



aidsocpro
AIDING SOCIAL PROTECTION

The Political Economy of Externally Financing Social Policy in Developing Countries



European Research Council

Established by the European Commission

Global Redistribution and the Challenges of Externally Financing Social Policy and Development

The first international symposium of the AIDSOCPRO research project (Aiding Social Protection: The Political Economy of Externally Financing Social Policy in Developing Countries), funded by the European Research Council and based at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague, part of Erasmus University Rotterdam.

The free and open public symposium will be held on 16-17 February 2017 at the ISS in The Hague. For information about the symposium, see the concept note, available [here](#).

Programme

Thursday 16 February

9h00-9h30: coffee/tea

9h30: Opening of the Symposium

- Welcome by Andrew Fischer and the ISS Rector Inge Hutter, brief overview of the symposium, and introduction of first keynote

10h00-11h00: Keynote lecture by Thandika Mkandawire, 'The importance of bringing back functional income distribution in discussions about globalisation and inequality, and its relation to global/national redistribution'

11h00-12h30: Panel 1: Global redistribution in light of the evolution of global imbalances and international financial and trade flows in developing countries, and relation with national monetary and fiscal systems

- KS Jomo: 'Global income distribution and redistribution'
- Manuel Montes: 'How OECD-preferred methods of taxing foreign investors are undermining tax bases in developing countries'
- Isabel Ortiz: 'Global redistribution and the financing of social protection floors'
- Alejandro Vanoli: 'Dealing with global imbalances: Policy responses by a Central Bank'

12h30-14h00: Lunch (speakers will also meet with groups of the Social Policy for Development major MA students over the lunch break).

14h00 to 15h30: Panel 2: Is the aid system fit for the purpose of global redistribution?

- Getnet Alemu: 'The aid system viewed from Ethiopia'
- Katja Hujo: 'Financing transformative change: linking national and global resource bargains'
- James Putzel: 'Two Steps Backward: New directions in Official Development Assistance'
- Rob Vos: 'Financing needs to meet the SDGs and deficiencies in the current development finance architecture'

15h30 to 17h00: Panel 3: Global Redistribution for Production or Social Expenditures?

- Ana Celia Castro: 'Comparing innovation systems in Brazil, China and Argentina'
- Lavinia Barros de Castro: 'The Future of Development Banks'
- Sarah Cook: 'Social investment and international development organisations: changing paradigms'
- Gary Dymski: 'Financing the global transition to a socially and environmentally sustainable world: Toward an agenda'
- Rolph van der Hoeven: 'Work, incomes and a social floor in an international context'

17h00-17h15: Coffee/tea break

17h15-18h15: Keynote Lecture by Jan Kregel, 'International Financial Stability versus International Development Assistance'

18h15 onwards: reception in the Atrium (followed by dinner for invited participants)

Friday 17 February

9h00-9h30: coffee/tea

9h30-11h00: Panel 4: Neoliberalism, Financialisation and other External Influences on Domestic Social Policy Making in Various National Experiences

- Aysa Bugra: 'Socioeconomic transformation and social policy in Turkey'
- Huck-Ju Kwon: 'Social Protection in East and Southeast Asia'
- Lena Lavinas: 'The collateralization of social policy under financialized neoliberalism'
- Amrita Chhachhi: [reflections from India on this topic]

11h00-12h30: Panel 5: Effects of aid and other external influences on national processes of policy making in Latin America and South East Asia

- Joel Rocamora: 'Experiences of aid-financed poverty reduction programmes in Philippines'
- Diego Sanchez-Ancochea: 'Building universalism in Latin America: the role of external ideas'

- Jeannette Sanchez: [tba; experience of social policy/protection making in Ecuador and the role/influence of donors and effects on national processes of policy making]
- Veronica Serafini: [tba; experience of social policy/protection making in Paraguay and the role/influence of donors and effects on national processes of policy making]

12h30-14h00: Lunch

14h00-15h00: Keynote Lecture by Jayati Ghosh, 'The impact of monetary policy on social protection in developing countries.'

15h00-16h30: Panel 6: Effects of aid and other external influences on national processes of policy making in Africa

- Jimi Adesina: 'External Pressure and Social Policymaking in Sub-Saharan Africa: what can Europe learn from its own experience?'
- Geske Dijkstra: 'Effects of aid on national policy making: the role of budget support'
- Charlotte Harland Scott: [tbd; experience of social policy/protection making in Zambia, role/influence of donors and effects on national processes of policy making]
- Tom Lavers: 'The political and economic drivers of elite commitment to social protection in Africa'

16h30-16h45: Coffee/tea break

16h45-17h30: General discussion and Concluding Notes

Bios of the Symposium Participants

Jimi Adesina

Jimi Adesina is professor and DST/NRF SARCHI Chair in Social Policy at the University of South Africa, Pretoria. He is a board member of UNRISD, with whom he has collaborated in research on social policy. He has published widely on labour, development studies, and social theory. He has a chapter, Social Policy in a Mineral-Rich Economy: The Case of Nigeria, in the 2012 volume *Mineral Rents and the Financing of Social Policy*.

