the following five new papers were in the process of being commissioned for the report:

- Eddy Lee (former ILO, Switzerland)—*Inequalities and Redistribution* (report chapter)
- James Heinz (University of Massachusetts, United States)—*Employment and Poverty Reduction* (background paper)
- Anthony Bebbington (University of Manchester, United Kingdom)—*Social Mobilization and Poverty Reduction* (background paper)
- Arnim Langer and Graham Brown (University of Oxford, United Kingdom)—*Ethnic Inequalities and Poverty Reduction* (background paper)
- Author to be confirmed—*Agriculture and Food Security* (background paper)

34 Selected background papers will be published as on-line Programme Papers (with print-on-demand) following peer review. Preparations were also under way

in view of publication of five papers commissioned for the chapters on social protection, and financing social policy, as a special issue of a journal. These papers are:

- Armando Barrientos—*Social Protection and Poverty Reduction*
- Guy Standing—*Labour Market Policies, Poverty and Insecurity*
- Rachel Slater—*Cash Transfers, Social Protection and Poverty Reduction*
- Ian Gough, with Miriam Abu Sharkh—*Financing Welfare Regimes: Mapping Heterogeneous Revenue Structures*
- Jonathan Di John—*Fiscal Reforms, Developmental State Capacity and Poverty Reduction*

Summary of First Manuscript Draft Chapters

35 The first draft of the report manuscript was completed at the end of September 2008, after two rounds of internal review and discussion of each chapter. The manuscript was sent for external review in early October 2008. Draft chapter summaries are provided below. The first draft of the report manuscript was organized in four sections: economic development and poverty, inequality and poverty, social policy and poverty, and the politics of poverty eradication.

Section one: Economic development and poverty

Chapter 1: Development paths and poverty reduction

36 This chapter identifies five types of structural change that have implications for poverty: cases where countries have successfully made the transition to manufacturing; cases of high but stalled levels of manufacturing that have produced dualist labour market regimes; cases where services drive the growth path; agrarian low-income economies; and mineral-rich economies. Where absolute poverty has been eliminated, economies followed a growth path that moved the majority of the labour force from agriculture to manufacturing and high-value services, which became dominant in gross domestic product (GDP) and export shares. For some emerging economies, the services sector has become the engine of growth, with mixed results depending on which types of services drive development. Growth paths driven by low-productivity activities in agriculture and services, or mineral rents in which structural change is stuck in the primary sector, have produced highly segmented labour markets, locking out the poor from dynamic growth sectors. The chapter highlights two types of successful policy regimes for poverty reduction. The first is largely growth-centred, with states actively engaging business groups and suppressing labour demands. Its legitimacy rests on the redistributive character of the growth strategy—labour-intensive industrialization, skills diffusion and land reform—rather than on large income transfers. Firms act as welfare providers, producing less redistributive outcomes. However, the capacity of the growth strategy to generate high levels of employment suggests that the majority of the population may be protected and the poor may be a minority. In the second, states develop strong ties with independently organized groups through parties that embrace a discourse of social rights, and where the development strategy combines growth and more explicit forms of redistribution. This regime form is likely to tilt in the direction of social democracy.

Chapter 2: Growth, macroeconomic policies and structural change

37 Only a small number of developing countries have experienced sustained growth of per capita incomes in the last 50 years. This chapter argues that structural change leading to a shift of labour out of the primary sector and the development of manufacturing is crucial to sustained growth of per capita income,

but not all economies with high growth in some periods exhibit this. Nonetheless, the chapter argues, it is futile to believe that the industrial phase can be bypassed in the process of development. Recent growth has generated less manufacturing employment in developing countries, reflecting both trade openness and macroeconomic strategies. The chapter argues that investment, including in infrastructure, remains crucial to growth. Directed finance is also essential; therefore financial liberalization that reduces its role and makes economies more vulnerable to crises is undesirable. Macroeconomic policies need to be more oriented toward growth and employment generation, than obsessed with short-run stabilization.

Section two: Inequality and poverty

Chapter 3: Wealth and income inequality

38 This chapter argues that high levels of inequality make it difficult to reduce poverty and manage growth successfully. Economic inequality is driven by internal structural change, and by intersectoral terms of trade in the global economy. The chapter highlights two types of internal structural change: a Kuznets type dealing with the transition from agriculture to manufacturing; and the transition from manufacturing to high technology and financial services. These two types of structural change have produced an “augmented Kuznets curve”: economies that have reduced the share of agriculture and are on the upward sloping side of the inverted-U curve are experiencing an increase in inequality; and countries that have made the transition from manufacturing to high technology and financial services are also experiencing an increase in inequality. Changes in the prices of raw materials, manufactures, finance and technology determine intersectoral terms of trade in the global economy, and under globalization, these drive inequalities between and within countries. The paper highlights four phases in the movement of inequality: in the first phase (1963–1971), inequality was relatively stable; during the second phase (1972–1980), associated with less stringent global credit policies, inequality declined; the third phase (1982–1990s) coincided with the debt crisis and neoliberal economic policies, and led to an increase in inequality; and the fourth phase (beginning in 2001), associated with a relaxation of credit conditions (before the current credit crunch) and revision of the Washington consensus, was one of declining inequality.

Chapter 4: Gender inequality and poverty

39 This chapter focuses on how gender structures in three key social institutions (markets, states, households) mediate men’s and women’s access to income and well-being. It explores the role of *labour market institutions* in commodifying and stratifying labour along gender (and racial) lines, and asks what policy configurations are more inclusive of female labour and less likely to entrench labour market segmentations and inequalities in pay. The role of *state transfers* in shaping male and female poverty rates in a range of different welfare regimes is analysed, using pre- and post-transfer poverty rates across a range of countries clustered into distinct welfare regimes. Finally, it highlights the dynamics of poverty and inequality at the household level, grappling with the complex issue of income pooling within households. Women tend to have far lower earnings than men, especially in countries where the male breadwinner model is dominant, and yet do not always count among the poor because of intra-household income pooling. The fact that some women are able to escape poverty through such intra-household mechanisms has its own costs and risks, especially where entitlements to state transfers do not provide a secure fallback position because they are neither generous nor universalistic. This leaves them in a situation of dependence on male breadwinners, which may stifle their “voice” in domestic relations and also close

their “exit” options. The implications of these three intersecting institutions for female poverty are illustrated through five country case studies (Brazil, India, Kenya, the Republic of Korea and South Africa,).

Chapter 5: Ethnic and spatial inequalities

40 This draft chapter was not ready in time to be sent to external referees.

Section three: Social policy and poverty

Chapter 6: Social protection

41 This chapter discusses how social protection serves not only a protective role, but should also promote and propel social development. It presents evidence linking the role of social protection to poverty and inequality reduction from a policy regime perspective. While there is no convergence on a single paradigm in social protection and despite the constraints of global processes and actors, and other domestic factors, the chapter finds that there is scope for choosing policies that aim for preferred social models. The chapter attempts to account for differences in the extension and universalization of social protection in different development contexts, and it engages the poverty-reduction literature on social assistance. Current trends in social protection have mainly concentrated on “targeting” and conditionality approaches. Findings conclude that these are not only normatively questionable, but do not produce expected results, particularly in cases in which investment is lacking or unaided by real efforts to tackle structural causes of economic insecurity. The evidence suggests that targeted social assistance should be used as a complement to universal schemes and services; not act as a substitute for them. Recent trends in social protection thinking (reflected, for example, in the risk-management framework of the World Bank) also shift the responsibility for welfare and social development away from collective public institutions to individuals, households and communities. Under the policy regimes framework, the chapter discusses why national development strategies and institutions should be respected with regard to policy-driving political actors, vis-à-vis an individualized view to assistance.

Chapter 7: Pro-poor provision of basic social services

42 This chapter focuses on health and education, and looks at the impact of the interplay of public and private involvement, in different policy regimes, on health and education indicators. Drawing on lessons from developed countries and using Esping-Andersen’s welfare state typology, it begins by examining the impact of different types of provision on universality and equality of provision. It then looks at the general trends in developing countries, drawing out a number of diverse examples. The chapter argues that social services can act as powerful drivers for social inclusion and poverty reduction. However, in some instances, the result has been segmentation and social exclusion. Equitable outcomes are the result of integrated systems that provide social services of equal quality to all, and promote redistribution. These systems should pursue universal access according to need, and solidarity in financing according to ability to pay. While there are some exceptions, the evidence shows that private sector participation in health and education has been associated with lower-income countries, and inferior and inequitable outcomes. There is wide diversity between policy regimes; with substantial public commitment to provision and financing in so-called high achievers, problems of equality in countries that have achieved good outcomes through private sector participation under conditions of impressive economic development and, finally, public sector reform resulting in retrenchment of the state, undermining the effectiveness of public provision. It is found that effective

private sector participation requires effective regulation to restrain profit-seeking behaviour and to promote equitable provision under an integrated system.

Chapter 8: Care regimes

43 This chapter explores the relevance of care arrangements for human well-being, class/gender inequalities, and capital accumulation, and how these factors play out in contexts of poverty. The first part focuses on unpaid care work carried out within households, families and communities and the factors that shape the extent and composition of this work in the process of economic development and demographic change. Through the analysis of time-use data across a number of developing countries it shows how the burden of unpaid care is unequally borne within these societies, as well as pointing to deficits of care among some social groups. The second part of the chapter examines different *institutional* (often involving a “mix” of markets, states, not-for-profit organizations) and *policy* (infrastructure, services, cash payments or in-kind social security/tax benefits, employment-related provisions) mechanisms for addressing care needs and deficits, keeping a dual focus on both caregivers and care-recipients, particularly in contexts of poverty. The chapter concludes by exploring the relationship between (i) the articulation of claims based on the needs of those who receive and/or provide care, (ii) the political framing and logics of policies that attend to care needs, and (iii) the outcomes of such policies for different groups of care recipients and providers. The analysis offers insights into the political processes involved in the making of care policies.

Chapter 9: Financing social policy

44 This chapter analyses how social policies can be financed in a progressive, equitable and sustainable way. It looks at different revenue sources like taxation, social insurance contributions and pension funds, mineral rents, aid and remittances and their developmental impact, comparing countries with different growth paths and policy regimes. Although often thought to be a luxury, social policies are indeed affordable, even for low-income countries, and there is growing evidence of their positive contributions to economic growth and structural change. Fiscal space is determined by the economic context (GDP, growth, formal employment, export revenues, etc.) and the political context, the latter reflected in policy design and priorities. Growth and employment are crucial to make fiscal policy sustainable. As demonstrated by Washington consensus policies during the period of globalization, implementing the wrong policies can affect both economic performance and social development negatively, with adverse consequences for public revenues and expenditures.

45 With regard to the selected revenue sources, the following aspects are important: (i) Tax and social insurance schemes display great variety in developed and developing countries alike. (ii) Improving tax systems which rely more on progressive direct taxation as well as extending coverage of contributory social insurance or pension schemes remain challenges for most developing countries. (iii) Revenues from booming commodity sectors open up the possibility of channelling more of these rents into social programmes. (iv) Remittances are of growing importance in many countries and contribute to poverty reduction, higher income security and increased social expenditures of receiving households. The chapter concludes that domestic financing instruments like taxation and social insurance are best suited to creating synergies between economic and social development, strengthening democratic and solidaristic links in society and supporting a social contract between citizens and political leaders. They should form the bedrock of financing policies. External resources, although second-best from an economic and political point of view, have the potential to complement

public domestic financing, especially in low-income countries that are characterized by high degrees of informality, low tax takes and low coverage of social insurance schemes. Finally, the current economic and financial crisis is likely to put further pressure on both types of financing resources.

Section four: The politics of poverty eradication

Chapter 10: Business, poverty and power

46 This chapter examines the role of business in poverty reduction. Particular attention is focused on the recent trend in mainstream policy circles whereby business in general, and transnational corporations in particular, are encouraged to address proactively the issue of poverty through “corporate social responsibility” (CSR), private standard-setting and engagement with the MDGs. The chapter examines the potential and limits of this shift in approach, and the institutional and political conditions that might enhance the role of business in inclusive development. It identifies key conditions that explain when, historically, organized business interests and corporate elites were likely to support more progressive social policies. It goes on to examine what has happened to these conditions under economic liberalization and democratization, and under different policy regimes. In a context where some of the conditions or drivers that underpinned a more supportive response on the part of business to progressive social policy have weakened, the chapter examines the scope and impact of CSR and other initiatives adopted by firms and business organizations. While the content and impact of this approach varies in different sectoral and societal settings, the analysis suggests that it has diverted attention from key background conditions or drivers of business responsibility, notably the role of public policy and the need for institutional and political complementarities and synergies associated with normative approaches, legalistic regulation, social contestation and coalitions. The chapter ends by identifying forms of collective action involving both business interests and civil society actors that can enhance the contribution of business to social development.

Chapter 11: Democratization and the politics of poverty reduction strategies

47 This chapter examines the external and internal constraints that democracies face in pursuing redistributive and growth-enhancing policies, as well as the political and institutional dynamics that have allowed some democracies to overcome them. The external constraints relate to pressures from investors, financial institutions and donors that narrow economic policy making to a limited set of market-conforming objectives, which elected governments and voters find difficult to change even when they participate in defining poverty-reduction strategies. The internal constraints relate to industrial transformation and restructuring that constrain formation of interest groups, social movements and parties reflecting key cleavages in the production system; the varying quality of democratic institutions and processes; and ethnic cleavages that affect the choices of voters and pressure groups. The chapter argues that levels of unionization, self-organization of farmers, agrarian parties that draw their support from smallholders, and strategic links between such groups and political parties provide the institutional and political foundations for effective poverty reduction. The degree to which small farmers and industrial workers act collectively and become important voting constituencies affect long-term prospects of welfare development and protection. In agrarian democracies, redistributive politics and forging of rural-urban alliances are key in reconciling conflicts between growth and redistribution. The chapter suggests that in most of the new democracies, the main driver for redistribution and inclusive social policies has been electoral competitiveness, with production-based interest groups—though active—playing less strategic roles than hitherto in shaping outcomes.

Chapter 12: Developmental state capacity and institutional reform

48 This chapter is divided into two parts. The first addresses the institutions, policies and dynamics underpinning developmental capacity. It contrasts the experiences of successful and less successful states by examining three sources of state capacity: political capacity; extractive capacity; and allocative and enforcement capacity. It argues that the construction of developmental state capacity is not a feature of authoritarian regimes alone. Many democracies have been effective in developing cohesive and capable states, and constructing efficacious relations with organized groups. High levels of domestic resource mobilization are important for building state capacity. They improve policy space, embed the state in society, improve downward accountability to citizens, and enhance influence over investors' behaviour. Until the era of structural adjustment policies in the 1980s, most developing countries followed state-directed strategies that tried to accelerate the growth process. What distinguishes successful from unsuccessful states is the ability to discipline allocations. The second part of the chapter discusses the market-enhancing reforms of good governance, managerialism and decentralization. It argues that developing countries do not generally satisfy market-enhancing criteria at early stages of development. Many of the good governance reforms are desirable, but should not be confused with the governance institutions needed to accelerate growth and improve services to the poor. Managerial reforms associated with decentralized management require high levels of regulatory capacity; and the impact of decentralization on poverty is ambiguous.

Draft Manuscript Review Process and Workshop

49 The review process for the draft manuscript consisted of two components: an external round of chapter reviews by academic peers; and a workshop held in Geneva on 5–6 November 2008 attended by eight of the external referees. The external round of referee comments consisted of electronically sending out the compiled manuscript to chapter referees in October 2008. At least two chapter referees were involved in reviewing each draft chapter. Most comments were favourable and constructive. In all, 29 chapter referees participated in the external review process.

50 Eight of the referees had been asked to review all chapters in relation to a particular thematic section of the manuscript. There were four sections, with two section discussants per section. These reviewers addressed each of the draft chapters separately and together for coherence and soundness of data, and were asked to present suggestions for improving the report. The workshop consisted of the eight section discussants, all UNRISD staff, and one external chapter writer, Jayati Ghosh. Referees in attendance were:

- Charles Gore (UNCTAD)
- Vedi Hadiz (National University of Singapore)
- Eddy Lee (former ILO)
- Kwame Ninsin (Institute for Democratic Governance, Ghana)
- Ashwani Saith (Institute of Social Studies, the Netherlands)
- Ben Ross Schneider (Northwestern University, United States)
- Ajit Singh (University of Cambridge, United Kingdom)
- Wouter van Ginneken (former ILO)

51 Comments from the workshop centred on organizational and substantive matters. Organizationally, suggestions revolved around bringing out

complementarities and synergies within and between sections of the report to create coherence between chapters. Substantively, issues concerned the need to address current poverty discourses, especially the MDGs and PRSPs, more explicitly and throughout the various chapters. Other comments included the need to analyse the experiences of different types of poverty groups, more discussion of low-income countries, informal social security, and the links between migration and poverty.

Plan for Revision of Manuscript

52 Following the workshop, UNRISD held internal meetings to discuss feedback from the review process, as well as to develop a plan for revising the draft manuscript. Discussions focused on the analytical framework and coherence of the report, manuscript structure, outstanding issues that had not been addressed in the draft, funding and the timeframe for revisions.

53 As a result, it was decided that the revised manuscript would be organized around three key themes: socially inclusive structural change; transformative social policy; and the politics of poverty eradication. The aim will be to bring out the interconnections of economic and social policies, and the forces that underpin or drive them. Much of poverty reduction is about employment-generating structural change and improved incomes; and social policies act in tandem with economic policies in producing structural change that is poverty-reducing. They deal with issues of production, redistribution, protection and reproduction.

54 The analysis will incorporate three key transmission channels through which poverty is alleviated: employment and adequate income generation; social transfers and services; and asset redistribution. The report will be reorganized into three sections (instead of the previous four). Within this framework, the discussion on inequality (wealth and income, gender and ethnic), will be relocated to section 1, since patterns of structural change mediated through employment, income and asset distribution shape patterns of inequality. The second section will address social transfers and services in analysing the role of social policy in enhancing protection, redistribution and reproduction. The discussion will incorporate structural change/development issues as they relate to employment and labour market dynamics in different contexts. The third section will look at political drivers for socially inclusive structural change and social policy. It will focus on state capacity, business strategies, democratic politics and social movements in combating poverty and inequality in a variety of development contexts.

Revised structure of the report

Introduction

Section one: Socially inclusive structural change

- Chapter 1: Development paths, regime types and poverty reduction
- Chapter 2: Macroeconomic policies
- Chapter 3: Income and asset inequalities
- Chapter 4: Gender inequalities
- Chapter 5: Ethnic inequalities

Section two: Transformative social policy and poverty

- Chapter 6: Social protection
- Chapter 7: Social services
- Chapter 8: Care/Reproduction

- Chapter 9: Financing social policies

Section three: *The politics of poverty eradication*

- Chapter 10: State capacity (for growth, structural change and redistributive social policies)
- Chapter 11: Business and poverty reduction
- Chapter 12: Social movements and poverty reduction (tentative)
- Chapter 13: Democratic politics, organized interests and poverty

Conclusion

55 Given the extent of revision and additional work, the overall timeframe for the report was revised and publication has been postponed to 2010.

PROGRAMME ON SOCIAL POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

56 Social policy comprises public policies and institutions that aim to protect citizens from social contingencies and poverty, and ultimately to enable them to strive for their own life goals. Because of the range and diversity of themes that emerge at the nexus between development and social policy, this is the largest research programme at UNRISD. It builds on past work that looked at ways social policy can be instrumental to economic development while maintaining its intrinsic goals of protection, equity and social inclusion.

57 In 2008 the *Social Policy and Development* programme comprised five active research projects: *Poverty Reduction and Policy Regimes*, *Financing Social Policy* (including subprojects on *Mineral Rents* and *Pensions*), *Social Policy and Migration in Developing Countries*, *Social Policies in Small States* and *Social Policy Index*.

Poverty Reduction and Policy Regimes

58 This project is coordinated by Yusuf Bangura. In 2008, assistance was provided by Thomas Lavers (research analyst), Pon Souvannaseng (research analyst), Temilade Aromolaran (intern) and Matthew Geddes (intern).

59 Funding for this project is provided by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and UNRISD core funds.

Background

60 This project studies the causes, dimensions and dynamics of poverty. It examines the interconnections of institutions and policies in the domains of the economy, social policy and politics to explain variations in poverty outcomes across countries.

61 Most United Nations (UN) agencies now have a poverty dimension to their research, linked to the specific mandate of each institution. For example, the International Labour Organization (ILO) tends to focus on the links between employment and poverty, the World Health Organization (WHO) on health and poverty, and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) on trade and poverty. This UNRISD project attempts to deal systematically with the dynamics of development strategies, social policies and politics, analysed through a policy regimes framework, and how these affect poverty outcomes. The core themes of the project are anchored in an interest in socially inclusive development, transformative social policy and understanding the politics of poverty eradication.

62 The project consists of two sets of activities. The first comprises research on eight in-depth case studies (Botswana, Brazil, Costa Rica, India, Kenya, Malaysia, South Africa and Taiwan Province of China) and nine overview papers (China,

Finland, Ireland, Mozambique, Republic of Korea, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Viet Nam, and former Soviet Union): cases that actively involved the state in development and that can boast of some growth spells and structural transformation. For the in-depth case studies, teams of six researchers were constituted to study six broad themes: development strategies, growth and structural change; wealth and income inequality; social protection and poverty; social services and poverty; organized interests, development and redistributive policies; and developmental state capacity. The second set of activities, discussed under Special Events in the current Progress Report, involves preparation of the flagship report on poverty. Detailed background on the project will be found in the 2006 and 2007 Progress Reports.

63 For the in-depth case studies, research focused on a range of policies and institutions, including their configuration and sequencing, which have produced different outcomes. States deploy a variety of growth strategies that have implications for structural transformation and poverty. Strategies differ in terms of whether they are capital or labour intensive; diffuse skills across sectors and income groups; facilitate asset redistribution or reinforce wealth concentration; mobilize resources and discipline their use in productive sectors; and combine import substitution and export promotion, using targeted industrial policies. Patterns of state intervention, including the internal organization of states and interactions with organized interests in the production process, shape outcomes. The researchers have adopted a historical perspective to explain the nature, evolution and structural shifts of the policy regimes in each case. Two broad patterns have emerged: a state-led industrialization strategy, which most countries embraced until the crisis of the 1980s and 1990s; and the current market-driven strategy shaped by processes of globalization and liberalization.

Progress and Research Insights

64 During the reporting period, revised draft reports for all six research themes were received for Costa Rica, Malaysia, Taiwan Province of China and India; revised drafts for five themes were received for Brazil; and the first drafts for all six themes were received for Kenya. Three of the six papers for the Costa Rica study were translated into English. The overview paper on Ireland was published as a Programme Paper. Researchers revised their draft papers following comments provided at the country workshops and feedback from the research coordinator. The country coordinators were editing and revising the reports into chapters for publication as books, following successful external peer review. Nine edited books are envisaged, including an overview volume to be edited by the research coordinator.

65 The research suggests that poverty reduction is a function of growth-enhancing structural change and redistributive policies. Employment acts as a key transmission channel that links growth strategies, structural change and poverty reduction. It reduces poverty when the income associated with it is adequate to meet basic living standards. However, the poor may be locked out of the dynamic growth sectors. This may take the form of persistent unemployment or widespread underemployment in informal activities; or the poor may be trapped in an agricultural sector with low productivity and unfavourable terms of trade.

66 The case studies highlight a variety of development strategies and growth paths. The first is the manufacturing-led development path pioneered by the now developed countries and replicated in Taiwan Province of China and Malaysia, which have sharply reduced levels of absolute poverty in relatively short periods.

The second is services-led and has gained importance in most countries today. This is also poverty-reducing, although many activities assume features of informality and low incomes. The services sector drives the current growth strategies of India and Costa Rica. The third is the agriculture-dominated development path found in Kenya and other least developed countries. In Kenya, the manufacturing sector's share in output, employment and exports is very small; and agriculture's share in income has declined much faster than in employment, raising questions about the capacity of its economy to lift the bulk of the population, especially rural producers, out of poverty. Brazil and South Africa have large manufacturing sectors and a declining agricultural sector. However, a substantial proportion of the labour force is in the informal sector, not in the manufacturing and high-value service sectors, and agrarian relations are bimodal, i.e., with dualistic agricultural production systems: large-scale commercialized/latifundia versus traditional/minifundia (or family-based), creating regimes of insiders and outsiders. Mineral-rich Botswana represents a fifth type of development path where structural change has occurred largely within the primary resource sector as mining overtakes agriculture in output, but not in employment.

67 The research suggests that states have been key drivers in pursuing growth, structural change and poverty reduction. The nature of state intervention depends on the political regime and the state's relations with key groups in the economy. States that prioritize only economic growth and are successful in its promotion are compelled to narrow the focus of public policy to meet growth objectives and construct cooperative relations with business groups who serve as allies in coordinating industrial change. Labour and other subaltern groups are repressed or forced to play a subordinate role in order for wages not to outpace productivity levels. Growth strategies constructed under democratic conditions are, however, constrained in suppressing labour demands. State effectiveness requires accords in which labour agrees to hold down wages in exchange for commitments by business to reinvest profits and expand employment, and by the state itself to provide social benefits.

68 Some states successfully combine both developmental and redistributive objectives. A growth strategy may be redistributive through investment in human capital that raises the skill levels of the poor, and use of labour-intensive methods of production that generate high levels of employment that benefit the poor or those with fewer skills. On the other hand, a strategy that is strongly oriented toward redistribution through asset reallocation and extensive welfare provision may have to involve subaltern groups much more actively, whether under authoritarian or democratic conditions. However, not all redistributive strategies are growth-enhancing even when subaltern groups are incorporated into state projects. Some may degenerate into populism or clientelism, involving a strong role for leaders who dispense resources through personalistic ties rather than through programmatic parties.

Taiwan Province of China and Malaysia

69 Cases in which absolute poverty has been drastically reduced pursued development strategies that led to profound structural shifts in their economies. An overwhelming majority of the labour force moved from agriculture to manufacturing and services, which became dominant in GDP and export shares. The growth strategy was inherently redistributive: the manufacturing sector started off by absorbing low-wage and low-skilled workers from agriculture, and was subsequently upgraded to include activities that required higher skill levels. The

representative in-depth case studies are Taiwan Province of China and, to some extent, Malaysia.

70 Taiwan Province of China pursued many of the state-directed strategies associated with early industrialization. The state inherited the bulk of Japanese colonial capital, which allowed it to reshape the dynamics of accumulation. Credit, investment and pricing were coordinated to regulate competition as well as to facilitate technology upgrading and industrial restructuring. The state invested heavily in education and actively promoted vocational training to serve the needs of industry, leading to skills deepening across sectors and income groups. It undertook wide-ranging asset redistribution in agriculture, which raised productivity and income levels in the rural sector. Its trade and investment policy combined selective import substitution and export-led growth through well-targeted industrial policies. Rather than rely on foreign direct investment (FDI), it imported foreign licences and actively mobilized resources through very high savings rates, which it channelled to long-term investment and infrastructure. Leaders established a tightly knit authoritarian state structure and developed cooperative relations with private capital, while simultaneously controlling and mobilizing labour and other subaltern groups for manufacturing growth. Taiwan Province of China's low income inequality during industrialization is linked to the land reform undertaken before industrial take-off, massive investment in education, full employment sustained during the period of rapid growth, and the presence of a large number of small and medium enterprises in its industrial sector. However, liberalization has led to rising inequality. Social policy, though important in aiding industrialization and in fostering social harmony, was not redistributive under the state-led industrialization regime, because of the accent on employment and workers' contributions to insurance schemes. However, the success of the strategy in reducing unemployment meant that the majority of the population had access to social protection, and the poor were a minority. Democratization and economic restructuring, which has led to more unemployment, have pushed this developmental policy regime along a more universalist welfare path as social movements and voters pressure ruling parties to extend health insurance and safety nets to the bulk of the population.

