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Progress Report by the Director

For the reporting period of
January through December 2005

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INTRODUCTION

1 This report presents the Institute's work from January through December 2005, including its conference, research, advisory, publication and dissemination activities. It is supplemented by an administrative and financial report.

2 The next phase of the Institute's research agenda was finalized and is presented in the document *Social Development Research at UNRISD, 2005–2009*. Research will be organized under six programme areas, and this structure has been adopted in the present report to the Board: *Social Policy and Development*; *Democracy, Governance and Well-Being*; *Markets, Business and Regulation*; *Civil Society and Social Movements*; *Identities, Conflict and Cohesion*; and *Gender and Development*. Work in these areas will be supplemented by research commissioned to feed into special events and activities organized by the Institute, such as conferences or flagship reports.

3 During the current reporting period, *Gender Equality: Striving for Justice in an Unequal World* was published in English and French; the executive summary of the report was published in English, French and Spanish; and eleven Occasional Papers were published. Several events were organized to present the report, and UNRISD intensified its efforts to publicize the report in social science journals and the popular media. The English-language version was launched in parallel with the 49th session of the Commission on the Status of Women in New York in March 2005. UNRISD also held events at the Ford Foundation in New York; the Department for Research Cooperation of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida/SAREC) in Stockholm; and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Ottawa. The research coordinator also presented the report at various externally organized conferences, seminars and meetings.

4 During this reporting period, Institute staff organized eight events. Through these workshops, seminars and conferences on themes related to its programme of work, UNRISD offered a forum for dialogue among policy makers, donors, scholars and civil society organizations. A two-day workshop on Social Policy and Equality, which was to be held as part of the International Forum on the Social Science–Policy Nexus (IFSP) in September 2005, had to be rescheduled due to postponement of the forum to 2006.

5 In the programme area *Social Policy and Development*, all research was concluded in the subprojects under *Social Policy in a Development Context* during the current reporting period, and work concentrated on revision of manuscripts and publications. “Research wrap-ups”—that is, substantive discussion of the main findings, novel contributions and major research and policy implications—are provided for several of the subprojects in this report to the Board. The third and fourth volumes were released in the series, *Social Policy in a Development Context*, published on behalf of UNRISD by Palgrave Macmillan. Three Programme Papers were also published. Under the project *Politics and Political Economy of HIV/AIDS*, four country studies were revised and were forthcoming as Programme Papers; a research wrap-up is presented in this report. Fieldwork was completed in the first five case-study countries under the project *Community Responses to HIV/AIDS*, and new funding received from the United Nations Foundation allowed the commissioning of three additional studies. A project workshop was held in September 2005.

6 Two new research areas were developed under the *Social Policy and Development* programme: *Poverty Reduction and Policy Regimes* and *Social Policy Index*. The proposal for the first was completed and an initial two-year grant was agreed by Sida/SAREC. This flagship project will contribute to debates and policy on poverty reduction by examining the role of social policy and the relationships among various types of policy regimes and institutions. The findings of this research will feed into a report on poverty that the Institute is planning to produce in 2008. Under the *Social Policy Index* project, a dataset on social spending was compiled for over 130 countries and an issues paper was prepared.

7 The past 12 months have seen a transition from the *Democracy, Governance and Human Rights* programme to that on *Democracy, Governance and Well-Being*. The new programme, to be developed during 2005 and 2006, seeks to understand the constraints that new democracies face in improving citizens' well-being, defined as improvements in livelihoods, social services and social protection. Work under the project *Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance of the Public Sector* focused on processing case-study manuscripts for publication as books and Programme Papers. Three Programme Papers from the past research on *Technocratic Policy Making and Democratization* were published. The research coordinator worked on the development of four new research areas under the programme: *Welfare Development in Middle-Income Democracies*; *Politics of Poverty Reduction Strategies*; *Social Policies and Complex Transitions to Democracy*; and *Decentralization, Service Provision and Responsiveness*.

8 The past 12 months were also a transition from the *Technology, Business and Society* programme to that on *Markets, Business and Regulation*. The new programme, to be developed during 2005 and 2006, will examine changes occurring in state-market relations, the dynamics of regulatory reform, and the role of transnational corporations and other enterprises in social development. There were two projects under way during the reporting period: *Promoting Corporate Social and Environmental Responsibility in Developing Countries* and *Social Policy, Regulation and Private Sector Involvement in Water Supply*. Under the first, two Programme Papers were published, and country reports on India and South Africa were finalized. Research findings were disseminated through several externally organized conferences, seminars and meetings, as well as in three journals. A research wrap-up is presented in this report to the Board. The second project investigates the effects of private sector involvement in water supply in terms of access, equity and affordability. A methodology workshop was held in Geneva in September 2005, six country studies were undertaken, a data-gathering exercise was carried out, and the first drafts of the case study reports were completed.

9 Under the programme area *Civil Society and Social Movements*, the current reporting period saw publication of seven Programme Papers, and two books were published by Palgrave Macmillan. Two projects were under way: *UN World Summits and Civil Society Engagement* and *Global Civil Society Movements: Dynamics in International Campaigns and National Implementation*; and a third, *Social Responses to Inequalities and Policy Change*, was developed during the current reporting period and obtained funding from the European Union.

10 New research got under way during the reporting period under the programme on *Identities, Conflict and Cohesion*. The programme will focus on the concepts of difference, citizenship and accommodation to stress the complexity of ethnic and national identities and reveal how such identifications evolve over time and are reconfigured by political and economic changes. Three new projects were

at various stages of development: *The State, International Institutions and Indigenous Peoples*, for which funding was obtained from the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD); *Minority Groups, Generational Change and Identity (Trans)Formation*; and *Religion, Identity and Business*.

11 UNRISD has regrouped its gender research under a new programme, *Gender and Development*. Four thematic areas have been identified for research under this area: *Political and Social Economy of Care*; *Religious-Based Politics and Gender Equality*; *Gender Dimensions of Judicial Reform*; and *Decentralization, Redistribution and Women's Access to Welfare*. The four projects are to be developed in a sequential manner, with the first fully developed during this reporting period and submitted to two potential donors. Work on development of the second project was well advanced.

12 UNRISD staff members are frequently called upon to act in a range of advisory roles for United Nations agencies, multilateral and bilateral organizations, governments, non-governmental organizations, 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 nearly 60 occasions.

13 The Institute's output of publications increased to 61 in 2005, with five publications issued each month on average. Five books were copublished, as were 29 Programme Papers, 11 Occasional Papers, two reports, seven Research and Policy Briefs (one in English, three in French and three in Spanish), two issues of Conference News and five issues of *UNRISD News* (one in English, two in French and two in Spanish). Publications staff continued to use freelance editors, translators and designers in order to process the manuscripts for publication.

14 Research results were disseminated via the Institute's publications; in targeted mailings to a wide range of constituencies; through conferences, seminars and workshops organized by UNRISD and other institutions; in articles and interviews in specialized journals and general media outlets; through the participation of UNRISD staff in public events; and via the UNRISD Web site. Web site statistics show an average of 25,874 unique visitors per month. Particularly satisfying are the data on the numbers of full-text documents accessed, which increased to 133,780 in 2005; and there were 5,733 requests to receive PDF versions via email. A Web site user survey was carried out, with the results feeding into plans for redevelopment work on the site that will be undertaken in early 2006. During the reporting period, 13,400 publications were disseminated to 33 international conferences and 6 seminars in 13 countries around the world. This represents an increase of 44 per cent over the previous reporting period, in terms of the number of copies disseminated.

15 The United Nations Secretary-General appointed Lourdes Arizpe as Chair of the UNRISD Board for a term of four years beginning on 1 July 2005. Four Board members—Anthony Atkinson, Anna Hedborg, Amina Mama and Adele Simmons—were renominated for a further term of two years, expiring on 30 June 2007, and Christian Comelieu and Asma Jahangir were nominated for an initial term of four years from 1 July 2005 to 30 June 2009. There was one vacant position following Jomo Kwame Sundaram's resignation in December 2004.

16 Two research coordinators, Huck-ju Kwon and Cecilia Ugaz, left UNRISD in January 2005; two new research coordinators, Naren Prasad and Terence Gomez, took up their functions in March and June 2005 respectively. A third coordinator, Katja Hujo, was recruited in December 2005 and was to take up her functions in March 2006. The information officer, Nicolas Bovay, and the associate information officer/Web manager, Caroline Danloy, left UNRISD in June 2005. The Publication and Dissemination Unit was restructured during the current reporting period, and the editor was named head of this unit.

17 The level of core funding received by the Institute for the financial year 2005 was USD 2,645,695 compared with USD 2,440,808 received for 2004. The government of Denmark decided not to renew its contribution in 2005 but the shortfall was absorbed by increases in other contributions, resulting in a net surplus of USD 204,887. The governments of Finland, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom increased their contributions in 2005. Discussions were under way with the government of Canada for core funding as well as funding for specific programmes.

18 The level of project funding received by the Institute decreased from USD 1,438,560 to USD 881,888 in 2005, reflecting the project cycle.

19 The project to produce *Gender Equality: Striving for Justice in an Unequal World* received a second contribution from the European Union (EU) of USD 80,217. The *Social Policy in a Development Context* project received an additional contribution of USD 165,000 in 2005 from the Ford Foundation, while the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) contributed USD 60,000 for the workshop on *Social Policy and Equality*.

20 The United Nations Foundation contributed USD 88,140 for the project on *Community Responses to HIV/AIDS*. The government of Switzerland contributed USD 61,069 for the project on *Global Civil Society Movements: Dynamics in International Campaigns and National Implementation* and the Ford Foundation provided an additional USD 50,000 for the project on *UN World Summits and Civil Society Engagement*. The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) contributed an initial amount of USD 377,462 in 2005 for the new research project *Poverty Reduction and Policy Regimes*, and a second payment of approximately USD 501,900 is due in 2006.

21 The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) approved funding of USD 199,500 for the project on *Identity, Power and Rights: The State, International Institutions and Indigenous People* for 2006. The European Union has approved funding for a consortium project on *Inequality: Mechanisms, Effects and Policies* in which UNRISD is participating with six other institutions and for which UNRISD will receive EUR 171,200 over the period 2006–2008 for its project titled *Social Responses to Inequalities and Policy Change*.

SPECIAL EVENTS AND ACTIVITIES

Policy Report on Gender and Development: 10 Years after Beijing

Background

22 In March 2005, the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women held an intergovernmental meeting in New York to review the progress achieved on the commitments made in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action consolidated in 1995. The 2005 review process provided an occasion for UNRISD to launch its publication, *Gender Equality: Striving for Justice in an Unequal World* (hereafter *Gender Equality*)—the product of nearly two years of research and writing. The 2005 event, dubbed “Beijing Plus 10”, was in marked contrast to the spirited mood and large attendance of the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing only a decade before. If the Beijing conference was a landmark in policy terms, setting a global policy framework to advance gender equality, the Plus 10 event was decidedly low key. An international conference on the scale of Beijing was ruled out despite the large number of participants. Many policy actors—activist groups and networks as well as many within the United Nations—feared that in the current political climate, a world conference risked eroding the negotiated position that had been reached. Hence, the aim of the Plus 10 conference was not agenda setting but agenda confirming; not policy formulation but policy affirmation. Overall, the general mood was defensive rather than forward looking or celebratory, in tune with the more sombre and cautious *zeitgeist* that has come to dominate world affairs in recent times.

23 The report to the Board for the previous reporting period (January–December 2004) analysed the key findings and messages of *Gender Equality*, described the financing and institutional mechanisms put in place for its preparation and listed the commissioned background papers. Progress made in the current reporting period is discussed below.

24 The preparation of the report and all related project activities have been funded by the European Union (EU), the Department for Research Cooperation of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida/SAREC), the International Development Research Centre (IDRC, Canada) and the government of the Netherlands. The work has been coordinated at UNRISD by Shahra Razavi.

Progress

25 During the current reporting period *Gender Equality* was produced in English and French; an Occasional Paper series was launched; and a series of events were organized to present the report. UNRISD also intensified its efforts to publicize the report in social science journals and the popular media.

Translation of the report

26 The executive summary of the report was produced in English, French and Spanish and has been widely distributed. The full report was published in English in February 2005; it was translated into French and published in November 2005. The translation of the report into Spanish was completed by November 2005 and the proofreading commenced shortly thereafter. Contracts were issued for the

translation of the report into Arabic and Chinese, as well as the subsequent copublication of these two versions, and the work commenced in late 2005.

Occasional Paper series

27 During the reporting period, and following a strict external reviewing process, UNRISD identified 15 background papers to be published in its Occasional Paper series for Beijing Plus 10. Of these, the 11 papers listed below were published by December 2005. Four more papers will be published in early 2006.

- OPGP 1 *The Feminization of Agriculture? Economic Restructuring in Rural Latin America*, Carmen Diana Deere, February 2005
- OPGP 2 *Livelihood Struggles and Market Reform: (Un)making Chinese Labour After State Socialism*, Ching Kwan Lee, February 2005
- OPGP 3 *Women at Work: The Status of Women in the Labour Markets of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland*, Éva Fodor, February 2005
- OPGP 4 *The Politics of Gender and Reconstruction in Afghanistan*, Deniz Kandiyoti, February 2005
- OPGP 5 *Women, Political Parties and Social Movements in South Asia*, Amrita Basu, July 2005
- OPGP 6 *Gendering Migration, Livelihood and Entitlements: Migrant Women in Canada and the United States*, Monica Boyd and Deanna Pikkov, July 2005
- OPGP 7 *For or Against Gender Equality? Evaluating the Post-Cold War "Rule of Law" Reforms in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Celestine Nyamu-Musembi, August 2005
- OPGP 8 *Decentralizing Government and Centralizing Gender in Southern Africa: Lessons from the South African Experience*, Jo Beall, August 2005
- OPGP 9 *Neolib, Neocons and Gender Justice: Lessons from Global Negotiations*, Gita Sen, September 2005
- OPGP 10 *"Your Justice is Too Slow": Will the ICTR Fail Rwanda's Rape Victims?*, Binaifer Nowrojee, November 2005
- OPGP 11 *Feminized Migration in East and Southeast Asia: Policies, Actions and Empowerment*, Keiko Yamanaka and Nicola Piper, December 2005

Edited volumes

28 A series of edited volumes, bringing together the background papers commissioned for the report, is being planned. The five proposed volumes would cover the following themes: (i) macroeconomics, well-being and gender equality; (ii) gender in labour markets and social policy; (iii) gender, migration and rights; (iv) gender in politics and governance; and (v) gender, conflict and peacebuilding. Discussions are under way with one potential commercial publisher.

Events

29 The English language version of the report was launched in parallel with the 49th session of the Commission on the Status of Women in New York. UNRISD held a one-day conference at the Ford Foundation (7 March 2005). About 130 people attended the conference, organized around the four sections of the report. The sessions were chaired by the directors of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), Noeleen Heyzer, and the Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), Carolyn Hannan; Pregs Govender and Peggy Antrobus delivered keynote addresses, and 12 researchers involved in the preparation of the report gave presentations. Speakers underlined the unsatisfactory record of orthodox macroeconomic policies, which have led to slow growth, high rates of unemployment and underemployment, rising inequalities both within and between countries, and a "fiscal restraint" that hampers the funding of social

programmes to foster social justice and inclusion. There was appreciation of the report's analysis of countries which have forged alternative approaches, where finance, international trade and markets are socially managed to encourage industrial transformation and job creation. But these alternatives, as the report underlined, were only providing some of the necessary conditions for improving women's well-being and promoting gender equality, but not the sufficient conditions. As one speaker noted, "neither policy regime, as yet, pays any explicit attention to women's unpaid work: orthodox approaches and the managed market approach take women's unpaid work for granted". Moreover, the rising female share of paid work in manufacturing and services in most countries has not coincided with a rising female share in *decent* jobs. Informalization and casualization of labour have been widespread phenomena, and the bulk of the female workforce is trapped in jobs that do not provide a living wage or social protection.

30 There was a more positive reading of women's increasing involvement in public decision making, even though this was seen as only the first step in tackling the more intractable problems of making public institutions accountable to women as a constituency. One of the main messages emerging from the debate was the need to look beyond the idea that women *qua* women are going to be able to advance gender equality once in public office. If women's presence in public office is to have a meaningful impact on gender justice, and if women politicians are to advocate the gender equality agenda within their own political parties, then there need to be closer connections between women in office and women's movements mobilized in defence of women's rights.

31 On 8 March 2005 the report was launched at an official "side event" chaired by the United Nations Under-Secretary-General, Jose Antonio Ocampo, with four presentations and two discussants.

32 A one-day seminar was held in Stockholm, Sweden, on 14 October 2005, co-organized with Sida/SAREC. The seminar was opened by the head of SAREC, Berit Olsson, the Swedish Minister for International Development Cooperation, Karin Jämtin, and the director of UNRISD. Eight researchers made presentations, and a number of academics from Sweden served as discussants. The key discussant, Signe Arnfred, made the following observations about the report: "One important quality of this report is that it shakes the convenient belief—widely shared in 'development' circles—that with time, development and modernity will bring about gender equality; there may be hiccups and setbacks on the way, but basically the road to gender equality is intertwined with the road to development in terms of economic growth. This report shows a different and much more complex picture". She appreciated the report's ability to express and argue for a critical position vis-à-vis the otherwise dominant economic consensus, to also expose contradictions in otherwise generally accepted feminist positions, and to highlight the importance of women's movements—outside and beyond women's participation in formal politics. "The report is written in a policy type of format and to a certain extent also in a policy kind of language, making it accessible to policy makers. At the same time it has a wealth of references to a wide range of social science/feminist research".

33 A half-day meeting was held at IDRC in Ottawa on 1 December 2005. The meeting was opened by the directors of IDRC, Maureen O'Neil, and UNRISD. Four of the researchers involved in the preparation of the report presented their work, followed by a lively discussion.

34 A series of events have been planned for January–May 2006, to be held in Geneva (16 January 2006), Cape Town (7–8 February 2006) and Buenos Aires (10–11 May 2006).

35 In addition to the above-mentioned events, the research coordinator has presented the report at various externally organized conferences, seminars and meetings (see Advisory Work).

PROGRAMME ON SOCIAL POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

36 Social policy is broadly defined as state policies and practices that directly influence the welfare and security of various groups within a particular society. As such, social policy can play redistributive, protective, transformative and developmental roles. In this programme area, the Institute is encouraging interdisciplinary debate on the linkages between social policy, social and political institutions, economic development and poverty reduction. From a development perspective, the goal of social policy is to promote universal social protection and equity. During the past three decades, such a view has been marginalized by policy approaches that emphasize safety nets and the targeting of vulnerable groups. In recent years, UNRISD work in this programme has looked at ways in which social policy can be instrumental to economic development while maintaining its intrinsic goals of social protection and equity. This will continue to be an important focus under the next phase of the Institute's research.

37 The project *Commercialization, Privatization and Universal Access to Water*, which was coordinated by Cecilia Ugaz and about which the Board has received reports in previous years, explored different experiences of water service provision, focusing in particular on those involving active private sector participation. The project aimed to clarify the nature of the "efficiency and equity" trade-off apparently affecting the provision of water services in developing countries, and to identify the institutional constraints to achieving universal access to water. All case studies—Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Finland, India, the Philippines and South Africa—were finalized during the reporting period. Two papers—South Africa and Argentina—passed peer review and were accepted for publication as Programme Papers. An edited volume was being prepared. A new project, *Social Policy, Regulation and Private Sector Involvement in Water Supply* (under the programme area *Markets, Business and Regulation*, see pages 43–54) is building upon this work.

38 Research in all of the subprojects under *Social Policy in a Development Context* was concluded during the current reporting period, and the majority of work related to revision of manuscripts and publications. The third and fourth volumes of the series, *Social Policy in a Development Context*, were published: under the regional component, *Social Policy and Economic Development in the Nordic Countries* (Olli Kangas and Joakim Palme, eds.); and under the thematic component, *Commercialization of Health Care* (Maureen Mackintosh and Meri Koivusalo, eds.). In the regional subproject on *Social Policy in the Middle East and North Africa*, revision of the manuscript was completed and the volume is forthcoming in early 2006. In the two thematic subprojects on *Pro-Poor Macroeconomics* and *Social Policy and Democracy*, the manuscripts were completed in 2005 and the volumes are forthcoming in 2006. In the two regional subprojects on Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa, the manuscripts will be revised during early 2006 and the volumes published later in the year.

39 The project *Politics and Political Economy of HIV/AIDS* was wrapped up during the current reporting period, with the work related to manuscript revision and peer review, and progress was made on the project *Community Responses to*

HIV/AIDS. Finally, research coordinators began developing new projects that will be carried out under this programme during the next phase of the Institute's research. These future directions are briefly described at the end of this section, under the heading Programme Development.

Social Policy in a Development Context

Background

40 The group of projects on *Social Policy in a Development Context* has looked at ways in which social policy can be instrumental to economic development while maintaining its intrinsic goals of social protection and equity. These projects have placed social policy at the centre of research, and this has now been more widely recognized as an important field of study. This body of work has been structured under nine subprojects, region-centred and thematic, as reported previously to the Board. The overall coordinator of this research, Huck-ju Kwon, left UNRISD in January 2005 but continued as an external coordinator during the reporting period.

41 This project has been funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) and UNRISD core funds. The Ford Foundation provided additional funding for the East Asia, Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa subprojects, the Geneva International Academic Network (GIAN) and the government of Finland provided additional funding for the health subproject, and the Rockefeller Foundation provided additional funding for the gender subproject.

Progress

Region-Centred Comparative Research

42 By the end of the reporting period, *Social Policy and Economic Development in the Nordic Countries* (Olli Kangas and Joakim Palme, eds.) had been published by Palgrave Macmillan, and *Social Policy in the Middle East and North Africa: Economic, Political and Gender Dynamics* (Massoud Karshenas and Valentine M. Moghadam, eds.) was in press and forthcoming in January 2006. Three Programme Papers were also published: *Transforming the Developmental Welfare State in East Asia* (Huck-ju Kwon), *The Politics of Welfare Developmentalism in Hong Kong* (Eliza W.Y. Lee), and *Política social y reforma social "a la tica": Un caso paradigmático de heterodoxia en el contexto de una economía periférica* (Manuel Barahona, Ludwig Güendel and Carlos Castro). All research had drawn to a close, and the majority of work related to finalization of manuscripts and revision in view of publication.

Social Policy in Late Industrializers: A Comparative Study of Latin America

43 Research on social policy and development in Latin America was completed and the revision and editing of the manuscript were under way. The final book manuscript, titled *Latin America: A New Developmental Welfare State in the Making?* will be submitted to Palgrave Macmillan in March 2006. Manuel Riesco, the external research coordinator, and his co-editor, Sonia Draibe, have put together chapters covering Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, plus overview and synthesis chapters. The book analyses the Latin American developmental welfare state, its origins, rise, pinnacle and decline, and argues that new social movements and political changes pushed the re-emergence of the developmental welfare state in the region. The book insists that policy makers, civil society members and citizens in general should find a policy

framework in which the developmental welfare state can play a pivotal role for economic development and social inclusion.

Sub-Saharan Africa and the Challenge of Social Policy

44 The research network for sub-Saharan Africa had produced a draft manuscript of the edited volume, *In Search of Inclusive Development: Social Policy in the Sub-Saharan African Context*. Jimi Adesina, the external research coordinator for this component, expected all revisions to be completed during the first half of 2006. Unlike in the North, where social policy comprises social insurance and income maintenance programmes, social policy in sub-Saharan Africa is largely defined by publicly mediated access to education, health care and sanitation. The book examines public policies in these policy areas, covering francophone West Africa (Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Senegal), West Africa (Ghana, Nigeria), East Africa (Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda) and Southern Africa (Botswana, Zimbabwe). It argues that the dismal conditions of social protection in sub-Saharan Africa were not only due to the failure of domestic social policy, but also to the global structure of political economy, which was largely constructed by the industrialized countries. In particular, the book argues that the decline of economic growth and deteriorating social protection coincided with the period of the structural adjustment in the 1980s and 1990s. The book suggests that the state in sub-Saharan Africa should be strengthened to improve economic performance and social development. It also points out that the strengthened state should conform democratic imperatives while striving to meet policy objectives.

Thematic Comparative Research

Gender and Social Policy: Research Wrap-Up

45 This thematic subproject focused on the multi-layered connections between social policy and gender equality. While it was a stated aim of the umbrella project, *Social Policy in a Development Context*, to address gender issues across all regional and thematic subprojects, a decision was made early on in the life cycle of the project to complement the effort to "mainstream" gender with a more focused analysis of social policy from a gender perspective as a distinct thematic subproject.

46 The gender question was identified as an important topic for social policy research given the extent to which gender stratifications have historically prevailed across social policy regimes, and the gender-specific risks of market-oriented reforms in the social sectors. Why is this so? Because of the persistent ways in which women continue to be attached to the non-monetized arena of social reproduction and care, and to be overwhelmingly present on the periphery of the formal economy as casual and atypical workers. Hence, they tend to be among the main losers when solidarity and redistribution as core values underpinning social policy are displaced by a market-oriented logic that introduces individualized methods of risk and benefit calculation. The project set out to explore the following questions.

- How have the imperatives of accumulation and developmentalism impacted on state policies vis-à-vis women? Under what conditions has the developmental need for labour translated into social policies that enhance gender equality?
- If work-related social protection mechanisms are inherently masculinist (because of the gendered construction of labour), have women fared any better with respect to public welfare services and transfer payments that are, nominally at least, universal in scope?
- How has the recent wave of social sector reforms (health, education and social security) affected gender-based inequalities in access?

- As state-organized mediators between paid employment and unpaid care work, family benefits are one key policy area that can have far-reaching consequences for gender relations; how have these benefits fared in the process of welfare restructuring?
- What has been the role of women's organizing in making claims on the state and in bringing women's needs and interests into the ambit of welfare policies and institutions?

