

Social Protection Floors, Post 2015 Development Agenda und die Zivilgesellschaft

Missing a golden opportunity?



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Structure of the presentation

- **Point One:** The World remains an unfair place...
- **Point Two:** A brief history of major UN social policy initiatives...four defining periods
- **Point Three:** The ILO, the joint UN crisis initiative and the emergence of the Social Protection Floor concept
- **Point Four:** The Post 2015 agenda: A last chance to create a UN social protection strategy?
- **Point Five:** A possible social protection strategy for Global Civil Society

Point one

The world remains an unfair place...

The Global Social Challenge: The world is an unfair, unhealthy and insecure place for most people...

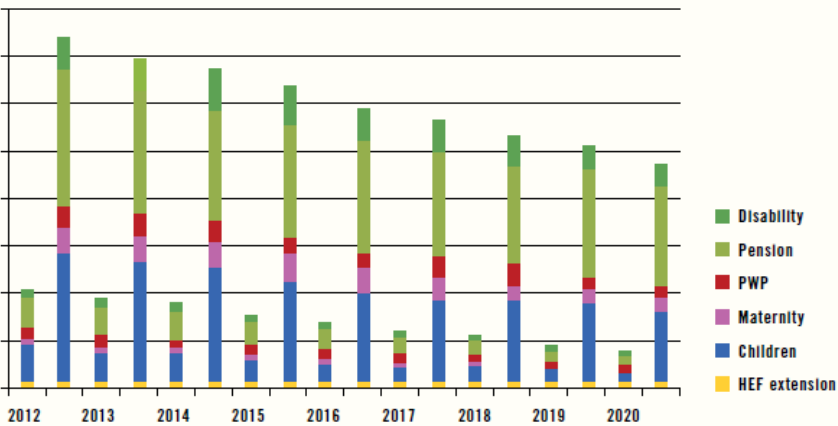
- 75% of people live in social insecurity, more than a third in abject poverty
- Between 5 and 7 million children die every year under age 5 due to lack of access to health care and lack of income security (access to food)
- 2.6 billion people have no access to basic sanitary services,
- About 900 million people have no access to safe drinking water,
- 925 million suffer from chronic hunger,
- 100 million fall into poverty every because they have to pay health services

... but there is a tool that can help to solve at least a part of the problem: social protection works ...

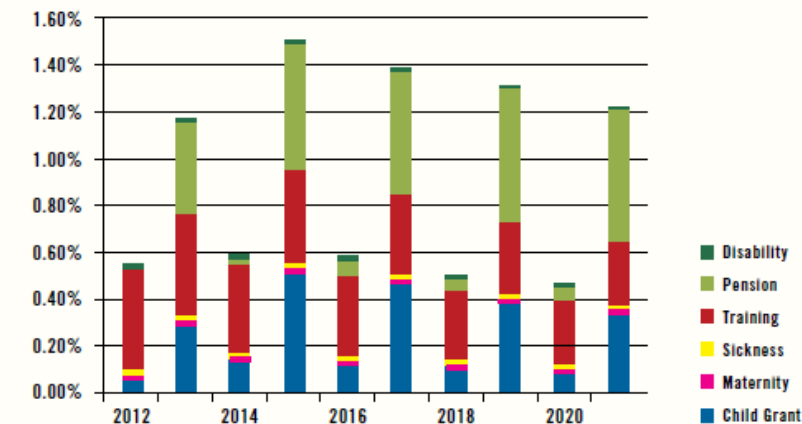
- Social security reduces poverty by up to 50% in almost all OECD countries
- Social security reduces income inequality by about 50% in many European countries
- Social security is a universally accepted as human right (article 22, Universal declaration)
- Basic social protection systems are affordable nearly every where
- Hence social security transfers are a pivotal tool to combat poverty, social exclusion and inequality
- What is lacking is the political will and a sustainable global strategy

...and results of feasibility studies show affordability of basic systems in developing countries(Source ILO)