71 Malaysia tried to follow the East Asian strategy of manufacturing-led structural change, albeit with lower levels of skills, domestic savings, social integration and state capacity. The Malaysian state's growth strategy, which took shape in the 1970s, was FDI-driven and export-oriented, and focused on labour-intensive manufacture of textiles, garments and electronics. Significantly, employment in the manufacturing sector was highly skewed in favour of lower-skilled occupations. However, unlike in Taiwan Province of China where domestic capital drove industrial development, the Malaysian state was initially wary of promoting domestic capital, which was fractured along ethnic lines. The policy that ushered in the great transformation had two objectives: the reduction of ethnic inequalities; and elimination of poverty regardless of ethnicity. Implemented in a context of sustained high levels of growth, these policies reconfigured the ethnic structure and later allowed the state to support large domestic conglomerates through privatization of state assets. Whereas most Malaysians earned their living in agriculture in the 1960s, by 2000 only 16 per cent of them did. Manufacturing employment expanded in leaps and bounds from 7 per cent in the 1960s to about 28 per cent in 2000. The majority of the labour force is engaged in low-skilled manufacturing and service-sector activities; and there has been only 3 per cent or less unemployment since the 1980s. Absolute poverty is in single digits. However, the quality of structural change is different from that of Taiwan Province of China, whose industrialization was based on high levels of national savings or local

capital, state actors invested heavily in research and development (R&D) and upstream industries, and much progress has been made in upgrading manufacturing from low-skill, labour-intensive activities to high-tech sectors. In contrast, FDI has been the backbone of Malaysia's industrialization; the state invests very little in R&D, the import content of the manufacturing sector is still very high, domestic firms have weak links with transnational firms in the export sector, and low wage and skills levels still define the development strategy. Efforts to upgrade the industrial strategy through promotion of heavy industry in the 1980s produced mixed results.

Brazil and South Africa

72 Brazil and South Africa followed a growth strategy of industrial transformation, achieving a high level of structural change by the 1960s, but industry was unable to absorb a large proportion of the population leaving agriculture. This resulted in a thriving informal sector in Brazil, and high levels of unemployment in South Africa. In South Africa, where state policy deliberately discouraged the emergence of an integrated national economy and tried to contain black labour militancy, industrial firms and farm owners opted for capital-intensive methods by investing in sophisticated machinery, requiring few skilled technicians and a small labour force. Such a strategy worsened unemployment, poverty and inequality, which the post-apartheid government has not been able to reverse because of its preference for a high-wage and high-productivity strategy, driven in part by the labour movement, most of whose members earn more than the median income. In Brazil, the share of agriculture in GDP has increased under the current growth strategy but it does not generate employment. Brazil's high-growth strategy during the "Brazilian miracle" (1964–1979) relied heavily on foreign loans and massive importation of capital goods and technology. These could not be sustained when the terms of trade for key exports deteriorated and interest rates skyrocketed. The export strategy that later complemented the import substitution industrialization (ISI) model could not generate enough revenues to pay for the accumulated debt or avert the balance of payment crises in the 1980s.

73 Democratization is shifting these countries toward more inclusive policy regimes, including in the social policy domain. Social assistance schemes that redistribute resources to the poor through rural pensions and other types of cash transfers are taking root. However, the continued sharp vertical and horizontal divisions in labour markets across sectors, and failure of the growth strategy to generate formal jobs, make it difficult for the bulk of the population to escape from poverty or for inequality to be substantially reduced. Brazil spends about one-fifth of its GDP and four-fifths of its budget on the social sector. However, two-thirds of this goes toward payment of pensions. Since only about half of the workforce is in the formal labour market, social expenditure is highly inegalitarian, creating a regime of insiders and outsiders. New social programmes, such as conditional cash transfers and rural pensions, which reach an increasingly large number of people, seek to reverse this. The data suggest that poverty, even though still very high for the per capita income of the country, has declined in recent years because of these programmes. The decline in poverty is said to be highest among the aged population. However, the expansion of expenditure on social protection has led to low spending on health care, education and other social services, as well as on public investment.

Costa Rica and India

74 As economies mature and incomes per capita increase, the share of manufacturing in output and employment falls and that of services rises until it

becomes dominant. For some emerging economies, the services sector, not manufacturing, has become the engine of growth. Indeed, many countries are making the transition to services at much lower levels of income and manufacturing capacity than what has been observed for advanced economies. Costa Rica followed a state-led ISI strategy from 1950–1980, a period in which it also launched and consolidated its democracy and welfare regime, which leaned toward universalism or social democracy. It experienced crisis in 1979–1981, followed by a transition period of adjustment in 1981–1987, after which it liberalized its economy and shifted toward an FDI-driven services growth path. This threatened the traditional labour and social protection regime. However, unions and other civic organizations, which gained strength under the import-substitution, universalistic welfare regime, have been effective in vetoing welfare retrenchment. Welfare protection first started with non-skilled and semi-skilled workers before the non-poor were incorporated, and social insurance was eventually extended to informal sector workers and farmers. The research suggests that current tax receipts are too low to support current levels of social protection and services. Attempts to raise the tax burden through a fiscal pact involving the state, business and employees foundered, opposed by the financial sector and other business groups that have gained in the new economy.

75 India's current growth strategy is services-driven. Since the 1990s, the services sector has grown faster than GDP. It now accounts for more than half of national output. Agriculture's share of output declined from 33 per cent to 22 per cent, and that of industry stagnated at 27 per cent between 1990 and 2003. The fast growers in the services sector are business (which includes IT), communication, banking, hotels and restaurants. Business services grew by about 20 per cent on average in the 1990s. The growth of the services sector gained momentum during the period of economic liberalization, when state authorities attempted to redefine the relationship between state and business by prioritizing growth. The antecedent growth strategy was based on state-directed import-substitution manufacturing and some redistribution to respond to segments of the peasantry that the leading nationalist party had mobilized in the anti-colonial struggles. However, the ruling party, the Indian Congress party, was disproportionately influenced by landed and business elites. Even when the focus of public policy shifted to poverty reduction in the 1960s and 1970s, state intervention took populist forms and the contradictory pulls within the party rendered redistribution ineffective and growth problematic. The bureaucracy was professional at the apex but inefficient at the bottom where policies were translated into outcomes. Under import substitution, Indian industrialists frustrated the creation of a planning commission with sufficient monitoring and enforcement powers. The outcome is a manufacturing sector that failed to reach the heights of the East Asian countries.

76 It is unclear whether the services sector will ultimately transform the Indian economy by stimulating the lagging manufacturing and agricultural sectors. Currently, the employment share of services is very low for the level of output it generates. It experienced a drop between 1990 and 2000 and currently accounts for less than 25 per cent of total employment. The IT sector itself employs less than one million people. More than 60 per cent of India's workforce is still in agriculture and lacks the skills to relocate to the dynamic services sector. Annual agricultural growth in the post-liberalization period has averaged nearly 1 per cent below that achieved in the 1980s. Agricultural growth has suffered because of a decline in public investment. Sustained levels of growth have reduced poverty in aggregate terms, but rural poverty is high, and although rural-urban per capita incomes narrowed in the 1980s, they widened again in the 1990s. In contrast to Brazil, South Africa and Costa Rica, social security expenditure as a percentage of

GDP is very low in India. The organized sector, which constitutes only about 7 per cent of the workforce, enjoys some level of social protection. As in Brazil and South Africa, efforts to extend social protection to the poor have been made through an expansion of social assistance schemes, which are numerous and vary across states.

Botswana and Kenya

77 Kenya, like most low-income countries, sought to promote rapid growth and industrialization at independence and was influenced by the prevailing development policies of state-led industrialization. As a result, growth rates were high in the 1960s and 1970s. However, by the mid-1980s, the Kenyan economy was in crisis and forced to adopt the deflationary and liberalization policies of the international financial institutions, which further unravelled its development strategies. Its economy has remained predominantly agrarian, with a large informal sector, and a less diversified and limited industrial and export sector. Financial and communications services have increased substantially with liberalization. However, much of the growth in the services sector is accounted for by low-value, low-tech activities that assume features of informality. During the period of state-led development, industry depended on massive importation of intermediate and capital goods, and was unable to supply the technological needs of agriculture. Agricultural exports, whose terms of trade deteriorated in the 1980s, were not sufficient to pay for the large import bill and debts incurred to finance industrialization. Though poverty has fallen in recent years, it remains well over 40 per cent. The case study suggests that agricultural production has been improving, and is now the leading source of growth; and horticultural products, such as flowers, fruits and vegetables, have become the lead exports. The growth is attributed to the revival of agro-based marketing boards and sector-specific policies.

78 Nurturing effective state-business-society relations for industrial transformation was complicated in Kenya. Civil servants were legally allowed to participate in private business, blurring the distinction between the public and the private, and setting off a process in which bureaucratic positions facilitated the pursuit of personal business enterprises rather than state goals. Deep ethnic cleavages affected the way the government related to private capital, labour and social groups more generally. Changes in government often resulted in changes in the fortunes of entrepreneurs, and the top positions in the bureaucracy, parastatals and cabinet were heavily skewed in favour of individuals who shared the ethnic origins of incumbent leaders. The benefits of industrial policy were captured by protected firms and state-owned industries became mired in inefficiencies, leading to large-scale losses, fiscal deficits and debt. Social policy, which focused largely on education and health, was too limited to lift the bulk of the population from poverty.

79 Botswana's growth path has been driven by its minerals sector. Structural transformation has involved a movement from agriculture to mining, i.e., change that is largely confined to the primary sector. The mining sector dominates output but has very low employment elasticity. The dominant actors in the mining sector are transnational firms that prefer large-scale, capital-intensive technologies, providing employment to a small, skilled workforce that is well paid. The case study suggests that Botswana has managed its mineral wealth much better than other similarly endowed developing countries. Its development strategy prioritizes high growth, sound macroeconomic management and infrastructure development. Through policies that discourage exchange rate overvaluation, fiscal strategies that

set targets on government spending, and creation of special funds that stabilize mineral revenues, the government has consistently maintained a stable macroeconomy that has avoided the so-called resource curse. Multiparty democracy, although practised under conditions of single-party dominance, has acted as a check on governmental arbitrariness; and high levels of bureaucratization, supported in part by the slow pace of indigenization, has helped the state to enforce its rules on economic management. The governing elite has strong links with production-oriented cattle-owners, and has successfully constructed pacts with traditional rulers and key ethnic groups, allowing it to maintain stability and promote development. However, success in governing the economy has not translated into broad-based and diversified growth; nor have organized interests in the popular sectors been strong enough to compel the state to adopt more redistributive policies. A notable feature of Botswana's development experience is its relatively low level of industrialization and, like South Africa, high levels of unemployment. The share of manufacturing, which was 5.6 per cent in 1966 and 8.2 per cent in 1975/76 declined to 5 per cent in 1990/91 and to 3.4 per cent in 2005/06. Unemployment, Gini inequalities and poverty levels remain high at about 20 per cent, 0.57 and 30 per cent, respectively.

Financing Social Policy (Phase 1)

80 This project, carried out between 2006 and 2008, was coordinated by Katja Hujo. Assistance was provided by Shea McClanahan (research analyst), Elena Gaia (research analyst), Nora el Qadim, Muhabbat Mahmudova, Saidakhror Burkhanov and Soyoung Yu (interns).

81 Funding for this project was provided by the Ford Foundation and UNRISD core funds.

Research Wrap-Up

Background

82 This project examined options and constraints for financing social policy in developing countries. The project built on the extensive body of research carried out under the previous project *Social Policy in a Development Context*, which took a broad approach to social policy, defining the concept as going beyond basic protection and poverty reduction goals to impact on the productive, reproductive, distributive and protective spheres simultaneously. Although in recent years the general perception on the costs and benefits of social policy has changed toward a more positive view, important challenges remain: mobilizing sufficient financial resources for social policy, and building social programmes on financial arrangements that are themselves sustainable, equitable and conducive to economic development.

83 The project departed from the conventional view that social policy should focus merely on expenditures in order to achieve its objectives of protection and redistribution, whereas revenue policies should follow efficiency rules. As a result of this approach, there has been little if any analysis of the social and developmental impacts of revenue policies. This project sought to fill this gap, arguing that the financing side had to be an integral part of social policy in order to create self-reinforcing synergies between the economic and social spheres. In a development context, it is crucial to identify how social policy can actually support and enhance a dynamic accumulation process that allows for creation of income,

which can then be taxed (or pooled in social insurance schemes) and redistributed toward socially desirable ends.

84 Whereas taxation and contributions to social insurance are the most important domestic revenues, external funds (denominated in foreign currencies and sharing the characteristics of capital inflows in macroeconomic terms), originating from mineral rents, development aid or financial transfers from migrants, are increasingly debated in terms of their potential to contribute to economic and social development. A comparison with regard to the economic, social and political impacts of these two broad categories, domestic versus external funds, was an additional objective of the research project.

85 The project was organized along the following substantive lines: taxation reform; social insurance; pension funds; mineral rents; remittances; and aid.

86 The project had three objectives.

- Study the financial options for developing countries that aim to implement social policies that contribute to socially inclusive, democratic and productive societies.
- Explore whether different resources and financing techniques for social programmes have diverse developmental and distributional impacts; specifically, how these resources affect (i) production and reproduction, (ii) protection and redistribution, and (iii) social inclusion and democratization.
- Analyse the role of external actors, policy models and ideologies, as well as the impact of globalization and related governance structures, on financing social policy.

87 In 2006–2007, UNRISD commissioned 10 papers which addressed the general challenges of financing social policy in developing contexts, as well as the specific challenges posed by each of the revenue sources. These papers, along with three previously commissioned papers on pensions (by Fred Hendricks, Olli Kangas, and Ken Battle and Edward Tamagno), were presented and discussed at a workshop held on 1–2 March 2007 in Geneva. In connection with the publication of an edited volume containing selected papers from the project, Isabel Ortiz (the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs/UNDESA) contributed an additional paper on the link between development financing and international distribution of income.

Links with the UN system

88 Related work being carried out within the UN system includes that by the ILO on the affordability of a basic social floor in low-income countries, financing social protection and pensions; by the United Nations University–World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU–WIDER) on “globalization, finance and growth” and on fiscal policy and poverty reduction; by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the ILO, the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) and the World Bank on remittances and migration; by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank on taxation, social protection and pensions; and by the regional commissions like the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) on selected issues with a regional focus. The design of the UNRISD project—looking at different revenue sources and linking them to social development and social policy on the basis of a common analytical framework—was innovative and unique. The UNRISD

approach was comprehensive and multidisciplinary, bringing together separate theoretical literatures like public finance, political economy of policy reform, financing of social security, policy and welfare regimes, and development economics.

Research findings

89 The UNRISD research underlines the need for policy coherence between the social and economic realms. General findings and several conclusions relating to each revenue source include the following.

- Although often considered a luxury—or economically harmful—social policies are indeed affordable, even for low-income countries. External aid might be necessary for the poorest countries during a transition period. Cost-benefit analyses have to take into account the positive long-term effects of social investments on development, democratization and social integration.
- An integrated social policy system requires both revenues and expenditure policies to respond to principles of equity, gender equality, progressive redistribution and economic development.
- Fiscal space is determined by the economic context (GDP, growth, formal employment, export revenues, etc.) and the political context, both of which influence policy priorities and reform design. Growth and employment are crucial to make fiscal policy sustainable. The experience of neoliberal policies during the period of globalization has demonstrated that when the wrong policies are implemented, both economic performance and social development are affected negatively, with adverse consequences for public revenues and expenditures. More recent manifestations of revisionism, or so-called post-Washington consensus social policies, are generally perceived positively but have to be evaluated with some degree of caution, as fundamental shortcomings of the old approaches persist.
- The research on *taxation and aid* considered, among other issues, the implications of aid and other forms of external resource dependence (for example, commodity-based taxes) for developing countries' own capacities not only to finance and implement social policies, but also to diversify their resource bases and to reduce the volatility of state revenues. Excessive dependence on aid can have detrimental effects on democracy and state formation in developing countries if it undermines domestic policy space, as well as on the accountability and responsiveness of state elites toward citizens. However, the research also demonstrated that aid has a small but positive impact on public social spending and welfare, especially in low-income countries. In addition, official development assistance (ODA) is an important instrument for international redistribution in a world that is characterized by increasing inequalities within and between countries. With regard to tax systems, it is clear that the introduction of more progressive and solidarity-based tax structures remains a huge challenge for developing countries. In recent decades, tax reforms in low-income countries have emphasized replacing commodity- and trade-based taxes with other indirect taxes, such as value added tax, which, besides being regressive, have not made up for the loss in trade-based tax revenue. The findings suggest that future research in this area should analyse taxation in relation to both aid and state expenditure, and consider the broader context of development and political governance in each country under consideration.
- The research on *remittances* has highlighted the inherent difficulties of integrating private flows of money into the financing social policy framework. Findings support the thesis that remittances cannot be a substitute for social policy; they can merely act as a complement. The research shows that remittances are indeed used for social protection, as recipients use them to invest in nutrition, health and education, as well as for the purpose of income smoothing in circumstances of economic crisis or natural disaster. The effectiveness of remittances for enhancing the welfare of recipients and their communities crucially depends on the economic and institutional environment of a particular country. Although the research findings reveal a broad consensus on both the desirability and legitimacy of

facilitating remittance flows in a variety of ways, the question of creating incentives for specific investments or considering remittances as part of the taxable income of recipients remains controversial.

- Research on *natural resource rents* focused attention on the enormous implications of mineral wealth for the design and delivery of social policies in developing countries. One objective of the research was to go beyond the determinism often demonstrated by the literature on the so-called resource curse, which establishes a negative relationship between resource abundance, on one hand, and a set of economic, social and political outcomes, on the other. The research highlighted the wide degree of variation in development outcomes among resource-rich countries. Experiences of countries that have achieved both rapid economic growth and progress in social development suggest that intervening variables, such as economic and social policies, or political institutions and social contracts, can and do mediate the relationship between resource abundance and development. More findings on mineral-rich countries are reported under the subproject on *Mineral Rents* (see paragraphs 96–114 below).
- With respect to *social insurance schemes*, such as public pensions and health care, an important point of departure was the recognition that these systems take a variety of forms in both developing and industrialized countries. Yet a common theme to come out of the research was the challenge of reconciling the necessity of financial sustainability in these schemes with the imperatives of ensuring coverage and adequate levels of benefits. The research findings show the difficulties faced by developing countries in achieving universal access and equitable rules within often fragmented and stratified schemes, which cover only a fraction of the population. The strong correlation between performance of social insurance programmes and labour markets highlights the necessity to approach questions of social protection and employment (quantity and quality) simultaneously. The recent popularity of social assistance programmes, such as conditional cash transfers or social pensions, can partly be explained by the objective of filling the gaps in social protection left behind due to the increasing informalization of labour markets. Although social assistance programmes have shown some initial success in poverty reduction, it remains questionable whether a patchwork approach toward social protection corresponds with the normative goal of progressive realization of social rights and entitlements. The research shows that some countries have taken promising alternative routes, implementing different types of incentives and subsidies to incorporate difficult-to-cover groups, such as informal workers and peasants, women, indigenous peoples or racially discriminated groups.
- Research on *pension funds and economic development* focused on the challenge of reconciling the trade-offs—and maximizing the benefits—implied in the protective and productive functions of pension systems. The findings of the case studies on Norway and Finland, and a regional survey of Asian countries, show that pension funds have been a major financing source for public investment in these countries and contributed to national development and state formation. To assess the developmental impact of social funds, it is crucial to look at investment policies: high social returns are desirable from a developmental point of view, whereas profitable low-risk investments are necessary from a protective point of view. Privatization policies (usually consisting of a transition from pay-as-you-go financing to funded schemes and private administration of funds) have performed poorly on both accounts, by imposing high transition costs on governments and substantial costs in terms of coverage, benefit uncertainty, individualization of risks, etc. More information on this research topic is provided under the subproject *Pension Funds and Development* (see paragraphs 115–129 below).

90 The main policy implications from the research can be summarized as follows:

- The task of financing social policy is confronted with economic, social and political challenges at both national and global levels. The research findings point to the importance of (i) combining transformative social policy with

employment-intensive development strategies; (ii) going beyond the recommendations of the post-Washington consensus to strive instead for universal approaches, redistributive policies and a macro role for social policy; and (iii) forging political and external coalitions in support of reforms.

- Domestic financing instruments, like taxation and social insurance, are best suited to create synergies between economic and social development, to strengthen democratic and solidaristic links in society, and to support a social contract between citizens (across classes, generations, groups) and their political leaders. Donors and policy advisors should take into account possible effects of their projects and policy conditionality on domestic revenue institutions and policies in order to avoid trade-offs.
- External resources, although second-best from an economic and political point of view, have the potential to complement public domestic financing, especially in low-income countries that are characterized by high degrees of informality, low tax takes and low rates of coverage of social insurance schemes.
- The research emphasizes the importance of the *quality*, and not simply the quantity, of fiscal resources for creating and strengthening synergistic feedback with social policy systems. Quality (in terms of efficiency and effectiveness, democratic accountability and awareness of discriminated groups and their needs) is equally important with regard to the process and institutions that translate resources into outcomes.

Outputs

91 Several publications have come out or are being prepared as a result of phase 1 of the project. An edited volume, containing the chapters listed below, was accepted for publication by Palgrave Macmillan in the Social Policy in a Development Context series: *Financing Social Policy: Mobilizing Resources for Social Policy* (Katja Hujo and Shea McClanahan, eds., UNRISD/Palgrave, Basingstoke, forthcoming 2009).

- Katja Hujo and Shea McClanahan—*Introduction and Overview*
- Rubén M. Lo Vuolo (Centro Interdisciplinario para el Estudio de Políticas Públicas/CIEPP, Argentina)—*Social Exclusion Policies and Labour Markets in Latin America*
- Isabel Ortiz (UNDESA, United States)—*Financing for Development: International Redistribution*
- Enrique Delamonica (Saint Peter's College, United States) and Santosh Mehrotra (Planning Commission, India)—*How Can Financing of Social Services be Pro-Poor?*
- Alice Sindzingre (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique/CNRS, France; School of Oriental and African Studies/SOAS, United Kingdom)—*Financing Developmental Social Policies in Low-Income Countries: Conditions and Constraints*
- Oliver Morrissey (University of Nottingham, United Kingdom)—*Aid and the Financing of Public Social Sector Spending*
- Andrew Rosser (University of Adelaide, Australia)—*Natural Resource Wealth, Development and Social Policy: Evidence and Issues*
- Erling Holmøy (Statistics Norway)—*Mineral Rents and Social Policy: The Case of the Norwegian Government Oil Fund*
- Carmelo Mesa-Lago (Emeritus Professor, University of Pittsburgh, United States)—*Social Insurance (Pensions and Health), Labour Markets and Coverage in Latin America*
- Mukul G. Asher (Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, Singapore)—*Provident and Pension Funds and Economic Development in Selected Asian Countries*

- Hein De Haas (Oxford University, United Kingdom)—*Remittances and Social Development*
- Manuel Orozco (Inter-American Dialogue, United States)—*Remittances and Social Development: The Latin American Experience*
- Katja Hujo and Shea McClanahan—*Conclusions*

92 In addition, the following UNRISD publications were associated with this project:

- Olli E. Kangas—*Pensions and Pension Funds in the Making of a Nation-State and a National Economy: The Case of Finland*. Programme Paper SPD 25, 2006
- Ken Battle and Edward Tamagno—*Public Pensions in a Development Context: The Case of Canada*, Programme Paper SPD 31, 2007
- Hein De Haas—*Remittances, Migration and Social Development: A Conceptual Review of the Literature*, Programme Paper SPD 34, 2007
- Carmelo Mesa-Lago—*Social Insurance (Pensions and Health), Labour Markets and Coverage in Latin America*, Programme Paper SPD 36, 2008
- Fred Hendricks—*The Private Affairs of Public Pensions in South Africa: Debt, Development and Corporatization*, Programme Paper SPD 38, 2008
- CN 18 *Financing Social Policy* (Report of the UNRISD International Workshop, 1–2 March 2007, Geneva), 2007

93 A Research and Policy Brief will be prepared in the second half of 2009.

Outreach

94 Research from the *Financing Social Policy* project (phase 1) was presented at an international conference organized by the United Nations Children’s Fund Regional Office for South Asia (UNICEF-ROSA), the UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre (UNICEF-IRC) and UNRISD in Kathmandu, Nepal, in May 2006; during a training workshop for the staff of the social development division at ESCWA and a Peer Review Meeting on an ESCWA social policy report, both of which took place in Beirut in June 2007 (see UN-ESCWA 2008: *Integrated Social Policy: From Concept to Practice*); it was presented and disseminated to UNDESA, ILO, International Social Security Association (ISSA) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) at several meetings and conferences in 2007 and 2008 (for example, the UNRISD programme paper by Mesa-Lago was disseminated as a background paper for a “technical seminar on extension of social security coverage” in October 2008, with Mesa-Lago and Katja Hujo participating as speakers). In addition, the project was presented to student groups visiting UNRISD, at an international workshop organized by Sungkyunkwan University (SKKU) and the journal *Global Social Policy* in Seoul, Republic of Korea, in January 2007; at an international conference organized by GTZ (German Technical Development Cooperation) and the UN Association of Germany in Berlin in September 2007, and finally at an UNRISD–Department for International Development–International Poverty Reduction Centre in China (UNRISD–DFID–IPRCC) conference in Beijing, China, in November 2008.

95 Outreach activities will continue in 2009, in order to publicize the forthcoming edited volume, one additional Programme Paper, and the Research and Policy Brief.

Financing Social Policy in Mineral-Rich Countries

96 This project is coordinated by Katja Hujo. In 2008, assistance was provided by Shea McClanahan (research analyst), Elena Gaia (research analyst), and Leonardo Lara and Christy McConnell (interns).

97 Funding for this project is provided by the Ford Foundation and UNRISD core funds.

Background

98 Originally conceived as a subproject under *Financing Social Policy, Financing Social Policy in Mineral-Rich Countries* began in 2007. The project explores the links between mineral wealth and social development in mineral-rich developing countries.

99 On the one hand, research within this project focuses attention on the enormous implications of mineral wealth for the design and delivery of social policies in these countries. On the other hand, it is concerned with the role that social and economic policies can, and do, play in avoiding Dutch Disease and other manifestations of the “resource curse”. In particular, the project aims to understand why some mineral-rich countries manage to channel their resources into sustainable economic and social policies, while others fail to do so. Research also seeks to identify the factors that impede resource-rich countries in the South from investing more of their wealth in social development. Ultimately, the project seeks an answer to the question, how can mineral rents represent an opportunity to open the fiscal space for transformative social policies, while at the same time promoting democracy, social inclusion and economic development.

Links with the UN System

100 Other agencies working on mineral-rich countries are UNCTAD, with studies on the resource curse, FDI in mineral sectors and case studies in different resource rich countries; the World Bank, with various country studies and some general papers on a range of issues related to natural resources, Dutch Disease, governance, fiscal policy, taxation, etc.; UNDP IPC with a research paper on Dutch Disease; the IMF, with various papers on Dutch Disease, natural resources and economic policy; UNU-WIDER, with research on development in resource-rich countries; and finally the United Nations Environment Programme, with a report on the links between natural resources, conflict and peace-building, as well as natural resources and climate change. The topic of social policy in mineral-rich countries has not been investigated in a systematic way, so UNRISD has a clear niche in this debate.

101 In 2007, UNRISD commissioned eight papers to explore the conditions under which rents from mineral extraction can be channelled into sustainable social policies, thus overcoming the alleged resource curse that, according to the literature, is likely to affect mineral-rich countries. Four research papers dealt with thematic issues like economic policy (by Samuel Asfaha), growth patterns (by Thovaldur Glyfason), social policy and state revenues (by Leonith Hinojosa-Valencia et al.), and institutional change and developmental state capacity in mineral-rich countries (by Evelyne Dietsche). Four overview case studies were commissioned on Norway (Halvor Mehlum and Karl-Ove Moene), Chile (Juan Carlos Guajardo B.), Indonesia (William Louis Ascher of Claremont McKenna

College, United States) and Nigeria (Jimí O. Adésínà). Detailed information on the papers will be found in paragraphs 71–77 of the 2007 Progress Report.