Getnet Alemu

Getnet Alemu is Associate Professor at the College of Development Studies in Addis Ababa University, and Director of the Institute of Development and Policy Research, Addis Ababa University. His research interests include development policy analysis, impact evaluation, poverty, and aid architecture. He has recently published articles on community-based health insurance, poverty analysis of children, and famine in Ethiopia.

Ayşe Bugra

Ayşe Bugra is a professor of political economy at the Atatürk Institute of Modern Turkish History at Bogazici University, Istanbul and one of the founders of the research center Social Policy Forum. She has done research and published in the fields of history and methodology of economics, development economics, business history and comparative social policy. Her books in English include *New Capitalism in Turkey: The Relationship between Politics, Religion and Business* (co-

authored with O. Savaskan, Edward Elgar 2014), *Reading Karl Polanyi for the 21st Century: Market Economy as a Political Project* (co-edited with K. Agartan, Palgrave MacMillan 2007), and *Trajectories of Female Employment in the Mediterranean* (co-edited with Y. Ozkan, Palgrave MacMillan 2012). She is the translator of Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation* into Turkish.

Lavinia Barros de Castro

Lavinia Barros de Castro is an economist at the Planning and Research Department of the Brazilian National Development Bank (BNDES) and teaches Brazilian Economy since 1999 at the Brazilian Institute of Capital Markets (IBMEC). She has a PHD on Economics (UFRJ) and a PhD in Social Sciences (UFRRJ - Sandwich PhD Program at Berkeley University of California). She is co-author of many books on Brazilian economic history and economy, including one that won the 2005 Brazilian Jabuti Book Prize.

Ana Celia Castro

Ana Celia Castro is Professor of Economics at the Universidad Federal de Rio de Janeiro. She researches on state capacity, national systems of innovation in Brazil and China, agri-food systems, and knowledge governance. Her most recent book publication is titled *Políticas de Inovação e Capacidades Estatais Comparadas: Brasil, China e Argentina* (IPEA, 2016), a comparative study of state capacity to formulate, conduct, implement, and evaluate science and technology policy in Brazil, China and Argentina.

Amrita Chhachhi

Amrita Chhachhi is Associate Professor at the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague. She has expertise in and is widely published on themes related to gender, labour and globalisation/neoliberalism, social protection/human security, collective action, corporate social responsibility and labour market/ social policies. At the ISS, she teaches courses on poverty, gender, social protection, and critical social policy. She also undertakes research for the Civic Innovation Research Initiative (CIRI) at the Institute.

Sarah Cook

Sarah Cook is Director at the Office of Research Innocenti, UNICEF, Florence. She is an economist and China specialist, and her research has focused primarily on China's social and economic transformations, including work on labour and migration, poverty, inequality, social policy and gender. From 2009-2015 she was the Director, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) in Geneva, where she led the Institute in developing its 2016-2020 strategy on 'Transformations to Equity and Sustainability'.

Geske Dijkstra

Geske Dijkstra is Endowed Professor of Governance and Global Development at Erasmus University Rotterdam. She has published extensively on aid and debt issues, on gender equality measures, and on economic policies and economic reforms in developing countries. In her affiliations with Dutch academic institutions, she combined research and teaching with carrying out studies and consultancies for organizations involved in development cooperation, such as the World Bank, the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida) and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Gary Dymski

Gary Dymski is Professor and Chair in Applied Economics at the Leeds University Business School. He has published numerous books, articles, chapters, and studies on banking, financial fragility, urban development, credit-market discrimination, the Latin American and Asian financial crises,

exploitation, housing finance, the subprime lending crisis, financial regulation, the Eurozone crisis, and economic policy. He teaches courses on political economy, applied econometrics, public policy analysis, and international economic coordination. He is currently a board member of the Post Keynesian Study Group, UK.

Jayati Ghosh

Jayati Ghosh is Professor of Economics at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi India. She is also Executive Secretary of International Development Economics Associates (www.networkideas.org) an international network promoting heterodox analyses of development, and Trustee of the Economic Research Foundation in New Delhi. She has received the ILO Decent Work Research Prize and the M Adisheshaiah Award for distinguished contributions to social sciences, among other awards. Her fields of specialisation include development economics, international economics, employment, gender, finance, and the Indian economy.