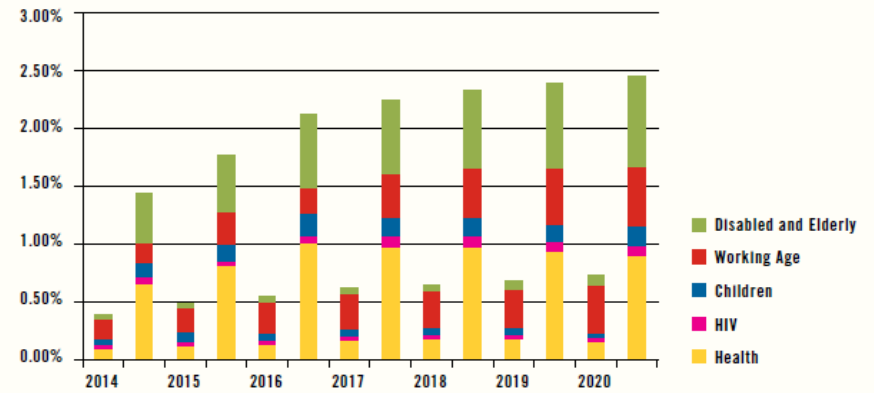
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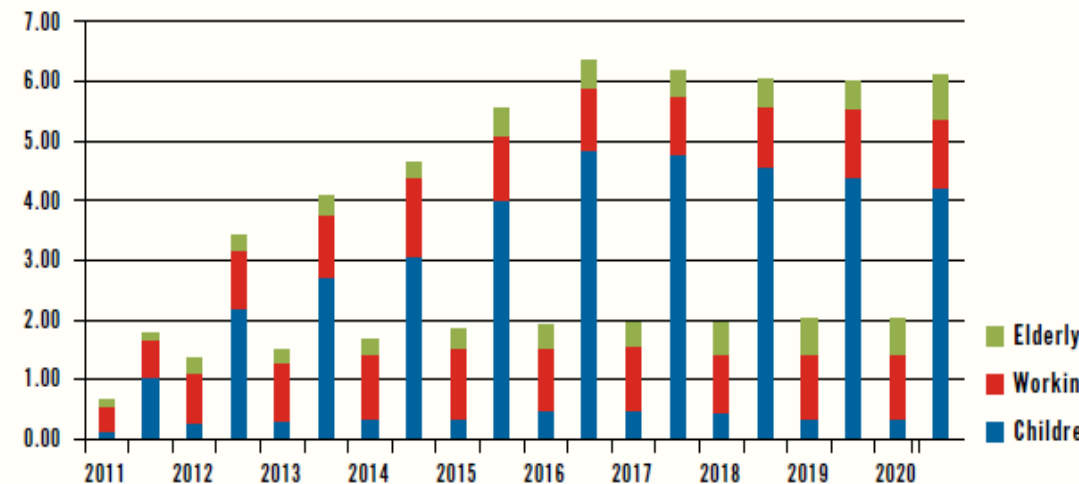
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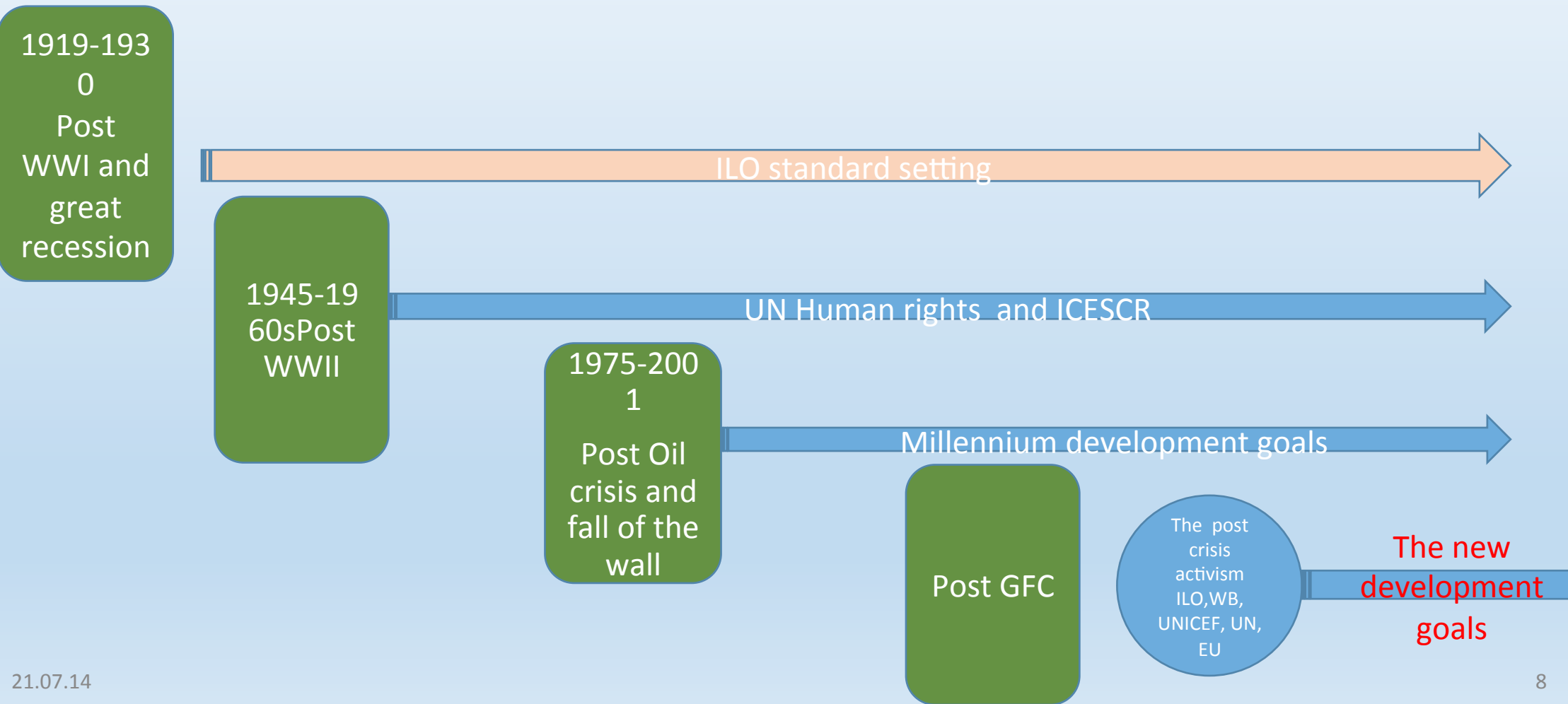
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Point Two:

A brief history of major UN social policy initiatives...four defining periods

The four defining phases of UN social policy...