Progress

102 The first drafts of the eight commissioned papers were presented and discussed at a workshop on Social Policy in Mineral-Rich Countries, held in Geneva on 24–25 April 2008. Experts from academic institutions and international organizations were invited to provide comments and to engage in debate on the project and prospects for its subsequent phases. An issue of *UNRISD Conference News* is forthcoming.

103 Following the comments received during the workshop, revised drafts of all eight commissioned papers were received and posted on the UNRISD web site. Final drafts were in the process of being received by the end of 2008. The eight papers will be included in an edited volume, to be prepared in 2009. In addition, two of the thematic papers will be submitted for peer review in view of publication as Programme Papers in 2009.

Preliminary research findings

104 Preliminary findings of the research (based on the draft papers and workshop discussions) are summarized below. The findings challenge the theoretical and empirical basis of the literature on the “resource curse”.

Thematic research

105 The research on *economic policy in mineral-rich countries* shows that the phenomenon of Dutch Disease (whereby revenue booms from sources such as export revenues, aid and capital inflows cause the appreciation of the real exchange rate, resulting in loss of competitiveness in the export sector, in particular in manufacturing) is not unavoidable, and that resource wealth can be associated with successful development. The experience of countries such as Botswana, Indonesia and Norway shows that fiscal policy that manages government expenditures prudently and accumulates reserves for periods of declining revenue has been crucial for pursuing competitive and sustainable exchange rate policies by restraining currency appreciation. This was also coupled with investment in productive infrastructure, education and health. In these countries, sound economic policies were pursued because of overlaps between the interests of policy makers and social groups. By contrast, in the cases of Mexico and Nigeria, competitive rent-seeking and political patronage created and widened wedges between politicians’ and societal interests, ultimately at the expense of social development.

106 The thematic research on *institutional change and developmental state capacity in mineral-rich countries* delved further into the arguments linking institutional factors with natural resource exploitation and economic and social outcomes, seeking to verify whether “good institutions” are the solution to the resource curse (an argument put forth in some of the literature). UNRISD research findings point out some potential pitfalls associated with emphasizing institutions as the explanation for different developmental outcomes in mineral-rich countries. Rather, the research suggests, exploring how distributional conflicts among elites, and between elites and non-elites, are solved is more relevant in terms of identifying the positive role for transformative social policy in mineral-rich countries.

107 Building upon existing evidence linking social development and growth, and based on empirical analysis of data covering 164 countries between 1960 and 2000,

the study on *development and growth in mineral-rich countries* suggests that an inverse relationship exists between natural resource dependence and growth via human and social capital. The argument developed is that excessive dependence on natural capital, including oil and other mineral resources, may dampen incentives to build up other types of capital that are essential to sustained growth over long periods. In this sense, natural resources, if not well managed, may be a mixed blessing. Economic and political diversifications are advocated as ways of encouraging growth by diversifying risks.

108 As far as *the relationship between mineral rents and state revenues* is concerned, the findings of a statistical analysis conducted over 74 countries whose level of export dependence on minerals (fuel and metals) has been superior to 10 per cent in the period 1995–2005 do not yield conclusive evidence that a general pattern exists among mineral-rich countries with regard to the linkages between mineral wealth, state revenue and social welfare. What is proposed is, rather, a more articulated analytical framework where mineral wealth is accounted for as a *conditioning factor* which, wherever it occurs, could be used to achieve a set of societal goals determined by *first-order factors* (such as political consensus/disagreement on a development strategy, level of inequality at the country level, and conditions of participation in the international economy).

Country case studies

109 In contrast with the pessimistic generalizations of parts of the literature on the resource curse, findings from the UNRISD research on four mineral-rich countries, both high and low income, introduce a more complex picture. Variance in outcomes across countries is accounted for through a number of context-dependent variables such as the quality and history of institutions, the constitutional design of decision-making bodies, the type and strength of civil society and other political forces, and the impact of external elements such as foreign aid.

110 *Norway* was selected by UNRISD to be part of the small sample of country studies for its successful attainment of high growth and low income inequality in a context of vast natural resources. The success of the Norwegian case is accounted for by two main elements: the high quality of institutions and the technological challenges of offshore oil extraction. Timing was also a key factor, as the discovery of oil reserves happened when Norway had already undergone industrialization and at a time when it enjoyed a long and stable tradition of democracy, rule of law and a well-functioning bureaucracy. Other variables that eventually came to play a role in Norwegian oil politics have been the diversity of civil society actors and a constitutional system with broad representation and many veto players, both of which favour broad-based consensual decision making. The study concludes that the Nordic model has robustly passed the test of oil wealth.

111 Mining has been a fundamental force in the history of *Chile* and its overall effect has been positive for the country's development. The collection of rents from mining has increased fiscal revenues, promoted the growth of mining regions and strengthened indirectly related economic activities. In the case of national social policies, the income provided by mining has supported an increase of public spending and, as a result, the improvement of social indicators. The economic model applied in Chile over the last decades has improved the productive use of natural resources other than minerals by diversifying the country's productive capacity. The positive relationship between mining and development in Chile stems from two fundamental sources: the strength of national institutions and the prevailing political environment that favours consensual agreements. Both of these

characteristics are fuelled by lessons from the country's past experience in terms of natural wealth management and years of authoritarian rule.

112 *Indonesia* provides an interesting case to study the interplay and possible contradiction between successful management of mineral wealth into economic development, and a poor record in terms of democracy and respect for human rights. The coincidence of exploitation of mineral resources and high growth during the authoritarian government of Suharto (1967–1998) can be traced to the will to avoid the economic chaos that preceded Suharto, the strength of economic policy-making institutions, and the huge influx of foreign assistance that permitted economic growth without requiring deficit spending through domestic borrowing or excessive monetary expansion. Despite these achievements, Indonesia's democratic as well as social records have been mixed, with relatively low government allocations to social service programmes and mixed results in terms of social outcomes. More recently, since emerging from the East Asian economic crisis, Indonesia has better managed hydrocarbon pricing policy, reducing the subsidies for fuels on the domestic market. This has enabled post-Suharto governments to finance greatly expanded social service programmes and cash transfers to the poorest families.

113 In *Nigeria*, social policy played a significant role in efforts to build trust and national cohesion in the post-civil war era (1970s). A significant dimension of that was financed by earnings from natural resources—agriculture and hydrocarbons. Policies around education and health have dominated the Nigerian context, showing the prominence of the production and redistribution dimensions of social policy in the country. Rather than an undifferentiated picture of failure, as would be predicted by orthodox literature on the resource curse, the UNRISD research illustrates a more complex sequence of temporal and regional variations in Nigeria's post-colonial experience with natural resources wealth.

114 UNRISD plans to submit a funding proposal for a second phase of this project to donors during the first half of 2009. This second phase will consist of in-depth country-level research in selected countries, a final conference and various publications.

Pension Funds and Development

115 This project is coordinated by Katja Hujo. In 2008, research assistance was provided by Shea McClanahan (research analyst), Elena Gaia (research analyst), and Christy McConnell (intern).

116 Funding for this project is provided by the Ford Foundation and UNRISD core funds.

Background

117 This project was developed in 2007 as one of the subprojects under *Financing Social Policy*. The research examines the economic and social implications of social funds set aside for protective purposes. Although such funds are often aimed at ensuring social security, they can also be used for redistributive and productive purposes. In a number of developing countries, such as Chile, Finland, Malaysia, the Republic of Korea and Singapore, pension funds (and to a lesser extent, health and unemployment insurance funds) have been an important source of financing for investment. Issues that are being addressed under this

project include (i) the challenges that developing countries face in managing funds with often weak administrative capacity and macroeconomic instability; (ii) the comparison of different pension schemes (public versus private, pay-as-you-go versus funded schemes, decentralized versus centralized funds), their interaction with labour and financial markets and their implications for development, social cohesion, equity and redistribution; (iii) the relationship between economic (growth, financial sector development) and social (coverage, benefit levels and equity) goals of pension schemes; and (iv) the political economy of pension reforms in developing countries.

Links with the UN System

118 Several UN organizations conduct research on the issue of old-age security and pension systems, for example the World Bank Social Protection Department, the ILO Social Security Department, UNDESA on ageing, ISSA on pension insurance and old age protection, the regional development banks and regional commissions on effects of pension systems and pension reform in their respective regions, the UNDP International Poverty Centre on social pensions, etc. As with other projects, the distinctive approach of UNRISD in this area is to link the analysis of pension schemes with broader questions of development in economic, social and political terms. It combines the study of the political economy of pension reform with an analysis of the economic implications of different pension models as well as the political and social effects of pension reform. This type of analysis goes well beyond more technical questions about demographic change or long-term sustainability and risk analysis of pension schemes in actuarial terms.

Progress

119 The output of the project will consist of an edited volume on *Pension Funds and Development*. The book will include eight papers, three of which were part of the first phase of the *Financing Social Policy* project. These are:

- Ken Battle and Edward Tamagno (Caledon Institute of Social Policy, Canada)—*Public Pensions in a Development Context: The Case of Canada*
- Fred Hendricks (Rhodes University, South Africa)—*The Private Affairs of Public Pensions in South Africa: Debt, Development and Corporatization*
- Katja Hujo (UNRISD, Switzerland)—*Pension Privatization in Latin America*

120 Of these, the paper by Fred Hendricks was published as Programme Paper No. 38 during the reporting period, in December 2008. The paper by Ken Battle and Edward Tamagno had already been published as Programme Paper No. 31 in 2007. The paper by Katja Hujo will be drafted in 2009.

121 A first draft of the paper on the political economy of pension reform in Central and Eastern Europe (by Katharina Müller), commissioned in 2007, was received during the reporting period. Substantive comments were provided and a final version was received in 2008.

122 In addition, during the reporting period, UNRISD commissioned four country case studies on pension reform in Brazil, India, the Middle East and the Republic of Korea. First drafts of three of the papers were received by the end of 2008 and substantive comments were sent to the authors.

- Huck-ju Kwon (Seoul National University, Republic of Korea)—*The Reform of the Civil Servants Pension Scheme in Korea*

- Marcelo Caetano (Institute for Applied Economic Research, Brazil)—*Recent History, Perspectives and Challenges to Social Insurance: The Brazilian Case*
- Mukul G. Asher (Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore)—*Social Security Reform and Economic Development: The Case of India*
- Markus Löwe (German Development Institute, Germany)—*Pension Schemes and Pension Reform in the Middle East and North Africa*.

Preliminary Research Findings

123 Preliminary research findings from the country case studies, based on the draft papers received during the reporting period, are summarized here.

124 *Canada's* experience with pension reform was selected as a case study by UNRISD in order to extract possible lessons that could be relevant for both developing and developed countries seeking to adapt their pension systems to the challenges posed by population ageing. The reform of the Canada Pension Plan was carried out after an extensive consultation process and it consisted of a package of measures centring on the financing of the plan, but also including some small reductions to benefits. The main lesson from the Canadian case is that a multipillar pension system can be an effective means of achieving objectives of both poverty alleviation among the elderly and income replacement after retirement. By employing different financing systems for different components of the system, the risks inherent in relying exclusively or primarily on one means of financing are significantly mitigated. However, risk can never be eliminated, thus requiring constant vigilance. An additional conclusion is that drastic changes to benefits or the wholesale replacement of public defined-benefit programmes by privately administered defined-contribution schemes are not necessarily the only alternatives for preparing pension systems for population ageing. Through reforms that are carefully thought out and planned, existing programmes can be made sustainable at a reasonable cost.

125 The research on the conversion of *South Africa's* pension system for public employees from a partially funded system to a fully funded scheme shows how the adoption of a fully funded pension scheme led to a dramatic increase in national debt, as the public servants of the previous regime consciously indebted the state in order to safeguard their own pensions and retrenchment packages in retirement. Contributions of current employees were directed into the pension fund while current pensions had to be financed out of the budget, with detrimental implications for social investment, especially in the areas of education, health and welfare. This case shows how policy choices with contradictory effects have the power to profoundly shape the overall economic prospects of a country. In South Africa, while a progressive agenda of social spending and poverty reduction through non-contributory public pensions has benefited many poverty-stricken black citizens, the fully funded system of contributory pensions for public sector workers has entrenched the deals made by senior public officials of the apartheid government and enriched a very small group of black entrepreneurs involved in the centralized asset management of public pension funds. Thus, the South African case highlights the tensions between the goals of economic empowerment and poverty reduction, and the necessity for governments to ensure that social policies encourage economic growth while simultaneously maintaining the social imperative of redistribution.

126 The research on pension reform in Central and Eastern Europe has focused specifically on the political economy of pension privatization in *Hungary* and *Poland*. It shows how these countries carried out a paradigm shift, deliberately breaking with social security traditions and with the pension policy of peer nations in the region. Macroeconomic considerations are found to have played a prominent role in these radical pension reforms, through three main channels. First, in the context of the transition of these countries to a market-led approach to economic policy, pension privatization was presented as an advantageous solution capable of responding to the diverse concerns of downsizing the public establishment, accelerating growth and strengthening immature financial markets. Second, the analysis of reform discourse in both countries uncovers striking similarities in macroeconomic reasoning, which in turn reveal the influence of an international epistemic community of “new pension orthodoxy”, exemplified by the World Bank’s position. Third, in both countries the appearance of observable emergencies such as a crisis of the pension system and high fiscal debt produced shifts in the constellations of internal and external actors potentially influencing the pension reform arena, empowering the constituency of pension privatization to carry on a radical change that would have otherwise been highly unpopular.

127 The research on *Brazil* set out to disentangle the complexity of the pension system there, examining the contradictions and tradeoffs between the fiscal costs of the social security regime and its impact in terms of inequality and poverty reduction. Regarding the latter, transfers from pensions are found to reduce the incidence of poverty among the elderly by 60 per cent. The actuarial internal rate of return indicates that the pension system redistributes from urban to rural, men to women and high income to low income; however, the overall effect of the system is that of a massive redistribution of income to the pension scheme of well-off public servants. Social security reform in Brazil is found to be highly determined by fiscal concerns and, to a lesser extent, by equity perspectives. Indeed, the threat of extremely high transition costs, among other reasons, prevented Brazil from switching from a pay-as-you-go to a funded scheme, as happened in other Latin American countries. The system has gone through various legislated reforms, mainly consisting of parametric changes. Despite the efforts, the country still faces important challenges such as expanding coverage, harmonizing the pension schemes for private and public sector workers, and dealing with population ageing.

128 In the case of *India*, the research report argues that the country’s complex social security system, comprising seven components, requires important reforms if it is to deliver economic security to elderly people and to contribute to sustained economic development. According to the research, the need for reform is driven by three main processes: demographic transition, the need for fiscal consolidation, and the alignment of India’s social security system with its current economic paradigm that rebalances the public-private sector mix in favour of the latter. One of the main messages of the paper is that social security reform should not be undertaken alone if it is to be effective: it will also require complementary reforms in labour markets, fiscal policies, delivery of social assistance programmes, governance, and financial and capital markets.

129 Research on selected countries in the *Middle East and North Africa* illustrates the severe limitations of public pension schemes in the region in terms of equity, efficiency and financial sustainability. In the face of these deficits, the majority of countries in the region have been reluctant to implement reforms, let alone substantial restructuring of their pension schemes. The Palestinian Authority, Lebanon and Morocco have considered systemic reforms, but none has carried them out. The most substantial reform packages have concentrated on limiting

regressive redistribution and on extending both the legal and the effective coverage of pension schemes, thus contributing to social goals. In this sense, one of the main findings of the research is that social and political concerns play a more important role than economic objectives in shaping the space for pension reform in the region. Indeed, despite their underdeveloped private sectors, most of the countries in the region are perfectly able to cover the deficits of their pension schemes and the lack of capital from national saving thanks to the rents from oil and gas. The political stability of some rulers may depend much more on social achievements and hence on the extension and generosity of social programmes, especially in the case of republican governments. The path followed so far by some countries (Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Libya and Tunisia) seems to indicate that parametric reforms are politically less controversial and, indeed, are practicable in a near future.

Other Programme Activities

130 During this reporting period, the research coordinator presented research findings related to the *Social Policy and Development* programme at the following events:

- UNRISD-DFID workshop, London, 19 March;
- UNRISD workshop at the European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI) 12th General Conference, Geneva, 24 June;
- ISSA expert meeting on Extension of Social Security Coverage, Geneva, 16 October; and
- UNRISD-DFID workshop, Beijing, 17–18 November

131 The project on *L'émigration clandestine de jeunes d'Afrique subsaharienne en Europe: Approches dynamiques d'un phénomène complexe—Le Cameroun, la Mauritanie et le Sénégal* has submitted its final report to the funding organization, Réseau universitaire international de Genève (RUIG). UNRISD research coordinator Katja Hujo collaborated on this project as external advisor. The project was led by the Centre d'études de la diversité culturelle et de la citoyenneté dans les domaines de la santé et du social (CEDIC), Haute école de travail social (HETS) and University of Geneva (Faculté de psychologie et des sciences de l'éducation/FPSE), with UNCTAD and University of Nouakchott (Mauritania) as additional partners. A proposal for future research in this area by the research group has been submitted to the European Union.

Social Policy and Migration in Developing Countries (Phase 1)

132 This project is coordinated by Katja Hujo at UNRISD, in partnership with Nicola Piper (external coordinator—Swansea University, United Kingdom). In 2008, assistance was provided by Shea McClanahan (research analyst), Elena Gaia (research analyst), and Nora El Qadim, Soyoungh Yu, Muhabbat Mahmudova and Christy McConnell (interns).

133 Sida provided the bulk of the funding for the first phase, which included commissioning nine papers; organizing a workshop; and publications and dissemination. Additional support for individual papers was provided by IOM, the Institute for Future Studies (IFS) and UNRISD core funding. Contingent upon further funding, UNRISD plans to commission in-depth country-level research in

developing regions, applying the conceptual framework developed during the first phase of the project.

Background

134 In an increasingly globalized and interconnected world, migration is a central policy challenge. In 2007, there were an estimated 200 million migrants worldwide, sending around USD 337 billion in remittances (USD 251 billion of which went to developing countries). Against the backdrop of rapid economic transformation, migration is becoming increasingly important for securing livelihoods, offering new economic opportunities and providing income support and protection for migrants and their families. However, the changing global context also impacts on the quality of migration experiences, with growing numbers of irregular and vulnerable migrants. Although there is a lot of research on different aspects linked to migration, the topic of social policy and migration has not received much attention so far, especially with regard to developing countries. In a similar vein, most research has focused on a specific flow of migration, namely from South to North, whereas the consequences of South-South migration are under-researched.

135 In 2007, UNRISD initiated a project which aims to fill these gaps in evidence and analysis. Both theoretically and practically, this project seeks to *explicitly* link two previously separate areas of research: the migration-development nexus, on the one hand, and social policy in a development context, on the other. Migration has an impact on social development at the macro level, and on individual (household) well-being at the micro level, and at both levels it has economic, social, political and distributional consequences. Insofar as migration affects equity, equality and social justice and implies changing welfare needs, it requires that states find new ways to meet them. However, national policy regimes are still far from adequately incorporating migration into their social policy frameworks. One of the underlying questions motivating this project is whether, and how, migration and social policy dynamics among developing countries differ from the relatively more researched South-North context.

136 This project aims to shed light on these multiple linkages and their policy implications, putting developing countries, either as sending or receiving countries, at the centre of inquiry (for more detailed background information, see paragraphs 87–96 of the 2007 Progress Report).

Links with the UN System

137 Research on migration is conducted by several UN agencies; a non-comprehensive list of relevant activities includes research by IOM on different aspects of migration and migration policy (*World Migration 2008: Managing Labour Mobility in the Evolving Global Economy*); the United Nations Population Fund and UNDESA on migration statistics and selected issues; the World Bank on the economic impact of financial and human resource flows; the regional commissions and development banks (notably IADB) on migration in regional contexts (ECLAC and IADB collaborate on a project on international migration, social protection and development); the ILO on labour migration; UNICEF on independent child migration; UNCTAD on migration and trade; WHO on migration and health; and UNDP on the linkages between migration and human development (*Human Development Report 2009: Human Development on the Move*). A project on migration and social protection is located at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Sussex, in collaboration with the World Bank. Finally,

multilateral bodies like the European Union (EU) and several bilateral donors are engaged in migration research, mostly with a South-North focus. In the context of this project, the coordinators have established network links with most of the listed organizations and institutions.

138 With regard to the mentioned work, the UNRISD project introduces the social policy dimension into the migration-development debate and focuses on South-South movements, an area that has received less research attention. It is therefore innovative conceptually, empirically and in terms of policy relevance.

Progress

139 Research commenced in 2007 with the commissioning of six thematic papers on the link between social policy and migration (Jane Pillinger), brain drain and diaspora activism (Jean-Baptiste Meyer), remittances (Hein de Haas), gender and care (Eleonore Kofman and Parvati Raghuram), and political organizations of and for migrants (Nicola Piper). In addition, three regional overview papers on migration and development in Latin America (Andrés Solimano), Asia (Binod Khadria) and Africa (Aderanti Adepoju) were commissioned to provide some preliminary evidence and guidance on relevant issues and research questions in a regional context.¹

140 Following the joint UNRISD/IOM/IFS workshop in November 2007, an issue of *UNRISD Conference News* was published in 2008 and paper authors were provided with written comments from UNRISD and the discussants. By the end of 2008, final drafts of all papers had been received and different publications (an edited volume, as well as three Programme Papers) were being prepared.

Preliminary findings

141 Preliminary findings emerging out of the thematic papers are as follows:

- *Social policy and migration*: One of the core arguments developed in this project is that migration is a cross-cutting issue in social policy research, as it impacts on economic development, reproduction, redistribution and social protection. The paper on social policy and migration suggests that better linkages in policy and research between migration policy and social policy are needed in order to address the impact of international migration on welfare systems. To date, the main focus of research in this area has been on the social policy implications of migration in Northern destination countries, in particular, the integration and adaptation of migrants into labour markets and welfare systems in the North. The paper identifies entry points for social policy analysis of migratory movements in developing countries and emphasizes the need to move beyond the framework of the nation state.
- *Migration and poverty*: The links between migration, poverty and social policy are complex. Migration has a positive impact on income poverty in sending countries, but it is not always the poorest that migrate. Inequalities within countries often increase as a result of these selective migration processes. The paper on migration and poverty posits that migration should be seen within a larger strategy of poverty reduction, neither as an optimistic “solution” nor as a pessimistic “problem”. To understand broader strategies of poverty reduction, the paper recommends focusing more on intra-household processes in terms of gender and childhood, as well as on the wider environment in which migration takes place. The relevance of migration for social policy and poverty reduction should also be recognized in donor initiatives like the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs).

¹ The papers by Jane Pillinger and Andrés Solimano were commissioned by the IOM and the IFS, respectively.

- *Remittances:* Financial transfers from migrants are increasingly important in terms of the income support that they provide to left-behind families and in terms of foreign exchange receipts for countries of origin. In a South-South context, remittance flows are characterized by a higher degree of informality and lower amounts; however, the positive impact on poverty reduction could be higher than with regard to South-North migration, as cross-border or intraregional migration tends to involve poorer and lower-skilled migrants. The paper argues that a low level of economic and social development is not only a push factor for migration, but also determines the “developmental success” (beyond improvements in individual or household incomes) of migrants’ contributions toward their home countries in terms of investment of remittances or knowledge transfer. It concludes that remittances cannot trigger national development in the absence of wider reform. Therefore, economic and social policies that increase people’s security and well-being are also likely to enhance the contribution that migration and remittances can make to development.
- *Brain drain versus brain gain:* Despite efforts to direct the debate on human resource flows toward the positive concept of brain gain, labour shortages in areas such as health or care work and education continue to pose problems, especially in sub-Saharan Africa and in smaller developing countries with high rates of out-migration. Programmes in most industrialized countries to facilitate the entry of highly skilled migrants are one causal factor behind this, while the lack of prospects for professionals in their home countries is a push factor. This paper suggests that the conventional vision of brain drain as a definite long-term loss of human resources needs to be revised in the light of practices like return or circular migration and diaspora activism, also labelled “social remittances”. Nevertheless, it should also be noted that these options, especially return migration, depend on the general environment in sending countries as well as on public policy initiatives targeted toward the migrant community.
- *Gender and care issues related to migration and social policy:* Care is a significant aspect of social policies seeking to produce a more equitable distribution of reproduction in society. Women in many parts of the world have become incorporated into both the formal and informal labour markets as caregivers. At the same time, the rising labour market participation of women has also resulted in substantial labour shortages in unpaid informal care-provision that women had often provided, intensifying demand for paid caregivers. This demand is increasingly being met by migrant female labour. Hence, care demands are being both created and met through women’s employment, highlighting the complex causal relations that tie together migration, gendered labour and care regimes. The authors use the care diamond concept (as in the UNRISD project on *Political and Social Economy of Care*; see paragraph 217 below) to shed light on the changing architecture of care arrangements and the impact of neoliberal policies in terms of South-South migration and social policy. Given the heterogeneity of the South, the authors suggest that analysis of care arrangements needs to be attuned to local specificities. With regard to the migration-care nexus, the paper argues that migration offers cheap labour for the care sector in countries of destination, whereas remittances toward countries of origin mean that the work of caregivers abroad is recognized, although this does not mean that care needs of families left behind—or caregivers themselves—are taken into account.
- *Political dimensions:* Given the general absence of public policies targeting migrant populations, migrant associations, trade unions and other relevant civil society organizations have an important role to play in providing crucial services and political advocacy for migrants. The different types of organizations involved in migrant issues have their respective historical and institutional strengths and weaknesses. The paper reveals some recent promising developments, such as the emergence of intra-organizational policy shifts or reform processes and inter-organizational alliances within and across borders. The author argues that self-organizing by migrants and cross-organizational alliances are vital to push for better policies and services to cater for the needs of migrants and their families. She notes that the connections between global policy approaches/studies and local and transnational networks from the perspective of promoting global social

justice are still conceptually underexplored. The paper concludes by arguing that migrants want to be recognized beyond their role as *economic* agents by also becoming players in the political process.

142 The regional overview papers point out the following:

- *Africa*: Internal, intraregional and international migration in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) takes place within diverse socio-ethnic, political and economic contexts. Emigration pressure is fuelled by unstable politics, ethno-religious conflicts, poverty and rapidly growing populations. Distinctive forms of migration characterize the different subregions, but, unlike in other world regions, these migrations are largely intraregional. These complex configurations are changing dynamically and are reflected in increasing female migration, diversification of migration destinations, transformation of labour flows into commercial migration, and emigration of skilled health and other professionals from the region. The formation of subregional economic unions to some extent simulated the kind of homogeneous societies which once existed in the subregions. In all cases, economic unions are often dominated by the economies of a single country to which movements of persons have been directed. Many countries are concurrently experiencing challenges and opportunities with respect to the emigration of skilled professionals, the diaspora's links with country-of-origin, and migrants' remittances from within and outside the region. According to the author, at present most countries lack synchronized migration policies and programmes, as well as appropriate data to inform such policies.
- *Asia*: The paper emphasizes the enormous regional heterogeneity of Asia, arguing that it comprises at least four distinctly different subregions. In particular, the subregion of South Asia presents a uniquely balanced case, with intra-regional migration accounting for half of all outward migration, and the other half accounted for by South-North migration. The author explores how the relatively smoother and lower-cost remittances between countries of South Asia would enhance the state's capability for better social service provisioning; which social safety nets are necessary for combating the negative effects of temporary migration and its corollary of return migration; and which social policy measures are available for re-assimilation of migrants and returnees in their home countries, communities and families. The paper concludes by recommending a more holistic social policy aimed at establishing Asia's link with its diaspora for sustainable social development in the region as a whole, alongside economic and political development. The paper states that there is a need for regional economic groups, like the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and other alliances within Asia to create a common platform for social development.
- *Latin America*: Latin America is a region of net out-migration (emigration outpaces immigration) to the rest of the world. At the same time there is a growing flow of intraregional migration among economies sharing borders and language, but having large differences in per capita income. An important factor driving extra-regional migration from Latin America is the persistence of development gaps and differences in economic and social opportunities with more advanced economies such as the United States, Spain, Canada and other high-income countries. Disparities in economic performance also encourage intraregional (South-South) migration. International migration introduces new challenges to the design, management, eligibility and financing of social policy. Migrants face various sources of vulnerability coming from labour market, health, legal and longevity risks. The author argues that these risks can be reduced through various mechanisms ranging from self-insurance, family and network support, market insurance, social insurance by the state or by civil society organizations.