47 These questions were addressed by focusing on four key areas: (i) historical and regional trajectories in social provisioning; (ii) labour market informality and the search for social security; (iii) gender dimensions of social sector restructuring; and (iv) financing social policy and "counting-in" women.

48 The project, coordinated by Shahra Razavi, was launched in January 2003. In total, 14 papers were commissioned (as listed below). The project held its final conference, jointly organized with the Centre for Global Gender Studies at Göteborg University, in Göteborg, Sweden, on 28–30 May 2005. Discussions are under way for possible collaborative work with WIEGO (Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing) in hosting policy dialogues on gender, employment and social protection in 2006 and 2007.

Historical and regional trajectories in social provisioning

- Maxine Molyneux — *Mothers at the Service of the New Poverty Agenda: The PROGRESA/Oportunidades Programme in Mexico*
- Silke Steinhilber — *Gender and Post-socialist Welfare States in Central Eastern Europe. Family Policy Reforms in Poland and the Czech Republic Compared*
- Valentine M. Moghadam — *Maternalist Policies versus Women's Economic Citizenship? Gendered Social Policy in Iran*
- Shireen Hassim — *Gender Equality and Developmental Social Welfare in South Africa*
- Ito Peng — *Social Policy Reforms and Gender in Japan and South Korea*
- Barbara Hobson — *The Evolution of the Women Friendly State: Opportunities and Constraints in the Swedish Welfare State*
- Jane Lewis and Susana Giullari — *The Adult Worker Model Family and Gender Equality: Principles to Enable the Valuing and Sharing of Care*

Labour market informality and the search for social security

- Lourdes Beneria and Maria S. Floro — *Labour Market Informalization, Gender and Social Protection: Reflections on Poor Urban Households in Bolivia and Ecuador*
- Frances Lund — *Working People and Access to Social Protection*

Gender dimensions of social sector restructuring

- Maureen Mackintosh and Paula Tibandebage — *Gender and Health Sector Reform: Analytical Perspectives on African Experience*
- Jufen Wang — *Health Sector Reform in China: Gender Equality and Social Justice*
- Jyotsna Jha and Ramya Subrahmanian — *Secondary Education in the Indian State of Uttar Pradesh: Gender Dimensions of State Policy and Practice*

Financing social provisioning and counting-in women

- Evelyne Huber — *Gendered Implications of Tax Reform in Latin America: Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica and Jamaica*
- Debbie Budlender — *Expectations versus Realities in Gender-Responsive Budget Initiatives*

Paid work, unpaid work, and social sector restructuring

49 Despite the claims to universalism, welfare systems—and, in particular, social protection programmes—have tended to be stratified rather than inclusive, bringing into their fold only some segments of the workforce (such as the military, state functionaries and core industrial workers). Much of the rural sector as well as the large numbers working in the urban informal economy and in domestic service (a major employer of women in many regions) have been left out. Normative assumptions about men's and women's roles have been remarkably universal and enduring. Yet it would be wrong to assume that women were absent from state social provisioning altogether. Not only did women make up a significant proportion of social security beneficiaries as wives and daughters (“dependents”) of male workers, they were also direct beneficiaries of some public services (health, education) as well as being targets of so-called maternalist programmes aimed at mothers and their children.

50 The small size of the formal economy in most developing countries meant that job security and work-related benefits remained privileges available to a relatively thin stratum of workers, predominantly men. While these benefits could have been extended gradually to other sectors of the population by specification of new eligibility criteria (underpinned by political coalitions), since the early 1980s there has been a global trend in the opposite direction. Paid work is becoming increasingly informal and casual. The informal economy tends to be a larger source of employment for women than for men in most countries, and women tend to be over-represented in the more precarious and less remunerative segments of informal work.

51 Processes of labour informalization and casualization—which have coincided with women's increasing presence in the workforce—have been largely driven by corporate interests, increasingly unhindered in their search for “appropriate” forms of labour, and no longer forced to take responsibility for the social wage. Yet in some countries (e.g. Costa Rica, Republic of Korea), social protection mechanisms have been extended to formerly excluded categories of workers. Indeed, if social policies are to be devised which address both poverty and gender inequality, social protection needs to reach poorer working women in large numbers. This is a difficult task, and political will on its own is not enough. Many of the barriers are administrative, with the challenge of reaching large numbers of people, many of whom are working in concealed places, with low and erratic incomes.

52 If work-related social protection mechanisms are inherently masculinist (because of the gendered construction of paid work), are women faring any better with respect to public services that are supposedly citizenship based? An important feature of “woman-friendly” welfare states (such as Sweden) has been their emphasis on public and universal service provision (including health, education and various care services); this has also turned the welfare state into a major employer of women as paid care workers.

53 A health system, as it has been built up historically, is expressive of gender (and other) hierarchies of the wider society; and the health system feeds back into social patterns of disadvantage. Conversely, health systems' immense political and social importance, and the association of health care reform with political and economic crisis, implies that health systems can be sites of challenge to gender disadvantage. Health sector reform in many low-income countries has, among other things, entrenched the commercialization of public services through the imposition of “user fees” and other charges, entrenched the role of private for-

profit providers, and shifted some of the unmet need for care onto families and households.

54 A common policy response to the exclusionary effects of these out-of-pocket payments has been the promotion of mutual health insurance and social health insurance (SHI) schemes. Enrolment in the latter is very often employment based. In low-income countries, some women may be covered in SHI as dependents of employed men, but as income earners, women are less likely than men to be in formal-sector employment, and if formally employed they tend to be concentrated in low-status, poorly paid occupations or lower-level positions. Furthermore, the individualistic design of SHI in some countries undergoing health sector reform (e.g. China) provides little scope for cross-subsidies and is likely to entrench gender differences in benefits given the structural inequalities between women and men (women's lower wages, fewer years of employment, lower retirement age and higher life expectancy).

55 In the education sector, while progress in girls' access to primary education has been impressive (though geographically uneven), the logic of targeting, which has been promulgated at the international level, has prioritized primary education, with some unforeseen implications. Public social expenditure has in some contexts been reallocated from higher education to primary education, ignoring the systematic interconnections between different parts of the education system, and allowing an expanding role for commercial provision at the secondary level. This raises questions about affordability and access for both girls and boys from lower-income households, and particular problems for girls in cultural contexts where parents prioritize sons' education (e.g. India). This is unfortunate given the fact that many of the benefits that girls reap from education (access to employment, contraception) materialize at the post-primary level.

56 The resurgence of interest in "productivist" or developmental social policy (and the "active labour" agenda in the context of the European Union) seems to be partly driven by long-standing anxieties about the disincentives that welfare "handouts" can create for work effort. While it is of utmost importance for public policy to create economic dynamism and decent employment, a problematic side to the "productivist" logic is the way in which it can be used to delegitimize unpaid forms of work (especially unpaid forms of care work) that are essential for human welfare and economic growth. Transfer payments, especially when they compensate women for their unpaid care work, can take on a Cinderella-like status for finance authorities. This has been the fate of family benefits in several countries undergoing reform (e.g. Poland and the Czech Republic, and South Africa). There needs to be a place for cash transfers and non-contributory income supports (such as child allowances, family benefits and social pensions)—resisting the notion that these are "handouts" for passive clients by highlighting the multiple ways in which they can enhance welfare and security. The costs borne by women/mothers through their participation in conditional cash transfer programmes that target children's health and life chances (e.g. Mexico's Oportunidades programme) need to be made more visible rather than being "naturalized" as the duties of motherhood.

States versus markets? Families, households and communities

57 Existing welfare state models are based on culturally and historically specific conceptions of the divisions between public and private (and in particular on relatively secularized public sectors), of the nuclear nature of the family, and of fairly differentiated institutional spaces occupied by the care economy and paid work. The debates on "decommodification" and "defamilialization" are thus difficult to apply in contexts where families and social networks remain important

social and economic reservoirs. This kind of social embeddedness is not only a primary source of identity for many; it also structures women's (and men's) economic entitlements by offering them some access to resources, housing, childcare and social security.

58 Yet it is also clear that (i) informal social institutions are not always bearers of equality and justice, whether along gender or ethnic/race lines, and (ii) nor do they operate as a "separate sphere" in the way liberal theorists have suggested. Indeed, contemporary state reforms in many contexts have carried enormous implications for what is expected of families. They show how "the familial" can be deployed and naturalized to assist states' reform of, and sometimes retreat from, social life. The care burden imposed by the HIV/AIDS epidemic has exposed in a dramatic way the inadequacy of the assumptions about the unlimited coping capacities of families and communities, and the ways in which state withdrawal can entrench gender inequalities.

Democratization, state capacity and women's voice

59 Even with the recognition in global lending institutions of the need for a more activist state and the provision of more comprehensive social protection, in many developing countries the impetus to provide social protection was externally set, as part of the conditionalities of debt relief. The combination of this factor with the weak tax base and small middle class in very poor countries had the effect of removing social policy from the arena of national politics. These factors have consequences for the quality and financial sustainability of social programmes. However, they also impact on the process of building social consensus and on the political sustainability of social programmes. Building programmes that provide protections beyond the "poorest of the poor" becomes more difficult in the face of the combination of residualism promoted from above by global lending institutions and populist arguments that employed workers represent a "labour aristocracy".

60 In some "transition" countries pursuing a rapid reform path (e.g. Poland), there has been a wholesale dismantling of the welfare benefits system that had existed under state socialism. The resulting residual, familial model, apparently gender-neutral, downscaled "costly" benefits and services that supported women's dual role as worker and mother. The absence of strong, local feminist lobbies or allies in political parties allowed the adoption of a residualist welfare model that seriously undermined women's social rights.

61 A different dynamic was at play in East Asian developmental states (e.g. the Republic of Korea and Japan), where the process of democratization was more successfully pushed by local actors, and with clear consequences for the expansion of social protection. The male bias in these systems only softened as a consequence of demographic shifts—declining birth rates and an ageing population—that in turn became the touchstone for political competition. These demographic changes, together with broader social changes (increasing employment rates of women, especially married women), facilitated the erosion of traditional living arrangements. These social trends created a tension between caring needs (of children and the elderly), on the one hand, and the availability of women to provide unpaid care, on the other. Together these factors resulted in shifts in social policies, and an expansion of social care. All of this was facilitated by political regime shifts, the extent to which social policy became an electoral issue and increasing numbers of women in political office.

62 Similar processes of democratization in South Africa have not had the same effects on the social welfare system. There, the potential redistributive effects of

regime shift and expansion of women's access to political office were mitigated by a dominant party system in which social policy did not become part of electoral contestation, and by a labour market characterized by high levels of unemployment rather than labour shortages.

63 The infrastructural capacity of the state impacts heavily on its ability to implement developmental programmes. In weakly developed states social groups and individual citizens may disengage from making demands on the state, instead entrenching informal, traditionally based systems of governance and resource allocation that may be hostile to arguments for gender equity. Women clearly have an interest in a responsive and accountable state, but one that is responsive to their particular needs. There are gender-specific capacity failures in all public institutions targeted for reform. As the Latin American and East Asian examples suggest, competent public bureaucracies that are at least internally accountable can be made responsive to the needs of women. In these regions states appear to be more able to act on political agreements struck between political parties and other actors, and the development of gender-equitable social policies was dependent far more on winning political support and social consensus over the direction of social policy than on state capacity to absorb women's demands.

Publications

- Susy Giullari and Jane Lewis (2005) — *The Adult Worker Model Family, Gender Equality and Care: The Search for New Policy Principles, and the Possibilities and Problems of a Capabilities Approach*, PP SPD 19
- Maxine Molyneux (forthcoming 2006) — *Mothers at the Service of the New Poverty Agenda: The PROGRESA/Oportunidades Programme in Mexico*, PP SPD
- Razavi, Shahra (forthcoming 2006) — *The Relevance of Unpaid Work for Social Policy in Developing Countries*, PP SPD
- Shahra Razavi and Hassim, Shireen (forthcoming 2006) — *Gender and Social Policy in a Global Context: Uncovering the Gendered Structure of "the Social"*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke

64 The publication of one additional paper is to be confirmed:

- Silke Steinhilber — *Gender and Post-Socialist Welfare States in Central Eastern Europe: Family Policy Reforms in Poland and the Czech Republic Compared*

Commercialization of Health Care: Global and Local Dynamics and Policy Responses: Research Wrap-Up

65 This was one of the thematic subprojects of the *Social Policy in a Development Context* research project, and was externally coordinated by Maureen Mackintosh (Open University, United Kingdom) and Meri Koivusalo (National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health [STAKES], Finland). Health policy was identified as an appropriate focus within the broad terrain of social policy, first, because of the enormous importance of health systems to people's well-being. Health systems are powerful drivers of exclusion and disadvantage, or conversely a key arena for redistribution and social inclusion. Health care is therefore, nationally and internationally, a political battleground on which competing visions of the ethical and political basis of society—and of the nature of an economy—are fought out, and therefore a key arena for developmental social policy.

66 Furthermore, health care is a key "test case" for the proponents of a market-led welfare strategy: health care markets are riven with market failures, and health care need is dominated by risk; to examine market-led policy in the health sector is

to debate the location of a key market boundary. Finally, much debate on “globalization” has focused on health care: there is a huge literature on “global public goods” and international commentary on trade in health services, but the evidence base from the developing country perspective is still very thin.

67 The subproject brought together economists and health policy specialists, largely from Asia, Africa, Latin America and the European transition countries. The project objectives were:

- to contribute, through original collaborative research, to international research and debate on feasible policy for inclusive health care in contexts of commercializing provision;
- to base this collaboration in the needs and perspectives of researchers in low- and middle-income countries, including “Southern” perspectives on international/global policy issues;
- through collaboration between health care and health policy researchers and microeconomists, to develop a health systems–based approach to policy analysis, as a challenge to currently dominant policy perspectives.

68 The project’s intellectual ambition was to contribute to a shift in the shared understanding of health care policy toward a framework of analysis and evaluation that prioritizes, and can sustain, universal access to decent health care at all levels of income.

69 In addition to UNRISD project funding, the project was integrated with, and therefore benefited from, the support for a related project funded by the Geneva International Academic Network (GIAN), *The Social Challenge of Development*; it also benefited from financial support from the government of Finland for the final project conference in Helsinki, and from in-kind support from the Open University. A follow-on research project was funded by the World Health Organization.

Outputs

70 Nineteen papers were commissioned for the main project, and a further five for the GIAN project. All papers required primary research, designed collaboratively by the project coordinators and researchers, and presented and discussed collectively at the interim UNRISD project workshop and the GIAN final workshop, both held in Geneva in 2003, and the final UNRISD project conference in Helsinki in 2004. A policy framework paper was posted on the UNRISD Web site (*Health Systems and Commercialization: In Search of Good Sense*, Maureen Mackintosh and Meri Koivusalo). The results constitute a substantial body of new research and policy thinking on this topic.

71 Of 31 authors commissioned to work on the papers for the UNRISD project, the GIAN project or both, 25 are from, and working in, developing countries. There are overlapping skills but very roughly, and including the coordinators, there are 18 health specialists, 12 economists and three “others” (political scientists, sociologists). The project workshop and final conference were both sites of active debate between economists and experts in public health, health systems and health policy; both events included outside experts and stakeholders, notably from the United Nations system (International Labour Organization, World Health Organization, World Bank).

72 The findings of the UNRISD project are presented in the following publications.

73 M. Mackintosh and M. Koivusalo (eds.) (2005), *Commercialization of Health Care: Global and Local Dynamics and Policy Responses*, Palgrave Macmillan. The chapters present the full range of research for the UNRISD project, as follows.

- Maureen Mackintosh and Meri Koivusalo — *Health Systems and Commercialization: In Search of Good Sense*
- Jane Lethbridge — *Strategies of Multinational Health Care Companies in Europe and Asia*
- Rebeca Jasso-Aguilar, Howard Waitzkin and Angela Landwehr — *Multinational Companies and Health Care in the United States and Latin America: Strategies, Actions and Effects*
- Celia Iriart — *The Transnationalization of the Health Care System in Argentina*
- Kasturi Sen and Abba Mehio-Sibai — *The Dynamics of Commercial Health Care in the Lebanon*
- Qiang Sun — *The Interactions between Social and Commercial Health Insurance after China's Entry into the World Trade Organization*
- Rama V. Baru — *Commercialization in the Public Sector in India: Implications for Values and Aspirations*
- Inna Blam and Sergey Kovalev — *On Shadow Commercialization of Health Care in Russia*
- Mamadou Kani Konaté and Bakary Kanté — *Commercialization of Health Care in Mali: Community Health Centres, Fees for Service and the Rise of Private Providers*
- Sudip Chaudhuri — *Indian Pharmaceutical Companies and Accessibility of Drugs under TRIPS*
- Christa Altenstetter — *International Collaboration on Medical Device Regulation: Issues, Problems and Stakeholders*
- Eeva Ollila — *Restructuring Global Health Policy Making: The Role of Global Public-Private Partnerships*
- Kwadwo Mensah — *International Migration of Health Care Staff: Extent and Policy Responses, with Illustrations from Ghana*
- AnaCristina Laurell, Eduardo Zepeda and Luisa Mussot — *Eliminating Economic Barriers in Health Care: The Mexico City Government's Experience*
- Huck-ju Kwon and Byongho Tchoue — *The Political Economy of National Health Insurance in Korea*
- Haroon Wadee and Lucy Gilson — *The Search for Cross Subsidy in Segmented Health Systems: Can Private Wards in Public Hospitals Secure Equity Gains?*
- Tausi Maga Kida and Maureen Mackintosh — *Public Expenditure Allocation and Incidence under Health Care Market Liberalization: A Tanzanian Case Study*

74 M. Mackintosh and S. Kovalev (eds.) (forthcoming 2006), *Commercialization, Inequality and Transition in Health Care: Policy Challenges in Developing and Transitional Countries*, *Journal of International Development*, Vol. 18, No. 3. This presents three GIAN project research papers and a Russian paper on the same theme, as follows:

- Maureen Mackintosh and Sergey Kovalev — *Introduction*
- Maureen Mackintosh — *Commercialization, Inequality and the Limits to Transition in Health Care: A Polanyian Framework for Policy Analysis*
- Inna Blam and Sergey Kovalev — *Spontaneous Commercialization, Inequality and the Contradictions of Compulsory Medical Insurance in Transitional Russia*
- Bistra Datzova — *The Difficult Transition to National Health Insurance in Bulgaria*

- Di McIntyre, Lucy Gilson, Haroon Wadee, Michael Thiede and Okore Okarafor — *Commercialization and Extreme Inequality in Health: The Policy Challenges in South Africa*

75 The coordinators are working to ensure that the dissemination of research results reaches and influences the appropriate audiences. Evidence of influence so far includes citation in the Report of the Millennium Project Task Force on Child Health and Maternal Health (Freedman et al., New York, 2005) and in recent research and activist publications¹. Presentations have been made at academic seminars and conferences, and to a WHO training session on trade and health for regional officers in Geneva. The NGO community has shown wide interest in the publication, and it is being used as a text in several university courses. However, dissemination is being constrained by the price of the book (GBP 65) despite the publisher's offer of 50 per cent discount for academic use.

Findings

76 The core argument developed in this project is that health systems exist to fulfil purposes, including protecting and improving health and the provision of professional, ethical, accountable and accessible health care for all. Therefore it follows that policies that influence the nature and extent of health care commercialization should be designed to further those purposes. To achieve this, better economic, social and technical analysis of health care commercialization is required as a foundation for effective health policy.

77 The project has provided a substantial contribution to that required body of evidence for policy. The papers build up an analysis of the growing scale of commercialization of health care worldwide, its diversity, sources and consequences, and examine more and less effective policy responses across the world. Commercialization, this research demonstrates, is a powerful force for change in health systems, and one that is currently being actively promoted; this research argues that it should instead be reshaped, directed, and in part blocked, in the interests of better health.

78 The research employed the concept of "commercialization" to encompass, and to allow examination within a single framework of, a number of related processes. "Commercialized" health care means: the provision of health care services through market relationships to those able to pay; investment in, and production of those services, and of inputs to them, for cash income or profit, including private contracting and supply to publicly financed health care; and health care finance derived from individual payment and private insurance. This concept of commercialization is thus wider than the "private sector" of provision and finance, encompassing for example commercial behaviour by publicly owned bodies. It is also broader than "liberalization" and "marketization", each of which refers to a shift to market-led provision from state-led or state-constrained systems, and broader than "privatization", which refers to the sale or transfer of state-owned assets into private hands.

79 It has been well understood for many years that markets in health services and health insurance are problematic: bedevilled by incentives for over-treatment, withholding of information and inefficient exclusion from access to insurance. It is

¹ Ian S. Mutchnick, David T. Stern and Cheryl A. Moyer (2005), "Trading health services across borders: GATS, markets and caveats", *Health Affairs*; and People's Health Movement, Medact and Global Equity Gauge Alliance (2005), *Global Health Watch 2005-6: An Alternative World Health Report*, Zed Books, London; and K. Mensah, M. Mackintosh and L.W. Henry (2005), *The Skills Drain of Health Professionals from the Developing World: A Framework for Policy Formulation*, Medact, London.

also well understood that redistribution toward those unable to pay is an essential element of health system design. In the current context of expanding commercialization, the challenge is therefore to develop an institutionally and contextually differentiated understanding of the evolution and effects of commercialization in input supply and health service provision, in countries at different levels of national income per head, and in global markets, as an essential basis for health policy. The UNRISD research has been a response to that challenge.

80 Pressures for health care commercialization, the project papers argue, stem from an interactive mix of policy (and policy failures) and of private responses to shifting economic opportunities and incentives. Globally, corporate restructuring to take advantage of international market integration and new incentives for international investment has influenced local patterns of commercialization (Lethbridge, Jasso-Aguilar et al., Iriart, chapters 2, 3, 4 in the Palgrave book). So have international and regional regulatory changes and commitments, that open up these investment and trade opportunities, and associated national regulatory accommodation (Sun, Chaudhuri, Altenstetter, chapters 6, 10, 11).

81 Commercialization of national health systems has interacted with changing international health policies, including public-private partnerships that take commercial firms into new policy roles (Ollila, chapter 12). The rapid integration and commercialization of the international labour market for health care professionals have been driven by broader health system commercialization and by changing global hiring processes across the world (Mensah, chapter 13).

82 A different set of commercializing pressures have been constituted by acute economic crisis in some countries and periods, associated with public sector deterioration and collapse. In sub-Saharan Africa the “health sector reform” requirements of liberalized clinical provision and public sector commercialization have generated and legitimized high levels of out-of-pocket health spending by the poor as well as the better-off (Konaté and Kanté, Kida and Mackintosh, chapters 9, 17). In middle-income contexts of economic and social crisis, greater reliance on private health finance and provision have generated high-cost, socially polarizing health systems (Iriart, Sen and Mehio-Sibai, chapters 4, 5). The pressures exerted by widespread health system commercialization can alter the values and operation of the public sector, and may undermine national health insurance (Baru, Blam and Kovalev, chapters 7, 8).

83 Effective policy responses generally have to move away from the “health sector reform” framework, toward policies that influence and constrain the impact of commercialization. Examples include national health insurance in a context of highly commercialized service provision (Kwon and Tchoue, chapter 15), and rebuilding public sector provision to guarantee universal access in a context of mixed finance and provision (Laurell et al., chapter 14). Less ambitious restructuring, such as private wards in public hospitals, has to be very carefully designed if it is to generate redistribution against the grain of commercial pressure (Wadee and Gilson, chapter 16), while fee-charging primary care can undermine efforts to achieve redistributive tax-based finance (Kida and Mackintosh, chapter 17).

84 Commercialization of health care is therefore both a powerful, self-generating economic process and also a process that responds to effective policies and political choices. In health policy terms, it is a means not an end, its promotion

a policy direction to be judged on its merits, not a premise on which policy can be built.

85 The GIAN papers focus on the particular theme of the inequality–health care commercialization nexus, in the context of broader transitions to economic liberalization. Based on analysis of household survey data, the core argument is that in the countries studied, health care is failing to play its potential socially redistributive or socially integrating role. The central policy proposition supported by these papers is that it is inappropriate in developing and transitional countries to treat health care simply as one among a number of service sectors in transition to commercialization. Development policy in transition economies has much to gain from systematic attention to the proper limits to “transition” in health care.

Pro-Poor Macroeconomics and Social Policy: Research Wrap-Up

86 Research under this subproject, which was externally coordinated by Giovanni Andrea Cornia (University of Florence, Italy), was concluded during the current reporting period. A project workshop was held on 24–25 February 2005 at the University of Florence, during which the first drafts of all papers were presented and discussed by the research team. Selected local academics also attended. Following the workshop and throughout much of the reporting period, the research coordinator provided detailed feedback on the commissioned papers and the writers undertook several rounds of revision with a view to completing a book manuscript by the end of the reporting period. The research coordinator spent a week at UNRISD in December 2005 to finalize the volume, during which time he received excellent and highly professional help from Maria Victoria Aviles Blanco, AvisAnne Julien (a freelance copyeditor for UNRISD) and Jenifer Freedman. He has already begun pre-publication promotion of the forthcoming volume by suggesting contacts for pre-publication endorsements, providing feedback on a publicity flyer, disseminating the flyer at conferences, encouraging the adoption of the book for use in undergraduate and intermediate university courses, and promoting the book among UN agencies and NGOs.

Main Findings

87 The research examined the consistency between the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals and current macroeconomic policies. It argues that while some agreement has been achieved between different schools of thought about the nature of development and social policies that reduce poverty, such convergence is nowhere in sight in the field of macroeconomics. The disagreement has become even more acute in the wake of a string of macroeconomic crises, the development of international financial markets that have narrowed the policy space of national governments, and the growing demand to orient all public policies (i.e., not only social policies) toward poverty reduction.