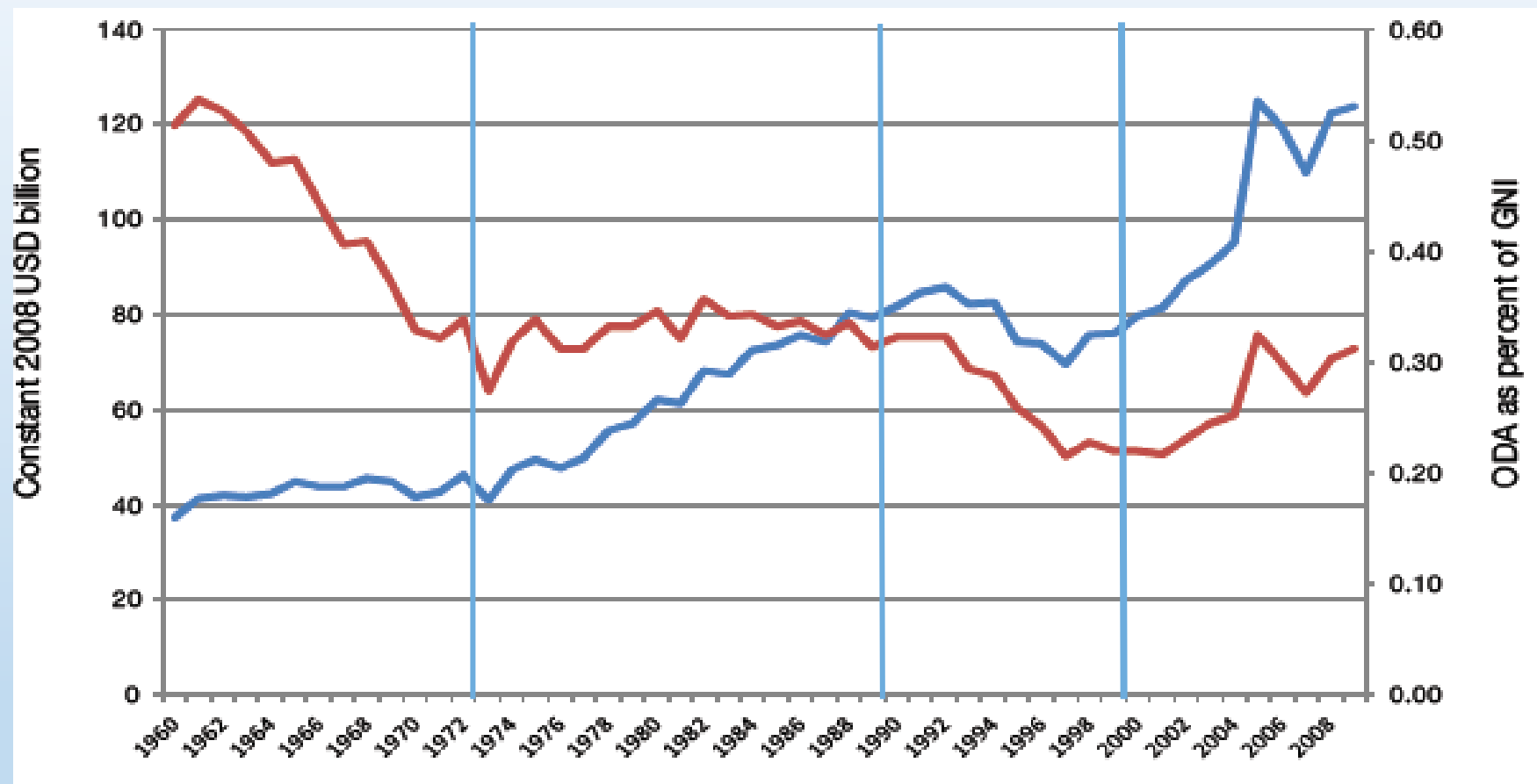


The Third Phase: Oil crises in the 1970s and the 1980s/1990s : the lost decades of development?

- **Post oil crisis recession** in the industrialised world (1974/5 +)
- **Debt crisis** in developing countries (1980s and 1990s)
- **Structural adjustment** policies of the World Bank and regional development banks force major economic reforms through privatisation and deregulation in the developing world (later named the “Washington consensus”) (1980s +)
- **Market fundamentalism** lead to laissez faire development policies (1980s +)
- **Loss of UN influence** on international and national development strategies, **rise of World Bank in social policy** and the importance of the IMF in economic development policies (1980s +)
- **The fall of the Berlin Wall** and the end of the competition between economic and political systems lead to reduced interest in development aid (1989)
- The **Take-off-phase** of Gloablisation (1980 – 2000)
- Global governance focussed on global economic governance or rather non – governance?