Social Policy Index

143 This project was coordinated by Naren Prasad until he left UNRISD in June 2008. In 2008, assistance was provided by Nicola Hypher (research analyst).

144 The research was supported by UNRISD core funds.

Research Wrap-Up

145 As detailed in previous Progress Reports (2006 and 2007), this project was designed to construct an input-based index quantifying countries' social policy effort. It has aimed to promote better understanding of social policy regimes and to determine the extent of government involvement in social policy, as well as the prioritization of social policy and each of its constitutive elements. The project compiled statistics on social policy in a large number of countries and constructed an index to rank and compare countries in terms of social policies and to assess social policy over time. The index can be compared with outcome measures in order to evaluate policy relevance. It can contribute to public and intellectual debate on social development and on the usefulness of relevant policies.

146 The theoretical framework followed the findings and approach of the earlier project *Social Policy in a Development Context* (2000–2005). There, social policy was defined as state intervention that directly affects social welfare, social institutions and social relations, and involving overarching concerns with redistribution, production, reproduction and protection. With this as background, the SPI was initially constructed as follows:

$$SPI = \alpha(\text{human capital}) + \beta(\text{distribution}) + \delta(\text{protection}) + \lambda(\text{reproduction})$$

147 Human capital combines data on spending on education and health, together with an index to measure whether a country has a policy for universal education, and universal health policy; distribution comprises progressivity of taxes, minimum wages and other redistributive policies; protection stands for social protection measured by a social security index and social welfare spending; and reproduction signifies policies for family allowances and gender equity.

148 The project also builds on indicators developed by UNRISD in the past, and those of other UN agencies. However, most indicators have focused on measurement of output or progress. The SPI is unique in the way it measures social policies of countries. The experiences of other indicators were used as a basis for development of the SPI.

149 The model allowed the calculation of SPI values for each country. These values were then ranked and analysed to assess performance by region and to examine the different weights given to each component in the different countries. The values for the SPI were subsequently analysed to see if they correlate with relevant variables, such as the Human Development Index, governance measures and income levels.

150 In response to comments received during the current reporting period from UNRISD colleagues and external experts, the model was revised as follows:

$$SPI = \alpha(\text{human capital}) + \beta(\text{distribution}) + \delta(\text{protection})$$

The reproduction component, which was found to be misleading as not all the elements could be included, was dropped from the model. In addition, it was found to be inaccurate to measure social expenditure as a proportion of total government expenditure. (This affected the ranking of countries by “punishing” big spenders; in other words, countries with large levels of expenditure overall but a lower than average share of public expenditure in social sectors had lower than expected scores.) As a result of these changes to the model, further analysis was carried out and the draft paper was restructured and revised to take into account the new findings.

151 Findings from the initial analysis and literature review were reported in the 2007 Progress Report. The following key findings emerged from the analysis using the revised model.

- In terms of country rankings, out of the 20 highest scoring countries, the majority are from Western Europe and North America. Nordic countries, well-known for their welfare regimes, score particularly highly with Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland in the 10 highest performing countries. These countries score particularly highly in the protection component.
- The SPI averages for regional blocks seem to confirm the hypothesis that SPI score is dependent on income, as regional blocks that have lower average income do less well in terms of SPI score than richer regional blocks. For example, Africa as a region scored lowest. Although ranking in the production and protection components appears to be associated with income, with a predominance of OECD countries among the highest ranking countries, in distribution there is a greater tendency for middle-income and non-OECD countries to do well.
- The changes in the model significantly affected the ranking of countries.
- The changes in the model had a small impact on the predictive power of income on the SPI value. In the revised model, the correlation between SPI and (log) GDP per capita is around 0.79. This implies that other factors are also important in explaining SPI scores.
- A graph of the gap between a country’s actual SPI score and the score that would be predicted, given its income level, was plotted. This was found to have a U-shaped curve. Therefore low-income countries were found to be performing better than expected, middle-income countries perform relatively poorly and high-income countries perform well.
- The correlation between the SPI and the Human Development Index with the income component excluded (represented by HDI*), reflecting a comparison between input and output, was slightly lower than that for income, with a correlation coefficient of 0.73. The correlation between the human capital component and HDI* is lower, at 0.64, reflecting difficulties in delivery of health and education policies. Some countries, such as Niger, Burkina Faso and Sierra Leone, which score relatively highly on human capital input, do not score well on HDI*, indicating that they are not able to convert good policy intentions into outcomes. However, many middle-income countries, including some former communist countries, have relatively low values for their human capital component and high outcomes. This could be because of high levels of spending historically.
- Voice and accountability has a relatively high correlation with the SPI scores, supporting the claim that democracy has a positive impact on social policy. Quality of government and control of corruption also have a strong predictive power over the SPI score.

152 During the reporting period the draft synthesis paper was presented to colleagues at UNRISD, sent for review to other interested parties and, in the light of comments from these groups, substantially revised. The model may again be revisited prior to publishing any results, however no further work was carried out following the research coordinator’s departure from UNRISD in June 2008.

Social Policies in Small States

153 This project was coordinated by Naren Prasad until he left UNRISD in June 2008. In 2008, research assistance was provided by Nicola Hypher (research analyst).

154 The bulk of the funding for the research is provided by the Commonwealth Secretariat and UNRISD core funds. Additional support for the country study on Grenada is provided by the UNICEF Eastern Caribbean Office.

Background

155 The project uses a comparative, historical perspective to examine social policies in small states. In particular, the project collects data and undertakes country-study research to investigate the economic and social trajectories and social policy-making processes in small states. In doing so, the project investigates why some small states have succeeded in improving their social situation, while others have been less successful at doing so. The research critiques the notion of vulnerability, and the policies that have been used to overcome such vulnerability. In addition, the project looks at the importance of jurisdictional resourcefulness, social cohesion, democracy and the welfare state, and examines social policies during times of crisis. The evolution of social and economic policies and progress is examined using post-war or post-independence development plans.

156 Since the 1990s, the United Nations and other international and regional agencies have examined small states, focusing on Small Island Developing States (SIDS). UNESCO, FAO, UNEP, UNCTAD, WTO and the Commonwealth Secretariat have all looked into issues of concern to small states, with the focus on the environment and sustainable development, but also examining food production, vulnerability, trade, science and culture. This project contributes to existing research into small states with a focus on social issues and the role of social policy.

157 Additional background information will be found in the 2007 Progress Report.

Progress

Thematic papers

158 The four thematic papers commissioned in 2007, on consensual democracy (Helen Hintjens), jurisdictional resourcefulness (Godfrey Baldacchino), social cohesion (Jane Jensen) and the welfare state (Geoffrey Bertram) were revised during the current reporting period based on comments from the research coordinator and research analyst. Preliminary findings are as follows.

- *Power of Jurisdiction as a Tool for Promoting Social Policies*: This paper challenges the dichotomy in small-state theory—between a view of vulnerability, dependence and challenge, on the one hand, and of versatility, vibrancy and being easy-to-manage, on the other—in explaining the success or failure of small states in terms of social and economic performance. Instead, the paper asserts, strategic issues, institutional practices, legal features, regulatory capacities and behavioural response mechanisms are better explanatory tools for why some small states succeed and others do not. The paper provides evidence of jurisdictional resourcefulness in showing that small states often are not doing as badly as claimed, although it also acknowledges the challenges they face.
- *The Welfare State in Microstates and Small States*: The paper considers whether the welfare state literature is applicable to small states, and the

extent and role of the welfare state in small states. It asserts the importance of a more “outward-focused” discourse in small states, due to numerous external linkages (through fiscal funding, role of diasporas and outside influences on social policy substance). The paper finds that small polities often operate with a greater deal of informality and bottom-up security than larger nations, although the role of the government can have a strategic orientation rather than simply a defensive dimension. The paper finds that social policies in small states are heavily conditioned by historical path-dependence and, particularly, by colonial experience.

- *“Social Cohesion” as a Tool for Designing Social Policies That Promote Social Development*: The paper provides a framework for research on social policies in small states by examining the evidence that social development can be shaped by direct or indirect policy interventions to promote “social cohesion”. The paper reviews the literature on social cohesion, breaking the concept into social inclusion and social capital, and examining the relationship with institutions and governance. The paper then identifies a comprehensive set of indicators to measure social cohesion for application in the project’s country studies.
- *Consensual and Participatory Forms of Democracy*: The paper reviews the literature to identify the principles that help promote forms of consensual democracy and social partnership capable of assisting in the formation of inclusive and just social policies. In doing so the paper asserts the importance of a prolonged process of wide and deep consultation, involving broad-based participation. It considers the potential advantages of small size in the promotion of consensual democracy.

Country studies

159 The following studies were commissioned during the reporting period and research got under way. The list is reproduced here in full as there were a number of changes from the plan outlined in the 2007 Progress Report. The studies on Kiribati and Tuvalu, and on Lesotho and Swaziland, were dropped. One new country study (Grenada) was added.

- *Barbados*—Ralph Premdas (Department of Behavioural Sciences, University of the West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago)
- *Fiji*—Paresh Kumar Narayan (School of Accounting, Economics and Finance, Deakin University, Australia)
- *Grenada*—Patsy Lewis (Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and Economic Studies, University of the West Indies, Jamaica)
- *Guyana*—Mark Kirton (UWI Institute of International Relations, University of the West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago)
- *Jamaica*—Neville Duncan (Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and Economic Studies, University of the West Indies, Jamaica)
- *Malta*—Rose Marie Azzopardi (Department of Economics, University of Malta, Malta)
- *Mauritius*—Shyam Nath (Department of Economics, University of Mauritius, Mauritius)
- *Samoa*—Desmond Uelese Amosa (School of Management and Public Administration, University of the South Pacific, Fiji)
- *Seychelles*—Liam Campling (PhD Candidate, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, United Kingdom)
- *St. Lucia*—Bishnu Ragoonath (Department of Behavioural Sciences, University of the West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago)
- *Trinidad and Tobago*—Patrick Kent Watson (Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and Economic Studies, University of the West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago)
- *Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands*—Biman Chand Prasad (School of Economics, University of the South Pacific, Fiji)

160 Drafts were received and commented on for the majority of the papers. The drafts for St. Lucia and Guyana were expected in early 2009. The studies on Mauritius, Seychelles, Fiji and Malta were near completion and were due to be sent out for peer review in early 2009, with the remaining studies expected to be finalized soon afterwards.

161 The country studies examine the economic and social situation in the country and the factors or policies behind successes or failures in terms of economic and social performance. The research does this, first, by evaluating the general development strategies and the policies to promote growth and, in many contexts, diversification of the economy. The country studies then investigate the social situation, presenting data on social indicators, and looking at the social policy design behind progress or stagnation. In doing so, the papers look at government expenditure levels and policy instruments, examining the extent to which policies are universal. The country studies also examine major crises over the past few decades, and policy solutions. In conclusion, the papers offer policy recommendations.

162 Some preliminary overview research findings are detailed below.

163 The country studies on *Mauritius*, *Malta*, *Seychelles* and *Barbados* look at the policies to explain what can broadly be described as economic and social success, in terms of diversification away from dependence on certain sectors, with resultant economic growth and positive trends in social indicators. The country studies also look at the challenges that remain, including sustainability of social security in Malta and problems of social cohesion in Barbados. In the context of economic and political challenges, the papers on *Trinidad and Tobago*, and *Grenada* describe improved government commitment to social services and some progress in social indicators, but with weaknesses in terms of delivery and spending levels. In spite of economic underperformance and high debts, *Jamaica* has performed relatively well in social indicators as a result of a commitment to health and education. *Fiji*, the *Solomon Islands* and *Vanuatu* have tended to be associated with low growth and political instability, which have resulted in disappointing social performance in spite of consistent commitment and, in the case of Fiji, heavy investment.

164 So far many of the country studies have supported the research findings from the thematic papers. For example, the country studies for the Pacific region show that traditional social systems are still prevalent, thereby supporting the argument that welfare systems in small states tend to be more informal and bottom-up. Also, the paper on *Fiji* supports the finding on the link between democracy and social policy; the author discusses the impact that the lack of a sustained period of democratic decision making has had on economic and social progress. Again, in the case of Fiji, a lack of social cohesion is also found to have had an impact on social development. On the other hand, *Mauritius* has numerous ethnic groups, but has created institutions and networks to foster social harmony and growth, thus positively influencing social progress. Both *Malta* and Mauritius have displayed jurisdictional resourcefulness. For example, Mauritius, through good institutions and policies, has been able to reverse the potentially negative effect of vulnerability. Mauritius has also been successful at attracting FDI, promoting tourism and has made the most of international and regional ties. Malta has also taken advantage of its strategic location to become a transport hub in the Mediterranean.

Dissemination

165 The preliminary research findings were presented at a conference organized by the UNICEF Eastern Caribbean Office, in collaboration with ECLAC, the Commonwealth Secretariat and UNRISD, in Barbados in November 2008. In a day-long session on social policies in small states, there were presentations to policy makers from the Caribbean region by the country study authors for Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, Grenada, Jamaica and Guyana. There were also summaries of the research findings from the Pacific island case studies and Malta, Mauritius and the Seychelles.

Other Programme Activities

166 Ilcheong Yi joined UNRISD as a research coordinator in October 2008. A social policy expert, he has been developing research ideas for the next phase of the UNRISD agenda.

PROGRAMME ON MARKETS, BUSINESS AND REGULATION

Introduction

167 Business-state relations and the role of the market in social development have undergone major changes in recent decades as a result of policy and institutional changes related to economic liberalization, privatization, the expansion of global value chains, and new approaches to regulation and governance. The implications of these developments for social well-being, equity and democratic governance are profound and are the focus of research under this programme.

168 Research during the reporting period focused on the following themes:

- business influence on public policy;
- corporate social responsibility (CSR), development and governance;
- the new role of business in poverty reduction; and
- corporate globalization, contestation and policy change.

169 There were three main projects under way during the reporting period: *Organized Business and Social Policy*, *Negotiating Alternative Trade Regimes in Latin America*, and *Social Responses to Inequalities and Policy Changes* (jointly with the *Civil Society and Social Movements* programme). In addition, research was conducted on the *role of business in poverty reduction* as part of the UNRISD flagship report on poverty (see paragraph 46). New collaborative research with established networks centred in North America and Europe with which UNRISD has worked in recent years was also planned.

Organized Business and Social Policy

170 This project was coordinated by Peter Utting in collaboration with José Carlos Marques (research analyst).

171 Funding for this project was provided by the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID) and UNRISD core funds.

Research Wrap-Up

172 The project, carried out in 2007–2008, examined the role of the private sector in social development, focusing in particular on business engagement with the contemporary poverty reduction agenda and private standard-setting, as well as how organized business interests influence public policy.

173 The main activity was a call for papers and conference on Business, Social Policy and Corporate Political Influence in Developing Countries, held in November 2007, which was reported on in the 2007 Progress Report. During the current reporting period, work under the project entered the final phase, with work on preparation of two manuscripts that examine evolving patterns of business-state-society relations and their implications for public policy, social development and business regulation. The volumes, which were accepted for publication by Palgrave Macmillan in its International Political Economy series (Tim Shaw, series editor),

incorporate selected papers and case studies prepared not only for the conference but also under the project *Negotiating Alternative Trade Regimes in Latin America* (see paragraphs 188–205) and the research on the *role of business in poverty reduction*.

Research focus and findings

174 Research undertaken for this project and other UNRISD work on business and development will be published in two volumes edited by Peter Utting and José Carlos Marques. The first deals with the theme of *corporate social responsibility and regulatory governance*. It examines the developmental, social and governance implications of CSR, public-private partnerships (PPPs) and private standard-setting initiatives, addressing in particular four gaps or weaknesses that characterize much of the current thinking on the role of business in social development and poverty reduction.

175 The first relates to the ahistorical nature of much of the literature and the failure to draw upon the lessons of history regarding the circumstances that shape the role of business in social development. It is important to situate CSR on a historical trajectory in order to reveal the conditions, strategies and contexts that were conducive to CSR in the past; to consider which elements are relevant to today's circumstances; and to determine whether they are being considered in current strategies to promote CSR. Several papers provide such a perspective and, in so doing, reveal that a complex set of economic, political and institutional conditions or governance arrangements need to exist in order to enhance the contribution of business to social development. These generally included some combination of relatively strong states, social pacts, labour movements and corporate elites that were "socially embedded". This analysis suggests that the drivers of contemporary CSR, in particular those associated with corporate reputation and risk management, and various forms of interaction with non-governmental organizations (NGOs), are quite different and often weaker than those underpinning business activities and strategies associated with inclusive development in the past.

176 Second, much of contemporary writing on CSR is conceptually and critically weak. Research associated with this project sought to address this aspect by drawing on governance and neo-Gramscian theory, as well as other theoretical perspectives. This analysis reveals a number of important limitations of contemporary approaches associated with "voluntarism" and private regulation, and provides pointers to regulatory frameworks and modes of governance potentially more conducive to inclusive development. Two key conceptual themes running through the volume relate to *power* and *institutional complementarity*. The analysis of power highlights:

- the need to factor in power relations between different social actors and stakeholders in order to understand how the CSR agenda is framed, as well as how costs and benefits of CSR are negotiated and distributed within value chains;
- that "corporate power" manifests itself in different ways—structurally, instrumentally and discursively;
- that aspects of economic governance associated with "corporate hierarchy", that is, the relative autonomy from competitive pressures that large corporations enjoy, can provide certain spaces for CSR and voluntary corporate action;
- that CSR serves an important legitimizing role for corporate elites; and

- that broadening and deepening of CSR depend crucially on changes in the configuration of social forces and the exposure of corporations to activist and regulatory pressures.

177 The inquiry into institutional complementarity sheds considerable light on the potential and limits of CSR. At one level, CSR—or what has been called “the new ethicalism”—can be viewed as a response on the part of corporate elites to reinforce an approach to development centred on economic liberalization that could not be secured solely on the basis of legal and regulatory changes associated with free trade, deregulation, intellectual property rights and so forth—or what has been called “new constitutionalism”. At another level, the research reveals various hybrid forms of regulation that combine elements of both voluntary and legalistic regulation, which can work in ways that are complementary and synergistic to provide more substance to the policy and practice of CSR and PPPs from the perspective of inclusive development.

178 Third, the CSR agenda has paid limited attention to concrete effects on people’s lives and the environment. Various papers that examine how CSR and PPPs have been applied in practice address this aspect. They show that:

- the CSR agenda has been promoted with considerable rhetorical zeal that emphasizes stated objectives or intentions as opposed to concrete evidence of performance and impacts;
- the level of engagement of the world’s largest 100 corporations with CSR and issues of poverty reduction varies considerably, and is more “inactive” or “reactive” as opposed to “active” or “proactive”, although such engagement varies to some extent according to different “varieties of capitalism”; and
- the objectives of certain types of PPPs and private standard-setting initiatives are often not realized in practice, the distribution of benefits may be heavily skewed toward more powerful stakeholders, and PPPs often fare poorly in relation to participation and accountability.

179 Fourth, in a context where perspectives on appropriate forms of business regulation remain fairly polarized between those who are critical of state regulation and favour voluntary initiatives, and those who are highly sceptical of the latter and call for binding regulation, the research points to the need to go beyond this dichotomy. It considers ways in which different types of institutions and actors—private, civil and state—operating at multiple scales, can constitute more effective regulatory frameworks. It identifies important elements of an alternative approach that reconnects CSR and public policy, voluntarism and law, contestation and policy reform, and “old” and “new” social movements. The concept of “corporate accountability”—with its emphasis of obliging corporations to answer to relevant stakeholders, the imposition of penalties in cases of non-compliance, and the possibilities for victims to channel grievances and seek redress—is presented as an alternative to CSR which often disregards such aspects. Particular attention is paid to changes occurring in the nature of activism and the strengthening of countervailing centres of power that might facilitate a transition from CSR to corporate accountability. Several papers examine the political underpinnings of regulatory change by examining the reconfiguration of social forces and new forms of activism and alliances, as well as the role of networks that span multiple scales.

180 The second volume addresses *how organized business interests relate to public policy*. The research considered the evolving nature of state-business relations; the ways business interests shape fiscal, trade, labour market and other social policies; and whether such relations and influences are conducive to inclusive development.

181 The dual transitions of economic liberalization and democratization experienced in many developing countries yield a complex set of opportunities and constraints for crafting business-state relations conducive to inclusive development. In general, their civil societies, labour unions, regulatory capacities and redistributive mechanisms remain underdeveloped. This contrasts sharply with the structural and instrumental power of transnational corporations (TNCs) and organized business interests, which has increased in contexts of international mobility of capital, the structuring of global value chains, trade and investment agreements, and private regulation. The research addressed the question of whether business is inherently resistant to public policies conducive to inclusive development. It identified the circumstances under which business might support such policies in developing and transition countries.

182 Various literatures on comparative capitalism have highlighted the political and institutional conditions under which economic and social policy can be self-reinforcing. However, divergent perspectives on the relationship between business and social policy are clearly evident within these literatures. One main strand, which centres on distributional conflict, suggests, for example, that business is inherently opposed to redistributive social policies and seeks to restrain social spending. Only in the face of political pressure by organized labour groups or strong states will it consent to social partnership and joint governance processes. Other analyses propose that business preferences are predominantly a function of institutional complementarities and the structural elements that determine product market competitiveness. This firm-centred view proposes that the policy preferences of business may vary across industry, institutional context, organizational size, and the policy itself. A key question is whether employer groups are able to effectively reconcile differences.

183 Although often restricted to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, the debate is relevant to the contemporary context in numerous developing and transition economies as it underscores the conditions under which business will support social and other policies that advance inclusive development. This volume is an effort to extend this scholarship to non-OECD countries in order to understand the dynamics of business engagement with the public policy process. It examines the predominant means by which corporate interests directly and indirectly influence social, labour market and development policy, the reasons for their positions, and the scope of their influence. It thereby attempts to identify factors that may be undermining the ability to build institutions amenable to both the private and social sectors, and how state-business relations may be reconstituted in a manner conducive to inclusive development.

184 Through a variety of country case studies, including Brazil, Chile, India, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Russia and South Africa, the dynamics of “regressive”, “progressive”, or indeed “neutral” policy influence are examined. The analysis suggests that the contemporary development context continues to be dominated by policy approaches that aim primarily to enhance competitiveness in a manner that accommodates specific business interests and stifles the design and implementation of socioeconomic policies more amenable to broader segments of business and society. A key analytical thread concerns how patterns of business activity and business-state interaction determine how expert knowledge is generated and transmitted to policy makers, sometimes marginalizing social concerns in the process. The research also identifies structural, political and institutional conditions under which business interests might favour progressive social policies and how democratic processes, such as electoral competition, can moderate institutional capture by business interests where these conditions are not present.

185 The research suggests that a more active state is essential to the promotion of the institutional reforms required for inclusive development in contexts of democratization and economic liberalization. Such a role, however, relates not only to social protection, redistribution and regulation, but also to the fostering of certain forms of collective action that involve organized business interests. Drawing a distinction between foreign TNCs, large domestic firms, small and medium enterprises (SMEs), and the industries in which they operate, it highlights the need to consider the variation and organization of private sector interests as an object of government policy. Economic and social concerns may be simultaneously addressed by strengthening the organizational capacity of business segments that support inclusive social policies, and promoting deliberative institutions that both generate the expertise required to craft innovative policies and facilitate interest representation and bargaining.

Researchers and papers commissioned

186 An issues paper on *Organized Business and Progressive Social Policy in Comparative Perspective* was prepared by José Carlos Marques and was being revised following comments from peer referees. It will be published as a Programme Paper.

187 In addition, the following commissioned papers will be included in the edited volumes.

Volume One—Corporate Social Responsibility and Regulatory Governance: Towards Inclusive Development?

- Peter Utting and José Carlos Marques—*Introduction: The Intellectual Crisis of CSR*
- Colin Crouch—*CSR and Changing Modes of Governance: Towards Corporate Noblesse Oblige?*
- Ngai-Ling Sum—*Wal-Martization and CSR-ization in Developing Countries*
- Paddy Ireland and Renginee G. Pillay—*Corporate Social Responsibility in a Neoliberal Age*
- Ndangwa Noyoo—*Linking Corporate Social Responsibility and Social Policy in Zambia*
- Michael Blowfield—*Business, Corporate Responsibility and Poverty Reduction*
- Rob van Tulder—*Transnational Corporations and Poverty Reduction: Strategic and Regional Variations*
- Ruth Findlay-Brooks, Wayne Visser and Thurstan Wright—*Cross-Sector Partnership as an Approach to Inclusive Development*
- Catia Gregoratti—*Growing Sustainable Business in Eastern Africa: The Potential and Limits of Partnerships for Development*
- Doris Fuchs and Agni Kalfagianni—*Private Food Governance: Implications for Social Sustainability and Democratic Legitimacy*
- James Van Alstine—*Spaces of Contestation: The Governance of Industry's Environmental Performance in Durban, South Africa*
- Florence Palpacuer—*Challenging Governance in Global Commodity Chains: The Case of Transnational Activist Campaigns for Better Work Conditions*

Volume Two—Business, Politics and Public Policy: Implications for Inclusive Development

- José Carlos Marques and Peter Utting—*Introduction: Understanding Business Power and Public Policy in a Development Context*
- José Carlos Marques—*Organized Business and Social Policy in Comparative Perspective*
- Kevin Farnsworth—*Business Power, Social Policy Preferences and Development*
- Kanta Murali—*Liberalization, Business-State Relations and Labour Policy in India*
- Benedicte Bull—*Business Participation in Free Trade Negotiations in Chile: Impacts on Environmental and Labour Regulation*
- Gloria Carrión—*Business, Politics and Free Trade Negotiations in Nicaragua: Who Were the Winners and Losers?*
- Bart Slob and Francis Weyzig—*Corporate Lobbying and Corporate Social Responsibility: Aligning Contradictory Agendas*
- Francisco Durand—*Corporate Rents and the Capture of the Peruvian State*
- David W. O'Brien—*The Ascent of Business Associations in Russia: From Capture to Partnership?*
- Wagner Pralon Mancuso—*Lobbying to Reduce the “Brazil Cost”: The Political Strategies of Brazilian Entrepreneurs*
- Martin Kaggwa—*Government-Industry Partnership in South Africa: Social Bias in the Automotive Industry*
- Paola Perez-Aleman—*New Standards and Partnerships in Latin America: Implications for Small Producers and State Policy*

Negotiating Alternative Trade Regimes in Latin America

188 This project was coordinated jointly by Manuel Mejido, University of Geneva, and Peter Utting at UNRISD, in collaboration with the Geneva-based Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies and the International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD). In 2008, research assistance was provided by Rafaela Pannain (intern).

189 Funding for this project was provided by the Geneva International Academic Network (GIAN) and UNRISD core funds.

Research Wrap-Up

190 This research, carried out in 2007–2008, examined the changing political economy of trade regimes in Latin America and, in particular, the role of non-state actors in shaping trade and regional integration policies. The project involved case studies of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile and Nicaragua.

191 Key research questions included the following:

- How are trade regimes changing in the context of the decline of the “Washington consensus” and an apparent “shift to the Left” in Latin America?
- How much negotiating space do developing countries have in regional trade negotiations involving developed countries?

- What is the relative weight and influence of non-state actors and networks associated with civil society and organized business interests in trade negotiations?
- In countries where an active anti-free trade movement has emerged, how has this influenced public debate, government trade policy and negotiations?
- Are contemporary changes in trade regimes and regional integration conducive to “policy space” and “policy coherence”?