88 The research highlights the main problems of liberal macroeconomic policies and their impact on poverty. While, during the last 20 years, these policies succeeded in opening up the economy, devaluing the real exchange rate and achieving greater commercial and financial integration, their growth, inequality and poverty impacts were often disappointing because of the persistence of old macro problems and the emergence of new ones. Among the first group one can include:

- (i) “stabilization overkill”, caused by IMF-type stabilization programmes that typically lead to larger-than-expected improvements in the balance of payments and inflation and greater-than-expected declines in gross domestic product (GDP), employment and investments;

- (ii) the erroneous sequencing between domestic financial liberalization and macroeconomic stabilization that generates sharp rises in interest rates, a contraction in economic activity and destabilizing effects on the current account balance; and
- (iii) the recent rise in the frequency and severity of banking crises linked to domestic financial liberalization in the absence of adequate prudential and regulatory institutions.

89 New problems have arisen with the increase in international financial integration. Among them are:

- (iv) the loss of control over domestic policy making in economies with an open capital account (the opening of the capital account generally leads to a loss of control on interest and exchange rate policies, and renders the conduct of an independent fiscal policy and tax-financed redistribution problematic);
- (v) the perverse interactions between policy instruments, as when trade liberalization entails sharp cuts in import duties, worsening the fiscal deficit due to the fall in trade taxes;
- (vi) an asymmetric distribution of the benefits and costs of trade and financial globalization;
- (vii) the anti-rural bias of financial liberalization, as macroeconomic signals often become biased against the traded sector, agriculture in particular, and as financial liberalization tends to worsen access to credit for small-scale farms and firms due to the removal of direct credit allocation;
- (viii) increasing consumption volatility, as financially integrated countries follow a cycle of consumption boom-panic-crisis-collapse; and
- (ix) long-term decline in growth rates in countries affected by financial crises.

90 The research then argues that macroeconomic policies should be inspired by an intermediate approach that accepts the broad logic guiding the liberal approach, but applies it selectively and after adaptation to local institutions and conditions. While basic principles such as protection of property rights, contract enforcement, market-based competition, appropriate incentives, responsible monetary and fiscal policy, and debt sustainability are universally valid, these do not map into unique policy packages and need to be applied in different ways under different institutions and conditions. Successful alternative macro policies were applied under macroeconomic stabilization in Israel, Turkey and Uzbekistan, and under normal conditions in Chile, China, Colombia, India, Malaysia and Mauritius.

91 Finally, the research synthesis proposes the elements of an intermediate pro-poor macroeconomic policy approach that—after adaptation to local circumstances—can achieve the objective of promoting growth and poverty alleviation in a sustainable way. While it is difficult to determine a universal package of macro policies suitable for the poor, as this will depend on a long list of local conditions, some broad principles apply fairly generally. To start with there is a need to adopt measures that prevent the occurrence of macroeconomic shocks. These include the following:

- (i) Limiting risky foreign indebtedness and mobilizing domestic savings by providing infrastructural support, tax-free status and public guarantees for loans, relying on postal office networks, ensuring a low inflation, imposing mandatory savings through employee provident funds and tightening consumption credit.
- (ii) Controlling capital inflows and harnessing their sectoral allocation. While foreign direct investment in manufacturing is likely to be favourable to the poor, portfolio flows and some bank lending need to be regulated by imposing minimum-stay requirements or international capital transactions taxes; the central bank can limit the foreign exchange exposure of domestic banks, and introduce temporary or

permanent administrative controls on inflows and outflows as done in Colombia, India, Malaysia, Singapore and Taiwan Province of China. Policy makers ought also to apply measures to offset the monetary effects of the inflows, through sterilization, increasing the reserve ratio of commercial banks with foreign deposits, substituting foreign with domestic borrowing and encouraging domestic institutions to invest part of their assets abroad.

- (iii) Choosing an exchange rate regime that minimizes the risk of currency crises, and provides adequate incentives to the traded sector in which the majority of the poor often work. In many cases this entails the adoption of a competitive exchange rate of the basket-band-crawl type that leaves the real exchange rate broadly unaltered. Yet in small economies with volatile terms of trade, dollarization may be preferable, while in developing economies with a large domestic market, the need for a competitive exchange rate is less central to poverty alleviation.
- (iv) Introducing, under normal conditions, stabilization funds that permit fluctuations in public revenue and expenditures to be moderated by setting aside resources during periods of high demand and prices for the exported commodities, and releasing them in crisis years. This approach is, however, valid only under certain conditions and is out of reach for countries that export less-valuable commodities.
- (v) Introducing insurance-based, aid-based and international tax-based international safety nets, such as catastrophe bonds, weather derivatives and commodity indexed bonds; or providing aid-finance insurance against global risks; or instituting earmarked international taxes on activities that cause global negative externalities.

92 A second group of measures that form part of a pro-poor macroeconomic approach deal with the crises in ways that control macro imbalances while avoiding surges in poverty. A first step in this regard is to formally introduce a poverty target into stabilization models so as to explicitly identify trade-offs between stabilization and poverty targets. The main macro policies to be adopted in crisis situations include the following.

- (i) An overall adjustment programme centred on devaluation and expansionary fiscal policies. This approach is particularly effective in economies with a price-elastic supply of traded goods, low foreign debt, and rigid wages and utility rates, and it needs to be accompanied by supportive policies in other areas. This approach may be less suitable in economies where exports are capital- or skilled-labour intensive, the supply of exports is inelastic or agents have large unhedged short-term foreign currency exposures.
- (ii) Allowing an expansion of the deficit during crisis, in order to limit the impact on output and poverty. After this initial rise, the deficit ought to be reduced gradually, for example by 1–1.5 per cent of GDP per year.
- (iii) Reducing the deficit not only by cutting expenditures, but also by increasing tax and non-tax revenue (especially where initial tax/GDP ratios are low), drawing on international safety nets, and lowering interest rates while controlling capital outflows. A controlled expansion of the monetary base can also help reduce the deficit, especially where the installed capacity is underused. Which route to take to reach a given target deficit varies across countries, but there are certainly more options available than cutting public expenditure.
- (iv) Preserving or expanding pro-poor and pro-growth public spending on health, education, public works, income support, infrastructure and key productive investments. Within each of these sectors, the impact on the poor can be reduced further by focusing on programmes with low administrative costs and high intrinsic efficiency, such as child immunization, elementary education, the rehabilitation of infrastructure, conditional transfers and measures to contain the rise in food prices.
- (v) Choosing an adjustment path that—because of the higher social discount rate of the poor—spreads the adjustment burden over a longer period of time, even if this entails greater intertemporal welfare costs both for the poor themselves and society as a whole. Alternatively, if the overall

optimal adjustment path is adopted, the poor need to be compensated with transfers.

- (vi) Aiming monetary policy at less ambitious inflation targets, and at their gradual reduction over time, and at positive but low interest rates (in the 3 per cent to 5 per cent range); the money supply needs to be accommodating, while microeconomic reforms to reduce other components of cost-push inflation also need to be introduced.

93 The research also examined the limitations of macroeconomic policies in reducing poverty. A first remark is that such policies cannot produce all their beneficial effects if deep-seated inequalities in the distribution of assets, credit, opportunities and human capital are not removed. Indeed, one cannot wait for poverty to be reduced by the positive distributional consequences of better macro policies that might take time to materialize. Strong complementary development and social policies are needed. The impact of pro-poor macroeconomics is limited, also, in economies with large subsistence and informal sectors barely integrated into the overall economy. Development policies ought therefore to aim at better integration. Pro-poor macroeconomic policies are also difficult to implement in small, dependent and undifferentiated developing economies with exogenous terms of trade and a high reliance on the export of few commodities. To be more effective, pro-poor macroeconomics thus requires microeconomic changes in the goods, labour, land, credit and insurance markets. A promising approach—which could not be explored in detail in this project—consists in coordinating macro with micro policies to attack the structural determinants of poverty.

94 The findings of the UNRISD project will be presented in the following publication.

95 Giovanni Andrea Cornia (ed.) (forthcoming 2006), *Pro-Poor Macroeconomics: Potential and Limitations*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Part I: Overview and Poverty Impact of Main Macroeconomic Policies

- Giovanni Andrea Cornia — *Potential and Limitations of Pro-Poor Macroeconomics: An Overview*
- Raghbendra Jha — *Pro-Poor Fiscal Policy in the Globalized Economy*
- Sheetal K. Chand — *Can Monetary Approaches to Stabilization Be Pro-Poor?*
- Giovanni Andrea Cornia — *Exchange Rate Regimes for Development and Poverty Alleviation*
- Christian E. Weller and Radha Chaurushiya — *Portfolio Flows, Macroeconomic Policy and Global Poverty*
- Chiara Bonassi, Giorgia Giovannetti and Giorgio Ricchiuti — *The Effects of FDI on Growth and Inequality*
- Sanjay G. Reddy — *Safety Nets for the Poor: A Missing International Dimension?*

Part II: Country Case Studies

- Sunil Kumar Bundoo — *Financial and Trade Reforms and Impact on Poverty and Income Inequality: The Case of Mauritius*
- Wee Chong Hui and Jomo K.S. — *Macroeconomic Policy, Growth, Redistribution and Poverty Reduction: The Case of Malaysia*
- Andrés Solimano and Molly Pollack — *The Search for Macroeconomic Stability and Growth under Persistent Inequality: The Case of Chile*
- C.P. Chandrasekhar and Jayati Ghosh — *Macroeconomic Policy, Inequality and Poverty Reduction in Fast-Growing India and China*
- Giovanni Andrea Cornia — *Heterodox Macroeconomic Policies, Inequality and Poverty in Uzbekistan*

- Stephan Klasen — *Macroeconomic Policy and Pro-Poor Growth in a Dualistic Economy: The Case of Bolivia*
- Jorge Saba Arbache — *Has Macroeconomic Policy Been Pro-Poor in Brazil?*

Social Policy and Democracy

96 This subproject, coordinated by Yusuf Bangura, examined the institutional arrangements and dynamics that influence the responsiveness of policy makers to the welfare demands of voters as well as the ways social policies and improvements in welfare affect institutions associated with democratic consolidation. It commissioned nine studies: Botswana, India, Jamaica, Japan, Mauritius, advanced industrial societies, East Central Europe, Latin America and Southern Europe.

97 The research findings, presented in detail in the 2004 report to the Board, suggest that democracy produces good social outcomes when the political system allows voters with high social risks to extract responsiveness and credible commitments from leaders. If the policies of political parties are not credible, voters will opt for short-term, individually targeted transfers, especially during electoral cycles. The bargaining positions of the poor and working classes for improved welfare are strengthened when levels of unionization and coverage rates are high, when the preferences of such groups find expression in the programmes of key political parties, and when such parties enjoy governmental power for extended periods.

98 During the current reporting period the nine papers were revised and edited for inclusion in a volume to be published by Palgrave Macmillan. The research coordinator and his research assistant also finalized the introduction to the edited volume. The volume will be sent to Palgrave in March 2006.

- Yusuf Bangura and Carl-Johan Hedberg — *Democracy and Social Policy Development: Introduction and Overview*
- John D. Stephens — *Democratization and Social Policy Development in Advanced Capitalist Societies*
- Toshimitsu Shinkawa — *Democratization and Social Policy Development in Japan*
- Maurizio Ferrera — *Democratization and Social Policy in Southern Europe: From Expansion to "Recalibration"*
- Terry Cox — *Democratization and Social Policy in East Central Europe*
- Fernando Filgueira — *The Latin American Social States: Critical Junctures and Critical Choices*
- Neera Chandhoke — *Democracy and Well Being in India*
- Nthomang Keitseope — *Democracy and Social Policy in Botswana*
- Sheila Bunwaree — *The Ballot Box and Social Policy in Mauritius*
- Jenifer Jones — *Democracy and Social Policy in Jamaica*

Background Papers on Social Policy in a Development Context

99 One of the project background papers was published as a Programme Paper during the current reporting period: *"Globalization" and Social Policy in a Development Context: Regional Responses* (Nicola Yeates); *Pensions and Pension Funds in the Making of a Nation-State and a National Economy: The Case of Finland* (Olli Kangas) passed peer review and was revised by the author in view of publication (forthcoming). Two more papers, *Pension Funds in Canada* (Ken Battle) and *Decentralization and Social Policy in Developing Countries* (Dele Olowu) were sent for peer review. *Pension Funds in South Africa* (Fred Hendricks) was being completed by the author.

Book Series Launch

100 The launch of the *Social Policy in a Development Context* series took place at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, on 23 June 2005 in collaboration with Palgrave Macmillan. By the time of the launch the first three volumes of the series had been published: *Social Policy in a Development Context* (Thandika Mkandawire, ed.), *Transforming the Developmental State in East Asia* (Huck-ju Kwon, ed.) and *Social Policy and Economic Development in the Nordic Countries* (Olli Kangas and Joakim Palme, eds.).

101 Following the introductory session, during which Thandika Mkandawire and the Palgrave Macmillan commissioning editor welcomed the participants and briefly introduced the series, the launch proceeded with two substantive sessions. The first session, Social Policy in Late Industrializers, was chaired by Peter Townsend, Professor at the London School of Economics, and consisted of presentations by Thandika Mkandawire, Huck-ju Kwon, Olli Kangas, Massoud Karshenas and Valentine Moghadam on their respective volumes. The presentations were followed by comments from Bob Deacon, Professor at the University of Sheffield, Stein Ringen, Professor at Oxford University, and Robert Springborg, Director of the London Middle East Institute. The second session, Health Care, Gender and Social Policy, was chaired by Deniz Kandiyoti, Reader at the School of Oriental and African Studies, and consisted of presentations by Maureen Mackintosh and Shahra Razavi on their respective volumes. The presentations were followed by comments from Naila Kabeer, Research Fellow at the Institute of Development Studies, and Mike Rowson, Managing Editor of *Global Health Watch*.

102 The published volumes were on display during the launch, and publications flyers and order forms were made available. Approximately 50 people attended the event.

Politics and Political Economy of HIV/AIDS

Background

103 Of the many social, economic and political factors that drive and determine responses to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, structures of national and international political economy are among the most significant. Various decision makers and stakeholders assess what they expect to gain or lose by speaking out and taking substantive action on HIV/AIDS issues. These political considerations and decisions have remained largely hidden in analyses of the pandemic, but many have long-term implications for controlling HIV/AIDS.

104 To illuminate the political and economic dimensions of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, this project carried out cross-country comparative research in Brazil, India, Mozambique, Namibia, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

105 The project was externally coordinated by Joseph Collins and Bill Rau, and was funded by the Royal Minister of Foreign Affairs of Norway and UNRISD core funds.

Research Wrap-Up

106 Much of what has played out in national and global responses to the HIV/AIDS pandemic is shaped by political factors. Yet little analysis has dissected political dynamics and motivations. The research under this project has provided

insights into some of the dimensions of the political realities that surround approaches to, funding for, and the engagement of, communities dealing with HIV/AIDS in Brazil, India, Mozambique, Namibia, Uganda and Zimbabwe. The research has looked at how political decisions determine responses to HIV/AIDS, and how the epidemic has become a factor in decision making among political actors.

107 Much of the response to HIV/AIDS has been shaped by biomedical and public health approaches, which did not invite critical analysis that included consideration of power relations, inequities between socioeconomic groups and nations, or other systemic factors. The focus in much of what has occurred around HIV/AIDS has been on interpersonal dynamics, service delivery and already-marginalized groups. Social changes that have magnified the spread and impacts of HIV/AIDS, as well as the socioeconomic and political changes to control the epidemic, have tended to be ignored.

108 In addition, issues related to sexuality and cultural change are highly sensitive. Interest in and support for political analysis of these topics—even in the context of a global crisis—have not been forthcoming. Most donor agencies have little interest in funding research and analysis about the pandemic that links HIV/AIDS to development issues, such as poverty and gender disparities. Even as the global community has moved to widen the availability of antiretroviral therapy, there has been little discussion about the reasons for the fragile state of national and local health systems that are meant to manage treatment, but which have been weakened for at least two decades by political choices. Perhaps it is not too surprising that political will to adequately address HIV/AIDS has been relatively weak at national levels. The stigma surrounding assumed sexual behaviours related to HIV infection is held by many political authorities. The impacts of HIV/AIDS on low-income households, women and children, and the growing inequalities arising from those impacts, tend not to stimulate broad-based concern and political action.

109 The economics of HIV/AIDS has received more attention than its politics. Thus the political side of the political economy of HIV/AIDS has had little to work with in looking at forces driving the epidemic or shaping national responses. By the late 1990s a growing number of studies reported on the economic impacts of HIV/AIDS, primarily on households and businesses, and reference was occasionally made to how the epidemic intensified or deepened “poverty”, but little was said about how and why the epidemic interacted with pre-existing socioeconomic structures.

110 The UNRISD studies on the politics of HIV/AIDS therefore provide insights into frequently overlooked aspects of the epidemic. And they provide critical lessons for shaping the future responses to the epidemic. The researchers have given particular attention to political choices based on both structural conditions and self-interest; to how responses to HIV/AIDS are described and promoted from a political perspective.

111 The paper by Joseph Tumushabe on Uganda not only questions the epidemiological success of the country’s responses to HIV/AIDS, but also delves into the politics of using that success for both ideological and strategic interests. Tumushabe argues that in the 1990s the international community “needed” an HIV/AIDS “success story”. Evidence of declining HIV prevalence in Uganda was widely hailed by the United Nations and bilateral donors as evidence that their investments in fighting the epidemic were paying off. In turn, Uganda needed both

the steady flow of money from donors to support its economy and, Tumushabe contends, the international community to look beyond military campaigns in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and against internal opposition. At the same time, the international attention around Uganda's declining HIV/AIDS prevalence was focused on senior political commitment. But according to Tumushabe, the major changes in prevention occurred through the initiatives of non-governmental and community-based organizations. A variety of organizations took advantage of the openness of the political leadership to aggressively implement their programmes. While there has been lip service from international donors to broad-based local initiatives in confronting HIV/AIDS, there has remained a reluctance to fully learn from and follow the leadership of those initiatives. As this Uganda study shows, the politics of AIDS includes issues of control of knowledge and relative status.

112 International politics has strongly influenced the course of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Mozambique. Carole Collins argues that the military campaign supported by the then-apartheid government of South Africa against newly independent Mozambique disrupted hundreds of thousands of people who fled their homes to elsewhere in the country or into neighbouring countries. Health centres and schools were destroyed and local leaders were killed, leaving the country open to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The presence of Zimbabwean troops along one of the main transportation corridors contributed to conditions in which HIV/AIDS gained a foothold and spread to the general population. Yet when the war in Mozambique ended and responses to HIV/AIDS were formulated, international agencies and lenders overlooked the heritage of destruction and disruption. Instead they focused their strategies on individual behavioural changes.

113 Brazil's initial response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic was primarily driven by homosexual activists and the public health system of São Paulo state. The prevention approach adopted in São Paulo in the 1980s strongly influenced a wider national response in the 1990s. Some external agencies provided technical support to Brazilian non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and governments, but decisions were largely indigenous. Application by the federal government for loans from the World Bank added a major new element to the national response: large sums of money. Elisabete Inglesi et al. analyse the implications for NGOs as activists and service providers in the context of the World Bank loans. She notes: "The so-called AIDS industry provoked an upsurge of new NGOs and forced NGOs working with AIDS to expand their knowledge, in order to compete on equal footing with those NGOs experienced in project development, but whose original field was not AIDS." In the process, indigenous direction of responses to the epidemic began to give way to World Bank conceptions of appropriate approaches and projects.

114 A little-understood aspect of the HIV/AIDS epidemics is the influence of structural reforms undertaken by many countries. What does seem clear is that in several Southern African countries, structural reforms in social services and economic control ran in parallel with the steady increase in HIV/AIDS prevalence in the 1980s and early 1990s. At a time when aggressive prevention measures were needed, countries were reducing formal sector employment, increasing the cost of services to consumers and shifting attention to reform processes rather than the epidemic. In India, too, Kerala State provides evidence of such effects. Kerala has a long history of providing education, health and other services to state citizens, and this has contributed to very positive indicators of human well-being. Beginning in the 1990s, the state government began its structural reform programme that included privatization of the economy.

115 The research sheds light on several factors. First, history does matter. HIV/AIDS responses have adapted learning from decades of family planning, anti-smoking and other public health initiatives. However, the political and economic history that informs contemporary conditions and attitudes is largely ignored during the design of HIV/AIDS programmes. At the heart of the paper by Collins is the question: How could Mozambique put together a comprehensive HIV/AIDS prevention programme given the extensive losses of human resources and infrastructure during the post-colonial war? The only way Mozambique could have effectively controlled the epidemic, she suggests, was by addressing HIV/AIDS while it built its public health system and local and national economy.

116 This point leads to the next commonality: political context—local, national and international—does matter. Each of the papers shows how political views and actions have contributed to both the timing and form of responses to the HIV/AIDS epidemics. “What’s in it for me”, asks every political actor. What do I gain or lose by speaking out and supporting HIV/AIDS issues? Whether it is new NGOs in Brazil that can grow because of the availability of new money from a World Bank loan, or the UN agencies that promote approaches to the epidemics, each actor makes decisions on the basis of perceived gain or advantage. Each assesses its own interests, sometimes even at the expense of more effective responses to the epidemic. That is evident as NGOs scramble for bits of “territory” or target audiences. It can be seen in the lengthy, often fractured efforts to bring together international agencies at a national level to coordinate activities. And it can be seen in the analysis of Namibia, Uganda and Zimbabwe where there is evidence that HIV/AIDS was used for particular political ends.

117 Finally, development does matter, in two ways. First, patterns of “failed” development contributed to and exacerbated the rise and spread of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. For example, patterns of labour migration established during the colonial era were sustained after national independence, when governments were unable to substantively alter these prevailing economic systems. In Kerala, a long history of state support for social sector programmes has helped protect the population from a rapid expansion of HIV/AIDS, although many of the prevailing socioeconomic risk factors can be found in the state. That may change as the state places new emphasis on structural reforms. And second, responses to HIV/AIDS have been treated primarily as medical or narrow public health matters, with the major responsibility placed on ministries of health (or medically staffed AIDS commissions) to manage the national response. Although some emphasis has been placed on multisectoral responses, it has rarely been more than a marginal add-on to existing sectoral activities.

118 A developmental response to the epidemic begins with fitting prevention, care and mitigation efforts into national programmes. To date, the most prominent approach to mitigation, for example, has been crisis response—food aid, orphan support, micro-credit to sustain affected households. Continuing to treat HIV/AIDS as a crisis—which indeed it is—without also looking to reshape development plans and programmes may be one of the great missed opportunities of this era.

119 Each of the UNRISD studies on the politics of HIV/AIDS asks, in various forms: Who is in control? Within the globalized economic structures of the contemporary world, tracing political power is complex and risky. Yet as the studies on the politics and political economy of HIV/AIDS show, controlling the epidemic requires a fuller understanding of and influence over political dynamics.

Outputs

120 Plans to publish all of the commissioned studies in an edited volume, as discussed in the previous report to the Board, were revised during this reporting period, and the decision was made to wrap up the project with the publication of four Programme Papers (the studies on Brazil [in Portuguese], India, Mozambique and Uganda passed peer review and will be published in early 2006 as indicated below). The research coordinators completed their short synthesis paper, which was posted on the UNRISD Web site along with the other papers from the project.

- Carole J.L. Collins — *Mozambique's HIV/AIDS Pandemic: Grappling with Apartheid's Legacy*
- Elisabete Inglesi, with Ana Lucia Weinstein, Celi Denise Cavallari, Octavio Valente Junior and Glaury Coelho — *Implications of World Bank Financing for NGO and CBO Responses to HIV/AIDS in the South and Southeast of Brazil* (Portuguese version)
- Sandhya Srinivasan and Mini Sukumar — *Liberalization and HIV in Kerala*
- Joseph Tumushabe — *The Politics of HIV/AIDS in Uganda*

Community Responses to HIV/AIDS

Background

121 Patterns of susceptibility to HIV and vulnerability to AIDS raise concern for how far responses have confronted the underlying risk environments that increase susceptibility to HIV, and influenced the equitable allocation of social and economic resources to deal with the burdens of AIDS. They also raise questions of how far prevention interventions adopt social approaches that link individuals at risk within widening social networks and address micro- or macro-environmental determinants of HIV, as well as whether responses to the impacts of AIDS organize and build mechanisms to share the costs of AIDS and build solidarity and equity in resource and service support for vulnerable households and families.

AIDS Epidemic Figures, 2005

Number of people living with HIV in 2005

- Total 40.3 million
- Adults 38.0 million
- Women 17.5 million
- Children under 15 years 2.3 million

People newly infected with HIV in 2005

- Total 4.9 million
- Adults 4.2 million
- Children under 15 years 700,000

AIDS deaths in 2005

- Total 3.1 million
- Adults 2.6 million
- Children under 15 years 570,000

Source: UNAIDS (2005), *AIDS Epidemic Update 2005*, Geneva, December.

122 This UNRISD project aims to fill this gap in evidence and analysis. The research aims to inform policy and programme development, particularly within state and civil society, on equitable and effective support to the community level in the prevention of risk of HIV and in mitigating the impacts of AIDS. The research

was informed by a background literature review as described in the 2004 report to the Board.

123 The studies contribute collectively to a programme of work that

- explores the role and effectiveness of civil society and state in supporting social responses to risk environments among young women experiencing specific race, class or economic inequities in Brazil, India, Kenya and Uganda;
- examines the effectiveness of civil society and state interventions in supporting responses to the impact of AIDS in economically and social marginalized households in India, Kenya and Uganda; and
- examines the effectiveness of civil society and state support to community coping mechanisms used by economically marginalized orphan households in Kenya and Zimbabwe.