Rolph van der Hoeven

Rolph van der is Professor Emeritus of Employment and Development Economics at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) at Erasmus University (EUR), The Hague and member of the Advisory Committee on Development Cooperation of the Dutch Government and of several other Dutch development organizations. Earlier he was Director Policy Coherence at ILO Geneva and Chief Economist at UNICEF. His work concentrates on issues of employment, inequality and economic reform, topics on which he has published extensively.

Katja Hujo

Katja Hujo is Senior Research Coordinator in the Social Policy and Development Programme of UNRISD and member of the Institute's Senior Management Group. She is coordinator and lead author of the recent UNRISD flagship report "[Policy Innovations for Transformative Social Change – Implementing the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development](#)". Her academic work focuses on social policy, poverty reduction and socio-economic development. Much of her research is at the interface of economics and politics, for example her research on the political economy of pension reform, on social protection and poverty reduction, on social policy in mineral-rich contexts, migration governance and social rights for migrants, and more recently, on the politics of domestic resource mobilization for social development.

KS Jomo

Jomo Kwame Sundaram holds the Tun Hussein Onn Chair in International Studies at the Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Malaysia, is Visiting Senior Fellow at Khazanah Research Institute, Visiting Fellow at the Initiative for Policy Dialogue, Columbia University, and Adjunct Professor at the International Islamic University, Malaysia. He was an economics professor until 2004 and an Assistant Secretary General for Economic Development in the United Nations system during 2005-2015. He writes on economic development challenges and received the Wassily Leontief Prize for Advancing the Frontiers of Economic Thought in 2007.

Jan Kregel

Jan Kregel is Director of the Levy Institute Master of Science in Economic Theory and Policy, Director of Research at the Institute, and Professor of Development Finance at Tallinn University of Technology. He is a life fellow of the Royal Economic Society (UK) and an elected member of the Società Italiana degli Economisti. In 2010, he was awarded the prestigious Veblen–Commons Award by the Association for Evolutionary Economics; in 2011, he was elected to the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, the Italian Academy of Sciences.

Huck-Ju Kwon

Huck-Ju Kwon is Professor at Graduate School of Public Administration, and the Asia Development Institute, Seoul National University. He is Co-editor of *Global Social Policy*. His research interest is in comparative social policy, and international development policy. He was Director of the Global Research Network on Social Protection in East Asia and Visiting Scholar at the Harvard Yenching Institute (2013-2014). His publications include 'Poverty Reduction and Good Governance' (*Development and Change* 2014), *Transforming the Developmental Welfare State in East Asia* (Palgrave, 2005), and *the Korean State and Social Policy* (Oxford University Press 2011).

Tom Lavers

Tom Lavers is Lecturer in politics, governance and management at the Global Development Institute, University of Manchester. He is the lead researcher for the Effective States and Inclusive Development (ESID) project, 'The political economy of social protection expansion in Africa'. His research interests concern the changing nature of state-society relations in the context of structural transformation, particularly focusing on social policy and land tenure as key means by which states relate to their citizens. As such, his research is situated at the interface between literatures on the political economy of social policy, agrarian political economy and state-society relations.

Lena Lavinas

Lena Lavinas is currently a Fellow at the Wissenschaftskolleg (Institute for Advanced Study) in Berlin. She is Professor of Welfare Economics at the Institute of Economics at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and Senior Researcher at the Brazilian National Research Council (CNPQ), since 2005. In 2015 she co-edited *A Moment of Equality for Latin America? Challenges for Redistribution*, along with Barbara Fritz (UK: Ashgate), and authored *Avaliando a Inclusão Digital pela Escola: o projeto UCA-TOTAL* (São Paulo: Hucitec Editora). In April 2017, she will be publishing by Palgrave Macmillan *The takeover of social policy by financialization: The Brazilian paradox*.

Thandika Mkandawire

Thandika Mkandawire is Professor of African Development, London School of Economics – the first to take this position. He is former Director of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) and the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA). He also is currently the Olof Palme Professor for Peace with the Institute for Future Studies in Stockholm. He has researched and widely published on development theory, economic policy and development and social policy in developing countries and political economy of development in Africa.

Manuel Montes

Manuel Montes is Senior Advisor on Finance and Development at the South Centre, Geneva. He was previously Chief of Development Strategies, UN-DESA, where he led the team that produced the World Economic and Social Survey (WESS) in 2011. His recent publications have been in areas of macroeconomic policy, development strategy, income inequality, climate change financing and industrial policy. He has held teaching and research posts at the East-West Centre, University of The Philippines, Institute for Developing Economies, UNU/WIDER, and Institute for Southeast Asian Studies.