Research focus and results

192 The classical coordinates of trade and development in Latin America—often described in terms of protectionism versus liberalization, or inward versus outward growth—have changed considerably. A far broader mix of trade and regional integration policy has resulted from structural changes associated with globalization and liberalization, the “crisis” of neoliberal orthodoxy, the reconfiguration of “the Left”, and changes in both the role of non-state actors and the nature of policy making. By weaving together free trade agreements (FTAs) with a variety of regional initiatives centred on South-South trade and cooperation, Latin American countries are pursuing more diversified models that combine liberal, developmentalist and “alternative” approaches in new ways. And parties and governments typically associated with the Left, rather than being monolithic, offer a broader range of political and ideological positions on trade and development policy. Democratization has fostered hybrid models whereby countries in the region accept the reality of economic liberalization enshrined in and reinforced by FTAs, but look to alternative institutional and policy arrangements to minimize contradictory effects and promote more inclusive patterns of development.

193 The fundamental debate today concerns the contested nature of integration—on one hand, integration toward a common market founded on shared economic principles favouring market access and aspects of so-called “deep integration” associated with securing property rights and facilitating foreign direct investment (FDI); and on the other, integration toward a community of nations that share common socio-historical values as well as institutions conducive to social development. This debate both fuels and reflects new geopolitical, socio-cultural and political economy dynamics in the region. Geopolitical considerations relate to pressures emanating from the United States and elsewhere associated with the “deep integration” agenda—manifested by FTAs, such as the Dominican Republic–Central America Free Trade Agreement (DR-CAFTA), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and the Security and Prosperity Partnership (SPP, also known as “NAFTA Plus”) and the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA); the rise of Brazil as a regional and global economic power, and the new developmentalist and Bolivarian projects, including the energy alliance between Venezuela, Bolivia and Argentina; the Bank of the South; and Telesur. Subregional initiatives, such as the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA), the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) and the Community of Andean Nations (CAN), embody normative elements associated with regional identity, South-South cooperation and solidarity, as well as the need for “policy space”—elements that may clash with the ethos and practice of FTAs. The changing political economy of the region manifests itself not only in the resurgence of “leftist” parties, but in the shifting configuration of social forces, reflected in the rise of business power and the proliferation of social movements concerned with myriad issues, including trade justice.

194 These developments confirm the importance of broadening the analysis of foreign or trade policy formulation beyond the interaction of state actors, to include the ways in which non-state actors interact with the policy process at the national and regional levels. They also suggest the need to factor into the analysis political, institutional and ideational aspects that shape both the policy positions of different non-state actors and their capacity to influence the policy process. Such aspects include power asymmetries, clientelism, institutional path dependence, intra-civil society tensions, and ideational elements associated with identity and cultures of contestation.

195 Case studies of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile and Nicaragua examined the dynamics of trade and development policy and policy making. They also reflected on the implications of contemporary changes in trade regimes for inclusive development by considering two principles that have gained considerable currency in international development thinking: policy coherence and policy space. The research findings put into sharp relief both the spaces that have opened up for progressive reform and the constraints limiting the scope for change.

196 Averse to the asymmetries of multilateralism, Bolivia is attempting to combine the alter-globalization model of ALBA with the more orthodox South-South integration schemes of CAN and MERCOSUR. Brazil combines multilateralism with an attempt to pursue regionalism through MERCOSUR, which has economic, political and social dimensions. In the case of Chile, a strategy of simply expanding the number of FTAs worldwide appears to be reaching certain limits, with the government paying more attention to regional integration in order to secure conditions for economic and social development. Nicaragua is pursuing an unusual hybrid, seeking complementarity by combining a conventional FTA with the United States with South-South integration in ALBA.

197 In some respects, such arrangements appear to bode well for policy space and policy coherence, although various actual or potential tensions and limits are apparent. The Bolivian government under Evo Morales has attempted to increase policy space and achieve greater coherence between the normative vision of alter-globalization enshrined in ALBA and the export-oriented growth possibilities of CAN and MERCOSUR. The country's small economy and its history of instability are serious impediments to this ambitious new developmentalist project. To achieve its trade and development objectives, the Morales administration must successfully negotiate an increasingly complex and volatile "two-level game" between polarized domestic business and civil society actors, on the one hand, and polarized visions of trade within CAN, on the other.

198 In Brazil, there has been considerable continuity in trade and development policy despite an apparent "shift to the Left" under the Lula presidency. Regional integration has, however, become more of a strategic priority although the pace of implementation remains slow. A relatively autonomous foreign affairs technocracy, electoral competition, and a resurgent parliament and social democracy have played important roles in relation to policy space and coherence. Brazil, for example, has resisted the types of hemispheric (FTAA) and global free trade agreements (Doha Round) promoted by the United States, and there are signs of a revitalized developmental welfare state. Organized business interests, historically quite fragmented, are uniting and lobbying to greater effect. Such a development may serve to moderate rent-seeking demands, but it also suggests certain limits to the strengthening of the normative and regulatory framework for inclusive development, particularly in a context where sectors of civil society, comprising NGOs, trade unions and social movements, that are supportive of more inclusive

patterns of development, remain fragmented. In relation to trade and regional integration policy, social movements played a key role in mobilizing against the FTAA but their participation in formal governance structures (of MERCOSUR, for example) remains weak.

199 Chile confronts the challenge of having to manage not only constraints on policy space that are locked in via numerous FTAs, but also those that give the political allies of neoliberal orthodoxy and big business considerable weight in the legal and policy process. The instrumental power of organized business interests in the policy process increased following the return to democracy as interests representing SMEs were courted by both leading political parties and the state. The resultant social pact combined free trade and industrial policy in an attempt to generate a second export phase based on higher value-added and diversification. In relation to policy coherence, this model confronts serious limitations reflected in the skewed distribution of benefits and the country's high Gini coefficient. The institutionalization of relations between the private sector and the state has kept civil society actors at the margins of the country's trade and development strategy. Both energy needs and domestic political and civil society constituencies supporting regionalism, however, are nudging Chile toward integration in MERCOSUR, CAN and the incipient Union of South American Nations (UNASUR).

200 In Nicaragua, the ideological mix inherent in the hybrid "CAFTALBA" model reflects the unconventional paths to trade and integration regimes taken by the "Left" in Latin America, as well as new relations with business interests. In DR-CAFTA negotiations, business actors significantly influenced the negotiating agenda. Indeed, fundamental structural power was granted to these actors through processes of economic liberalization, integration and privatization. A state-business coalition, and intra-civil society divisions, clearly limited civil society's role in both the negotiations and public debate, despite the emergence early on of a vociferous "anti-CAFTA" movement. DR-CAFTA locked in certain constraints on policy space that may be difficult to overcome in the future. While the social agenda of ALBA bodes well for policy coherence, lack of transparency and tensions with the United States may generate political opposition at home and abroad that will undermine its long-term sustainability.

201 On balance, the research suggests that Latin America seems to be immersed, yet again, in a transition that could have major implications for economic and social development. The current diversity of trade and development policies suggests that the region is settling into a more coherent strategy from the perspective of inclusive development. Taking as indicators the concepts of policy space and policy coherence, which have emerged within international and national activist, academic and policy circles as key for inclusive development, such heterogeneity and potential complementarities among different trade policy and integration instruments provides some basis for optimism. But tensions that perpetuate the region's historical syndrome of institutional ruptures or discontinuity are never far from the surface. The slow implementation of certain regional initiatives and the questionable political sustainability of others leave the future of regional integration initiatives in some doubt. Despite the vibrancy of social movement activism in the region, including on issues of trade justice, mechanisms for civil society interaction with the policy process at both national and regional levels remain weak. Furthermore, such activism is often too dispersed and fragmented to have much influence and is often dwarfed by the structural and instrumental power of organized business interests.

Researchers and papers

202 The lead researchers of the country studies were:

- *Brazil—André Souza dos Santos* (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies/IHEID, Switzerland)
- *Bolivia—Santiago Daroca Oller* (University of Lausanne, Switzerland)
- *Chile—Manuel Mejido Costoya* (UNRISD and University of Geneva, Switzerland)
- *Nicaragua—Gloria Carrión* (ICTSD, Switzerland)

203 Two draft Programme Papers were finalized during the reporting period; they will be published in 2009.

- Gloria Carrión—*Trade, Regionalism and the Politics of Policy Making in Nicaragua*
- Manuel Mejido Costoya, Peter Utting and Gloria Carrión—*The Changing Coordinates of Trade and Development in Latin America: Implications for Policy Space and Policy Coherence*

Dissemination

204 The results of the Nicaragua study were presented by Gloria Carrión at a seminar, held on 24 August 2007, at the Central American University (UCA), Managua, which was co-hosted by UNRISD and the Nicaraguan Ministry of Trade and Industrial Development.

205 Three of the project researchers, Gloria Carrión, Manuel Mejido and Peter Utting, presented the findings of the study at the 12th General Conference of the European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI) on Global Governance for Sustainable Development (June 2008).

Social Responses to Inequalities and Policy Changes

206 This project, coordinated by Peter Utting, was carried out jointly with the *Civil Society and Social Movements* programme and is reported on under that programme area (see paragraphs 275–300). In 2008, research assistance was provided by Daniela Barrier (research analyst), and Samyuktha Rajagopal and Rafaela Pannain (interns).

Other Programme Activities

Business and Poverty Reduction

207 In a context where the international development community is calling on the private sector in general, and TNCs in particular, to play a more proactive role in poverty reduction, research on *business and poverty reduction* is being conducted to examine the effectiveness of the contemporary poverty reduction agenda of business enterprises. Such effectiveness is examined both in relation to specific initiatives and, more generally, as a strategic approach to reduce poverty and enhance the contribution of business to social, sustainable and economic development. In 2008, work on these aspects was organized under the projects on

Organized Business and Social Policy (described above) and in a chapter as part of the UNRISD flagship report on poverty.

Corporate Political Influence in India

208 This research focuses on the dynamics of corporate political influence at state and federal levels in India, and its implications for social and environmental policy. It seeks to understand the different ways in which organized business interests attempt to influence public policy and legal processes; identify concrete instances and processes whereby government efforts to protect labour and the environment have been helped or hindered by organized business interests; determine the conditions and contexts that explain when business interests might support policy reforms conducive to social and sustainable development, or how to overcome business opposition and resistance to policy reform and social and environmental justice.

209 The commissioned paper by Kanta Murali on labour market policy was received, and will be published in the volume *Business, Power and Public Policy* referred to above. The preparation of a second research paper on environmental policy has been delayed due to the withdrawal of the lead researcher from the project. This research is supported by the World Wildlife Fund–UK.

Business Regulation, Non-State Actors and Development

210 In collaboration with York University (Canada), UNRISD is planning an edited volume on *Non-State Regulation and Development* (tentative title). This collection of essays will examine the rise of “private regulation” or standard-setting initiatives involving business, civil society and international organizations, and their implications for development and governance. The collection aims to include discussion of a large number of standard-setting initiatives as well as theoretical and comparative pieces. Peter Utting will be a coeditor of the planned volume.

Policies on Inequalities: Regulating the Evolution and Impact of Socioeconomic Inequalities in Europe

211 INEQ, the network of European research institutions, of which UNRISD formed a part for the project on *Social Response to Inequalities and Policy Changes*, has proposed ongoing collaboration for a large project that would focus on policy options to address inequality. In this connection, UNRISD participated in the submission of a competitive bid to the European Commission’s Seventh Framework Programme. The project aims to enhance understanding of the multidimensional nature of inequality, its impacts on society, and policy options for various actors and institutions at multiple levels of governance. The proposed component of the research that involves UNRISD would focus on the transnational dimensions of policies on inequalities. It would identify relevant transnational processes, institutions of global governance and transnational movements, and study how such dimensions affect structures of inequality and policy at the national level. The research would also assess the potential and limits of a number of specific initiatives of global governance related to financing for development, fiscal policy and labour standards that have potential for reducing inequalities. The proposal was prepared in 2008 and a decision is expected during the second half of 2009.

PROGRAMME ON GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

212 In recent decades the presence of women in public life has grown, whether in politics, in the workforce, or in the migrant streams that cross international borders. At the same time, the intensive engagement of activists and researchers with the development establishment has turned “gender” into a legitimate policy issue for institutions and movements operating at different levels. Yet gender inequalities in power, which intersect with other inequalities, continue to be a persistent and integral feature of the modern world and its institutions—whether markets and macroeconomic flows; states, political parties and social movements; or the intimate sphere of family, household and community. Transformative agendas of social change are constrained not only by the continued dominance of market orthodoxy in some important arenas of policy making, but also by shifts in geopolitics, and new forms of religious and cultural politics that are being played out at global, national and subnational levels.

213 Under the programme *Gender and Development*, research activities were under way in two projects. For the project *Political and Social Economy of Care*, country-level research continued in seven project countries and Research Reports 3 and 4 were completed, while work on the eighth country study (Japan) got under way at an intense pace. Research Reports 3 and 4, and some of the thematic papers, were being revised and posted on the UNRISD web site. A paper drawing on project findings was prepared as an input into the Expert Group Meeting organized by the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) in preparation for the 53rd United Nations (UN) Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) (2009) which has as its priority theme, “The equal sharing of responsibilities between women and men, including caregiving in the context of HIV/AIDS”. The project’s third, and final, research workshop was held in Geneva. For the project on *Religion, Politics and Gender Equality* the first drafts of nine country studies were submitted, and the researchers presented and discussed their papers at the project’s first research workshop in Istanbul. For the remaining two countries, researchers were identified and research proposals prepared. Four thematic papers were also commissioned. Two more volumes were published under the *Routledge/UNRISD Research in Gender and Development* series.

Political and Social Economy of Care

214 This project is coordinated by Shahra Razavi. In 2008, assistance was provided by Eleanor Hutchinson (research analyst, January-March) and Silke Staab, who joined UNRISD as a research analyst in June 2008. Roberto Gerhardt was a visiting fellow (November-December).

215 Project funding is provided by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC, Canada), the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), and the United Nations Development Programme/UNDP (Japan/Women in Development [WID] Fund). Additional support is provided by UNRISD core funds.

Background

Key research questions

216 The issue of care has become central in the social policy agenda of many advanced industrialized countries. Policy interest has been generated by a number of interconnected developments, most notably the move away from a “male breadwinner” to an “adult worker” model of the family, which has in turn given rise to concerns about the adequacy of supply of unpaid care for young children and the frail elderly; the fiscal burden of care service provisioning; declining fertility rates and population ageing; an interest in promoting children’s capabilities, in order to eradicate child poverty and to enhance their “human capital” in the context of global economic competitiveness; and concerns for gender equality. This has been the context within which feminist research on care has developed and matured. But this research has been remarkably “local”. Many of the trends it has documented are not universal. The policy trends in post-communist countries have fostered forms of re-familialization, albeit contested, while in newly industrialized countries there is no necessary correlation between women’s increased employment and their access to greater social rights associated with their care responsibilities. There has been growing academic (and policy) interest in the migration of Southern women to the North where they work as care providers in private homes and public institutions, but the focus again has been on care arrangements and institutions in the North (and migrants’ role in containing both the fiscal burden on welfare states, and intra-household gender conflicts over the division of unpaid care work).

217 In short, care arrangements in developing countries have not received the same level of scrutiny as those in institutionalized welfare states—the lacuna that this project tries to address. The project is undertaking comparative research on the multiple institutions involved in the provision of care on a daily and generational basis: *families and households* (through which much of the unpaid care work is organized); *markets* (including unregulated and informal ones that bring the intersections between class, gender and ethnicity into focus); *states* (which can fulfil some forms of provision, and/or finance and regulate other providers); and the *not-for-profit sector* (which tends to subsume different kinds of organizations and is often called upon to fill deficits and gaps). The project refers to this mix of institutions as the “care diamond”.

218 How societies address care has enormous social significance for gender relations and inequalities; but it also tends to reflect and reinforce other forms of inequality. Systems of social provision and regulation, thus, shape particular ways of organizing and valuing care. What form do care arrangements in diverse developing countries take? Are families and households (in all their diversity) the only site where care is produced? How are state policies and social practices shaping national care arrangements? Can different care arrangements and policies underpinning them be identified among developing countries as the basis for a care regime typology (however preliminary)? This project engages with such key questions. Conceptually, the project seeks to connect the gender dynamics of care in developing contexts to some of the existing theoretical work that, for the most part, takes the developed capitalist economies as its point of reference, with a view to exploring possibilities for mutual learning.

Country studies, research teams and advisory group

219 The core countries selected from sub-Saharan Africa (South Africa and Tanzania), Asia (India, the Republic of Korea, Japan), and Latin America

(Argentina and Nicaragua) remain the same as in the last reporting period; the desk study on Switzerland complements them. There were no changes in the composition of the research teams or in the membership of the advisory group. The Japanese research team was constituted in the summer of 2008; the members of the team are: *Aya Abe* (National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, Tokyo), *Takafumi Uzuhashi* (Doshisha University, Kyoto), *Emiko Ochiai* (Kyoto University, Kyoto), *Masato Shikata* (Keyo University, Tokyo), and *Yuko Tamiya* (Kobe Gakuin University, Kobe).

Links with other parts of the United Nations system

220 The *Gender and Development Programme* is collaborating with DAW, as well as the Gender Team of UNDP. UNRISD actively participated in the 52nd session of the Commission on the Status of Women (see project events, below). Upon DAW's request, a background paper² was prepared and presented at the Expert Group Meeting held in Geneva (6–9 October 2008), in preparation for the 53rd session in 2009 on “equal sharing of responsibilities between women and men, including caregiving in the context of HIV/AIDS”, with the purpose of further contributing to the understanding of the priority theme and assisting the Commission in its deliberations.

Progress

221 As explained in the 2007 Progress Report, the research being conducted in the eight project countries is being written up into five discrete research reports; the reports are organized in such a way that they can constitute chapters of a book manuscript for each country (to be published by local publishers). The 2007 Progress Report provided preliminary findings from Research Report 1 (background political economy) and Research Report 2 (analysis of time use data). During this reporting period Research Report 3 (institutions and policies in the care diamond) and Research Report 4 (care workers) were completed, revised and posted on the UNRISD web site. Preliminary findings from these two reports are provided below. The fifth (and final) research reports, synthesizing the findings from each country, are expected by June 2009.

222 Selected research papers are being considered for publication as UNRISD Programme Papers. Two special journal issues are being planned—one on care policies and institutions, and the other on care workers—and proposals were submitted to potential journals during the reporting period.

Selected findings from Research Report 3: Institutions and Policies in the Care Diamond

223 The care diamond provides a skeletal picture, as the institutions involved in care provision often work in a more complex manner and the boundaries between them are neither clear-cut nor static. For example, the state very often subsidizes and regulates (sometimes actively creates) provision through markets and not-for-profit providers. In the Republic of Korea, childcare services are predominantly supplied by private for-profit and non-profit providers in the market and the community, and have seen a significant expansion over the past decade. Similarly in Japan, while the state heavily regulates Long-Term Care Insurance (addressing care needs, particularly of the frail elderly), care services are provided primarily by

² Shahra Razavi and Silke Staab, *The Social and Political Economy of Care: Contesting Gender and Class Inequalities*, UNRISD's contribution to the Expert Group Meeting organized by DAW, Geneva, 6–9 October. Available online: www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/equalsharing/EGM-ESOR-2008-BP-3%20UNRISD%20Paper.pdf.

the market and community sectors, through private for-profit, non-profit and community-based voluntary organizations. The expansion of state welfare in these countries is therefore hardly market challenging; to be sure, the new welfare mix is highly (and intentionally) market enhancing.

224 Governments can orchestrate care diamonds with a “mix” of public and private provision that is not exclusionary, that provides accessible services for everyone, and that respects the rights of care workers. But this requires states with both fiscal and regulatory capacities (to subsidize and regulate non-state care providers), as well as a willingness to invest in basic public health and education services and appropriate infrastructure which help reduce the unpaid care burden largely placed on women’s shoulders. Pluralism in the provisioning of social and care services can have unequalizing, if not exclusionary, outcomes in contexts where the state fails to play this leadership role. In historically more unequal societies, pluralism in welfare and care provision easily slips into fragmentation as gaps are filled by providers that offer services of varying quality which cater and are accessible to different segments of the population—variations on this theme emerge from the South African and Argentine research. While the state in Argentina has assumed important responsibilities through the growing provision of free public childcare services and subsidies to market and community provision, significant class inequalities characterize the patterns of service usage. In both Argentina and South Africa private or social insurance-based provision of health, pensions and care services for the better-off or those who are formally employed may be underwritten by state subsidies, while meagre resources are channelled into poor quality public services (health, education, care, cash transfers) for the majority who may be asked to make “in-kind” or “under-the-table” contributions.

225 State weakness and/or inaction very often leaves the burden of care to families and “communities”—a particularly relevant issue for many poorer developing countries where the state assumes a minimal role in both welfare, and specifically care, provisioning. In the three project countries—Tanzania, Nicaragua and India—where agrarian and/or informal economies dominate, both welfare and care provisioning are largely left to families and communities with minimal state regulation or provisioning, while the better-off seek market-based solutions, often through unregulated forms of provision. In such contexts (where provision of care is largely organized through familial and kinship networks), we can speak of “extensive” or “implicit” familialism. Here, both public policies to de-familialize care (that is, through well-functioning accessible care services) and state support for family-based care (that is, through care allowances or paid maternity leaves) are virtually inexistent.

226 In these contexts even basic public health, education and sanitation services remain woefully inadequate, meaning that households take on an even larger role in the care and sustenance of their members. To this must be added the heavy demands that a poor and inaccessible infrastructure places on low-income households in particular, and especially on the women and girls in those households. Drawing on both the time use data and the qualitative research methods, the research reports on Tanzania, Nicaragua and India support the suggestion that there may be a deficit of care provision, drawing attention to the fact that self-care and “sibling care” play a major role, even among very young children. These observations raise difficult questions about how to understand (and measure or monitor) the quality of care—issues that go beyond the scope of the present research.

227 In countries where the welfare regime relies primarily on families and unpaid work, rather than on markets—let alone on public policy—it is vital to reconstruct the care diamond through a combination of institutional analysis *and examination of social practices* through qualitative research methods. Despite the maternalist vision of care elicited in the Nicaraguan qualitative research, the majority of women participating in the focus group discussions seemed to have high expectations regarding the state’s—rather than civil society’s—role in care provisioning. These expectations of the state’s role in Nicaragua seem to be a legacy of the Sandinista period, and are reflected in women’s perceptions of the role of the Child Development Centres (CDIs), which are seen as an important and successful part of care provisioning, even though these centres only accommodate 1 per cent of children under age six. Ironically though and belying the assumptions often made about the role of community and neighbourly networks, the qualitative research in both Nicaragua and India suggests that this presence is relatively marginal, and often associated with emergency situations.

228 Non-familial care may be quite modest in these countries: young children, the elderly, those with disabilities and ill-health are largely cared for by women on the basis of family, household and kinship relations. In several African countries, there is increasing agitation and advocacy by HIV/AIDS patients, their families and other activists for greater *public* responsibility for the provision not only of drugs and treatment, but also of care. In both South Africa and Tanzania, governments are looking into alternative, non-familial forms of care provision, through what is called home-based care, which is playing an increasingly important role as a supplement to the unpaid work that family members, kinship networks and neighbours provide and as a stand-in for the services that the overburdened public hospitals and clinics cannot/do not provide. The bulk of the home-based carers work on a “voluntary” basis; most of these workers are women.

229 In addition to this somewhat grey area in the diamond framework, in reflecting on both the Tanzanian and Nicaraguan contexts, it seemed that there is a fifth important sphere which both directly and indirectly influences policy in respect of care. In these countries problems of state capacity are compounded by donor influence in setting agendas and providing funding for the meagre social care programmes that are tenuously in place. Heavy reliance on external sources of funding, however, creates serious problems of sustainability, which means little opportunity for individual organizations to accumulate experience in this field, as they shift to other forms of intervention in the hope of attracting funds, or simply collapse. As the Nicaraguan case suggests, the fact that donor interests do not always coincide with existing state programmes can lead to the implementation of parallel (often temporary) programmes (instead of the strengthening of existing ones)—which in turn can lead to distortions in programmes run by the state.

230 The boundaries of the responsibility mix often shift in response to claims-making by social networks and organized interest groups (for example, trade unions and women’s groups) as well as through state action. In the Republic of Korea, for example, both political contestation and demographic imperatives—rapid population ageing and falling fertility rates—have catapulted social care onto the national policy agenda. In other contexts, state interest in the “quality” of the labour force, underlined by the “social investment” approach, has provided women’s movements with opportunities to ally with other rights-based movements, especially child rights, for policy responsiveness in the area of early childhood education and care as evidence from several Latin American countries suggests. Outcomes depend on political and institutional configurations, the strength of

constituencies struggling for women's interests and their ability to line up with other social actors.

Selected findings from Research Report 4: Care Workers

231 The care service sector seems to be growing and absorbing significant numbers of female workers in most project countries. Shifting care from households to markets or public sectors (de-familialization) does not, in and of itself, reduce its undervaluation and the gender inequalities it entails. Indeed, care remains strongly *feminized* and for the most part *undervalued*, when carried out by paid workers in (formal or informal) market and public sector arrangements, or by "volunteers" in non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and churches.

232 Research also shows a great heterogeneity among care workers' wages and working conditions, class background and (most likely) interests. Care occupations differ significantly in terms of status and skills, with nurses and pre-school teachers at the more formal end, and domestic workers at the more informal end, of the employment spectrum. Wages and working conditions of care workers vary across these categories and across countries. Domestic service employment is characterized by low remuneration and status as well as poor working conditions, which, in some countries, clearly relate to these workers' greater poverty risk. Formal regulations like minimum wages, maximum working hours, or mandatory employer contributions to social security for these workers tend to be absent, even though progress has been made in some countries, for example South Africa. However, research also indicates that many care workers are not affected by the kind of precariousness that domestic service implies. Indeed, some groups are well organized and have access to formal, secure and relatively well-paid employment. This seems to be the case for professional nurses in South Africa and teachers (including pre-school teachers) in Argentina.

233 The findings are suggestive of important *variations* in the extent to which care work is penalized and the way policy contexts influence the quality of care employment: being in the public sector helps, having collective bargaining arrangements helps, and having regulated labour markets also helps. Furthermore, public provision of care services can be an effective route for employment creation, even though the risk of creating gender-segmented labour markets is a real one (as the evidence of "successful" social democratic welfare states attests). While these factors have been pointed out previously by quantitative studies on wage penalties in developed country contexts, the project's analysis of the situation of *different* kinds of care workers in each country contributes some original insights on this issue in the context of developing countries.

234 The two African country studies provided important insights into the working conditions of another group of care workers who are not always recognized as such. Voluntary home- or community-based care workers have come to form a component of health policies in a number of sub-Saharan African countries affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. These workers supplement the unpaid work of family members, kinship networks and neighbours, and increasingly fill the gaps left by a public health infrastructure that is fragile, over-stretched and unable to cope after years of neglect and under-investment. Most home-based care (HBC) workers are women who are often themselves poor. Widespread poverty and/or high unemployment in these contexts cast doubt on the *voluntary* nature of their participation. Indeed, while volunteerism is sometimes driven by altruistic motives, many "volunteers" seem to have expectations of receiving some compensation for their work. Whether these expectations will be

met remains to be seen. In both countries, the lack of financial compensation is a current theme among community caregivers.

235 In a similar way, the use of community participation in care-related service delivery in Nicaragua and semi-formal childcare workers (*anganwadi* workers) in India are ways of dealing with the high demand for public social services while trying to keep down costs. This does not necessarily work to women's advantage, as care responsibilities are transferred onto families and communities without evident changes in the rights and rewards of female caregivers.

Project events

236 The third and final research workshop was held in Geneva on 16–17 October 2008. Members of all research teams attended; the University of Berne and the advisory group were also represented on both days. Much of the time was dedicated to the presentation and discussion of Research Reports 3 and 4. The Japanese researchers, who were new to the project, presented rough drafts of Research Reports 2 and 3. Publication and dissemination plans, as well as the inputs from the project to the Secretary General's report on *The Equal Sharing of Responsibilities between Women and Men, Including Care-Giving in the Context of HIV/AIDS*, were also discussed.