124 This project is externally coordinated by Rene Loewenson (Training and Research Support Centre [TARSC], Zimbabwe), and is funded by the Royal Minister of Foreign Affairs of Norway, the United Nations Foundation and UNRISD core funds.

Progress

Implementation of studies commissioned in 2004

125 Fieldwork for the studies on Brazil, India, Kenya, Uganda and Zimbabwe (details in the 2004 report to the Board) was completed during the current reporting period, and draft papers were submitted. These were peer reviewed by referees within the countries, and two external referees, and comments given to the authors. The papers were finalized and submitted to TARSC/UNRISD in time for the research workshop in September 2005. The papers were being finalized at the close of the reporting period.

New studies commissioned in 2005

126 Following receipt of new funding from the United Nations Foundation, three additional studies were commissioned during 2005:

- Jean-Christophe Boungou Bazika (Centre of Studies and Research on Analyses and Economic Policies [CERAPE]) — *How Effectively Are Small-Scale Income Activities Reducing HIV Risk in Youth in Conflict Zones in Congo?*
This study is being implemented in Ewo, a rural town located in Cuvette Ouest in the Republic of the Congo, where nearly half the population is younger than 15 years old. In the 1990s several civil wars destroyed social and economic infrastructures and led to high levels of mobility. Young people's risk of HIV infection is reported to be increased by poverty, women's economic dependence, the sex trade, migratory movements and some cultural practices. Hence when small-scale market gardening and pastry cooking activities were introduced by NGOs, there was interest as to whether these activities could sustainably reduce risk in young people facing such profound risk environments. This study explores this question. Through a field survey of 360 youths involved in and outside of these activities, it analyses the effectiveness of the revenue-generating activities in changing the risk environments for young people. It explores the constraints and limits of this strategy in the context of generalized poverty and weak development infrastructures to draw lessons for prevention programmes in such environments.
- Chris Lyttleton (Anthropology Department, Macquarie University, Australia), Allan Beesey (independent researcher, Bangkok, Thailand) and Malee SitthiKriengkrai (Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University, Thailand) — *Development and Exclusion: Uneven Responses to HIV and AIDS in Lowland and Upland Communities in Northern Thailand*
Thailand is regularly cited in global media and public health circles as one of the few developing countries that have managed to tame the onslaught of HIV and AIDS. Notable successes notwithstanding, public forums nowadays high-

light that within the achievements there still lie many areas of ongoing difficulty in addressing the diverse and complicated inroads HIV and AIDS has made within Thai social and economic order. Not all groups physically, socially or economically affected by HIV and AIDS receive the same level of governmental or NGO support and service provision. Nor is the way communities are able to orchestrate responses simply a question of presence/absence of outside support. Complex structuring forces determine a range of responses to the ongoing impacts of HIV/AIDS. Gender is one of these. There are numerous community support groups in Thailand. Yet many more women than men access services through these groups. The mode of infection is a further structuring variable. Infected injecting drug users are far less liable to mobilize support groups, and far less liable to receive treatment services, than non-drug users. This study is focusing on ethnicity, a further variable that plays its part in determining evolving responses to HIV/AIDS in northern Thailand, the hardest hit area of the country and home to many ethnic minority groups. Over the past 50 years, these groups have had to negotiate difficult and contested development and assimilation programmes. Large numbers remain stateless as they are denied Thai citizenship and the education, employment and health services being a civilian allows. Processes of marginalization implicit in the trajectories of development for these highland minorities has led to high levels of HIV vulnerability through injecting drug use and engagement in commercial sex. Few studies have examined how local ethnic communities have responded to this growing caseload of HIV infected individuals. This research compares the range of services and degrees of local mobilization in lowland communities with those emerging in highland minority communities. It explores the social, economic and political factors that heighten vulnerability to infection and also play their part in the ability to address infection once it occurs.

- Joia Mukherjee (Partners for Health Reform, Haiti) — *Mutual Synergies and Equity in Responses to AIDS: Primary Health Care and Community-Based AIDS Prevention and Treatment in Haiti*

Haiti is the poorest and most heavily HIV-burdened country in the Western hemisphere. Because of now two centuries of exclusionary economic policies, Haiti has even less health infrastructure than many countries of sub-Saharan Africa. The HIV epidemic, which was reported in the early 1980s in Haiti, has hit the poorest communities hardest—the very communities with lack of access to even basic health care. The advent of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria has allowed Haiti to consider large-scale HIV treatment. However, basic health care services must be built and scaled up simultaneously with HIV prevention and care programmes. Such improvement in access to general health care will require substantial investments in infrastructure, service delivery and human development. This work describes the contribution of an NGO, Partners In Health (PIH), to the HIV scale-up and the improvement of primary care services in the public health system in Haiti. PIH has recruited, trained and financed a large cadre of community health workers to provide linkages between communities and the health centres in rural Haiti. The study analyses the network of community health workers with particular reference to the frequency and quality of their interactions with the clinic and the affected households, their impact on decreasing barriers to service and addressing equity, and their self-perception as community members and health care workers.

127 These studies were still under way by the end of 2005 and will be completed in early 2006.

Research results workshop

128 During the current reporting period, a results meeting was held at UNRISD. On 30 August the researchers met to review their work and identify areas for follow-up. The main meeting was held on 1–2 September 2005, with invited participants from United Nations agencies, countries where the research had been implemented, academic and research institutions, and civil society.

129 The workshop aimed to report back on, and review, the findings from the studies and to make inputs to research still in progress. The workshop drew on the

experience of the participants from outside the project team to discuss understanding of, and knowledge about, community responses to HIV and AIDS and how the organization of responses (from global to local level) has enabled or undermined effective support to household and community responses. The papers and discussant inputs, research findings and discussions aimed to suggest changes to policy, programme or institutional intervention to strengthen support of community responses to HIV and AIDS. A summary report on the workshop was compiled by the research coordinator and sent to participants.²

130 The workshop also provided technical, analytical and policy peer review for the researchers to take into account in finalizing their papers as publishable monographs.

Preparing the edited volume

131 In late 2005 an outline and chapter abstracts were prepared, scoping the proposed book/journal issue on the results of the work. It presents abstracts of the individual chapters/papers that will be included in the publication. The research coordinator is now working with UNRISD to take this publication forward in 2006.

132 Scope of the book/journal issue publication

- Rene Loewenson — *Introduction—Exploring Equity and Inclusion in the Responses to AIDS*
- *Part 2: Confronting Risk Environments for HIV*
 The first two studies explore specific factors influencing risk environments in young people living in situations of poverty and social underdevelopment.
 Alessandra Chacham — *Does Autonomy among Young Women Living in Slum Areas in Brazil Protect against Risk of HIV?*
 Jean-Christophe Boungou Bazika — *How Effectively are Small-Scale Income Activities Reducing HIV Risk in Youth in Conflict Zones in Congo?*
- *Part 3: Understanding Risk and Environments for HIV*
 The next three studies explore the complexity of the interface between development and modernization, and marginalized communities' responses to HIV and AIDS. They indicate the need to understand more deeply how economic and social trends differentiate communities, how state policies influence this, and how civil society networks may mediate this.
 Mary Nyamongo, L. Oken'g'o and A. Wagura — *HIV and AIDS through the Lens of Infected Poor Women Living in Informal Settlements of Nairobi, Kenya*
 Ritu Priya and Christina Sathyamala — *Contextualizing AIDS and Human Development: Long-Term Illness and Death among Adults in Labouring Low Caste Groups in India*
 Chris Lyttleton, Allan Beesey and Malee SitthiKriengkrai — *Development and Exclusion: Uneven Responses to HIV and AIDS in Lowland and Upland Communities in Northern Thailand*
- *Part 4: Responding to Vulnerability*
 The final three studies explore the manner in which vulnerable communities respond to AIDS, following the experience of orphan households in Zimbabwe and women farmers in Uganda. These studies highlight the relationships between households, families and communities, and non-governmental and state services, in mitigating impacts of AIDS. The last study highlights the importance of the interface between comprehensive public services and communities in this response, and explores the role of community health workers in bridging this interface.
 Geoff Foster — *Under the Radar: Community Safety Nets for Children Affected by HIV/AIDS in Poor Households in Sub-Saharan Africa*
 John Mary Kanyamurwa and Gaston Ampek — *Gender Differentiation in Community Responses to AIDS in Rural Uganda*
 Joia Mukherjee — *Mutual Synergies and Equity in Responses to AIDS:*

² UNRISD/TARSC (2005), *Community Responses to HIV /AIDS: Strengthening Social Inclusion or Carrying Unfair Burdens?* Report of a research review meeting, Geneva, 1–2 September 2005.

Primary Health Care and Community-Based AIDS Prevention and Treatment in Haiti

- R. Loewenson — *Conclusion—Learning from Diverse Contexts: Equity and Inclusion in the Responses to AIDS*
 This draws out the learning from the eight contributions, reflecting on the implications for policy and programmes particularly in relation to economically and socially marginalized communities and conditions.

Programme Development

133 In developing the five-year research agenda, *Social Development Research at UNRISD, 2005–2009*, UNRISD identified a number of research topics under which new work may be undertaken in this programme area: institutions for social policy and poverty eradication, financing social policy, global social policy, migration and social welfare, and HIV/AIDS. During the current reporting period, two new projects were developed: *Poverty Reduction and Policy Regimes*, and *Social Policy Index*, as outlined below.

Poverty Reduction and Policy Regimes

134 This project aims to contribute to debates and policy on poverty reduction by examining the role of social policy and the relationships among various types of policy regimes and institutions. First, the project will assess various contemporary approaches to poverty reduction, including the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). Second, the project will identify key institutional, policy and political issues that are not being addressed in current poverty reduction strategies. Third, it will examine the contradictions, complementarities and synergies between different components of policy regimes, including social, labour market and macroeconomic policies, and political and regulatory institutions. Through this research, UNRISD aims to contribute to a better understanding of the necessity of policy coherence, and to identify ways in which policies and institutions might work more synergistically to promote inclusive and equitable development. This research is coordinated by Yusuf Bangura.

Background

135 Poverty reduction has become a central feature of the international development agenda. The lending programmes of the international financial institutions now require recipient governments in low-income countries to develop strategies that will reduce the incidence of poverty in their societies. Bilateral donors have also pledged to focus their aid and debt relief on countries perceived to be pursuing good poverty reduction strategies. The United Nations Millennium Summit adopted the Millennium Declaration that commits governments to halve the level of poverty and hunger by 2015.

136 While these policy initiatives have been lauded for placing the question of poverty at the core of the development agenda, various criticisms have emerged from a wide range of observers and a number of internal evaluations by leading donor agencies, suggesting the need for “new approaches”. Six concerns, in particular, have come to the fore.

137 First, although poverty is now discussed in the context of governance, economic growth, stabilization and security, there appears to be no coherent and consistent framework that ties these together. The strategic links among these

different dimensions of development are often ignored, and recommended reforms often amount to a list of good intentions.

138 Second, these approaches draw little from the ideas, theories or experiences that have informed recent successful cases of poverty eradication. “Late industrializers”, such as the Nordic countries, and the more recent cases of the East Asian “developmental states”, provide useful lessons for current initiatives against poverty but are rarely drawn upon. If current poverty reduction approaches have any historical antecedents, they resemble features of the Poor Laws under the Anglo-Saxon model—not a remarkably successful way of rapidly combating poverty.

139 Third, current approaches often ignore the causes of poverty, and consequently do not follow through the causal sequence. They are focused on measuring things that people lack to the detriment of understanding why they lack them. Consequently, not much is said about such aspects as mutually self-reinforcing vertical and horizontal inequalities, and the impact of orthodox macroeconomic policies on these, or the inequality effects of market forces.

140 Fourth, while current approaches recognize the importance of the relationship between economic and social policy, they are usually silent about the macroeconomic policy and growth strategy to be pursued in tandem with the poverty-alleviating social policy. Indeed, even the recent *World Development Report 2006: Equity and Development*, which recognizes that equity is an important component of poverty eradication, does not examine, in any depth, the implications of this analysis for macroeconomic policies.

141 This leads to a fifth concern, namely that the “participation” that is so central to current poverty reduction strategies is focused on process rather than substance: the process basically builds on empowerment at the micro level and disempowerment or exclusion at the macro level. This it does through various practices, such as limiting the agenda, selectively leaving out social actors (unions, for example) likely to make claims that have significant macro-level effects and through the right of veto that is built into these processes. And yet, although poverty is often lived at the micro level, its reproduction, intensification or amelioration depends crucially on macro-level policies that, through omission or commission, are intended to address macro-level problems.

142 Finally, the narrow focus on poverty may actually be misleading, and may be a reflection of the residual role assigned to social policy, which is seen as merely an instrument for correcting some of the negative outcomes of macroeconomic policies.

143 UNRISD research under the *Social Policy in a Development Context* project, which was concluded during the current reporting period, has confirmed many of the above concerns and highlighted the crucial role of social policy in both poverty reduction and economic development. The new UNRISD project on *Poverty Reduction and Policy Regimes* will draw in great part on lessons from the previous project. In consonance with the broader social and human development conceptions of poverty, the *Poverty Reduction and Policy Regimes* project will initiate a new thrust in research on poverty and thereby raise important policy issues.

Progress

144 The project proposal was developed and submitted to Sida/SAREC in October 2005, and funding was approved for 2005 and 2006. UNRISD will also approach other donors for funding of this project.

145 The proposal highlights three broad areas of work: social policy and poverty, economic policy and poverty, and the politics of poverty reduction. Research teams will be constituted in eight to 10 countries with different policy regimes to systematically study these issues using a conceptual framework that aids comparison. A methodology workshop involving the participation of scholars working on policy regimes and poverty is being planned for May 2006 in Geneva. The findings of this research will feed into a major report on poverty that the Institute is planning to produce in 2008.

Social Policy Index

Background

146 A Social Policy Index (SPI) is an input index that measures each country's priorities in terms of social policy and development, and can be used to classify countries according to their social policy regime. An SPI would be useful to experts, policy makers, academics and the general public.

147 Since its creation, UNRISD has done pioneering work in the field of measurement and indicators of social development. Early work in the 1960s consisted in building up "social indicators of development", introducing social variables into econometric development models and quantifying the concept of social development. It also questioned conventional data-gathering techniques and the social indicators that were used in the 1960s and 1970s. Later, UNRISD also highlighted that national income (GNP per capita or GDP per capita) was insufficient to measure socioeconomic development of a country. GNP per capita calculated on market principles and as a monetary concept was criticized for its methods of aggregation, which did not take into account other specific (social, geographic, structural) characteristics of a country. After theoretical, statistical and data-availability considerations, 73 social and economic indicators for 58 countries were selected. These indicators were then reduced to 42, and then to 18 core indicators. Finally, a general index of socioeconomic development was created. The turning point came in 1985 when UNRISD suggested "development profiles" of each country, tracing the country's overall social and economic development, rather than a single unified index. This was considered superior to the crude listing of its values on different indicators, and also to using a single indicator, such as GDP per capita or a composite index, to capture a country's overall development. Soon the pioneering work of UNRISD on social indicators was put aside in favour of case study approaches. In one of the last research works on indicators, UNRISD proposed that because of all the problems associated with the quality and reliability of data, it would be appropriate to improve the infrastructure and the techniques for collecting socioeconomic data. This data should help in monitoring social progress, or knowing how the most vulnerable members of society fare from one year to the next.

148 While problems related to the quality of data persist, there has been a phenomenal increase in the social and economic statistical information available during the past decade. This increase in data collection reinforces the need for data interpretation and consolidation. Statistical indicators of development have become

a popular tool to consolidate and present data. This also leads to indicating progress or achievement in a normative measure.

149 The use of statistical techniques to quantify complex development issues—health, human development and environment, for example—has also increased. There is a focus on the use of numerical assessments of progress or the state of a society based on values in such categories. Whereas in the 1980s, GDP per capita was frequently used for measuring development and related issues such as health and social well-being, there was a shift in the 1990s from this reductionism toward more multidimensional indicators of well-being, such as the Human Development Index (HDI). However, moves toward such multidimensional component analysis and the consolidation of variables into fewer numerical components requires the development of a statistically sound methodology of index construction.

150 Statistics and indicators can be very useful tools for decision making. There has been an increased demand for timely indicators to complement the policy making process. Researchers, the media, civil society and policy makers demand more and more information in order to assess the effects and trends of various policies and decisions. There are many statistics already available, but it is difficult to put these statistics together into meaningful policy making tools because separate social indicators may point in myriad directions. In this complex world, simple yet rigorous indicators can contribute to decision making, comparison and benchmarking.

151 While numerous composite indices now exist in the field of development, a social policy index does not. In order to achieve policy objectives, there are two major public policy instruments that are broadly used by governments: expenditure policy and tax policy (the third could be regulatory policy). An SPI will be a composite index of social spending (education, health, housing and community amenities), social security regime, tax policy regime (tax progressivity) and institutional efficiency (government quality). With its work on a social policy index, UNRISD will rank countries and use existing statistics to present different types of social policy regimes. By social policy regime, UNRISD means the institutional configuration that characterizes social policy schemes. A welfare state, for example, is a social policy regime with a wide variety of programmes, tending toward universal coverage, universalistic rules, benefits to keep people out of poverty, and a secure financial base in the country's tax system.

Objectives of an SPI

152 The overall objectives of an SPI are to impact policy decisions on social development, use it as an advocacy tool, and initiate academic inquiries on social policy. Another objective of an SPI is to allow policy makers to draw a picture of their country's level of social policy. This should help with the planning process and reflect social policy objectives.

153 An SPI should be able to change the way social development and social policy are perceived and analysed. With the publication of an SPI, there should be some kind of healthy competition among countries, especially at a regional level, for rankings. An SPI should also serve as a powerful tool for communication and public advocacy, and in policy and intellectual debates. The exercise should also generate more reliable disaggregated data on social policy issues, including social spending. Finally, an SPI should encourage serious academic and empirical research on social development and policy issues. This exercise requires a

“willingness to entertain interminable intellectual engagement” in order to refine the methodology and theoretical concept.

154 The specific objectives of the SPI are:

- to compile statistics on social policy in the maximum number of countries;
- to construct an index that allows a ranking and comparison of countries in terms of their social policy, and that enables assessment of countries' social policy over time;
- to assess this index (input) with outcome measures to evaluate policy relevance;
- to initiate widespread public and intellectual debate on social development and the usefulness of relevant policy; and
- to classify countries according to their social policy regime types.

155 It should be noted that social policy is a very broad area, and an SPI cannot replace the rich socioeconomic and political indicators for understanding the real situation in any country. An SPI should be considered as a policy tool, to be supplemented by detailed socioeconomic indicators.

Progress

156 During the current reporting period, the following datasets on social indicators have been created for over 130 countries: social spending (education, health, social protection, community and housing amenities) from 1980 to 2003, codification of social security regimes, taxation (progressivity) and governance (government efficiency). A draft issues paper outlining the concept of SPI and methodology was prepared. An expert group meeting is planned for 2006 to discuss the methodology.

PROGRAMME ON DEMOCRACY, GOVERNANCE AND WELL-BEING

Introduction

157 The past 12 months have been a transition from the *Democracy, Governance and Human Rights* programme to that on *Democracy, Governance and Well-Being*. Democracy currently enjoys the status of a core value in the discourse of the international development community, where a consensus seems to have emerged that democracy improves the quality of public policies. However, the performance of many countries in promoting basic rights, public services and the well-being of citizens is inadequate. The new programme, to be developed during 2005 and 2006, seeks to understand the constraints that new democracies face in improving citizens' well-being, defined as improvements in livelihoods, social services and social protection. It also aims to study how different democracies promote the well-being of their citizens and the role of social policies in consolidating complex transitions to democracy.

158 Three Programme Papers from the past project, *Technocratic Policy Making and Democratization*, were published during the reporting period: those on the Czech Republic, Hungary and Benin (in French); the one on India was forthcoming in January 2006. The proofs of a book manuscript from another past project, *Public Sector Reform and Crisis-Ridden States*, were corrected and returned to Palgrave Macmillan. The book, *Public Sector Reform in Developing Countries: Capacity Challenges for Improved Services* (Yusuf Bangura and George Larbi, eds.) is scheduled for publication in February 2006.

159 There was one project in this programme area during the current reporting period: *Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance of the Public Sector*, with work during the reporting period focused on processing case-study manuscripts for publication as books and Programme Papers. The research coordinator also worked on the development of new research areas under the programme, to get under way in 2006.

Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance of the Public Sector

Background

160 This project commenced in 2002 and ended in 2004 with an international conference in Riga, Latvia, that discussed the research findings and their policy implications. The research was coordinated by Yusuf Bangura. The Ford Foundation and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), in addition to UNRISD core funds, funded the project.

161 The project examined how ethnic cleavages and inequalities affect the constitution and management of the public sectors of multiethnic democracies. Researchers collected data on the civil service, cabinet, parliament and party system; examined the rules that determined selection to these institutions; analysed whether the distribution of offices is ethnically balanced or uneven, and studied voter preferences in constituting these institutions. They also examined the potential of ethnic inequalities to generate conflict as well as the effectiveness of

institutions and policy reforms for managing diversity and inequality. The 15 countries selected for the research were classified according to their levels of ethnic polarization. These were Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Botswana, Ghana, Fiji, India, Kenya, Latvia, Lithuania, Malaysia, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, Switzerland, Tanzania and Trinidad and Tobago.

162 The research findings were reported in detail in the 2004 and 2005 Board reports. The studies challenge popular notions that link ethnic diversity with pathological outcomes. They show that types of diversity, not diversity per se, are crucial in understanding social and political outcomes. Difficult cases are countries that have polarized into two or three groups, or cases where groups have formed selective ethnic coalitions, limiting the scope for bargaining. The studies also show that it is difficult to achieve inclusiveness or equity in the public sector if policies do not support this. Relative balance has been achieved in countries that are highly fragmented or those with ethnicity-sensitive policies that are focused on equity. However, proportionality does not always result in effective public policies.

163 The studies are also critical of institutional reforms that tend to underplay background conditions in shaping choices. Consociational arrangements—a much favoured conflict-resolution mechanism by international peace makers—may not be relevant in unipolar ethnic settings or ethnically fragmented societies, where governments are likely to be ethnically inclusive. They seem unavoidable in bipolar and tripolar formations or in multipolar settings with strong ethnic or regional clusters. Consociational arrangements have been practised largely in bipolar and tripolar settings. The studies suggest that fragmentation is a good strategy for intergroup cooperation in divided societies. Electoral rules and other incentives, including support for multiethnic associations, can be used to open up cleavages in groups that appear homogenous.

Progress

164 Work during the reporting period focused on processing the case-study manuscripts for publication as books and Programme Papers. Palgrave Macmillan is publishing 11 books from the project in a series titled *Ethnicity, Inequality and Public Sector Governance*. The titles of these books were listed in the 2005 Board report. One book manuscript, *Post-War Bosnia: Ethnicity, Inequality and Public Sector Governance* (Florian Bieber) was finalized and produced by the publisher in December 2005 (with a publication date of 2006); the proofs of two manuscripts, *Representing India: Ethnic Diversity and the Governance of Public Institutions* (Neera Gopal Jayal) and *Ethnic Inequalities and Public Sector Governance* (Yusuf Bangura, ed.), were corrected and sent back to the publisher for publication in June 2006; and a fourth manuscript, *Trinidad and Tobago: Ethnic Conflict, Inequality and Governance* (Ralph Premdas), was revised based on comments from external reviewers. One Programme Paper was published: *Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance in the Public Sector: Malaysian Experiences* (Khoo Boo Teik).

165 The project coordinator submitted an article titled “Ethnic inequalities in the public sector: A comparative analysis” to *Development and Change*. This article was revised after useful comments were received from the journal’s anonymous reviewers, and will be published in the March 2006 edition of the journal.

Programme Development

166 Work was carried out during the past 12 months to develop the new programme area. The programme seeks to understand the constraints which new democracies face in improving citizens' well-being, defined as improvements in livelihoods, social services and social protection. It also aims to study how different democracies promote the well-being of their citizens and the role of social policies in consolidating complex transitions to democracy. Two defining features of democracy are the periodic renewal of the mandates of leaders through free, fair and competitive elections, and a set of basic rights that facilitate the exercise of political choice and that the citizenry may use for holding leaders to account. The research will be carried out under four themes: welfare development in middle-income democracies; the politics of poverty reduction in low-income democracies; the role of social policies in consolidating complex transitions to democracy; and the potential and limits of decentralization reforms in making services serve low-income groups.

Welfare Development in Middle-Income Democracies

167 Although there is some correlation between income levels and welfare development, levels of social expenditures, including social security, and reform of pensions, health and social assistance schemes vary across countries at comparable levels of development even when they face similar pressures for welfare retrenchment. This project will investigate the reasons for such variations and the drivers for welfare development in middle-income democracies, which have demonstrated levels of welfare provision beyond basic service provision. It will study the changing nature of labour markets and unionization under market reforms; relations between interest groups, political parties and policy makers; the welfare orientation of parties in government; and whether electoral competitiveness improves responsiveness and allows voters and leaders to create environments of credible commitments for effective policies.

The Politics of Poverty Reduction Strategies

168 This research will form part of the project on *Poverty Reduction and Policy Regimes*. It will examine the extent to which low-income democracies have been able to pursue pro-poor policies and improve the well-being of their citizens through the study of three sets of issues. The first is the politics of donor pressure or conditionality. Most low-income democracies are dependent on aid. This makes it important to address the politics of donor pressure or conditionality attached to the financing of anti-poverty projects. Some donors are developing indicators to help them decide how to disburse funds to low-income countries. Various indicators, including governance indicators, are increasingly being used to rank, reward and punish aid-recipient countries.