The 1980s : the lost decade of development policy

Official development assistance over 50 years

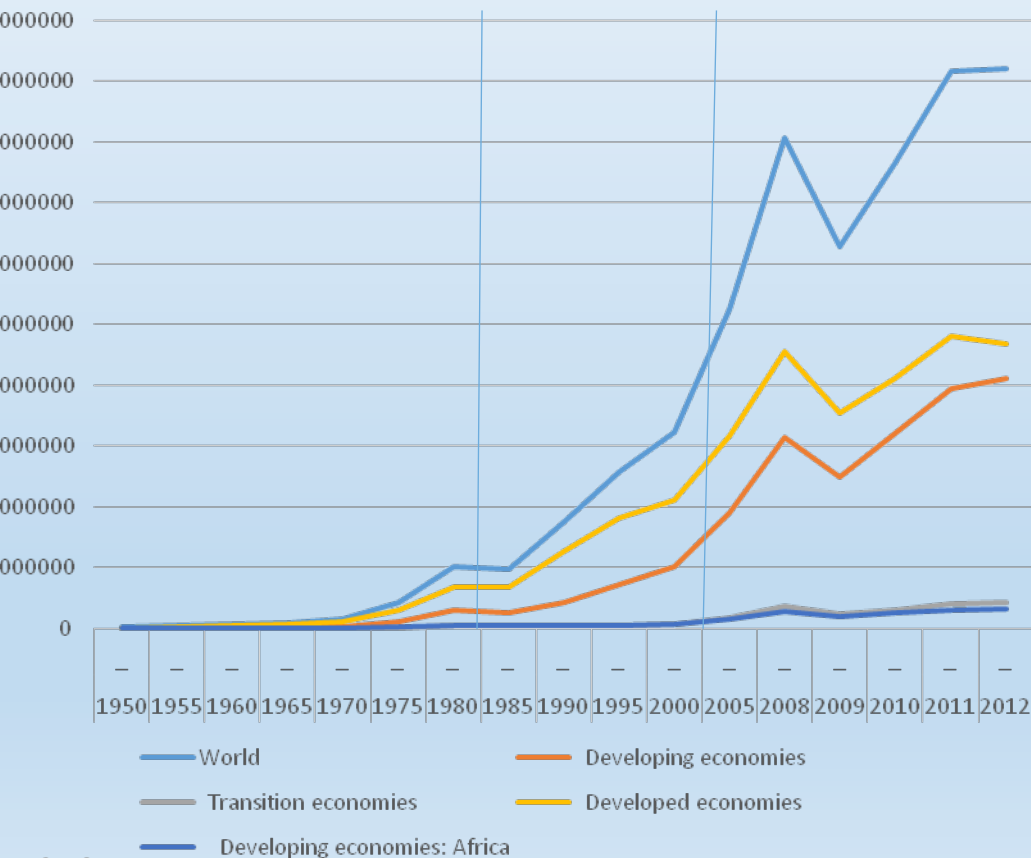


Source: OECD

The 1980s/1990s : The take-off of globalisation

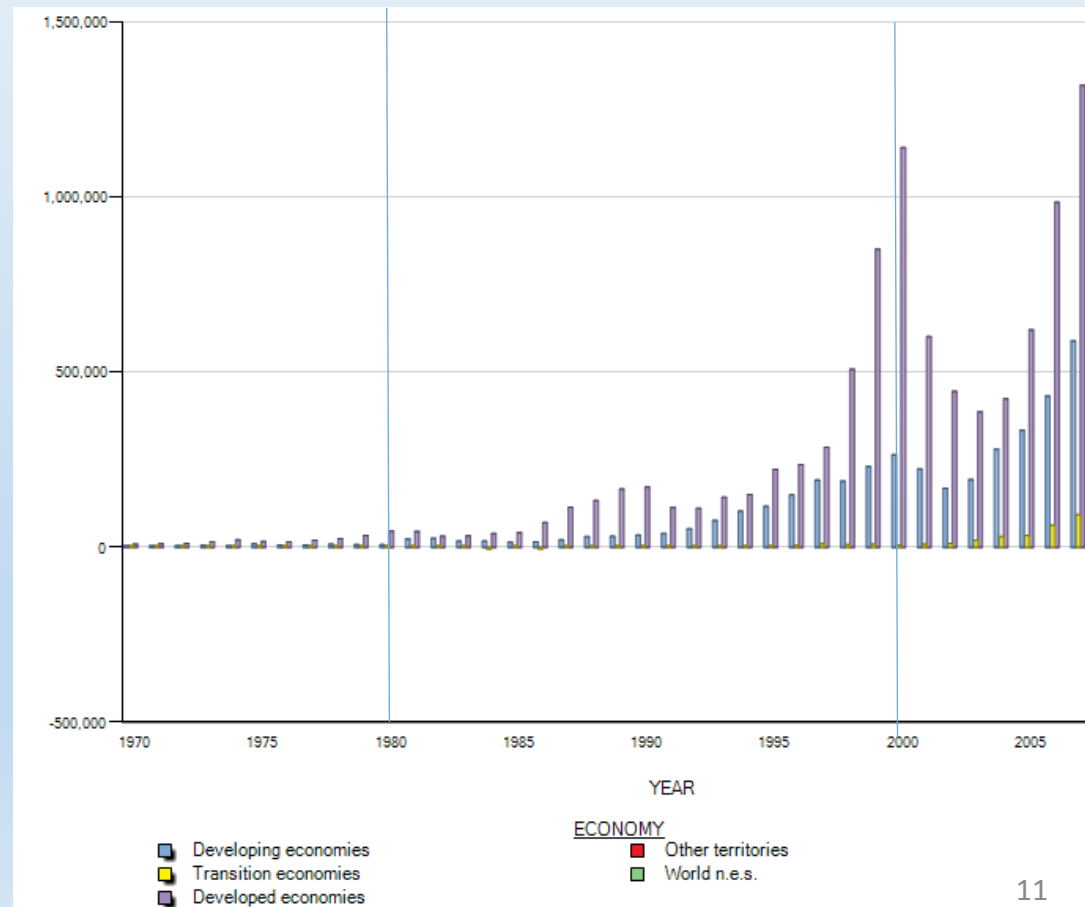
Foreign Direct Investment, 1970 - 2012

Value of merchandise Exports and Imports 1950 - 2012,
millions of US dollars



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Source: UNCTAD



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During the of the 1990s the UN takes the initiative back organises a series of summits and finally the Millenium summit with The Millennium Declaration accepted by 189 countries and 147 heads of state and government and ...

- ... In a messy messy process of senior bureaucrats, OECD continues with their IDG s, UN with M-declaration targets..., WB siding with OECD, fighting for turf... Finnally hammering out a compromise between IDGs and Millenium development targets moving issues between goal, target and indicator status...(8 Goals, 18 targets and 48 indicators)
- In his follow-up report in September 2001 Annan reports, MDGS have been formulated...
- Accepted in Monterrey 2002 (Bush appears...unexpectedly...)

Point Three:

**The ILO, the joint UN crisis initiative
and the emergence of the Social Protection
Floor concept**

The last phase: The UN SPF Initiative

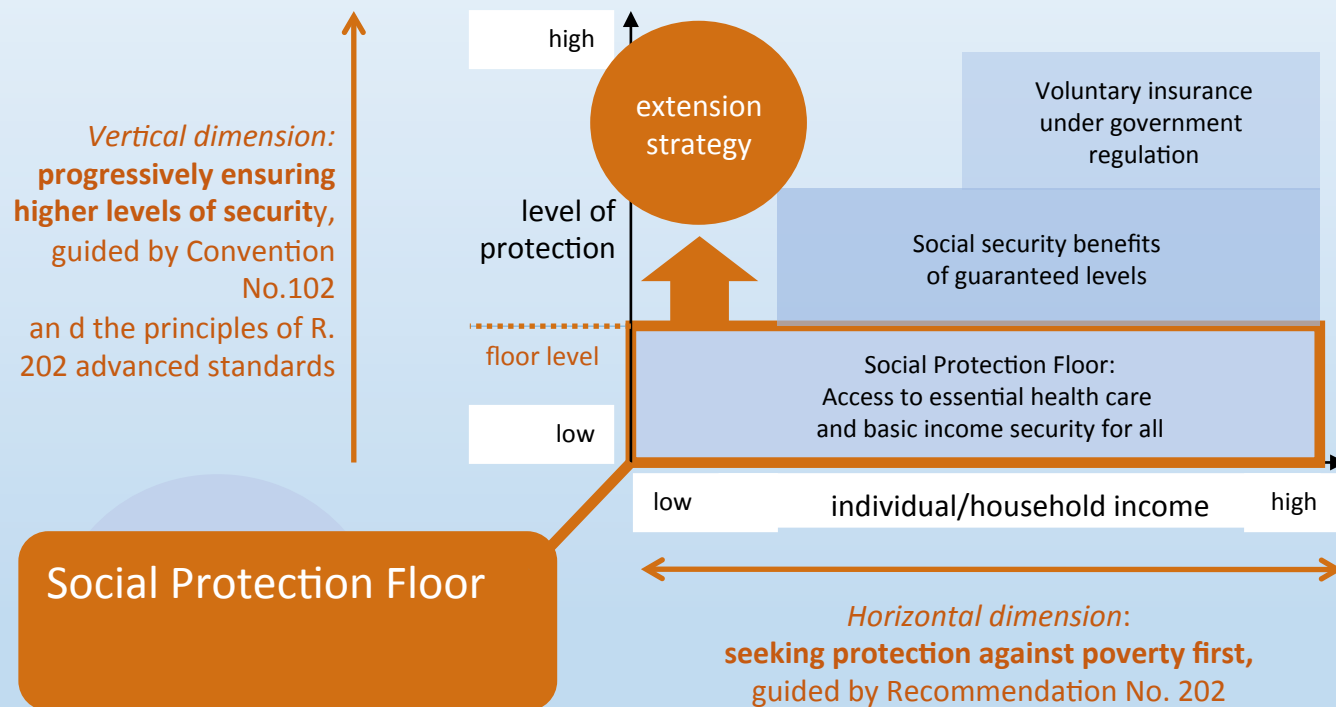
A UN System Emergency response to the crisis

In April 2009, the UN Chief Executives Board (UN CEB) agreed on **nine joint initiatives** to confront the crisis, accelerate recovery and pave the way for a fairer and more sustainable globalization:



1. Additional financing for the most vulnerable
2. Food Security
3. Trade
4. A Green Economy Initiative
5. A Global Jobs Pact
6. **A Social Protection Floor (SPF)**
7. Humanitarian, Security and Social Stability
8. Technology and Innovation
9. Monitoring and Analysis

The ILO takes over and remembers old tools of global governance : R 2 adopted unanimously by ILO Members in June 2012 offers strong normative guidance for building comprehensive social security systems



National social protection floors: At least four nationally-defined guarantees

The social protection floors should comprise at least the following
basic social security guarantees: (para. 5)



Guarantees should be provided to at least all residents and children, as defined in national laws and regulations, subject to Members' existing international obligations. (para. 6)

...and its principles that address insecurity, inequality, poverty and seek to dynamically increase security without jeopardising access to employment

Overall and primary responsibility of the State

Universal coverage

- Universality of protection, based on solidarity
- Social inclusion including persons in the informal economy

Rights

- Adequacy and predictability of benefits
- Non-discrimination, gender equality and responsiveness to special needs
- Entitlements to benefits prescribed by national law
- Efficiency and accessibility of complaint and appeal procedures
- Respect for the rights and dignity of people covered
- Respect for collective bargaining and freedom of association

Implementation

- Progressive realization, including by setting targets and timeframes
- Coherence with social, economic and employment policies
- Regular monitoring of implementation and periodic evaluation
- Tripartite participation and consultation with representatives of persons concerned

Financing and delivery

- Consideration of diversity of methods and approaches
- Solidarity in financing and optimal balance of interests
- Transparent, accountable and sound financial management and administration
- Financial, fiscal and economic sustainability with regard to social justice and equity
- High-quality public services that enhance delivery of social security systems
- Coherence across institutions responsible for the delivery of social protection

A key point: the term *guarantees* encompasses transfers in cash and in kind...and hence seeks an acceptable UN definition of the SPF

Para 4 of the recommendation states:

The guarantees should ensure at a minimum that, over the life cycle, all in need have access to essential health care and to basic income security which together **secure effective access to goods and services defined as necessary at the national level.**

Housing security

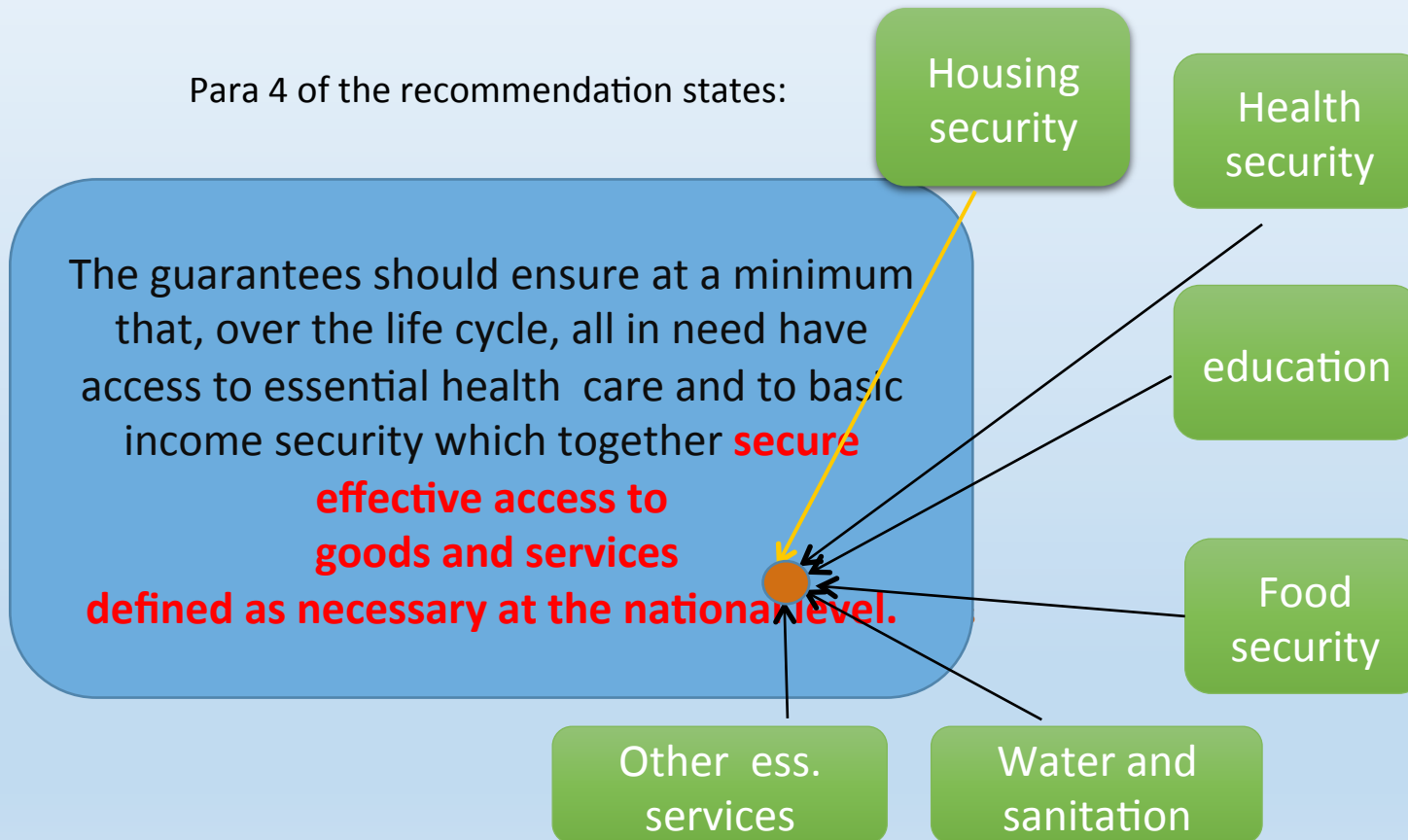
Health security

education

Food security

Other ess. services

Water and sanitation



Where we are today: The global community negotiates new development goals in times of great ambivalence: a fragile consensus and an emerging prevalence of austerity policies...

2012: The year of consensus and parallel action on social Protection

- With R. 202 the global community hence has defined unanimously a comprehensive set of social protection principles, obligations and objectives for all societies.
- R. 202 is not a binding international legal instrument. It remains a recommendation to 184 countries.
- BUT: the political price paid for the swift standard setting action of the ILO was that the SPF was after June 2012 perceived as an agenda owned by the ILO and not the UN as a whole.
- The SPIAC- B , formally chaired by ILO and WB, takes centre stage ...