237 UNRISD was present at the 52nd Session of the Commission on the Status of Women (2008) where some of the project's findings were presented at a joint UNRISD/UNDP/IDRC panel on Financing for Gender Equality: What is Not Paid For? (25 February). The panel included presentations by UNRISD research team members Ito Peng, Valeria Esquivel and James Heintz (member of the project advisory group). Simel Esim (Regional Gender Advisor, International Labour Organization/ILO Regional Office for Arab States) and Rawwida Baksh (Program Leader, Women's Rights and Citizenship, IDRC) acted as discussants, and Winnie Byanyima (Head, Gender Team, UNDP) facilitated the discussion. The UNRISD research coordinator presented initial findings from the project at a panel organized by DAW on Equal Sharing of Responsibilities between Women and Men, including Caregiving in the Context of HIV/AIDS (27 February).

Religion, Politics and Gender Equality

238 This project is coordinated by Shahra Razavi. In 2008, assistance was provided by Anne Jenichen (Heinrich Böll fellow).³

239 Project funding is provided by the Heinrich Böll Foundation (HBF); the UNIFEM Office for Central and Eastern Europe co-funded three of the country case studies, and UNFPA funded three of the thematic papers. Additional support is provided by UNRISD core funds.

Background

240 Most observers would agree that religion is not declining in significance, and that the liberal ideal of a "wall of separation" between religion and politics, church and state, is not being realized. Outside Western Europe (frequently represented as an exception rather than the norm), and possibly also China (depending on one's understanding of Confucianism), religious ways of being and thinking continue to

³ The position is funded by the HBF and the fellow works at UNRISD on a part-time basis.

exert considerable influence over people's lives. It is evident, moreover, that religions are not confined to a private zone of individual conscience and practice (if they ever were), but are being actively invoked in political life. Religious beliefs furnish the substance for many political interventions (as when they are mobilized in debates about homosexuality or abortion); and in many countries, religion provides the theological basis for state law.

241 Given the seemingly close association between secularism and gender equality (at least at the normative and legal levels), and the recurrent tensions, if not open conflicts, between feminists advocating for gender equality and religious authorities, how is this increasing public visibility and political assertiveness of religion to be understood? Is the three-level typology proposed by José Casanova⁴ for understanding the ways in which religion can “go public” (at the state level; at the level of political society; and at the more amorphous level of civil society) useful for the analysis of its impacts on gender equality? What are we to make of the scenarios where it is women—and not just religious spokesmen or leaders—who espouse and mobilize in defence of religious norms that are clearly in conflict with gender equality? How are we to understand situations where gender equality collides with women's agency, and how do we respect agency (of both religious and non-religious women) while recognizing the human capacity to internalize oppressive norms? Finally, what, if any, are the implications of feminist analyses of the relationship between “public” and “private” for attempts to demarcate what are considered to be private matters of conscience, from those that are public matters for state policy, and those best left for religious bodies?

Country studies, thematic papers, research teams and advisory group

242 Eleven countries have been selected for research, presenting variation with respect to religious denomination as well as region; 10 of these countries remain the same as in the last reporting period: *Chile, India, Iran, Israel, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Turkey, Serbia* and the *United States*. In view of the difficulties encountered in identifying suitable researchers for Nicaragua, *Mexico* was selected as a replacement and researchers were identified. The researchers for eight of the project countries were specified in the 2007 Progress Report. The researchers for the remaining three country studies, identified during the current reporting period, are:

- *Chile*—Virginia Guzman (Director of the Centro de Estudios de la Mujer, CEM, Santiago) and Amalia Mauro (CEM, Santiago)
- *Israel*—Ruth Halperin-Kaddari (Chair of the Ruth and Emanuel Rackman Center for the Advancement of the Status of Women, Faculty of Law, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel) and Yaacov Yadgar (Department of Political Studies, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan)
- *Mexico*—Maria Consuelo Mejia (Executive Director, Catholics for the Right to Decide, Mexico, DF), Ana Amuchastegui Herrera (Senior Researcher, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Xochimilco, Ciudad de México), and Guadalupe Cruz Cárdenas (Catholics for the Right to Decide, Mexico, DF)

243 One thematic paper (by José Casanova) was reported in the 2007 Progress Report. Four additional thematic papers were commissioned in the current reporting period.

⁴ Casanova, José (1994), *Public Religions in the Modern World*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.

- Anne Phillips (London School of Economics, United Kingdom)—*Religion: Ally or Threat? A Feminist Response to José Casanova*
- Mariz Tadros (Institute of Development Studies, United Kingdom)—*Gendered Ideologies and Practices in Faith-Based Organizations Delivering Services*
- Anna Korteweg (Department of Sociology, University of Toronto, Canada) and Gökçe Yurdakul (Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences, Humboldt Universität, Germany)—*Islam, Gender and Immigration: A Comparative Analysis of Honour Killing Debates in Western Europe and North America*
- Stephanie Seguino (Department of Economics, University of Vermont, United States) and James Lovinsky (Department of Economics, University of Vermont, United States)—*Gender Equality and Religiosity: Evidence from World Value Surveys*

244 There were no changes in the membership of the advisory group.

Links with other parts of the United Nations system

245 UNRISD has worked closely with both UNIFEM (Central and Eastern Europe Office) and UNFPA in carrying out this project. UNIFEM representatives actively participated in the Istanbul workshop (see below under project events) and UNFPA worked closely with UNRISD in identifying themes for the three thematic papers it funded.

Progress

246 As explained in the 2007 Progress Report, the researchers were asked to prepare short proposals, and then extended outlines (specifying research questions, methods and data sources), prior to preparing the research papers. All extended outlines were submitted to UNRISD between January and August 2008. Each research team (with the exception of Chile, Israel and Mexico) submitted a draft paper prior to the research workshop in Istanbul (see below under project events). The Israel team presented and discussed its extended outline at the workshop, while the research teams for Chile and Mexico had not been identified at the time. Authors were sent two rounds of written comments by the research coordinator and the HBF fellow to help them revise their text. Five research reports were finalized by December 2008 (India, Pakistan, Poland, Turkey and the United States). Preliminary findings from these reports are provided below. Most remaining papers are expected in early 2009, and those on Chile and Mexico by May 2009. Selected papers have already been sent out to external referees, and are being posted on the UNRISD web site.

247 The research reports are being considered for publication in an edited volume, and/or a special journal issue.

Selected findings from revised case studies

248 *United States (Janet R. Jakobsen and Elizabeth Bernstein)*—Despite the official separation of church and state, religion and politics are intricately intertwined in the United States. This intertwining comes from two sources: (i) the direct influence on American politics of religious groups and organizations through political coalitions operating within the framework of political parties; and (ii) the secular political and cultural institutions of American public life that have developed historically out of Protestantism and predominantly operate by presuming Protestant norms and values. As a result, although the influence of evangelical Christianity on American politics is a problem for gender equality, particularly as it was expressed during the administration of George W. Bush,

previous administrations with more secular—or at least less avowedly Christian—outlooks also put to use similar assumptions and rhetoric in promoting policies that restrict or harm the possibility of gender equality. The most obvious example in which secular positions are no better than religious ones is “gay marriage”, which all candidates for president, both Democratic and Republican and across the spectrum of religious influence, unanimously opposed; the issue where secular positions are clearly better in terms of gender equality than those that are religiously influenced is that of abortion rights.

249 The alliance between predominantly religious “social conservatives” and predominantly secular “fiscal conservatives” in the Republican Party (the New Right as it was initially called) had its tensions: the class interests between these two groups were at odds, as were the meanings of the two forms of conservatism. Currently the alliance is showing some strain and is also shifting in accordance with contemporary evangelical politics. Among evangelicals, liberal voices are becoming more prominent and even some conservatives are moving away from a direct focus on issues of sexuality (via staunch opposition to gay marriage and reproductive rights), which are considered to be too divisive, and toward supposedly more progressive and “neutral” issues, such as human trafficking, the environment and AIDS, which open the door to new alliances with the Democratic Party. A deeper analysis reveals a far from “neutral” picture. By tracing the development and effects of a variety of federal policies (on human trafficking, welfare reform, and reproductive rights), the paper shows that the combination of a secular Protestant presumption of ideal sexual and familial forms and a neoliberal economic agenda has its own deleterious effects on gender equality. This situation produces a difficult situation for activists who hope to promote gender equality. Promoting secularism is not a sure route toward these objectives. As a result, it is necessary to always keep in mind the relationship between the possibilities for gender equality and the limits on the extent of political participation in the United States, including the limits on religious pluralism

250 *Poland (Jacqueline Heinen and Stephan Portet)*—As in the case of other formally democratic countries in the project (such as the United States, India, Israel and Turkey), in Poland too the visibility of religion within politics is situated within a multiparty democratic system. However, the way in which religious dogma has found its way into the political arena has not been through the programmatic vehicle of any particular political party (or parties) but rather through the direct interventions of the Catholic Church itself (despite the formal separation of church and state, even if the 1993 Concordat between the Holy See and the Republic of Poland recognized Catholicism as the *de facto* religion of the state and granted the church certain privileges), which has mobilized its social standing to wield considerable political leverage. Political parties in Poland, with very few exceptions, avoid direct confrontation with the Church out of concern over the adverse impact this could have on their electoral prospects. They therefore tend to avoid controversial topics and remain committed to the Catholic dogma. Conservative parties in particular have tended to be less supportive of gender equality and more open to religious forces and argumentations. The Church’s legitimacy and standing, and thus the power of the moral values it represents, are often attributed to its close historical association with the Polish nation (against Prussian and tsarist incursions, and later in opposition to the communist regime). The close link between religion and nationalism is a theme that resonates across other project countries (especially Serbia, Israel and Pakistan).

251 As in the other mainly Christian countries (Mexico, Chile, United States and Serbia), reproductive and sexual rights have been the main battleground where

religious forces have found themselves in confrontation with advocates of gender equality. The Polish country study argues that the battles waged by the Catholic Church on reproductive and sexual rights have served to assert the Church's authority over the definition and interpretation of moral values in society. Hence abortion is *de facto* forbidden (leading to a rise in unsafe "backstreet" abortions, with poorer women bearing heavy health risks) and sexual education in schools is about the promotion of abstinence outside of marriage. Although the feminist movement has focused its energies on the issue of abortion (perhaps at the cost of neglecting other important issues), it was not able to challenge the Church's position, given the difficulties that women's groups encounter in mobilizing a sizeable constituency, the social conservatism of Polish society, the legacy of feminism's association with a discredited socialist past, and the Church's attempts to co-opt the feminist discourse by inventing a "Catholic feminism". The conservative ethos propagated by the Church has seeped into public consciousness over the past two decades, especially among the younger generation, even if it is not always reflected in actual social practices.

252 *Turkey (Yesim Arat)*—In Turkey the constitutional commitment to secularism has been maintained and placed beyond the reach of amendment. In 2002, nevertheless, the Justice and Development Party (AKP), a successor to several previously banned Islamist parties, assumed political power as a single-party government. In the subsequent elections (2007) it consolidated its position—the first time in Turkish history that a political party with an Islamist background came to power with almost half of the electorate behind it. AKP was now able to coalesce to achieve the two-thirds majority required for constitutional changes. The paper documents and analyses the overt and subtle threats to gender equality associated with the ascendancy of the AKP government through the enhanced legitimization of conservative ideas about the respective roles of women and men. It argues that it is not the AKP's lifting of the headscarf ban in universities—often the focus in discussions of gender equality in contemporary Turkey, by insiders and outsiders alike—that represents the main danger for women and their rights to equality. The more important issue, it suggests, may lie in the institutional spread—through the public bureaucracy, the education system and civil society organizations—of values that propagate restrictive roles for women and restrictive lifestyles in general. Party cadres with sexist values are infiltrating the political system, and religious movements that were once banned are establishing schools, dormitories and off-campus Koranic schools which socialize the young into religiously sanctioned views favouring secondary roles for women. While previously strictly regulated by the secular system, now with the backing of the ruling party, public religion can increasingly flourish at the level of civil society as well—with detrimental effects on women's equal opportunities.

253 The case of Turkey also raises difficult questions about the potential tensions between democracy and gender equality—a tension that was present during the Kemalist era when a highly illiberal and largely undemocratic form of secularism nonetheless delivered major reforms in regard to gender equality. The AKP leadership, unlike its predecessors, has recognized the necessity to play by democratic rules in order to consolidate its electoral reach. During its first term in office the AKP changed into a moderate conservative party responsive to changing needs and demands domestically and with an eye to European Union membership. By responding to the demands of different sectors of society, including entrepreneurial, intellectual and liberal segments as well as many women, the party was able to broaden its constituency considerably. Its successful efforts to open accession talks with the European Union and stabilize the economy also generated support from more secular elements. During its first term the AKP government also

responded positively to demands of the women's movement. However, when the AKP assumed power for its second term in office, with close to 47 per cent of the vote, it became more responsive to the demands of its core conservative constituency. The study identifies the increased electoral support for the AKP and the decreasing significance of the European Union in Turkish politics as the two factors behind this political/policy shift. This again raises difficult questions about how to reconcile the tension between democracy in a society that is largely socially conservative, and gender equality (the "democratic paradox"), a tension recognized as a problem well beyond the Turkish context.

254 *India (Zoya Hasan)*—If secularism in Turkey had its illiberal roots, this was not the case in post-colonial India where secularism was a central feature of the Indian project of modernity and democracy. Indeed the Indian case study argues that secularism was a specific response to India's pluralism and the need to accommodate minorities (especially Muslims) in the aftermath of partition. Hence, departing from the disestablishment model, the state interpreted secularism as the responsibility to ensure the protection of all religions and to provide for their regulation and reform. Despite pressures from the Hindu right, prior to the early 1980s politicians did not allow a political role for religion, fearing its divisive consequences. This changed in the 1980s as political elites from the Congress Party sought to please majority and minority sentiment by giving concessions to particular communities. This use of religion made possible a redefinition of the ideological basis of political life in India and contributed to the resurgence of ethnic interpretations of national identity. Even as the Congress Party flirted with ethnic mobilization, it was eventually to become its principal victim, paving the way for religious nationalism and the emergence of the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) as a major political force.

255 Women's active public roles, and sometimes leadership, in the social movements and campaigns that succeeded in marshalling new support for the BJP, and their complicity and often direct participation in violence against Muslims, has attracted much attention. While some women may have experienced a sense of empowerment through their public activism and an escape from domesticity, what is less noticed is the fact that women who participated in these movements also quickly returned to traditional roles—working within the confines of family and community, and routinely spreading the ideology and messages of the party (in their role as the mothers and bearers of the nation). The BJP has used the idiom of both "secularism" and "women's rights" to demand a Uniform Civil Code (UCC) (to be applied to all religious communities and to replace the current system whereby each religious community has its own personal status laws). This has politicized the issue, and most parts of the women's movement that earlier supported a UCC have now jettisoned it in favour of gender-just or egalitarian (rather than uniform) laws, that are gradually negotiated rather than imposed, fearing that in the current climate a UCC would further institutionalize Hindu dominance in the form of a Hindu-dominated secularism. How effectively women's rights advocates from within the Muslim community can articulate their demands for a reformed civil code is another vexed question that the paper explores.

256 *Pakistan (Farida Shaheed)*—Pakistan's genesis as a separate homeland for Indian Muslims ensured that Islam was inscribed into politics from the start, but the shift from being the religious identity of its majority population to becoming the reference point for all political discourse was not an inevitable one. In Pakistan's history the real power contestation has been between the military-dominated centre and the subnational political elites. As the arithmetic of democracy did not suit the

groups acceding to central power, the reluctance to institute a democratic system and more equitable power-sharing among diverse ethnic groups was masked by the language of Islam. The paper on Pakistan analyses the inscription of religion within the state, politics and society, and its instrumental use, which the paper forcefully argues has been convenient for political reasons. Indeed, had more secular elements not used Islam so consistently in their own pursuit of power, politico-religious groups would not have been able to so steadily push their agenda. Mostly politically motivated, this use of Islam peaked under the military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq (1977–1988) with legislative changes that negated state promises of an equal footing for female and non-Muslim citizens. Religiosity—overt and usually public acts and signs of piety—became a government hallmark, profoundly altering the sociopolitical and judicial landscape through such mechanisms as the establishment of a parallel “sharia court” system and so-called Islamic laws (the Hudood Ordinances) largely relating to criminal and sexual offences, the changing of all textbooks and course curricula and extending support to *madrasas* (seminaries), and instituting a conservative religious-minded officer corps within the hitherto largely secular armed forces. The systematic and aggressive inscription of Islam into the body politic and social fabric had devastating consequences for society in general, and women and non-Muslims in particular. Yet the disempowerment of women has been the outcome, not the purpose, of “Islamization” projects which have been executed in the pursuit of greater power alignments (the latter in turn shaped by wider geopolitical configurations and proxy wars within which Pakistan has been deeply implicated).

257 Subsequent governments (both elected and military) have made efforts to remove the teeth, if not the entire body, of some of the most venomous provisions with respect to the rights of women and minorities, and to address several of the long-standing demands of women’s rights activists. However, women’s social reality is a complex one, mediated by multiple elements outside the formal political and social framework, including the customary sphere. This includes the traditional structures of self-governance and dispute resolution, such as *jirgas* and *panchayats* (tribal assemblies) as well as individual tribal leaders—a sphere within which women’s voices remain muffled and their statutory rights violated in the name of “custom” and “tradition”. Until recently these traditional mechanisms filled the gap left by the state’s absence, especially in rural and tribal areas. But that gap is now being filled by non-state politico-religious actors: the new forums instituted by politico-religious forces (in what is sometimes called “Talibanization”), in addition to raising questions about the state’s prescribed legal framework, simultaneously seek to supersede the earlier authority of traditional governance mechanisms, sometimes forcefully and violently and with dire consequences for women and their rights.

Project events

Research workshop

258 UNRISD organized a research workshop in Istanbul on 14–15 May 2008. Researchers from the project countries (with the exception of Chile and Mexico), the advisory group members, and representatives of UNRISD, the Heinrich Böll Foundation, and UNIFEM attended. Most of the time was dedicated to the presentation and discussion of the country case studies. Some initial comparative issues of the project were also drawn out and the research methodology discussed.

International conference

259 The second research workshop and the final conference of the project will be held in Berlin on 4–6 June 2009, convened by the Heinrich Böll Foundation in close cooperation with UNRISD.

PROGRAMME ON IDENTITIES, CONFLICT AND COHESION

Introduction

260 The focus of this programme has been on the complexity as well as the intricate interplay of ethnic, cultural and national identities, as they are shaped and reformed by development, social change and public policies. With its attention to citizenship rights and social equity, and the emergence of new identities within new generations, including their effect on relations between majority and minority communities, this programme has carried out research contributing to debates on the concepts of indigeneity, belonging and the nation. Through this research, the programme has aimed to bring fresh perspectives to bear on critical policy issues that promote social cohesion and national inclusion.

Identity, Power and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

261 Research under the project *Identity, Power and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* concluded in 2007, and a research wrap-up was provided in the previous Progress Report. Activities during the current reporting period related to dissemination, and the preparation of manuscripts in view of publication. Two Programme Papers were published in 2008.

262 No funding was obtained for two research proposals described in previous Progress Reports (*Religion, Identity and Business*, and *Affirmative Action, Identity and Conflict*).

263 The research coordinator of the programme, Terence Gomez, left UNRISD in July 2008 to return to his home country.

Dissemination and Consultation

264 During the current reporting period, UNRISD held seminars to disseminate and discuss the research results. These activities were in line with the Nordic evaluation recommendation that UNRISD increase awareness and visibility of research results in the South. The seminars provided an opportunity for exchange among key stakeholders, including the project researchers, academics, NGOs, government policy actors and indigenous peoples, about the research findings and policy recommendations.

265 Findings of the research in Peru, Bolivia, India, Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon, the Philippines, Australia and Canada indicate that the neoliberal policies promoted by some governments and multilateral institutions to eradicate poverty and promote sustainable development can undermine the capacity of indigenous communities to safeguard their way of life and culture. In addition, international charters and national legislation may fail to protect the rights of indigenous communities, while asymmetries of power can contribute to the creation of a “new poor” and growing degradation of the environment. The following questions were addressed at these meetings.

- How should disparities of power between indigenous communities, governments, multinational corporations and international agencies be addressed?
- What reforms are required to create inclusive consultative platforms that allow indigenous peoples to participate in decisions that affect their way of life?
- How can institutions be structured in order to recognize the rights of indigenous peoples while not negating the rights of the rest of the population?

266 The following dissemination events were held in 2008.

- *7–9 February 2008 – Baguio, Philippines*
Hosted by University of the Philippines Baguio
Presenters: Virginius Xaxa (University of Delhi, India); Vicky Tauli-Corpuz (Chair, United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and Executive Director, Tebtebba); Raymundo Rovillos (College of Social Sciences, University of the Philippines Baguio)
- *10 March 2008 – Lima, Peru*
Hosted by Instituto de Democracia y Derechos Humanos, Universidad Católica del Perú
Presenters: Terence Gomez (UNRISD); Patricia Urteaga-Crovetto (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú); Thomas Perreault (Syracuse University)
- *12 March 2008 – Cusco, Peru*
Hosted by Centro Bartolomé de las Casas
Presenters: Terence Gomez (UNRISD); Patricia Urteaga-Crovetto (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú); Thomas Perreault (Syracuse University)
- *28 May 2008 – Auckland, New Zealand*
Hosted by Auckland University
Presenters: Suzana Sawyer (co-coordinator of the UNRISD project, University of California-Davis); Jon Altman (Australian National University); Megan Davis (University of New South Wales)
- *9 June 2008 – Lagos, Nigeria*
Hosted by Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
Presenters: Terence Gomez (UNRISD); Ben Naanen (University of Port Harcourt)

267 Two papers (a synthesis of the research, and the case study on Peru) were published as Programme Papers and disseminated to members of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. An agreement with a publisher in Bolivia (Plural) was reached on translation and publication of an abridged edited volume (comprising the project synthesis, and the case studies on Bolivia and Peru). Work on the chapters for an edited volume in English continued (to be submitted for peer review in 2009).

PROGRAMME ON CIVIL SOCIETY AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Introduction

268 The focus of the research under this programme area has been on social movements and activism at the international level, as well as their impact on popular mobilization and initiatives at the national and local levels. It has sought to explore the nature, diversity and connectivity of selected transnational movements, their attempts to advance alternative proposals, including the utilization of various means and forums (e.g., international summits), and emerging policy responses on the part of the political and development establishment.

269 During the current reporting period, the Publication and Dissemination Unit carried out negotiations with copublishers, and oversaw manuscript preparation for several case studies from previous projects under this programme area.

270 Regarding the project *Global Civil Society Movements: Dynamics in International Campaigns and National Implementation*, during the reporting period a contract was signed with Lexington Books, the scholarly imprint of Rowman and Littlefield, to publish the edited volume from the Philippines national research, *Localizing and Transnationalizing Contentious Politics: Global Civil Society Movements in the Philippines* (Teresa S. Encarnacion Tadem, ed.). The publishing agreement includes a clause granting a Philippines-based company, Anvil Inc., the license to publish a low-cost edition of the same book for the local market.

271 Prometeo Libros (Buenos Aires) published the book based on the Argentina research (*Conflictos globales, voces locales: Movilización y activismo en clave transnacional*, Alejandro Grimson and Sebastián Pereyra, eds.), and Plural Ediciones (La Paz) published the volume from the Bolivia research (*El movimiento antiglobalización en Bolivia: Procesos globales e iniciativas locales en tiempo de crisis y cambio*, by Fernando Mayorga and Eduardo Córdova).

272 These publication arrangements are in line with UNRISD efforts to increase availability and affordability of publications in the South, and particularly in countries where research is carried out.

273 Regarding the past project *UN World Summits and Civil Society Engagement*, a contract was signed during the reporting period with Zed Books for publication of *The United Nations and Civil Society: Legitimizing Global Governance—Whose Voice?* (by Nora McKeon). This publisher will issue the book simultaneously in paperback and hardback.

274 One project, *Social Responses to Inequalities and Policy Changes*, was under way and concluded during the current reporting period. This research was carried out jointly with the *Markets, Business and Regulation* programme.

Social Responses to Inequalities and Policy Changes

275 This research was funded by the European Commission as part of a larger project on Inequality: Mechanisms, Effects and Policies (INEQ), which involves a network of seven European-based universities and research institutes. The INEQ project formed part of the European Commission's Sixth Framework Programme, Priority 7: Citizens and Governance in a Knowledge-Based Society. Additional support for the UNRISD project was provided by core funds.

276 In 2008 this project was coordinated by Peter Utting, with research assistance from Daniela Barrier (research analyst), and Samyuktha Rajagopal and Rafaela Pannain (interns).

Research Wrap-Up

277 This research, carried out from 2006 to 2008, examined evolving patterns of contestation and activism associated with global justice and North-South inequality, and their implications for policy and institutional reform in three European countries: France, Italy and the United Kingdom. In contexts where there has been a rise in NGO advocacy and social movements in Europe concerned with aspects of state policy and corporate practice that affect developing countries, the research sought to identify mechanisms of policy influence, conditions and contexts conducive to advocacy, as well as to gauge the responsiveness of mainstream policy actors and institutions to activist demands and mobilization. To examine the "activist-policy nexus" and the dynamics of policy influence, research centred on five main areas of contestation and policy reform:

- development aid;
- debt relief;
- international taxation;
- North-South trade relations; and
- corporate accountability.

278 In order to better understand the potential and limits of civil society advocacy and social mobilization in processes of policy reform, additional research was carried out on colonial history and institutional path dependence, the potential and limits of civic networks, the changing patterns of elite domination and governance, and the challenge these pose for activism and advocacy.

279 The research combined both national and transnational perspectives. While focusing primarily on specific policy reforms at the country level, it combined the two perspectives by investigating global justice issues that are transnational by nature, activism that is characterized by strong cross border mobilizations, the interaction with national (and when relevant) transnational political powers, and the relative influence of different actors and institutions at the national level. From a cross-country comparative perspective, the project was also concerned with understanding how the nature of the activism-policy nexus varied under different policy regimes.

Research Findings

280 Two broad impacts of civil society contestation and mobilization were apparent in terms of policy and institutional reform.

281 The first relates to the actual policy process and policy outcomes. The results of the comparative analysis show that campaigns and movements associated with global justice have had very mixed results in this regard. On balance, contestation has resulted in, or contributed to, seven main types of policy and institutional reform, or responses from governments and corporations.

- New legislation, as in the case of company reporting in the United Kingdom and debt cancellation in Italy.
- New financing for development, as in the case of the International Airline Ticket Tax, initiated by the French government, or certain forms of spending by TNCs and corporate foundations associated with CSR and PPPs.
- Policy reforms that alter traditional patterns of government spending or accounting, as in the case of debt relief and increased levels of official development assistance (ODA) in France and the United Kingdom.
- Introducing ethical considerations into government policy, as in the case of the withdrawal of support by the UK Export Credit Guarantee Agency for the Sakhalin Island Project, and increasing commitment of the UK government to promoting CSR.
- Discursive policy change or new policy objectives but with limited follow-through, such as the recommitment of the French and UK governments to the 0.7 per cent target for ODA as a percentage of gross national income (GNI), the rise of the mainstream CSR agenda in France, the French parliamentary Tobin Tax amendment, implementation of the debt cancellation law in Italy, and instances of “creative accounting” whereby debt relief is counted as ODA.
- Slowing the pace of neoliberal reform, or blocking initiatives, as in the case of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) or trade liberalization in Italy.
- Highly limited or no change in policy, as occurred in the case of trade justice in France and the Tobin tax initiative in the United Kingdom.