169 The second is the internal constraints low-income democracies face in delivering welfare to poor voters. This part of the project will focus on the nature of political competitiveness in three areas of public life: electoral competitiveness, parliamentary competitiveness and public pressure from organized groups. Information asymmetries, lack of credible commitments by political parties and certain types of ethnic diversity may "distort" electoral competitiveness and encourage poor voters and leaders to opt for selective, individually targeted welfare, especially during electoral cycles. In addition, parliamentary competitiveness of the type that may encourage responsiveness may be undermined by huge parliamentary majorities of governing parties, as well as high levels of

fragmentation among opposition parties. The project will also look at the extent to which low-income voters have been able to extract responsiveness from governments through organized pressure. The strategic interactions of poor voters and other groups in society for improved social provision will also be examined.

170 The third set of issues will address interest group influence in the PRSP process in promoting pro-poor policies and outcomes. Most low-income democracies have embraced the PRSP model as a tool to combat poverty. Given the explicit promotion of participation and national ownership in this model, and the involvement of civic groups in the exercise, the project will examine the extent to which the PRSP model of participation aids poverty reduction.

Social Policies and Complex Transitions to Democracy

171 Social policies can affect the development of democracy. They can contribute to its consolidation as well as improve its quality. Work in this area will focus on complex democratic transitions in which social policy has played a crucial role in resolving differences and legitimizing the democratic regime. Complex transitions often involve negotiated political pacts and may demand attention to redistributive or social protection policies. They may include situations marked by high levels of ideological polarization, as in the transitions of Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Southern Europe; racial or ethnic polarization as in Guatemala and South Africa; and transitions to market economies with high social costs as in Central and Eastern Europe. Countries mired in protracted conflicts where political change has altered the structure of opportunities between groups may benefit from the findings generated by such a study.

Decentralization, Service Provision and Responsiveness

172 Democratization has often been accompanied by decentralization as governments and donor agencies grapple with the problem of how to ensure that public services reach the poor. However, decentralization is often part of a wider set of management reforms that seek to promote competition in the organization of the public sector and the delivery of services. Contracting-out of services and direct “empowerment” of users with public funds to buy services from private providers are some of the more common features of these reforms at the level of local government. They raise questions about the links between decentralization, service provision and responsiveness that this project will seek to answer.

Progress

173 The research coordinator and his research assistant are preparing a Programme Paper that discusses these four projects in greater detail, engaging the wide-ranging literature on democracy and well-being. This will serve as the foundation for fully developed project proposals.

174 The research coordinator presented a commissioned paper, *Democracy, Responsiveness and Well-Being in Africa* (Yusuf Bangura) in a plenary session of the CODESRIA General Assembly (Maputo, Mozambique, 6–10 December 2005).

PROGRAMME ON MARKETS, BUSINESS AND REGULATION

Introduction

175 The past 12 months have been a transition from the *Technology, Business and Society* programme to that on *Markets, Business and Regulation*. The new programme, to be developed during 2005 and 2006, examines changes occurring in state-market relations, the dynamics of regulatory reform, and the role of transnational corporations (TNCs) and other enterprises in social development. Particular attention will be paid to the privatization of basic services and its social impacts; the effectiveness and politics of business regulation and new institutional arrangements that aim to enhance the contribution of companies to social and sustainable development; and the proactive engagement of the private sector with the contemporary poverty reduction agenda.

176 Reports related to two past projects were completed and published during the current reporting period. In relation to the project *Information Technologies and Social Development*, an edition of UNRISD Conference News was published, which outlines key issues and priorities for future research in this field.

177 Concerning the project *Promoting Corporate Social and Environmental Responsibility in Developing Countries*, a report on corporate social responsibility (CSR) and fiscal responsibility in the Chilean mining industry was published, and country reports on the political economy of CSR in India and South Africa were finalized by the research teams. Their publication is expected in 2006. Additional work was carried out on the relationship between voluntary and legalistic forms of regulation related to social dimensions of business activities, and the possible synergies and contradictions and conceptual analysis of the factors and forces that account for institutional change in the field of CSR. This was published in a Programme Paper on this topic. UNRISD research findings on CSR were disseminated through presentations at workshops and conferences organized by the European Commission, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the Helsinki Process, as well as in three journals. A research wrap-up for this project is provided below.

178 The other ongoing project under this programme was *Social Policy, Regulation and Private Sector Involvement in Water Supply*. This project began during the current reporting period and builds upon the completion of previous UNRISD research on *Commercialization, Privatization and Universal Access to Water* (see page 9). The new research will take the inquiry further in order to investigate the effects of private sector involvement in water supply in terms of access, equity and affordability. In the context of private sector involvement, it explores the kinds of social policies that aim to ensure access to water for all sections of society, including the poor, as well as the nature and results of regulatory mechanisms that have been put in place.

Social Policy, Regulation and Private Sector Involvement in Water Supply

179 Within the general debate of neoliberalism and privatization, private sector involvement in water is one of the most controversial and emotional debates of the

current development discourse. On one side are the proponents who argue that since governments have failed in delivering quality water to everyone, the private sector can solve this problem by using market principles. In other words, the private sector can improve efficiency, extend the coverage of service, bring in more investment, and relieve governments from budget deficits. On the other side of the spectrum are those who consider that water is a common good and should not be in the hands of the private sector. They argue that since water is unlike any other resource and because of the fact that water is the essence of life itself, it should not be treated like another commodity based on market principles. In other words, the private sector cannot apply just criteria for this basic need. In this context, access to water for everyone then becomes a human right and it is the state's obligation to provide this vital resource to everyone. And then there is another group who are caught in between these two opposing views. This group thinks that solutions can be found by considering water as an economic good and a human right at the same time. It is within this context that the current debate is taking place.

180 What is required here is to put emotions, ideologies and rhetoric aside and provide serious empirical investigation to see if private sector involvement leads to increased welfare, especially for the poor. This is exactly what this research project intends to do by undertaking empirical research in developing countries and developed countries alike.

181 This research is coordinated by Naren Prasad and is carried out with the support of UNRISD core funds.

Background

182 Private sector participation (PSP) in urban water supply has a long history. Private initiatives were instrumental in establishing modern water supply systems, which led to privately owned or operated systems. This started as a result of urban growth since the mid-1800s in most European countries and North America. England was the precursor of modern water supply systems, which later spread to Germany, elsewhere in Europe and to the United States. However during the late 1800s, as a result of their unsatisfactory nature (inefficient, costly and corrupt), these services were returned to public or municipal ownership. Today in the European countries, the provision of urban water supply is significantly different, ranging from no private sector participation (the Netherlands), to an amalgam of PSP (Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Spain,) and PSP but with no profit motive (Austria, Denmark and Sweden), to full privatization (England and Wales).

183 Privatization has been back on the agenda since the late 1970s. During the early 1990s, many developing and transition countries³ involved the private sector in supplying water in a variety of forms ranging from build-operate-transfer (BOT) models; management, service or lease contracts; concessions (the most common); and joint ownership (but rarely complete privatization, as in the case of England and Wales).

³ Argentina, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Barbados, Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Croatia, Cuba, Czech Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, Gambia, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Lebanon, Malaysia, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Slovak Republic, South Africa, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, West Bank and Gaza.

184 However, after a decade of experimentation with private sector participation in water supply, there is an emerging trend of failures or renegotiations such as in Buenos Aires (Argentina), Atlanta (Georgia, United States), Manila (Philippines), Cochabamba (Bolivia), Jakarta (Indonesia), Nelspruit (South Africa) and La Paz (Bolivia); most recently, the United Republic of Tanzania and even England and Wales have been facing difficulties. Some of the major water companies (like Suez, Veolia and Thames Water) are withdrawing from developing countries as a result of economic and financial crises, natural disasters, corruption, risky operating environments, or non-compliance with contractual obligations.

185 In some circles, it is argued that privatization has come full circle and there is thus a need to “re-municipalize” water services.

Objectives

186 From a research perspective, the project aims to determine the relevance of the theory of private sector involvement in natural monopolies like water supply. The project’s findings will also likely have major policy implications for governments and international agencies. Within the general context of economic liberalization and deregulation being promoted by many international development agencies, the research will investigate whether governments are indeed adopting appropriate policies to solve the problems related to water supply.

187 The overall objective of the research is to investigate whether private sector involvement in water supply is the right option, even with regulatory mechanisms in place. In order to explore this, the research will try to address issues surrounding poverty, access, affordability, and how social policies and regulation are designed to achieve the specified objectives of the private sector involvement. The following questions will be asked. Has private sector involvement in water supply improved access, affordability or other specified objectives? How do social policies and regulation address issues of affordability and access (role of tariffs, social tariffs, increasing block tariffs, metering)? How are policies designed to help the poor (minimum service levels, subsidies)? Are the poor able to benefit from the social policies in place? How are issues of access addressed? How can the private sector be made to serve poor customers? Through which mechanisms (laws, institutions, etc.) are these policies being regulated and enforced? And what are the political, social and cultural institutions or norms in place to monitor the private sector involvement in water supply?

Progress

Workshop

188 UNRISD organized a methodology workshop in Geneva on 26–27 September 2005. The aim of the workshop was to present the project details, and to discuss the methodological issues and conceptual framework of the research. It also helped to forge a common understanding by all the researchers involved of the overall undertaking of the project. Nine researchers from Brazil, Burkina Faso, Colombia, France, Hungary, India⁴, Malaysia and the United Kingdom, and two other researchers, participated in the meeting.

189 Seven case studies were initially identified as the first phase of the research, to include in-depth examination of the debates surrounding private sector involvement within the specific political, cultural and economic settings of each

⁴ Due to problems of data, the Indian case study will potentially be considered at a later stage.

country. Household data collected in selected countries and cities were to be used to analyse issues related to access and affordability, disaggregated for cross-sectional analysis among different income groups. The country studies were confirmed after a review of the literature and based on several criteria such as regional balance, geographic settings, level of economic development, level of poverty, degree of private sector involvement, degree of regulatory instruments in place, degree of problems in the water supply sector (level of access, availability/scarcity of water) degree of “success”, “failure” or “difficulty”, availability of reliable data, availability of researchers.

190 During the reporting period, six country studies were undertaken: Brazil; Colombia; England and Wales; France; Hungary; and Malaysia. A data-gathering exercise was carried out for Burkina Faso. The first drafts of the country studies were received and comments were provided by the research coordinator. Progress was also made on an overview paper by the research coordinator in which the major findings will be outlined. The revised papers are expected in April 2006. The findings of the project will be presented in a workshop planned for September 2006.

191 Commissioned papers:

- Brazil — André Luís Rossi de Oliveira, University of Brasilia
- Colombia — Marcela Meléndez, FEDESARROLLO, Bogotá, and Andrés Gómez-Lobo Echenique, Department of Economics, University of Chile
- England and Wales — John W. Sawkins and Valerie Dickie, School of Management and Languages, Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh
- France — Arnaud Reynaud, National Institute for Agronomic Research (INRA) and University of Toulouse 1
- Hungary — Zsolt Boda, Institute of Political Science, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, in collaboration with Public Service International Research Unit (PSIRU)
- Malaysia — Cassey Lee Hong Kim, Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya

192 Data gathering:

- Burkina Faso — Issaka Kouanda, University of Paris II Pantheon-Assas and University of Paris XII

Initial results

193 All the country studies use extensive statistics on access, affordability and regulation and employ statistical and econometric modelling to investigate the impact of private sector participation on the poor. The preliminary research findings are interesting and revealing. In terms of cross-country experiences, they show that private sector participation does not seem to be as beneficial as its proponents advocate: it does not necessarily increase access, nor does it unequivocally help the poor in terms of connection and water bills.

194 For example, in the case of France, it is demonstrated that the private sector has negatively impacted on the poorer sections of the community in terms of their ability to pay water bills. As for the case of England and Wales, the poorest of the poor do not seem to be negatively impacted by private sector participation, and this is due to very tight regulation devised by the government. The Malaysia case demonstrates that privatization did not improve the accessibility of the poor, but it fails to demonstrate whether it had a negative impact on affordability. In Brazil, there has been an improved rate of coverage in the poorest communities, but at the

price of affordability problems. The study notes, however, that access to water has been increasing over time and the private sector alone cannot be given credit for this trend. The findings from Colombia show that the private sector has not succeeded in improving coverage rates for the poor, and that there is no significant difference in terms of affordability between community and private water supplies. As for Hungary, results show that access to the poorer (geographically isolated) households is hampered as a result of the high cost of delivery. However, in terms of paying water bills, the poorer households do not seem to have affordability problems. Initial data gathered for Burkina Faso show that private sector participation has not increased coverage rates for the poor and has negatively impacted on their ability to pay.

Output

195 A draft issues paper has been prepared for the project, defining the scope of the research and developing the research methodology.

196 After the peer review process, international journals will be contacted for publication of the studies in a special issue. A synthesis paper using the data from the case studies will also be submitted for publication.

Promoting Corporate Social and Environmental Responsibility in Developing Countries

Research Wrap-Up

197 An important aspect of contemporary changes in state-market relations relates to “corporate social responsibility” (CSR), the notion that large corporations should do more than obey the law and engage in philanthropy, and they should minimize malpractice and improve their social and environmental performance through corporate self-regulation and voluntary initiatives. To examine the implications of CSR for both development and business regulation, UNRISD initiated in 2001 the project *Promoting Corporate Social and Environmental Responsibility in Developing Countries*, which was coordinated by Peter Utting and supported mainly by the MacArthur Foundation. This project addressed three key questions:

- What analytical frameworks are most useful for understanding contemporary changes in state-market relations and global governance associated with CSR?
- How significant is the contribution of CSR to social and sustainable development in the global South?
- How effective are recent changes in state-market relations where non-state actors play an increasingly important role in standard-setting and institutional arrangements aimed at minimizing corporate malpractice and improving companies’ social, labour, environmental and human rights performance?

198 To provide answers to these questions research was carried out in Brazil, India, Mexico, the Philippines and South Africa, and papers and reports were prepared on a range of thematic issues that included activism related to TNCs and business regulation, emerging forms of non-state regulatory institutions, international regulation of transnational corporations (TNCs), public-private partnerships, and conceptual aspects of business regulation and institutional change.

199 In relation to these questions some of the key findings to emerge are presented below.⁵

Analytical frameworks for understanding CSR

200 UNRISD research has sought to overcome several limitations characterizing much of the writing on CSR that has proliferated internationally since the early 1990s. First, “analysis” in this field often remains narrowly focused on the description of “best practice” case studies and optimistic assumptions about “win-win” scenarios that tend to ignore tensions, counter-trends and contradictory practices related to corporate activities or CSR itself—practices that can have perverse social, environmental and developmental impacts. Second, critics of TNCs and CSR often dismiss CSR as window dressing or “greenwash”, in effect underestimating the contribution of activism to progressive institutional change, and failing to recognize that “decent capitalism” requires a diverse mix of institutions in which so-called soft law and voluntary institutional arrangements can play an important role. Third, CSR is generally seen as a contemporary phenomenon, driven largely by actors and forces associated with globalization, with CSR transmitted primarily via TNCs through global value chains or through other actors and institutions centred largely in the North. From this perspective, the specificities and dynamics of CSR related to local history and actors are often ignored. Fourth, the analysis of why companies may be doing things differently and performing better, or of how to scale up and ratchet up CSR, sometimes pays insufficient attention to important “drivers” of CSR related to the broader societal, institutional, regulatory and political contexts. Fifth, raising social and environmental standards in developing countries may seem an obvious and desirable objective, but this goal is often pursued without thinking through the developmental and governance implications of CSR, such as the costs involved for small and medium-sized enterprises, the scope for institutional capture, and the limited participation of key stakeholders in the design and implementation of CSR initiatives.

201 What accounts for constructive reform, where this is actually taking place? CSR and its internationalization are closely associated with features of globalization that have to do with the rise of civil society and transnational activism, and the need for TNCs to protect or manage brands, reputation, risks and supply chains. Such factors were found to be important in the countries studied, but need to be complemented by local history and domestic drivers. In Brazil, the Philippines and South Africa, important features of CSR predated the globalization wave of the 1980s and 1990s and the rise of a global CSR discourse. CSR emerged as a “third way” between models of capitalist development associated with repressive regimes and highly exploitative social relations, and the threat posed by socialist alternatives. In India, a long history of corporate giving and company-community relations paved the way for the contemporary CSR agenda.

202 In Mexico, the Philippines and South Africa, the CSR agenda has been shaped to a large extent by organized business interests and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) with strong business connections. In India and Brazil a more heterogeneous mix of actors and organizations, including some large and more independent NGOs, have been influential. In several countries a free press and tradition of watchdog and investigative journalism have also played an important role.

⁵ Data and analysis from the Mexico study still have to be submitted to UNRISD, following a one-year extension granted by the MacArthur Foundation. The information presented here is based on preliminary findings.

203 The role of trade unions in relation to CSR varies considerably. Various tensions affect NGO–trade union relations in the field of CSR. Belatedly, various international trade union organizations have engaged more proactively with the mainstream CSR agenda, participating in various institutions and promoting agreements with a limited number of TNCs to implement agreed standards throughout their global structures. In several developing countries, notably India and Mexico, weak or introspective leadership has constrained trade union engagement with CSR issues and organizations.

204 The regulatory and legal environment is a crucial determinant of CSR. In most countries extensive legislation has been enacted but is poorly enforced. Research in Brazil and Mexico explained the very different trajectories of environmental and social responsibility partly with reference to the stronger regulatory context related to environment issues, and the fact that labour law has been weakened during the past two decades.

205 Conceptual work on the dynamics of business regulation also emphasized the need to complement analyses that identify a range of political economy and ideational factors promoting or undermining CSR, with so-called varieties of capitalism or policy regime analysis that pays particular attention to the broader institutional context characterizing particular countries, models of capitalism and welfare state, and state-market relations, as well as the legacies and path dependencies that shape corporate policy and practice.

CSR and development

206 By focusing on working conditions, labour rights, environmental management in TNC affiliates and supply chains, as well as company relations with communities and stakeholders, CSR has potentially significant implications for social, sustainable and economic development, as well as rights-based development. The country-level research reveals that while the CSR agenda is broadening at the national level, it remains highly fragmented in various respects. First, reflecting the international reality, the number of companies seriously engaging with the CSR agenda remains relatively small, although they do include some of the largest transnational and national corporations. Second, the CSR agenda tends to focus on particular areas such as environmental management, community projects and some aspects of working conditions in affiliates and large suppliers. Issues such as labour and other human rights, labour standards in the supply chain, fiscal responsibility, corporate contributions to health care and social insurance, security of employment, food security and unethical marketing practices generally receive less attention. Third, other key aspects of equitable development, such as redistribution and the empowerment of workers and small producers, to which CSR might potentially contribute, also remain marginal. An important exception is South Africa where the CSR agenda also embraces black economic empowerment, although in practice this has often focused narrowly on asset redistribution and ignored conventional aspects of CSR.

207 CSR remains quite limited in its developmental and transformative potential not only because its design and application are fragmented, but because the policy, regulatory and political environment in which companies operate often promotes contradictory business practices. An important concern that emerged in several UNRISD studies related to instances of double standards practised by “CSR companies”—that is, companies purporting to be socially responsible, as well as to a range of crucial issues that remain largely off-limits in the CSR agenda. Studies in Brazil, India, the Philippines and South Africa highlight, for example, the extent

of subcontracting practised by CSR firms and the fact that subcontracting often has serious implications in terms of deterioration of labour standards and labour rights. In the Philippines it was found that legitimate concerns regarding the health and nutritional aspects of core products such as soft drinks, and unethical marketing, were ignored or overtly denied through vigorous advertising to children. The study in Chile raised concerns regarding the fiscal practices of CSR companies that underreported profits through transfer pricing and took advantage of legal loopholes to avoid paying taxes. In South Africa, some mining companies were actively pursuing a range of initiatives to deal with HIV/AIDS but failed to address an important cause of HIV/AIDS, namely the single-sex dormitory system for migrant workers. Similarly, food companies were fairly active on a range of CSR issues but often ignored more fundamental issues related to food security.

208 Another aspect of double standards relates to the lobbying practices of TNCs and organized business interests. Often those that actively promote CSR are simultaneously lobbying for macroeconomic and labour market policies that involve deregulation, fiscal restructuring and state retrenchment that often impact negatively on social development and labour and environmental protection.

Institutional reforms and innovations

209 The international CSR agenda has evolved significantly since the 1990s, embracing not only new issues but also new instruments (such as sustainability reporting, social auditing and certification), and new institutions (such as the United Nations Global Compact, the Global Reporting initiative, and the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative).

210 UNRISD research examined key aspects of this reform dynamic related to public-private partnerships and multistakeholder initiatives. Particular attention focused on the United Nations Global Compact and other standard-setting or reporting and certification schemes, involving NGOs, trade unions, governmental and intergovernmental entities. Such institutions have played an important role in addressing some of the limitations of corporate self-regulation, enhancing the quality of CSR design and implementation procedures, and engaging an increasing number of companies. A vibrant learning and adaptation process is also noticeable, with schemes such as the United Nations Global Compact and the Global Reporting Initiative gradually raising the bar through the addition of new standards and measures to promote a degree of compliance with agreed standards. Most of these initiatives have important strengths as well as limitations. They have attempted to address institutional imbalances between corporate rights and obligations that emerged with globalization and neoliberalism, and they help to raise awareness of social, labour, human rights and environmental issues among the business community. But many such initiatives have also been characterized by the limited participation of trade unions and southern actors, their closeness to organized business interests, the superficiality of social auditing methods and company sustainability reporting, and the lack of attention to complaints procedures, remediation and penalties for non-compliance.

211 Various studies considered ways to enhance the developmental and transformative impacts of CSR and TNCs. In the build-up to the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 some activists, scholars and policy makers who were concerned about the limitations of CSR turned their attention to “corporate accountability”. The UNRISD research paid particular attention to this concept, which attempts to reconnect the CSR agenda with issues of state capacity, national and international regulation, law and complaints procedures. In contrast to

voluntary CSR, corporate accountability conveys the idea that large companies should be obliged to answer to different stakeholders and also bear some sort of cost in cases of non-compliance with agreed standards. This implies not only strengthening the role of state regulation, but also exploring the potential for combining or articulating “softer” and “harder” regulatory approaches.

212 Both mainstream and radical perspectives on CSR often view voluntary or legalistic approaches—or “soft” or “hard” institutions—as distinct approaches, with one or the other being fundamentally superior. Frequently ignored are the possible complementarities and synergies between these different approaches, and the potentially fertile ground for regulatory design and intervention that lies at the interface of quite different institutional and regulatory arrangements.

213 Newer hybrid forms of regulation were found to be important in several country studies and in the thematic studies on corporate regulation. Focusing on such forms is useful for going beyond the polarized debate between proponents and critics of voluntary versus “regulatory” approaches. Various synergies and complementarities can derive from the articulation of voluntary and legalistic approaches, or of civil society activism and legal processes. Some of the more effective institutions for promoting CSR in South Africa, for example, operate at the interface of softer and harder approaches. The “voluntary” guidelines of the King Report on Corporate Governance for South Africa that call for “triple bottom line accounting” have, for example, become listing requirements for the Johannesburg Securities Exchange. In the Philippines, legislation to promote corporate giving via fiscal incentives also requires the certification of NGO recipients of corporate funds. In India, public interest litigation has opened up spaces where disadvantaged social groups and civil society organizations can advance CSR causes and issues through the judicial system. Internationally, such hybrid forms are particularly important and are gaining in prominence, notably in the case of so-called international soft law or CSR standards agreed through intergovernmental processes, such as the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises and the Aarhus Convention. A particular concern, however, is when such instruments lack effective complaints and remediation procedures, as in the case of the United Nations Global Compact.

214 The research suggests that the task of enhancing the developmental and transformative impact of CSR will involve far more than regulatory innovations, and technical and institutional refinements and scaling-up of existing CSR policies and instruments. CSR currently operates in a disabling environment given the way in which dominant macroeconomic policies and reforms in state-market relations generate perverse social, labour and environmental effects. Creating an enabling environment for CSR would require a shift toward a policy framework that is less fixated on economic stabilization, deregulation, state retrenchment, and export-orientation via enclave economies, and more concerned with economic diversification; local embeddedness of TNCs; the promotion of micro, small and medium-sized enterprises; active labour market policies and institutions; strengthening state capacity; and redistribution.

215 Advances that have taken place in relation to corporate accountability also suggest the need for a new politics of CSR, involving coalitions and alliances between actors and institutions that hitherto have remained somewhat distanced—in particular, NGOs and trade unions, and NGOs and political parties and democratic processes. It is also important to strengthen participatory standard setting and policy making, involving trade unions, for example, in national CSR

processes, and actors and organizations from developing countries in international CSR consultations and institutions.

216 If action were to be taken on these three fronts—corporate regulation, development policy and “inclusive” politics—CSR might become part of an agenda for transformation and poverty reduction, rather than a palliative for a pattern of development that continues to be characterized by high levels of social exclusion, inequality and environmental degradation.