Isabel Ortiz

Isabel Ortiz is Director of Social Protection at the International Labour Organization (ILO). Earlier she was the Director of the Global Social Justice Program at Joseph Stiglitz's Initiative for Policy Dialogue,

and senior official at UNICEF, UNDESA and at the ADB. She has worked in more than 50 countries, providing advisory services to governments and development institutions. She has a PhD from the London School of Economics and has written extensively on poverty reduction, inequality, social policy and financing for development. Recent research work includes 'A Recovery for All' (with M. Cummins, UNICEF), looking at the social impacts of the global crisis and alternative policies. She is responsible for the ILO's flagship publication World Social Protection Report and ILO's policy work on social protection.

James Putzel

James Putzel is Professor of Development Studies at the London School of Economics (LSE) and was director of the Crisis States Research Centre from 2001 to 2012. His research and publications range from work on the politics of financial crisis, to work on nationalism, comparative politics of development in Southeast and East Asia, democratic transition, developmental states, and the role of foreign aid and NGOs in development. He is well-known for his book, *A Captive Land: the Politics of Agrarian Reform in the Philippines* (1992) and his award-winning articles on aid, poverty and social capital. His ongoing research on "state fragility" and political settlements has had a significant impact on recent development debates.

Joel Rocamora

Joel Rocamora is former Secretary/Lead Convenor of the National Anti-Poverty Commission in the Philippines, and former Co-Director of Transnational Institute, Amsterdam. He has been working for several decades on issues of democracy, governance, and social movements in the Philippines. He has published work on democratisation in the Philippines and Southeast Asia, new kinds of political parties, and participatory democracy. He was awarded the Philippines National Book Award for his book titled *Breaking Through: The Struggle with the Communist Party in the Philippines* (Anvil, 1994).

Diego Sanchez-Ancochea

Diego Sanchez-Ancochea is Director of the Latin American Centre, and Associate Professor in the Political Economy of Latin America, University of Oxford. His research concentrates on income inequality, structural transformation, development models and the political economy of development in Latin America. Together with Juliana Martínez Franzoni, he is the author of *The Quest for Universal Social Policy in the South. Actors, Ideas and Architectures* (CUP, 2016) and *Good Jobs and Social Services: How Costa Rica Achieved the Elusive Double Incorporation* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2013).

Jeannette Sánchez Zurita

Jeannette Sánchez Zurita is Professor of macroeconomics and economic policy in the Faculty of Economics, Central University of Ecuador, and Adviser of the Vice-Presidency on economic affairs and productive transformation in Ecuador. She is also former Coordinating Minister of Economic Policy, Coordinating Minister for Social Development, and Minister of Economic and Social Inclusion in Ecuador. She has published research on migration, decentralization, macroeconomics, local development, social policy, social economy and microfinance in Ecuador.

Charlotte Harland Scott

Charlotte Harland Scott is Fund Director of Mwabu, former Chief of Social Policy and Economic Analysis for UNICEF Zambia, and former First Lady of Zambia. She has worked in the fields of economic development policy, social development policy, and non government organisations. She headed the team that created and launched the *Zambian Public Welfare Assistance Scheme*, a

forerunner in the development of social protection in Africa, and widely replicated internationally as a means of targeting cash transfers.

Verónica Serafini Geoghegan

Verónica Serafini Geoghegan is coordinator of the Social Economy Unit of the Ministry of Finance in Paraguay, and has been a consultant for the United Nations System, IDB and World Bank. She is co-author, along with Carmen Echaury, of the document published by the ILO titled “Equality between Men and Women in Paraguay: The Necessary Conciliation between Family and Work”.

Alejandro Vanoli

Alejandro Vanoli is Associate Professor of International Economics, University of Buenos Aires, former Chairman of the Central Bank of Argentina and Vice Governor from Argentina at the International Monetary Fund. He has extensively published on financial matters, external debt negotiations, and the international economy. He is also a senior financial consultant and advisor for Latin American countries, as well as regional and Argentine banks. He is a member of Plan.Fénix, a group of heterodox and post-Keynesian professors.

Rob Vos

Rob Vos is Director of Agricultural Development Economics (ESA) at the Economic and Social Development Department of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) where he is responsible – inter alia – for FAO’s flagship publications the State of Food and Agriculture and The State of Food Insecurity in the World. He has also served as FAO’s director for social protection and coordinator of FAO’s strategic programme for rural poverty reduction. Rob is former Director of Development Policy and Analysis in the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs in New York, and under that capacity was responsible for the UN flagship publications “World Economic Situation and Prospects” and the “World Economic and Social Survey”. He also served as Secretary of the UN Committee for Development Policy and coordinated the Secretary-General’s Millennium Development Goals’ Gap Task Force as well as the UN Task Team for the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda. His academic and advisory work covers a broad range of development issues, including trade policy, inequality and poverty; financing for development; poverty and social policy analysis; and macroeconomic and general equilibrium modelling for development policy. Before joining the UN, he was a Professor of Finance and Development at the ISS, where he still holds an endowed professorship.