282 The second type of impact relates to the framing of public and policy agendas. This involves raising levels of awareness of particular issues and reform proposals among public opinion, and getting certain issues and proposals onto the policy agenda and into official policy discourse. In this regard, civil society campaigns have had some evident success, notably in relation to debt relief in all three countries. In addition, some success has also been observed with regard to development aid in both the United Kingdom and France, corporate accountability in the United Kingdom and international taxation in France.

283 The research sought to identify key factors and conditions conducive to change, as well as aspects that explain the considerable resistance to change.

284 Concerning key factors conducive to change, the research has shown that NGOs and networks have significantly enhanced their capacity to generate knowledge and provide the type of expertise that policy makers require or that can successfully carry arguments, as well as facilitate entry into epistemic communities; that it is important for advocacy NGOs to find the right entry points into the policy process; and that networking and the consolidation of broad-based alliances can make a difference, as the cases of the Association pour la Taxation des Transactions Financières pour l’Aide aux Citoyennes et Citoyens (ATTAC) in France, the corporate accountability “movement” in the United Kingdom, and debt relief in France, Italy and the United Kingdom indicate.

285 In general, advocacy NGOs and networks appear to have been more effective in framing agendas and reforming discourse rather than policy, if policy is

understood in terms of purposeful courses of action, as opposed to rhetoric and statements of intent or objectives.

286 The research identified significant limitations to advocacy. Such limits relate partly to resource constraints, the lack of cohesiveness and sustainability of campaigns and movements, and the limited capacity of NGOs to realize the potential of their networks or construct alliances. Intra-civil society divisions and organizational splits often undermine the strength of activist demands and mobilization. The limits of activism also relate to the fact that processes of policy reform are often extremely protracted while the attention span and mobilizing efforts of NGOs, networks and campaigns can be relatively limited and not well-suited to long-term engagement.

287 Activism for policy reforms that involve ongoing or long-term government commitments, for example, annual adjustments in levels of ODA, is in some respects more problematic than that which calls for concrete institutional changes. The latter, if adopted, potentially lock in gains and it becomes more difficult for governments and corporations to back-track as can happen, for example on aid and debt relief policy. For the potential of institutional reforms to be realized, however, it is important that NGOs and trade unions act as watchdogs and/or actually participate in multistakeholder initiatives concerned with implementation and oversight.

288 The research paid particular attention to another set of factors that condition advocacy. These relate to:

- the capacity of powerful actors and institutions not simply to resist change, but to shape agendas and proactively lead reform processes on terms that accommodate oppositional demands, dilute “radical” agendas and co-opt opposition;
- the increasing structural, instrumental and discursive power of TNCs and organized business interests, which are particularly important in relation to issues of trade justice and corporate accountability; and
- the social, professional and economic ties that bind NGOs and the interests and institutions they aim to reform, which often act as a moderating influence on activist demands and agendas, and fragment civil society.

289 Various forms of resistance to change are found within policy-making institutions—resistance that relates to path dependence, and interests and patterns of authority within bureaucracies and organizations. This was found to be the case, for example, with aid policy reform, where colonial ties and economic and foreign policy considerations in both France and the United Kingdom heavily constrain the scope for reform.

290 In a global context where governance is now “multi-layered”, involving institutions operating at multiple scales, the efforts of activists at the national level can be undermined or neutralized by the fact that real decision-making power lies elsewhere. This was particularly apparent in the case of the trade justice movement in the United Kingdom, France and Italy, which had little effect at the national level given the fact that decision making was centred in the EU and the World Trade Organization (WTO).

291 Research findings also highlighted the importance of national contexts, political cultures and comparative analysis. The heritage of national political cultures has remained strong and influences the way mobilizations have developed, and the forms of interaction with institutions and policy makers. The comparative

analysis of France, Italy and the United Kingdom reveals, however, that the dynamics involved, and what works best in terms of gaining traction and policy influence, varies considerably by policy regime and societal model.

Policy implications

292 While much of the literature on civil society advocacy focuses on what can be done to enhance the capacities and influence of NGOs via resource mobilization and political opportunities, the research suggests a need to focus not only on NGO capacities, but NGO capacities *relative to those of the powerful actors and institutions with which they engage*.

293 The research findings caution against overoptimistic assessments of NGO potential. Analyses that highlight NGO potential often focus on changes in policy discourse that may only result in “cosmetic” policy outcomes as opposed to reforms that actually alter the distribution of government spending, income, wealth and power.

294 The research also confirms the need to rethink state–NGO relations and NGO strategy. It suggests that overcoming the limitations of NGO praxis means rethinking or re-acknowledging the role of the state, particularly in relation to service provisioning and regulation. It also means revisiting the question of democracy and recognizing the crucial role of parliaments, political parties and bargaining in processes of change. This is particularly important for the balance of power in areas such as ODA and debt relief, where colonial history and path dependence constrain the scope for reform.

295 There is a need to consider fundamental questions about the role of NGOs in development and democracy, in particular how they relate to social movements and the subjects on whose behalf they speak. The coming together of NGOs and trade unions in France, not only around the CSR agenda but also on issues of human rights and sustainable development, has proved to be a positive strategy both for unions and NGOs in terms of resource mobilization and legitimacy.

296 Key aspects of the strategic reorientation required to enhance the role of NGOs as agents of change that emerge from both the UNRISD research and other recent assessments include the need:

- for multiple strategies or “repertoires of action” that span a broad spectrum of responses;
- for NGO thinking and knowledge generation to relate more explicitly to counter-hegemonic projects, understanding both the nature of, and how to engage with, the policies and processes that underpin inequality and injustice; and issues of redistributive justice;
- to struggle discursively, continually questioning dominant worldviews and the use of “buzzwords” by mainstream organizations, and ensuring that progressive terms such as “poverty reduction” are not divorced from others that have more transformative connotations, such as redistribution and solidarity;
- to ensure that efforts related to service delivery and participation in consultative processes do not crowd out efforts related to framing agendas and other areas of critical inquiry and oversight;
- to ensure that NGO–donor relations, conditionality and performance standards do not stifle critical inquiry into alternatives that may challenge the policies and practices of mainstream institutions;
- to reconnect NGOs with both “old” and “new” social movements; as well as with political parties committed to redistributive justice; and

- to rethink the role of the state and NGO–state relations, recognizing that both delivery of basic services and TNC regulation are fundamentally the responsibility of the state and not NGOs, and that the resources and energies of NGOs should be freed up to concentrate more on other activities.

Researchers and papers commissioned

297 The following papers were prepared for this project:

- Daniela Barrier—*Colonial History and Policy Regimes in France and the United Kingdom*
- Peter Utting—*The Changing Nature of Governance, Policy Making and Activism*
- Jem Bendell and Annekathrin Ellersiek—*The Potential and Limits of Civic Networks*
- Rodrigo Contreras—*Debt Relief, France*
- Kléber Ghimire—*Development Aid, France*
- Benoît Daviron and Tanocrède Voituriez—*Trade Policy, France*
- Edouard Morena—*International Taxation, France*
- Michel Capron—*Corporate Accountability, France*
- Clare Saunders—*Debt Relief, United Kingdom*
- David Seddon—*Development Aid, United Kingdom*
- James Brassett—*International Taxation, United Kingdom*
- Jem Bendell—*Corporate Accountability and Trade Justice, United Kingdom*
- Mario Pianta and Paolo Gerbaudo—*Debt Relief and Trade Justice, Italy*

Publications

298 Three Programme Papers and one edited volume (tentative titles) were being prepared during the reporting period.

- Jem Bendell and Annekathrin Ellersiek—*Noble Networks? Advocacy for Global Justice and the “Network Effect”*, Programme Paper, UNRISD
- Michel Capron—*De la Françafrique à la responsabilité sociale des entreprises: Les dynamiques entre les firmes, l’Etat et les mouvements sociaux en France*, Programme Paper, UNRISD
- Daniela Barrier and Peter Utting—*The Quest for Global Justice: Activism and Policy Reform in France and the United Kingdom*, Programme Paper, UNRISD
- Negotiations were under way with publishers to publish an edited volume by Daniela Barrier, Mario Pianta and Peter Utting, *Activism, Global Justice and Policy Reform: Understanding When Change Happens* (containing 11 chapters)

Meetings and dissemination

299 UNRISD held a seminar on 16 June 2008 in Geneva on the Social and Political Dimensions of Inequality. The seminar focused on three aspects of the INEQ research: gender, migration, and civil society responses to North-South inequality and their policy impacts. The meeting was attended by INEQ members, as well as representatives from interested United Nations agencies, policy makers and academia.

300 The research results were presented to the European Commission in Brussels at a meeting held on 26 November 2008.

ADVISORY WORK

301 UNRISD staff members are frequently called upon to act in a range of advisory roles for United Nations (UN) agencies, multilateral and bilateral organizations, governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), research institutes and universities. This provides UNRISD with opportunities to make substantive contributions to the thinking and programmes of other institutions and groups, while staff members benefit from the exchange of ideas and are also able to network, identify potential researchers and explore funding opportunities. In 2008, UNRISD staff carried out advisory and consultancy activities on 62 occasions.

Yusuf Bangura

- Reviewed papers for the *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 11 March and 2 May
- Reviewed a paper for *Development and Change*, 9 May
- Reviewed a paper for *International Sociology*, 26 May
- Reviewed a paper for the *Journal of International Development: Special Issue on Ethnicity, Horizontal Inequality and Conflict in Ghana and Nigeria*, 13 June
- Reviewed a paper for *Oxford Development Studies*, 31 October
- Reviewed a paper for *International Sociology*, 22 December

Terence Gomez

- Presented a paper on *Academic Freedom in Southeast Asia: The Malaysian Experience*, at the conference on Academic Freedom in Arab Universities, Amman, Jordan, 30–31 March
- Gave a talk on the 2008 Malaysian General Elections: A State and Society in Transition? at the Geneva–Asia Society, Geneva, 24 April
- Keynote speaker at the IHEID conference, De-racializing Politics in Malaysia: The 2008 General Elections, 21 May 2008

Katja Hujo

- Member of the Editorial Board of the *International Social Security Review*, ISSA, attended six meetings in 2008
- Evaluated a paper for *International Social Security Review*, January
- Organized UNRISD panel at EADI 12th General Conference: Global Governance for Sustainable Development
- Evaluated a post-doctoral grant application for the Swiss National Science Foundation, September
- Peer reviewed a paper for *Global Social Policy*, September
- Gave a presentation at the International Social Security Association expert meeting on Extension of Social Security Coverage, Geneva, October
- Peer reviewed a paper for *International Social Security Review*, October
- Gave interview to student from Ecole Nationale Supérieure de Sécurité Sociale (EN3S) on extension of social security coverage, November
- Peer reviewed a report for Innocenti Research Centre, December
- Acted as external advisor to the research project *L'émigration clandestine de jeunes d'Afrique subsaharienne en Europe: Approches dynamiques d'un phénomène complexe: Le Cameroun, la Mauritanie et le Sénégal*, with the Haute école de travail social (HETS) and Université de Genève; coedited final report for RUIG

Thandika Mkandawire

- Gave a talk on The Spread of Economic Ideas in Africa at the ActionAid IDEAs Leaders/Practitioners' Workshop on Economic Literacy and Budget Accountability for Governance, Gurgaon, Haryana, India, 31 January
- Gave a talk on The Spread of Economic Ideas in Africa at the Centre for Economic Studies and Planning DSA Seminar on Economic Structures, Growth and Development, New Delhi, India, 1 February
- Presented the paper, *From Maladjusted States to Developmental States in Africa*, at the International Workshop for the Stocktaking Work on Asian Experiences of Economic Development and Their Policy Implications for Africa, organized by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC), Tokyo, Japan, 6 February
- Gave a keynote speech entitled Reflections on New Challenges in Development Research at the Research Council of Norway's conference on Development Paths in the South, Oslo, Norway, 11 March
- Gave a lecture for the African Studies Centre Series at the Ministry of Foreign Relations and Development Cooperation, The Hague, Netherlands, 22 April
- Spoke at a conference on When Will African Economies Develop? by the New School for Social Research, New York, 2 May
- Was a discussant at the United Nation Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) board meeting panel discussion, Conflicts in Africa: Any Good News?, Geneva, 16 May
- Presented the paper, *Potentialities and Challenges of Constructing a Democratic State in South Africa*, at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) Conference, Pretoria, South Africa, 4–6 June
- Gave a lecture at Ghana Speaks Lecture/Seminar Series, Accra, Ghana, 18 June
- Gave a presentation on Lessons from the UNRISD Research Project on Social Policy at the ISS Seminar, The Hague, Netherlands, 18 September
- Presented an audio lecture for Mo Ibrahim Lecture Series, Geneva, 31 October
- Spoke at the plenary session of the Development Studies Association (DSA) Annual Conference, London, 8 November
- Attended the Interim Scientific Advisory Board (ISAB) at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Paris, 1 December
- Participated as speaker at the 12th CODESRIA General Assembly, Yaoundé, 7–11 December

Naren Prasad

- Presented a paper titled *Small But Smart: Small States in the Global System* at the University of West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago, 20 February
- With Byung-Jin Ha, presented a paper titled *Offshore Financial Centers: A Viable Strategy for Small States?* at the International Small Islands Studies Association Conference, Islands of the World X, Jeju Island, Republic of Korea, 27 August

Shahra Razavi

- Prepared a book review for *Feminist Economics*, January
- Reviewed a paper for *Population, Space and Place*, January
- Was an advisor on the *Cutting Edge Pack: Gender and Care*, Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Sussex, January to May

- Reviewed a cluster of papers for *Development and Change*, April
- Reviewed a paper for *International Social Security Review*, May
- Reviewed a paper for *Feminist Economics*, June
- Gave a presentation on The Political and Social Economy of Care: Initial Findings from an UNRISD Comparative Research Project, Panel organized by the Division for the Advancement of Women on The Equal Sharing of Responsibilities between Women and Men, including Caregiving in the Context of HIV/AIDS, New York, 27 February
- Delivered a lecture on The Political and Social Economy of Care: Development Issues and Comparative Dimensions, Lecture Series on Who Cares? Nannies, Nurses, and Night Shifts, Interdisciplinary Centre for Gender Studies ICFG, University of Bern, Bern, 11 March
- Discussant at the Interactive Dialogue on Culture and Development Practice organized by UNFPA, CONGO and University of Geneva, Culture: A Missing Link in Development Practice, Geneva, 17 March
- Gave a presentation on Social Protection, Paid Work and the Care Economy, UNICEF-ROSA 2008 Regional Policy-Makers' Symposium on Social Protection as a Strategy in Transformative Social Policy, Dhaka, 15–17 April
- Gave a presentation on Accessing Land Through Markets? Liberalization and the Debates on Women's Access to Land, Seminar series on Gender and Agrarian Change, Humboldt University, Berlin, 12 June
- External examiner on a DPhil thesis, Oxford University, July
- On the request of the Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), prepared and presented a background paper (with Silke Staab, *The Social and Political Economy of Care: Contesting Gender and Class Inequalities*) at the Expert Group Meeting, Geneva, 6–9 October 2008
- Gave a presentation based on the research findings from the project, Political and Social Economy of Care, Graduate Seminar, IHEID, Geneva, 8 December
- Programme Board Member, Research on Poverty and Peace, Research Council of Norway
- Member of International Advisory Committee, Social Protection Programme, Women in Informal Economy Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO)
- International Member of Selection Committee, King Baudouin Foundation

Peter Utting

- Reviewed paper for the journal *Global Governance*, 26 March
- Keynote speaker at workshop on Promoviendo la Responsabilidad Social Empresarial y el Comercio Etico en Nicaragua, Matagalpa, Nicaragua, 6 May
- As expert, participated in the Global Seminar to review the draft of the 2008 UNCTAD World Investment Report on FDI and Infrastructure, 20–21 May
- Presented paper on *The Changing Coordinates of Trade and Development in Latin America: Implications for Policy Space and Policy Coherence* at EADI conference on Global Governance for Sustainable Development, 25 June
- Presented *Achieving Development through Corporate Social Responsibility? The Problem of Policy Incoherence* at the annual Business and Society Lecture, York University, Toronto, 19 September
- Participation in expert meeting to plan the UNCTAD World Investment Report 2009 on TNCs and Agriculture, 16–17 October
- Keynote speaker on CSR from a Development Perspective: Trends, Debates, and Policy Implications at the 2nd Forum of the Ministers of

Social Development for the Arab Region, Amman, Jordan,
12–13 November

- Presented research findings of the UNRISD-INEQ project at the European Commission in Brussels, 26 November
- Panelist at meeting at University of Middlesex presenting Exploring the Boundaries of CSR: Development and Regulatory Dimensions, 1 December

Ilcheong Yi

- Gave keynote speech on History in Action: Korean and Japanese Textbook Controversy at the 2008 Conference of the Canadian Asian Studies Association, 15 November

OUTREACH: PUBLICATIONS AND DISSEMINATION

Introduction

302 In order to fulfil its mandate, UNRISD must not only conduct rigorous comparative research on a range of questions and challenges of social development. The Institute must also endeavour to publish and disseminate research findings as widely as possible so that they contribute to policy dialogues and debates.

303 Through its outreach activities, UNRISD seeks to communicate the results of its research to the academic community; policy makers at international, regional, national and local levels; civil society and the non-governmental sector; and the general and specialized media. The Institute's publication and dissemination strategies make use of a range of outputs relevant for, and accessible to, an ever-expanding audience. In-house publications, copublications with internationally renowned publishers, and the UNRISD web site are the main outputs.

304 There were six staff members in the Publication and Dissemination Unit in 2008. The unit also hosted seven interns who, under the supervision of the Associate Information Officer, contributed to the Institute's global research communication strategy by supporting outreach to UNRISD constituents—focusing in particular on the media, and universities and independent research institutes in developing countries—and assisting with the day-to-day updating and maintenance of the UNRISD web site. Publication and Dissemination Unit interns during the current reporting period were Megan Blackmore, Sarah Blake, Julia Gin, Emma Gonzalez, Monika Kugemann, Claudia Notthoff and Gloria Spezzano.

Publications

305 In 2008, 20 publications were issued. Six books were produced, as were two Research and Policy Briefs (one in French and one in Spanish), six Programme Papers, three issues of *UNRISD Conference News* and three issues of UNRISD News (one each in English, French and Spanish). The UNRISD Library CD-Rom for 2006–2007 was also produced.

306 The decline in the output of publications over the reporting period compared to the previous one was due to project cycles. Most of the outputs of 2000–2005 research were published in 2005–2007, and projects under the 2005–2009 agenda are not yet at the stage of publishing their outputs. During the reporting period, more than 20 book and journal manuscripts were at different stages of development prior to submission to copublishers.

307 The Publication and Dissemination Unit manages the production of publications (including peer review, editing, layout and printing for in-house publications, and contractual negotiations for copublications). During the current reporting period staff outsourced the bulk of translation work, while the lower number of publications due to the research cycle meant that editorial and layout work were carried out in-house.

Web Site

New and Upgraded Features

308 Development work was carried out on the UNRISD web site (www.unrisd.org) in order to update existing technology and add new features. The “Net-It” facility used for page-by-page access to full-text documents was upgraded to enable faster online viewing as well as conversion of a wider variety of source file formats. Using Net-It means that visitors to the UNRISD site with slow Internet connections can more easily access full-text documents posted online (as, contrary to PDF, the user does not have to download an entire file in order to view it).

309 In terms of new functionality, the “my UNRISD” account system was developed. In the new system, in addition to retaining all the options they previously had for customizing their profiles for Email Alerts, subscribers have the choice of receiving emails in plain text or HTML format. In addition, they are asked to update their information to provide their institutional affiliation and position. Users wishing to download full-text publications in PDF are requested to log in to my UNRISD using their email address and password. This provides UNRISD with better data on the demographics of site users, in order to fulfil reporting requests from donors and the Board.

Linking Strategy

310 In 2008, UNRISD embarked on a proactive web site linking strategy. An effective linking strategy benefits a web site in various ways, including increased traffic due to wider visibility and easier access, bringing more users into the site (and thus, greater use of research and publications); enhanced profile and relationships with relevant external organizations; and improved search engine performance (search engines give higher ranking to sites that have more external links into them). Staff and interns in the Press Office prepared a brief on the subject, including various strategies for moving forward. Monitoring the major referrers that bring users into the UNRISD web site provided an indication of where UNRISD received links from, and where there is room to improve. Web site statistics for November 2007 to April 2008 showed regular referrals from, for example, the Economic and Development Organisations page on the Welcome to Geneva web site; the job resource pages of various organizations; various UN web pages (Index of UN organizations, United Nations Social Development web site); and various Wikipedia articles.

311 The review of the main referring web sites showed the usefulness for UNRISD to be listed on and linked from, for example, web sites of relevant NGOs, international organizations and Wikipedia. Several strategies were identified to increase the number of external links into the UNRISD site.

312 During the reporting period, relevant NGOs and universities, mainly in developing countries, were being contacted with a request that they establish a link from their web site to the UNRISD site. While the link offer was not reciprocal, 29 new NGO links were established to the UNRISD site, as were seven new university links.

313 In addition to these links, numerous online portals and other specialized sites link to specific UNRISD publications, or re-post them. Examples include the International Relations and Security Network (with over 300 UNRISD publications

posted), the Business and Human Rights Resource Centre, Eldis, the IPU’s Women in Politics Bibliographic Database, the Global Development Network, R4D (the portal to DFID-funded research and publications), and NCCR North-South.

Web 2.0

314 During the reporting period, staff and interns in the Press Office prepared a brief on how UNRISD could make greater use of Web 2.0, and various ways for moving forward. “Web 2.0” refers to a new generation of design and development for web-based communication, information sharing and collaboration. It does not refer to fundamental change in technical specifications, but rather to changes in the ways people use the web (for example, greater interaction and interconnectedness). Web 2.0 concepts have led to the development and evolution of web-based communities and applications, such as social networking sites, video-sharing sites, wikis and blogs.

315 In addition to the RSS feed implemented in 2006, during the current reporting period the UNRISD Press Office proactively promoted UNRISD and its research on various Web 2.0 social networking sites, such as XING, Idealist, Eldis, Siryanda, DG Community, You Tube and Facebook. A number of institutions and groups offered training courses throughout the year, and although UNRISD did not participate during 2008 such training may be useful in the future to help expand the initial study, focus it more closely on Web 2.0 use for and by researchers and the Institute’s target audiences, and refine it as the basis for a more detailed UNRISD Web 2.0 strategy.

Statistics

316 UNRISD uses software called WebAbacus to monitor traffic to its web site, and statistics showed an average of 39,987 unique visitors to the site each month during 2008, indicating decent growth over 2007 (31,246 unique visitors) on this measure.⁵ The geographic breakdown of visits is shown in the following table. It is notable that Southern countries were eight out of the top 20 main visiting countries to the UNRISD web site during the reporting period.

Country	% of visits	Country	% of visits
United States	16.54	South Africa	1.84
United Kingdom	15.10	Spain	1.78
Switzerland	5.50	Italy	1.68
Canada	4.37	Netherlands	1.55
India	4.19	Malaysia	1.42
France	3.79	Philippines	1.15
Peru	2.88	Colombia	1.05
Germany	2.73	Brazil	0.98
Mexico	2.64	Belgium	0.96
Australia	2.19	Sweden	0.96

317 The number of PDF versions of the Institute’s publications downloaded directly from the site grew moderately, from 318,264 in 2007 to 339,663 in 2008,

⁵ Web statistics can be distorted by what is known as “spiderbot” traffic, that is, traffic generated automatically by Internet search engines such as Google, MSN, Yahoo, and so on. With WebAbacus, it is possible for UNRISD to eliminate a large proportion of such traffic and thereby obtain a fairly accurate estimation of the actual (“human”) traffic to the site.

an annual increase of 7 per cent, and there were 2,119 requests to receive PDF versions via email. Although 7 per cent annual growth may be considered modest in absolute terms, it is fairly robust relative to the output of new publications, which (due to the phase of the research cycle) fell by 38 per cent between 2007 and 2008.

318 On average, 9.83 email alerts were released each month. At the end of the reporting period, 19,578 emails were registered in the UNRISD Email Alerts service, of which 7,822 (40.0 per cent) were subscribed to receive daily alerts, 6,845 (35.0 per cent) to receive weekly alerts, and 4,911 (25.1 per cent) to receive monthly alerts. This represents growth of 91 per cent in the total number of subscribers over the course of the reporting period. Email alert subscribers can be identified from all UNRISD target audiences.

Press Office

319 Work carried out by the UNRISD Press Office continued to help raise the visibility and awareness of UNRISD work, researchers and Board members around the world and, in particular, in developing countries where research is being carried out. Coverage of note during the period included interviews of Terence Gomez during a mission to Peru for the project *Identity, Power and the Rights of Indigenous People* (in the Peruvian journal *Enfoque*, on Radio Mega Stereo, and a filmed Q&A posted on youtube.com), and three OpEd pieces published in *El Sol de Cusco*. (This intensive coverage likely contributed the rise in hits to the UNRISD web site from Peru during the reporting period.) Thandika Mkandawire featured in the Indian newspaper *The Hindu* and in the *Norway Post*; on the Africa-based web sites ModernGhana.com, AllAfrica.com and PoliticsWeb.co.za; and on Radio Africa 1. Other coverage organized by the press office included Naren Prasad's participation in the BBC World Service's programme, *Africa Have Your Say*; Yakin Ertuk's (Board member) interview about women's rights in Saudi Arabia in the German newspaper, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*; Utsa Patnaik's (affiliated researcher) participation in a documentary on the German radio station WDR 5; and coverage of UNRISD work in the *Jordan Times*, *Addis Admass* and *The Daily Monitor* (Ethiopia), *Los Tiempos* (Bolivia), *New Straits Times* (Malaysia), *Daily Express* and *Public Agenda* (Ghana), and *Mail and Guardian* (South Africa).

Dissemination Results and Impacts

320 UNRISD research results are disseminated via the Institute's printed publications and CD-Rom compilations thereof; in targeted mailings to a wide range of constituencies; through conferences, seminars and workshops organized by UNRISD and other organizations and institutions; in articles and interviews in specialized journals and general media outlets; and via the UNRISD web site. During this reporting period, dissemination staff pursued outreach efforts to universities; civil society and non-governmental organizations; governments and parliaments; policy makers, field offices and information centres in the United Nations (UN) system; and a range of media outlets.

Mailing List

321 The UNRISD mailing list database included 6,382 addresses at the end of the reporting period.

Mailing list breakdown into sectors (2008)

Sector	Number	% of total
Academic institution/Research centre	2,347	36.7
Non-governmental organization/Civil society	1,239	19.4
Public library	705	11.0
United Nations/Specialized agency	867	13.5
Government	813	12.7
Foundation	122	1.8
Other intergovernmental organization	207	3.2
Business	82	1.2

Mailing list breakdown South/North (2008)

Addresses in the South	3,191	50
Addresses in the North	3,191	50

Dissemination to International Conferences

322 UNRISD publications were made available at a range of important events organized by the United Nations, specialized agencies, national governments, multilateral organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and universities. During the reporting period, 14,258 printed publications and CD-Roms were disseminated to 54 events in 28 countries; 64 per cent were developing countries and 36 per cent were industrialized countries. Fewer publications were disseminated during the current reporting period compared to the previous one due to the decline in publication output, a normal result of the research cycle. Dissemination of publications at UN events in Switzerland and in the United States allowed the Institute to target outreach not only to the international community, but also to national government representatives, civil society organizations, development practitioners and researchers from the South who participated in these events.