Publications

217 The following UNRISD publications were associated with this project.

- David Fig, Andries Bezuidenhout, Ralph Hamann, Shirley Miller and Rahmat Omar — *The Political Economy of Corporate Responsibility in South Africa: Social and Environmental Dimensions*, provisional title, forthcoming
- Atul Sood and Bimal Arora — *The Political Economy of Corporate Responsibility in India: Social and Environmental Dimensions*, Programme Paper, forthcoming
- Manuel Riesco, Gustavo Lagos and Marcos Lima (contributors) — *The “Pay Your Taxes” Debate: Perspectives on Corporate Taxation and Social Responsibility in the Chilean Mining Industry*, Programme Paper TBS 16, 2005
- Peter Utting — *Rethinking Business Regulation: From Self-Regulation to Social Control*, Programme Paper TBS 15, 2005
- *Corporate Social Responsibility and Development: Towards a New Agenda?*, Conference News, 2004
- *Corporate Social Responsibility and Business Regulation*, UNRISD Research and Policy Brief 1, 2004
- Paola Cappellin and Gian Mario Giuliani — *The Political Economy of Corporate Responsibility in Brazil: Social and Environmental Dimensions*, Programme Paper TBS 14, 2004
- Jem Bendell — *Barricades and Boardrooms: A Contemporary History of the Corporate Accountability Movement*, Programme Paper TBS 13, 2004
- Désirée Abrahams — *Regulating Corporations: A Resource Guide*, online posting, 2004
- Ann Zammit — *Development at Risk: Rethinking UN-Business Partnerships*, 2003
- *Promoting Socially Responsible Business in Developing Countries: The Potential and Limits of Voluntary Initiatives*, Conference News, 2002
- Rhys Jenkins, Peter Utting and Renato Alva Pino (contributors) — *Voluntary Approaches to Corporate Responsibility: Readings and a Resource Guide*, NGLS and UNRISD (eds.), 2002
- Melody Kemp — *Corporate Social Responsibility in Indonesia: Quixotic Dream or Confident Expectation?*, Programme Paper TBS 6, 2001
- E.V.K. FitzGerald — *Regulating Large International Firms*, Programme Paper TBS 5, 2001
- Martin Perry and Sanjeev Singh — *Corporate Environmental Responsibility in Singapore and Malaysia: The Potential and Limits of Voluntary Initiatives*, Programme Paper TBS 3, 2001
- Rhys Jenkins — *Corporate Codes of Conduct: Self-Regulation in a Global Economy*, Programme Paper TBS 2, 2001 (This paper is also published in NGLS and UNRISD, eds., op cit.)

Outreach

218 Considerable effort went into feeding research results into relevant consultative, intellectual and policy-making processes, events and external publications.

219 UNRISD project staff contributed to United Nations publications or made presentations at international conferences and consultations associated with UNCTAD, WHO, UNDESA, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, UN General Assembly Second Committee, UN Non-Governmental Liaison Service (NGLS), the World Summit on Sustainable Development, the Helsinki Process, the European Commission, the International Forum on the Social Science–Policy Nexus, *UN Chronicle*, and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Finland).

220 Presentations or publications related to NGOs and civil society included World Vision (Global Future), Business and Human Rights Resource Centre, Centre Europe–Tiers Monde (CETIM), CIPRES and the Coordinadora Social (Nicaragua), Ford Foundation, World Social Forum (Porto Alegre), World Civil Society Forum (Geneva), Peace and Development Foundation (Germany), and World Economy, Ecology and Development Association (WEED).

221 Presentations in academic events and scholarly publications included *St. Antony's International Review* (Oxford), *Journal of Corporate Citizenship*, *ID21 Insights* (IDS), Beijing University, de la Salle University (Philippines), Tübingen University (Germany), *Annuaire Suisse–Tiers Monde*, Transnational Associations, Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Développement (IUED), *Development in Practice* and *Courrier de la Planète*.

Programme Development

222 As part of the process of designing the 2005–2009 UNRISD research agenda, work on programme development was carried out to identify key thematic areas for the *Markets, Business and Regulation* programme. They are privatization and commercialization of public services; institutional dimensions of business regulation; activism, corporate globalization and policy responses; and business and poverty reduction.

223 In relation to work on privatization, consideration is being given to extending the current research, which examines the impact of water privatization in terms of affordability and access, to other basic services such as education, health, pensions and urban transport. Similar to the water privatization research discussed above, the main thrust of this new research would be to investigate the impact of private sector participation in these services in terms of access and affordability, especially to the poor. It is generally acknowledged that public services often fail to reach the poor. How can the private sector ensure that these services not only reach the poor, but are affordable to the poor? The research will investigate how social policies and regulation help the poor in accessing these services.

224 Work on institutional dimensions of business regulation will form part of the project on *Poverty Reduction and Policy Regimes* that will commence in 2006. Research will examine trends associated with the increasing role of non-state actors in business regulation, and the changing nature of relations between organized business interests and state and international organizations. A key question will be whether new forms of private regulatory authority and corporate social responsibility are complementing, reinforcing or undermining traditional regulatory institutions associated with the state and trade unions, and active labour market policy, as well as the extent to which actors from developing countries participate in new institutions and regulatory processes.

225 Future research will also pay particular attention to the politics of business regulation and forms of social contestation associated with “corporate globalization”. Background work took place to identify issues and potential researchers that might form part of a study on the relationship between activism and policy and institutional change related to the regulation of TNCs. Privatization, exposés of corporate malpractice, and the reality or perception of rapidly increasing corporate power have fuelled movements, networks and campaigns calling for re-nationalization, legalistic regulation and other instruments and institutions to minimize malpractice and enhance corporate accountability. Through a series of country and sectoral studies, research will examine how such forms of activism impact the policy process. Particular attention will be focused on the different types of relationship that exist under different policy regimes. This analysis will initially involve a comparative study of activism and regulation of TNCs in the United Kingdom and France. This work will be undertaken in collaboration with the *Civil Society and Social Movements* programme under the project *Social Responses to Inequalities and Policy Change*. Subject to funding, other countries will also be included in the study.

226 Considerable efforts have been under way in recent years to engage the private sector in general, and TNCs in particular, in the mainstream poverty reduction agenda of the international development community. Major reports such as *Fair Globalization* (World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization), *Unleashing Entrepreneurship* (Commission on the Private Sector and Development), and *Investing in Development* (UN Millennium Project) emphasize the actual or potential contribution of companies via public-private partnerships, differential pricing, poverty-targeted philanthropy, ethical and fair trade, corporate social welfare, community projects, micro-finance, and upstream and downstream linkages with micro enterprises and the informal sector. Future UNRISD research in the field of business and poverty reduction aims to take stock of these developments, and assess their impacts in terms of poverty reduction and equitable development. Background work has taken place to identify relevant issues, and a workshop, to be co-hosted with the Copenhagen Business School, has been planned to consider developments related to public-private partnerships since the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development, methodologies for assessing the impact of partnerships, and current debates regarding their strengths and weaknesses.

PROGRAMME ON CIVIL SOCIETY AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Introduction

227 Under this programme, UNRISD has been exploring the complexities and potential for change inherent in a new wave of global movements concerned with contemporary patterns of development and globalization. Given the scale and urgency of global socioeconomic problems and the increasing scope for influencing policy through international networks, such movements are becoming key actors on the global policy stage. In the next phase of its research programme, UNRISD will expand this research by (i) deepening investigation of the civil society campaigns aimed at altering socioeconomic inequalities, deprivation and conflicts that evolve from global socioeconomic relations; (ii) examining rapidly evolving situations in global contestation, taking into account the fluidity, and the transient and changeable nature of participants and movements; (iii) analysing the modalities and dynamics of interactions between policy-making processes and social movements and activism; and (iv) highlighting the tension and potential intrinsic in broad-based alliances and institutional reform.

228 The current reporting period saw publication of a number of Programme Papers, and two books were published by Palgrave Macmillan: *Civil Society and the Market Question* (K.B. Ghimire, ed.) and *Knowledge, Identity and Power: Education as an Agenda of Social Action* (Ashok Swain, ed.).

229 During the current reporting period, two principal projects were implemented under this programme area: *UN World Summits and Civil Society Engagement*, and *Global Civil Society Movements: Dynamics in International Campaigns and National Implementation*; and a third project, *Social Responses to Inequalities and Policy Change*, was under development.

UN World Summits and Civil Society Engagement

Background

230 The increasing engagement of civil society activism with mainstream development institutions is particularly apparent in relation to the United Nations summits and conferences on global development issues that have been taking place since the early 1990s. These forums have provided civil society organizations and social movements with new outlets for advocacy. This project focuses on the extent to which UN summits have been a meaningful mechanism for creating a favourable political space for increased civil society activism.

231 The research is coordinated by K.B. Ghimire and is supported by the Ford Foundation and UNRISD core funds.

Progress

232 The project began in May 2003 and is scheduled for completion in April 2006. A state-of-the art paper and a literature-review background paper were

published as Programme Papers. During the past 12 months, progress has been achieved in three areas.

Country studies

233 Detailed studies have been undertaken in Brazil, Chile, China, Indonesia, Senegal and South Africa—countries that have held important UN conferences or preparatory meetings in the past decade. The primary intent of national research has been to ascertain how the different summit processes affected the networking and advocacy of civil society organizations, as well as their relations with governments in these countries.

234 In early 2005, national teams completed analysing the collected data, survey results and other related documentary sources. Three sets of documents are being prepared:

- a book-length volume in a national language to be published and disseminated in the country;
- translation of this volume into English for wider international readership; and
- a summary national report in English that could be published as a Programme Paper or in an edited volume.

235 Details on the status of these reports are as follows:

- China—The research team has completed the first draft of all three documents. The national volume in Chinese has now been finalized for publication, and negotiations are under way to publish it with the China Social Sciences Press in Beijing.
- Indonesia—The national report in Indonesian has been finalized and has been sent for peer review. An English version has been prepared. The team has also completed a summary report in English.
- South Africa—A summary report has been completed and the research team is currently preparing the national report, which will be considered for publication in collaboration with a university publisher in South Africa.
- Senegal—Both the book-length national volume and summary report in French have been finalized. Currently an English version of the national report is being prepared. A potential publisher is being sought for the publication of the national volume in French.
- Brazil—All three documents have been completed and the team is working to identify a Brazilian publisher for the publication of the national report in Portuguese.
- Chile—draft national report in Spanish has been submitted and other inputs are under preparation. It is expected that the national report will be published with a university press in Santiago.

Thematic Study on UN Experience

236 The first draft of a study by Nora McKeon (previously of the Civil Society Division, FAO, Rome) was received during the current reporting period. It is concerned with the organizational aspects of official and parallel NGO meetings, as well as a variety of other services and resources available at a range of UN summits, beginning with Rio 1992. In particular, it examines the longer-term dynamics of change that the summits, as strong mobilizing moments in a broader process of UN–civil society interaction, have helped to set in motion. It traces the directions in which these interactions are heading and identifies the present challenges faced by both the UN and its civil society interlocutors. The study underlines the fact that the world summits of the 1990s and their aftermath have demonstrated the UN system’s capacity to identify and focus on the challenges the

world is facing, but its failure is to provide an effective mechanism for resolving them.

A special issue of the journal *Development*, on civil society and finance

237 The preliminary findings from the country studies suggested that the financial problem constituted a major bottleneck for the quality and sustainability of civil society engagement. Yet the financial dimension is rarely debated within NGOs or social movements and attempts on their part to remain financially autonomous are few and far between. Academic attention to this issue is also limited, even though political scientists and sociologists commonly recognize the importance of financial independence and sufficient funding for the effectiveness of civil society action.

238 By pulling together information and insights from this project as well as other related work within the *Civil Society and Social Movements* programme, a journal special issue has been prepared. This initiative has the dual purpose of disseminating the emerging research results and encouraging wider debate around the issue of financial autonomy in social action. Details of this publication are: “Financing for Global Change”, special issue of *Development*, Volume 49.2 (forthcoming June 2006).

- Wendy Harcourt — *Upfront: Editorial*
- Kléber Ghimire — *Introduction: Financial Independence among NGOs and Social Movements*
- Interview with Stefano Prato

Thematic Section: Finances, Autonomy and Civil Society

- Catherine Agg — *Winners or Losers? NGOs in the Current Aid Paradigm*
- Fernand Vincent — *External Funding and Dependency*
- Edouard Morena — *Funding and the Future of the Global Justice Movement*
- Santiago Daroca — *Power Relations in the Financial Aid Chain*
- Murat Yilmaz — *Fair Trade as a Tool for NGO Financial Autonomy*
- Britta Sadoun — *Development NGOs and Financial Autonomy*
- Lisa Borstein — *Systems of Accountability, Webs of Deceit? South African NGOs' Experience with Monitoring and Evaluation*

Dialogue

- Francine Mestrum — *Global Poverty Reduction: A New Social Paradigm?*
- Marcella Corsi, Fabrizio Botti, Tommaso Rondinella and Giulia Zacchia — *Women and Microfinance: A New Path for Development in Mediterranean Countries?*
- Helga Tawil Souri — *Marginalizing Palestinian Development: Lessons against Peace*
- Naser I. Abumustafa — *The Integration of Arab Emerging Markets*
- Allam Ahmed and Williams E. Nwagwu — *Challenges and Opportunities of E-Learning Networks in Africa*

Local/Global Encounters: NGO Financial Autonomy and Global Meetings

- Liliana Diaz — *Resources for Creating Another World: Financial Strategies of the World Social Forum*
- Antonio Prajasto and Indriaswati Dyah Saptaningrum — *Turtle Eggs and Sustainable Development: Indonesian NGOs and Funding*
- Fatou Sarr — *Funding in Senegal: Constraints and Opportunities*
- Silvana De Paula with Eoin O'Neill — *Brazilian Civil Society Structures and Financial Resources: The Case of Rio 1992*

Global Civil Society Movements: Dynamics in International Campaigns and National Implementation

Background

239 This project looks at how global civil society movements are actually faring in national and local contexts. In particular, movements related to debt relief, international trade rules, global taxation, anti-corruption and fair trade/solidarity economy are assessed. Key questions for research are: How are citizens and civil society groups able to articulate their concerns and propose concrete suggestions within these movements? How are civil society movements able to facilitate exchange of information, ideas, knowledge and practical experiences among national and international bodies and civil society forces, including those population groups at the grassroots level facing socioeconomic deprivation and political marginalization?

240 The main activities include the preparation of a series of background and thematic papers, and carrying out in-depth national studies in five countries. A concept paper on the project by the research coordinator was published illustrating the key conceptual and methodological questions involved in contemporary global civil society movements.

241 The project is coordinated by K.B. Ghimire and is funded by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) and UNRISD core funds.

Progress

Background papers on selected movements

242 Five background papers were commissioned during the previous reporting period with the aim of elucidating the philosophical origins, structure, activities and outcomes, inherent tensions and dynamics of the selected transnational movements, and their attempts to popularize and implement global issues of concern and specific initiatives. Details on these reports are as follows:

- Katarina Sehm-Patomäki and Yovana Reyes Tagle — *Campaigns for Debt Relief*. This paper is currently being finalized by the authors, following peer review, for publication as a Programme Paper.
- Rainer Falk — *Movement to Change International Trade Rules and Barriers*. This paper has been delayed due to the author's illness.
- Heikki Patomäki — *Global Taxation Initiatives: The Movement for the Currency Transaction Tax*. This paper was positively reviewed by external referees and the author is currently preparing a final version for publication as a Programme Paper.
- Nelson J.V.B. Querijero and Ronnie V. Amorado — *Transnational Civil Society Movements: The State of Anticorruption Efforts*. This paper was passed on for publication as a Programme Paper and was being copyedited.
- Murat Yilmaz — *Le commerce équitable*. This paper on the fair trade movement was published as a Programme Paper.

Thematic papers

243 A set of critical thematic papers have been prepared looking more closely at the key features, processes and related implications of transnational activism to complement background papers and national studies. The following progress has been made:

- Alejandro Bendaña — *North-South NGO Campaigns and Social Movements: Cooperation or Conflict?*. This paper is being copyedited for publication as a Programme Paper.
- Donatella della Porta — *The Evolving Nature of Public Support and Social Bases of Contemporary Global Social Movements*. This has been published as a Programme Paper.
- Marco Giugni, Marko Bandler and Nina Eggert — *The Global Justice Movement: How Far Does the Classic Social Movement Agenda Go in Explaining Transnational Contention?*. This paper is being copyedited for publication as a Programme Paper.
- Andrej Grubacic — *The Distinctive as well as Combined Role of Reformist-Radical Social Movements and Networks in Producing Expected Results*. The paper is being reviewed by external referees.
- Wendy Harcourt — *Women's Transnational Movements on Reproductive Rights and Health and the Environment*. This paper is being copyedited for publication as a Programme Paper.
- Dieter Rucht — *Evolving Trends in Adaptation and Evolution of Transnational Movements*. The author is preparing a final version of the paper based on the comments received from external reviewers.
- Fernand Vincent — *The Issue of Financial Sustainability in Transnational Social Movements*. The author is preparing a final version of this paper.

Country studies on local and national dynamics

244 In-depth country studies are under way in Argentina, Bolivia, the Philippines, Senegal and Turkey, seeking to examine the resourcefulness, capacity and potential for action of the selected civil society movements in national and local contexts.

245 The principal national-level research coordinators and their affiliation details were provided in the previous report to the Board.

246 Following the methodology meeting in Buenos Aires on 25–26 November 2004, about which the Board received a full report last year, the national research coordinators prepared detailed research outlines for conducting field research, as well as outlining publication and dissemination plans. During the past 12 months, most of their activities have been oriented toward carrying out fieldwork, data collection and interviews. In order to inform the wider audience about the research initiative at the national level, as well as to disseminate the preliminary research outcomes, each national team has put together the first of three national newsletters foreseen under the project.

Programme Development

247 As part of the Institute's 2005–2009 research agenda, one new research project, *Social Responses to Inequalities and Policy Change*, was developed during the current reporting period to investigate social and policy responses to inequality in the wider context of North-South relations. Project funding was obtained from the European Union under the Sixth Framework Programme, Priority 7: Citizens and Governance in a Knowledge-Based Society.

248 While it is increasingly recognized that governance in the contemporary era of globalization is “multilayered” and “multiplayered”, and that civil society activism or “agency” is an important determinant of policy change, there is little research that systematically analyses the nature of interactions. As part of a research network of seven European universities and jointly carried out under two UNRISD programmes (*Civil Society and Social Movements* and *Markets, Business*

and Regulation), the project seeks to fill some of this gap. The research is coordinated by Kléber Ghimire and Peter Utting.

Background

249 North-South inequalities and the general well-being of the mass of the Southern population constitute important and recurring themes of civil society mobilization and activism. Numerous studies have documented instances of contestation, grassroots resistance and NGO or transnational activism related to “neoliberal” policies and “corporate globalization”, and it is generally assumed that policy makers respond in various ways. The precise dynamics of such interaction remain far less clear; particularly unclear is the issue of how activism and movements interact with traditional policy actors and institutions, and how such relationships vary under different policy regimes.

250 Furthermore, the considerable attention given to the role of NGOs and “civil society” in research on development and governance issues since the 1980s, and the relative neglect of the role of state institutions, political parties and trade unions, may have overstated the role of certain civil society actors in processes of policy change. There is also a need for research that examines recent trends that suggest a revival in the role of traditional social movements and mainstream political forces and institutions.

Areas and methods of research

251 This project will examine the nature of social contestation, activism and policy change related to a number of areas of macroeconomic policy and institutional reform. These include development aid, debt relief, trade and subsidy policy, privatization, corporate malpractice and corporate accountability.

252 As this project is part of a pan-European programme of research, the initial focus will be on the activist-policy nexus in the United Kingdom and France. In order to better understand the nature and scale of contestation and activism linked to inequality and its relationship to the policy process, in particular the extent to which mainstream policy actors and institutions respond to activist demands, the research will examine recent shifts in policies in two EU countries. The Institute will seek to mobilize additional resources to conduct research on Southern countries.

253 The cases of the United Kingdom and France are illustrative of the growing influence of CSO activism and social movements in the political and economic decision-making process. In both countries there are signs that political leaders and parties are accommodating various demands and proposals emanating from these movements. There are some important differences, however, in the nature of their policy regimes and state-market-civil society relations. For example, the so-called Anglo-Saxon model of “shareholder capitalism” that dominates in the United Kingdom contrasts to some extent with the “*concertation sociale*” model in France in which trade unions and municipal and national political forces have a significant role to play. Also, considerable “state ownership” of major business enterprises has meant that social dialogue with the state is a significant feature of governance. Overall, these two experiences display significant variations in the type of activist campaigns and demands related to development, North-South inequality and corporate globalization.

254 The United Kingdom is the home of the Third World debt relief movement and a trade justice movement that is calling for both the removal of trade barriers in

rich countries as well as protection of Southern industrial and agricultural capacities. Much of the activism associated with TNCs and corporate accountability is also centred in the United Kingdom. Political leaders and the government appear to be accommodating various demands associated with these movements. Indeed, it can be argued that Tony Blair's recent "Marshall Plan for Africa"—with a budget of USD 25 billion proposing to cancel sub-Saharan debt and maintain the overseas development assistance at 0.7 per cent of GNP by rich countries—is a perceptible result of these and other factors. Various conditionalities, however, are being attached to the plan, such as good governance, corruption control, resolution of conflicts, and interregional liberalization of trade in accordance with WTO principles. There have also been several government and parliamentary initiatives promoting corporate social responsibility and regulations on TNCs, while some politicians and local party and municipal authorities are supporting corporate accountability initiatives and campaigns.

255 France, on the other hand, is the home of the "alter-globalization" movement Attac (Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens), but much of this activism has centred on a small universal tax on foreign exchange earnings to deter speculation and, most importantly, create an important source of public financing for social development. The idea has now been taken up by Jacques Chirac with the proposal of creating an "international solidarity levy" on international financial transactions and airline ticket sales to finance the fight against AIDS and development activities in developing countries. At the same time, domestically his government policies have been marked by a radical liberalization of the public sector and a steady reduction in social coverage, thereby also creating tensions with the civil society sector. As for corporate accountability, France was one of the first countries to introduce mandatory social reporting for large corporations. French TNCs are also expected to report on how they ensure that their subsidiaries and subcontractors respect and adhere to the ILO's core conventions. But in practice the results may be quite different. For example, several major TNCs have been reproached for their relations with dictatorial regimes (e.g., Myanmar) and, unlike at home, they have frequently failed to maintain social dialogue abroad (e.g., Bolivia and Argentina).

256 National-level research will explore two interrelated components.

257 Nature of CSO activism—The research will investigate the structure and intensity of civil society activism on the vital issues of macroeconomic reforms. What are their usual social bases, key allies, range of activities and sustainability? How are internal divisions, institutional weaknesses and financial and human resource needs handled? In short, what is the overall viability of CSO groups to push for alternative policy proposals and their successful implementation in the face of rigid power structures, frequently differing interests of participating organizations and the momentary nature of public support?

258 Shifts in public policies—To what extent, and in what ways, are politicians, policy makers and public policies accommodating activist demands and responding to situations of conflict and resistance to macroeconomic policies and TNCs? How do political intentions and proclamations by political leaders actually get translated into the national policy process? In other words, what are the specific attempts to "decode" the different ideas and propositions advanced by activists and social movements and put them through the bureaucratic channels? More specifically, the research proposes to collect and analyse information on the following aspects:

- parliamentary adoption of relevant laws and policies;
- budgetary provisions;
- establishment of specialized institutions;
- organization of special events;
- data collection and studies to increase debate and propose policies;
- wider interactions with civil society and social movements;
- awareness-raising and mobilization of public opinion;
- elaboration of time-bound strategies.

259 The study will not only ascertain the level of policy commitment but also consider its quality and sustainability. Are policy changes basically cosmetic and politically opportunistic, or are they of a more fundamental nature, in terms of their potential to impact North-South inequalities and global democratic governance?

260 Another important issue for research is the relative influence of CSO activism vis-à-vis other civil society institutions and organized interests, including business interests and scientific and academic institutions. To what extent do they support or oppose CSO demands? What are their lines of communication and influence with political leaders and government bodies, and how do they differ from those used by CSO movements?

261 Given the crucial role of international and regional organizations in shaping macroeconomic policy, research will also consider the linkages between national-level dynamics and the activism-policy nexus at the supranational level. Relevant in this context, for example, are WTO, Group of 20 and trade/subsidy issues; international debt reduction initiatives; and United Nations, EU and OECD initiatives on corporate accountability.

262 This work will draw partly on ongoing research at UNRISD on transnational activist movements and partly on the additional literature review and analyses.

Outputs

263 The project will produce the following outputs:

- National papers on the United Kingdom and France analysing the critical issues related to development aid, debt relief, trade and subsidy policy, privatization, corporate malpractice and corporate accountability.
- Conceptual and thematic studies on “corporate globalization” and North-South inequality, and the relationship between activism and policy change at different levels of governance.
- An overview paper that summarizes the research findings and policy implications.

PROGRAMME ON IDENTITIES, CONFLICT AND COHESION

Introduction

264 Identities affect patterns of exclusion and solidarity, and provide a basis for both social cohesion and conflict. This programme aims to assess how processes of development and social change, as well as public policies, shape identities. The programme will focus on the concepts of difference, citizenship and accommodation to stress the complexity of ethnic and national identities and reveal how such identifications evolve over time and are reconfigured by political and economic changes. In so doing, the programme will direct attention to the need to contest and offer new perspectives for terms such as “indigeneity” and “nation”. The projects under this programme aim to dismantle notions of closed or bounded identities and provide fresh insights into forms of identity formation and transformation.

265 A new research coordinator, Terence Gomez, joined UNRISD in June 2005 to coordinate work in this programme area.

Programme Development

The State, International Institutions and Indigenous Peoples

Background

266 This project will theoretically and empirically trace the structure and interlocking nature of relations between governments and international organizations in order to analyse how these links impact on the identity, rights and livelihood of indigenous communities. It will assess whether, during their collaborative endeavours to industrialize economies, national governments and international agencies have adequately recognized and appreciated the unique identity of indigenous groups and their relationship to their ancestral land and use of its resources.