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Point Four:

The Post 2015 agenda: A last chance to create a UN social protection strategy?

The challenge: How to migrate the SPF back to the UN system...and keep it on the front burner of the global policy agenda

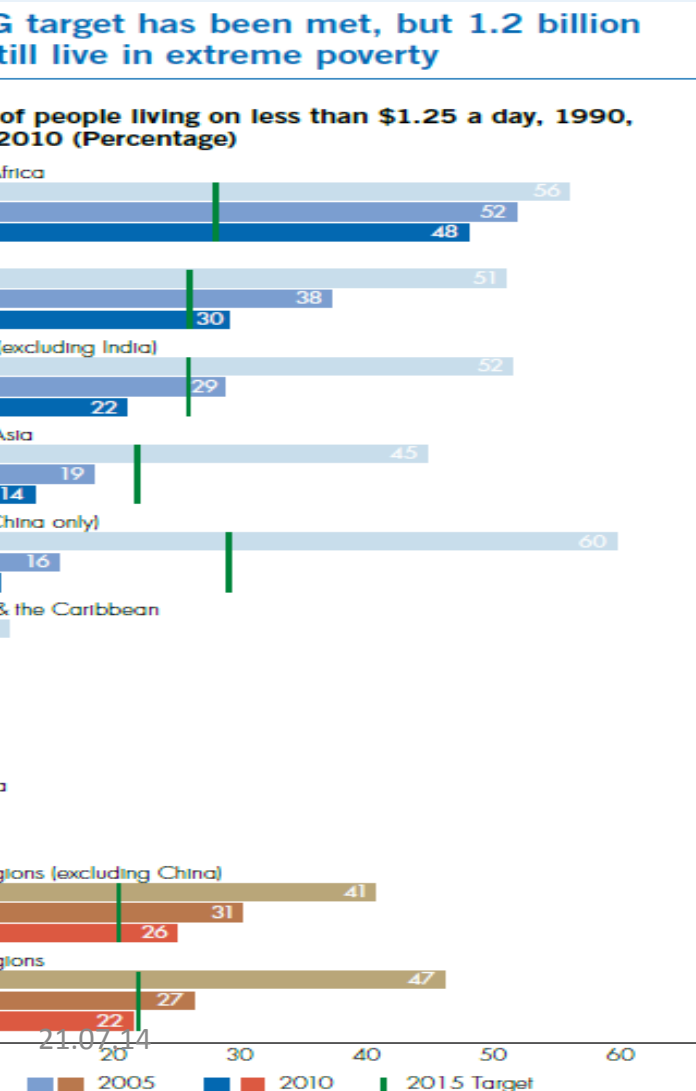
- R 202 remains a recommendation not a binding obligation of member states
- It has only one way to influence national policies through the creation of policy space for national interest groups...
- Thus it requires:
 - (1) A maximum level of political «street credit» and
 - (2) A vehicle that keeps it on the centre of the global social policy agenda
- There is one opportunity to achieve (1) and (2): The Post 2015 development agenda

By the way: ... did the MDGs really change the World?

The UN monitoring process claims success on outcomes ...

- The Global MDG Report 2013: Ban: «*The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have been the most successful global anti-poverty push in history*»
- The global findings of the report:
- Several MDG targets have already been met or are within close reach (6 out of 18)
 - (1) The proportion of people living in extreme poverty has been halved at the global level
 - (2) Over 2 billion people gained access to improved water and sanitation
 - (3) Remarkable gains have been made in the fight against malaria and tuberculosis
 - (4) The proportion of slum dwellers in the cities and metropolises of the developing world is declining
 - (5) A lower debt burden and an improved climate for investments
 - (6) The hunger reduction target is within reach

China or the **problem of attribution**: Is success owed to the MDGs?



Q1: Has China changed its policies because of the MDGs?

Q2: Has poverty in China changed because of social policies or because of trickle down economic effects? See Graph Ravallion, Chen (2007)

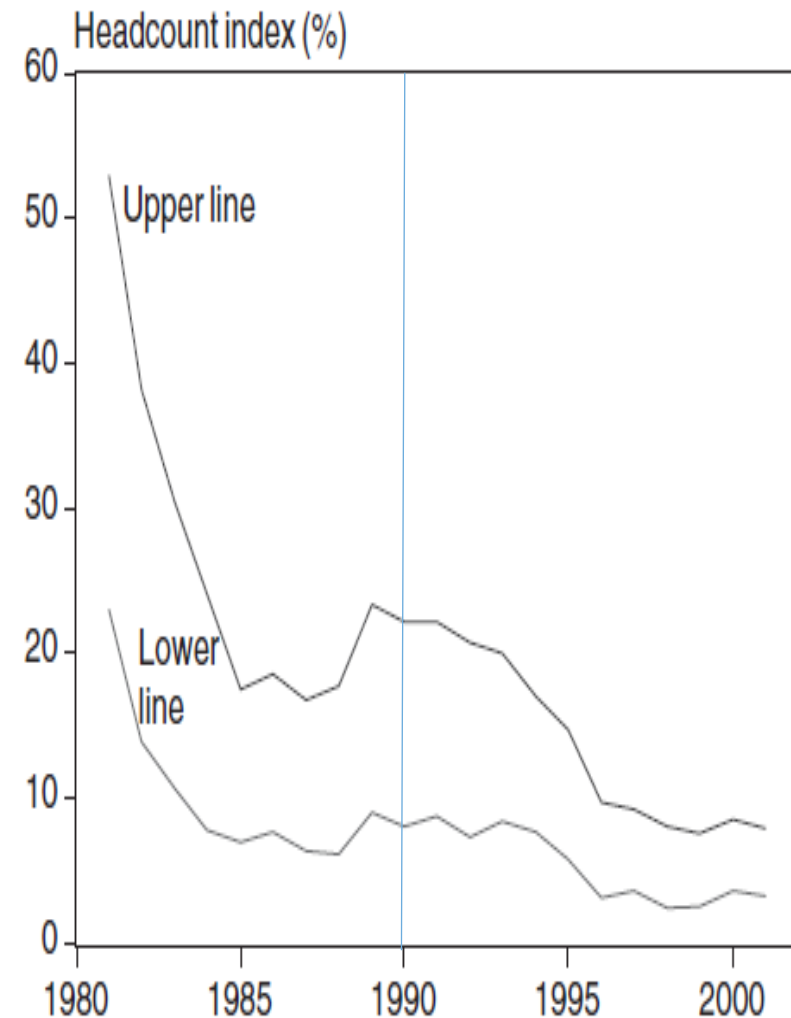


Fig. 1. National incidence of poverty in China 1981–2001.