Targeted event dissemination: Countries and quantities

Country	Event	Documents	CD-Roms
<i>Bangladesh</i>	UNICEF-ROSA 2008 Regional Policy Makers' Symposium on Social Protection as a Strategy in Transformative Social Policy	474	120
<i>Barbados</i>	UNICEF/Commonwealth Secretariat/UNRISD Small States Workshop/	43	50
<i>Belgium</i>	European Union INEQ Consortium Meeting		40
<i>Brazil</i>	UNESCO World Conference on the Development of Cities	27	
	Model UN, Pontificia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro	585	
<i>Cameroon</i>	CODESRIA Annual Meeting 2008	306	50
<i>Canada</i>	Business and Society Lecture, York University	50	50
<i>China</i>	UNRISD/DFID/IPRCC Social Policy Workshop	65	40
<i>D.R. Congo</i>	UNESCO Forum of Ministers of Women's Rights of the Great Lakes Region	70	50
<i>Egypt</i>	HelpAge International and African Union Meeting on Social Protection	100	
<i>Ethiopia</i>	African Union and UN Global Compact Meeting on African Private Sector and CSR	230	
<i>France</i>	UN DPI/NGO Annual Conference	350	300
	ACUNS European Annual Conference	950	200

<i>India</i>	IDEAs Meeting on Rethinking Development Economics	440	85
	UNESCO Forum of Ministers of Social Development from South Asia	480	
<i>Japan</i>	JICA/JBIC International Workshop on Economic Development for Africa	420	
<i>Jordan</i>	UNESCO Forum of Ministers of Social Development from the Arab Region	80	30
<i>Nigeria</i>	UNRISD Indigenous Peoples Workshop	44	40
<i>Norway</i>	Research Council of Norway Conference on Development Paths in the South	490	
<i>Peru</i>	UNRISD Indigenous Peoples Workshop	54	60
<i>Philippines</i>	UNRISD Indigenous Peoples Workshop	340	40
<i>Qatar</i>	Doha Conference on Financing for Development (Global Civil Society Forum)	400	
<i>Senegal</i>	HelpAge International and African Union Meeting on Social Protection	280	
<i>South Africa</i>	Human Sciences Research Council/Development Bank of South Africa Conference on Potentialities and Challenges of Constructing a Democratic State in South Africa	340	
	AWID Forum on Women's Rights and Development	290	
<i>Sweden</i>	Nordic Africa Institute Research Forum	250	
<i>Switzerland</i>	International Social Security Association Expert Meeting on Extension of Social Security Coverage	70	40
	40 th Session of UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women	80	40
	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) International Women's Day Seminar	300	100
	UNRISD Presentation for UN Information Service	110	27
	UNRISD Workshop on Social Policy in Mineral-Rich Countries	46	5
	UNRISD Presentation for UN Information Service	47	31
	The Graduate Institute (IHEID) Conference on De-racializing Politics in Malaysia: The 2008 General Elections		25
	WHO Annual Assembly	210	
	ILO 97 th International Labour Conference	475	130
	INEQ Project Workshop	64	11
	EADI 12 th General Conference and UNRISD Exhibition Stand	417	453
	UNRISD Presentation for UN Information Service	9	58
	UNRISD Presentation for UN Information Service	22	47
	UNRISD Presentation for UN Information Service	8	28
	Afro-European Medical Research Network Conference	230	
	UNDESA-DAW Meeting on The Equal Sharing of Responsibilities between Women and Men, including Care-Giving in the Context of HIV/AIDS	55	30
	The Graduate Institute (IHEID) Gender Workshop	60	80
CONGO Civil Society Development Forum	330	300	
ILO Meeting of Ekta Parishad Land and Water Movement in India	50		
UNRISD Presentation for UN Information Service	100	75	
<i>The Netherlands</i>	African Studies Centre Seminar on From Maladjusted States to Developmental States	70	20
<i>Turkey</i>	UNRISD Workshop on Gender and Religion	70	60
<i>Uganda</i>	HelpAge International and African Union Meeting on Social Protection	180	
<i>United Kingdom</i>	DFID/UNRISD Workshop on Social Policy	120	
	Meeting of the Development Studies Association/DFID		30
	Middlesex University Workshop on CSR	50	20
<i>United States</i>	Commission on the Status of Women, UNHQ	562	350
	New School for Social Research Conference on When Will African Economies Develop?	200	50

Tracking Results

323 In 2008, dissemination staff recorded a total of 405 entries in the Media Hound database. Of these, 227 were from a source dated 2008: 79 bibliographic citations, 39 web postings, 14 staff members' external articles, 16 articles, 24 general mentions, five book reviews (four in peer reviewed journals), five abstracts, 11 advertisements, 21 mentions as "book received", five directory listings and eight interviews (including 4 radio interviews).

324 The remaining 178 items entered in 2008 were 120 bibliographic citations, two articles, one mention as "book received", seven directory listings, 29 web postings, 13 general mentions and six cases of staff outreach.

325 The search for citations of UNRISD work in the official documents, reports, working papers and publications of the United Nations and specialized agencies continued throughout 2008. Of the total 405 entries, 140 entries were from a UN source and 78 from a source dated 2008: 38 bibliographic citations, seven general mentions, 21 mentions as "book received", two articles, four web postings, three cases of staff outreach, two directory listings and one abstract. The bibliographic citations of UNRISD work included references in *World Economic and Social Survey* (DESA); *MDG Gap Task Force Report* (DESA); *Social Policy Guidance Notes* (DESA/UNICEF); *Women's Contribution to Equality in Latin America and the Caribbean* (ECLAC); *World of Work* (ILO); *International Social Security Report* (International Social Security Association); *World Investment Report* (UNCTAD); *Reaching the MDGs in South Asia: An Inventory of Public Policies to Overcome Social Exclusion* (UNICEF); *Closing the Gap in a Generation: Health Equity through Action on the Social Determinants of Health* (report of the Commission on Social Determinants of Health, WHO); *Inclusive States: Social Policy and Structural Inequalities* (World Bank); as well as various publications of ESCWA, UNEP and UNIFEM.

Permissions Granted and Other Use

326 In 2008, UNRISD received requests, granted permissions and tracked the use of its publications as educational materials in 78 cases (in course packs and Internet-based educational supports) at 36 universities in 14 countries (Cameroon, Canada, China, France, Italy, Lithuania, Mexico, Norway, South Africa, Singapore, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States).

- Publications on financing social policy—France: Université de Grenoble
- Publications on social policy and development—Canada: McMaster University, York University; Lithuania: Mykolas Romeris University; Turkey: Istanbul Technical University; United Kingdom: University of East Anglia; Norway: University of Oslo; Singapore: National University of Singapore
- Publications on gender and social policy—United Kingdom: University of Leeds, University of London, University of Warwick; Cameroon: University of Yaoundé II-Soa; South Africa: University of Cape Town; United States: American University
- Publications on markets, business and regulation—Italy: Bocconi University; United States: University of California San Diego, University of Southern California; China: Fudan University; Mexico: Autonomous Technological Institute; Sweden: Södertörn University
- Publications on ethnicity and public policy—United Kingdom: Oxford University, Cambridge University; South Africa: University of the Western Cape, University of Cape Town
- Publications on health/HIV—South Africa: University of the Western Cape

- Publications on civil society and social movements—United Kingdom: University of London; France: Université de Grenoble
- Publications on identity, conflict and cohesion—United Kingdom: University of Dundee, University of Birmingham; United States: Syracuse University
- Publications on environment and sustainable development—Turkey: Bogazici University, Canada: University of Montreal
- Publications on information technology and development—Canada: McGill University; United States: Brown University
- Publications on conflict and post-conflict—United States: University of South Florida

327 Permission requests were received and granted for translation of UNRISD publications into Chinese, French, Japanese, Russian and Spanish. Requests for reproducing and/or using UNRISD publications in online library repositories, knowledge-based web sites, academic journals and NGO activism were received from Argentina, Australia, Austria, China, France, India, Japan, Peru, United Kingdom and the United States, and permissions were granted.

328 The Global Development and Environment Institute (GDAE) at Tufts University, United States, approached UNRISD to request permission (which was granted) to include seven of the Institute’s publications on an educational CD-Rom. Because the initiative matched the Institute’s own outreach goals so closely, the Publication and Dissemination Unit pursued discussions with the GDAE regarding possibilities for other possible areas of collaboration in the distribution of research materials in the South. The GDAE is carrying out this project, *Social Science Library: Frontier Thinking in Sustainable Development and Human Well-Being*, as a contribution to the UN Decade for Education for Sustainable Development. When completed, it will contain about 3,000 full text articles and book chapters (as well as bibliographic references to numerous additional articles). The SSL will be available on CD-Rom and distributed free of charge to university libraries in 137 developing countries, with particular emphasis on locations unlikely to have good access to the Internet. A preliminary version of the CD was field-tested in late 2008, and UNRISD’s own CD-Rom Libraries were also included. According to the GDAE’s outreach and distribution partner overseeing the field-testing, there was such need and appreciation that they are considering distributing the UNRISD CD-Roms along with the SSL in 2009.

329 UNRISD research and researchers continued to be favourably received in policy and NGO sectors as well. Help Age International contacted the Institute to request 600 UNRISD publications, including *Targeting and Universalism in Poverty Reduction*, as inputs to regional expert meetings on social protection that were organized jointly with the African Union in Egypt, Uganda and Senegal. The Peruvian Achuar people and Awajun nation used findings of the UNRISD research project *Identity, Power and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* in support of their advocacy work. South African President Thabo Mbeki referred to Thandika Mkandawire as “the African public intellectual” and quoted his paper, *The Need to Rethink Development Economics*, in a speech to the ABCDE (the Annual Bank Conference on Development Economics) on 9 June 2008. The Institute provided input to the MDG Gap Task Force (acknowledged in the 2008 MDG Gap Task Force report, *Delivering on the Global Partnership for Achieving the Millennium Development Goals*); participated in the UNICEF–ROSA Regional Policy Makers’ Symposium on Social Protection as a Strategy in Transformative Social Policy (April 2008, Dhaka, Bangladesh); coorganized (with UNDP and IDRC) a joint panel on the occasion of the 52nd Session of the Commission on the Status of

Women (February 2008, New York) at which initial findings of the research on *Political and Social Economy of Care* were presented, and, at the invitation of the Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), provided research results and policy implications from the same project to the Expert Group Meeting (October 2008, Geneva), thereby feeding into the 53rd Session of the Commission on the Status of Women (2009, New York); and gave the keynote speech, *CSR from a Development Perspective: Trends, Debates and Policy Implications*, at the Forum of Social Affairs and Development Ministers for the Arab Region organized by UNESCO (November 2008, Amman, Jordan). The Jordan Minister of Social Development acknowledged the work of the Institute on social policy in general, and in the Middle East region in particular, which, she said, would assist the country in its development and analysis of social policy. Throughout the reporting period, UNRISD continued to provide relevant publications to the Forums of Ministers of Social Development organized by UNESCO's MOST Programme. This ongoing collaboration in order to strengthen research-policy linkages has been recognized in UNESCO document *Approved Programme and Budget 2008–2009 (34 C/5)*.

330 Actual usage of UNRISD materials far exceeds the examples cited above, however, and during the current reporting period dissemination staff supplemented this information with a summary analysis of data obtained through publication downloads from the web site.

331 A sample of 22,000 downloads from the UNRISD web site (approximately 6.5 per cent of the total) from January to December 2008 were reviewed and showed use of UNRISD research by the following constituencies.

- *Governments*—Argentina, Australia, Bangladesh, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Czech Republic, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Malaysia, Mexico, Montenegro, New Zealand, Nigeria, Peru, San Marino, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States

The following may be noted regarding this constituency: (i) downloads from ministries of economy, health, environment, women's affairs/gender equality, indigenous affairs, education, foreign affairs, trade and industry (etc.) at the national level, as well as national parliaments; downloads from regional-, state- and local-level public administrations.

- *UN organizations and regional offices*—Habitat, UNAIDS, UNDP, UN-DPKO, UNECA, UNECLAC, UNESCAP, UNESCWA, UNFPA, UNICEF, UNIDO, UNIFEM, UN-INSTRAW, United Nations, United Nations Statistics Division, UNOCHA, UNU-WIDER
- *Specialized agencies*—FAO, ILS, ILO, IFAD, WHO, UNESCO, World Bank
- *Multilateral organizations*—African Development Bank, Commonwealth Secretariat, EU, IADB, IOM, OECD, OSCE, Parliamentary Association of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (PABSEC)—Cultural, Educational and Social Affairs Committee, Special Court for Sierra Leone
- *Government agencies*—DFID, CIDA, GTZ, JICA, SIDA, USAID
- *Civil society and NGOs*—Acción contra el Hambre, ActionAid Kenya, ActionAid International, Amnesty International, Associazione Gaia per il Commercio Equo, Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID), Brazilian Interdisciplinary Aids Association, Brotherhood of St. Laurence (Australia), Buro Bangladesh, Butterflies—Program for Street and Working Children (India), CARE International, Centre for Multi-Disciplinary Development Research, Children's Institute South Africa, CIVICUS, Community Action for Popular Participation (Nigeria), Consumers' Association of Penang (Malaysia), Cordaid, Dam-Affected People's Movement, Equit Institute Brazil, Fair Labour Association, Grassroots Rising UK, GRL Development, HelpAge International, Human Rights Watch, IBON Foundation, Institute for Social Transformation and Democracy, International Council on

Social Welfare, International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, International Partners for Sustainable Agriculture, International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), La Via Campesina, Leadership for Environment and Development (LEAD) Pakistan, Living Knowledge Communities (Hong Kong), Mercy Corps, Oxfam, People's Health Movement/Red de Acción del Taller Observatorio de Políticas de Salud, Plan International, Prakarsa—Centre of Welfare Studies (Indonesia), Public Service Accountability Monitor (South Africa), Red Cross, Save the Children, SOS Kinderdorf, South Asia Watch on Trade, Economics & Environment (SAWTEE, Nepal), Stakes—The Welfare Research Group, Tanzania Wildlife Conservation Society, Thardeep Rural Development Programme (TRDP, Pakistan), Trocaire, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Women's Centre for Change (Malaysia), World Learning, World Vision

- *Research institutes and think tanks*—Africa Leadership Institute, Centre for Multi-Disciplinary Development Research (India), Centro de Investigación social (CISOR, Venezuela), Centro Studi di Politica Internazionale (CeSPI), CODESRIA, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), Fisheries Management Science Programme (FMSP), Fundación Chile 21, German Institute for Economic Research (DIW), Gujarat Institute of Development Research, Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Hong Kong Democratic Foundation, Human Sciences Research Council (South Africa), Indian Institute of Management, Indian School of Microfinance for Women, Institute of Development Studies Kolkata, Institute of Development Studies, Institute of Social Studies, Institute of Tropical Medicine, Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas (Mexico), IQsensato, Japan Center for International Exchange, Kenya Institute for Public Policy Analysis, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Latin American Trade Network (LATN), MANDLOVU Development Institute (South Africa), Moscow State Institute of International Relations, National Institute for Environment and Development in Suriname, National Institute of Rural Development (India), North-South Institute, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV), WOFAFA Centre for Development Policy and Management (Nigeria)
- *Universities in*—Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, Ghana, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of China, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Japan, Kenya, Lithuania, Mexico, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Puerto Rico, Republic of Korea, Singapore, Slovakia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Sweden, Switzerland, Tanzania, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela and Viet Nam

332 Numerous users with @gmail, @hotmail and @yahoo (etc.) email addresses downloaded publications for lecture, class use, thesis writing and for policy development and policy review. Many such users may be based in developing countries where technological infrastructure does not yet provide for an institutionalized network structure.

Copublications

333 Copublishing arrangements with commercial and academic publishing houses confer academic status on the work commissioned under UNRISD projects, and provide valuable “legitimacy” functions for scholars (especially for those from developing countries). Such arrangements allow the Institute to benefit from the expertise and distribution networks of experienced and internationally renowned companies. This also enhances visibility, as publications appear not only in UNRISD's own promotional materials and on its web site, but also those of the partner copublishing institutions, with their own distribution networks and retail agents that complement the Institute's efforts.

334 UNRISD is aware that books published commercially in the North are priced beyond the means of individuals and institutions in the South, and this constrains

the dissemination of results in the countries that host much of the Institute's research. During the reporting period, efforts continued to address these challenges within the means available to the Institute. These included the publication of selected book chapters as UNRISD Programme Papers, of which the majority of print copies are distributed free of charge; free online posting of Programme Papers and draft papers; the wide distribution of CD-Rom Libraries containing full-text of all in-house publications; and ongoing initiatives to expand the accessibility and affordability of books—including agreements for publication of low-cost editions in developing countries, translations, diversifying copublishing partners, and distribution agreements. As a result, copublishing agreements were reached with Plural Editores, Prometeo Libros and Zed Books, and these publishers have issued or will issue paperback editions.

335 During the reporting period, UNRISD had three ongoing copublishing agreements for multi-volume series: *Social Policy in a Development Context* and *Ethnicity, Inequality and Public Sector Governance* with Palgrave Macmillan; and *Routledge/UNRISD Research in Gender and Development*. UNRISD negotiated terms whereby, under certain conditions, the rights to forthcoming titles in the *Social Policy in a Development Context* will revert to the Institute (allowing publication in paperback and more affordable distribution).

336 Six copublications were issued during the reporting period.

- Naren Prasad (ed.)—*Social Policies and Private Sector Participation in Water Supply: Beyond Regulation*, UNRISD/Palgrave Macmillan, 2008
- Günseli Berik, Yana van der Meulen Rodgers and Ann Zammit (eds.)—*Social Justice and Gender Equality: Rethinking Development Strategies and Macroeconomic Policies*, Routledge/UNRISD Research in Gender and Development, 2008
- Alejandro Grimson, Sebastián Pereyra (eds.)—*Conflictos globales, voces locales: Movilización y activismo en clave transnacional*, Prometeo Libros/UNRISD, 2008
- Fernando Mayorga and Eduardo Córdova—*El Movimiento antiglobalización en Bolivia: Procesos globales e iniciativas locales en tiempo de crisis y cambio*, UNRISD/Plural Editores/CESU-UMSS, 2008
- Anne Marie Goetz (ed.)—*Governing Women: Women's Political Effectiveness in Contexts of Democratization and Governance Reform*, Routledge/UNRISD Research in Gender and Development, 2008
- Razavi, Shahra (ed.)—*The Gendered Impacts of Liberalization: Towards "Embedded Liberalism"?*, Routledge/UNRISD Research in Gender and Development, 2008

In-House Publications

337 Two Research and Policy Briefs (one in French and one in Spanish), six Programme Papers, six newsletters and a CD-Rom Library of 2006–2007 publications were issued in 2008, as follows:

Research and Policy Briefs

- RPB7f *Marchandisation et mondialisation des soins de santé: Les leçons des recherches de l'UNRISD*, April 2008
- RPB7s *Comercialización y mundialización de la atención de la salud: Lecciones de la investigación de UNRISD*, April 2008

Programme Papers

Gender and Development

- PP GD 4 Debbie Budlender, *The Statistical Evidence on Care and Non-Care Work across Six Countries*, December 2008

Identities, Conflict and Cohesion

- PP ICC 13 Suzana Sawyer and Edmund Terence Gomez, *Transnational Governmentality and Resource Extraction: Indigenous Peoples, Multinational Corporations, Multilateral Institutions and the State*, September 2008
- PP ICC 12 Thomas Perreault, *Natural Gas, Indigenous Mobilization and the Bolivian State*, July 2008

Social Policy and Development

- PP SPD 38 Fred Hendricks, *The Private Affairs of Public Pensions in South Africa: Debt, Development and Corporatization*, December 2008
- PP SPD 37 Peadar Kirby, *Explaining Ireland's Development: Economic Growth with Weakening Welfare*, September 2008
- PP SPD 36 Carmelo Mesa-Lago, *Social Insurance (Pensions and Health), Labour Markets and Coverage in Latin America*, August 2008

Newsletters and Other

- CN 22 *Business, Social Policy and Corporate Political Influence in Developing Countries* (Report of the UNRISD Conference, 12–13 November 2007, Geneva), 2008
- CN 21 *Social Policy and Migration* (Report of the UNRISD/IOM/IFS International Workshop, 22–23 November 2007, Stockholm, Sweden), 2008
- CN 20 *Global Civil Society Movements: Dynamics in International Campaigns and National Implementation* (Report of the UNRISD International Colloquium at the World Social Forum, 22–23 January 2007, Nairobi, Kenya), 2008
- *UNRISD News*, No. 28, March 2008; *UNRISD Infos*, No. 28, mars 2008; *UNRISD Informa*, Núm. 28, marzo 2008.
- UNRISD Library/Bibliothèque/Biblioteca on CD-Rom, 2006–2007 (2008).

UNRISD Staff External Publications

- T. Gomez, “Jockeying for power in the new Malaysia”, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, July/August 2008
- T. Gomez, “Problematizing transnationalism and the ‘Chineseness’ of enterprise development”, *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 36, No. 2, 2008
- T. Gomez, “Cuán útiles son las alianzas público-privadas?”, *El Sol del Cusco*, Peru, 9 March 2008
- T. Gomez, with Nicolas Tarling (eds.), *The State, Development and Identity in Multi-Ethnic Societies: Ethnicity, Equity and the Nation*, Routledge, London, 2008
- T. Gomez, with Gregor Benton, *The Chinese in Britain, 1800-Present: Transnationalism, Economy, Identity*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2008
- T. Gomez, “Ethnicity, equity and conflict in multi-ethnic countries: A case study of Malaysia”, *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, Vol. 1/2008

- T. Mkandawire, “Social sciences and the next development agenda”, *Forum for Development Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 2008, Norwegian Institute for International Affairs
- T. Mkandawire, “Social development policies: New challenges for the social sciences”, *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 58, Issue 189, 2006 (published in 2008)
- S. Razavi, “Liberalization and the debates on women’s access to land.” In Saturnino M. Borras, Cristobal Kay and Edward Lahiff (eds.), *Market-Led Agrarian Reform: Critical Perspectives on Neoliberal Land Policies and the Rural Poor*, Routledge, London and New York, 2008
- S. Razavi, “Islamic politics, human rights and women’s claims for equality in Iran”. In Andrea Cornwall and Maxine Molyneux (eds.), *The Politics of Rights: Dilemmas for Feminist Praxis*, Routledge, London and New York, 2008
- S. Razavi, “Maternalist politics in Norway and the Islamic Republic of Iran”. In Naila Kabeer and Agnetta Stark, with Edda Magnus (eds.), *Global Perspectives in Gender Equality: Reversing the Gaze*. Routledge, New York and London, 2008
- S. Razavi, “El trabajo remunerado mejora el acceso de las mujeres a las prestaciones sociales? Evidencias de países en proceso de industrialización”. In Gisela Zarember (ed.), *Políticas Sociales y Género, Tomo II Los Problemas Sociales y Metodológicos*, FLACSO, Mexico
- P. Utting, “Rearticulating regulatory approaches: Private-public authority and corporate social responsibility”. In Volker Rittberger and Martin Nettesheim (eds.), *Authority in the Global Political Economy*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2008
- P. Utting, “Corporate Social Responsibility, Public Private Partnerships and Human Development”, Human Development Insights (online series), April 2008. <http://hdr.undp.org/en/nhdr/support/insights/editions/>
- P. Utting, “The struggle for corporate accountability”, *Development and Change*, 39(6), November 2008

UNRISD Reference Centre

338 The Reference Centre holds all UNRISD publications and documents, including materials of historical significance. It also maintains a small collection of journals, books and monographs, and specialized publications for use by the Institute’s staff. During the reporting period UNRISD had eight paid subscriptions to key journals dealing with its research programme (and which are not available in the United Nations Geneva Library), and 15 exchange agreements with other institutions from developing and developed countries.

VISITING FELLOWS, RESEARCH ANALYSTS AND INTERNS

Visiting Fellows

Fellowship Programme for Researchers from Developing Countries

339 In 2008 UNRISD began a Fellowship Programme for Researchers from Developing Countries. Under the terms of the core funding agreement with the government of Sweden for 2007–2009, out of which these fellowships are financed, the Institute is to host five visiting research fellows—social science scholars and experienced researchers based at institutions in Africa, Asia and Latin America engaged in innovative research in the field of social policy in developing countries. The fellows are to spend nine to 12 months working at UNRISD in Geneva, pursuing their own research in this area, preparing a paper for publication under the UNRISD Programme Paper series, and developing ideas for future research.

340 The first two visiting research fellows under the programme arrived at UNRISD during the current reporting period. Mary Njeri Kinyanjui, a Senior Research Fellow on sabbatical leave from the University of Nairobi, Kenya, arrived in July 2008 and will be at UNRISD until June 2009. Imraan Valodia, based at the School of Development Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa began in September 2008 and will also be based at UNRISD through June 2009.

341 During the current reporting period, Kinyanjui's research while at UNRISD focused on informality. She worked on a new paper titled *Informal Social Relations and Association in Development Policy and Practice*, and was able to complete two other papers on which she was working before arriving at UNRISD. The first, *Self-Organizing Systems and Strategies of Jua Kali in Kenya*, was submitted to *Geoforum* for consideration for publication; the second, *From Vulnerability to Enterprise: Youth in Jua Kali in Nairobi* was presented at the conference on Young People in Africa: From Marginalization to Citizenship, which was jointly organized by the International Development Centre of the Open University and the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague on 20–21 November 2008.

342 During his first four months at UNRISD, Valodia focused his work in two areas: first, a conceptual paper on the linkages between the formal and informal economy, based on his recently published piece in the *IDS Bulletin* (Vol. 39, No. 2, May 2008), on informal work and social protection; and second, gender and economic development. Most of Valodia's time was spent on the latter subject; specifically, on a project exploring gender and taxation, through an eight-country study of the gendered incidence of direct and indirect taxes. He was completing the edited manuscript, to be published by Routledge, and also worked on a paper using the time use survey in South Africa to look at labour market issues.

Other Research Fellows

343 Three other research fellows spent time at UNRISD during the reporting period:

- Anne Jenichen
- Roberto Gerhard
- Hyo-kyung Kwak

Research Analysts⁶ and Interns

344 A limited number of outstanding young students and scholars contribute to the UNRISD programme of work each year as research analysts and as interns. They provide essential support to research coordinators in developing and drafting project proposals, compiling annotated bibliographies and data, and organizing research seminars and conferences. In the past year, they also authored and co-authored papers; prepared and presented research papers at conferences, workshops, university summer schools and in the press; and made presentations to visiting groups of students on UNRISD research and on opportunities for young scholars at the Institute. Interns in the Press Office carried out media outreach activities and regularly updated the UNRISD web site in support of the Institute's global research communication strategy.

345 Research analysts and interns are selected on the basis of their experience and interests, with interns spending two to three months (on average) at UNRISD, and research analysts a maximum of two years.

Research Analysts

- Daniela Barrier, Brazil/France
- Rebecca Buchholz, Germany
- Elena Gaia, Italy
- Eleanor Hutchinson, United Kingdom
- Thomas Lavers, United Kingdom
- José Carlos Marques, Portugal/Canada
- Shea McClanahan, United States
- Nicola Hypher, United Kingdom
- Zarine Rocha, New Zealand
- Pon Souvannaseng, Thailand/United States
- Silke Staab, Germany

Interns

- Temilade Aromolaran, Nigeria
- Megan Blackmore, Australia
- Sarah Blake, United States
- Saidakhror Burkhanov, Uzbekistan
- Mathew Geddes, United Kingdom
- Julia Gin, United States
- Céline Glutz, Switzerland
- Emma Gonzalez, Spain
- Byung-jin Ha, Republic of Korea

⁶ During the current reporting period, the title "research assistant" was changed to "research analyst", based on a review of the job titles and qualifications of similar positions in other comparable organizations. The change in title does not imply any change of status or responsibility.

- Monika Kugemann, Germany
- Hyo-kyung Kwak, Republic of Korea
- Leonardo Lara, Venezuela
- Christy McConnell, United States
- Claudia Notthoff, Germany
- Rafaela Pannain, Brazil
- Agnes Pio, Portugal
- Samyuktha Rajagopal, India
- Sabria Reragui, Germany
- Gloria Spezzano, Italy
- Mariella Treffiletti, Switzerland

STAFF LIST⁷

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DEPUTY DIRECTOR

Peter Utting

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Isabelle Schaller (to April 2008)

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Katja Hujo

Naren Prasad (to June 2008)

Shahra Razavi

Ilcheong Yi (as of October 2008)

EXTERNAL

Nicola Piper

Suzana Sawyer

⁷ See also Visiting Fellows, Research Analysts and Interns (pages 101–103).