267 The project will focus primarily on the issue of power, specifically how power is deployed within the state and international institutions and between the state and indigenous groups. Links between the themes of identity, power and rights will be established, drawing attention to the need to institutionalize mechanisms that protect marginalized groups from displacement from their lands while also giving them an avenue to participate in decision making on issues affecting their way of life. The three main subthemes of the project—state, international institutions and indigenous peoples—will be deconstructed to reveal how a more just deployment of power can ensure that the identity and rights of indigenous communities are protected while a more mutually acceptable and equitable form of development can be pursued.

268 Under the theme of the state, government policies that deal with land redistribution and development programmes, including the promotion of economic and entrepreneurial activities to help eradicate poverty, will be reviewed. The theme of international institutions will deal with the links between the state, international financial institutions (IFIs) and transnational corporations (TNCs).

The project will assess the outcome of developmental recommendations, including the promotion of privatization and industrialization by IFIs, on indigenous peoples' ownership of their ancestral land and its resources. The promotion of foreign investment and its impact on the economies and cultures of indigenous communities will also be evaluated. The theme of indigenous peoples will focus attention on the issues of cultural identity and of communal ownership of resources, noting that the distinctiveness of these communities is linked to their geographical location and forms of employment of the resources of these sites.

269 The primary hypothesis of this project is that the current developmental plans conceived between governments and international institutions have affected the self-determination of indigenous peoples and aggravated social inequalities between them and other communities. This project will involve a comparative study of at least eight countries.

Progress

270 The project proposal, submitted to the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) for funding, has been approved. The project is expected to commence in April 2006.

Minority Groups, Generational Change and Identity (Trans)Formation

Background

271 This project aims to improve understanding of ethnic and national identity within minority communities in the developed and developing world. Locally born generations of minority communities have emerged, giving rise to new forms of solidarity or alliance and identification that have generated debates about "identity change" and the implications of this transformation on the particular dynamics of multiethnic societies. Notwithstanding these identity shifts and transitions, young generations of minority groups have been persistently viewed by the dominant cultural communities as "outsiders", "migrants" or members of a "diaspora" who are merely "occupants", not legitimate inhabitants or owners, in their "homeland". The veracity of arguments that ethnic minority youths owe their primary allegiance to or identify mainly with their ancestral homelands has been challenged by new discourses of identity and belonging.

272 The primary hypothesis of this project is that these youths are not merely holding on to a prior or ancestral identity but are grappling to construct a unique form of identity that includes aspects of their cultural heritage as well as the cultural traditions and practices of the country of their birth. By providing a comparative narrative of the social and economic history and circumstances of young ethnic minorities, the research will seek to understand processes of identity formation among members of these communities in a national and transnational perspective.

273 In the public domain, governments have adopted different strategies to deal with the issue of ethnic difference and to promote inclusion and social cohesion. In Great Britain and Australia, multiculturalism and religious freedom are promoted. In France, secular integration and a rejection of categories of origin when identifying people are seen as the mechanisms to overcome difference, while policies that are promulgated and promoted are colour-blind in orientation and universal in outreach. In all three countries, policy recommendations have been based on the two major paths open to governments on issues dealing with "race"

and ethnicity—consolidation or differentiation (that is, multiculturalism). Policies based along these lines appear, however, to have failed to create a more inclusive environment suggesting also a credibility gap between state rhetoric on human rights and the exigent realities in social interactions between communities.

274 One reason for this poor understanding of how minority communities see themselves as legitimate members, not sojourners, in their societies is inadequate research on daily-life relationships between communities in multiethnic societies. Research on the interlinkages in the daily activities of people of different racial and religious backgrounds would help provide insights into the nature of the engagement between different ethnic communities and assist governments in determining why conflict or cohesion occurs.

275 This project will focus on the complexities of cultural and national identity, as well as the complex and intricate interplay of ethnic and national identities in the lives of minorities. By looking at the structure of the state and its policies and at societal relations between indigenous groups and the descendants of migrants, the project will aim to identify key factors in identity formation or re-formation. The research will also generate policy recommendations on how to reconfigure and/or develop opportunities for marginalized youths to have access to good education and fair employment to help them integrate so that they see no need to resort to crime, violence and warfare.

276 This project will be implemented under four themes: economy; racism and religion; gender; and social policies. Under each of these themes, the youth population will be disaggregated in order to gain sound knowledge about the specific causes of their marginalization, their coping strategies, including those of female youths, and their responses to their sense of exclusion or isolation.

Progress

277 UNRISD plans to carry out this research project in collaboration with a few academic institutions. During the reporting period a number of institutions were contacted and agreed to meet to discuss this research, including Vrije University (the Netherlands), the Danish Institute for International Studies (Denmark), Helsinki University (Finland), Durham University (England), Duisburg University (Germany), University of Colombo (Sri Lanka) and LaTrobe University (Australia). This meeting, to be hosted by Vrije University, is tentatively scheduled for June 2006.

Religion, Identity and Business

Background

278 Since late 2001, bombing incidents have occurred in the United States, Spain, Indonesia, the United Kingdom and Egypt, perpetrated by atypical Muslim groups that appear to be linked through an international network funded by unknown sources. While these incidents have precipitated debates about the ties between religion and identity, many of these discussions have tended to homogenize religious communities as well as imply that it is primarily Muslim groups that carry out extremist activities.

279 From a theoretical perspective, while a number of studies have built on the works of Werner Sombart, Max Weber and R.H. Tawney that dealt with the impact of Protestantism and Judaism on capitalism and economic development, there has been no research to date on the links between religion, identity and business. This

project will examine and seek to understand identity processes and formations among members of religious groups through an analysis of their commercial ventures. The business ties and activities of religious groups will be assessed to determine the scale and scope of their impact on communal cohesion and coexistence in multiethnic societies.

280 One common theme running through the literature on religion and economy is that dissenting voices within major religious institutions have broken away, forming communes and business enterprises to establish and practice a new way of life based on a revised understanding of their faith. Some of this literature suggests that these nonconforming groups have ventured into business to support and promote their belief in the distinctiveness of their faith. These groups are said to have created local and transnational business links that, among others, allow them to transfer funds to complement the activities of fellow communities in need of money for their proselytization work.

281 However, a misleading notion in this literature is its implicit assertion of the homogeneous style of enterprise development of these religious groups and of their cohesiveness. This literature contends that members of these groups have a pronounced or clearly delineated religious identity, the cohesiveness of which also is said to arise from their sense of being persecuted or under siege by the dominant religious leaders or institutions. The underlying assumption here is that their feeling of repression and marginalization impels these members of society to come together to reinforce their religious identity, which in turn inspires or motivates their entrepreneurial activities.

282 One mechanism to deal with the distorting tendencies of this essentializing literature is to pay close attention to the issue of enterprise development. A study of a firm run by an individual can help provide comprehensive information about its activities as well as important insights into identity formation and re-formation in society over a protracted period of time. As businesses are actor-centred rather than institution-specific, a study of the key actors running these firms will be able to offer insights into the character, problems and divisions within the religious institutions they represent.

283 A study of individual firms will draw attention to another weakness in the literature on economy and religion: that it has overlooked or even disregarded the point that the persistence of breakaway groups reveals the existence of serious cleavages among members of a common religious faith. The values and the institutions of members within a religious faith are not common or universal. The variations or specificities within communities in the same religious grouping and the diversity of their interpretation of their basic beliefs will be manifested in the mode of operation of their businesses. Through an evaluation of the business style(s) and practices of these groups, this project will determine if the beliefs seen to be distinctive to each religious group actually influence or condition how individual members run their enterprises. An assessment of the corporate ventures of these groups will also help determine whether intra-religious national and transnational networks have been created, and if these ties play a crucial role in the capital formation and accumulation that is deployed for proselytization work or more extremist activities.

284 Through an investigation of the evolution of business firms, the primary task here is to provide insights into how identity is perceived and represented. This project will attempt to show how in spite of their diverse and often contradictory

sets of practices, breakaway religious groups are commonly thought of as unitary entities.

285 A close analysis of the links between religion and business will help reveal details about one fundamental aspect of politics and human rights: the capacity of these groups to influence state and society. Religious groups with a large following and with access to substantial funds possess the means to influence state leaders, giving them direct or indirect access to policy planning and implementation. On the other hand, marginalized groups with no influence over the state tend to resort to more confrontational or even extremist means to articulate their views or objections. While identities are not constituted solely of religious beliefs, creed can serve as the basis or impetus for the forging of alliances to counter experiences of discrimination and alienation. In such a context, religion emerges as an important signpost for marginalized peoples and communities.

286 The primary aims of this project are to understand if religious groups in business are reactionary in their orientation, contributing ultimately to exclusionary practices that serve to undermine social cohesion and, as in more zealous cases, promote extremist activities. The study will then contest recurrent and simplistic analyses that reduce the multifaceted nature of identity to a single affiliation.

Progress

287 During the current reporting period, the research coordinator worked on the development of the project proposal.

PROGRAMME ON GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

288 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 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 sub-national levels.

289 In the process of designing the research agenda for the 2005–2009 quinquennium, it was decided that research projects on gender, which in the 2000–2005 period appeared under different programme areas, would now be consolidated into this new programme, *Gender and Development*. During the current reporting period, the main area of work relating to this programme has been on the *Policy Report on Gender and Development* (see Special Events).

290 For the new research phase, the following thematic areas have been identified: *Political and Social Economy of Care*; *Religious-Based Politics and Gender Equality*; *Gender Dimensions of Judicial Reform*; and *Decentralization, Redistribution and Women’s Access to Welfare*. Four projects are being developed in a sequential manner, and in the present report only the first two are elaborated. Work on the other two projects is still at a preliminary stage. Research under this programme is coordinated by Shahra Razavi.

Programme Development

The Political and Social Economy of Care

Background

291 Care is integral to accumulation, employment, the development of human capital and well-being. Yet the care sector continues to be marginalized in academic and policy debates. Care services tend to take a lowly place in economic analyses of the “real economy”, as well as in policy research on employment and work. But every policy and welfare regime has, by definition, also a care regime. This project attempts to provide a systematic analysis of selected dimensions of care for a number of middle-income and low-income countries. Quantitative and qualitative research methods will be combined to provide a political economy analysis of the evolution of policy in this area, a micro-level quantitative understanding of how women and men within households contribute to the temporal and financial responsibility for dependents, and the interlinkages between care and poverty/social exclusion.

292 Both human welfare and economic development require inputs from the care sector, whether these are paid or unpaid. The care sector embraces economic activities in the home, community, market and state that fit loosely under the rubric of human services. Care work, much of it unpaid especially in low- and middle-income countries, contributes to the formation of human capital on which growth is highly contingent. Care, however, needs to be viewed in much larger terms, as a sociological as well as a social policy phenomenon, as it is part of the fabric of society and integral to social development.

293 A gender division of labour permeates the key institutions that organize care work: the family, the market, the public sector and the voluntary sector. There are also important gender differences in the division of responsibility—both financial and in terms of time inputs—for the support of dependents. Accessing data on intra-family resource allocations is a challenging task: for some developed countries household expenditure surveys may provide useful insights, but for developing countries male/female breakdowns in household expenditure patterns are rarely available. In the absence of such data, indirect methods may have to be used. How do women and men contribute time for the care of dependents? Time use surveys attempt to capture this dimension, although the information available in raw data is not always adequately used in what is published as analysis. On both counts, much remains to be done.

294 There are strong cultural meanings attached to care, especially since it is so closely bound up with the family. Care work is sometimes seen as “a gift” to another human being, to one’s family and to society. Care work is what holds the social fabric together, and it is very often done out of love. Some would argue that bringing in the cash nexus distorts the nature of care. But this is a one-sided view that overlooks all the dangers of oppression, vulnerability and self-exploitation. Nor does it account for the strong social pressures that shape women’s “choices” to take on caring roles.

295 Historically, as women have entered paid employment they have entered jobs in the paid care sector (as domestic workers, nurses and so on). The paid care sector thus tends to evolve alongside the unpaid care sector. Paid care work tends to be low-status and low-paid compared to other forms of paid work involving similar levels of skill and training (even if the tasks are carried out by men). Many analysts emphasize the need for care workers to amplify their “voice” by organizing and lobbying. The movement of workers (including care workers) across national borders is adding another layer of complication. Research documents the movement of women from predominantly low-income regions and countries to more affluent ones where they undertake paid forms of care in private or public institutions. The implications of “global care chains” are being increasingly considered.

296 Care work is interlinked with poverty and social exclusion through three overlapping channels. Responsibilities for the provision of unpaid care often limit the kind of paid work that the carer can undertake to jobs with low pay and few social protection provisions. Many families and individuals needing care suffer from poverty due to the costs associated with purchasing it. Finally, paid forms of care work tend to be low-status and low-paid. Legitimizing care can be an effective means of fighting poverty and social exclusion. Legitimization includes both recognition and valorization, whereby care work is not just regarded as a good for society but policies are put in place to value it.

Research questions

297 Three sets of questions will be addressed in this project.

298 The first set of questions probes and analyses childcare, elderly care and care for the sick as dimensions of public policy. It seeks to understand the public policy responses to the need for caring services, and the policy drivers. What kind of “care regime” is being put in place, and what are the respective roles of households/families, the private sector, the state/public sector and voluntary sector in the emerging set-up? Who does the caring? Who pays for it? In what institutional spaces does care take place?

299 The second set of questions looks at the micro-level allocation of time and resources by women and men, girls and boys in households, drawing on time use surveys and consumer expenditure surveys (where they exist) or other methods of estimating intra-household resource allocations). In contexts where women are increasing their hours of market work, how are their hours of non-market work changing? Who is paying the costs of a reallocation of time use, and can we estimate the magnitude of these costs (in market or non-market terms)? What is happening to those for whom market hours of work are not increasing, for example due to high unemployment rates? How are new patterns of time allocation affecting inequalities among women (between those who can pay and hire-in help, and those who cannot)?

300 What are the interlinkages between care work, on the one hand, and poverty and social exclusion, on the other? Can shifts in time use be linked to risks of poverty (income/consumption poverty or inadequate human development outcomes)? How does the allocation of time between market and non-market work contribute to the observed gender segmentation of the formal and informal labour markets?

Progress

301 A project proposal was prepared and submitted to two donors. Discussions were under way with the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada. The proposal is also being discussed with several experts.

Religious-Based Politics and Gender Equality

Background

302 The prediction that secularism would sweep the world and public religiosity would become a relic of the past has been confounded in recent years by the resurgence of religious-based politics in diverse regions and countries. The sites of resurgence have been characterized by different political regimes (some authoritarian, others formally democratic), different religious configurations (Catholic, Pentecostal, Islamic and Hindu, as minority or majority religions), highly divergent levels of development (both affluent and poor), and differing state positions vis-à-vis religion (from the highly secular to those where religion is an important part of regime identity). In particular where the state in its modern and secular guise has failed to deliver physical security, welfare provisioning or a sense of national purpose and belonging—in other words, where the state is conspicuous by its absence—traditionalist and religious-based groups and scripts have enjoyed a revival as they have rushed in to fill the gaps. The resilience of these institutions, their ingenuity in substituting for state services (be it health, education, or some minimal form of social protection) and their effectiveness in providing members and “clients” with a sense of dignity and purpose can render them indispensable to

the communities they serve. In a growing number of countries these movements have become important political actors (with links to political parties), especially where they are effective in mobilizing socially marginalized groups. The nature of religious politics has been far from uniform: in some contexts political and social movements inspired by religion have been a force for the democratization of state and society (in what is sometimes called the “prophetic” role of religion); in other instances religion has become a force resisting democratic impulses (the “priestly” role of religion).

303 While there is no evidence that women are more attached than are men to faith-based movements and political parties, women form an unspecified but visible component of their membership. Gender relations are matters of central importance to many of these groups and movements, particularly where “women’s liberation” has been associated with failed or repressive modernization. Women’s deportment, mobility, dress code and family roles are often central to the pious society envisaged by these groups, and women’s behaviour can be upheld as a marker of authenticity and moral purity. The emphasis on the complementarity of gender roles and of valuing women’s care work, which is one of the main messages of some of these groups, can be attractive in contexts where economic recession has eroded men’s breadwinning roles and where poverty has pushed women into low-paid and low-status work. Other groups have strong positions on domestic violence, on male alcoholism, and on women’s rights to inheritance—issues that concern large numbers of women.

304 Yet some of these groups and movements are also articulating social agendas that restrict women’s rights and autonomy—whether with respect to reproductive and sexual health and rights, or with regard to women’s physical mobility, dress code, and access to jobs and positions in the public sphere. Thus the current resurgence of religious politics, sometimes by movements that can count women as a significant constituency, raises important questions from a gender equality standpoint. This resurgence and its impact on state-society relations are sometimes perceived as a threat to the achievements of the twentieth century in women’s rights and in gender equality agenda more broadly which has been framed in largely universalist and secular terms. Are feminists such as Susan Moller Okin right to argue that multiculturalism is “bad for women” because it subordinates women’s individual rights to masculine privilege enshrined in group rights that are legitimized by “culture”, “tradition” and above all, religion?

305 Recent years have seen particular concerns about the implications of modern Islamist politics for gender equality. The former is often construed as monolithic and despotic, hostile to human rights in general and oppressive of women in particular. Such positions tend to downplay the diversity of Islamist orientations (sometimes labelled as “conservative”, “radical” and “reformist”), and their dynamism in response to social and political realities (especially as they take part in electoral politics). Nor does the focus on Islamism facilitate a comparative reflection on the tensions between women’s rights and faith-based movements and politics.

306 The nexus between religion and politics provides an important focus for studies of comparative politics. This project concentrates on the implications of this nexus for gender equality and women’s rights. It will select a diverse range of instances involving different faith-based movements and politics, where religious resurgence is re-shaping and disrupting gender stereotypes and gender power relations, with or without women’s political mobilization.

Progress

307 A project proposal is being prepared, and discussions have begun with two donors.

ADVISORY WORK

308 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 2005, UNRISD staff carried out advisory and consultancy activities on over 60 occasions. Researchers also write and submit articles for scholarly journals; such work carried out during the current reporting period is also listed in this section.

Yusuf Bangura

- Presented a paper titled *Ethnic Inequalities and Public Sector Governance* in the Third Forum on Human Development: Cultural Identity, Democracy, and Global Equity, organized by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris, 17–19 January 2005.
- Attended Editorial Board meeting of *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, a journal of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Geneva, 7 March 2005.
- Was a member of the External Advisory Group for the UNHCR's report, *State of the World's Refugees*, to be published in 2006. Provided comments on all the chapters of the report in 2005.
- Attended a brainstorming meeting on Mobilizing Knowledge to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals, organized by the Netherlands Development Assistant Research Council (RAWOO) and the Dutch Ministry for Development Cooperation, The Hague, 25 April 2005.
- Attended a consultation workshop on the racial equality index, organized by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), Geneva, 14–15 November 2005.
- Presented a commissioned paper titled *Democracy, Responsiveness and Well-Being in Africa* at the 11th General Assembly of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), Maputo, 6–10 December 2005.
- Reviewed articles for publication in *Development and Change*.

K.B. Ghimire

- Acted as advisor to the Pôle académique en études internationales, Geneva, July 2005.
- Acted as a member of the jury for a postgraduate thesis submitted to the Department of Social and Political Sciences, University of Lausanne, September 2005.
- Reviewed a paper for *Environmental Science and Policy*, September 2005.
- Reviewed a paper for *Society and Natural Resources*, September 2005.

Terence Gomez

- Convened a conference on Ethnicity, Equity and the Nation: The State, Development and Identity in Multi-Ethnic Societies, and presented a paper on Inter-Ethnic Relations, Business and Identity: The Chinese in Britain and Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 4–5 August 2005.
- Acted as referee for a manuscript titled *Economic Crisis, Elite Cooperation and Democratic Stability: Asia in the Late 1990*, submitted to RoutledgeCurzon for publication.

- Acted as referee for a manuscript titled *A History of Gender Movements in Malaysia*, submitted to RoutledgeCurzon for publication.
- Acted as referee for a manuscript titled *Financing Health in Malaysia*, submitted to RoutledgeCurzon for publication.
- Acted as referee for a manuscript titled *Chinese Ethnic Business: Global and Local Perspectives*, submitted to RoutledgeCurzon for publication.
- Acted as referee for a manuscript titled *Gender, Ethnicity and Schooling in Malaysia*, submitted to RoutledgeCurzon for publication.
- Acted as referee for a manuscript titled *Beyond Chinatown: New Chinese Migration and the Global Expansion of China*, submitted to NIAS (Nordic Institute of Asian Studies) Press for publication.
- Acted as referee for a research proposal, A Comparative Study of the Auto Industry in Malaysia and Thailand, submitted to Sida for funding.
- Served on the editorial boards of the following journals: *East Asia: An International Quarterly*, *Journal of Asia Entrepreneurship and Sustainability*, *Journal of Development and Society* and *Taiwan Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*.

Kate Ives

- Participated in UN–Private Sector Focal Points meeting, Geneva, 26–27 May 2005.
- Presented UNRISD research on corporate social responsibility to graduate students from Soka University (Japan), Geneva, August 2005.

Thandika Mkandawire

- Gave keynote speech at Governance, Economic Policy and Public Administration (GEPPA) conference, Copenhagen, 9–11 January 2005.
- Was speaker at joint Expert Group on Development Issues (EGDI) and Ministry for Foreign Affairs seminar, Stockholm, 15 April 2005.
- Attended United Nations University (UNU)/World Institute for Development Economics Research (WIDER) project meeting on Institutions for Economic Development: History and Contemporary Experience Theory, Helsinki, 18–19 April 2005.
- Attended UN Intellectual History Project conference, New York, 1–2 June 2005.
- Was speaker at conference on Development Strategies and International Aid: The African Proposals, Milan, 8 June 2005.
- As member of the Advisory Council, attended the Queen Elizabeth House (QEH) 50th Anniversary Conference, Oxford, 3–5 July 2005.
- Attended informal discussion on research at the International Institute of Labour Studies (IILS), Geneva, 15 August 2005.
- Attended Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE) Centre Advisory Research Group (CARG) meeting, Oxford, 29–30 September 2005.
- Chaired UNESCO Global Scientific Committee meeting, Paris, 20–21 October 2005.
- Gave lecture and attended meeting on Malawi after the Group of 8 Summit in Gleneagles, Scotland, 3–5 November 2005.
- Gave opening talk at the Open University workshop on Bridging the Gulf between Policies for Innovation, Productivity and Industrial Growth and Policies to Reduce Poverty, London, 18 November 2005.
- Attended international conference on Work Ahead: Employment and Labour Markets in Poverty Reduction organized by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Saltsjöbaden, 23–25 November 2005.
- Participated at 11th General Assembly of CODESRIA, Maputo, 6–10 December 2005.

Naren Prasad

- Participated in WIDER Thinking Ahead: The Future of Development Economics conference, organized by UNU/WIDER, Helsinki, 17–18 June 2005.
- As a resource person, attended a workshop on Macro-Enablers for Multi-Sector Partnerships in the Water and Sanitation Sector, organized by Building Partnership for Development, London, 11–12 July 2005.
- Presented a paper on *Globalization and Social Policy* at the Global Society: Conflict or Cooperation conference, organized by Saint Petersburg State University, St. Petersburg, 7–11 September 2005.
- Provided comments on a book proposal *Agua Latina: Institutional Reform for Urban Water Supply in Latin America*, to be published by Palgrave Macmillan.

Shahra Razavi

- Presented a paper, *Gender Equality Striving for Justice in an Unequal World*, at the International Policy Dialogue organized by InWEnt (Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung), Strengthening Human Rights and Women's Rights: A Key to Realizing the Millennium Development Goals, Berlin, 14–15 April 2005.
- Contributed a paper, *Human Rights, Islamic Politics and Women's Rights for Equality: Contemporary Debates in Iran* to workshop on The Politics of Today's Rights-Based Development from a Feminist Perspective, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, 26–27 September 2005.
- Presented a paper, *The Relevance of Women's Unpaid Work to Social Policy in Developing Countries* at Global Conference on Unpaid Work and the Economy, UNDP/The Levy Economics Institute of Bard College, 1–3 October 2005.
- Presented a paper, *Gender Justice, Development and Rights: Islamic Politics and Women's Rights* at conference on New Challenges for Gender Justice: Fundamentalisms, Markets and Rights, Collegium of Development Studies/Gender and Development Network, Uppsala University, Uppsala, 10–11 November 2005.
- Gave a presentation on *Women, Work and Social Policy in a Globalized World*, Seminar Series on Gendered Globalization (Winter Term 2005/2006), University of Bern, 25 November 2005.
- Presented the report *Gender Equality* to staff and students from the Institute of Social Studies (The Hague), Geneva, 23 November 2005.
- Refereed papers for *Development and Change* and *Global Social Policy*, peer-reviewed research proposals for Sida/SAREC and co-supervised PhD thesis at the University of Florence.
- Editorial board member of *Development in Practice* and *Global Social Policy*; Member of Programme Board of Research on Poverty and Peace, The Research Council of Norway; Member of International Advisory Committee of Social Protection Programme of Women in Informal Economy Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO).

Peter Utting

- Presentation of UNRISD research to staff and students from the Technische Universität Berlin, Geneva, 20 January 2005.
- As member of the International Steering Committee of the UNESCO International Forum on the Social Science–Policy Nexus, attended meetings in Paris in February, April and October 2005.
- Panel speaker on Governing Natural Resources, Sustainability and Economics, at the Helsinki Process: Mobilising Political Will, Helsinki, 7 September 2005.
- Panel discussant on The Role of Policy and the Way Forward and delivered a paper, *Institutional and Policy Dimensions of Corporate Responsibility*, at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) Expert Meeting on the Positive Corporate Contributions to the Economic and Social Development of Host Countries, Geneva, 2 November 2005.