The Friedman study... : What would have happened without MDGs

- “Our analysis focused on the questions of whether there was a statistically significant acceleration or deceleration (mathematically defined as an interrupted slope or intercept) for a particular indicator and, if there was one, whether that changepoint occurred before or after 2001.”
- **“Results:** The general result was that there was no trend in statistically significant accelerations in the MDG indicators after 2000. Rather the results for all four sets of reported analysis were consistent in that about half of the MDG indicators exhibited no acceleration or deceleration during the time period from 1992 to 2008 and about one-third exhibited accelerations BEFORE 2001.”

...another weakness...a missing technical link...

- Most goals limited themselves to formulating outcomes and targets and indicators without concrete instruments implementation
- hence there is no direct link between objectives and concrete policies
- Notably social protection and social security as coherent concepts addressing wider equality issues than poverty relief were absent.

There is plenty of reason for criticism but the MDGs were an engine of... change...

BUT

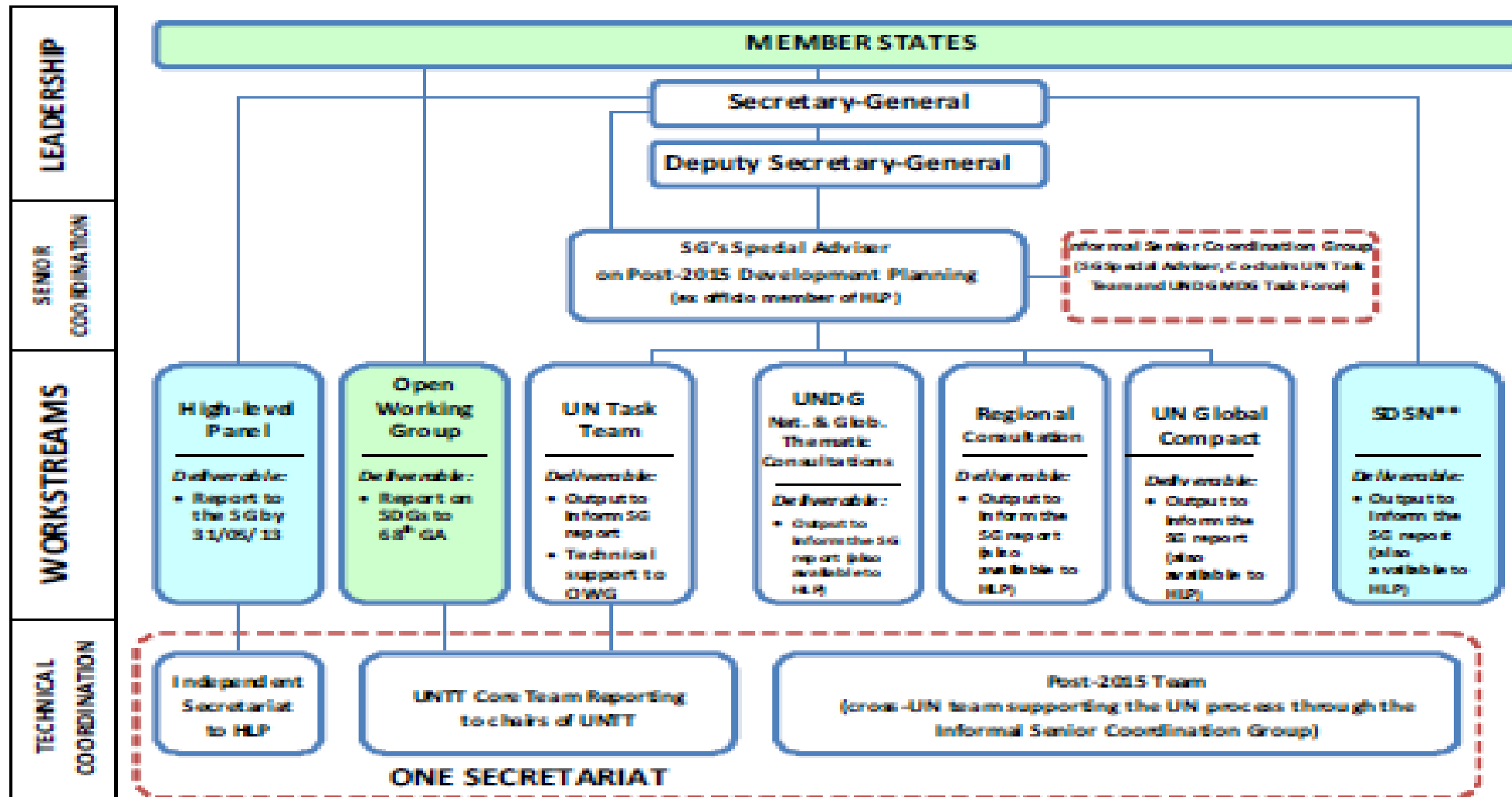
- **More than 160 countries have adopted MDG as development benchmarks and issue reports, and hence make an effort to document progress transparently , a big success for global governance**
- the MDGs have shown that a set of clear and measurable targets can be an important driver of change – at least in policy design.
- Most stakeholders want a global agenda for the post -2015 agenda.
- The process of goal determination and target setting is as important as the outcome, it fuels the global debate on the nature of development
- Failure to achieve goals is not a failure of global governance, it is a failure of national implementation, and its publication is **a positive development in global and national accountability**

The New post 2015 process:

- The UN member states have a unique opportunity at their hands to ensure that social protection is kept on the global agenda till at least 2030.
- The ongoing process of formulating the post 2015 development goals is
 - opaque and multifarious
 - the global community, consisting of governments, civil society, trade unions and other interest groups is engaged in heavy on-stage negotiations and back stage lobbying.
 - The UN SPF-I is defunct and the SPIAC-B dominated by the World Bank,
 - UN agencies all seek to defend their turf by trying to anchor their mandates in the new set of up to ... 20 sustainable development goals.

The New Process...

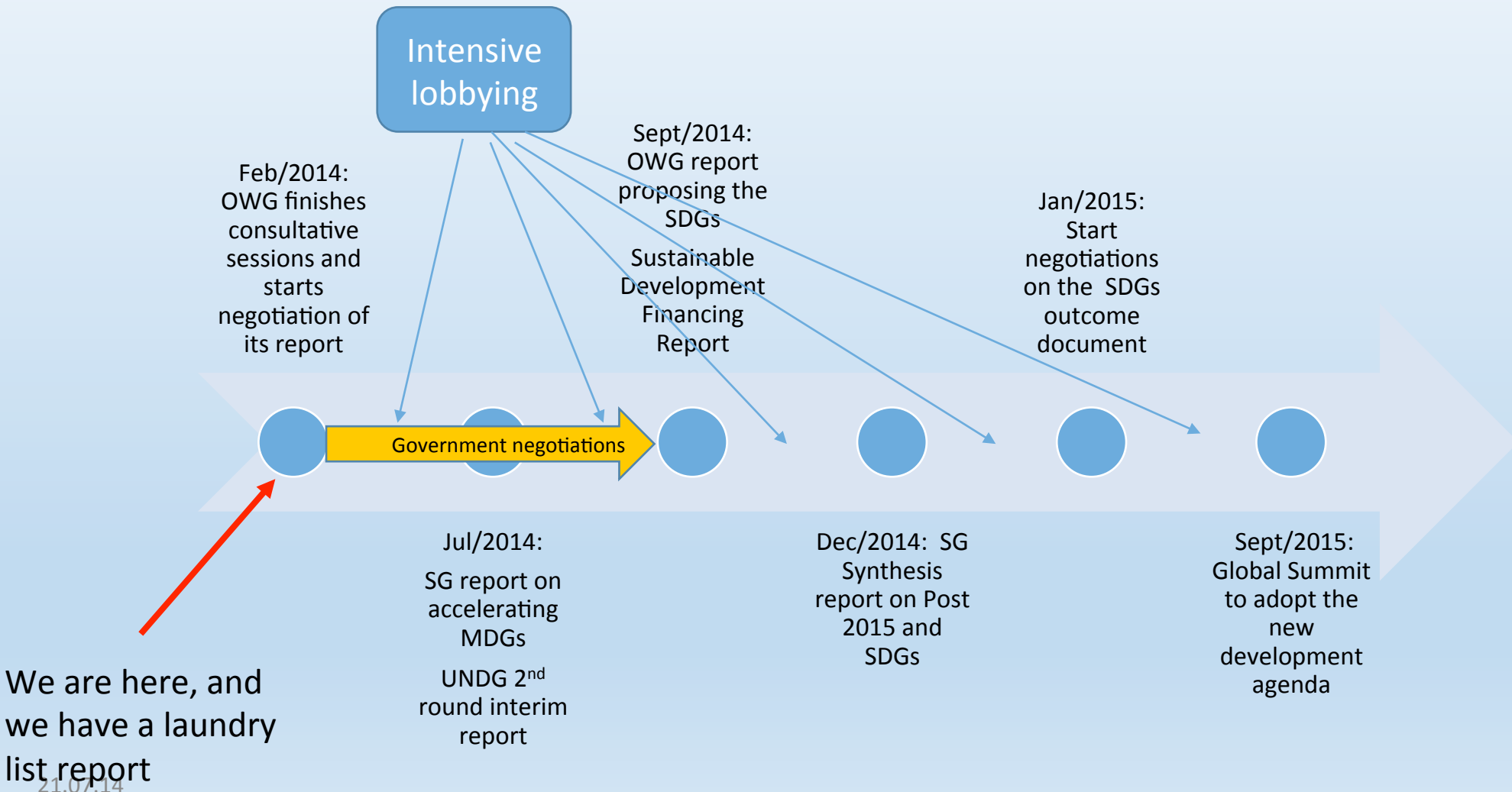
POST-2015 UN PROCESS: ACTORS AND COMMUNICATION LINES*



* No change to existing reporting lines.

** Sustainable Development Solutions Network

SDGs Timeline 2014-15




- 1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere
- 2. End hunger, achieve food security and adequate nutrition for all, and promote sustainable agriculture
- 3. Attain healthy life for all at all ages
- 4. Provide equitable and inclusive quality education and life-long learning opportunities for all
- 5. Attain gender equality, empower women and girls everywhere
- 6. Secure water and sanitation for all for a sustainable world
- 7. Ensure access to affordable, sustainable, and reliable modern energy services for all
- 8. Promote strong, inclusive and sustainable economic growth and **decent work for all**
- **9. Promote sustainable industrialization**
- **10. Reduce inequality within and among countries**
- **11. Build inclusive, safe and sustainable cities and human settlements**
- **12. Promote sustainable consumption and production patterns**
- 13. Promote actions at all levels to address climate change
- 14. Attain conservation and sustainable use of marine resources, oceans and seas
- 15. Protect and restore terrestrial ecosystems and halt all biodiversity loss
- 16. Achieve peaceful and inclusive societies, rule of law, effective and capable institutions
- 17. Strengthen and enhance the means of implementation and global partnership for sustainable development

The Press
SDG laundry
list (as of June
2014) : 17
possible goals
and 211 targets
and an
uncertain
outcome...

Traces of SP and SP

...interestingly one comma can make a difference in the negotiations...

the formulation of poverty target 1.3 in the Zero Draft states, “by 2030, fully implement nationally appropriate social protection measures including floors, with a focus on coverage of the poor, the most marginalized and people in vulnerable situations”



Point Five:

In any case Civil Society needs a plan B:
A possible Global Civil Society strategy...keeping the
golden opportunity alive

five point agenda: Possible social protection strategies for a global coalition of Trade Unions and Civil Society for social protection in the post 2015 debate and far beyond ...

- **One:**

monitor policy implementation at the national level and shame government into action, create a global SPF index (underway...)

- **Two:**

Use the global consensus on the SPF recommendation as a strategic basis to ensure that **Social Protection Floors** to play an umbrella role for all social protection targets in the post 2015 development agenda (underway...)

- **Three:**

Demand a **UN convention** on SPFs

- **Four:**

Support the demand of a **Global Fund for Social Protection** that the UN rapporteurs for the Right to Food and Human Rights have jointly issued ,

- **Five:**

Support the **International Financial Transaction Tax** as a source of funds for investments in social protection

...and to put life into point 4: Let's just do it...

- Support the idea of a Global Fund for Social Protection by simply starting one: ...
 - R.202 says in Para.12: *«National social protection floors should be financed by national resources. Members whose economic and fiscal capacities are insufficient to implement the guarantees may seek international co-operation and support that complement their own efforts.»*
 - Civil society should hence revive the old ILO idea of the **Global Social Trust and ask the people to contribute to an SP Trust Fund to protect the most vulnerable**, and requests governments that they may join...