- Chair and speaker on Going Beyond Social Auditing, at the conference Responsible Sourcing: Improving Global Supply Chains Management at the European Commission, Brussels, 18 November 2005.
- Prepared a paper on *Rethinking Business Regulation and Corporate Responsibility*, requested by the British Council in India.
- Peer reviewer for research proposals submitted to the Department for Research Cooperation of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida/SAREC).
- Advisory work for several NGOs and graduate students.

OUTREACH: PUBLICATIONS AND DISSEMINATION

Introduction

309 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 its research findings so that they contribute to policy dialogues and debates.

310 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.

311 The Publication and Dissemination Unit was restructured during the current reporting period, as the information officer and associate information officer/Web manager left UNRISD in June 2005. The editor was named head of the unit. All work related to daily management of the Web site as well as planning for future development has been covered by a half-time consultant since July 2005. Secretarial support to the unit increased on an informal basis, which contributed to the marked growth in output of publications, to a total of 61, despite the net downsizing of the unit.

Publications

312 A steady stream of manuscripts flowed to the Publications and Dissemination Unit for processing (including peer review, editing, layout and printing for in-house publications, and contractual negotiations for copublications). In 2005, five publications were issued each month on average. Five books were produced, as were 29 Programme Papers, 11 Occasional Papers, two reports, seven Research and Policy Briefs (one in English, three in French and three in Spanish), two issues of Conference News and five issues of *UNRISD News* (one in English, two in French and two in Spanish).

313 During this reporting period UNRISD analysed the results of a reader survey on its series of Research and Policy Briefs. The briefs situate the Institute's research within wider social development debates, synthesize its findings and draw out issues for consideration in decision-making processes. They provide this information in a concise format that should be of use to policy makers, scholars, activists, journalists and others. Based on responses to the reader survey, 84 per cent of respondents find the topics and analysis "very interesting" or "interesting"; 97 per cent judge the relevance of information to be "excellent" or "good"; and in terms of usefulness, 65 per cent rate the publications as "essential" or "often useful", and 28 per cent as "sometimes useful", to their work. During the current reporting period, UNRISD translated briefs 1–3 into French and Spanish, and published a new title in English.

314 Publications staff continued to outsource translation, editorial, design and layout work in order to process the ever-increasing quantity of manuscripts being passed on for publication. While the volume of work to be published means that the recourse to freelancers is a necessity, considerable time is spent by in-house staff on the testing and training of freelancers, drawing up detailed contractual terms of reference, and working in close collaboration with the freelancers to ensure that their work is of high quality.

Web Site

Content Development and Visibility

315 During the reporting period and in the context of the 2005–2009 research agenda, several key content areas and functionalities of the UNRISD Web site (www.unrisd.org) were reviewed. Redevelopment work on the site was scheduled for early 2006, in order to better tailor the site to users' needs and to ensure that UNRISD research, events and publications are presented as clearly and comprehensively as possible. A user survey was developed and available online from 24 November to 6 December 2005. Twenty-six responses were received, providing useful feedback. UNRISD staff members were also surveyed for their suggestions, with a response rate of 64 per cent. Feedback was requested on a range of issues, including general impressions of the site and specific questions about the individual sections of the site, and will be used when the site is redeveloped in 2006. Positive areas of feedback were the Email Alerts service and the use of PDF and Net-It options to view publications. Improvements were suggested in areas such as speed of transferring information and the ease of access to publications.

316 The Web site manager also sought out additional ways to improve the visibility of the UNRISD Web site to external search engines, such as Google Scholar. As a result, the site is regularly searched by Google Scholar and the Web monitoring software has detected other new search engines collecting information from the site.

Statistics

317 UNRISD uses software called "WebAbacus" to monitor Internet traffic to its Web site, and statistics showed an average of 25,874 unique visitors to the site each month.⁶ During the reporting period, the number of PDF versions of the Institute's publications downloaded directly from the site increased greatly, from 66,718 in 2004 to 133,780 in 2005; and there were 5,733 requests to receive PDF versions via email, compared to 3,903 the year before.

318 On average, 13 email alerts were released each month (all types of alerts included). At the end of the reporting period, 6,189 emails were registered to use the UNRISD Email Alerts service, of which 1,492 (24.11 per cent) were subscribed to receive daily alerts, 1,744 (28.19 per cent) to receive weekly alerts, and 2,953 (47.71 per cent) to receive monthly alerts. This represents an upward trend in the use of daily and weekly alerts.

⁶ 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.

Technical Developments

319 In autumn 2005, UNRISD carried out successful disaster recovery testing on the whole Web site. In other words, in the event of a complete technical failure on the hosting server, procedures were in place to ensure that the site could be redirected online as soon as the problem was realized.

Dissemination

320 UNRISD research results are disseminated via the Institute's publications; 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; through the participation of UNRISD staff in public events; and via the UNRISD Web site. During this reporting period, dissemination staff pursued outreach efforts to universities; the media; governments and parliaments; and policy makers, field offices and information centres in the United Nations (UN) system. The UNRISD mailing list database included 11,590 addresses at the end of this reporting period.⁷ Dissemination staff also use targeted mailing lists, including subject-specific ones (such as corporate social responsibility, governance and gender) and audience-specific ones.

321 There are 4,712 academic and university contacts in the UNRISD mailing list database. UNRISD tracks permission requests regarding the use of the Institute's publications.⁸ UNRISD dissemination staff urge universities that have included UNRISD publications in their courses to provide this information in order to enhance feedback and maintain up-to-date statistics. Dissemination staff also conduct Internet searches to gather more information on the use of UNRISD materials in addition to that received in the form of permission requests from universities and other academic institutions.

322 In 2005, a total of 57 press releases were issued by UNRISD and were sent out to 342 media contacts in English, 104 in French and 81 in Spanish. In June, a survey was conducted to improve the efficiency of press release dissemination. As a result, 262 media contacts were registered to receive UNRISD Email Alerts. The information on newly released UNRISD publications thus reaches these contacts immediately, whereas for those contacts who requested hard copies, dissemination is more timely, due to the smaller number of press release mailings.

⁷ Including 2,509 non-governmental organizations (NGOs); 151 foundations; 1,201 public libraries; 89 diplomatic missions; 827 governmental and parliamentary representatives; 2,049 academic and research institutions; 2,605 universities; 136 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Resident Representatives; 60 UN Information Centres, and 1,963 miscellaneous smaller categories, including civil society, students and the private sector.

⁸ Permissions were granted to the following in 2005 for the use of UNRISD publications in course packs, CD-Roms and Internet-based educational supports, as well for reprint and translation: University of South Florida, United States • Fuller Theological Seminary, United States • Questia Media, Inc.* • Università degli studi di Bari, Italy • Rice University, United States • George Washington University, United States • University of Ibadan, Nigeria • University of Modena, Italy • University of Manitoba, Canada • University of Washington, United States • OCLC (Online Computer Library Centre, Inc.) Public Affairs Information Service International, United States • University of Lausanne, Switzerland • Economic and Social Research Foundation, Tanzania • University of Pretoria, South Africa • Centre for Civil Society, India • IIAV National Library, Netherlands • Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico • PILI NGO Movement, Indonesia • IBASE and Red Puente, Brazilian Network of NGOs, Brazil • Liberal Women's Intellectual Foundation, Mongolia • The Brazilian Army Library and Publishers, Brazil. (*Questia Media, Inc. is a company that offers an Internet-based service aimed largely at the American college market.)

323 Dissemination staff use the Media Hound database to record mentions in the media of UNRISD and its publications (including articles, abstracts, bibliographic citations, book reviews, radio interviews, etc.). During the reporting period, 152 items were tracked through press clippings returned to UNRISD, communications with journal editors, Internet search on Google Scholar and other channels of feedback. These results likely represent only a percentage of the real number of citations. An initial search for citations in grey materials via Google Scholar yielded promising results. This method of identifying citations will be pursued in the future along with the traditional avenues. In the last quarter of 2005, it was decided to pursue the idea of obtaining citations of UNRISD publications in academic journals through the Web of Science (Thomson Scientific), which could carry out a cited reference search in 8,000 academic journals. The project has started and aimed at identifying sources of citations on UNRISD publications during the period 1995–2005. The results were expected to come at the end of February 2006.

Dissemination to International Conferences

324 As a result of tracking related events worldwide, UNRISD publications were made available at a range of important events organized by the United Nations, specialized agencies, universities, NGOs and national governments. During the reporting period, 13,400 publications were disseminated to 33 international conferences and 6 seminars in 13 countries around the world.⁹ This represents an increase of 44 per cent over the previous reporting period in terms of numbers of copies disseminated.

⁹ Countries covered were Belgium, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, Germany, Italy, Malta, Mozambique, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Venues included [total copies disseminated shown in brackets]: UNHCHR working group, 10–21 January 2005, Geneva [242] • IOM Inter-Sessional Workshop, 2–3 February 2005, Geneva [250] • Inter-Agency Advisory Group on AIDS, UNAIDS/WHO, 7–8 February 2005, Geneva [62] • World Summit on the Information Society Thematic Meeting, UNCTAD, 7–9 February 2005, Geneva [424] • 43rd Session of the Commission for Social Development, 9–18 February 2005, New York [1,410] • Multistakeholder Diplomacy, 11–13 February 2005, Malta [285] • Pro-Poor Macroeconomics, 25 February 2005, Italy [305] • WSIS Preparatory Committee, 17–23 February 2005, Geneva [405] • *Gender Equality* Book Launch at United Nations and Ford Foundation, 7–8 March, 2005, New York [1,025] • 61st Session of the Commission on Human Rights, 14 March–22 April 2005, Geneva [2,085] • GTZ Conference on Gender, 14–15 April, Germany [110] • World Health Assembly (WHO), 16–25 May 2005, Geneva [110] • UN System–Private Sector Focal Points meeting, 26–27 May 2005, Geneva [150] • Gender and Social Policy, 28–30 May 2005, Sweden [460] • UNU-WIDER Thinking Ahead: The Future of Development Economics, 17–18 June 2005, Helsinki [460] • WIDE Annual Conference, 24–25 June 2005, UK [390] • UN Editors Group, 9–10 June 2005, Switzerland [50] • ILO 93rd Session, 31 May–16 June, 2005 Geneva [541] • UNHCHR Open-Ended Consultation, 20 June 2005, Geneva [76] • IOM International Dialogue on Migration, 22 June 2005, Geneva [40] • UNECA Workshop, Addressing Inequalities: Policies for Inclusive Development, 11–12 July 2005 [158] • OHCHR Social Forum, 21–22 July 2005, Geneva [190] • OHCHR 57th Session, 25 July–12 August 2005, Geneva [150] • UN Information Services, UNRISD Presentation, 29 August 2005, Geneva [137] • Development Studies Association, Open University, 7–9 September, 2005, UK [170] • CSR Seminar, Copenhagen Business School, 5 September 2005, Denmark [130] • Helsinki Process 2005, 13 September 2005 [95] • WSIS PrepCom, 19–30 September 2005, Geneva [470] • UN Open Day, 25 September 2005, Geneva [565] • Social Policy Gender Meeting, 4 October 2005, Sweden, [120] • World Federation of UN Associations Conference, 21 October 2005, Geneva [80] • The 10th AWID International Forum on Women's Rights and Development, 27–30 October 2005, Bangkok [560] • UNCTAD Expert Meeting on CSR, 31 October–2 November 2005, Geneva [301] • Alliance sud/DDC Gender and Development Conference, 15 November 2005, Switzerland [62] • Responsible Sourcing: Improving Global Supply Chains Management (EU Conference), 18 November 2005, Belgium [235] • Genre et Développement, 24–25 November 2005, Geneva, [132] • Activism against Gender Violence, UNHCR, 25 November–10 December 2005, Geneva [40] • CODESRIA 11th General Assembly, 6–10 December 2005, Mozambique [900] • UNRISD presentation to students of Johns Hopkins University SAIS, 12 December 2005, Geneva [26].

CD-Rom

325 Two UNRISD CD-Roms were being produced, one including titles up until 2003, and the second an “update” containing titles published in 2004–2005. The CD-Roms are intended to complement the Web site and printed publications, and reinforce the dissemination efforts of the Institute in a cost-effective way, specifically in regions where accessibility to the Internet is limited. Completion of the CD-Roms is planned for mid-2006.

Copublications

326 Copublishing arrangements with commercial and academic publishing houses allow the Institute to benefit from the expertise and distribution networks of experienced and internationally renowned companies. This 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.

327 During the reporting period, UNRISD had two copublishing contracts for multi-volume series with Palgrave Macmillan, *Social Policy in a Development Context* (10 volumes) and *Ethnicity, Inequality and Public Sector Governance* (11 volumes). Palgrave Macmillan also accepted *Reclaiming Development Agendas: Knowledge, Power and International Policy Making* (Peter Utting, ed.) for publication and the contract was signed.

328 Five copublications came out in 2005.

- Maureen Mackintosh and Meri Koivusalo (eds.) — *Commercialization of Health Care: Global and Local Dynamics and Policy Responses*, UNRISD and Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2005
- K.B. Ghimire (ed.) — *Civil Society and the Market Question*, UNRISD and Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2005
- Yusuf Bangura and Rodolfo Stavenhagen (eds.) — *Racism and Public Policy*, UNRISD and Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2005
- Olli Kangas and Joakim Palme (eds.) — *Social Policy and Economic Development in the Nordic Countries*, UNRISD and Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2005
- Ashok Swain (ed.) — *Education as Social Action: Knowledge, Identity and Power*, UNRISD and Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2005

In-House Publications

329 Twenty-nine Programme Papers, 11 Occasional Papers, two reports, seven Research and Policy Briefs (one in English, three in French and three in Spanish), two issues of Conference News and five issues of *UNRISD News* (one in English, two in French and two in Spanish) were issued in 2005, as follows:

Reports

- *Egalité des sexes: En quête de justice dans un monde d’inégalités*, UNRISD, Geneva, 2005
- *Gender Equality: Striving for Justice in an Unequal World*, UNRISD, Geneva, 2005

Research and Policy Briefs

- RPB 4 *Land Tenure Reform and Gender Equality*, December 2005
- RPB 3 *Politiques de technocrates et contrôle démocratique*, May 2005
- RPB 3 *Formulación tecnocrática de las políticas y rendición de cuentas en regímenes democráticos*, May 2005.
- RPB 2 *Le développement social et la “révolution de l’information”*, May 2005.
- RPB 2 *El desarrollo social y la “revolución de la información”*, May 2005.
- RPB 1 *Responsabilité sociale et encadrement juridique des sociétés commerciales*, April 2005.
- RPB 1 *Responsabilidad social y regulación de las empresas*, April 2005.

Gender Occasional Papers

- OPGP 11 *Feminized Migration in East and Southeast Asia: Policies, Actions and Empowerment*, Keiko Yamanaka and Nicola Piper, December 2005
- OPGP 10 *“Your Justice is Too Slow”: Will the ICTR Fail Rwanda’s Rape Victims?*, Binaifer Nowrojee, November 2005
- OPGP 9 *Neolib, Neocons and Gender Justice: Lessons from Global Negotiations*, Gita Sen, September 2005
- OPGP 8 *Decentralizing Government and Centralizing Gender in Southern Africa: Lessons from the South African Experience*, Jo Beall, August 2005
- OPGP 7 *For or Against Gender Equality? Evaluating the Post–Cold War “Rule of Law” Reforms in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Celestine Nyamu-Musembi, August 2005
- OPGP 6 *Gendering Migration, Livelihood and Entitlements: Migrant Women in Canada and the United States*, Monica Boyd and Deanna Pikkov, July 2005
- OPGP 5 *Women, Political Parties and Social Movements in South Asia*, Amrita Basu, July 2005
- OPGP 4 *The Politics of Gender and Reconstruction in Afghanistan*, Deniz Kandiyoti, February 2005
- OPGP 3 *Women at Work: The Status of Women in the Labour Markets of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland*, Éva Fodor, February 2005
- OPGP 2 *Livelihood Struggles and Market Reform: (Un)making Chinese Labour after State Socialism*, Ching Kwan Lee, February 2005
- OPGP 1 *The Feminization of Agriculture? Economic Restructuring in Rural Latin America*, Carmen Diana Deere, February 2005

Programme Papers

Civil Society and Social Movements

- PP CSSM 21 *Le commerce équitable*, Murat Yilmaz, December 2005
- PP CSSM 20 *The Social Bases of the Global Justice Movement: Some Theoretical Reflections and Empirical Evidence from the First European Social Forum*, Donatella della Porta, December 2005
- PP CSSM 19 *The Contemporary Global Social Movements*, Kléber B. Ghimire, August 2005
- PP CSSM 18 *UN World Summits and Civil Society: The State of the Art*, Mario Pianta, August 2005
- PP CSSM 17 *Civil Society in United Nations Conferences: A Literature Review*, Constanza Tabbush, August 2005
- PP CSSM 16, *Environmental Movements, Politics and Agenda 21 in Latin America*, María Pilar García-Guadilla, August 2005
- PP CSSM 15, *Environmental Movements in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Political Ecology of Power and Conflict*, Cyril I. Obi, January 2005

Democracy, Governance and Human Rights

- PP DGHR 20 *Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance in the Public Sector: Malaysian Experiences*, Khoo Boo Teik, December 2005
- PP DGHR 19 *Economic Policy Making and Parliamentary Accountability in Hungary*, Attila Ágh, Gabriella Ilonszki and András Láncki, December 2005
- PP DGHR 18 *Le contrôle parlementaire de l'action gouvernementale en République du Bénin: Une lecture sociologique*, Francis Akindès and Victor Topanou, October 2005
- PP DGHR 17 *Economic Policy Making and Parliamentary Accountability in the Czech Republic*, Zdenka Mansfeldová, October 2005

Identities, Conflict and Cohesion

- PP ICC 11 *Inequality and Conflict: A Review of an Age-Old Concern*, Christopher Cramer, October 2005

Social Policy and Development

- PP SPD 23 *Targeting and Universalism in Poverty Reduction*, Thandika Mkandawire, December 2005
- PP SPD 22 *Transforming the Developmental Welfare State in East Asia*, Huck-ju Kwon, September 2005
- PP SPD 21 *The Politics of Welfare Developmentalism in Hong Kong*, Eliza W.Y. Lee, August 2005
- PP SPD 20 *Política social y reforma social "a la tica": Un caso paradigmático de heterodoxia en el contexto de una economía periférica*, Manuel Barahona, Ludwig Güendel and Carlos Castro, August 2005
- PP SPD 19 *The Adult Worker Model Family, Gender Equality and Care: The Search for New Policy Principles, and the Possibilities and Problems of a Capabilities Approach*, Susy Giullari and Jane Lewis, April 2005
- PP SPD 18 *"Globalization" and Social Policy in a Development Context: Regional Responses*, Nicola Yeates, April 2005

Technology, Business and Society

- PP TBS 17 *Technologies, Power and Society: An Overview*, Momar-Coumba Diop, September 2005
- PP TBS 16 *The "Pay Your Taxes" Debate: Perspectives on Corporate Taxation and Social Responsibility in the Chilean Mining Industry*, Contributors: Manuel Riesco, Gustavo Lagos and Marcos Lima, September 2005
- PP TBS 15 *Rethinking Business Regulation: From Self-Regulation to Social Control*, Peter Utting, September 2005

UNRISD Overarching Concerns

- PP UOC 11 *The World Bank as a Knowledge Agency*, John Toye and Richard Toye, November 2005
- PP UOC 10 *Beyond Buzzwords: "Poverty Reduction", "Participation" and "Empowerment" in Development Policy*, Andrea Cornwall and Karen Brock, November 2005
- PP UOC 9 *The Search for Policy Autonomy in the South: Universalism, Social Learning and the Role of Regionalism*, Norman Girvan, October 2005
- PP UOC 8 *The Sources of Neoliberal Globalization*, Jan Aart Scholte, October 2005
- PP UOC 7 *Interpreting Globalization: Neoliberal and Internationalist Views of Changing Patterns of the Global Trade and Financial System*, John Quiggin, October 2005
- PP UOC 6 *Approaches to Globalization and Inequality within the International System*, Roy Culpeper, October 2005

- PP UOC 5 *Methodological and Data Challenges to Identifying the Impacts of Globalization and Liberalization on Inequality*, Albert Berry, October 2005
- PP UOC 4 *In Quest of Sustainable Development*, Solon L. Barraclough, September 2005

Conference News

- CN 16 *Ethnic Inequalities and Public Sector Governance* (Report of the International Conference organized by UNRISD, UNDP Latvia and the Latvian Ministry of Integration, 25–27 March 2004, Riga, Latvia), December 2005
- CN 15 *Understanding “Informational Developments”: A Reflection on Key Research Issues* (Report of the UNRISD Workshop, 26–27 September 2003, Geneva), December 2005

UNRISD News

- *UNRISD Infos*, No. 26, June 2005
- *UNRISD Informa*, No. 26, November 2005
- *UNRISD News*, No. 27, March 2005
- *UNRISD Infos*, No. 27, November 2005
- *UNRISD Informa*, No. 27, November 2005

UNRISD Staff Contributions to External Publications

- Terence Gomez, “The state, governance and corruption in Malaysia”, in Nicholas Tarling (ed.), *Corruption and Good Governance in Asia*. Routledge, London, 2005.
- Terence Gomez, “The 2004 Malaysian general elections: Economic development, electoral trends and the decline of the opposition”, in Saw Swee-Hock and K. Kesavapany (eds.), *Malaysia: Recent Trends and Challenges*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 2005.
- Terence Gomez, “The perils of pro-Malay policies”, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. 168, No. 8, September 2005.
- Thandika Mkandawire, “Maladjusted African economies and globalisation”, *Africa Development*, Vol. XXX, Nos. 1 and 2, 2005.
- Thandika Mkandawire, *The Developmentalists*, All Africa.com, 8 March 2005.
- Thandika Mkandawire, “Introduction” and “African intellectuals and nationalism” in Thandika Mkandawire (ed.), *African Intellectuals: Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender and Development*. Zed Books, London, 2005.
- Shahra Razavi, “Gender equality: Striving for justice in an unequal world—UNRISD’s contribution to the Beijing Plus Ten anniversary.” In *Strengthening Human Rights and Women’s Rights: A Key to Realizing the Millennium Development Goals*. InWEnt Development Policy Forum, Berlin, 2005.
- Shahra Razavi (with Maxine Molyneux), “Beijing Plus Ten: An ambivalent record on gender justice.” *Development and Change*, Vol. 36, Issue 6, November 2005.
- Peter Utting, “Corporate impact”, *Courrier de la Planète*, No. 74, September 2005. Also published in Spanish and French.
- Peter Utting, “Corporate responsibility and the movement of business”, *Development in Practice*, Vol. 15, June 2005.
- Peter Utting, “Keeping tabs on TNCs”, *ID21 Insights*, Issue 54, March 2005.
- Peter Utting, “CSR and reporting for development” in UNCTAD, *Disclosure of the Impact of Corporations on Society: Current Trends and Issues*, UNCTAD, Geneva, 2004 (published in 2005; also in French and Spanish).

UNRISD Reference Centre

330 The Reference Centre holds all UNRISD 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. UNRISD has 11 paid subscriptions to key journals dealing with its research programme (and which are not available in the United Nations Geneva Library). UNRISD has some 50 exchange agreements with other publishers from developing and developed countries.

331 An inventory system was implemented in 2005. Data entry was ongoing at the close of the reporting period. When fully functional the inventory software will allow dissemination staff to provide timely information on publication stocks as well as recipients.

RESEARCH ASSISTANTS AND INTERNS

332 Young scholars participate in the UNRISD programme of work as research assistants and as interns. A limited number of outstanding students and scholars from around the world are thus offered the opportunity to gain experience in an international research setting. Young researchers are selected on the basis of their academic experience and interests, with interns spending two to three months (on average) at UNRISD, and research assistants a maximum of two years.

333 Research assistants and interns assist research coordinators in developing 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, reported on and participated in conferences; and carried out translation work for the Publication and Dissemination Unit. During the reporting period, research assistants and interns came from Angola, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, France, Germany, New Zealand, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Uganda, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Research Assistants and Interns (2005)

- Gilberto Antonio, Angola/Switzerland
- Daniela Barrier, Brazil/France
- Maria Victoria Avilés Blanco, Spain
- Gabriel Cordova, Spain/United States
- Santiago Daroca, Bolivia
- Liliana Diaz, Colombia
- Alexandra Efthymiades, Brazil/Switzerland
- Elise Guélat, Switzerland
- Carl-Johan Hedberg, Sweden
- Kate Ives, United Kingdom
- Stacey Mitchell, Canada
- Zarine Rocha Mohamed, New Zealand
- Robert Mukiza, Uganda
- Alexander Peyre Dutrey, Sweden
- Britta Sadoun, Germany

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Josephine Grin-Yates
Mensur Ismail*
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Wendy Salvo
Anita Tombez

PUBLICATIONS, DISSEMINATION AND REFERENCE CENTRE

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Nicolas Bovay (to June 2005)
Sylvie Brenninkmeijer-Liu
Caroline Danloy (to June 2005)
Jenifer Freedman
Véronique Martinez
Pamela Smaridge
Richard Warren* (from July 2005)
Maria Zaballa*

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Susana Franco* (to February 2005)
Kléber Ghimire
Terence Gomez (from June 2005)
Huck-ju Kwon (staff to January 2005)**
Thandika Mkandawire
Naren Prasad (from March 2005)
Shahra Razavi
Cecilia Ugaz (to January 2005)
Peter Utting
Ann Zammit*

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Urvashi Butalia
Joseph Collins
Andrea Giovanni Cornia
Anne Marie Goetz
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Rene Loewenson
Maureen Mackintosh
Joakim Palme
Nicola Piper
Bill Rau
Manuel Riesco

VISITING FELLOW

Edda Magnus (to February 2005)

* consultant based at UNRISD

** external coordinator from February 2005

¹⁰ See also Research Assistants and Interns (page 89).